THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

No. 1. MARCH 1, 1833. Price 2d.

PUBLIC LIBRARY 1859

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Prospectus	1	Revenue and Expenditure	
Constitution and Usages of Parliament	1	Parliamentary Petitions	9
Parliamentary Terms	4	Quaker's Affirmation	10
Belgium	4	Private Bills	11
Bank of England	5	Election Petitions	12
East India Company	6	South Carolina and the American Tariff	12
Lord Grenville	6	Newspapers	14
Ireland	7		

PROSPECTUS.

In the United Kingdom there are now published 369 Newspapers, viz., 248 in England 46 in Scotland, and 75 in Ireland. The total number of stamps annually issued for Newspapers is about thirty millions. Should any material change in the Stamp Duty take place, there can be no doubt that the whole number of Newspapers circulated will be largely increased.

In general, the object which the conductors of Newspapers seem to have in view is to excite and gratify curiosity upon the most trifling occurrences. The subjects which they discuss are of the highest importance to every individual of the community; but it is rarely that the Newspaper can, consistently with its temporary nature, furnish the reader with the materials for a complete and impartial judgment. Detached portions only of great political questions can be considered, in the snatches of argument which are employed in stirring men's minds to adopt the opinions of the writer; and, too often, invective takes the place of reasoning, where the end is the triumph of party and not the upholding of truth. It would be difficult, certainly, to bring a calm judgment to the examination of passing events, while the necessity for presenting them in their freshest gloss is unavoidable.

The law demands a stamp upon periodical publications of a certain bulk, which discuss "any matter in Church and State," but exempts those which are published at intervals of twenty-eight days. It has therefore been thought that a MONTHLY COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, published at that very cheap rate which can only be obtained by a large circulation, might be an important instrument in the diffusion of sound Political Knowledge. Politics, in the highest sense of the word, constitute a science which it is of great moment should be well understood by the people; for in this, as in all other matters, the uninformed will ever be the dupes of the designing and mischievous. The extremes of indifference and of violence with regard to public affairs are equally the result of want of knowledge.

The commencement of an undertaking like the present may be properly dated from the first Session of a Reformed Parliament; because the deliberations and acts of a representative body, fairly chosen by the people, must naturally call upon the public to examine all legislative proceedings with a diligent scrutiny, and to seek every assistance in forming a correct judgment upon matters which come home to each man's business and understanding. Passing occurrences are known, indeed, daily to many, and weekly to most persons. But as the readers of newspapers are much more numerous than the purchasers, there are thousands in the kingdom who, after having satisfied their curiosity as to the course of events, would be glad to possess a cheap Manual to turn to, which should, from time to time, present the principles and facts of most important public topics, in a clear and dispassionate point of view. The confidence of this large body of readers may, we think, be secured, by addressing them without regard to party, but with a desire to advance every measure of social improvement.

Endeavouring to furnish the materials for thinking, rather than urging a one-sided direction of the course of thought, the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER will, in great part, be a storehouse of FACTS applied to practical uses. There are a number of scattered matters necessary for the proper understanding of any political which are apt to be overlooked in the unavoidable newspaper controversy; and many details of importance to Commercial Interests are in the neglected. These materials are to be chiefly found liamentary Reports, and in Foreign Journals; be the duty of this publication to collect and simplify so that they may be easily referred to. The conduct Legislation, too, upon matters which affect the daily actions of large bodies of persons, ought to be pointed out in a clear and untechnical manner, so that those who are called upon to obey any new law may know of its existence, before they incur its penalties or neglect its protection. This object will be here systematically attempted. Again, the great measures of national improvement, which are going forward in the shape of Private Bills, are very imperfectly borne in mind, except by the few who are directly interested in their success or failure; and it is of the highest importance that the mass of the people should understand the real nature of such measures, which, more than any other, indicate the advance of the country in civilization. This information will be found in the proposed work. Lastly—it has been shown, in several recent publications, that the science of Political Economy may be rendered intelligible and interesting to all persons, by pointing out its bearings upon the circumstances of individual life, and by selecting illustrations within the reach of every-day experience. To diffuse the knowledge of those principles of the science which are most capable of practical application, may do something for the correction of popular error and the advance of general happiness.

From this imperfect outline it will be seen that the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, treating of matters of universal and lasting interest, aspires to become an assistant to every newspaper reader, whatever may be his individual opinions as to particular measures of Government. It proposes carefully to examine those materials which the writer of the day has not always leisure to consult; and to bear in mind those comprehensive principles of political philosophy, by which every passing question must eventually be tried. In general, the work will contain a number of short articles on subjects to which the public mind is directed; but, occasionally, some matter involving a great many facts must be treated at length. To accomplish this, a SUPPLEMENT will appear, either quarterly or every second Month, also at the price of Twopence, which will, in most cases, be occupied by some complete question of Political Inquiry. At the end of the year, one of these Supplements will be devoted to a Retrospective Chronicle of Events, so that the entire Volume, which will not exceed the price of Three Shillings, sewed, may serve the purposes of an Annual Register.

CONSTITUTION AND USAGES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE meeting of the present Parliament, the first which has been called together since the passing of the Reform Bill, took place on the 29th of January, exactly at the commencement of the period over which the review of public affairs attempted in this publication is to be considered as extending. We mean, therefore, to embrace the opportunity which the occasion seems to present, of laying before our readers such a brief notice of the leading particulars regarding the constitution of the two houses of the legislature, and their manner of conducting their proceedings, as may probably be found to convey, to many of them, some new and useful information on a subject of great interest. The limits to which we are confined must compel us, of course, to omit many things which might be properly included in a longer and more complete statement: but we shall at least be able to go over most of those points which a person reading the

reports of the debates, as given in the newspapers, ought to be acquainted with. Our paper may, therefore, be considered as an introduction to the debates.

The Parliament, in the language of the law, consists of the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. The consent of each of these three bodies is necessary to the making of every act of Parliament. In ordinary speech, however, the Parliament means only the Houses of Lords and Commons. The House of Lords, in its original constitution, is not a representative body; but since the union with Scotland, in 1707, the representative principle has been partially introduced into its composition. It now consists, in addition to the peers of Great Britain and the prelates of England, of sixteen peers of Scotland, elected by the whole body of the nobility of that country, and of twenty-eight Irish peers elected by the nobility of Ireland. The remaining Scottish and Irish peers, as such, have no seats in the House of Lords; but many of them have been made British peers, and sit in that capacity. An Irish peer, also, being regarded as a commoner in Great Britain, may be elected a member of the House of Commons on renouncing his right of voting for the Irish representative peers; but a peer of Scotland cannot. The Scottish representative peers are elected only for one Parliament; those of Ireland for life. A vacancy in the number of the former, therefore, may be occasioned either by the death of an individual, or by his elevation to a British peerage; in that of the latter, a vacancy can be occasioned only by death. The Irish bishops are also represented by four of their number, who serve only for a single session, and sit by rotation. At present the House of Lords consists of—

Princes of the Blood Royal, (all Dukes)	4
Other Dukes	21
Marquesses	19
Earls	109
Viscounts	18
Barons	161
Peers of Scotland	16
Peers of Ireland	28
English Bishops	26
Irish Bishops	4
Making in all	432

Of the twenty-eight Irish representative peers, nine at present enjoy British titles.

The House of Commons is entirely a representative assembly, every member deriving his right to sit from the election of a larger or smaller body of the people. Since the passing of the late Bill of Reform it is composed of

English	County Members	143	
———	Universities	4	471
———	Cities and Boroughs	324	
Welsh	County Members	15	
———	Cities and Boroughs	14	29
Scotch	County Members	30	
———	Cities and Boroughs	23	53
Irish	County Members	64	
———	University	2	105
———	Cities and Boroughs	39	
	Making in all		658

The power of calling together, or summoning the Parliament, is lodged in the king; and the form is by a writ, or letter, issued out of Chancery, addressed to each peer individually, and to the sheriffs of counties for the election of the members of the House of Commons. We may here notice, that, at the same time with the new Parliament, the Houses of *Convocation* of the clergy still continue to be called together, and to go through the form of commencing their sittings; but since the year 1717, they have been uniformly prorogued before they could proceed to business. It is part of the royal prerogative to prorogue Parliament, that is, to put an end to its sittings, and also to dissolve it, at pleasure, as well as to convene it. But no Parliament can be continued longer than seven years; and few last nearly so long. If, however, the death of the king should take place between the dissolution of one Parliament and the election of its successor, the old Parliament again meets immediately, and may remain in being for another half-year.

The two Houses must be both prorogued and dissolved, as well as convened, at the same time. When the day appointed for their meeting arrives, the king either proceeds in person to the House of Lords, or empowers certain peers, as his commissioners, to open the Parliament. This ceremony is gone through in the presence of both Houses, the Commons appearing at the bar, whither they have been summoned by the Usher of the Black Rod. They then return to their own House to elect their Speaker, while the Lords proceed one by one to take the oaths at the table. The Lord Chancellor is usually appointed by the Crown as the Speaker of the House of Lords, in which quality he takes his place on a seat immediately below the throne, commonly called the woolsack. His duties, however, differ considerably from those of the Speaker of the House of Commons. He is not in particular invested with authority to preserve order in the House, and he is accustomed to take a part in the debate, which the Speaker in the House of Commons does not. Formerly it was the custom for the person chosen to fill the high office of Speaker of the House of Commons, to manifest the greatest apparent reluctance to take the chair, and not to suffer himself to be conducted to it without the exertion of considerable force. A passage from the self-disparaging speech pronounced by Sir Christopher Yelverton, on his being elected Speaker in the year 1597, may amuse the reader:—"Your Speaker," said he, "ought to be a man big and comely stately and well-spoken; his voice great, his carriage majestical, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy. But, contrarily, the nature of my body is [illegible] myself not so well-spoken, my voice low, my carriage [illegible] yer-like, and of the common fashion; my nature soft bashful; my purse thin, light, and never yet [illegible]." Of late, however, this affectation has been discontinued; and although in case of two candidates divided in opinion, each usually votes against the one who obtains the majority of suffrages if he professes any reluctance to assume the chair, has been seated, goes to anything like the old extent deprecating his own qualifications. After being elected he must have the approval of his Majesty; for which purpose the House is again summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, where the requisite form (for it is nothing more) is gone through, and the new Speaker, on behalf of himself and his fellow-members, lays claim, by humble petition, to the undoubted exercise of all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, more especially, freedom of debate, freedom of arrest for themselves and their servants, and free access to his Majesty whenever occasion may require. The Commons then return to their own House, when the Speaker assumes the chair, and the members take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in successive groups at the table. This must be done between the hours of nine in the morning and four in the afternoon; and during that period of the day, whatever other business the House may be engaged with, must be suspended when any member presents himself to take the oaths. No member can vote on any question, except the election of the Speaker, before going through this ceremony, under severe penalties; and there have been even recent instances in which, members having done so by mistake, it has been found necessary to pass a Special Act of Parliament to relieve them from the pains and disabilities they had incurred. In all other respects, however, except as to the privilege of sitting in the House and voting, a person returned to Parliament is a member from the moment in which his return is signed by the proper officer. He is no longer, for instance, liable to arrest, and (provided his election has taken place within forty days from the day appointed for the return of the writ) he may frank letters before he leaves the hustings. There is no introduction of members to the House at the beginning of a new parliament; the clerk merely, after each has taken the oaths, introduces him to the Speaker, who shakes him by the hand: but when a member is returned at any other time than at a general election, he must be led up from the bar to the Speaker by two other members, and must make three obeisances or bows on the way, that he may be the better known to all present.

After the swearing in of the members in both Houses has been completed, or nearly so, which generally takes several days, it is customary for his Majesty either to come down to the House of Peers in person, and, the Commons having been summoned to the bar as before, to deliver a speech from the throne to the assembled legislature, or to depute certain lords, as his commissioners, to read such a speech in his name. A royal speech is likewise delivered at the opening of every succeeding session. It is usual for both Houses to take this speech into consideration the same evening, with

a view to frame a reply to it, called the Address; but they are not bound to make it the first matter upon which they deliberate; and both Houses are accustomed to have a bill relating to some other matter previously brought in and read, by way of asserting their right. The address, which is usually an echo of the speech, is moved and seconded by two members, selected by the ministers for that duty, and who appear on this occasion either in full dress or in uniform. When the address has been voted, it is sent up to his majesty by a deputation, who, on their return, report to the House the terms in which it has been received, called His Majesty's Answer.

We shall now throw together a few notices (chiefly selected from Mr. Hatsell's great work on "Precedents") of what may be called the every-day forms of the House of Commons, many of which are matter of constant allusion in the reports of the debates. On the Speaker making his appearance a few minutes before the hour of meeting, as soon as prayers have been read by the chaplain, he proceeds to count the members present, until (including himself if necessary) he has reckoned to the number of forty. If that number be present, business proceeds; if not, the Speaker only takes the chair for a moment to adjourn the house till the following day. A House, as it is termed, having been once formed, business may be continued, though there should be fewer than forty members present; but any member may demand that the House be counted, and if there are not forty present the House is adjourned. The members, in general, have no particular seats. At the opening of a Parliament, however, the four members for the city of London are accustomed to place themselves at the head of the front bench, or, that which stands on the floor, at the right hand of the Speaker. On other occasions, this bench is usually occupied by the ministers, and is called the Treasury Bench. It is, however, merely conceded to them by courtesy. Formerly, it used to be reserved for those members who were Privy Councellors; and it is related that Mr. Pulteney, when the leader of the opposition, during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, always used to speak from this bench. Any other member, who wishes to secure to himself a particular seat, may do so, but only for that one evening, by going down in the morning and fixing a paper with his name to the back of the bench. But even after having done this, he loses his seat if he should be absent at prayers, or leave the House to attend the Speaker to the Lords. He also loses it if he goes out to the lobby on a division; and Mr. Hatsell intimates that the numbers on divisions are known to be sometimes affected by the operation of this rule. Members who have held the great offices in the ministry, are often allowed to keep the same seat without coming down to take it; and a member having received the thanks of the House in his place, is considered to be entitled to the same seat, at least for that parliament.

While the Speaker occupies the chair, there is said to be a House; when a member is appointed to preside, the House is said to sit in Committee. These two states are farther indicated by the gilded badge called the mace being in the former laid *upon*, and in the latter *under*, the table at which the clerks sit. The rules of proceeding are in some particulars different in Committee, from what they are when there is said to be a House. In the latter, a member can speak only once (except to explain) upon the same motion; in the former, he may speak as often as he pleases. The sitting in committee, indeed, seems anciently to have been considered as merely a conversational consultation:—frequently, the members appear to have delivered their sentiments without rising. Again, in committee, the members divide by going the *ayes* to the one side of the House, and the *noes*, to the other. When not in committee, those on one side of the question remain in the House, those on the other go out to the lobby—the general rule being, "that those that give their votes for the preservation of the orders of the house should stay in; and those that give their votes otherwise, to the introducing of any new matter, or any alteration, should go out." (Journals of 10 Dec. 1640). But the rule is embarrassed with many intricate exceptions, and a good deal of time has frequently been lost in determining which side ought to go out. With a view of avoiding this inconvenience, it was resolved by the House, a few days ago, that on any division, 'those who question the decision of Mr. Speaker do go forth.'

When two or more members rise at once to speak, the one who first catches the eye of the Speaker, is named by him, and is usually permitted to address the House. But his being named by the Speaker gives him no right of precedence, if the House should think that another had risen, or on some other account has a right to be heard, before him. Any member may move that another member shall be now heard; and if that motion be carried, the Speaker's selection goes for nothing. This, however, is an expedient which, for obvious reasons, has been very rarely resorted to. A member may speak from the gallery as well as from the body of the House, and Hatsell says often does; but of late years very few instances of this practice have occurred. He must not, however, it seems, speak standing in any of the passages or from behind the clock. It is sometimes said, that a member has a right to have any act of parliament or other public document he pleases to call for, while speaking, read by the clerk; but this is a mistake. The House may object to the proceeding if they choose; but if no objection be made, the Speaker orders the paper to be read. No member, we may here add, can vote on any motion affecting his own private interests, or can even be present while it is discussed.

Although the public are now admitted to witness the deliberations both of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons—to the former by the order of a peer, to the latter either by a member's order, or by the payment of half-a-crown to the door-keeper,—the debates of the one house, as well as of the other, are still supposed to be carried on with closed doors. The order directing the Sergeant-at-Arms to take into custody all strangers who may be seen within the House is still passed by the House of Commons at the commencement of every session, and may at any time be enforced by a member to the clearing of the gallery. Whenever a division takes place, all strangers are obliged to withdraw, and the doors of the House are locked. The newspapers lately noticed some remarks that were made in the House respecting one of the sessional orders, commanding the back-door of the Speaker's chamber to be shut every day at twelve o'clock; when the Speaker, in answer to the inquiry of an honourable member, who expressed himself anxious to know where the said door was, was reported to have stated that he believed it was no longer in existence. This order was first passed on the 5th of March, 1662, on information received by the House that several persons, not members, had come by the door in question into the Speaker's chamber, and thence made their way into the gallery; and it has since then been regularly repeated at the commencement of every session. If the back-door, however, be now really built up, as is understood, it would seem that its ancient and long remembered offences might at last be safely permitted to rest in peace.

The exertion by a member of his privilege to clear the House of strangers has frequently given rise to a vehement debate; and some efforts have even been made to get the standing order in question repealed or modified, but hitherto without success. Those opposed to the exclusion have sometimes attempted to meet it by resorting to the expedient of moving repeated adjournments, and thus preventing business from proceeding, till the public have been re-admitted. Females, as everybody is aware, are not now admitted to the gallery; but it is not so generally known, that the practice by which they are excluded is comparatively a recent innovation. It appears to be not more than fifty or sixty years since ladies were accustomed to appear both in the gallery and in the space below the bar. Mr. Hatsell himself was present at the last occasion on which they were admitted. An interesting debate was expected; and both ladies and gentlemen were in attendance in great numbers. Many ladies, not having been able to obtain seats, it was ordered that the House should be cleared of the *men* strangers, which was done; when the ladies entered in such numbers as completely to fill both the galleries and the seats below the bar. In this state of things, a member, irritated by the expulsion of some gentlemen for whom he had procured places, demanded that the House should be cleared of *all* strangers. The enforcement of the standing order was a matter of course. But the officers found their duty of turning out the fair intruders no easy work; a violent and determined resistance was offered to them; and for nearly two hours the House was kept in a state of the most extraordinary ferment and commotion. Ever since this singular scene, females have been rigorously excluded from the House. The only relaxation of the prohibition is the practice, that has been

introduced within the last few years, of admitting a small number of ladies to a place called the Ventilator, above the ceiling, through the apertures in which they both hear and see very well what goes on below. Twenty-five tickets for this apartment are issued every night by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Ladies are also now admitted into the new gallery which has been formed in the House of Lords. They used formerly to place themselves behind the curtains on each side of the throne. In ancient times, however, they seem to have appeared more openly. In 1675, Lord Shaftsbury is recorded to have complained to the House of "those droves of ladies that attended all causes:" "it was even come," he said, "to that pass, that men even hired, or borrowed of their friends, handsome sisters or daughters to deliver their petitions." At this time, again, ladies seem to have only contrived to get admission into the House of Commons occasionally, and by stealth. Hatsell quotes from Grey's Debates a curious notice in proof of this, which is not calculated to give us a very high idea of either the dignity or the decorum by which the proceedings of the House were in those days characterized.

PARLIAMENTARY TERMS.

UNDER this head we propose to notice, from time to time, such terms, connected with the proceedings of Parliament, as occur in the reported debates, and may not be intelligible to every reader.

ADJOURNMENT.—The adjournment of either house is the continuance of its sittings from one day to another, generally to the next, but sometimes to that day fortnight, or even longer. Either house adjourns at its own pleasure, and independently of the other. A member may move the adjournment of the house at any time, and repeatedly in the course of the same evening; for a proposition for adjournment at one stage of the proceedings is considered to be a different question from the same proposition made at another stage. Were it regarded as the same question it could not be put in the same evening, or even in the same session. Sometimes only the debate is adjourned, the house continuing to sit, and proceeding with other business.

ORDER OF THE DAY.—The order of the day is the list of the matters appointed to be discussed on that day, as printed in the paper called the "Votes," which is now issued every morning. When it is moved, therefore, to read the order of the day, the meaning of the proposition is that the house shall pass from the consideration of the question then before it, and take up the business mentioned in this list. The adoption of the motion is a way of avoiding the coming to a decision upon the question in hand. The order of the day, however, can only be moved while the house is proceeding with some question not set down in the list.

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.—This is another contrivance for escaping from the necessity of coming to a decision upon an inconvenient question. A motion is sometimes made to which abstractly there is no objection, but which yet, from the time at which it is brought forward, or the special bearing which it is intended to have, is felt by some member or members, to be one which it would be improper to assent to. In these circumstances those who are opposed to its being carried put to the house the previous question,—shall a vote be taken upon it at all? Instead, however, of moving (as would seem most natural) that the question under consideration be *not* now put, it is the usage to move "that that question be now put;" in dividing upon which the mover votes against his own motion. Thus, for instance, when Mr. Hume moved, on the 14th February, that the existence of sinecure offices was inexpedient, the result is recorded in the Votes in the following form:—"The previous question being put, 'That that question be now put:' the house *divided*,—Ayes, 138; Noes, 232." Here the mover of the previous question, and all those who were of opinion with him, that Mr. Hume's resolution should *not* be put, voted in the majority, against the motion. The question, however, which has been quashed in this manner is only got rid of for the present; and may be brought forward again on any future day. The previous question cannot be moved when the house is in committee.

THIS DAY SIX MONTHS.—It is frequently moved, in order to defeat a bill before the house, that it be read again this day six months. This motion is made with the intention, and, if carried, has the effect, of deferring the next reading of the bill till after the prorogation of Parliament, or to a period when the house will not be sitting. In these circumstances of course it falls to the ground. Sometimes the motion is made for the next reading being taken this day three months, or after any shorter interval that will carry it over the prorogation.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.—Very great difficulty has always been experienced in securing the regular attendance of members. It is, however, in the power of any member, upon giving previous notice, to insist that the house shall be called over on any particular day, when those who do not answer to their names are ordered to be taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The chief inconvenience which this subjects them to consists in the fees which they must pay before they can be liberated, and which are of considerable amount.

THE AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM.

THE events that have taken place since the revolution which separated Belgium from Holland, have been of great importance to all European states, and the condition of affairs in those countries still continues to excite considerable interest. The narrative of those events is long, and calculated to give rise to more questions than there is space here to discuss. But it may, nevertheless, be useful to give some account of the causes which led to the revolution; for the first consideration in regard to the Belgian question is, whether that revolution was justifiable—or, in other words, whether it was morally right. This can only be determined by reference to the peculiar circumstances of the case; for whilst every revolution is in itself an enormous evil, yet, when the public grievances are too heavy to be borne, and the redress of such grievances is otherwise impracticable, resistance to an oppressive government may become even more than excusable. An individual cannot break the ties which bind him to his family, or his friends, without pain and inconvenience, but cases do sometimes arise in which it is desirable to sever even domestic and social ties. So it is with nations. Cases have not unfrequently arisen where a struggle against an obnoxious dynasty has been far from censurable, although accompanied by many calamities and sufferings; and amongst such cases the Belgian revolution appears deserving of being numbered. It is seldom, indeed, without powerful reasons that any nation has broken the bonds which united it to the existing order of things, and has thereby put in jeopardy its industry, its commerce, its wealth, and almost its very existence.

By the treaty of Vienna, the allied powers united Belgium to Holland, giving to the new state the title of Kingdom of the Netherlands. It does not seem that the wishes of either people entered much into the consideration of the allies, the object being the stability of the peace of Europe, by preventing Belgium from becoming a province of France. There were indeed many grave objections to the union,—which may well have been called an unnatural marriage. For in the first place, the Belgians are Roman Catholics, whilst the Dutch are almost all Protestants, so that their views in regard to religion were certain to be opposite. Holland is a commercial, Belgium, a manufacturing and agricultural state, so that their wishes in regard to taxation, and protecting duties, could not be very united. Their languages, habits, and feelings were dissimilar, and there was a marked antipathy of each to the other.

The extent of Holland was estimated at 2,860,888 *hectares* of about 2½ acres each: that of Belgium at 3,337,249. The population of Holland in 1815, was 2,046,885; that of Belgium 3,377,617. By the new constitution of 1815, (which was rejected by the majority of the Belgian notables, who had been assembled for the purpose of sanctioning the union,) 55 members were assigned to each nation, as its share of the representation, notwithstanding the superiority of Belgium in population and extent; and the large debt of Holland, and the comparatively small debt of Belgium, were charged equally upon the two states. The Belgians were attached to trial by jury: but, without their consent, it was summarily abolished in Belgium, and the Dutch mode of criminal procedure substituted. The publicity of judicial proceedings in its most important branch, the examination of witnesses, was also abolished, and by protracted delay, the law providing that the judges should not be removed, was rendered nugatory. Great partiality began to appear in the patronage of the court, the ministry, and the army. In 1816, of eight ministers of state only one was a Belgian; o

28 diplomatic agents, one; of 244 ministerial officers in civil departments, 65; of 85 generals, 16. The officers of the king's guard were all Dutch, and so were three-fourths of the artillery. The Belgians were taxed for Dutch objects, and the mode of taxation was particularly obnoxious. For instance, the *mouture*, or tax on meal, and the *abattage*, or tax on cattle slaughtered, were serious grievances, inasmuch as no man could grind his own corn, or kill his own pig, without the intervention of the revenue-officers. The king of the Netherlands took into his own hands the control of education, and deprived the heads of families of the sacred right of bringing up their children in the way they thought best. Particular teachers and methods of instruction, and books printed in Holland and drawn upon the Dutch system, were imposed by authority, with the view of infusing into the minds of the young Belgians, religious and political opinions incompatible with those of their fathers. A college was established at Louvain, called the Philosophical College, to which, instead of the ancient colleges, every Catholic Belgian educated for holy orders was compelled to resort, in order to receive instructions from professors of an opposite persuasion to his own. This was sufficiently galling to Catholics; but the Belgians were interfered with, not only in the exercise of their religion, but also in the use of their own language. Incredible as it may seem, in a country where French was the language of literature, of conversation, of the bar, and where the Flemish and Walloon tongues were the only others in use by the common people, a decree was issued declaring the Dutch to be the national language. The Belgians were forbidden from defending their interests in the States-general, in the Courts of Justice, or by any public acts, except in Dutch. The father of a family was obliged to make his will in a language which he did not understand; and barristers, notaries, professors, and even judges, were compelled to relinquish their situations, not merely from disgust, but from inability to hold them. Such an accumulation of grievances naturally produced general discontent, and this discontent, as might be expected, began to find a vent in the public press. Then commenced a series of prosecutions against the Belgic press, and the writers who presumed to give their opinions on public affairs. Penalties of imprisonment and banishment were inflicted in gross violation of justice on some of the most upright men in Belgium. In December, 1829, a final blow was levelled at the press, which would effectually have suppressed it, for it inflicted imprisonment upon the expression of any disapprobation, or, as it was termed, calumniation of the intentions of the existing government; and no less than thirty prosecutions against the press were commenced in the course of one month. Thus the Belgians were goaded for fifteen years; and when denied a free press- tried by dependent judges—and governed by irresponsible ministers—it would indeed have been wonderful if they had not murmured.

Such were the grievances which led to the revolution August, 1830, whereby the Belgians threw off the yoke of the King of Holland, and broke the bonds of the treaty of Vienna. They proceeded to frame a new constitution, and after much discussion, determined that Belgium should be constitutional monarchy. Among several candidates, the choice first fell upon the young Duke de Nemours, second son of the King of the French, for King of Belgium; but the French King thought it his duty to refuse his son's acceptance, and, after an intermediate regency, the crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, who accepted it in July, 1831, and is now the reigning sovereign. From the moderation and discretion which characterize this prince, there appears every hope that he may be suited to so distracted a country as Belgium has for some time been—that he may tranquillize its factions—compose its troubles—and rule it in quietness and peace.

The allied powers, whose intervention was first solicited by the King of Holland, have occupied themselves down to the present time in arranging the terms of separation and peace between the two countries. The Conference of London has laboured long and laboriously to effect a pacification and amicable settlement of differences, but its task appears, even yet, not brought to a close. It is impossible here to detail the numerous proceedings and protocols of the Conference; but it would be very wrong in those who do not thoroughly understand its operations, to deny it the high merit of having laboured strenuously for the preservation of peace. The five great powers, as they are called, namely, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, in undertaking the arbitration of the differences between Holland and Belgium, had to decide upon a just and permanent settlement, with the deep responsibility laid upon them of thus guarding and preserving the peace of Europe. Upon the first view of the case, it might appear that the Belgians were not likely to receive any great countenance from three, at least, of the arbitrators, who, for many reasons, would not be especially inclined to favour the authors of any revolutionary movements. If, therefore, in the enforcement of its decisions the Conference has found it absolutely necessary that the citadel of Antwerp should be taken out of the hands of Holland by an issue at arms, it may be fairly supposed that this manner of warfare was not resorted to, except under the conviction of an imperious necessity which even the especial friends of Holland could not deny. The labours of the Conference for two years would have been futile indeed, if the arbitrators had possessed no power to compel the observance of their decisions.

It has been the fashion to stigmatize the Belgic revolution as a bad imitation of the three days of Paris, and it may be true that this was the spark which set fire to the powder in Belgium. But if the Belgians suffered for fifteen years all that could hurt the moral, political, religious, and intellectual feelings of a nation, there is surely sufficient cause for the effect, without ascribing it merely to the revolution of France. The Belgic revolution was foreseen, and foretold; and the king had ample warnings to which he shut his eyes until it was too late. It has also been the custom of some to praise the high degree of physical happiness which existed in Belgium under the Orange dynasty; but it is a great mistake to suppose that where the land is well cultivated, and the people active and industrious, they have nothing more to wish for. Belgium flourished externally in spite, and not by reason of the measures of her government; and if that government may claim the merit of advancing her industry, it is but little excuse for the violation of sworn faith and established laws, or the obstinate disregard of the rights of its subjects.

The population of Belgium, according to the official census, was on the 1st of January, 1831, 4,082,427. It now consists of the following provinces: viz.

Antwerp, . . .	347,590
Brabant, . . .	556 046
West Flanders, .	603.214
East Flanders, .	733.938
Hainault, . . .	608,524
Liege, ...	371,568
Limburg, . . .	338,395
Luxembourg, . .	311,606
Namur, . . .	211,544
	4,082,427

The population of Holland, according to the "Almanac de Gotha," is 2,444,550, being little more than one half of that of Belgium, as above stated. But the province of Luxembourg is included, according to some statistical tables, in the Germanic Confederation. For further information in regard to the Belgian revolution, see the "Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 10, article 1;" same "Review, No. 12, art. 9;" "A Letter on the Belgic Revolution," London, Hansard, 1831; "Edinburgh Review, No. 112, art. 6." There are numerous foreign publications on the subject which have been but little read in this country.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

DURING the last session of Parliament, a Committee of Secrecy, consisting of thirty-two members, was appointed to inquire into the expediency of renewing the charter of the Bank of England, which will terminate on the 1st of August, 1834, upon a twelvemonths' notice to that effect being given by the government; and also to examine into the system of banking, particularly that of banks of issue, adopted in England and Wales. Some of the Bank Directors, many eminent bankers, and other persons possessing knowledge and experience of the subject, were examined before this committee, and the accounts of the Bank of England were also submitted to their inspection.

The points to which the attention of the committee was principally directed, were—

1st, Whether the paper circulation of the metropolis should be confined, as at present, to the issues of one bank, and that a commercial company, or whether a competition of

different banks of issue, each consisting of an unlimited number of partners, should be permitted.

2ndly, If it should be deemed expedient that the paper circulation of the metropolis should be confined, as at present, to the issues of one bank, how far the whole of the exclusive privileges possessed by the Bank of England are necessary to effect this object.

3rdly, What checks can be provided to secure for the public a proper management of banks of issue, and especially whether it would be expedient and safe to compel them periodically to publish their accounts.

An immense mass of documents and evidence was collected elucidatory of these points, and, on the 11th of August, 1832, reported to the House, by whom they were ordered to be printed. An early opportunity will be taken to give a complete analysis of this report in a Supplement to the "Companion to the Newspaper." In the mean time, it may be stated that Lord Althorp has intimated his intention to bring in a Bill, without proposing a new Committee, on the subject of the renewal of the Bank Charter.

EAST INDIA COMPANY.

IN February, 1830, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China. This Committee has been reappointed in each successive session since that time, and has examined a great number of witnesses, and collected an immense body of evidence on these subjects, which have been at different times reported to the House and ordered to be printed. These Reports, three in number, have now been published. The first contained an examination of the commercial relations of the Company with China, as well as the state of the British trade generally with that country, and also that of the Americans and other foreigners. The second was principally directed to the territorial possessions of the Company in India, and to points connected with the government, laws, productions, and commerce of that country. The third, which consists of a volume of report and several volumes of evidence, several others being prepared, and in the hands of the printer, is miscellaneous, and embraces every other topic connected with the subject. As the approaching termination of the East India Company's charter, which expires in April 1834, as well as the importance of the subject, cannot fail to render an epitome of these reports interesting to the public, an early Supplement will also be devoted to that purpose.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

AMONG the subjects which have engaged the attention of Parliament since its meeting, one of those which have excited the greatest public interest is the reform of the Irish Church. The views of the Government upon this subject were explained by Lord Althorp to the House of Commons, on the 12th February, on asking leave to bring in the bill for carrying them into effect. It will be the object of this article to present a brief but comprehensive outline of the proposed measures, drawn up in such a manner as may place their amount and character, and the reasons upon which they are founded, in the clearest light before all our readers.

There are at present twenty-two dioceses in Ireland, or four archbishopries and eighteen bishopries, the gross amount of the revenues of which, according to Lord Althorp's statement, does not exceed 150,000*l*., producing, after deducting the expenses of collection, a net revenue of 130,000*l*. Of this sum, about 100,000*l*. arises from the rents of lands. The whole revenue of the deans and chapters is 23,600*l*.; but this is burdened with a necessary expenditure amounting to 21,400*l*; leaving a remainder for the deans and chapters of only 2200*l*. There are, in fact, very few prebendaries in the Irish Church whose income is derived from the funds of the chapter alone. The number of the other benefices is 1401, the whole income of which, as nearly as can be ascertained from returns which are not yet quite complete, is about 580,000*l*., or at most, 600,000*l*. The entire revenue of the Irish Church, therefore, may be stated as follows:

Revenue of Bishops' sees	£130,000
Revenue of Deans and Chapters, as such .	2,200
Revenue of other Benefices	600,000
Total	732,200

Allowing for possible omissions, the whole amount may be taken as not exceeding 800,000*l*. This is the official account; the authorities for its accuracy have not yet appeared.

According to law, the whole income of every benefice both in England and Ireland, for the first year after it has become vacant, belongs, under the name of First Fruits, to the Crown, which, however, has in both countries made over the revenue thence arising to special purposes connected with the ecclesiastical establishment. In Ireland the First Fruits are paid to a Board appointed for their management; and are applied in the first instance to the repair of churches, and, after that object has been satisfied, to the augmentation of poor livings. Were the First Fruits exacted according to the actual value of the benefices, they would produce a considerable sum; but, in point of fact, they are exacted according to a valuation made in the reign of Henry VIII., nearly three hundred years ago, when the nominal income, at least, of every living was greatly below what it is at present; and consequently they yield only a very trifling proportion of what the law originally intended they should amount to. It has been sometimes proposed to fulfil the original intention of the law by ordering a new valuation, and rating each benefice for First Fruits according to its real income; but however equitable this re-adjustment may seem, it is liable to various objections on the ground of expediency. We shall mention only one—the obvious hardship of taxing an individual on his entry into a living (the time when his necessary expenses are most heavy) to the extent of the whole of his year's income. Ministers propose, without diminishing the just amount of the tax, to lay it on in a less oppressive form. Instead of the whole amount of the income for one year, they propose to exact a per centage, or portion, of it every year. This proportion is to vary from five, to fifteen per cent.; livings under 200*l*. a year paying nothing, those of more value paying not only a larger sum but a larger rate: and, where several benefices are in the hands of one individual, the aggregate amount of the whole being taken as his living, so that, however small his preferments may be individually, he shall, as he clearly ought, pay the high rate appropriate to his large revenue. The incomes of the bishops are to be subjected to this tax as well as those of the inferior clergy; but in the case of the former it is not to be levied upon any that do not amount to 4000*l*. a year; those of that amount are to pay five per cent.; those between 4000*l*. and 6000*l*., seven per cent.; those between 6000 and 10,000*l*. ten per cent: those between 10,000 and 15,000, twelve per cent; and if there are any above the last-mentioned amount they are to pay fifteen per cent. This tax, let it be observed, is to be imposed immediately, upon the actual incumbents of the several sees and other livings; and the income of the bishopric of Derry is besides to suffer an immediate reduction from its present amount of 12,659*l*. to 8000*l* which the proposed tax will further reduce to 7200*l*.

The tax thus imposed, it is calculated will produce about 69,000*l* a year; and the management of this revenue it is intended to give to a Board of Commissioners consisting of members of the Established Church, so appointed as to be entirely independent of the government. They are to apply it, and the other funds committed to their administration, to the following objects; the augmentation of poor livings, the building of glebe-houses, the dividing of unions, and the building of new churches whenever a certain portion of the expense shall be subscribed by private individuals. A fund being thus provided for these purposes, it is proposed that the tax upon the people of Ireland, commonly called the vestry cess, or church-rates, by which they have been hitherto met, shall be immediately and entirely abolished. This is a measure calculated to remove one of the strongest causes of popular dissatisfaction and irritation connected with the present condition of the Irish Church. The vestry cess, although paid by all the inhabitants of the parish, is imposed only by those of them who belong to the establishment: so that it sometimes happens that fewer than half a-dozen members of the Church of England have the power of assessing at their own pleasure, and for the exclusive purposes of their own communion, several thousands of their Catholic fellow-parishioners. According to a statement subsequently made in the House, the pecuniary relief thus conferred upon the people will really be to an extent not much short of 90,000*l*. per annum. But this is, after all, perhaps, the least part of the benefit which the new arrangement will bring along with it.

The proposition which we shall next notice is one of great importance; and in order that it may be properly understood, it will be necessary that the attention of the reader be directed to one or two preliminary details. It has been already intimated that the principal part of the incomes of the Irish bishops is derived from the lands attached to their sees. The revenue, however, which they draw from this source does not all come to them in the shape of rents. A bishop is prohibited by law from granting a lease of any land belonging to his see for a longer period than twenty-one years; but he may at any time grant a lease for the whole of that period. Suppose a bishop to be a very old man, or to be on the point of translation from the see which he occupies to another; he has no connexion with, or natural interest in, his successor; he looks, and considers himself entitled to look, to his own advantage alone: how, then, is it natural that he should act in regard to his lands? If he could alienate, or sell them, it is plain that he would do so; but this, as we have said, the law does not allow. He will, however, do that which is the nearest to selling them that the law will allow; he will let them on the longest lease which it is in his power to grant, and he will anticipate as much as possible of the fair rental for that period by taking it from the tenant in the shape of what is called a premium or fine. The higher the fine, indeed, the lower must be the rent. But in the circumstances supposed, it is the former payment chiefly, or perhaps exclusively, in which he who makes the bargain has any interest; of the profits of the transaction, the fine is to be his own share, the rents the share of his successor. Or suppose even that he has no immediate expectation either of death or translation, still he will naturally act in the same manner. The fine is still a present and certain gain: the rent is exposed to all the chances of the future. He may live to the end of the lease, or he may not live to the end of its first twelvemonth. From what has been said, it will be obvious how unavoidably it has happened that all these lands are in fact held upon leases of twenty-one years, or for the longest term which the law permits.

But not only are the leases originally for twenty-one years. They are constantly kept up of that length, or as nearly as possible of that length, by the operation of the same cause which made them be granted for so long a term at first. At the end of every year, or at least of every two years, the tenant resigns his old lease, having now only a period of twenty or of nineteen years to run, and receives from his landlord another for twenty-one years from that time as before, on paying another fine for the extension. And thus it happens that the actual income of the bishop is in almost all cases made up partly of his rents, and partly also of those annual or biennial fines.

But the system which has thus been acted upon, while it has been, as we have just shown, the one most profitable and natural for each individual bishop to follow, has affected the productive value to the church of its landed property to a most material extent. Or rather, we ought to say that property thus peculiarly circumstanced is necessarily of very much less value to its nominal owners than if it were held in the ordinary mode of possession. The farmer, in bargaining with (the bishop) for a new lease, has the latter in a manner in his own hands. It is the bishop's interest to grant the renewal for the sake of the fine: and at the same time the actual tenant is the only person existing with whom he can enter into such a covenant. There is no competition —nobody else to bid against the individual in possession of the current lease. The fine, therefore, which the latter will consent to pay will be the very smallest that will suffice to tempt his landlord to grant him the renewal rather than run his life, as it is expressed, against the lease,—that is, take his chance of surviving it, and forego the yearly fines altogether, for the sake of at last having the land, unincumbered by an actual lessee, to offer to free competition. This latter plan is, in point of fact, sometimes followed by a bishop who comes early in life to his see; but it is evidently a hazardous speculation in any circumstances; and even when it succeeds, it does not permanently release the land from the conditions which so greatly depreciate its value to the landlord; the old process, of the long lease, and its natural consequences, immediately begins again. The consequence of this state of things is, that the tenants of these church lands are really more their proprietors than the bishops. The interest which the former possess in them is more valuable than that possessed by the latter. And the bishops, it is evident, are in this respect placed in a predicament in which they cannot help themselves. It is not in their power, by any contrivance or mode of management, to secure to themselves a greater share of the produce of their lands than they at present enjoy.

In reality it appears, that while the estimated value of these lands is about 600,000*l.* per annum, the bishops, by means of fines and rents together, do not derive from them more than a revenue of 100,000*l.* It is calculated that the value of his lease to the tenant, supposing him to pay a fixed corn-rent equivalent to what he now pays partly in the form of rent and partly in that of fine, is not less than twelve years and a half's purchase, that is, than twelve and a half times the remainder of the estimated yearly value of the land. If his lease, instead of being only for twenty-one years, were to be made perpetual, his interest would be thereby increased only by about seven and a half year's purchase, or that number of times the estimated yearly value. Now, it is proposed to give to every tenant the power of converting his present lease into a perpetual one, by paying for the additional benefit a sum of money somewhat less than it has thus been calculated to be worth, or six years of the estimated value instead of seven and a half. Taking this yearly value upon the whole church lands, according to the statement given above, at 500,000*l.* the sum thus raised will be about three millions sterling. Government propose that this money should be applied in any manner that may to parliament seem expedient. And clearly, it cannot in fairness be said to belong to the church. It is raised by the state without in the smallest degree infringing upon the revenues of the church. The incomes of the bishops will remain the same as they are at present; only, they will not be received partly in rents and partly in fines, but altogether in a corn-rent, equivalent to the real value of the rent, and the privilege of renewing the lease at present enjoyed.

Such are the parts of the plan which it is proposed to carry into immediate operation. But it also contemplates certain prospective reforms of a very important character. On the death of the present Archbishop of Armagh, the primate, it is proposed to reduce the income of that see from its present amount of about 14,600*l.* to 10,000*l.* As the actual possessors also of the different sees die out or are removed, the archbishoprics of Tuam and Cashel are to be converted into bishoprics, and the following ten sees are to be entirely abolished, namely, Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, and Waterford, (which last is at present vacant, and will not be filled up). The saving arising from these reductions will be 60,000*l.* a year, with which it is proposed that the legislature shall deal as it may think fit. Finally, all deans and chapters, where they have no duties to perform, are to be abolished altogether, or to be attached to cures; and in regard to parochial charges, the Board of Commissioners already mentioned are to have the power of suspending the appointment of ministers in all cases in which no duty has been performed for the space of three years past.

IRELAND.

One of the subjects to which the attention of Parliament was most emphatically called in the King's Speech, was the state of Ireland, where, as his Majesty declared, "a spirit of insubordination and violence had risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually repressed." In conformity with this recommendation a bill was, on the 15th of February, brought into the House of Lords, by Earl Grey, described to be "for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland." It is no part of our present object to go over in detail the clauses of this bill, which, while we write, is undergoing the minutest examination of their lordships in committee, and may possibly be considerably modified before it passes through both houses, and becomes a law. But in the course of the discussions that have already taken place on it, frequent references have been made to certain former acts and measures which it embodies, or on which it is partly founded; and we propose, therefore, after a few words on the general question to append a short notice of these previous attempts to meet a state of things similar to that which the government have now to contend with.

Lord Grey has not deemed it necessary or advisable, before introducing this bill, to call upon the legislature to

time demanded for the other business of parliament. The presentation of a single petition frequently consumes a considerable space of time. According to what was the practice up to the commencement of the present session, although the petition itself is rarely read at length, but only its prayer stated by the clerk, its presentation often occasioned no fewer than four successive motions or questions, on each of which a new debate might arise. There was first the motion that the petition be brought up; then, another, that it be read; then, a third, that it be laid on the table; and, lastly, a fourth, that it be printed. A resolution, proposed by Lord Althorp and agreed to by the House, on the 6th February, limited this right of speaking to the two questions —that the petition be laid on the table, and that it be printed: but still this does not get rid of the principal part of the difficulty. Were there to be only one opportunity of debate upon each petition, it would still be almost impracticable for the House, upon the plan that has been hitherto followed, to get through the reception of the vast numbers that are every session put into the hands of members. The order of precedence in the right of presenting petitions has been of late years a matter of constant contest. Formerly the practice was for those members who wished to secure an opportunity of presenting the petitions with which they had been entrusted to strive who should be first at the House in the morning, when, by putting down their names on a paper, they entitled themselves to precedence over those who did not make their appearance so early. Under this system, as one of the witnesses examined before the Committee states, a few members were in the habit of getting the priority in a great number of cases: those who lived near the House constantly took advantage of their proximity to win the race from their competitors, frequently presenting themselves at six o'clock in the morning. Of late the matter has been arranged by allowing members having petitions to present to ballot for precedence; but although, on the average of the session, about twelve members have been in the habit of attending daily at the ballot, it is stated that only the first five whose names were drawn, have in general had any chance of getting their petitions presented in the evening before the public business came on. A member has often attended regularly for many days, and even weeks, without being fortunate enough to attain a sufficiently high place on the list. Soon after the commencement of the present session, Lord Althorp proposed a new plan of proceeding in regard to this important subject, namely, that there should be no ballot, but that members wishing to present petitions should put down their names upon a paper from which they should be called upon by the Speaker in their order, day after day, till the whole list should be gone over. And in order to afford time both for private business and for the reception and discussion of petitions without encroaching upon the time necessary for public business, his lordship further proposed that the House should, for the former purposes, assemble every day (except Saturday), with the Speaker in the chair, at noon, and sit till three o'clock, when it should adjourn till five, at which hour it should again meet and proceed at once with the business set down in the order-book. This plan has since been agreed to by the House.

In addition to the embarrassment occasioned by petitions, on account of their consumption of the time of the House, the printing of those of them that are ordered to be printed has been a source of considerable expense. From 1789 down to 1817 the practice was to print all public petitions, either at length or in the form of a short abstract, in what is called the Votes, that is the record of those proceedings of the House which properly come under the description of business done, but not including resolutions which are merely proposed without being determined upon, and some other matters which are only inserted in the larger record, called the Journals. In 1817 the plan was adopted of printing and distributing the Votes every day; and since then, only those petitions have been printed respecting which the House has thought proper to give an order to that effect. They are printed in the form of an appendix to the votes. The proportion of petitions ordered to be printed to the whole number submitted to the notice of the House, appears, since the commencement of the new system, to have varied considerably in different years. Of 4074 petitions, for instance, presented in 1828, only 1579 were ordered to be printed: whereas of 4041, presented in 1829, the number ordered to be printed was 3394. Of the whole number of 24,492 presented in the five years ending 1831, 10,685 were ordered to be printed. And the expense thus occasioned amounted for the five years to upwards of 12,000*l.*, or between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a-year. Moreover it appears that the mass of matter thus laid before the House and the public excites comparatively but little interest even among those who are most in the habit of attending to parliamentary proceedings. The Report states that some members decline receiving the appendix, considering it as an incumbrance, and that during the year 1831, while there were sold to the public 400 copies of the votes, there were not sold more than 150 copies of the appendix. The appendix for the year 1829, in which Parliament sat from the 6th February to the 24th June, formed a volume of 1535 folio pages, consisting entirely of public and election petitions. It is suggested in the Report that a select committee might be appointed at the commencement of each session to arrange and classify the petitions presented, and having a discretionary power to decide as to the printing at length of any containing facts or reasoning of which, in their judgment, the House ought to be apprised. A resolution to this effect was, on the motion of Lord Althorp, passed by the House on the 20th February, and the Committee appointed.

QUAKERS' AFFIRMATION.

The House of Commons came to a gratifying decision on the 14th of February in the case of Joseph Pease, Esq returned one of the members for the southern division of the county of Durham, by resolving that this gentleman was entitled to take his seat upon making his solemn affirmation and declaration, instead of taking the usual oaths. This is the first decision that has admitted any member of the society of Friends to the British legislature. In consequence of the claim advanced by Mr. Pease, a select committee was appointed by the House, on the 8th, to report such precedents as they could discover bearing upon the subject. Their Report, which was brought up on the 11th, presents a full detail of the various enactments which the statute-book contains in reference to the Quakers since they originally attracted the notice of the legislature. The first which they quote is an act passed in 1674, (the 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 1). by which it was declared that any person refusing to take an oath when lawfully tendered, should, for the first offence, be fined 5*l.*, and if three times convicted, should suffer the penalty of banishment. By a subsequent act, (the 16 Car. II. c. 4, § 16,) the further penalty of transportation was affixed to the offence. It was not till the year 1689, that by the statute 1 William and Mary, cap. 18, (commonly called the Toleration Act,) the affirmation of Dissenters from the Church of England who scrupled to take an oath was legally recognized. This act, however, only exempts such persons from the pains and penalties of the statutes against Papists and Non-conformists, and that only on their subscribing a certain declaration of allegiance, and a profession of their faith in the Trinity. It was by the act, 7 and 8 Will. III. cap. 31, passed in 1697, that Quakers were first permitted to substitute their solemn affirmation instead of the usual oath, in civil causes, in the courts of justice. The act, which was to be in force only for seven years, was by a subsequent enactment, (13 Will. III. cap. 4,) passed in 1702, continued for the further period of eleven years; and in 1714, (by the 1 Geo. I. § 2. c. 6,) it was made perpetual. The next statute in order was the 8 Geo. I. cap. 6, passed in 1722, by which the forms of the declaration of allegiance and of the solemn affirmation were altered. But the most decisive enactment bearing upon the subject, appears to be the statute 22 Geo. II. c. 46, passed in 1749, by which it is declared, "that in all cases wherein by any act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed, or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers, in the form prescribed, &c. shall be allowed and taken instead of such oath, although no particular or express provision be made for that purpose in such act or acts." It is, however, at the same time provided, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cases, or to serve on juries *, or to bear any office or place of profit in the government. It was only by the act (9 Geo. IV. cap. 32,) passed in 1829, that Quakers and Moravians were, for the first time, allowed to make their solemn affirmation

* A capital conviction by the Court of Admiralty was recently set aside because a Quaker, having been on the jury, had affirmed, instead of taking the usual oath.

instead of the usual oath in giving evidence "in any case whatsoever, criminal or civil." And this is at present the extent of the privilege they enjoy. They are still inadmissible to places of profit in the government without taking the oaths. On the 15th of February, however, the day on which Mr. Pease took his seat, Lord Morpeth gave notice of his intention to move to bring in a bill to relieve them from this only remaining disability. The notice at present stands for Tuesday, 2d April.

From the Report of the Committee, it appears that there is only one other case on the Journals in which the question of the admissibility of a Quaker to take his seat on affirmation came before the House;—namely, that of John Archdale, Esq., returned for Chipping-Wycombe, in 1699. This gentleman made his claim by a letter to the Speaker, dated (Tuesday) "the 3d of the eleventh month, called January, 1698-9," which was read to the House the same evening. The House, after hearing it, ordered that it should be taken into consideration on the Friday following, and that Mr. Archdale should be in attendance on the morning of that day. The act of the 7 and 8 Will. III., legalizing the affirmation of a Quaker, in certain cases, was at this time in force; but the decision come to by the House, nevertheless, was an order that the Speaker should issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown to make out a new writ for the borough of Chipping-Wycombe. In the course of the late debate, both Mr. Wynn and the Solicitor-general stated that, even on the then state of the law, they held this decision to be wrong. But even admitting it to have been correct, still no parliamentary decision, as the committee remark, had ever been given, before the late case, on the construction and effect of the statutes now in force. It appears, however, that the Court of King's Bench has decided, that a Quaker, on his affirmation, may be admitted a freeman of a city, and also a member of the Turkey Company. In the latter case, Lord Mansfield, who said that the point was quite clear, seems to have been guided simply by the consideration that the place in question was "not a place of profit in the government." Of late also, Quakers have in several instances been admitted barristers, on making their affirmations instead of taking the usual oaths. And since the repeal of the test and corporation acts, a Quaker has served the office of sheriff of the city of York on his affirmation.

PRIVATE BILLS.

A VERY important part of the business of the legislature consists in deliberating and deciding upon what are technically called Private Bills. These are, to a certain extent, bills of divorce, for naturalization, change of name, and other objects of a merely personal nature; but for the most part they are to enable private individuals, associated together, to undertake works of public utility at their own risk, and, in a degree, for their own benefit. To effect this, it is necessary to confide to them greater power than they possess in their individual capacities; and the legislature, having ascertained that a public advantage is likely to accrue from the proposed measure, invests them with the required powers under certain conditions, and then leaves them to conduct the business in the manner most conducive to their own interest, the funds being wholly derived from their own resources. We shall endeavour to give a connected view of the progress of a private bill.

The wants of the public having directed attention to any supposed improvement, requiring the co-operation of a company, and the sanction of a private bill, the usual course is for the original proposers to draw up the plan of the association, with a statement of the advantages to be derived from it, and the proposed method of carrying it into effect. This is submitted to a meeting of those who are most immediately interested. If the plan is approved, a subscription is opened to defray immediate expenses, and means are taken to give publicity to the plan so adopted, in order to procure the names of a sufficient number of individuals who engage to be answerable for such sums as are agreed upon. An estimate has generally been formed of the amount which is considered sufficient for the completion of the object; and the individual advances, called shares, are agreed to be paid in such proportions, and at such times, as shall be afterwards fixed by the bill.

Surveys are then made, and plans prepared, together with a list containing the names of every person whose interests are immediately affected, or whose estate, or any part thereof, by whatever tenure it may be held, is required for the purposes of the undertaking. Duplicates of this list, having three blank columns, headed *assenting*, *dissenting*, and *neutral*, are forwarded to every such person, to be signed by him in whichever column he pleases. A copy of this list, with the plans and drawings, is also lodged with the clerk of the peace in each county in which any of the property required may be situated; a general statement of the plan, and of the direction and extent of the measure, containing the names of the parishes or places which it will include, or through which it will pass, is advertised in the "London Gazette," and in at least one newspaper in each county affected by the measure, and is also placarded on the door of the courts of law in the same, during the sitting of the autumn assizes.

These preliminaries, which are all prescribed by what are termed the standing orders of the House of Commons, having been fulfilled within a certain defined time before the assembling of parliament, and subscribers to the amount of at least two-thirds of the estimated expense (also required by the same orders) having been obtained, the draft of the bill is prepared, and a petition is addressed to the House praying that it may be received. This petition is referred to a select committee, taken by ballot from certain lists into which the whole House is divided for particular divisions of the country. This committee having ascertained that the standing orders have all been complied with, report the same to the House, and the bill is, as a matter of course, received and read a first time. After the lapse of a certain number of days, it is moved that the bill be read a second time, when, if any objection is made, it is then stated, and the bill is either rejected or referred to a select committee, who consider it clause by clause, and are empowered to examine witnesses, and to hear counsel both in support and opposition. The committee, in almost every case, introduce a maximum of the toll, or duty, or rent, according to the nature of the measure, to be levied, and in many cases declare a maximum of interest to be divided on the capital, and order the surplus to be invested in the public funds, till the amount is sufficient to repay the sums advanced by the shareholders—the improvement to be then thrown open for the free enjoyment of the public. In many cases, also, provision is made to secure the completion of the work when once begun. A copy of the bill is now sent to each county interested, and is deposited with the clerk of the peace, where it is open to the inspection of any one desirous of seeing it. The committee having completed their labours announce their decision in a report, after which the House proceeds to the third reading of the bill, when it may be again discussed, though the report of the committee is in most cases agreed to without any further opposition. If the bill is passed it is carried to the House of Lords, where it goes through nearly the same forms, and if it be finally approved of by the Upper House, and receive the royal sanction, it becomes an act, and a part of the law of the land. It should also be stated that, early in the Session, the House fixes periods within which the different stages of private bills are required to be forwarded. The times so appointed for the present session are as follow:—No petition to be received after the 22d of February: the first reading to be not later than the 25th of March; and no report to be received after the 20th of May.

The forms above detailed are extremely well calculated to secure a due consideration of the subject, and to prevent injustice: but in consequence of many of these bills being considered of a wholly private nature, they are too frequently left to the management of those in some measure immediately interested. The consequence is, that bills, or particular clauses in bills, of a questionable or even injurious tendency, are occasionally smuggled, as it is termed, through the House. Of this a notable example was afforded during the last session, when a bill, avowedly for the purpose of enabling certain parties, who had been carrying into effect some improvements at Glasgow, to dispose of their interests in those improvements among themselves by lot, was made the medium of re-establishing a private lottery, after the state lottery had been abolished as immoral and pernicious.

We have only to add that at each of the stages mentioned, certain fees are payable, of which a table is published under the Speaker's authority. These fees have been long complained of as being too heavy, and as having the effect of preventing or throwing unnecessary impediments in the way of public improvements, but no measure has been yet adopted for their removal or amendment.

The following table, extracted from the "Companion to the Almanac for 1833," shows the number of bills, and the classes to which they belong, which have been passed during the last eight years:—

Comparative Classification of Private Bills for Eight Years.

BILLS PASSED.	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832
Agriculture	28	24	26	19	26	25	19	16
Companies	11	6	5	2	6	2	3	3
Improvement of Towns and Districts .	73	47	39	39	42	39	27	34
Internal Communication	108	83	63	83	83	83	100	64
Navigation	15	4	7	6	5	11	5	6
Private Regulation . .	51	42	45	33	45	48	40	35
Total . .	286	206	185	182	207	208	194	185

One of the most important private bills introduced in the present session is that for constructing a rail-road from London to Birmingham. It is intended that it shall commence on the north bank of the Regent's Canal, on the west side of the Hampstead-Road, and proceeding by or near to Kensall Green, Harrow, Pinner, Bushey, Watford, King's-Langley, Hemel-Hempstead, Berkhampstead, Long-Marston, Tring, Ivinghoe, Fenny-Stratford, Shenley, Potterspury, Darlescote, Weedon, Rugby, Willenhall, Coventry, Coleshill, Little-Bromwich, and Deritend, terminate at a place called Nova Scotia Gardens at Birmingham. The estimated expense of this work, is 2,500,000*l.*, to be raised in 100*l.* shares, nearly the whole of which is already subscribed. In addition to the magnitude of the work, opening a means of communication so rapid as to enable the heaviest loads to e transmitted in seven or eight hours between two such marts of commerce and manufactures as London and Birmingham, the circumstances of its being the first rail road out of London, and the precursor without doubt of many others, give it an additional interest. The measure was first introduced into Parliament during the session of 1832, and passed through the House of Commons, but, after considerable discussion, was rejected by the Lords. In the present session the petition was presented on the 12th of February, and the first reading took place on the 15th.

A petition was also presented on February 19th for leave to bring in a bill respecting the Thames tunnel.

ELECTION PETITIONS.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 20, was the last day allowed by the resolution of the House of Commons for the reception of petitions against the return of Members at the late elections. The following is a list of the places against the returns from which petitions have been presented:—

Returns petitioned against.	*Petitioners.*
1. Barnstaple, borough	Geo. Hervey, Esq, and others.
2 Bath, city.....	S. Barrow, Sir J. Fellowes, and others.
3. Bedford, borough	Sir W. Long and Sir J. Pulley
4. Bristol, city...	Richard Ash, and others.
5. Bury St. Edmunds, borough	Fras. King Eagle, Esq.
6. Carmarthen, borough.....	Jas. Hughes and John Lawrance.
7. Carnarvon, borough.....	O. J. E. Nanney, Esq
8. Carrickfergus, borough....	Edw. Chichester, and others.
9. Clonmell, borough.....	Jas. Morton, and others.
10. Coleraine, borough.....	W. Taylor Copeland, Esq
11. Cork, city	J. Townshend, Esq., P. Deane, Esq., and others.
12. Coventry, city	Wm. Odell, and others.
13 Ennis, borough	Pat. Carmody, and others.
14. Galway, town	M. J. Blake, Esq., V. Blake, Esq., and others.
15. Harwich, borough.....	J. Disney, Esq., and others.
16. Hertford, borough	J. S. Duncombe and J. E. Spalding, Esqs.
17. Knaresborough, borough...	Henry Rich, Esq.
18. Launceston, borough	David Howell, Esq, and others.
19. Lincoln, city.....	C. D. W. Sibthorp, Esq.
20. Linlithgow, county	J. J. Hope Vere, Esq.
21. Londonderry, borough.....	A. A. Watt, and others.
22. Longford, county	Visc. Forbes, A. Lefroy, Esq., and others.
23. Mallow, borough	Wm. Murphy, and others.
24. Montgomery, borough....	Edw. Jones and Thos. Owen.
25. Newry, borough	Dennis Maguire, Esq.
26. Norfolk, county (Eastern division)	John Harper and C. S. Gilman, Esqs.
27. Northumberland, county (Southern division).....	R. W. Brandling, R. P. Philipson, Esqs., and others.
28. Norwich, city	John Cozens, and others.
29. Oxford, city	Wm. Hughes Hughes., Esq.
30. Petersfield, borough..	Hylton Joliffe, Esq., and others.
31. Portarlington, borough ...	Hon. G. L. Dawson Damer.
32. Ripon, borough.....	George Jackson, and others.
33. Salisbury, city	Hon. D P. Bouverie.
34. Southampton, town.....	Joseph Clark, and others.
35. Stafford, borough	Wm Blount, Esq., Wm. Rogers, and others.
36. Stirling, burghs	James Johnstone, Esq.
37. Tiverton, borough	Wm Anstey, and others.
38. Warwick, borough	Wm. Tibbitts and others.
39. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, borough	G. C. Welsford, and others.
40. Windsor, borough	Sir J. E. De Beauvoir.
41. York, city...	Samuel Judd.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE AMERICAN TARIFF.

THE news from the United States has of late been of unusual interest, by reason of the discontent which has prevailed in the Southern and Western States at the tariff imposing duties on foreign goods imported; and so great has been this discontent in the state of South Carolina, that the people of that state have openly declared their resistance to the tariff. The legislature of South Carolina published an ordinance, declaring the laws passed in 1828 and 1832 for the imposing of duties on the importation of foreign commodities to be unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and therefore null and void; and that a protecting tariff should no longer be enforced within the limits of South Carolina. It was added, that if the general government should attempt to coerce them by military power, they would firmly resist, and supplies were voted for that purpose. Upon this the president of the United States issued a proclamation, stating it to be the intention of the general government to maintain the integrity of the Union by force; but the South Carolinians appeared disposed to persist in their resistance, although unsupported by Georgia and other states to whose interests the tariff was also believed to be hostile; and the president more recently issued another proclamation, removing the custom-houses, and making other regulations for thwarting the opposition. The president's conduct has been sanctioned by several of the Northern States, especially that of New York, the annual value of whose manufactures is upwards of twenty-five million dollars. Whether these disputes will be amicably arranged, or will terminate in a dissolution of the North American republic as at present constituted, it is not easy yet to foresee; but it may be useful, in the mean time, to give some account, firstly, of the American Constitution as applied to the question at issue, and secondly, of the Tariff which has been the cause of the irritation.

The American Union is composed (exclusively of certain Territories sending delegates) of twenty-four States, each of which has its separate legislature, invested with the entire regulation of its local concerns. These States, independent in other respects, are united by a federal compact, which is the constitution of the United States, and according to this the president, and the congress, consisting of the senate and the house of representatives, are elected. By the constitution, the congress has power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debt, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. Such being almost verbally the language of the constitution, the question is, whether or not congress has power to impose a general tariff which is binding upon each individual State. Now if the power of congress extends to all taxes, whether for the purpose of revenue or of protection, it is plain that the objection of the South Carolinians—that the tariff operates unequally, is scarcely tenable, because, as the president observes, "such an objection may be made with truth to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality." Much less does South Carolina appear to be warranted in throwing off her allegiance to suit her own interest, because she is bound by the

compact under which she became a member of the Union, and has enjoyed hitherto all the benefits resulting from it. It would appear, therefore, that the president has with him the strict constitutional law, though it may be questionable how far he could enforce it without arraying one portion of the population against the other; for the regular troops at the president's disposal amount only to about 7000 men, and the militia of the Union, amounting to 1,308,000, could hardly be considered as effective in a case where the population would be divided against itself.

But, secondly, if we concede to congress that it has not exceeded its constitutional powers, (which very many, including Mr. Jefferson, were of opinion that it had exceeded,) it is impossible to stigmatize the tariff too strongly, as being not only unwise, but also unjust. The restrictions upon industry and the freedom of commerce, existing in European countries, had their origin in less enlightened ages than the present; and when an erroneous system has become interwoven with the national institutions and the various interests of society, it is always extremely difficult to change it for a better. But when the Americans achieved their independence, they were embarrassed by no difficulties of such a nature. Their industry was free and unfettered, and they were in the very state best calculated to forward a nation in the career of improvement. They should have abstained from the restrictive system, not only because reason and experience had proved it to be inimical to the advancement of mankind in opulence and population, but because they were not previously entangled in the web of existing prohibitions. They should have respected the principle of the division of labour; and, possessed of an almost unlimited extent of fertile land, they should have looked to the obvious advantages of their agricultural industry, and considered that the growth of raw produce must, for a long series of years, be the most profitable kind of employment in which American citizens could engage. They should have reflected that they were encroaching upon that equality of protection to which all interests in the Union, as in every free state, are entitled; and that they were forcibly withdrawing capital from the land, and turning it to manufactures, without making the smallest addition to the capital and industry of the republic, but on the contrary, to the diminution and injury of both.

In the face, however, of the principles of public economy, and the lessons of experience, the American legislature set itself steadily to work to *protect* its home manufactures, especially its woollens, cottons, and hardware. Vainly aiming at making the United States independent of foreign nations, but attaching as absurd a meaning to the word *independence*, as if a country gentleman who had his coat and shoes made on his own estate thought himself more independent than his neighbour squire who bought them, congress proceeded to impose heavy import duties on articles of foreign manufacture. With the view of promoting the woollen manufacture, a duty was laid on woollen cloths imported, which from being 5 per cent. *ad valorem* in 1790, was gradually raised to 33½ per cent.; and by the tariff of 1828, it was enacted that all goods which had cost 50 cents (2*s*. 1½*d*.) a yard, or under, should be deemed to have cost 50 cents, and should be charged with a duty of 45 per cent. *ad valorem*; and further, that all goods which had cost above 50 cents the yard and not more than 100 cents, should be considered as costing 100 cents, (or 4*s*. 3*d*.) and should pay a duty of 46 per cent on that sum—so that every yard of cloth, costing 51 cents, would be valued at 100, and would consequently pay a duty of nearly 90 per cent. By the tariff of 1832, which comes into operation the 3rd of March, 1833, a duty of 5 per cent. is imposed on plain kerseys: of 10 per cent. on worsted stuffs and shawls; of 20 per cent. on worsted yarn; on blankets, hosiery and carpets, 25 per cent.; and on woollen manufactures in general, 50 per cent; modifications which cannot be considered as great improvements upon the last tariff. Again, on cotton fabrics imported, the tariff of 1828 charged a duty of from 30 to 100 per cent., although there was abundance of evidence that the high duties of former tariffs had rendered the cotton-mills anything rather than thriving. The tariff of 1832, charges 25 per cent. upon cotton manufactures, and provides, that cottons not dyed, not exceeding in value 30 cents a square yard, shall be valued at 30 cents; and if dyed, and not exceeding in value 35 cents a square yard, shall be valued at 35 cents. Cotton yarn, unbleached, to be taken at 60 cents the pound, and bleached at 75 cents the pound. So also, iron-bolts and bar-iron were charged under the tariff of 1828 with a duty of 7*l*. 17*s*. per ton. By the tariff of 1832 they are rated at not much less, namely at 30 dollars a ton, and various other duties on iron manufactures are imposed, those on iron not otherwise rated being 25 per cent. These instances will suffice as examples. So far as these duties were aimed against Great Britain, it should here be observed, that we deal with the Americans on far more liberal terms than they deal with us: for, upon the majority of American articles which we import, the duties do not, on an average, exceed 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The result has been that the tariff has been injurious to every interest, and to every section of the country; and whoever will take the trouble to read the Report of the committee on the commerce and navigation of the United States, drawn up by Mr. Cambreleng, and submitted to congress the 8th of February, 1830, will be satisfied of it beyond the possibility of doubt. The commerce, navigation and capital of the New England States (Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusets, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine,) have been sacrificed in order to bring forward new competitors in manufacturing to embarrass old and skilful artisans; and as their wealth and industry have declined, so has the ratio of the increase of the population diminished. The navigation of the United States has retrograded since the peace; ship-building has begun to decline; the manufacture of cordage has been driven to Great Britain and Russia; and by the high duties upon coarse woollens, salt, brown sugar, molasses, tea, and coffee, burdens have been heaped on articles essential to the comforts of the poor throughout the Union. The tide of emigration to the Western States has been excessively accelerated, although full employment for population might have been found in the older states. But, above all other evils, has been the depression of agriculture, by the prevention of the sale of agricultural produce to foreign nations whose manufactures have been shut out of the American markets. Taking a view of the whole Union, the Americans are at this day as much an agricultural and as little a manufacturing people, as they were at the time of the adoption of the constitution. There are many thousand millions of acres yet unoccupied; eleven agricultural States have been added to the Union; and the Territories are very far more extensive than at the period mentioned. Of the 12,856,171 persons who, according to the census of 1830 composed the population of the United States, more than four-fifths are employed in agriculture—and thus the interests of the mass of the inhabitants have been sacrificed in the vain hope of fostering a few miserable manufactures, which must ever be sickly whilst surrounded by an artificial atmosphere, instead of being exposed to the natural and wholesome breezes of competition. The staple products of the Middle and Southern States, and of the Western States along the Ohio, are cotton, tobacco, rice, wheat, and sugar. The exports of cotton for the year 1831, were of the value of 25,289,492 dollars, being nearly half of the 61,277,057 dollars, which were the amount of the exports of American produce and manufactures for that year. The next greatest export is that of wheat-flour and biscuit, which amounted to 9,938,458 dollars; and of tobacco, the export amounted to 4,892,388 dollars. So that the value of these three articles thus constituted two-thirds of the value of the entire export; and nothing can be more natural than that the agricultural state of South Carolina, where the objects of culture are cotton, rice, wheat, and tobacco, should consider the suspension of the market for those articles, a very serious grievance. It has indeed been proposed that the states of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi, should join in a convention for the protection of their common interests, and the resistance of the tariff. At present only one state appears to have openly resisted; but that the tariff can long continue to oppress the other agricultural states, unopposed, is what we cannot believe. Of the Western States, the agricultural and mineral wealth has been obliged to be left to perish in the interior, or to be wasted as worthless productions. Under a system of restriction, these productions must remain, without value, beyond the Western mountains, and the treasures of the mines can be but slowly realized. But an active foreign commerce would give an impulse to the internal trade, and put in circulation the vast agricultural and mineral resources of the Western States. If the trade now restricted were once made free, there can be little doubt that the enlarged intercourse would not less effectually

increase the commercial marine of the United States, than develope the internal resources of the country.

The history of the American tariff, even up to the present time, furnishes an useful lesson to other governments by exhibiting the pernicious effects of the so called *protective* system. It was idle to suppose, that because duties were levied on manufactures as high as 75, 100, and 200 per cent. they were therefore really protected. It is a wholly different thing to stimulate capitalists to overdo, for a season, a particular branch of manufacture, and to secure a permanent and cheap supply. The cheaper fabrics of Great Britain have been smuggled into America, in spite of hosts of revenue-officers, and all other impediments which the wisdom of congress could contrive, just as French silks used to find their way into English consumption, when strictly prohibited by the English law; and just as foreign spirits and tobacco are at this day smuggled into this country to an enormous extent, in spite of cruisers, coast-blockade, and martello towers. The course for statesmen is, never to tax foreign manufactures with a view of stimulating home manufactures, for cheaper fabrics cannot thus be permanently excluded; but to remove those taxes on raw materials, or any other taxes which enter into the price of the home manufactures, and let them make their own way through free competition.

Whilst, therefore, we are inclined to believe, that the letter of the American constitution is against the proceedings of the inhabitants of South Carolina, we cannot but regard the tariff as contrary to the principles upon which a free nation ought to be governed. If the result should be the dismemberment of the Union, it will indeed be a lamentable end of the folly of this restrictive policy; but its evils have already been sufficiently great to induce us to hope for the abolition of the tariff whilst it can be done peacefully, and before the integrity and safety of the republic of the United States are brought into jeopardy.

NEWSPAPERS.

WHEN Roger L'Estrange (who, soon after the restoration of Charles II., was appointed to the odious office of "surveyor of the printing presses") set up, in 1663, his "Intelligencer," he announced that, "One book a week may be expected to be published every Thursday, and finished upon the Tuesday night, leaving Wednesday entire for the printing it off." The "Intelligencer" preceded the "London Gazette" about two years, being, like the Gazette, published "with privilege." This paper, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, consists of four pages, about the size of the pages of the "Companion to the Newspaper," but equal in matter to a little more than two pages of the "Companion."—As it occupied all Wednesday in printing off, all Tuesday was employed in completing the arrangement of the information it contained: and thus, this very slender allowance of news, which the public of London could purchase on the Thursday, was not of a more recent date than the previous Monday. The post then did not go every day: and it went very slowly when it did go: so that in many parts of the kingdom, the "Intelligencer" of August 31st, 1663, (the date of the first number,) would be still fresh on the following 30th of September. The title of this newspaper imports that it was published "for the satisfation and information of the people;" but their rulers were not very anxious to promote this information and satisfaction, for the privileged author of the "Intelligencer" says, in his first number, "As to the point of printed intelligence, I do declare myself, that supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news, or no news, to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and licence to be meddling with the government." The people, however, were not to be stinted in the extent and quality of their information after the fashion of this writer; for, in spite of privileges and surveyors of the press, by the beginning of the next century, before a stamp was required upon newspapers, there were published in London one daily paper, fifteen three times a week, and two twice a week. About this period, provincial papers first began to appear.

The desire of news from the capital, on the part of the wealthier country residents, and probably the false information and the impertinence of the news-writers, led to the common establishment of a very curious trade,—that of a news correspondent, who, for a subscription of three or four pounds per annum, wrote a letter of news every post-day to his subscriber in the country. This profession probably existed in the reign of James I.; for in Ben Jonson's play "The Staple of News," written in the first year of Charles I., we have a very curious and amusing description of an office of news manufacturers:

> "This is the outer room where my clerks sit,
> And keep their sides, the Register i' the midst;
> The Examiner, he sits private there, within;
> And here I have my several rolls and files
> Of news by the alphabet, and all put up
> Under their heads."

The news thus communicated appears to have fallen into as much disrepute as the public news. In the advertisement announcing the first number of the "Evening Post," (September 6th, 1709) it is said, "There must be three or four pound per annum paid by those gentlemen who are out of town, for written news, which is so far, generally, from having any probability of matter of fact in it, that it is frequently stuffed up with a *We hear, &c.*; or, *an eminent Jew merchant has received a letter, &c.*; being nothing more than downright fiction." The same advertisement, speaking of the published papers, says, "We read more of our own affairs in the Dutch papers than in any of our own." The trade of a news correspondent seems to have suggested a sort of union of written news and published news; for towards the end of the seventeenth century, we have *news-letters* printed in type to imitate written. The most famous of these was that commenced by Ichabod Dawks, in 1696, the first number of which was thus announced: "This letter will be done upon good writing-paper, and blank space left, that any gentleman may write his own private business. It does undoubtedly exceed the best of the *written news*, contains double the quantity, is read with abundance more ease and pleasure, and will be useful to improve the younger sort in writing a curious hand."

We have been somewhat minute in pointing out the channels of information on public events possessed by the nation little more than a century ago, because, if these circumstances are fairly considered, we shall cease to be surprised at the trifling interest which the great body of the people then felt in the proceedings of their rulers. Public opinion could not then have existed in the form which it wears at the present day. Thrones were indeed shaken, and ministries dissolved; but the great changes of the state were almost wholly brought about by those who were working, or hoping to work, the machine of government. The people, comprising most part of the middle and all of the poorer classes, sometimes picked up the stale information which reached their patrons and employers: but, except in the metropolis, they knew little about public events, and they were indifferent to their consequences. They were satisfied to address the throne, or to petition the parliament, at the will of some leader, who still retained much of the power and influence of feudality. In London, certainly, the middle, and even labouring classes, were eager for news, and exercised their right of commenting upon it with considerable energy. Even those who published newspapers, after the revolution, affected to lament this temper of the metropolis. "The meanest of shopkeepers and handicrafts," says the "British Mercury" in 1712, "spend whole days in coffee-houses to hear news and talk politics, whilst their wives and children want bread at home." Coffee-houses were, in the same spirit, called "Penny Universities." Politics, however, did not form the sole attraction. Swift, in his "Journal to Stella," speaking of the effect of the new stamp duty, says, "Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? no more ghosts or murders now for love or money." But if London had a scanty meal of intelligence, the provinces were almost without a mouthful; and thus the public opinion of London had always an undue power, till, by the diffusion of newspapers, the pulsations of the heart were felt at the extremities of the political body. When the debates in parliament were not permitted to be reported,—when a meagre paragraph from the "Low Countries" gave the first intelligence, without detail or comment, of a battle or a treaty,—even London must have been indifferently supplied with materials for the formation

of public opinion. But when the coach to York was a fortnight upon the road,—when even Oxford was a two-days' journey—although a few of the population might comprehend, in the fullness of time,

"quid habent novorum
Dawksque Dyerque*,"

the great body of the people were not in a much better state for bringing their sentiments to bear upon public affairs than the inhabitants of the colonies. At any rate, they could not catch the ball at the rebound; the game of party was played out before they could look upon its movements.

Let us contrast this forgotten state of things with the newspaper operations of the present time. There are six daily morning papers in London, and eight evening. Each of these would have appeared a miracle to our forefathers a century ago. If a man had shut his eyes only for forty years, they would still appear miraculous. Let us suppose a reverend gentleman, of the days of hair powder and queues, arrived in London from some distant place, where for some quarter of a century his eyes had never looked upon the wonders of "the broad sheet." He arrives at a time of great public excitement. He gains admittance to the gallery of the House of Commons. Everything there is interesting to him. The topics are unfamiliar: the speakers are new. He sits there, a patient listener, till four o'clock. The House rises; and he perceives the hour with dismay, for he has taken his place in the "Birmingham Tally-ho" at eight. The old gentleman is punctual: but he enjoys a short nap, and, to his inexpressible surprise, he finds himself at breakfast at St. Albans, within two hours of starting. The old gentleman is refreshed, and becomes communicative. A fellow-passenger is poring over the "Times;" and the following dialogue may be imagined, the veteran beginning:—"I can give you a little fresher news than that, Sir: I was in the House of Commons this morning, and heard *all* the debate."—"Thank you, Sir, I have it *all* here."—"I mean *last* night Sir! That I presume is *yesterday's* paper.—"I beg your pardon, Sir, it is the 'Times' of this morning."—"Indeed: but then it can't contain last night's debate, you know."—"Every word of it,—twenty columns, small print: and the division."

A smile of incredulity passes over the countenance of the ancient stranger, but he resolves to be satisfied. In another hour, he has the paper in his hand. As he begins to wade through the almost interminable mass which contains as many words as some goodly hot-pressed volume, his curiosity is roused; his wonder is boundless; he hears the very phrases which he listened to with such interest only a few hours before; he can discover no inaccuracy in the arguments; quotations are given with scrupulous fidelity; the calculations that he could not follow as a listener are here presented to his eye with all the clearness of tabular arrangement. He applies for information to his fellow-passengers: and, towards the end of his journey, he imperfectly comprehends that, by the division of labour, mental as well as physical, followed up by powerful machinery whose operations may be depended upon to a minute, such a wonder as the paper before him may be produced. But that it should be produced every day with undeviating punctuality, and should attempt every day completely to satisfy public curiosity, even up to the very hour when it is printing, seems to him somewhat unnecessary. He does not yet know the eagerness with which large communities watch and wait upon public events. He will soon learn. At seven o'clock of the same evening, he is at dinner at an hotel in Birmingham. The waiter puts the "Times" into his hand—"Grand debate, Sir, last night," says a gentleman in the opposite box. "Debate, Sir! what have *you* read the debate already?" "Oh dear yes, Sir; the paper was here by express at three o'clock; and a deputation of the Political Union are gone off, in consequence, with a petition to the House, that *we* hope will settle the question." "Wonder of wonders," says the old gentleman, "when will these wonders cease?" They have not yet ceased for him. At his breakfast the next morning a Birmingham paper is laid upon the table, in which, it being Saturday, he expects under the postscript, according to the old arrangement of provincial newspapers, "London Mail, Tuesday." Instead of this, he finds two columns of editorial comment upon the very debate which he heard; and the speeches of the members given at a much more satisfactory length than they were accustomed to be in the best conducted morning paper of his younger days. But the wonder is not even yet over. In another half hour the waiter brings in a London evening paper and there, to his still greater astonishment, he sees five or six columns of debate on the night before, broken off in the middle with—"we left the Hon. Member speaking at 8 o'clock, and at half past 8 our express started to catch the mail at Barnet."

These operations are somewhat different from the "one book a week may be expected, to be published every Thursday, and finished upon the Tuesday night, leaving the Wednesday entire for the printing it off." L'Estrange's "Intelligencer" comprised about as much matter as a close column of a daily paper—and it probably did not sell a hundred where the best circulated daily paper sells a thousand. Here, therefore, is two hundred-fold as much mechanical labour employed upon the modern paper as upon the ancient; that labour as performed every day instead of once a week; and it is performed in a fifth of the time. The rapidity which begins in the very first process of writing, is continued through the editing, printing, and publishing; and is followed up with equal rapidity in every stage of its circulation. Far removed must he be from the haunts of men who does not know all the details of a public event within a week, at the utmost, from the period of its occurrence, as familiarly as he knows the circumstances that have been going on in his own family—much more familiarly, in many cases, than the argumentations of his own little senate, the Parish Vestry.

There are some persons who think that all this activity of newspapers is a public evil. This species of opinion has been endeavouring to make head against every diffusion of knowledge by the press, since the invention of printing. In some states, the opinion is still acted upon by those in authority; and newspapers are put by the government under censorships. It is long since, in our own country, they have been attempted to be thus controlled. Cardinal Wolsey was of opinion, when the invention of printing had brought schism into the church, that "since printing could not be put down, it were best to set up learning against learning;" and, in the same way, when L'Estrange (who appears to have represented the court of Charles II.) began his "Intelligencer," he says, "There is not any thing which at this instant more imports his Majesty's service and the public, than to redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and delusions, and to preserve them from the like for the time to come; to both which purposes the *prudent* management of a Gazette may contribute in a very high degree." L'Estrange was wise enough to set up newspaper against newspaper, as Wolsey was wise enough to set up learning against learning. Seventeen years after the publication of L'Estrange's "Intelligencer," the government was weak enough to make proclamation "for suppressing the printing and publishing unlicensed news-books and pamphlets of news." The proclamation was put forth in vain. When a country is making even the faintest approaches to a representative government, the people *will* be informed upon those public affairs, in the transaction of which they have a share, however remote. When their representative system is really a valid one, no attempts to interrupt the dissemination of this species of knowledge, directly by censorship, or indirectly by tax, can ever long succeed.

There is a question at issue between two classes of political thinkers of the present day, whether the tax upon newspapers ought to remain as it is, or be partially, or entirely, abolished. The question, as it appears to us, may be narrowed, by being divided. The taxation of newspapers has to be considered, first, with reference to the amount of revenue to be raised by the tax: and secondly, with reference to the political expediency of curtailing or extending the circulation of newspapers.

With regard to the first point, we have no doubt that the revenue produced by newspapers would not be diminished,—it might rather be increased,—by the reduction of the tax, from a nominal stamp of fourpence to a real stamp of a penny. We use the word nominal stamp, as distinguished from real stamp, because there is a discount of twenty per cent. from the fourpenny stamp. This proposed deduction of about 2½*d.* from the cost of a newspaper, so as to allow what is now sold at sevenpence to be sold at fourpence,

* "What Dawks and Dyer have of news." These writers of *news letters* were hitched into the immortality of a Latin Ode, by one Anthony Alsop.

would no doubt treble the circulation of newspapers; and the increased excise duty upon paper might produce a surplus over the present amount of newspaper revenue. This, then, is a question of finance, to be solved like any other question of the same nature. A low duty is often capable of producing more revenue than a high duty; and if newspapers are to be taxed, let them be taxed in the way most favourable for production. If it be convenient to raise half a million of money upon newspapers, in preference to raising it upon any other article of luxury or necessity, there can be no good reason why it should not be so raised. All taxes are evils, and more especially those taxes which impede production. A tax upon knowledge may be a great evil, and so may be a tax upon cleanliness, or a tax upon ventilation. The tax upon newspapers, as tax, stands in the same relation to the individual consumer, as the tax upon soap or upon windows. The question of revenue in this case, as in all others, should be separated from any supposed incidental consequences of taxation, to be rightly understood. But if the increase of newspapers be considered an evil, and the continuance of the high duty be advocated for the prevention of that evil, let us consider the question apart from that of revenue. Let the tax, in that point of view, stand upon the same grounds as a censorship, or a privilege, for the accomplishment of the same ends.

The people of this country, as it appears to us, have been making rapid strides during the last half century in the acquisition of sound political knowledge. They have been making these strides concurrently with the increase of newspapers. In 1782, when the population of Great Britain was about 7,000,000, the number of separate newspapers published was 58; in 1821, when the population was 14,000,000, the number was 166; in 1832, when the population was above 16,000,000, the number was 294. We had thus in 1782, one newspaper to each 110,000 of the population; in 1821, one to each 90,000; and in 1832 one to each 55,000. In the United States the increase has been still more rapid. Before the Revolution, in 1775, there were only 37 newspapers in the British North American colonies. In 1810, when the population of the United States was 7,000,000, the number of newspapers was 358, or one newspaper to about every 20,000 of the population. In 1830, when the population was above 12,000,000, the number of newspapers was above 800, or one to about every 15,000 of the population. The newspapers of the United States bear no tax at all: but the postage, if the paper be not carried above one hundred miles, is one cent (about one halfpenny). Now, during all the period of this rapid increase of the circulation of newspapers, both in Great Britain and the United States, it cannot be shown that the people of either country have fallen back in real political knowledge. On the contrary, we have no doubt that they have each made a great and rapid advance in the knowledge of their own duties, as well as of their own rights. We believe that while they have each become more impatient of misgovernment, they have each acquired a greater capacity to be honestly, wisely, and quietly governed. The time, we hope, is fast passing away (although the argument has recently been used) when a distinction shall be attempted to be made between the ability of the great and that of the humble to comprehend a political question. We do not believe that all newspapers, with an expensive stamp, must necessarily be the advocates of social order, and especially the defenders of the rights of property. We do not think that a low stamped newspaper must, to be acceptable to the poorer classes of readers, put forward doctrines which have for their object the subversion of all society, and the establishment of anarchy upon the ruins of law. We believe that the humbler classes of newspaper readers are not to be captivated so easily as the writers of some newspapers imagine, by the rhetorical graces which have such a peculiar charm in their own little coteries. Violent denunciations and the most perverse misconstructions of the motives of every man in office, incessant sneers, never-ending suspicions, hatred of every practical measure of improvement, unceasing agitation to change the state machinery, indifference or opposition to its most useful workings, outpourings of personal spite, and chucklings of personal vanity—these are not the materials to please an earnest and straightforward population; and the papers who deal in such wares will not find the demand for them extended with the extension of the market. On the contrary, we have no doubt that should a reduction of the tax add greatly to the number of individual newspapers, because adding to the number of newspaper purchasers, those papers will have the best hope of a large circulation who deal with great political subjects, not in the spirit of partisanship, and therefore of insincerity, but with an honest, trustworthy, and comprehensive spirit. Those, as we think, will be the most popular, who take the elements of political philosophy for their guides; not exaggerating the slander of the day for a momentary triumph, and, above all, recollecting that they are addressing a people who have recently become invested with political power, to a much larger extent than they ever before possessed it. The people, if we know them rightly, will not be led away from a deep sense of the responsibilities of that power, by the sophistry or the violence of any phrase writer, however skilful he may be in his vocation.

Whatever may be the future complexion of the newspaper press of this country, there can be no doubt that every lover of our national peace and prosperity must ardently desire the diffusion of sound political knowledge. The people of England, by the recent great change in the constitution, have acquired the power not only of influencing the measures of government by the force of public opinion, but of controlling and directing them more immediately than at any former period of our history. It is not only necessary that the people should feel their rights, but that they should exercise them wisely and temperately. They cannot do so without political knowledge. Without political knowledge it might be possible that the nation would suffer as much from the ignorance of the many who will influence public affairs, as from the selfishness of the few who have influenced them. Political knowledge, like all other knowledge, is tolerant and considerate: it does not live in an element of incessant agitation; it does not spurn the good which is proposed to be accomplished because it may fall something short of the good which may be imagined; it does not consider that true patriotism consists only in the clamour for the repeal of a doubtful tax, or in the needless assertion of an inapplicable principle. True political knowledge weighs every measure of finance, but not in the scale of some hunter of popularity anxious to please his little knot of constituents. It tests it by the examination of its effect upon the general national industry,—not partially, but comprehensively;—not by the shopkeeper's petty cash book, but by the great ledger of the wealth of nations. True political knowledge, whilst it is thus always ready to refer to principles, knows also that the sudden application of the wisest principle may be the grossest injustice. It does not degrade the principle by a hasty and imprudent application of it, but by waiting upon events it ultimately secures their direction. It knows its own power and it abides its time. We believe that a competent knowledge of public affairs, and a tolerably correct appreciation of their moving principles, will lead the great bulk of the people very far towards the attainment of sound political knowledge; and in spite, therefore, of the passions and prejudices of individual newspapers, we have no fear of their general extension. The good sense of the British community will give the preference to the soundest adviser; and that adviser will ever be found the most honest, and we believe, in the long run, the most attractive, who rests upon facts and principles which take no colour from the false opinions of the hour.

NOTICE.

The COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, No. 2, will be published on the 1st of April; and on the same day will be published a SUPPLEMENT, being No. 3.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers.—

London, Groombridge, *Panyer-alley, Paternoster-row.*

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devenport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln Brooke & Sons
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.

Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford-street.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 2. APRIL 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Parliamentary Reporting . .	17	British Museum	28
Corporation Reform	21	Education in Ireland	28
Office of King's Printer—Monopoly of Bibles	23	Abstract of Parliamentary Returns	31
Public Petitions	27	Notice	32

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING.

WHAT should we now think of a newspaper which gave no reports of the debates in Parliament? Yet little more than "sixty years since" none of our newspapers contained anything of the kind. Although accounts of single speeches, and even of entire debates, had been occasionally printed from a much earlier date, the only regular record of parliamentary proceedings which was given to the public up to within a century of the present time was that contained in the "Historical Register" and the "Political State of Europe," both of which were only annual publications. Parliament at this time sternly asserted its right to prohibit all promulgation of its doings through the press, at least while it was sitting; and many persons maintained that it had the power to prevent any publication of its debates even during the recess. Nay, it was not quite clear that an account might be printed, with perfect impunity, of the debates even of a defunct Parliament. In 1713 Sir Robert Walpole, in concert with Lord Somers and other eminent persons of the Whig party, wrote a pamphlet, under the title of "A short History of the last Parliament," intended to influence the coming elections. It appeared anonymously; and many years afterwards, Sir Robert himself, when prime minister, stated in his place in the House of Commons, that the author of that pamphlet "was so apprehensive of the consequence of printing it, that the press was carried to his house and the copies printed off there." The monthly magazines were the first publications, appearing more frequently than once a year, which ventured to give reports of the debates. In January, 1731, the first of these, the "Gentleman's Magazine," was established by Edward Cave, for the purpose simply, as announced in the first number, of collecting into a permanent repository the most interesting and valuable of the fugitive pieces from the various newspapers and other sheets, or rather half sheets, which had appeared during the month. Of these it is stated that, "besides divers written accounts, no less than two hundred per month were then thrown from the press only in London, and about as many printed elsewhere in the three kingdoms." As none of these publications, however, gave the debates, so neither did the Magazine. It was not till the year 1735 that it began to do so, upon the discontinuance of the "Political State." At the head of the number for July of that year, printed at the end of the month, appeared the following announcement:—"Note.—The Gentleman's Magazine Extraordinary will be published about the 20th day of August, and will contain Proceedings of the last session of Parliament." The supplementary number, accordingly, came out, we presume about the day thus announced, with a report of the debate in the House of Lords on *the 23d of January preceding*. The history of parliamentary proceedings, it was promised at the end, should be continued in the number for August; and from this time, accordingly, the report of the speeches forms a prominent feature in each month's publication. Still, however, it will be perceived this was no publication of the debates during the sitting of the houses; the session was always over before anything that had been done in the course of it was given in the Magazine. And even while following, as they did, at this respectful distance, the reports were of the most cautious and timid description. The names of the speakers were given at most only by the first and last letters; and, in many cases, no speaker's name is mentioned at all: all that appears is a summary of the discussion, divided into what the compiler designates the argument, the answer, and the reply. As so much, however, was allowed to be done with impunity, the publisher gradually got bolder; and at last the names were printed at full length. The reports were thus given both in the "Gentleman's" and the "London" Magazine: in the former, by a well-known literary labourer of those days, Mr. William Guthrie, the author of a voluminous History of England and other works: and in the latter by Mr. Thomas Gordon, the translator of Tacitus: they were both Scotchmen. They used to attend themselves in the gallery of the House of Commons, and also received information from various members of both houses. Sir John Hawkins, in his Life of Johnson, says that "Cave had an interest with some of the members of both houses, arising from an employment he held in the post-office;" but the editor of Hansard's "Parliamentary History" (see Preface to vol. x.) states that the reports in the "London Magazine" are for some years much superior to those in the "Gentleman's," and that, throughout 1737 in particular, those in the latter publication are copied verbatim from those in the former, down to errors in the press.

Obtained as they were, these reports, it may easily be supposed, were often extremely inaccurate, and no doubt frequently contained misrepresentations annoying enough to individual speakers. As they assumed a more daring and unguarded shape, without probably any accession of accuracy, they naturally excited the irritation of those members who were most jealous of any infringement of what they conceived to be the privileges of Parliament: and, accordingly, the subject was at last formally noticed in the House of Commons. On the 13th of April, 1738, the Speaker himself introduced it by complaining of the indignity done to the house by the publication, in some newspaper, of the answer to the address before it had been read from the chair. On this a long and very curious debate arose. It was begun by Sir William Yonge, who strenuously urged the house to take instant measures to put down the abuse which had grown up. It was, he maintained, altogether a false notion which was held by some, that the standing order against the publication of their debates was in force only while Parliament was sitting. Reports, even during the recess, he contended, were equally infringements of their privilege. "If you do not," he continued, "either punish them, or take some effectual method of checking them, you may soon expect to see your votes, your proceedings, and your speeches, printed and hawked about the streets, while we are sitting in this house." Little did the honourable member think that in this tirade, which was probably intended as a mere flourish of oratory, he was describing, almost to the letter, a state of things which a few years were to realize. The next speaker was Sir William Windham. His address was more moderate. While acknowledging that misrepresentations frequently occurred in the reports, he states that he had seen many speeches fairly and accurately taken; adding that "no gentleman, when that is the case, ought to be ashamed that the world should know every word he speaks in this house." He admits, however, that the mistakes of the reports had of late been monstrous. But still he objects to the prohibition of the publication of the debates during the recess, on the ground that the public, having been long indulged with some account of what their representatives say, "may possibly think it a hardship to be deprived of it now." He even ventures to insinuate that they have, in his opinion, a right to this information. This declaration, which, in the temper of the house, must have been received as quite an outrageous piece of absurdity, roused Sir Thomas Winnington, who began his speech by declaring eagerly for a strong resolution to put down the nuisance in every shape. Have not the Lords, he argued, lately punished some printers for publishing their

protests? and shall we be less jealous of our privileges than the other house? What will be the consequence if you allow these reports to go on unchecked? "Why, Sir," concluded the honourable member, "you will have every word that is spoken here by gentlemen misrepresented by fellows who thrust themselves into our gallery. *You will have the speeches of this house every day printed, even during your session; and we shall be looked upon as the most contemptible assembly on the face of the earth.*" This prophecy, at any rate, it is to be hoped, was not destined to be fulfilled, at least in all its parts. Mr. Pulteney, who rose next, was also against the reports in any form. "We know very well," said he, "that no man can be so guarded in his expressions as to wish to see everything he says in this house in print. I remember the time when this house was so jealous, so cautious of doing anything which might look like an appeal to their constituents, that not even the Votes were printed without leave. A gentleman every day rose in his place, and desired the chair to ask leave of the house that their Votes for that day should be printed. How this custom came to be dropped, I cannot so well account for." In Mr. Pulteney's opinion, Parliament, or at least the House of Commons, could not call a party to account for anything published respecting a former and now dissolved Parliament; but its power, he maintains, extended to prevent the publication of its proceedings during a recess. "However, Sir," he goes on to say, "as it has long been the practice to print some account of our proceedings during our recess, *I am against punishing any person for what is past*, because very possibly they did not know they were doing amiss; and if gentlemen think fit to enter into any resolution for the time to come, I dare say it will be sufficient to deter all offenders in that way." Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath) was at this time the leader of the popular party in the House of Commons, and we see what was the extent of his liberality. "I always thought," he continued, in a very extraordinary course of observation, which it is difficult to know whether he meant seriously or in jest,—"I always thought these pamphlets containing our debates were circulated by the government's encouragement, and at their expense; for till the honourable gentleman, who spoke last save one in the debate, mentioned the magazines in the manner he did, I have been still used to look on the publishing them as a ministerial project; for I imagined that, it being found impracticable to make the people buy and read the 'Gazetteer' by itself, it was contrived so as that the writings of the other party, being printed in the same pamphlet, it might be some invitation to the public to look into the 'Gazetteer;' and I dare say, Sir, the great run which the magazines have had, has been entirely owing to this stratagem." Sir Robert Walpole, the minister, who followed next in the debate, indignantly repelled this accusation, if it was seriously advanced; and if otherwise, expressed in severe terms his disapproval of the levity of the honourable gentleman, in venturing to introduce a jest on so solemn an occasion. We cannot, however, acquit Sir Robert of mixing up a little sly humour himself with the gravity of the subject under consideration. Professing to complain of the reporting system as a great grievance, he proceeds: "I have read some debates in this house, Sir, in which I have been made to speak the very reverse of what I meant" (he does not say, the very reverse of what he actually spoke). "I have read others of them, wherein all the wit, the learning, and the argument has been thrown into one side, and on the other nothing but what was low, mean, and ridiculous; and yet, when it came to the question, the division has gone against the side which upon the face of the debate had reason and justice to support it." We much fear this was an occasional evil beyond the reach of the most perfect system of reporting to cure. The house, probably being of the same opinion, came accordingly to the following resolution, which passed unanimously: "That it is an high indignity to, and a notorious breach of the privileges of this House, for any newswriter, in letters or other papers, (as minutes, or under any other denomination,) or for any printer or publisher of any printed newspaper of any denomination, to presume to insert in the said letters or papers, or to give therein, any account of the debates or other proceedings of this House, or any committee thereof, as well during the recess as the sitting of Parliament; and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders."

This thundering edict, however, did not put down the practice against which it was directed. It only had the effect, as Archdeacon Coxe remarks in his "Memoirs of Walpole," of causing the thing to be done in a somewhat less direct manner than heretofore, and of deteriorating to the same extent the quality of the reports. The debates were still printed in defiance of the house; but as they had to be obtained in an underhand manner, and by various troublesome and perhaps hazardous shifts, they were given with less accuracy than ever. The "Gentleman's Magazine" now published them under the title of "The Debates in the Senate of Lilliput," and the "London" under that of a "Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club," giving Roman names to the speakers; while each publication printed an explanatory key to the whole at the end of the year.

It was about this time that the celebrated Dr. Johnson was taken into pay by Cave as a contributor to his magazine. He was employed in preparing the "Debates of the Senate of Lilliput." The plan followed at first seems to have been for Guthrie, who had a good memory, to bring home as much as he could recollect of the debate from the house, mending his draft by whatever other assistance he could command; after which the matter thus collected was submitted to Johnson, who gave the several speeches their finishing touch. After some time, Guthrie obtained other engagements, and Johnson was left to manufacture the reports from very scanty notes obtained in various irregular ways. "Sometimes, however," says Boswell, "as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate." The reports from the 19th of November, 1740, to the 23d of February, 1743, inclusive, are considered to have been entirely prepared by Johnson. If we are to take his own account, as retailed by various authorities, they were almost in all respects the produce of his own brain. It would even appear, if we may trust some of the statements, that they were not intended to be taken as any thing more than fictions; at least we are called upon to believe that the writer himself, in his simplicity, produced them under no other notion. "Johnson told me," says Boswell, "that, as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine, he determined that he would write no more of them; 'for he would not be accessary to the propagation of falsehood!' And such was the tenderness of his conscience, that, a short time before his death, he expressed his regret for his having been the author of fictions which had passed for realities." In his account of Johnson's last days, also, this writer gives us the following statement on the authority of Mr. John Nicholls: "He said that the parliamentary debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction; but that at the time he wrote them he had no conception he was imposing upon the world, though they were frequently written from very slender materials, and often from none at all—the mere coinage of his own imagination. He never wrote any part of his works with equal velocity. Three columns of the magazine in an hour was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity." But, notwithstanding all this, we cannot believe either that Johnson conceived himself to be merely writing a series of romances in preparing these monthly reports, or that the public read them with the impression that they were really but "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput." There must be some mistake or great exaggeration in the story. That they were often written from very imperfect notes, however, is probable enough. Sir John Hawkins tells us that when Johnson heard that Smollett was writing his History of England, he cautioned him not "to rely on the debates as given in the magazine, for that they were not authentic, but, excepting as to their general import, the work of his own imagination." Mr. Murphy, too, in his Essay on the Life of Johnson, relates an interesting anecdote, which goes to confirm the same supposition, respecting the famous speech attributed to the first Mr. Pitt in the debate of the 10th of March, 1741, when he rose to reply to Horace Walpole (the brother of Sir Robert), who had sneered at him on the score of his youth and inexperience. Some years after, Johnson, Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards Earl of Rosslyn), Francis, the translator of Horace, Murphy himself, and some other gentlemen, were dining with Mr. Foote, when the conversation turned upon that speech, which several present declared to be the most masterly piece of oratory they had ever read. "During the ardour of conversation," says Murphy, "Johnson remained silent. As soon as the warmth of praise subsided,

he opened with these words, 'That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street.' The company was struck with astonishment. After staring at each other in silent amaze, Dr. Francis asked how that speech could be written by him? 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I wrote it in Exeter Street. I never had been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once. Cave had interest with the door-keepers. He and the persons employed under him gained admittance; they brought away the subject of discussion, the names of the speakers, the sides they took, and the order in which they rose, together with notes of the arguments advanced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary Debates.' It was observed that he dealt out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both parties. 'That is not quite true,' said Johnson; 'I saved appearances tolerably well, but I took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.'"

The editor of Hansard's Parliamentary History, on the contrary (see Preface to vol. IX.), asserts the real fact to be, "that the Debates prepared by Johnson are *unusually authentic*, and exhibit not only the sentiments delivered by the various speakers, but the very language in which they were expressed, in so far as that language was not offensive to the correctness of Johnson's judgment and the classical elegance of his taste." This the writer professes to have ascertained by comparing these reports with a manuscript volume in his possession, containing an account of the debates in the House of Lords from 1738 to 1743, taken by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, "who appears, from his own representation in the manuscript, to have first taken down notes of the debates in short hand, and afterwards written them out at large." And Boswell himself quotes some letters of Cave's, which go so far to support this view: inasmuch as they show that Cave was accustomed to take very considerable pains to ensure as far as was possible the accuracy of the reports in his magazine, and that, although he was obliged to invent on some occasions, he had on others valuable assistance from various quarters. Thus, writing to Dr. Birch, on the 3d of July, 1741, he says, "You will see what stupid, low, abominable stuff is put upon your noble and learned friend's (Lord Hardwick) character, such as I should quite reject, and endeavour to do something better towards doing justice to the character. But as I cannot expect to attain my desire in that respect, it would be a great satisfaction, as well as an honour to our work, to have the favour of the genuine speech." It would almost appear from this way of expressing himself, that he considered the genuine speech to be desirable only because *something better* could not be had. But he goes on: "It is a method that several have been pleased to take; but I think myself under a restraint. I shall say so far, that I have had some under a third hand, which I understood well enough to come from the first; others by penny-post, and others by the speakers themselves, who have been pleased to visit St. John's Gate (the place where the magazine was printed), and show particular marks of their being pleased." The real speeches, therefore, we see, in so far at least as they could be obtained by the speakers becoming their own reporters, were sometimes given.

Genuine or not, the parliamentary reports in the Gentleman's Magazine are stated to have speedily produced the most powerful effect in extending its circulation. Hawkins assures us that they raised the sale "from ten to fifteen thousand a month:" but we cannot think that the work ever sold to anything like this extent. "Cave," says Hawkins, "manifested his good fortune by buying an old coach with a pair of older horses; and that he might avoid the suspicion of pride in setting up an equipage, he displayed to the world the source of his affluence by a representation of St. John's Gate, instead of his arms, on the door-panel." He also, it seems, had the same emblem engraved on all his plate. Hawkins says that Cave told him this himself; but we cannot put implicit faith in the story of the vain and spiteful knight.

The newspapers, meanwhile, still were, and continued for many years to be, without any report of the debates. The *Gazetteer*, a daily print, which has been mentioned above, had been established about 1734, and in 1741 consisted merely of a folio half-sheet or single leaf; the contents of, which were usually a political essay, some scraps of foreign intelligence many months old, a few notices of domestic occurrences from the country, and a parcel of advertisements, mostly of quack medicines, low jest books, and other matters suited to the taste of the coarsest and most ignorant of the vulgar. The proceedings of parliament were rarely noticed at all, except perhaps to the extent of an intimation that his majesty, it was reported, intended to go down to the House of Lords on the following day to deliver a gracious speech. And things seem to have remained in nearly the same state for almost thirty years after this date. No. 12,741 of the same paper, now entitled "The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser," being the publication for the 1st of January, 1770, has indeed increased to two leaves, or double the former size; but still no parliamentary reports are given. Soon after this, however, a great change took place. The conduct of the House of Commons in the case of the famous Middlesex election of the preceding year, when they declared Colonel Luttrel to be the sitting member instead of Wilkes, the popular candidate, who had been returned by an immense majority of votes, had drawn upon the proceedings of parliament a degree of public attention which they certainly never had received since the Revolution: and, it may be added, had excited a general and determined spirit of resistance to the House of Commons, such as it had not experienced at any previous period of its history. Instead of the guardian of the popular liberties, a large portion of the nation looked upon that branch of the legislature as a mere instrument of tyranny, whose aggressions it was the first duty of all lovers of their country to guard against and repel. The legality and extent of its assumed privileges were jealously scrutinized, and the public generally was in a temper to dispute its exercise of any authority which did not stand on the clearest foundation of reason, no matter what length of usage might be pleaded in its behalf. In this state of things the question respecting the right of the house to prohibit the publication of its proceedings naturally afforded the ground on which the chief stand was made. Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in his edition of the Letters of Junius (vol. iii., p. 345) states that the printers of newspapers had long intended to report the debates, and now resolutely determined to do so. They knew that they could confidently count upon being supported in the contest they were about to commence, by nearly the whole force of public opinion. The privilege to be attacked was one which its very name of privilege rendered at the moment peculiarly distasteful to the people: while the popular party were still more strongly urged to make every effort for its abrogation by the object which they had mainly in view, the subjection of the proceedings of the legislature to the observation of the community at large. It was towards the end of the year 1770 that several of the London newspapers began to carry their determination of reporting the debates into effect. They appear to have been imitated almost immediately over every part of the kingdom. In No. 654 of Hoey's Dublin Mercury, published 1st January, 1771, we find the following announcement:—"To our readers. We have opened for our readers a new source of entertainment, in the real English parliamentary debates, on every subject of importance, which we promise to give, as we have for some time past given, at large." At first, however, the violation of the parliamentary law was perpetrated in a somewhat covert manner, the names of the speakers being still only given by the initial and final letters, while the report did not make its appearance till after what was probably deemed a decent and respectful delay. The paper we have just mentioned, published on the 1st of January, contains only the debate which had taken place on the 27th of November preceding.

It was not long before these bold proceedings attracted the notice of the House of Commons. On the 8th of February, 1771, Colonel George Onslow brought the subject forward in the shape of a formal complaint against two of the London papers, the Gazetteer and the Middlesex Journal, followed by a motion that the printers should be called to the bar. It was observed in the course of the debate to which this motion gave rise, that what was now done by the newspapers had never been ventured upon before; "that, even in the most vehement opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, no transaction or speeches were published, except during the intervals of parliament, and then only in a decent manner." The motion was carried by a majority of 90 to 55. We cannot detail the protracted and extraordinary proceedings which followed. The debates which took place for several nights in the house were violent beyond all precedent. On one evening, the 12th of March, there were no fewer than twenty-three divisions, and the house did not adjourn till

four in the morning. On the 14th the discussion was renewed, and twelve other divisions took place. On both evenings a considerable number of the minority left the house in a body, indignant at the headlong violence which they were unable to resist. The result was, that six other printers were ordered to attend at the bar. But not one of the eight obeyed the summons. The officers of the house were then ordered to take them into custody, which they did in the case of three of them; but when they were brought before the city magistrates, Lord Mayor Crosby, and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, the prisoners were not only discharged, but bound over to prosecute the officers for assault and wrongous imprisonment.

For this Crosby and Oliver were sent to the Tower by the House of Commons; and the clerk of the city being brought forward to the table of the House, was compelled to tear out from his register the leaves on which the above judgments of the magistracy were recorded. But here the violence of the majority appeared to have exhausted itself. As none of the refractory printers had yet been brought to the bar, a committee was appointed to consider what further steps ought to be taken. Meanwhile the public excitement was extreme; immense multitudes assembled night after night around the House; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the populace were prevented from proceeding to acts of outrage. But all the menaces of the party opposed to the national sentiment ended in nothing. The committee made its report, merely recommending that the offenders should be again called to the bar; but no order to that effect was proposed. The matter was allowed to drop; and since then the publication of the debates in the newspapers has gone on without any attempt having ever been made to suppress the practice.

Thus was secured what no one who has reflected upon the subject will hesitate to regard as the greatest accession of strength ever gained by the democratic element of our constitution;—a victory to the cause of good government second only in importance to that by which the constitution may be said to have been established, the introduction of the representative principle itself. But occupied as we have been with the history of the long and alternating struggle by which this fortunate result was achieved, we cannot afford now to expatiate upon its value, which indeed is too obvious to need any illustration.

The system of newspaper reporting has been greatly changed and improved since the era of which we have been speaking. The person by whom it was carried to the greatest perfection, with what we may call the old or original machinery, was Mr. George Woodfall, the proprietor and editor, first of the "Public Advertiser," and afterwards of the "Morning Chronicle." Mr. Woodfall had so retentive a memory, that it is said he used frequently to write out the account of a whole evening's debate after having merely heard it in the gallery, and without having taken any notes. We should greatly mistake, however, did we suppose that the speeches, thus carried away, were ever given with any thing like the fulness and accuracy of our modern reports. Another inconvenience attending the employment of only one reporter for the night, was the delay which it occasioned in the publication of the paper. At the time when this practice prevailed, it was no uncommon thing for the Morning Chronicle not to make its appearance before nine or ten o'clock at night. The public is indebted to the late Mr. Perry for the first suggestion and introduction of the greatly improved principle on which parliamentary reporting is now conducted. It was about the year 1783, that that gentleman, on becoming the editor of the "Gazetteer," proposed the establishment of a body of reporters to attend every night in succession in both houses. The superior excellence of the reports thus obtained, soon superseded the old system. Mr. Perry afterwards purchased the property of the Morning Chronicle, and carried his new plan into effect in the management of that paper, in a manner which has since served as a model to all other establishments. Each of the greater morning papers, the "Times," the "Chronicle," and the "Herald," now employs from eight to twelve reporters, each of whom remains in either house only about three-quarters of an hour, or an hour, when his place is taken by another, and he hastens back to the office to write out the portion of the debate he has brought away with him, for the printers. In the case of a long debate, each reporter may have to take a second turn; but no one remains longer than his hour or his forty-five minutes at a time. No reporter now thinks of depending merely upon his memory; all take notes, more or less extended. Few of them, however, write short-hand; the use of which is by many considered rather disadvantageous than otherwise, the object, in general, being to give, not so much the very words of the speaker, as the substance and spirit of his address. If every word that is spoken in the house were to be given, the entire space of the paper would, in many cases, be insufficient to contain the report; and certainly very few readers would have time or patience to go through it. Reports, nearly verbatim, however, and which are extremely valuable for consultation, are given in the publication called "The Mirror of Parliament." In the daily papers, the report of an hour's speaking, in a debate of interest, usually fills from one to two columns; but the words actually contained in the most liberal of these allotments could certainly be uttered by a speaker of ordinary fluency in little more than the half of that time. In ordinary cases the report is greatly more contracted.

The task of a reporter, even with all the advantages of the modern system, is, as may easily be conceived, an extremely arduous one; and to be well performed demands both the most strenuous exertions, and no ordinary degree of talent and acquirement. Its difficulties are increased by the nature of the present arrangements for the accommodation of the reporters in both the Houses of Parliament. Formerly, in the House of Commons, the reporters for the newspapers had no facilities of entrance into the gallery beyond those enjoyed by the public generally; and on days when an interesting debate was expected, they were frequently obliged to take their place on the stairs early in the forenoon, and after standing there for many hours, to depend for their chance of getting in upon a struggle with their competitors in the crowd when the door was opened. Some thirty or forty years ago, there was a dark closet at the end of the gallery, in which the more experienced of the reporters used to hide themselves during a division, so as to be ready for the first rush when strangers were re-admitted. In this closet Mr. Woodfall, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Lane (formerly Editor of the "British Press"), were once snugly ensconced. The period of exclusion was long, and they beguiled it by political discussion. At last one of the party roared out, to the dismay of the Speaker and the horror of the Serjeant-at-Arms,—"I say, the 'Morning Post' is in the pay of the French Directory." The culprits were brought to the bar of the house; and a strict watch was in future kept on the closet of refuge. At length, the late Speaker, Mr. Abbott, at a time when some repairs or alterations were made in the House, caused a small room to be set apart for the use of the reporters, and a door to be struck out in the back of the gallery whereby they might at all times obtain admittance to the back seat, which, although the most distant from the body of the House, is the best for hearing. That seat is now appropriated to the reporters exclusively. In the House of Lords, till the session before last, the reporters, like the rest of the public, had no seats, but were obliged to stand all the time of the debate on the floor of the House, in the space below the bar. A gallery has since been formed at the extremity of the room, in which strangers are placed, and where the reporters take their seats among others; but the distance to which they are here removed from the speakers is complained of as making it frequently impossible for them to hear what is said. It is to be hoped that in both Houses much better accommodation will ere long be provided, if not for the public generally who may wish to be present at the debates, at least for those who have to perform the most important, and, in any circumstances, most onerous duty of collecting a faithful account of what is said and done, for the information of the whole country through the press, and but for whose labours, it is hardly too much to say, that in the state of feeling and opinion to which we have now arrived, our representative legislature would almost cease to be regarded as an institution of high worth or significance. We are glad to perceive that Captain Berkeley, the member for Gloucester, has given notice of a motion upon this subject in the House of Commons, which at present stands for the 24th of April. The terms of the notice are, "That it is expedient a part of the gallery of this House, or some other commodious place, be appropriated to the reporters of the public press, the reporters so admitted being amenable to such regulations as this House may think fit to adopt."

CORPORATION REFORM.

We rejoice to see that the great measure of parliamentary reform is to be quickly followed up by a reform of our town corporations. As a preparatory step, a committee has been appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the actual state of the corporations of England and Ireland. Those of Scotland are allowed, at all hands, to be so bad, as to render it quite unnecessary to enter into an examination of them.

When this committee has completed its labours and made its report, we shall be able to enter fully upon the subject of corporate reform. In the mean time, we wish to put our readers in possession of a few facts, as an introduction to the general subject.

Many of our corporations have the control of large public funds, and are possessed of other important powers. What these funds amount to we cannot say, for want of that evidence which the committee of the House of Commons is about to obtain, but which has hitherto been carefully withheld. There is no doubt, however, that the revenue is very considerable, and that if it were honestly and judiciously applied it would be productive of great public good. We think it is not too much to say, that the corporate funds of many towns are sufficient to provide for the education of the entire population. Take, for instance, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It is believed that the public or corporate funds of that town amount to no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds a year. The population is fifty-four thousand: there must, therefore, be about twelve thousand children at the usual age for school education. Now, even supposing that all the parents would be willing to avail themselves of an opportunity of obtaining a gratuitous education for their children, an income of thirty thousand pounds a year would certainly provide it; advantage being taken of the means of economising afforded by the adoption of an extensive and uniform system.

That we are not here indulging in mere speculation, is proved by the state of things in the town of Bedford, where the public funds are expended in a manner highly creditable to the corporation. Every child in Bedford may, we believe, obtain a good education, without the parent being compelled to resort to charity for that purpose. As an inhabitant of the town, he has a right to consider himself a partner in the funds which are applied to his son's education; and, fortunately for him, the corporate or partnership funds of Bedford are in the hands of upright men, who apply them to the promotion of the general interests of the town.

Rich as Newcastle may be in its corporate funds, there are other places still more wealthy. The yearly revenue placed under the control of the corporation of London (including the different companies which form part of it) is estimated at *half a million sterling*. Liverpool has a corporate revenue of about £150,000; and there are many other towns possessing large corporate funds. We think we may safely say that the funds of all the corporate towns of England, taken together, cannot be less than *two millions* a year.

How much crime might be prevented—how many causes of pauperism might be removed—how many rational enjoyments might be provided, by the judicious application of this income! Whereas, by the present waste and corrupt use of a great part of it, to what an extent have the most degrading habits and worst passions of our nature been called into play!

In an article in the last Number of the "New Monthly Magazine," these demoralizing effects are fully examined; and the writer illustrates his observations by many striking anecdotes. Among others is the following, taken from the history of the elections of Newport. It will be observed that, though the anecdote is a proof of gross corruption, it is, at the same time, highly honourable to one member of the corporation:—"On the death of Lord Holmes, an attempt was made by Sir William Oglander, and some other gentlemen, to deprive his Lordship's nephew and successor, the Rev. Mr. Troughear Holmes, of his influence over this corporation. The number of the body was at that time twenty-three, there being one vacancy amongst the aldermen, occasioned by the recent death of Lord Holmes. Eleven of them continued firm to the interest of the nephew, and the same number was equally eager to transfer that interest to Sir William Oglander and the Worsley family. A Mr. Taylor of this town, one of the burgesses, withheld his declaration; and, as his vote would decide the balance of future influence, it was imagined that he only suspended it for the purpose of private advantage. Agreeably to that idea, he was eagerly sought by the agents of each party. The first who applied is said to have made him an offer of £2000. Mr. Taylor had actually made up his mind to have voted with his party; but the moment his integrity and independence were attacked, he reversed his determination and resolved to give his suffrage on the opposite side. That party, however, like their opponents, being ignorant of the favour designed them and of the accident to which they owed it, assailed him with a more advantageous offer. He informed them that he had but just formed the resolution, in consequence of a similar insult from their adversaries, of giving them his support; but since he had discovered that they were both aiming at power by the same means, he was determined to vote for neither of them; and to put himself out of the power of future temptation, he resolved to resign his gown as a burgess of the corporation, which he did the next day."

The powers of our corporations, independently of the command of large funds of money, are very considerable. One power to which they frequently lay claim, and which is very oppressive, is that of preventing any person opening a shop and beginning any trade in their city or borough, till he has *purchased his freedom*,—that is, till he has paid some twenty, thirty, or forty pounds, to the corporation. But the most important power held by corporations until the passing of the Reform Bill, was the share they had in the return of members to Parliament. In many towns,—as in Bath and in all the Scotch burghs—the power now spoken of was entirely in their hands. In other places, they had the means,—which, indeed, they still retain,—of creating voters. It is needless to speak of the abuses to which the influence of corporations on elections has given rise. That influence still remains in many places, though in a very mitigated degree.

Bad, however, as has been the exercise of almost all the powers of corporations in their present state, and wretched as is their constitution, we cannot agree with those who wish to see corporations swept away altogether. When first established, and for centuries afterwards, they were among the best institutions of this country, and we hope to see them restored to their former vigour and usefulness.

It is said that the causes which gave birth to corporations, and which for a long time rendered them useful, no longer exist. This we cannot admit to the extent asserted. It is true, there is no longer any necessity for a powerful body to defend a town from the assaults of a neighbouring lord and his military banditti; nevertheless, the lives and property of the inhabitants still require protection from robbery and plunder, and there is still a necessity for a good and cheap administration of justice. What body, we ask, is so fit for accomplishing both these purposes as a corporate, or local government, chosen by the people, and having their confidence?

In other ways, too, a good local government would be of the greatest importance to the interests of the district. Most of the evils of the poor-laws arise from the want of a better mode of appointing the guardians, overseers, governors, &c., and the means of holding them to responsibility. We are fully aware that there are many exceptions to the want of good management here alluded to,—that at many places the poor-laws are at the present time administered by worthy and enlightened men; but too generally, however, the power is in the hands of those who use it either ignorantly or dishonestly. Here we find a farmer manœuvring to pay his labourers out of the poor-rates,—there a set of "guardians" jobbing in every possible way with the public money, or an overseer, on whom the office has been forced, who is ignorant of its duties and anxious only to have done with it; and lastly, and worse than all, we find a magistrate who, living in another parish, and therefore not having a farthing to pay towards the poor-rates, gives orders for relief to the idle and turbulent pauper, lest his own hay-ricks and corn-stacks should, the next day, be found blazing.

The surest and speediest means of remedying these evils is the establishment of local governments chosen by the inhabitants of the district, and having at heart the interests of the whole community.

In fact, in whatever direction we attempt to move in the

road of domestic improvement—whether in the administration of the poor-laws, the introduction of a system of national education, the judicious application of existing corporate funds, the enforcement of the laws, or the *prevention of crime*, we are obstructed by the want of good municipal governments. Therefore it is that we feel grateful to Ministers for having brought this subject before parliament.

The first step has been taken towards effecting a most important reform, and we have every hope that the good work will go forward—slowly and cautiously we must expect, but not the less surely, nor the less calculated to produce ultimate good.

We shall conclude this notice of corporate reform with a short review of the early history of corporations in this country.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in his pamphlet on "Corporate Reform," observes with great justice that the altered meaning which is now attached to the word *corporation* is a strong fact in support of reform.

"It is scarcely possible," says he, "to offer any argument in favour of a reform of our existing corporations, more cogent and convincing than that which results from the idea usually suggested by the term '*corporation*'—an idea wholly at variance with the original intent of the word. Consult the charters incorporating the Borough of *Dale*. You will find that the king intended to give a legal existence to one united community of 'mayor, bailiffs, common council, and *burgesses*,' the latter including all the substantial householders of the town. The law seeks to incorporate them all into one 'body politic,'—all having similar interests,—all drawing the same way,—all working together for the preservation of the Borough's peace, and the promotion of the prosperity of all the inhabitants. Such was the pristine theory of incorporation; and, for many ages, the practical effect of our corporate institutions corresponded with their theory. The privileges of the citizen were his pride and his delight.*

"But now, the idea suggested by the word 'corporation' is wholly changed. If any one speaks of the corporation of the Borough of *Dale*, he thinks only of the *governing body*. The word, as people usually receive it, describes only the 'mayor, bailiffs, and common council,' who are assumed to be always opposed to the main body of the burgesses, and still more to the main body of the inhabitants. The two portions of the community,—the ruling classes and the ruled classes,—incorporated by law, but disunited by interest and feeling, are always drawing different ways, and disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the Borough by their mutual dissensions and animosities."

There is little doubt that anciently the mayor, aldermen, and common-council were always chosen by the great body of resident inhabitants; and that they were therefore regarded as their natural leaders, their friends, and their protectors. The right of the common council to fill up its own number is a modern innovation—a weed which sprung up a short time before the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England, and which they cherished and propagated. In many cases after the restoration, the charters of corporations were re-modelled, so as to render them close and exclusive in their character. The Stuarts wanted local instruments of corruption. Representative corporations would have been unmanageable, and they changed them to self-elective.

Most of the original charters for corporations in this country are from five to seven hundred years old. The motives of the reigning kings for granting them are well described by Adam Smith in his history of *The Rise and Progress of Cities and Towns*, which is included in the third and fourth chapters of the third book of the *Wealth of Nations*:—

"In those days the sovereign of perhaps no country in Europe was able to protect, through the whole extent of his dominions, the weaker part of his subjects from the oppression of the great lords. Those whom the law could not protect, and who were not strong enough to defend themselves, were obliged either to have recourse to the protection of some great lord, and in order to obtain it, to become either his slaves or vassals, or to enter into a league of mutual defence for the common protection of one another. The inhabitants of cities and burghs, considered as single individuals, had no power to defend themselves; but, by entering into a league of mutual defence with their neighbours, they were capable of making no contemptible resistance. The lords despised the burghers, whom they considered not only as of a different order, but as a parcel of emancipated slaves, almost of different species from themselves. The wealth of the burghers never failed to provoke their envy and indignation, and they plundered them upon every occasion without mercy or remorse. The burghers naturally hated and feared the lords. The king hated and feared them too; but though perhaps he might despise, he had no reason either to hate or fear the burghers; mutual interest, therefore, disposed them to support the king, and the king to support them, against the lords. They were the enemies of his enemies, and it was his interest to render them as secure and independent of those enemies as he could. By granting them magistrates of their own, the privilege of making by-laws for their own government, that of building walls for their own defence, and that of reducing all their inhabitants under a sort of military discipline, he gave them all the means of security and independency of the barons which it was in his power to bestow."

Dr. Robertson, the historian, thus describes the changes which resulted from the establishment of corporations:—

"The good effects of this new institution were immediately felt, and its influence on government as well as manners was no less extensive than salutary. A great body of the people was released from servitude, and from all the arbitrary and grievous impositions to which that wretched condition had subjected them. Towns, upon acquiring the right of community, became so many little republics, governed by known and equal laws. Liberty was deemed such an essential and characteristic part in their constitution, that if any slave took refuge in one of them, and resided there a year without being claimed, he was instantly declared a freeman, and admitted as a member of the community."

It thus appears that the establishment of corporations or municipal governments was a great means of freeing the towns from the thraldom of the neighbouring barons, and of giving life to trade and commerce. We have no doubt that the beneficial effects of these district governments will be again felt when the corruptions which time has introduced into them shall be removed.

The following petition, signed by 7000 inhabitants of the town of Hull, and presented to the House of Commons about a month ago, gives a good insight into the grievances from which the people are soon, we hope, to be relieved. Its statements would, with slight modifications, apply to very many of our corporate towns.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled.

"The Humble Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, showeth,—

"That the town was incorporated by charters in the reign of King Edward the First, and that various privileges were granted by that and subsequent monarchs up to the reign of King James the Second.

"That from the best sources of evidence within the reach of your petitioners, they have reason to believe, that all the rights and privileges granted by such charters were common to all the male resident inhabitants of the town, of full age, until the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when they appear to have been restricted by a by-law, made by the mayor and aldermen of the said town.

"That they have also reason to believe, that up to the latter part of the reign of King Charles the Second, the mayor and aldermen, and other municipal officers of the corporation, were freely elected by the whole body of burgesses from amongst themselves, without any nomination or control whatever from the mayor and aldermen; but, that subsequently, and up to the present time, it has been the custom for the mayor and aldermen to nominate two individuals, called '*elites*' (vulgarly, '*lights*'), for each office,

* The hold which our ancient civic institutions possessed upon the affections of the people in "Old England" has been ably described in an Essay, attributed to one of the most eloquent members of the House of Commons. "Each citizen had his company; and the companies which now seem to exist only to the delectation of epicures and of antiquaries, with them formed the brotherhood, the members of which were almost as closely bound together as the members of a Highland clan. How strong these artificial ties were, the numerous and valuable legacies anciently bequeathed by citizens to their corporation abundantly prove. The Londoners *loved their city* with that patriotic love which is found only in small communities, like those of ancient Greece, or like those that arose in Italy during the middle ages."—Article upon Lord Nugent's Hampden, *Ed. Review*, Vol. LIV., p. 589.

from whom the election of the burgesses must be made. The consequence of which has been, to render the corporation in practice a close, self-elected, and irresponsible body; so that, of late years, the elections generally of the municipal magistrates and other officers have been effected through the grossest violations of the law, by means of bribery and drunkenness.

"That, in consequence of the limitation of the franchise, as before mentioned, by far the greater part of the respectable merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the town, are excluded from all participation in the election of the municipal magistrates and other privileges of the corporation, although in the first charters they were evidently the chief objects of the royal bounty.

"That formerly the Aldermen were compelled to reside within the limits of the borough, and thus be ready upon every emergency; but at present not a single alderman resides within the limits of the ancient borough, and the greater part of them at some miles distant.

"That the corporation receive a considerable amount of revenue from estates, dues, and tolls, of which they render no account whatever; and which dues and tolls are extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants, and injurious to the trade and prosperity of the town.

"That for some time past the town has been in a state of insubordination, arising, in the opinion of your petitioners, from a want of that confidence and respect which ought always to subsist between the governors and governed; a consequence universally found to result from close corporations, similar to that of this town.

"And your petitioners further show unto your Honourable House, that the immediate suburbs of the town of Hull consist of the parishes of Sculcoates and Drypool, and part of the parish of Sutton, containing near 20,000 inhabitants, all which places, by the Boundaries' Act, are annexed to and now form the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, for the election of members of Parliament: but, notwithstanding the places above mentioned are so immediately attached to as almost to form integral parts of the town, they are under the jurisdiction of the magistrates for the East Riding of the county of York, and in no way subjected to the authority of the aldermen of Hull, whereby the administration of justice is greatly impeded, and the expense of procuring it very much increased by the sessions of the peace for that district being held upwards of nine miles distant.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House to take the subject into your serious deliberation, and enact such laws as will be necessary to enable the inhabitants of the enlarged Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull to elect freely, and without any interference whatever, their magistrates and other municipal officers, all of whom shall hold their offices for a limited period only, and shall reside within the borough; and to elect annually, in the same manner, a common council, who alone shall be vested with the power of disposing of and controlling the property and income of the corporation, and shall annually publish a full statement of their accounts for the past year; and also to render the jurisdiction of the corporation, when elected, co-extensive with the enlarged borough.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

OFFICE OF KING'S PRINTER—MONOPOLY OF BIBLES.

Not long after the introduction of printing into England, the king assumed the right of controlling the exercise of the art, not merely in regard to certain classes, but in regard to all classes of books. He licensed at his pleasure one man to print, and refused that liberty to another; he permitted the printing of one book, and prohibited that of another. The royal prerogative, in fact, as to this matter was held to be unlimited and omnipotent. It might be difficult to show from what principle of the common law this boundless jurisdiction could plausibly claim to be derived; but of its having been practically asserted, to the utmost extent of the description that has just been given, there can be no question. It was so asserted down to the abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641. The censors or licensers of books appointed by that court were appointed in virtue of the supposed royal prerogative, and were conceived to derive from its all-comprehensive nature that universal authority over the press which they were empowered to exercise. The abolition of the Star Chamber, however, did not long leave the press free. The parliament, it is well known, soon took up the office of censorship which the royal court no longer exercised. In vain did Milton attempt, by his noble "Discourse for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," to prevent this usurpation; it was perpetrated in defiance of all his eloquence and all his unanswerable arguments. But still an important principle was asserted and established by the parliament having thus taken the matter into their own hands. The control of the press no longer remained a prerogative of the crown, but was passed into the possession of the legislature, and made the subject of statutory enactment. The ground thus gained was preserved at the Restoration; in 1662, indeed, the press was put under a censorship, but the yoke was imposed upon it by an act of parliament. Subsequent acts continued the grievance till 1694, when the last restrictive law expired. From that date the press in England has been commonly considered to be free.

Nevertheless, it appears that on the 21st of January, 1830, a patent was granted by the crown to certain parties, appointing them to exercise the office of King's Printer, with the exclusive right as such for the term of thirty years, of printing, to use the language of the patent, "all and singular statutes, books, small books, acts of parliament, proclamations and injunctions, Bibles and New Testaments whatsoever, in the English tongue or in any other tongue whatsoever, of any translation with notes or without notes, and also of all Books of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in any volumes whatsoever heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or hereafter to be printed by the command, privilege, or authority of us, our heirs or successors; and also of all other books whatsoever which we have commanded, or shall command, to be used for the service of God in the churches of that part of our said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England; and of all other books, volumes, and things whatsoever, by whatsoever name, term, title, or meaning, or by whatsoever names, terms, titles, or meanings they are named, called, or distinguished, or any of them is named, called, or distinguished, or hereafter shall be named, called, or distinguished, heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or by the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the English tongue or in any other mixed tongue, already printed, published, or worked off, or hereafter to be published, worked off, or put to the press, by the command, privilege, or authority, of us, our heirs or successors, (except only the Rudiments of the Grammatical Institutions of the Latin tongue)." By a subsequent part of the grant, all other persons are prohibited, not only from printing any of the works thus described, but likewise from importing them, or causing them to be imported, selling them, or causing them to be sold. It is also enjoined, that "no others shall in any manner, or by any colour or pretext whatsoever, presume or dare to reprint in any manner whatsoever, or purchase elsewhere printed," any of these works during the aforesaid term. This is indeed a very ample and sweeping monopoly. Let us see, in the first place, how the assumed royal prerogative, by which it is conferred, appears to have grown up.

The first patent of king's printer which has been found is that granted to Thomas Berthelet by Henry VIII., in 1529 (Ames's Typographical Antiquities, by Herbert, vol. i., p. 416). But before this time, Richard Pynson, in 1503, had styled himself "printer unto the king's noble grace;" and in 1508 we find William Faques, in like manner, taking the Latin title of Regis Impressor (the king's printer). (See Ames, vol. i., pp. 240, 308.) It may be regarded as almost certain, that at this time the appointment of king's printer did not convey any exclusive privileges, but was merely an honorary distinction, implying that the individual possessing it was peculiarly patronized by his majesty, and perhaps was regularly employed to do the printing work of the crown. It was, in fact, an appointment very nearly of the same nature with those held at present by any of the other royal tradesmen. Wynkyn de Worde, before Pynson, called himself printer to the Lady Margaret (Henry VII.'s mother); but it will scarcely be pretended that that princess, by such an appointment, could confer upon him any exclusive privileges. At the very time that Pynson called himself printer to the king, the acts of parliament were printed not only at his press, but also at those of Wynkyn de Worde, and of Julian Notary. And this view is fully confirmed by the terms of the patent granted to Berthelet, in which there is not a word about the exclusive right of printing anything whatever.

The right of exclusive printing, however, in regard to particular books, had for some time been, and still was, granted to various individuals. But it was granted to others as well as to the person holding the patent of printer to the king, and in the case equally of books of all descriptions. In proof of this assertion, we might refer to numerous title-pages of those times. Every thing testifies the supremacy

actually exercised by the royal prerogative. No book, in the first place, could be printed at all until it was licensed; and, secondly, the king assumed the power of granting a right of exclusive printing and exclusive selling to whom he pleased in regard to all books whatsoever. No doubt at all can be entertained that such was the practice.

In this state of things it is not to be wondered at that the crown should at last appoint a royal printer with privileges of the most extensive nature. There was no stretch of jurisdiction in this matter which the prerogative did not claim to possess, and which therefore it might not upon the same grounds transfer to be exercised by another. In 1553, accordingly, we find Queen Mary appointing John Cawood her printer, and granting to him the office of printing all "statute-books, acts, proclamations, injunctions, and other volumes and things, under what name or title soever, either already or hereafter to be published in the English language," with prohibition to all other persons to print, import, sell, or cause to be printed, imported, or sold, "any books or volumes, the printing of which is granted to the said John Cawood." According, we say, to what was then, and for a long time after, asserted to be the right of control over the press belonging to the crown, even a grant so extravagant as this was not unauthorized.

But from the passing of the act of 1662, when the regulation of the press, although the censorship was not abolished, was assumed by parliament, and more especially from 1694, when the censorship itself ceased, it would seem that a new state of things has arisen. It is now no longer acknowledged, or openly contended for by anybody, that the king by his prerogative has any general right of control over the press. He certainly neither does nor can, in ordinary cases, either prevent individual printers from exercising their art by withholding from them his licence to do so, or confer the exclusive privilege of printing and selling any books he chooses upon others. The custom under which it was formerly assumed to be part of the royal prerogative to do all this has been abolished, and virtually declared a mere usurpation; or, if it was legal formerly, it is certainly no longer tolerated by the law now. But, in point of fact, has the assumed right of the crown to convey such privileges as those enumerated in the patent of the royal printer, any other ground to stand upon than this very abolished usurpation? If the king may grant such patent, may he not equally exercise the whole of that obsolete jurisdiction over the press, of which this is in reality but a remnant?

All sorts of ingenious conjectures have been hazarded by the lawyers who have defended the right of the crown to make the appointment in question, in the difficulty they have encountered in attempting to place it upon some other foundation than that to which we have here referred it. In later times, however, at least, whatever the words of the patent may seem to imply, it has not been contended that the king has the right to grant to the individual whom he constitutes his printer, any further privilege than that of being the exclusive publisher and vender of all laws and proclamations, and of all Bibles and other books used in the service of the Established Church. It has been said that he has this right, by some, as the head of the church,—by others, as the head of the state,—by others, as holding the copyright of the publications in question,—by others, on general grounds of expediency,—by others, from mere usage. Most of these assertions are very easily disposed of, although one or two may be a little difficult to grapple with, from the impracticability of dealing summarily with a plea so broad and general that it has scarcely any determinate meaning. But as to the allegation about the king being the head of the church, it is plain that this status, which he possesses only in England, cannot give him an exclusive right of printing the Bible, and the Confession of Faith, and the Shorter Catechism, as he claims to do, in Scotland. The same objection is fatal to the claim of copyright, which, however, is also destroyed by other considerations; for whatever right of this nature the king may have in regard to Acts of Parliament, it does not appear that he can claim, even in England, any copyright in the Bible. It is contended that the common translation was made at the expense of the crown, and established in use by its authority. But there is every reason to believe that neither of these notions is correct. As to the expense, it was in all probability borne, as that of preceding translations had been, by the person by whom the translation was printed and published. Robert Ball, in his "Treatise concerning the Regulating of Printing," 1651, as quoted in Ames (ii. 1091), expressly states that Barker, then king's printer, paid for amending or correcting the translation 3500*l*. The magnitude of this sum seems to show, as Mr. Herbert has remarked in a note, that it must have been paid to the translators as the whole remuneration of their labours. And even as to the new version being authorized by the king, there is no evidence of that. No proclamation, or other royal act, has ever, we believe, been discovered, conferring upon it any such distinction. But even if the English translation of the Bible is to be held to be the king's property, as having been made by his command, or at his cost, does this give him any property in the Greek and Hebrew originals, or in the versions which have been made into various other languages? And yet the exclusive right of printing all these is contended for, as well as that of printing the English Bible!

As to whether or no an important prerogative may be derived from mere usage, we shall not venture to express an opinion. But in the present case, the usage, at any rate, must be rather, we should think, of too recent commencement to form a sufficient root for any such right to grow from. Printing is only an easier and more effectual mode of publishing a book than that of multiplying copies of it in manuscript. Did the king of England, before the invention of printing, ever claim the power of preventing the dissemination, in manuscript, of any works he chose? Did he then pretend to possess the same absolute authority over copyists, which he afterwards claimed and exercised over printers? Nay, when the art of printing was first introduced, is there any evidence that the practice of it was subjected to this arbitrary control on the part of the crown? No book, we believe, will be found bearing to be printed with a licence or privilege till some years after the commencement of the sixteenth century. The assumed prerogative, therefore, so far from being sustained by original and constant usage, is one which, till a comparatively recent period, was never heard of at all, as well as one which has confessedly long ago passed away and been destroyed, in respect to that part of its nature,—we mean its universality of jurisdiction,—which was formerly held forth as constituting its very essence and principle. In short, except from the date of the Restoration, there is no usage sanctioning the appointment of a royal printer by the crown, while not claiming any general right of control over the press. Since that date, certainly, a king's printer has been regularly appointed, under circumstances the same, or nearly the same, with those which exist at present. Let us now see what have been the results of this system, and in how far, therefore, it is defensible on grounds of expediency.

A select committee was appointed by the House of Commons, in 1831, "to inquire into the nature and extent of the king's printers' patents in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the authority under which they have acted and now act, and how far they have been beneficial to the government or to the country, and whether proper to be continued." The evidence taken by this committee was ordered to be printed on the 8th of August last, and forms, with the appendix, a volume of 364 pages. We will endeavour to present to our readers the most important conclusions to be derived from the mass of facts here accumulated; but it will be convenient, that instead of considering for that purpose the whole of the king's printer's patent, and the various privileges which it comprehends, at once, we confine our attention, for the present, only to his exclusive right of printing Bibles and other books used in the service of the Established Church. Public attention has of late been strongly directed upon the effects of this monopoly, and it has already begun, we are glad to find, to be made the subject of petitions to parliament.

In England the exclusive right of printing Bibles is enjoyed by the two Universities as well as by the king's printer; and in Ireland the monopoly of the king's printer is in like manner shared by Trinity College, Dublin. In Scotland the whole is in the hands of the king's printer. The existing English patent, as already noticed, runs for thirty years from January 1830; that for Ireland was granted for forty years, in August 1811; and that for Scotland, in 1785, to run for forty-one years from the expiration of the preceding commission in 1798. The Scotch patent therefore will expire in 1838; the Irish in 1851; and the English not till 1860.

It appears by the Report (p. 336), that during the ten

years from 1821 to 1830 inclusive, the king's printer for England sold—

Of Bibles . .	569,164	— or, annually,	56,916.
Testaments	637,893	. . . . .	63,789.
Prayer-books	182,811	. . . . .	18,281.
Psalms . .	189,544	. . . . .	18,954.

It is impossible to ascertain from the evidence the exact produce of these sales; the patentees declining to give this information, on the pretext that it would lay open the secrets of their trade to their rivals, the universities. The following facts, however, may be collected. The Bibles sold were of twenty-four different kinds, varying in price from 2*s.* to 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* (omitting fractions). A single copy of each of the twenty-four sorts would have cost somewhat above 15*l.* The medium price is about 8*s.*, there being twelve editions higher and as many lower than that price. Of the Testaments, ten varieties are enumerated, the prices of which range from 3*s.* 1*d.* to 8*d.* One copy of each of these ten would come to about 16*s.*; and there are five kinds dearer and five cheaper than 1*s.* 1*d.* There are also ten Prayer-Books, costing from 5*d.* to 7*s.* each; or about 1*l.* 17*s.* altogether. The price of five of these is above, and that of as many others below, 3*s.* 4*d.* The editions of the Psalms are eleven in all, and the prices from 2*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* The whole would come to about 7*s.*; and there are five above and six below the price of 7½*d.* The king's printer, as well as the universities, receives a drawback of the duty upon the paper which he uses for the printing of these works; and on this account he has been allowed, during the ten years, the sum of 20,718*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*; or about 2071*l.* annually. The duty being 3*d.* per pound, it follows that his impressions of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-Books, and Psalms, must consume about 160,000 pounds of paper a year.

These are books, it is to be observed, for all of which a constant demand may be calculated upon with certainty: and therefore, with proper management, the largest editions might be printed of each, without any risk being incurred, as in the case of almost all other publications, of any copies remaining unsold. This risk, however, is prevented by the invention of stereotype printing, which is peculiarly applicable to this class of books. Stereotype-plates do not add more than half to the original cost of setting up the types;—and, possessing these plates, the king's printer or the universities may always meet the demand of the market, without incurring the slightest danger of loss from the amount of their stock. These are also works none of which cost anything for copyright, frequently so heavy an item in the expenses of a publication; nor anything, it may be added, for advertising, the demand being so steady and general as to make any such appeal to the public unnecessary. Further, as has just been observed, the paper upon which they are printed pays no duty—an exemption which, we have seen, is equivalent, in the case of the king's printer for England, to a revenue of above 2000*l.* a year.

From these facts we may judge of the fairness of the comparisons made by the patentees in the evidence before us, between certain of their Bibles and certain other publications in the market, the volumes of the Library of Useful Knowledge, for example. One of these volumes is mentioned by Mr. Spottiswoode, which costs the public 15*s.* (see Evidence, p. 26.) Among the expenses of that publication would be a charge for copyright and editing, of certainly not less than 1000*l.* The advertising expenses would also be considerable. The paper, too, let it not be forgotten, costs 25 per cent. more than Mr. Spottiswoode pays. And, after all, no such sale could be expected for the book, as with prudent management might with certainty be counted upon in the case of an edition of the Bible, or even as we have no doubt many of Mr. Spottiswoode's editions have actually realized. From the returns made by the king's printers in Scotland (Appendix, pp. 346, &c.), it appears, that of one of their sizes (the twenty-first in their list, called the 24mo. pearl), they published and sold, in the ten years from 1821 to 1830, inclusive, above 384,000 copies. By the employment of stereotype all these impressions might have been obtained at the cost of composing the work only once, and taking several sets of stereotype-plates. The principal cost of this process, that of composition, must be undergone in the case of a work of which there is no chance that more than 500 copies will be taken off.

But the "Library of Useful Knowledge," and the other works to which Mr. Spottiswoode refers, are by no means the most striking instances of cheap printing that might be quoted. They are probably as cheap as they can be for the sale which they may expect to command. But nobody who knows anything about the matter will count upon as extensive a sale for either a treatise on science, or an edition of the works of Robertson or Gibbon, as for an edition of the Bible. The former works, to produce anything like the same profit with the latter, must of necessity be sold at a much higher price. Suppose the expense of preparing both to be the same,—and we have shown that it is very far from being the same,—and let the same price be put upon both;—in that case, the outlay would be repaid in each instance by the sale of the same number of copies, say of the first 10,000. If that number should not be sold, there would be a loss: the profits are exactly proportioned to the number of copies that may be sold beyond that. If only 12,000 copies should be sold in all (and that is a very high number, and such as has been seldom realized), the difference between the selling price and the cost price of 2000 of these will, upon the supposition we have made, constitute the whole profit of the publication. But if the sale shall run to 100,000, or 200,000, as in the case of a good edition of the Bible it would undoubtedly do, the profit will be the difference we have mentioned, gathered not from each of 2000 copies, but from each of 90,000, or of 190,000 copies.

This being the case, it is evidently, as we have said, impossible that the one book can be afforded to the public at the same rate, or at anything like the same rate, at which the other may. In other words, if the king's printer charge for his Bibles the same price, or nearly the same price, which the other publishers, to whom he refers, charge for their publications of the same size, his profits must be altogether enormous. But let us consider the subject from another point of view.

The patentees boast of the cheapness of their Bibles. Among the witnesses examined by the committee, is Mr. John Child, a large printer at Bungay. This gentleman, in the course of his evidence, produces certain calculations relating to the prices actually charged for Bibles by the king's printer, and those at which the same volumes might be afforded, which are somewhat more decisive of the question than Mr. Spottiswoode's comparisons. A Testament, which is sold to the trade by the king's printers at tenpence, Mr. Child affirms that he could supply, on paper worth thirty per cent. more, for sevenpence-halfpenny a copy. Of another, for which the wholesale price is one shilling in sheets, he shows by a calculation, the particulars of which he submits, that the cost price is not more than fourpence. Even if the book were sold at that low rate, there would be a slight profit upon a sale of 20,000; if it were sold at eightpence, there would be a profit upon such a sale of more than cent. per cent. And yet the patentees charge a shilling, having a sale to the extent of which it would be difficult to set any bounds.

Another of the king's printers' Bibles, which is sold to the trade for sixteen shillings, Mr. Child states could be sold safely, and with a good profit, for ten or eleven shillings. Another, which is charged nine shillings, he would undertake, he says, to sell to the trade for four and sixpence. He also produced the editions of Robertson's and of Gibbon's Works, each in one large volume, printed by himself, to which Mr. Spottiswoode had referred; and from his explanations it appears that even these publications, which are taken off only by a select and limited circle of purchasers, are sold cheaper than Bibles of the same size, quantity of letterpress, and quality of paper, furnished by the patentees. The trade price of the brevier 8vo. Reference Bible, royal (that, we presume, is the one alluded to), is sixteen shillings; that of the edition of Robertson is, for a single copy, fifteen shillings, and thirteen shillings when a hundred are taken. The edition of Gibbon contains four sheets more than either Robertson or the Bible, but is sold for the same price with the former.

In the evidence before the committee upon the matter of comparative cheapness, no parallel could be drawn of a book as extensively sold as an edition of the Bible, because no such book then existed. We can supply the omission. "The Penny Cyclopædia" has been established in the belief that at least 100,000 copies might be disposed of; and, in point of fact, that number is printed off. A volume of that work, consisting of 72 sheets, or 576 pages, is to be sold at six shillings to the public—at less than four shillings to the trade. The Long Primer 8vo. Bible of the king's printer

contains 76 sheets; and is sold at nine shillings to the public, and at six shillings to the trade. Each of these volumes, the 8vo. Bible and the Cyclopædia, contains, as near as possible, the same quantity of types, estimating that quantity as printers do, by the thousand letters. Now mark the difference. The volume of the Penny Cyclopædia will cost 1500*l.* for copyright, and 500*l.* for embellishments;—the volume of the Bible costs nothing for these items. The Cyclopædia pays 25 per cent. duty upon the paper used, amounting to nine-pence per volume; the Bible pays no duty. The demand for the Cyclopædia has to be created, and it is subject to all the risks of trade;—the demand for the Bible is established, and it is principally sold to one large and safe customer, the Bible Society. And yet the Bible is 50 per cent. dearer than the Cyclopædia.

There still remain two or three points to which we must shortly advert. It might be taken for granted, without any inquiry, that the monopoly would not secure cheap Bibles to the public: a high price is uniformly, and, from the nature of the thing, necessarily, the result of an exclusive privilege to manufacture. But the patentees defend the propriety of the grant that has been made to them, on the ground of the superior accuracy which has thereby been insured in the impressions of the sacred text; and they also refer to the greater attention, by which this accuracy is produced, as an item of extraordinary expense in the preparation of their editions. Upon this part of the subject, the public has lately been addressed, at considerable length, by various writers, amongst the most zealous of whom is the Rev. T. Curtis. The matter is also touched upon in many parts of the evidence before us; but it was, we believe, first taken up, seven or eight years ago, by the Rev. Dr. Lee of Edinburgh, who discussed it in two successive pamphlets with much learning and curious research. Dr. Lee's statements abundantly proved that, down at least to very recent times, neither the Bibles printed in Scotland, nor those printed in England, by the patentees, had been at all remarkable for their accuracy; but, on the contrary, that they were, it may be almost said generally, disfigured by a proportion of errors which would have been accounted far from creditable to any ordinary book. Of late years, there can be no doubt that Bibles have been more correctly printed in both countries; but still it does not appear that the accuracy, which has been usually attained, is at all beyond what is common in other productions of the press. At any rate it is quite certain that the existing degree of accuracy, such as it is, has not resulted from the monopoly, which was in operation for many years while Bibles were, for the most part, printed with disgraceful carelessness. Even now, Mr. Waddell, the manager for the Scotch patentees, acknowledges (Qu. 432) that the correcting the press for Bibles is not more expensive than for any other book. The person whom they employ is described by Dr. Lee, in his evidence before the Committee (Qu. 2037), as "a man without much education, but a very worthy and careful man, scrupulously anxious to do his duty, but without any very great pretensions to superior intelligence." In the course of his evidence, we may add, Dr. Lee enumerates a considerable number of errors which had fallen in his way even in some very recent editions of the Bible, and that on a very partial and cursory examination. (See, particularly, Qu. 2100.) One of these, in an Edinburgh edition of 1816, is in Luke vi. 29,—"Him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid *to*" (for *not*) "to take away thy coat also." Another, in the same edition, is in 1 Cor. xiv. 40,—"Let all *tongues*" (for *things*) "be done decently and in order." And in a stereotype edition, printed at London in 1819, in 1 Cor. viii. 6, instead of "To us there is but one God," the reading is "To us three is but one God." Mr. Curtis, in his evidence before the committee, and also in his "Four Letters" on the subject, has given many curious examples of these errors in recent editions,—such as "heart" for "hart," "son" for sun," "forth" for "four."

Mischievous as is the operation of this monopoly as it exists in England, it is still more oppressive in Scotland. Here the evil is in some degree kept in check by the competition among the three privileged parties,—the king's printer and the two universities. But in the northern end of the island, the royal typographer has no rival,—no one but himself who dare either print or sell Bible, Testament, Prayer-book, Psalms, Confession of Faith, Catechism, or whatever other books his rampant and unbridled patent may be deemed to comprehend. And upon what ground can the king, by possibility, claim the right of establishing such a monopoly in that country? He is not head of the church *there*. But he is head of the state, perhaps some one will say, and as such is alone entitled to print all books used in the service of religion. Let a single fact, mentioned in the evidence of Dr. Lee, answer this argument. The General Assembly in 1781 authorized a book, entitled "Translations and Paraphrases in Verse of several Passages of Sacred Scripture," to be used in the churches of the Establishment; and it has continued to be so used ever since. They at the same time appointed it to be printed and published by their own printer. Did the king's printer interfere in this case, and insist upon his exclusive right to the work as one employed in the services of religion? The present patentees have indeed printed it almost ever since they entered upon their office; but *they annually pay a sum of money to the printer of the church for liberty to do so.* "I have not the least doubt," says Dr. Lee, "that, in the course of a very few years, if they were to proceed upon the principle that seems hitherto to have been assumed, they would be disposed to claim the right of printing this book as well as the Psalms, because the transaction between them and the printer for the Church of Scotland has not been publicly known; and, indeed, it is but recently that I learned it from the printer himself." That they might advance such a claim, with quite as much reason as others which they have actually made, we think it impossible to deny.

In Scotland, then, the case is this. No man, it is maintained, has a right even to have a Bible, or any of the other books that have been mentioned, in his possession, which has not been printed by the king's printer there. The patent gives the power of prohibiting the importation into the country of any others. Up to the year 1826 importation never had been interfered with, or attempted to be interfered with. During all the previous time that the enormous powers of the patent had been in existence, this application of them had never been thought of; but since then all importation has been prevented. The people of Scotland must now be satisfied with such Bibles only as the king's printer chooses to give them, and they must take them at any price which he chooses to put upon them. And this state of things, it seems, is established and maintained for no other end whatever except that they may be the better provided with copies of the sacred text! The importation of Bibles from England, which had been so long permitted, was, we must then presume, found at last to be adverse to this object. It was injurious, are we to understand, not to the interests of the patentees, but to the interests of the public, and therefore it was put down? And the king's printer now stands alone, the entirely unchecked and irresponsible functionary, on whom the whole people of that country are dependent for their supply of all these books. It is nonsense to call the office which this person holds a trust; but suppose it for a moment to be a trust, how has he discharged its duties? We answer, without hesitation, with a view to his own profit merely. He has printed such editions of the sacred volume as he considered were likeliest to sell, and such only. Has he ever, for example, published the Bible in the Gaelic language, which is the only language known to some hundreds of thousands of the people of Scotland? He never has; and yet we are to believe that the securing an abundant supply of the Scriptures to that country is the sole end and object of his patent.

One word now on the operations of the Bible Society, in connexion with the vast monopoly we have been considering. This institution, and the Naval and Military Bible Society, both maintained by public subscription, are, it would appear, by far the best customers of the English patentees. According to returns given in the Report, the king's printer sold, in 1829, 51,500 Bibles, and 75,691 Testaments, of which no less a proportion than 45,541 of the former, and 68,025 of the latter, were purchased from him by those two societies. The public generally, therefore, that year bought only 5959 of his Bibles, and 7666 of his Testaments. Next year, the case is a great deal worse; for, of 36,277 Bibles, and 65,080 Testaments, sold by him, all were taken by the two societies except 4,029 of the former, and 601 of the latter*.

We are not disposed to underrate the services of the Bible

* The number of copies purchased by the Naval and Military Bible Society is in both cases from May of one year to May of the year following; but the calculation can be only very immaterially affected by this circumstance.

Society. It may do much good in many ways; but we do not know any person who is likely to be more sensible of its usefulness than the royal typographer. Without its assistance, indeed, it is evident that his trade in printing the Scriptures would be at an end.

But this matter demands to be considered in a larger view. The two universities have the right of printing Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer-books, concurrently with Messrs. Eyre, Strahan, and Spottiswoode. We object to the monopoly altogether, and in any hands. If it has been given to the universities as a source of revenue, rather let a sum of money, equivalent to what they thence derive, be paid to them annually. Let the Bibles printed by the king's printer and the universities be alone considered, if you will, as those issued by authority. It may be well that there should be such legally authentic copies both of the Scriptures and of Acts of Parliament, to which appeal might be made as standards; but more than this is unnecessary, and in every way mischievous and unjust. Let it be no crime for any man who chooses, to print, sell, or import, either an act of the legislature or the word of God. Competition here, be assured, will do what it has done in everything else; it will produce the highest possible combination of excellence and cheapness. If the diffusion of the Scriptures be an object with any one, this is unquestionably the plan by which that diffusion would be most effectually promoted. At present, every Bible that is given away by the Bible Society and other similar institutions, pays a heavy tax either to the universities or to the king's printer. We shall close our paper by presenting a calculation of the amount of this tax:—

The Bible Society, in the year ending March, 1832, issued from London,	Bibles . . .	160,701
	Testaments .	182,444
		343,145

Many of these books were probably printed in foreign languages, at their own presses; for in 1830, we find that they bought

	Eng. Bibles.	Eng. Test.
Of the King's printer	26,886	60,873
Oxford University	59,417	30,652
Cambridge University . . .	20,687	40,300
	106,990	131,825
		106,990
Total English Bibles and Testaments .		238,815

The amount paid by the Bible Society for copies purchased is not specified; but we find that, in 1831-2, they paid for Bibles and Testaments in the English and Irish language	£60,969
They received from Auxiliary Societies and subscribers, who distribute the English Bibles and Testaments	36,820
Deficiency . .	£24,149

This deficiency was made up out of the subscriptions to the Bible Society—collected, be it remembered, with extraordinary zeal in every part of the country, and in many cases out of the weekly earnings of the poor themselves. Deducting the cost of binding from the price of the English books issued by the Bible Society, which cost may be taken at 10,000*l.*, we have no hesitation in saying that two-thirds of this 24,149*l.* subscribed to maintain the British objects of the Bible Society, is a tax levied by the monopoly of the King's printer and the two Universities; for it being undeniable that their books are charged 50 per cent. at least dearer than they ought to be, two-thirds of this subscription to make up a deficiency might be in the pockets of the subscribers, or applied to some other object of religious instruction, if the tax were put an end to by the destruction of the monopoly. Let the Committees of the Bible Societies ponder upon this.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

We stated, in our last number, that it had been resolved by the House of Commons that a select committee should in future be appointed at the commencement of each session, to classify and report upon all public petitions presented to the House. The Committee appointed for the present session consists of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Colonel Davies, Mr. Littleton, Mr. James Oswald, Mr. Clay, Mr. George William Wood, Sir Robert Inglis, and Sir Richard Vyvyan; of whom any five are a quorum. They were appointed on the 20th of February; and on the 28th, the House ordered the printing of their first Report, which contains a classification of all petitions presented from the 6th of that month (when the business of Parliament commenced) to the 22d, inclusive. They have since issued five other reports, the last of which is dated the 19th of March.

The form of arrangement which the Committee have adopted, presents a very luminous as well as complete view of the petitions they have examined. The real amount and value, indeed, of the petitions addressed to Parliament have never before been exhibited, either to the public or to the House, with anything like the same clearness. Of every petition a separate abstract is given, in which are mentioned its date, the place from which it comes, with the description of persons by whom it is signed, and the number of the signatures attached to it. All the petitions, also, are arranged under heads according to the subject of the prayer of each; and the number of those for each object is noted, as well as the sum of the names by which all those that come under each head are signed. Where there are specialties in any particular petition, they are mentioned; and several of the petitions finally are printed at full length. We are quite sure that this plan will ensure an attention to petitions, both on the part of the Parliament and of the public, greatly exceeding what they have ever heretofore received. The effect, it may be confidently anticipated, will be both to improve the average character of these expressions of the public sentiment, and to add, in no inconsiderable degree, to their weight in influencing the measures of the House.

We now present an abstract of the contents of the Committee's Reports. The petitions are arranged as follows:

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	3	2136
Against nocturnal legislation	4	2029
In favour of a qualification for members	1	8
For triennial parliaments	1	268
For vote by ballot and triennial parliaments	4	1594
Complaining of military interference at elections	1	32
Complaining of the interference of a peer at the election for St. Ives	1	1
For the disfranchisement of the freemen of Liverpool, on the ground of bribery	1	2941
Denying the allegations in the above petition	1	7500
Praying to be heard against the charge of bribery alleged against the freemen of Liverpool, from the mayor and corporation	1	seal.
Complaining of corrupt practices at the late election for Norwich	1	407
Complaining of improper practices at the late election for Hereford	1	1
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	199	49193
Against lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	11	8122
—— tithes in England	4	3083
For reform in the Church of England	2	2
For reform in the Church establishment of Wales	1	103
Against tithes in Ireland (some of these include prayers against the church cess and for a separate legislature)	25	8826
Against the Church in Ireland Bill	2	29
Against the civil disabilities of the Jews	3	465
For uniformly substituting affirmations for oaths	2	97
For removal of religious disabilities, &c.	2	282
Taxes.		
For the repeal of the assessed taxes	15	8946
Complaining of the house and window tax	10	4347
Against the tax on soap	18	1735
—— the duty on malt	5	7064
—— excise licences	2	105
—— the duty on taxed carts	3	301
—— the stamp-duty on receipts	1	250
—— the duty on attorneys' certificates (Ireland)	1	85
—— the tax on newspapers	1	324
—— the duty on paper	1	97
—— the corn-laws	3	4784
For reduction of taxes	5	891

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Ireland.		
For the repeal of the Union	8	3036
Against the Vestry Act (Ireland)	1	321
For the removal of the Secretary for Ireland	3	896
Complaining of oppression by the police	1	8
Complaining of dissimilarity between the English and Irish Reform Bills	1	40
Praying for amendments in the jury and grand jury laws	5	2028
From keepers, &c. of prisons, praying for superannuation allowances, &c.	2	15
Against the grant to Maynooth College	1	1
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	115	33254
Against the Disturbances (Ireland) Bill	462	309245
In favour of ditto	3	511
In favour of the Factories' Bill	29	31329
Against the Retailing of Beer Bill	17	1205
Relating to corporations,—nearly all complaining of abuses, and praying for amendments	35	19201
For an extended or national system of education	2	158
Complaining of the oppressiveness of the poor's-rate	2	273
Against punishment by death	3	5506
In favour of prisoners (Taylor, Hetherington, and W. Fitzgerald, a debtor), &c.	5	32
Complaining of insufficiency of accommodation at Sergeants' Inn, from Society of Attorneys	1	seal.
For the repeal of the Speaker's Pension Act	1	1382
Against the restriction of the right of voting for parish schoolmasters in Scotland	1	126
For the interference of the House in favour of Columbian bonds	1	1
For repeal of taxes, abolition of corn-laws, suppression of unnecessary pensions, reduction of salaries, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments	1	702
From governors of British Museum, for further support	1	seal.
For an alteration in the law of arbitration	1	10
For a better law for protecting patents	1	1
For establishing the Seamen's Hospital Society	1	20
For the intervention of Britain on behalf of Poland	1	1465
For a cheaper and more summary mode of recovering small debts	1	102
Against the removal of the summer assizes from Bury St. Edmund's	2	837
For a division of the quarter-sessions in Devonshire	1	9
For protection and encouragement to the Brazilian trade	1	35
Against paying wages at public-houses	1	1
For a repeal of taxes, abolition of tithes, reform of the church, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, against the Disturbances (Ireland) Bill, and nocturnal legislation	1	9107
Against restrictions in trade, particularly the monopoly of the East India Company	1	1142
For the abolition of sinecures, &c.	3	1841
For the protection of West India Colonies	2	90
For alteration of regulations of navigation on the Liffey	1	2
For alteration in Turnpike Acts	1	5

On the 20th March, it was resolved by the House on the motion of Mr. Hume, "that every member presenting a petition to the House, do affix his name at the beginning thereof." In consequence of this resolution, moved for on their suggestion, the committee state, that in future they "will from time to time subjoin to their notice of such petitions, the names of the members presenting the same respectively."

BRITISH MUSEUM.

From the accounts of the British Museum for the last year laid before the House of Commons, and printed by its order, it appears that, including a balance in hand of 4752*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* at Christmas 1831, the whole income of the institution from that date to Christmas 1832 amounted to 23,170*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* The proper income of the year therefore was 18,418*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* of which sum 16,922*l.* was derived from a Parliamentary grant. The expenditure was 18,572*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; the items of which may be classed as follows:—To salaries of officers and extra services, 9925*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*; to rent, taxes, coals, candles, repairs, fixtures, and sundries, 2064*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*; to bookbinding, printing, stationery, and expenses of drawings of Egyptian Frescos, the publication of the "Gallery of Antiquities," and the preparation of the Classed Catalogue, 1910*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; to Royal Society on account of the Arundel MSS. 865*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*; to law expenses, clearing goods at Custom House, &c., 150*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; and to purchases of objects of natural history, coins, medals, antiquities, books, manuscripts, and prints, 3656*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* This last sum, therefore, is the whole money that has been expended in augmenting the contents of this great national establishment. The Museum receives, it is true, in addition to its purchases, a copy of every new work printed in the United Kingdom; but still the sum allotted to the support of the library can hardly be considered as sufficient for that purpose. The purchases of printed books last year only amounted to 1032*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; so that if this sum was expended in equal portions upon new works published in foreign countries, and in the procuring of old works in which the collection was deficient, about 500*l.* was all that could be afforded for either of these most important objects. The completion of the library by the purchase of works which it does not yet contain is of the most material consequence to its usefulness. A course of study or inquiry, after having been pursued up to a certain point, at an immense cost of time and labour, may sometimes be suddenly stopped by the want of a single volume. And from the manner in which the library of the Museum has been accumulated, rich as it is in rare and valuable books, it is peculiarly likely to exhibit such deficiencies. It has for the most part accrued from successive donations and bequests of eminent collectors, whose libraries usually consist of works of some one particular description, and from the purchase of such libraries. Thus, for instance, it is indebted to Mr. Cracherode for many rare editions of the classics; to Sir Joseph Banks for an extensive collection of voyages and travels, and works on natural history; and from various other sources it has derived similar large accessions in other departments of literature and philosophy. But there are several departments again, in which it has not been equally fortunate; and there are accordingly a great many works, some of them by no means either very uncommon or very expensive, which it does not contain. These deficiencies ought to be supplied, if it should even be necessary to expend at once a considerable sum of money for that purpose; for the library would be thereby made twice as useful as it now is. A larger annual supply of foreign works than the funds will at present allow to be obtained, would also be extremely desirable. This is one of the most important institutions connected with the maintenance and promotion of the national civilization; and it ought to be supported with a liberality corresponding to the resources of this great empire. Of all the institutions of the country, too, we will venture to say that there is no one the general management of which is entitled to warmer commendation. All who have been in the habit of frequenting the reading-room of the Museum will, we believe, join with us in bearing testimony to the excellent arrangements of the place, and the disposition uniformly displayed by the officers and attendants to accommodate visitors, and to facilitate their researches. The number of visits to the reading-room, it appears by the paper before us, has of late years been rapidly on the increase; having risen from 950 in 1810, 4300 in 1815, 8820 in 1820, 22,800 in 1825, and 31,200 in 1830, to 38,200 in 1831, and 46,800 in 1832. This increase must have greatly added to the labours of the servants of the establishment, and must render an addition to their number also quite indispensable. The sum granted by Parliament to defray the expenses of the ensuing year, and to provide the ordinary surplus for a fifth quarter, is 16,844*l.*, being 78*l.* less than the last grant.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

At a period when the government of the United Kingdom is asking, at the hands of the legislature, the concession of extraordinary powers to put down a spirit of barbarous violence in Ireland, it would have been satisfactory to find, amidst the differences of opinion which such a demand necessarily involves, some agreement amongst men of all parties as to the mode of employing the one great instrument for advancing the civilization of the people—that of Education. It is perfectly clear, whatever measures be resorted to for the detection and punishment of offences which strike at the very foundation of society, by destroying the freedom of industry and the security of property, that such

measures can only be of a temporary and partial nature; and that, in fact, their chief value must consist in preparing the way for that gradual amelioration of the character of the people which can only result from a judicious, comprehensive, and equal system of national instruction. Unhappily, however, the spirit of partisanship and intolerance, which constitutes so large a portion of the primary causes of the misery of Ireland, here steps in. Despite of the conviction that even the most prejudiced must feel, that without instruction the people of Ireland can never acquire those habits of order and tranquillity which are the growth of knowledge, those who are endeavouring widely to sow the seeds of that knowledge upon a soil prepared by Christian charity and toleration, have to endure the most bitter revilings from the loud and angry advocates of the exclusiveness which has so long been pretending to teach, but labouring to proselytize. It is not our intention to imitate the example of these persons by any denunciations even of the spirit of uncharitableness. We shall endeavour merely to put together a few facts, the attentive consideration of which may correct some of the mistakes, and dissipate some of the prejudices, which in many minds at present attach to this subject.

In the latter end of 1831 a board was constituted for the superintendence of a national system of education in Ireland; and a sum of money was voted by Parliament for conducting an experiment upon responsible authority, which had for its object to bestow instruction upon the children of the whole people of Ireland, without regard to their religious denominations. The principles upon which this experiment was to be conducted were not hastily taken up by the government—they grew out of no crude plan, suggested by individual enthusiasm. They were the result of careful and anxious inquiries, conducted for many years by commissioners of the crown, and at last reduced to a practical form by a committee of Parliament. The last commission terminated its labours in June, 1827, having issued nine reports from the date of its appointment in 1824. A previous commission had employed six years in laborious inquiry, namely, from 1806 to 1812, and issued twelve reports. In 1828, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine the reports of both commissions; and upon the recommendations of this committee, the important measure which has been set on foot little more than a year, has been founded.

Before we proceed to describe what the real character of this measure is, it may be well to notice, as briefly as possible, the previous attempts which have been made to educate the people of Ireland.

As early as the reign of Henry VIII. a statute was passed for the establishment of parochial schools in Ireland, for the purpose of teaching the English tongue. This statute was confirmed by a subsequent enactment of William III.; and every clergyman is still required by law to take an oath on induction in the following terms:—"I do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English school within the vicarage or rectory of ————, as the law in that case requires." It appears by the report of the first commission, that the universal practice of the incumbent has been to allow the schoolmaster of the parish forty shillings per annum in discharge of his conscience from the obligations of the statute to promote the "instruction of rude and ignorant people to the knowledge of Almighty God." In point of fact, the very nature of these parochial schools was a main cause of the slow progress of education in Ireland. In the reign of William III. it was rendered penal for any other than a Protestant to teach; and the only teaching therefore was in the parochial schools, and in a few diocesan schools for classical learning. But it was at the same time enacted that the clergyman should be allowed a stipend for the conduct of a parochial school; and we find by a petition in 1731 that the poorer classes could not pay the salary required, and the richer refused to avail themselves in most cases of a species of instruction whose object was not to teach all classes what would make them virtuous in private life and peaceable in public, but to proselytize. The parochial schools, therefore, having completely failed, a scheme was set on foot in 1731 for the establishment of charter-schools, "for the instruction of the children of the Irish natives in the English tongue, and in the fundamental principles of the true religion." After the experience of a century, Parliament has determined upon the gradual abolition of these schools, which have cost the country in public grants considerably more than a million sterling. This determination is no doubt a wise one; for the charter-schools have been utterly inefficient as a system of national instruction. The chartered society has never been able to keep up more than fifty schools and two thousand scholars. "The society was bent upon the conversion of the children to the reformed religion; and they therefore resolved to cut off all intercourse between the children and their parents; to confine them within the walls of the schools during the whole period of their instruction, and, consequently, to maintain them at an expense, which, if it had been devoted to instruction alone, might have done some good. So averse, however, were the poor people to this breaking up of the natural ties of child and parent, that even the temptation of being wholly freed from the burden of supporting a child was insufficient to fill the schools, and their numbers, therefore, were never kept up, except in times of scarcity."* There can be no doubt that the education bestowed in these charter-schools was of the very worst quality. The unhappy children, cut off from the indulgence of the natural affections, were the victims of neglect and brutality in their teachers. So difficult was it to place them out in the world in consequence of their general ignorance and helplessness that, in 1824, the society was maintaining about 700 who had passed the age of apprenticeship: and of 1585 boys apprenticed from 1803 to 1814, 603 had either eloped or enlisted, or had been discharged for bad conduct. It has been the custom to cry out that Ireland owes much to England for the sums we have spent upon the education of her people; but let it not be forgotten that till within the last twenty years these abominable charter-schools offered the only gratuitous education in Ireland, with the exception of the Foundling Hospital. This latter institution, which has received about 800,000*l.* of the public money, has about 1200 children in a course of education. It is lamentable to know that these children, both male and female, turn out nearly as bad as those from the charter-schools.

Until the establishment of the institution commonly called the Kildare Place Society, the Protestant clergy had the exclusive direction of the public funds devoted to instruction. The charter-schools show how unwisely they executed the trust. In 1814, upon the recommendation of the first board of commissioners that the education of the Irish people should no longer be exclusive, but, "by keeping clear of all interference in the religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits as one undivided body, under one and the same system in the same establishment," a grant was made to the Society for Promoting Education in Ireland (Kildare Place Society), in order to try the principles thus recommended. From that time to the present the society has derived its funds almost entirely from parliamentary grants. It has held, however, no responsibility to government. This society deserves the high credit of having taken the first practical step in the common education of all classes of the people. It commenced its operations in 1817, having then 8 schools, attended by 557 pupils: in 1831, the number of its schools was 1620, and of pupils 132,573. At that time the number of Catholic children receiving instruction exceeded that of Protestant. There can be no doubt, however, that in many cases the parents of the Catholic children received this boon of education reluctantly and with apprehension. Mr. Frankland Lewis, one of the most able of the second board of commissioners, said in the course of the debate on Irish education (September 9, 1831), "I have been pained and pained again by witnessing the endeavours of persons to induce children to attend the schools of the society against the express desire of those whom I must say, whatever their religious faith, they were bound to obey. I have seen them skulking and stealing to school as if they were ashamed of what they were about." The Kildare Place Society, although an immense improvement upon the wretched system that had preceded it, and as such denounced at first by the same class of persons who are now denouncing the government plan of education, has failed in becoming the vehicle of a national system of instruction, from two causes: first, it required that the entire Scriptures should be read in the schools—a principle distinctly opposed to the doctrines and discipline of the Romish church; and secondly, because a great number of their schools—hundreds, according to Mr. Frankland Lewis—became connected and involved with those of the London Hibernian Society, whose avowed object was proselytism. The Kildare Place Society allowed the reading of any version of the Scriptures; the Hibernian

* Journal of Education, No. vi. page 239.

Society insisted that the authorized version only should be used. Whenever a school was in the possession of the two societies, the influence of the Hibernian was by far the more powerful. The Catholics, therefore, gradually withdrew their confidence from the Kildare Place Society; and from this circumstance alone it was perfectly clear that, if the education of the people of Ireland was to be equal and universal, government was bound to withdraw the funds which had been applied to purposes of partial education by that society. For how could that education be otherwise than partial which did not regulate the numbers of Catholic and Protestant children taught according to the proportions of the Catholic and Protestant population? Of 1620 schools on the lists of this society, 1021 were in the Protestant province of Ulster; of 133,000 scholars, 85,000 were in Ulster; of 2100 gratuities to masters, 1300 were bestowed in Ulster. Further, of 204 teachers admitted into the training schools in 1830, 171 were Protestants and 33 Catholics. It was surely in the spirit of bitter mockery that the Catholic population were told that they ought to be satisfied with what the Kildare Place Society was doing for their children. The plan of that society was inapplicable to five sixths of the people of Ireland, except through a violation of what they conscientiously thought their duty; and, for that reason, the public grant to this society, for which Catholic as well as Protestant was taxed, was wisely and honestly withdrawn.

It is a fortunate circumstance, in considering the subject of education in Ireland, that the commissioners of 1824 obtained returns of the whole number of children educated in the kingdom, whether in pay schools or gratuitously. Of the accuracy of these returns there can be no doubt, for they were furnished both by the Catholic and the Protestant clergyman. The total number of schools was 11,823, and of scholars 560,549. Of these, there were 9,352 pay schools, and 394,732 paying scholars. In the schools maintained by the public, the number of Protestants and Catholics was about equal; in the pay schools, the number of Protestants was 87,000, and of Catholics 307,000. From these facts we perceive that there is no indisposition for instruction on the part of the humbler classes of the Irish, whether Protestant or Catholic. The quality of the instruction may, in general, be bad; but the eagerness of the people to avail themselves of it, and the sacrifices they make for this object out of their miserable resources, form the best assurance that the first honest experiment for the education of the people without distinction will not be made in vain.

We have, at length, arrived at the main object of this article, that of furnishing a correct notion of what the government plan of education is.

The commissioners of 1824 were thoroughly aware of the radical defects of the only system, that of the Kildare Place Society, which made any approaches to a common ground of instruction for Catholic and Protestant. They knew, to use the words of Mr. Stanley's letter to the Duke of Leinster (October, 1831), "that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to a church which denies, even to adults, the right of unaided private interpretation of the sacred volume with respect to the articles of religious belief." The commissioners, adds the same letter, "sensible of the defects of the system, and of the ground as well as the strength of the objection taken, recommended the appointment of two teachers in every school, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, to superintend separately the religious education of the children; and they hoped to have been able to agree upon a selection from the Scriptures which might have been generally acquiesced in by both persuasions. But it was soon found that these schemes were impracticable; and, in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various reports of the commissioners of education, recommended a system to be adopted which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevailed in Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a system of national education for the poorer classes of the community." Upon these principles the existing board has been constituted. The commissioners have issued circulars announcing that they are ready to receive applications for aid towards the building and fitting up of schools, the paying of teachers, and the obtaining of books and school requisites, under certain conditions:—

1st. They require that local funds be raised to defray a regulated portion of the costs of these objects, such as one-third of the estimated expense of building a schoolhouse.

2nd. They require that the schools be kept open for a certain number of hours on four or five days of the week, at the discretion of the commissioners, for moral and literary education only; and that the remaining one or two days in the week be set apart for giving, separately, such religious education to the children as may be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions. They also permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction, either before or after the ordinary school hours, on the other days of the week.

3rd. They require the entire control over all books to be used in the schools, whether in the combined moral and literary, or separate religious instruction; none to be employed in the former except under the sanction of the board, nor in the latter but with the approbation of those members of the board who are of the same religious persuasion with the children for whose use they are intended.*

4th. They require a register to be kept of the attendance or non-attendance of each child at divine worship on Sundays.

5th. The teachers, except of such schools as are at present existing, which are approved by the board, are to receive previous instruction in a model school at Dublin; and their future suspension or removal is to be under the control of the commissioners, who are to have the power of visiting the schools themselves, or by inspectors whenever they think fit.

The commissioners began their labours in November, 1831. On the 19th of March, 1832, the Bishop of Exeter proclaimed in the House of Lords, that as a scheme of national education, the government system for Ireland had failed, and ought to fail. To this learned prelate an answer may be fairly rendered in the words of the Rev. James Carlile, one of the commissioners:—"Could it be said of this system, as it may be said with truth of every former system, that it has been in operation for ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years, and yet that the state of the country seems to be in no degree ameliorated by it,—no more intelligence or religious knowledge and principle among the peasantry of Ireland,—no better feeling between Protestant and Roman Catholic; but, on the contrary, opposing parties retiring to a great distance, for the purpose of rushing against one another with greater violence,—he might well have said that the system had totally failed in its object."† It will certainly not be the fault of the exclusive party both in the Irish and the English church,—the proselytizing party, who for a century spent from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year in charter-schools, under the pretence of "instructing and converting the young generation,"—it will not be their fault if the government system is not destroyed, and the old system is not restored. The Archbishop of Dublin, whose zealous, prudent, tolerant, and truly Christian labours in the great work of bestowing knowledge upon a people whose crimes and miseries all spring from a want of knowledge, are above all praise, forcibly described in the House of Lords, on March 19, the spirit which the commissioners had to struggle against:—"Their Lordships would be astonished if they knew the arts of delusion which were practised in order to prevent children from attending the schools. They had heard some pretty strong language in that house, but that was nothing to what was employed in Ireland. The supporters of the new system were in that country accused of an anti-Protestant spirit, of infidelity, of atheism, of treachery, and apostacy. To such an extent was the system of intimidation carried, that individuals refused to allow their names to be mentioned in that house as the supporters of the system, because their characters would suffer moral assassination. While persons were murdered in the south, characters were assassinated in the north. A Presbyterian congregation in the north of Ireland had been prevailed upon to desert their pastor because he ventured to approve of the government plan; and the consequence was, that he had been deprived of the means of subsistence, and had even been insulted in the street." And what is the cry that is raised with such virulent perseverance? It is, "that the poor Protestant is

* It is not designed to exclude from the list of books for the combined instruction such portions of sacred history, or of religious and moral teaching, as may be approved of by the board

† The System of Education in Ireland Explained. Lond. 1832.

deprived of his bible."—Deprived of his bible,—because select parts of it upon which men of different persuasions do not disagree, such as the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew, are taught in the schools as a part of the instruction of all the scholars; deprived of his bible, because at least one, if not two days in each week besides Sunday, is set apart for the religious instruction of the scholars by the clergymen of their own persuasion! "Ay, there's the rub." The richly endowed Protestant clergyman is not compelled by law—we wish he were—but may be roused by competition, to attend to the religious instruction of the children of his own flock. The government plan of education makes those peculiarly teachers of religion, who are supposed to be the best qualified to teach religion. The statute of Henry VIII. thought the same, but that the Irish clergy contrived to make a dead letter. The board of commissioners think the same, and seventeen Irish archbishops and bishops enter into a protest against the government plan. The Bishop of Exeter thus explained in the House of Lords the clerical horror of this measure: "He contended that this system would render impracticable the education of the children in the knowledge of the bible. They would not be allowed to read it in school-hours; and while they were out of school it would be physically impossible, from the extent of most of the parishes, for the Protestant clergyman to attend at the different schools to instruct them in it." Physically impossible! The unendowed Catholic clergy will get over the physical impossibility.

In the midst of all this hostility, it is satisfactory to know that the board of commissioners, during the first year of its operations, has not been turned aside from its straightforward course. The number of schools already in connexion with the board is nearly 500; and 100 more are building. These are calculated to educate about *90,000* children.

In conclusion, we recommend to the attentive consideration of all persons—but more especially of those who, trembling as they must at the awful consequences in Ireland of that insubordination which is the result of ignorance, yet would deny the knowledge that can alone produce peace and good-will—the following extract from the Reply of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Memorial of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's:—

"It is the office of a *church*, as such, to instruct in its own religious principles persons of all ages, and children not the least. The duty of catechizing as well as preaching is fully recognized in our own church. And we possess *endowments*, held, I apprehend, under the equitable condition of our labouring for these objects. Whether those endowments are sufficiently ample, and whether the present state of the public finances will admit of an appropriation of any part of the national revenue in aid of them, are questions I do not undertake to decide. But it will surely be admitted, that it is the duty of the pastors of our church not only to devote their personal labour to the religious instruction both of children and adults, but also, as far as their benefices will allow, to contribute, and to call on their lay brethren to contribute, towards the expenses of books, catechists, &c. for these purposes. I have always myself acted on this principle. My own living in Suffolk was but poor; but, besides superintending, by myself and my curates, the national school established there, I procured a school-house to be built for it, chiefly at the cost of clergymen; by whom also a very large proportion of its annual expenses has been defrayed. Besides which, an adult school was established and carried on; and lately, an infant school, instituted at my sole cost. I mention these circumstances not as any matter of boast for myself and the other clergy in that neighbourhood, much less as implying that the conduct of the clergy here is different, on the contrary, I think, and I doubt not the most respectable Irish ministers think with me, that, in all this, we are only fulfilling a plain duty, and employing the church revenues aright.

"A provision then (whether adequate or scanty) for *this* object being *already* in existence, Government, I conceive, contemplated beyond this another and strictly *national* object. Finding a great part of the Irish poor to be in a state of almost barbarian ignorance, while others of them obtain some small rudiments of education mixed up with lessons of faction and turbulence, and that squalid poverty, ferocity, and insubordination are the results, they judge it, I conceive, desirable and possible to improve in some degree their condition,—to advance them in *civilization*, and to make them more *orderly subjects*, by imparting to them such rudiments of education as they could be brought to receive. To this purpose it was resolved to appropriate a sum of money, not raised from the revenues of the church, or from the voluntary contributions of individuals towards some other object,—but, out of the *national* revenue, raised by the taxation (we should remember) of all denominations of the king's subjects.

"In disposing of this grant, with a view to the proposed object, two, and, I think, *only two*, modes could present themselves; viz.—1st, to divide the money among the different churches and sects; leaving each to educate, from first to last, the children under their care as they might think best: 2ndly, to combine those of different persuasions, in affording, where that might appear desirable, joint instruction in those parts of learning where religious differences do not preclude it; leaving the deficiencies to be filled up by those able and willing to labour in conveying religious knowledge.

"The latter plan was preferred in the first instance; partly, I suppose, because the funds might in this way be expected to go further; and likewise because one part of the very object proposed is the softening down of mutual animosity, and the cultivation of friendly feelings among the children of neighbours, by accustoming them to associate in the same school. I am not sanguine as to the success of the measure; but if the present plan should fail, and especially should it fail through *our* opposition to it, it seems highly probable that the *other* plan may be tried;—that *separate portions* of the grant may be placed at the disposal of different denominations of Christians, proportioned to the *numbers* and to the *poverty* of each class.

"Now if this should be done, and if, accordingly, a sum of (say) from 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* per annum were bestowed on Protestants, and from 25,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* on Roman Catholics, the children of each would be educated, not only apart, but, I fear, with even aggravated feelings of unfriendly jealousy. I need not dilate on the consequences likely to result."

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

Metropolitan Police.

The return of the expenditure and receipts of the Metropolitan Police Force, for the year 1832, has been laid before the House of Commons. The clear annual expense appears to have been 210,444*l.*; and 5000*l.*, part of a loan from the Treasury, has also been repaid. The warrants issued for the year 1832, amount to 206,189*l.*; and the amount receivable, including the arrears of 1831, to 268,599*l.*; of this sum, 198,211*l.* has been collected (arrears to the amount of 70,388*l.* standing over). 5000*l.* have been borrowed from the Treasury; 15,950*l.* received from the consolidated fund, as directed by 10 Geo. IV. c. 45; and 849*l.* has been received for attendance at theatres, races, &c.; making a total received of 220,010*l.* The warrants issued are computed at 8*d.* in the pound upon the total annual value of the entire property in every parish, township, precinct, and place within the Metropolitan Police District, according to the last valuation used in assessing the county rates, and show for such district an annual rental of 6,185,692*l.*

Courts of Revision.

For the purpose of revising the lists of voters, according to the provisions of the Act 2 Will. IV. c. 45 (the Reform Act), 165 barristers were employed, whose charges for upwards of 3600 days, at five guineas per day, together with their travelling and other expenses, form a total of 30,384*l.*

Crime.

The total number of persons committed for trial in England and Wales, during the year 1832, was 20,829, of whom 17,486 were males, and 3344 females. Of these 14,947 were convicted, 3716 acquitted, and 2166 either not prosecuted or the bills against them not found. The sentences on those convicted were as follows:—to death, 1449, of whom 54 were executed; to transportation for life, 546; to transportation for twenty-eight years, 1; for fourteen years, 764; for ten years, 1; for seven years, 2603; to be imprisoned and whipped, hard labour, &c., for three years, 3; for terms between one and two years, 230; between six and twelve months, 1304; six months and under, 7644; and to whipping and fine, 402. A circumstance, very deserving of notice, is the greater proportion of convictions to committals in the case of offences of which the punishment does not usually extend beyond

transportation or imprisonment, than in the case of those for which the punishment of death is inflicted; thus, for arson or other wilful burnings, out of 107 persons committed, only 35 were convicted, of whom 16 were executed; and for murder, 20 were convicted out of 66 committed, and of these 15 were executed; while for larceny 10,130 convictions were obtained out of 13,469 committals; and for larceny from the person, 1151 out of 1748.

A return has been presented of the number of prisoners indicted and tried at the last Michaelmas and Epiphany quarter-sessions in England and Wales, for offences which prior to the passing of the Acts 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 34, 62, and 123, would have been capital felonies. The Acts above mentioned were for abolishing the punishment of death for offences relating to the coin, for horse, cattle, or sheep stealing, and in certain cases of forgery. The number of indictments in the two sessions amounts to 71, but the number of convictions is not stated.

Two half-yearly Reports relating to the Convict-Hulk establishments, have been just printed by order of the House of Commons. Those for England include returns of the expense, the place of confinement, the number of convicts, and the amount of earnings of the convicts, distinguishing artificers from labourers, for the year ending December 31, 1832. Those for Bermuda contain similar statements for the year ending June 30, 1832. In England, each day's labour is reckoned at 1*s.* 6*d.* for an artificer, and 1*s.* for a labourer. At Bermuda, 2*s.* per day is charged for both classes. The results are as follow.

In England the average number confined has been 4218*, the amount of expense 68,981*l.*, and the total amount of earnings 48,664*l.*; thus leaving 20,317*l.*, or about 5*l.* per head, per annum, to be defrayed by the public.

In Bermuda, the average number confined has been 996, the amount of expense 18,237*l.*, and the total amount of earnings 26,607*l.*; leaving a balance in favour of the public of 7370*l.*

The reports of the several chaplains of the different hulks are very favourable as to the behaviour of the convicts; but several of them recommend, and in this they are joined by the superintendents, the sending of the more youthful of the prisoners to Australia, or some other settlement, as, if discharged in this country, "and exposed to the baneful influence of old associations, there is but little hope of their pursuing an honest course of life."

Clerical Returns.

ACCORDING to the Diocesan Returns for the year 1831, it appears there are 10,560 benefices in England and Wales, the incumbents in 4649 of which are resident, 2506 are non-resident by exemption, 1968 non-resident by license, and 1437 non-resident from miscellaneous causes, such as dilapidations of churches, sinecures, &c. Of the first class of non-residents, (of whom, however, 428 perform the duty of their respective parishes) 2080 reside on other benefices, and 360 are officers, tutors, or fellows of the universities, or hold ecclesiastical, cathedral, or collegiate offices; and the remainder are chaplains to noblemen, masters of grammar-schools, &c. Of the second class, 1227 allege the want or unfitness of the parsonage-houses, but 769 perform the duties of their parishes, as do also 487 of the third class.

In the several dioceses there are 4373 curates; 1532 residing in the glebe-houses, and 1005 others residing in the parishes they serve. It is stated, that only 3915 of these curates are licensed. The stipends of two of these curates are returned as under 10*l.*; of 1278, the stipend does not exceed 60*l.*; of 1282, it does not exceed 110*l.*; and only 32 are returned whose stipend exceeds 200*l.* Of livings where the incumbent is non-resident, 2548 are returned as being of less than 300*l.* per annum of gross value, and 1139 as being above that sum.

Coals, &c.

THE quantity of coals, culm, and cinders, imported into the port of London during the last three years has been, for 1830, 2,079,275 tons; 1831, 2,045,292 tons; and 1832, 2,139,078 tons.

Poor Rates.

A PAPER of great interest and importance has been printed by order of the House of Commons, under the title of an "Abstract of Returns of the Amount of Money levied and expended for the Relief of the Poor in each county in England and Wales, in the year ending 25th March, 1832." The total amount of the sums levied was 8,622,920*l.* 4*s.*; while the expenditure was, for the relief of the poor 7,036,968*l.* 10*s.*, and for other purposes 1,646,492*l.* 17*s.*, in all 8,683,461*l.* 7*s.*; being an increase at the rate of 4 per cent. for the whole country on the expenditure of the preceding year. In other words, the expenditure is greater than that of the preceding year by the sum of about 347,000*l.* The counties in which the rate of increase was the highest are Glamorgan, where it was 11 per cent.; Anglesey and Cardigan, where it was 9; Somerset and Sussex, where it was 8; Southampton, Surrey, and Montgomery, where it was 7; and Monmouth, Norfolk, and Brecon, where it was 6. In Devon, Hereford, and Middlesex, the increase was only at the rate of 1 per cent. In Stafford and Wilts, the amount was stationary. The only counties in which there was a diminution are Cornwall, where the decrease was at the rate of 1 per cent.; Westmoreland and Carnarvon, where it was 2; and Bedford, where it was 5. Upon the whole of England the increase was 3, and upon the whole of Wales 6 per cent. It also appears from this paper that the number of parishes in England and Wales, in which select vestries had then been formed was 2391; and of those in which assistant overseers had been appointed, 3345. The whole number of persons employed in the repair of roads during the year was 52,836, who were paid for their labour from the poor's rate the sum of 264,820*l.* 5*s.*; and the number of persons employed in other parish-work was 17,499, to whom was paid from the same fund 88,532*l.* 3*s.*

---

* In the first six months 386 boys are returned as on board the Euryalus, at Chatham: and the expense is stated at 1870*l.*: in the last six months, the expense is stated at 2055*l.*; but the number of boys is not returned. We have assumed it to be 400. It may also be added, that these boys are employed in making clothing and other articles for prisoners' use, which is not carried to account in the amount of earnings.

NOTICE.

THERE is a literary newspaper called the "Athenæum," which, some twelve months ago, endeavoured to force a circulation by heading its placards and advertisements "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." When this *ruse* had lived its hour, the "Athenæum," of course, began to make furious war on the flag under which it had attempted to sail. With the abuse of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, by that publication, we have nothing to do. But we protest against the imputation which the "Athenæum" directs against the "Companion to the Newspaper," of imitating its own small artifices. *We* have no desire to hoist false colours. The publisher of this work, we presume, has a right to enter into any private speculation, and to employ the channels of trade which he has opened. He has stated that the "Companion to the Newspaper" is sold by the Agents of the "Penny Magazine;" and in this the "Athenæum" discovers a mystery and a plot. It was precisely because he had established so extensive an agency for the sale of cheap works that he ventured upon the publication of the "Companion to the Newspaper." But he took care to prevent the possibility of mistake, by writing to all these Agents that the work in question was *not* under the superintendence of the Society;—and this he did, not to meet objections from any party that had a right to make them, but to be prepared for the cavils even of the meddling. The "Athenæum" may forgive the Society for not contradicting an error of the "Times" upon this point, when it recollects that its own attempts to connect itself, in the public eye, with the "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," were left to perish in quiet.

[The Supplement, No. 3, published April 1, is wholly devoted to the subject of the East India Company's Charter.]

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, GROOMBRIDGE, *Panyer-alley, Paternoster-row.*

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.
Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford-street.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

No. 3. APRIL 1, 1833. Price 2d.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. Introductory Remarks, and History of the Company to the present time	33	V. The Question as to the propriety of opening the Trade with China	40.
II. Government of India . .	36	VI. Propriety of separating the Political from the Commercial Character of the Company .	46
III. Question regarding the propriety of permitting Europeans to reside in India	37	Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter, issued March 27, 1833	47
IV. Effects of the recent partial opening of the Trade to India	39		

I.—*Introductory Remarks, and History of the Company to the present time.*

The period for which the Charter of the East India Company was renewed by the Act 53 Geo. III. cap. 155 (21 July, 1813), is now close upon its termination. The parliamentary notice of three years, given under the provisions of that act, will expire on the 22nd of April, 1834; so that discussions as to the further renewal of the Company's privileges must necessarily occupy the attention of parliament at an early period. The question is one of the highest moment to the various commercial interests of this kingdom, and, indeed, to the nation at large; and it appears to us we cannot better occupy the columns of our first supplement, than by bringing together, as concisely as its nature will allow, some of the various facts and circumstances which bear upon the subject.

A great mass of information connected with the trade and government of British India has been collected within the last three years by committees of both Houses of Parliament, and has been printed for the use of their members. The reports made by these committees are not, however, accessible to all; and, even if they were so, are too voluminous to be consulted by any but persons who have their time much at their own disposal *. To those who are in possession of the necessary degree of leisure, these reports will be highly valuable, relating as they do to subjects which involve the prosperity and happiness of our Indian subjects, and, in no small degree, our own prosperity as affected by commercial intercourse. To others who are not so circumstanced, we shall endeavour, in the following pages, to render the subject intelligible, at least to a degree which will enable them to form a judgment upon the propriety of the measures which will shortly be brought forward in Parliament.

Many of our readers are probably familiar with the prominent facts connected with the formation, constitution, and administrative functions of the East India Company; but as, without this knowledge, it would be in vain to attempt to grapple with the question, we think it better to give a short exposition of those matters for the information of such as are not already acquainted with them.

The first association for prosecuting trade between England and India was formed in London in the year 1599. Its capital was divided into 101 shares, and amounted to 30,000*l.* On the 31st of December in the following year, this association procured a Charter of privileges, to last for fifteen years, constituting the adventurers a body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The proprietors, thus incorporated, appointed a committee of twenty-four of their number, and a chairman, who were to be chosen annually for the management of their affairs. In the prosecution of their object, five ships were provided, which sailed from Torbay on the 2nd of May, 1601, with cargoes of bullion and merchandize. The total expense of their equipment and lading amounted to 75,000*l.* The difference between this sum and the amount brought forward by the original subscribers, was furnished by persons who adventured their money upon the result of this one voyage; so that the trading of the Company was conducted on the terms of a regulated, rather than a joint-stock company.

The result of this expedition was encouraging; and eight other voyages were performed, on similar terms of contribution, between 1603 and 1613. These voyages were successful, with the exception of one undertaken in 1607, when the two ships in which it was prosecuted were lost. The clear profits of the trade varied in the other seasons from 100 to 200 per cent. upon the capital employed.

In 1609 the Company obtained a renewal of its Charter for an indefinite period, subject, however, to its being dissolved by government upon three years' notice being given. About two years after this time, permission was granted to the Company to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga, upon its agreeing to pay a duty of 3½ per cent. upon all shipments of merchandize.

The system of subscriptions, in order to provide the funds needed for the prosecution of each voyage, was discontinued in 1612, when the association assumed the character of a joint-stock Company. Capital was now raised amounting to 429,000*l.*, which was embarked in four separate adventures or voyages, prosecuted in as many successive years. Although the result of these adventures was not equally profitable with those previously prosecuted by individuals under the regulation of the directors, the advantages derived (87½ per cent.) were sufficiently encouraging to produce a second set of subscriptions; and, in the year 1617-18, a new fund was raised to the amount of 1,600,000*l.* This, although employed under the management of the same directors, appears to have been kept distinct from the former capital, and the profits resulting from it seem to have been separately accounted for to the subscribers.

It forms an important era in the history of the Company, that in 1624 it obtained from the king authority to punish its servants abroad by municipal as well as by martial law. It does not appear that the authority of parliament was deemed necessary for giving to a private corporation the unlimited power of life and death over British subjects, in a situation where the temptation to its abuse was strongest, owing to the distance by which the Company's officers were removed from any restraining authority.

A third joint-stock was created in 1632, the subscriptions to which amounted to 420,700*l.* The system of management already explained was adopted in regard to this amount of capital also.

In 1635 a license to trade with India was granted by the king to a body of adventurers wholly distinct from the existing corporation, of whose rights this was deemed to be an invasion. The utmost efforts of the directors were unavailing, however, to procure the recall of the license thus granted, until 1640, when, upon the promise of its annulment, the corporation was required to raise a new joint-stock, in order to carry on the trade upon a sufficiently extensive scale.

It appears probable, from this and other circumstances, that, in this early period of the Company's operations, not only were the profits upon the adventures paid to the subscribers, but that the capital sum embarked was also returned to them at the winding up of each adventure.

It was probably owing to the competition carried on between the Company and its licensed rivals, that the profits upon its transactions had fallen so low as to hold out poor inducements to any new adventurers; and, accordingly, we find that the whole sum subscribed to its fourth joint-stock fund amounted to no more than 22,500*l.*; and the efforts of the directors were consequently feeble and unproductive. Thre

* The reports and returns presented to parliament on Indian affairs, from the year 1829, inclusive, and which have been examined for the compilation of this abstract, are above fifty in number, and occupy upwards of 7000 closely printed folio pages.

years after this the subscription was advanced to the still inadequate sum of 105,000*l.*

It may have been owing to the political troubles of that time, that the engagement to withdraw the license from the rival Company was not fulfilled. Both associations seem, however, to have become aware of the disadvantages resulting from competition, so that in 1650 their interests were joined, and new subscriptions obtained under the denomination of "the United Joint-Stock."

The first of those peculiar privileges to which must be ascribed the growth of the Company's political power in India, was obtained in 1652. Upon the payment of a very inconsiderable sum, it obtained from the government of Bengal an unlimited right of trading throughout the province, without being subjected to the payment of any duties.

The management of the Company's concerns by the directors appears to have been so unsatisfactory to a body of its proprietors, that they obtained from the Protector, in 1655, a commission to fit out ships for trading with India. This body assumed the name of the Merchant Adventurers, and its concerns were managed by a committee.

In little more than two years from the date of their commission, the Merchant Adventurers formed a coalition with the Company; and this occasion was embraced for bringing into one common stock all the various funds in the hands of the directors, to a proprietorship in which claims were made by subscribers to each of the joint-stock funds previously raised. The directors, who had now only one distinct interest to pursue, were thus relieved from much confusion and embarrassment in their proceedings.

A new Charter was obtained by the Company on the 3rd of April, 1661, confirming its former privileges, and giving authority to make peace and war with any prince or people, *not being Christians*, as well as to seize all unlicensed persons found within the limits to which its trade extended, and to send them to England.

In 1668, the island of Bombay, which had been ceded by Portugal to Charles II., as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, was granted by the king to the Company "in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, at an annual rent of 10*l.* in gold, on the 30th of Sept. in each year."

For a quarter of a century following the date of its coalition with the Merchant Adventurers, the Company remained without any competition in its trade, except on the part of a few individuals who were easily crushed. An attempt was made, in 1682-3, to establish a rival Company, which failed, owing to a want of sanction on the part of government. The nation was about this time, however, in the enjoyment of a considerable share of prosperity, and commercial capital was in consequence much increased. The people, too, began better to understand their political rights; and, foreseeing great advantages to follow from a trade with India, discovered that the Company's monopoly, being unsanctioned by parliament, ought not to be maintained. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed early in 1690, to inquire into the subject. Although its decision was hostile to the existing corporation, it simply recommended that a new Company should be established by act of parliament. In the following year, the house addressed the king to dissolve the existing Company, and to incorporate a new one.

Various individuals had, in the meanwhile, taken the question into their own hands, so far as to despatch ships to trade with India. These *interlopers*, as they were called, met with all kinds of opposition and oppression on the part of the Company, whose officers seized them wherever they could be found, and bringing them before their own tribunals upon various pretexts, found them guilty of piracy or any other crime wherewith it suited the officers to charge them. Sentence of death was passed upon several; and the Company took great credit to themselves for clemency in staying the execution of these sentences until the king's pleasure should be known, retaining the prisoners meanwhile in close confinement.

In 1693, the king granted a new Charter to the Company, under which it was required to augment its capital stock, then 756,000*l.*, to 1,500,000*l.*, and to export in every year British produce to the value of 100,000*l.* This Charter was to have had effect for twenty-one years; but the power of the crown to grant such exclusive privileges was questioned by the commons, who passed a resolution declaring, "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world unless prohibited by act of Parliament."

To obtain the Charter of 1693, the most corrupt methods were employed. The books of the Company, on being examined by order of the House of Commons, shewed, that it had been long its practice to bribe men in power; that since the revolution the practice had greatly increased; and that in the year when the Charter was obtained, nearly 90,000*l.* had been distributed in bribes. The Duke of Leeds, charged with receiving 5000*l.*, was impeached by the Commons, and it was said that double that amount was traced to a much higher quarter. This may have been the reason why all further inquiry was smothered, by the prorogation of parliament.

Under the sanction of the declaration of the House of Commons, to which no reply was attempted on the part of the crown, many new adventurers began to trade with India, and a powerful opposition was raised up by an association of merchants, whose proceedings threatened the old Company with destruction. With the view of retrieving their affairs, the directors took advantage of the necessities of the government, and offered to lend the sum of 700,000*l.* at 4 per cent. interest, on condition that their Charter should be confirmed, and the exclusive right of trading with India secured to the original Company. In this negotiation, the directors would probably have succeeded, but that their rivals, improving upon the suggestion, offered to lend the larger sum of 2,000,000*l.* at 8 per cent. interest, on condition that they should be invested with the monopoly, and allowed to manage their capital, whether as a joint-stock, or on the terms of a regulated Company, as they should see fit.

This larger bribe prevailed. An act was passed authorising the association to raise the sum of 2,000,000*l.* by subscription, for the service of government, at the rate of interest above-named. The subscribers were incorporated by the name of "The General Society," and authorized severally to trade with India, each to the amount of his individual subscription, such as desired it being allowed to join their stock and trade together. The old Company was entitled to three years' notice before its trade could be stopped. It had also acted upon the clause in the new act, which allowed corporations to subscribe towards the stock of the General Society, to which it accordingly contributed the sum of 315,000*l.*

The Charter of Incorporation of the General Society was speedily followed by another, uniting the greater part of its subscribers, who desired to trade on a joint stock. This corporation was distinguished as "The English Company Trading to the East Indies." The means of the new adventurers were so far crippled by the loan of its subscribed capital to government, that its commercial exertions were but feeble, and not at all commensurate with those of the old company, the members of which had influence enough to procure an act of parliament continuing them a corporation, and entitling them to trade on their own account in respect of the stock which they held in the new Company.

The rivalship of these two Companies was productive of much inconvenience both commercial and political, so that in the beginning of 1701, when the three years' notice to the old Company was about expiring, an union was effected between the two corporations. On the 22d July, 1702, an indenture accordingly passed under the Great Seal—the queen being made a party to the instrument in order to give full legal effect to the arrangement—and the two corporations took the common name of "The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies." Seven years were allowed, during which each association was to manage separately the stocks actually engaged and to wind up its affairs, after which the union was to be complete and final. When this period arrived an act (6 Anne, cap. 17) was passed, obliging the United Company to advance to government the sum of 1,200,000*l.* without interest, which, when added to the former loan of 2,000,000*l.* at 8 per. cent., raised the amount to 3,200,000*l.*, and reduced the rate of interest to 5 per cent. upon the whole advance. In return for this stipulation, the Company was empowered to raise 1,500,000*l.* either on its common seal or by contributions from its members, and to add the 1,200,000*l.* to its capital stock. The Charter under the previous act might have been terminated in 1711, but was continued by this arrangement until after a notice of three years, which could not be given earlier than March, 1726, and further until the money borrowed should be repaid to the Company.

This act of parliament is the foundation of the privileges now enjoyed by the United East India Company. The exclusive privilege of trading eastward of the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, then granted, was confirmed and continued by successive acts of parliament until 1794.

The old Company had obtained a grant in 1698 of the towns of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, with leave to exercise jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the district, and to erect fortifications. A fortification, which they speedily constructed, received the name of Fort William, in compliment to the reigning King of England.

From the period of their first acquisition of territory in India, the directors of the Company had shown much anxiety respecting the claim which the government might make to its sovereignty. In 1767, an agreement was made between the public and the Company to the effect that in consideration of an annual payment of 400,000*l.* the territory should remain in possession of the Company for the term of two years. This term was afterwards extended to five years more from the 1st February, 1769. The sums paid to the public by the company under these two acts amounted to 2,169,398*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*

The revenues of the Company in India proving inadequate to defray the expenses of its government, added to the large annual payment reserved to the public, a petition was presented to Parliament, in 1773, praying for relief. In consequence, the sum of 1,400,000*l.* was lent to the Company for four years.

Parliament seized upon this occasion to assume a general regulation of the Company's affairs, and to effect a complete change in its constitution. It appointed a governor-general to reside in Bengal, to which station the other Indian presidencies were made subordinate. A supreme court of judicature was likewise established in Calcutta, with judges appointed by the crown. It determined the mode of electing directors and the qualification of voters. It restricted the amount of annual dividend upon the stock to six per cent., foregoing the annual payment of 400,000*l.* until the debt incurred under the arrangement should be discharged. It insisted upon the exhibition to the government of all correspondence between the directors and their officers which related to territorial affairs; and required half yearly statements to be rendered to the Treasury of the profit and loss upon the Company's trade and revenues, and of its debts in England.

In return for these exactions, Parliament, besides advancing the sum above-mentioned and foregoing for a time the annual payment of 400,000*l.*, confirmed to the Company its territorial possessions until the expiration of its then existing Charter.

The act of parliament passed in 1781, for renewing the charter until March, 1794, continued the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Company for a period terminating upon three years' notice, to be given after March, 1791. Under this act the Company paid to the public 400,000*l.* in satisfaction of all claims, the loan of 1,400,000*l.* having been previously discharged.

In August, 1784, Mr. Pitt's celebrated India Bill was passed. By this enactment a Board of Control was established, composed of six privy-councillors to be selected by the king, whose duty it was declared to be to superintend the territorial concerns of the Company, to inspect all letters passing to and from India between the directors and their agents (with the exception of such only as are purely commercial) to alter and amend in such manner as they should think proper the despatches sent to India, and even, where the case should appear urgent, to transmit orders to the functionaries in India without the concurrence of the directors. By the same act, the Court of Proprietors were deprived of the power of controlling the directors in any matter which had met the concurrence of the Board of Control; a special tribunal was established for the punishment of delinquencies committed in India; the governor-general, presidents and members of council were still to be named by the directors, but subject to the approval of government; while the commander-in-chief of the army employed in India was to be chosen by the king, without any interference on the part of the Company. By a subsequent act (26 Geo. III. cap. 25) the king obtained the power of recalling the governor-general; so that while the appointment of that high officer is nominally with the Court of Directors, it rests virtually and substantially with the government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the principal Secretaries of State are, by virtue of office, members of the Board of Control. Of the other four members, the senior is president of the Board, and with him the whole business of the Board has ordinarily rested, the other commissioners assembling but seldom, and being called upon to deliberate still more rarely. Under this arrangement it has been truly said that the president "is essentially a new Secretary of State—a Secretary for the Indian Department"—that "the powers of the Board of Control convert the Company's courts into agents of its will. The real, the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it only makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, a subordinate office, for the management of details, and the preparation of business for the cognizance of the superior power."* By a subsequent act, the commissioners are no longer required to be taken exclusively from the Privy Council, and it is provided, that their salaries shall be paid by the East India Company.

In 1793, the Act 33 Geo. III. c. 52, was passed, by which the possession of the British territories in India, together with the right of exclusive trading thither, were, under certain limitations, continued to the Company for the further term of twenty years. In 1813 the Charter was again renewed for twenty years. By this last act (53 Geo. III. c. 155,) the trade to India was thrown open to the public under certain regulations; while that to China and the trade in tea generally was reserved exclusively to the Company.

The capital stock of the Company, which in 1708 amounted to the sum of £3,200,000
was increased under the authority of successive enactments, as follows:—

In 1786	800,000
In 1789	1,000,000
In 1794	1,000,000
Making its capital stock amount to	6,000,000

Some portions of the capital thus raised were subscribed at rates exceeding the nominal amount. The sum actually subscribed in 1794 was 2,027,295*l.*; and the whole amount paid into the Company's treasury for capital stock has been 7,780,000*l.*

Under the provisions of the act of 1793, the Company engaged to pay to the public the sum of 500,000*l.* annually, unless prevented by war expenditure; but it so happened, that owing to the state of its finances throughout the period over which the engagement extended, which was one of continued hostilities, it was not found convenient to make more than two payments of 250,000*l.* each, in the years 1793-4 and 1794-5, notwithstanding that liberal dividends were regularly made to the proprietors.

On two occasions subsequently to 1793, the Company obtained pecuniary assistance from the public, under the authority of the legislature; once, in 1810, when 1,500,000*l.* was advanced in exchequer bills, and repaid soon after by advances made for the public service in India, and again in 1812, when a loan of 2,500,000*l.* was raised by government for the service of the Company: this loan was liquidated by annual payments, and was finally discharged in 1822.

In all the enactments of parliament down to that of 1793 inclusive, the territorial and commercial affairs of the Company had been considered as forming together one undivided concern. The revenues of the Company in India, and its profits realized in England, had indeed been separately appropriated; but no direct provision had ever been made for distinguishing either in India or in England those receipts and disbursements which partook of a political character, from those which were strictly commercial. To remedy this difficulty, the act of 1813 provided for a separation of the accounts as between the two branches of the Company's affairs. This act directs that "the Accounts of the Company, abroad and at home, shall be so kept and arranged, as to contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets appertaining to or connected with the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs respectively; and that they shall be made up so as to exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments, separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs." It also directs that the several accounts required to be annually laid before parliament shall be prepared in conformity with this plan of separation, and arranged according to forms to be submitted to, and approved by government.

* Mill's History of British India, vol. ii. p. 707, 4to. edition.

The directors are required in the month of May, in every year, "to lay before both Houses of Parliament, accounts territorial and commercial, made up according to the latest advices which shall have been received, and with as much accuracy as the nature of the case will admit." It has been stated, that accounts made up within the time which parliament has thus prescribed, cannot exhibit such balanced statements of results as preclude the risk of errors or omissions; and although it has been the practice to accompany the accounts thus given in with abstracts of the cash receipt and disbursement made up in India, yet that it is not possible, without further information, to deduce from them complete statements of the financial results.

II.—*Government of India.*

It has been found necessary by the directors of the East India Company, and by the Board of Control, to classify their business under six distinct branches or departments. The committee of the House of Commons, whose report was presented at the close of the last session, has adopted a similar arrangement in the prosecution of its inquiries.

These branches are,—

1. Public.
2. Finance and Accounts,—Trade.
3. Revenue.
4. Judicial.
5. Military.
6. Political or Foreign.

The branch denominated "Public" is made in the report of the committee to embrace many miscellaneous subjects of inquiry. Among these are,—

The constitution, powers, efficiency, and other characteristics of the different branches of the Indian government both at home and abroad.

The character and qualifications of Europeans appointed for the administration of the civil government in India.

The condition of the natives of India in reference to education:—their feelings in regard to our government, and the policy of employing them in Indian administration.

The propriety of introducing the use of the English language in the Company's courts of justice.

The laws under which our Indian empire is governed, their administration, and the degree in which they are applicable to European residents.

The condition and character of European settlers in India, and the policy of encouraging them.

The state of the press in India.

The church establishment, with reference to the actual state of Christianity in India, and—

The powers and practical effects of the king's courts at the different presidencies.

It is impossible to enter at length upon these numerous heads of inquiry. We must select for our examination such as appear of the greatest present importance, with reference to the public interest as connected with the question of the Company's Charter.

The home government of India is composed of,—1. The Court of Proprietors; 2. The Court of Directors; and 3. The Board of Control.

The proprietors vote according to the amount of stock which they possess. The lowest sum which entitles to a single vote is 1000*l.* stock. The number of proprietors recently entitled to vote were 1956, of whom 54 had four votes, 50 had three votes, 370 had two votes, and 1502 one vote each. The proprietors elect the directors and declare the dividend. They make bye-laws, which are binding when no act of parliament exists to the contrary. All proceedings in parliament affecting the Company's interest, and all grants of money beyond 600*l.* must have their approval; but they have no general control over the Court of Directors, nor can they interfere with any of its orders when sanctioned by the Board of Control.

The Court of Directors consists of twenty-four proprietors, who conduct the whole affairs of the Company, subject to the superintendence of the Board of Control. They are elected for four years, six going out annually by rotation. These are re-eligible at the expiration of a year, and are mostly re-elected: thirteen form a court. The election of its chairman and deputy-chairman is made annually, and rests with the directors.

The power of nominating the governors of the presidencies is vested in the directors, subject to the approval of the crown. They can recal the governors or any other of their servants independently of the Board of Control. Subject to the supervision of the same Board, the despatches connected with the government of India, and, without that supervision, all commercial letters, are prepared by the directors. In case of any collision between them an appeal lies to the king in council, as an ultimate resort—an option of which it is not probable that the directors will ever avail themselves, since no good appears likely to result from an appeal from the king's council to the king in council.

For the despatch of business, the Court of Directors divides itself into three committees: the committee of correspondence—of buying and warehouses—and of shipping. Their functions are sufficiently indicated by their titles.

By the act of 1794 the directors were charged to appoint a secret committee, in order to forward to India, such despatches as the Board of Control consider should be secret. This committee usually consists of the chairman, deputy-chairman, and the senior member of the Court of Directors. These all take the oath of secrecy, and form the organ for transmitting the orders and instructions of the Board of Control on all matters relating to war or peace.

The functions of the Board of Control have already been principally detailed, or may be gathered from what has been said with regard to the powers of the directors. It has the right of directing that permission be given to any individual to proceed to India, from whom the directors have withheld their license to that effect.

The correspondence of the directors is, as might be expected, voluminous and complicated. That part of it which originates in India comes in the form of despatches, and the explanatory matter in books or volumes. The total number of these folio volumes received in twenty-one years from 1793 to 1813, was 9094; and from 1814 to 1829, a period of sixteen years, the number was 12,414.

Collision between the co-ordinate authorities has sometimes occurred, and has been productive of much inconvenience. It is provided by act of parliament that despatches shall be returned by the Board to the directors within two months from the time of their being submitted. But it has sometimes happened that questions of importance submitted by the government of India to the home authorities have not been answered for a period of two and even three years, circumstances having so changed in the meantime that further reference has become necessary; and thus many years have elapsed before the adjustment of such questions. It is also affirmed that the desire of avoiding such collision has in many instances led to the indefinite postponement of instructions upon important subjects.

The executive government of the Company abroad is administered at three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. In Bengal the government consists of a governor-general and three councillors, and at Madras and Bombay of a governor and the same number of councillors. The directors may appoint the commander-in-chief in each presidency to a seat in the council; the other two councillors are civilians, who must have resided ten years in India in the Company's service.

The governor-general has a controlling power over the governors of Madras and Bombay; and if he thinks fit to proceed to either of these presidencies he there assumes the chief authority.

The power of making and enforcing laws for the government of the respective presidencies rests in the governor-general, or governor, and the three councillors; subject, in some instances, to the consent of the supreme court of judicature to register their decrees, and likewise to the approval of the Board of Control and Court of Directors.

There exist in India two concurrent, and in some instances, conflicting systems of judicature;—the Company's courts, and the King's, or supreme courts.

In the Company's courts there are three grades of European judges; the district, the provincial, and the judges of the Sudder court. There are also two classes of native judges; moonsifs, of whom several are stationed in every district, and Sudder ameens, established at the same stations with the European district judges. There are also magistrates, who exercise civil jurisdiction; and registrars, who decide such causes as may be referred to them by the judge.

Trial by jury is confined entirely within the limits of the supreme courts, the jurisdiction of which extends to Europeans generally, and to natives also, within a certain distance around the several presidencies.

No regulation made by the local government, affecting

individuals within the jurisdiction of the supreme court, becomes a valid law unless registered by the court. The exercise of this discretionary power of the court has often caused embarrassment to the local government, and has naturally enough been made the subject of complaints. It may be questioned, however, whether some such check is not necessary, to guard against assumptions of power on the part of a very small body of men, whose will would otherwise be law; the only power entitled to control their actions being separated from them by a distance of 13,000 miles.

One very important power committed to the authorities in India is that of arbitrary deportation, without trial. The exercise of this power is most generally attended with absolute ruin to the individual. It is difficult to believe it to be incompatible with the safety of the government; and upon no other plea can the exercise of so arbitrary a power be justified—to allow parties a regular trial upon the spot before so severe a sentence is put in execution. It is proper to state, that the cases in which this power has been exercised are extremely rare, not more than half-a-dozen instances having occurred during thirty years. This fact, if it shows the mildness of the government on the one hand, proves also, on the other, how little ground exists for the continuance of a power so foreign to all our ideas of equitable government.

None but subordinate situations in the revenue, judicial, and military departments, are at present open to the natives of India. There is ample evidence to prove that such a system of exclusion is not warranted either on the score of incapacity, want of application, or dishonesty; and it is contended by competent judges that the admission of the natives into higher offices, under European control, would have a beneficial effect upon their general moral character, would strengthen their attachment to British dominion, would conduce to the better administration of justice, and would occasion a great saving in the charges of administering the Indian government.

Education has recently been encouraged and extended among the natives; and a strong desire has been awakened for acquiring a knowledge of the sciences and literature of Europe. The progress of Protestant Missionaries in India appears to be daily becoming more successful. They have judiciously established schools both in the north and south of India. The number of their scholars in Bengal alone, amounts to about 50,000. This general diffusion of instruction is productive of the best effects, not only on the children educated, but also on the minds of their connexions.

By the act of parliament of 1813, the Company is obliged, out of surplus territorial revenue, to expend a lac of rupees (equivalent, when the rupee is at half-a-crown, to 10,000*l.* sterling) annually in promoting the education of the natives of India; and, in many years, the sums expended have gone greatly beyond the stipulated amount.

Many witnesses concur in the opinion that the general cultivation of the English language is highly desirable, both with the view of fitting the natives for admission to offices of trust, and as a powerful means of operating favourably on their habits and character. The partiality which many among them show for the English language and literature does not appear to have met with corresponding encouragement on the part of the government. It has not provided a sufficient number of teachers qualified for the purpose; so that, in most of the government schools, the English language is not taught at all. In other schools at Calcutta, many Hindoo boys are to be found who can read the most difficult English authors with fluency, and give proof of understanding them by explaining any passage that may be selected for the purpose. Many natives of rank are in the habit of sending their children to these schools. It must tend to spread the desire for acquiring our language, that the Bengal government has promulgated its intention eventually to render it the medium for transacting public business throughout the country.

It cannot be expected that a foreign language should make its way very rapidly among a numerous people who are dispersed over so vast a country; particularly as the number of English inhabitants is so small as to afford but few occasions where the knowledge of our tongue can prove advantageous. It is evident, however, that the Company does take active measures for otherwise informing the minds of the natives. Moslem and Hindoo colleges have been established in Calcutta, Delhi, Agra, and Benares. Schools have been established in other parts of the country, and aid has been afforded to seminaries originating with individuals. These efforts cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon the character of the native population; and, apart from all higher considerations, must be productive in the end of great advantages to our commerce with India, by promoting the arts of civilization among its inhabitants.

It has been asserted, that the removal of the censorship at Calcutta and Bombay, by Lord Hastings, and the same measure more recently adopted at Madras, have rendered the press in India as free as the press of this country. It is hard to believe this assertion, in connexion with the facts that no person is allowed to use a printing press without a license, which may be withdrawn without the assignment of any reasons on the part of the authorities; and that the power of deportation without trial or appeal may be used against any individual who proves obnoxious to the government,—a power which has indeed been employed within these few years against the editors of two journals in Calcutta. It has been attempted to justify this order of things upon the ground that the civil government of India, which contains a population of near 100,000,000, being conducted by about 1100 strangers, it becomes a matter of necessity for their self-preservation that those who hold the reins of government should be able to prevent any discussions which may weaken the influence which they possess over the minds of the natives. It has, besides, been broadly asserted, and with great apparent truth, that "a free press, and what may be called an arbitrary or despotic government, seem to be wholly unsuited to each other." Journals are published by natives in Calcutta and Bombay, and are under the same regulations as those conducted by Europeans, with the exception that the government cannot in their case exercise the practice of deportation. The servants of the Company are forbidden to engage in writing or publishing any political papers.

III.—*Question regarding the Propriety of permitting Europeans to Reside in India.*

The directors of the East India Company have, for a long time, evinced great jealousy in regard to the admission of Europeans into their territories. Serious apprehensions were expressed lest the great influx of Europeans, consequent upon the opening of the trade in 1813, would have a dangerous effect. It appears, however, that, in the space of thirteen years, from 1815 to 1828, the increase of British-born subjects in India, not in the service of the East India Company, did not exceed 515; and that these reside principally at the three presidencies, or are employed in ships belonging to the respective ports. The evil of the oppression to which it was foretold the natives in the internal districts would be exposed from the presence of Europeans not under the immediate control of the Company's government, has not hitherto, therefore, been experienced. Nor does it appear that good grounds for alarm on this score can ever exist. The expense of transporting themselves to so great a distance would deter needy adventurers from resorting thither; labourers have no motive for emigrating to India, where they could not compete with the native ryots (cultivators) either in the cheapness of their living, or in the power of supporting labour in so hot a climate; and mechanics would encounter the rivalry of remarkably good workmen among the natives, whom they would little resemble in the fewness of their artificial wants.

That men of a superior class to those just mentioned, and who would introduce skill and capital into the country, should by their conduct oppress the people among whom they settled, or cause any well-founded alarm to the government, is an idea but little honourable to the character of the educated classes of our countrymen. Fortunately, this question is not left to conjecture. The settlement, in the interior of the provinces, of Europeans who employ their capital in the manufacture of indigo, has shown that the residence among them of the better class of Europeans is anything but a misfortune to the native cultivators.

As early as 1766, the Court of Directors prohibited British-born subjects from renting lands. The prohibition was then directed against their own servants who were in the practice of holding public lands, it being feared that they might convert their power and influence to purposes of oppression against the natives. The evidence given before the com-

mittee of the House of Commons shows that the prohibition was liable, at all times, to be rendered little more than nominal, since Europeans could and did hold lands in farm in the names of natives, and in their names, also, sued and were sued in the courts. The necessity for having recourse to this indirect mode of proceeding did not deter Europeans from embarking their capitals in the establishment of indigo factories, which have had a beneficial influence through the employment which they provide for the native population.

The chief difficulty opposed to the free admission of Europeans appears to arise out of the defective state of the judicial establishments, civil and criminal. This consideration does, indeed, show a necessity for improving the system of those establishments; but it should never be urged against a permission to which no other objection can be brought, that it is rendered inexpedient by reason of bad or defective government. Facilities of intercourse have, of late years, been greatly increased. License to proceed to India is said to be now never withheld, if the applicant can show any reasonable motive for wishing to proceed to India other than mere speculation. Many instances have formerly occurred in which a refusal on the part of the directors has been superseded by the Board of Control. The total number of licenses authorizing Europeans to reside in India, granted by the Court of Directors from 1814 to 1831, was 1,253. The total number of licenses refused by the Court during that time was 294; and that of those granted by the Board of Control was 71.

The subject of restrictions against the free emigration of British subjects to India, and their right to a continued residence in that country subject only to the sentence of a legal tribunal, together with the permission to hold leases of lands in their own names, will probably occupy an important place in the impending discussion of the terms of renewal of the Company's Charter. It appears, therefore, necessary to state such arguments bearing upon the continuance of those restrictions, as have been brought forward by parties who may be thought best qualified to assist the judgment of the public on the subject.

In a memorial presented by the principal merchants and agency houses at Calcutta to the governor-general, dated 28th of January, 1829, we find it stated that "the various inconveniences experienced by indigo planters, from their inability to hold lands in their own names, have opposed such obstacles to the successful prosecution of their industry as could never have been compensated but by extraordinary fertility of soil and cheapness of labour. The losses resulting from the insecurity of lands held in the names of natives, from the failure of ryots, who have received advances to perform their contracts, and from the litigation and affrays they are liable to be involved in by the relations in which existing regulations compel them to stand to such persons, are an unnecessary expense which cannot be estimated at less than 25 per cent. on the total outlay, and a serious bar to all experimental improvements in agriculture. Notwithstanding the disadvantageous nature of the tenure, about one-third of the entire quantity of indigo plant is grown by the planters themselves, and two-thirds purchased on contract from ryots.

"The value of the indigo annually produced is from two and a half to three crore of rupees (2,500,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.*) whereof, perhaps, two crore are expended in India for rent, stock, wages, interest of capital, &c., and a large portion, probably three-fourths, of the balance is remitted to England. Competition among planters has increased the cost of production from 80 to 100 per cent., so as greatly to reduce the superiority which this country has long possessed over the other countries from which Europe is supplied with indigo. The necessity of removing artificial obstructions, in order to secure the success of this most important branch of trade, and to promote the manifest interests of this country and of England, is thus continually rendered more urgent."

Permission had been given in 1824 to some Europeans, to hold a limited quantity of land upon lease for the purpose of making the experiment whether coffee could be advantageously cultivated in Bengal, which concession had been afterwards sanctioned by the directors; and the request preferred in the letter above quoted was to the effect that a regulation might be passed by the governor-general in council, rendering the same provisions applicable to the cultivation of indigo and other agricultural produce.

The concession thus sought was granted by a resolution of the government of Bengal, dated 17th of February, 1829, in which the propriety of the measure is fully recognised; and this resolution was followed by minutes drawn up by Sir Charles Metcalfe and by Lord William Bentinck, whose reasoning upon the subject is just and conclusive. The following paragraph exhibits the course of reasoning by which the government of Bengal supported this concession:

"On whatever side the subject is considered, the more does it present the prospect of advantage from the free resort of Englishmen to India. On one supposition only can I entertain the apprehension of danger. Undoubtedly, the presence of our countrymen, and the knowledge which they are likely to diffuse, will render the people more conscious of their rights, and better able to understand the duties of their governors. Were it our purpose to pursue a course of injustice; to withhold from the people the privileges they may fairly claim, and could advantageously exercise; to sport with their lives, their properties, or their feelings, by arbitrary acts, by grinding extortions, or by capricious innovation; we should act most unwisely in permitting one British subject to enter the country, excepting as an accomplice in the scheme; we should be acting madly in spreading abroad the lights of knowledge. But our designs being benevolent towards India, let us not withhold what best would serve her. Our duty being to maintain the dominion of England, let us not reject the best means of confirming it: our care being equally the interests of both countries, let us not exclude those who would best promote and combine them."

The Court of Directors, however, were not influenced by this course of reasoning; they disapproved of the concession, and directed the Indian government "to retrace their steps in regard to it as far as is practicable." When this fiat reached Bengal, only five applications for leases of land had been complied with in favour of Europeans, and to the extent of about five thousand acres. Very scanty means will therefore be afforded for judging of the amount of benefit, or otherwise, which might have attended the measure, if acted upon extensively.

The field which India presents for the successful employment of British enterprise, has been made sufficiently apparent by the result of the indigo cultivation. In the hands of native manufacturers, the indigo of India was not qualified to compete with the produce of the west; but no sooner had Europeans embarked in the pursuit, with their superior science and more extensive means, than Indian indigo was rendered so superior, that it drove the cultivators of Spanish America, in a great degree, to forego the production of the plant; and the factories of Bengal now supply not only almost the entire consumption of England, but also four fifths of that of the whole world.

The improved methods of manufacture introduced by British settlers have been extensively adopted by the natives. Hitherto, however, the indigo manufactured by the latter has been decidedly inferior to that produced in the factories of Europeans. This inferiority is said to be equal to fifteen per cent. of its value; while the dye produced by the old native process, still in some cases adhered to, is said to be wholly unfit for exportation.

It is worthy of remark, that while the improvement just mentioned has been taking place in the manufacture of indigo, through the employment of European capital and direction, all other articles from which that advantage has been withheld have continued in a state of inferiority. It is impossible to account for this on any other ground than that of incompetent skill on the part of the producers. The soil and climate cannot justly be charged with the rudeness and imperfections exhibited by Indian products. In the immense range of territory under the dominion of Great Britain are included a prodigious diversity of soils and climate, from which a countless variety of productions may be raised, wanting only the productive power of British skill, capital, and enterprise, to render them of qualities that must make them desirable objects of commerce. It is proved that without this aid the native Indians are incapable of giving such a character to their productions as will fit them to enter into successful competition with similar articles produced under more effective management in other quarters. Why should the sugar of India not equal in its quality that of our western colonies? Why should it be so inferior to the sugar of China, that the latter is suffered to find its way into consumption in the presidencies to the exclusion of the native produce? Simply, because capital is required which the Indian cultivator has not; joined to skill which he cannot or will not acquire.

The same remarks may be applied to the growth of cotton, which, in India, is entirely left to the rude and slovenly industry of the natives. Few attempts have been made to improve the cotton of India, notwithstanding the strong recommendations of the government to that effect, which we find have been made to the East India Directors. Such as it was two hundred, or perhaps two thousand, years ago, such is now the cotton of India; and such it may remain unless Europeans are permitted to take an interest in its cultivation, or until the native growers are roused to the necessity of seeking after improvements. Without the inciting example or the powerful aid of Europeans, such an effect may not be produced until another equally lengthened period shall have elapsed. There is scarcely a part of the Company's territories in which the plant might not be cultivated; and yet the whole quantity of cotton wool brought to the market of Calcutta in the year 1827, amounted to just as much as would furnish an average supply for three weeks to the spinning mills of this kingdom. It may be safely predicted, that in a few years after the restrictions upon the settlement of Europeans in India shall have been removed, a better kind of cotton will be cultivated, in such abundance, that it will, in a great degree, supersede the produce of the slave states of America, where labour is, out of all proportion, dearer than in India. We have before us the statement of an attempt, on the part of an European gentleman resident at Benares, to produce cotton of superior quality to that usually grown in India. This gentleman procured a few seeds of Brazil cotton, and planted them in his garden, where the plants were carefully tended for two or three successive years. The produce then amounted to three bales, which were sold in London for one shilling a pound, at the time that ordinary Bengal and Surat cotton were selling at from fourpence to five-pence per pound.

A small Indian farmer at Labercoire, near Bombay, has, for several years, produced a superior kind of cotton, which has been sold in this country at prices 50 per cent. higher than the prices of ordinary cotton shipped from the same place. The manuscripts of Dr. Roxburgh contain an account of the Dacca cotton, the staple of which is longer than the common cotton of India. Dacca has always been celebrated for the superior quality of its muslins. Many other instances are given, in the evidence reported by the Committee, of cotton having been produced in India, superior to the quality of the general shipments from that quarter. If such an effect has been produced in partial instances, through the application of skill, is it unreasonable to suppose that a more extensive application of that skill is the only thing needed to place the produce of India generally upon an equal footing with that of America,—whence we now receive consignments of cotton of the annual value of more than five millions sterling?

A statement furnished by the East India Directors, estimates the number of Europeans resident at the several presidencies in India, in 1828, as follows:—

Bengal . . .	1595
Fort St. George . .	116
Bombay . . .	286
Other parts . . .	19
	2016

These persons are in addition to, and wholly unconnected with, the servants of the East India Company, or with individuals in his Majesty's service. About two-thirds of their number are resident in towns, in the capacity of merchants, tradesmen, or artisans. All parties, natives and Europeans, concur in the opinion, that the presence of these settlers has been productive of unmixed benefit to India. New trades and manufactures, and knowledge of various sorts, have been communicated by their means to the natives; while their capital has furnished employment for the working classes, and enriched the country. The progress made by the natives in social, moral, and political knowledge, in places where Europeans chiefly reside, is universally acknowledged to be great. A celebrated native of Bengal, now in England, Rammohun Roy, whose authority is unquestionable upon such a subject, expressed this opinion in the following words, at a public meeting of his countrymen in Calcutta: "From personal experience I am impressed with the conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can easily be proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who have unfortunately not had that opportunity." Additional evidence to the same effect is abundantly supplied throughout the reports of the committees.

IV.—*Effects of the recent partial Opening of the Trade to India.*

Although the pursuits of European settlers in India connected with agriculture, have hitherto been almost exclusively directed to the manufacture of indigo, it must not be imagined that there are no other branches of production which might be opened to them. On this point we may quote the evidence of Dr. N. Wallich, the superintendent of the East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, who, after going through a long list of productions to which the soil and climate are adapted, winds up with the following striking assertion:—"I will only state, that the Company's territories in India are productive of every article which can conduce to the happiness of man; and it only requires skill and ingenuity, and encouragement, both to the natives and to Europeans in India, to select every thing that can possibly be desired."

It must not be disguised, that so long as the East India Company continues to join commercial pursuits to its political character, its power in the latter capacity may always be employed in a manner detrimental, and even ruinous to individual traders and cultivators. By purchasing an article extensively at one time, and neglecting it at another, its price may be raised unnaturally, and its production forced; or it may be as violently depressed, and the producers ruined. The dread of this interference must always have a tendency to deter capitalists from embarking in a rivalry with so powerful an opponent; so that the business of cultivation would remain as at present, either under the control of the Company's agents, or in the hands of small, independent native agriculturists, from whom no improvements can be expected. The necessary consequence of this state of things must be to enhance the cost of production, which as necessarily limits consumption, and thus checks the extension of commerce. The mercantile operations of so great a body as the Company must always be conducted upon a large scale, so that it is found impossible to conceal its dealings, and to prevent advantage being taken of the fact on the part of the producers, who immediately advance the price of every article in demand by the Company. Merchants are in this manner interfered with in their dealings: or if they consent to pay the enhanced price for Indian produce, wherewith to remit funds to Europe, they must do so at a great risk of loss; since a corresponding rise of prices in the markets of Europe is so far from being induced by the investments of the Company in Indian produce, that the contrary effect is usually experienced. Still it naturally follows from the unsettled state in which the markets for most descriptions of the productions of India are thus kept, that their average prices in Europe are greatly enhanced; consumption, as a necessary consequence, is limited; and the manufacturing industry of this kingdom is to a certain extent without that employment which it would otherwise find in the preparation of goods to be sent in payment for Indian produce.

If the markets of India were not liable to be thus injuriously acted upon, and if European skill and capital were allowed free scope in the Company's territory, there is every reason to expect, not only that the prices of Indian produce would be permanently brought more within the compass of European purchasers, but that a substantial improvement would take place in the condition of the native population. In that case, they would either be employed by European settlers, or incited by them, as in the instance of indigo, to an honourable rivalry. The taste which the natives already show for luxuries and conveniences of European production, could then be more frequently and more extensively gratified; and we should gradually enlarge the number of those with whom we could exchange our own products, to an extent that would act most beneficially upon the commercial prosperity of these kingdoms.

It is alleged that the Company, being under the necessity of transmitting funds from India to Europe, in payment for military and other stores, as well as to provide for the payment of the half-yearly dividends to the proprietors of its stock, is in a manner compelled to purchase goods for that purpose. It is not pretended, however, that the desire of consuming these goods is created, or the power of paying for them increased, by the fact of their purchase and

transmission to Europe by the Company; or that the productions of India would be kept out of our markets, although its trading should be altogether abandoned. In 1822, it discontinued the importation of nankeens, and in 1824, that of raw silk from China; its investments in both articles having been for some years previously attended with loss. Have the markets of Europe been less adequately supplied with those articles since the Company ceased to deal in them? Decidedly not; for it is notorious that the supplies have increased in a very important degree, and that a trade which involved the Company in loss while carried on directly with the country of production, has since become a source of profit to private traders; although they are obliged to resort to an intermediate market to make their purchases, and are consequently burthened with additional charges.

Had the advocates of the Company been listened to in 1813, when the trade to India was thrown open, our manufacturers would have been in a great measure deprived of what has proved a most important market for their productions. On that occasion, it was confidently stated in a report which the directors forwarded to the Board of Control, "that all the expectations then entertained by British merchants, as to the wished-for opening of the Indian trade, were groundless and delusive; that those who should act upon them, if the trade were opened, would be sure to experience ruin, loss, and disappointment; and that the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges would be, in effect, the extinction of the whole of the present Indian system."

It may be worth while to inquire how far these assertions have been borne out by the result. In 1814, the first year after the throwing open of the trade, the declared value of the goods shipped by private adventurers was 1,048,132*l.* Since that time, notwithstanding the great reduction in the prices of most of the commodities which make up our export trade with India, the value of the shipments has increased by a steady rate of progression to four times that amount. It would occupy too much space to particularize the articles of merchandise in which this increase has been experienced; the following statement of the quantities and value of British cottons exported will suffice to show how important this trade has become to one principal branch of our manufacturing industry:—

Years.	Number of Yards Exported.	Val. of Exports by the Compy.	Val. of Exports by Private Trade.	Total Value.
1814	818,202	£ 17,778	£ 91,702	£ 109,480
1815	1,355,476	4,948	137,462	142,410
1816	1,705,758	372	160,162	160,534
1817	5,316,729	35	422,779	422,814
1818	8,842,046	349	700,543	700,892
1819	7,127,661	181	461,087	461,268
1820	14,326,276	1,605	832,513	834,118
1821	19,920,602	6,108	1,078,332	1,084,440
1822	23,500,667	5,281	1,139,776	1,145,057
1823	25,001,385	.	1,128,468	1,128,468
1824	22,705,426	13,092	1,100,385	1,113,477
1825	27,169,729	2,798	1,034,073	1,038,871
1826	43,826,158	2,960	991,059	994,019
1827	45,016,850	786	1,613,731	1,624,517
1828	42,247,207	.	.	1,995,535*
1829	43,755,634	.	.	1,631,724*
1830	56,914,709	.	.	2,077,239*
1831	50,403,496	.	.	1,919,126*

The prodigious increase here shown is the more worthy of notice, as occurring with regard to a species of manufactures, for our supply of which, within the memory of some among us, we were dependent upon the looms of India.

V.—*The Question as to the Propriety of Opening the Trade with China.*

The unfitness of a large corporation, like that of the East India Company, to carry on a successful competition with private traders is rendered fully apparent by the fact, that while the vouchers presented to parliament show an absolute loss upon its commercial dealings for some years past with India, the transactions of private merchants have gone on in a continued rate of progression, which it is impossible they should have done upon any other supposition than that of their terminating profitably. If the trading interests of the Company were limited to its own territorial possessions, it might not perhaps be so necessary to make these statements, since the commerce with those possessions is now almost entirely engrossed by private traders. For some few years past, the goods imported into the three presidencies by the Company have amounted to very little more than one tenth part of the aggregate shipments from this country; while a very large proportion of even these diminished shipments have consisted of military stores, and consequently do not partake of a commercial character. Its trade with Hindostan is now, in fact, almost exclusively confined to the object of providing remittances to England. This inquiry is, however, necessary, in order to lead us to form a correct estimate upon another very important branch of eastern trade—that with China,—the monopoly of which was continued to the Company by the act of 1813. This trade, according to the statements of the directors, has been uniformly profitable, to a degree which has enabled them to bear the losses upon their India trade, to pay the dividends to their proprietors, and to make good, in a great degree, deficiencies in the Company's territorial revenue.

The evidence which has been collected by Parliament upon this very important branch of the subject is complete. In the elaborate report which was made in July, 1830, by a committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the affairs of the East India Company, the evidence which it reported was classed and considered under five heads. It may serve to simplify our task, if in the short summary we are able to give, the same points of inquiry are adopted; they are as follows:—

1. The disposition of the Chinese in respect to foreign trade, and the mode in which their transactions with foreigners are conducted at Canton.
2. The state of the British trade with China, particularly of that in tea.
3. The mode in which the Company's sales of tea in England are conducted, and the effects of the laws which regulate the trade in that article upon the Company and upon the public respectively.
4. The trade of the Americans and other foreigners with China.
5. The effects expected from the abolition of the Company's exclusive privilege.

§ 1. The first of these heads is, without doubt, the most important,—for if it can be established, as the advocates for the Company's continued monopoly assert, that the Chinese government and people are "decidedly anti-commercial in their disposition; that they have a particular objection to increasing their intercourse in any way with Europeans, and more particularly with the English, on account of our close approximation to their frontiers through Tartary and in Ava,"—then it can be of little interest to the people at large whether the monopoly is continued or abolished.

The evidence given before the Committee may still leave this question in some degree of uncertainty as regards the Chinese government; but the proofs which are furnished of the prevalence of a contrary disposition on the part of the people of that country are so strong, that, as regards them, we do not see how it is possible any longer to entertain a doubt upon the subject. Because it was a leading precept of their great philosopher Kan-foo, or, as Europeans have determined to call him, Confucius, upon whose maxims the institutions of the country are built, "to despise foreign commodities," the government is said to be decidedly hostile to all foreign intercourse. It affords, perhaps, a more probable solution of the question why obstacles are thrown in the way of foreign commerce, that the government, knowing how our Indian empire has been acquired, is jealous of us and apprehensive of our intrusion; that it is with this feeling it restricts our trading to a single port of the empire, and limits the nature of our intercourse with its subjects. The foreign trade of China produces an immediate revenue to its government of 650,000*l.*; and as all beneficial appointments in the empire—of which those connected with Canton, the port where the trade with Europeans is conducted, are the most valuable—are always sold to the highest bidder, the emperor has a strong motive for desiring the continuance of our intercourse. But this is really a matter of secondary importance; for if it can be shown that the people are imbued with a spirit of commercial enterprise, and have acquired a taste for foreign productions, we need not go across the seas for arguments to prove that not all the power of the government nor the vigilance of its officers would be able to shut out those productions. It so happens, however, that the Chinese have themselves afforded us the strongest proof of the futility of all govern-

* The accounts of these four years do not distinguish the Company's from the private trade.

most restrictions to prevent the introduction of an article of commerce, to the use of which the people are addicted. Edict after edict has been issued by the Empefor of China forbidding the introduction and the use of opium within his dominions, but in vain. It is known that upwards of 12,000 chests of this drug, valued at ten millions of dollars, are annually smuggled into and distributed throughout the country with perfect security; the only effect of the prohibition being to convey the money which the government might obtain in the shape of duties into the pockets of the officers who connive at the traffic and the smugglers who carry it on. The whole of this trade is prosecuted by private individuals. The Company is of course aware of the whole proceeding, and in fact governs, in some measure, its production of the drug, which it strives to make a perfect monopoly in India, by the indications of the Chinese market; but it abstains from taking any part in its actual introduction, from a desire of avoiding collision with the government of China.

As regards this important article of commerce, it is clear that no evil results from the trade with China being open to private adventurers. This being the case, may we not ask, why greater risk of encountering the alleged exclusive spirit of the Chinese government should accompany the prosecution of an allowed and legalized trade, than is seen to attend upon the pursuit of one which is prohibited? The disposition of the Chinese people to engage in commercial pursuits is rendered sufficiently manifest by the extent of the trade which they actually carry on. The number of these people who are settled in different parts of the Indian Archipelago, and whose object is trade, is exceedingly numerous. It is computed that about 20,000 are settled at and near Batavia; that 40,000 more are located in other parts of Java; and that throughout the Archipelago, in the Malayan peninsula, Siam, and Cochin-China, more than half a million of Chinese settlers are to be found. Some of these are traders; some are mechanics; and others, especially those settled in Java, are occupiers of land, superintending its cultivation. They conduct, almost exclusively, the culture of the cane and the manufacture of sugar in Java, Siam, and the Phillippine islands; as well as the cultivation and manufacture of catechu, or terra japonica, in the straits of Malacca. They are engaged, also, in the pepper cultivation of Siam. They are, further, much disposed, by their enterprising disposition, to enter into mining speculations; and it is they who are chiefly engaged in working the silver mines of Tonquin, the gold mines of Borneo and the Malay peninsula, as well as the tin mines of the latter country and of Banca. In their character as traders, they are represented as being keen and enterprising, extremely expert in their dealings, and understanding the nature of the trade of those countries in which they are settled, better, perhaps, than any other people. They employ means for obtaining early and accurate information upon points connected with their interest as merchants; so that it is an acknowledged fact in Java that they receive commercial information at much earlier periods than Europeans who avail themselves of the regular government post. Many among them are persons of considerable wealth, acquired by commerce; they are extremely tenacious of their reputation for uprightness, and are scrupulously punctual in all their dealings.

The Chinese carry on trade in large vessels called junks, with the Phillippine isles, the Soo-loo islands, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Sincapore, Rhio, the east coast of the Malayan peninsula, Siam, Cochin-China, Cambodia and Tonquin. It is said that, in their trade with Siam, they employ 200 vessels, several of which are of not less than from 300 to 400 tons burden; some of their junks are of 800 or 900 tons burden. The officers and crews of these vessels are very numerous. The commander receives no pay, but has the advantage of the cabin accommodation for passengers, who are usually numerous. He acts as agent or supercargo, receiving a commission, commonly of 10 per cent., upon *the profits* of the owners' adventure. The other officers and the seamen are paid for their services by being allowed a certain tonnage of the ship, which they may occupy with goods upon their own account, or dispose of to other people as they see fit; but none receive money wages, with the exception, perhaps, of the pilot.

The Chinese junks are extremely clumsy in their construction. They appear, nevertheless, to be so well adapted for the navigation in which they are employed, that Mr. Crawfurd, speaking from an acquaintance of thirteen years with the trade of the Indian Archipelago, declares that he can recollect hearing of but four shipwrecks, and that, in all these instances, the crews were saved.

That an external trade of this magnitude should be prosecuted by Chinese subjects, affords a sufficient refutation of the pretended hostility of the government to all foreign commerce. There is nothing clandestine in the trade thus carried on. Its prosecution is not only acknowledged by the laws of China, but every adventure has the express sanction of the viceroy or governor of the province whence the vessels are despatched. It is true, that, like other rulers who are reputed wiser, these officers do interfere in the regulation of each branch of trade, determine how many vessels shall engage in it, and even proceed to the length of enumerating the articles which it shall be legal to import and export, doubtless with the paternal, but mistaken idea of protecting native industry, and of fostering exotic manufactures on its own soil. The merit of the notable plan of benefiting a people by compelling them to purchase foreign articles at a dear rate, and by depriving them of markets for their own superabundant productions, cannot be exclusively claimed by Europeans.

A stronger proof of the legality of foreign commerce in China, and of the anxiety even of the government to foster it, is afforded by the fact, that at every port whence it is carried on, there is a "Hong," or body of security merchants, as at Canton, who are mutually bound for the payment of each other's engagements.

Proofs without number are to be found in the reports before us, that the Chinese people are anxious for the extension of their foreign commerce. To the important detail of these reports we must refer our readers when they are told, that the attempt to open the trade of China to our countrymen at large, would prove the means of actually excluding them from it; and that the Chinese authorities are so favourably disposed towards a monopoly of English creation, that, putting out of consideration all thought of the public revenue, they would not only deny to their people the advantage of trading with any others of our nation, but would cause them to cease mercantile transactions with the Company itself from the moment that their monopoly should be destroyed.

§ 2. The second head of information adopted by the committee comprises an exposition of the state of the British trade with China, and particularly of that in tea.

This trade, which, in the aggregate, greatly exceeds that carried on by all other foreigners, is exclusively vested in the East India Company, until the expiration of its charter of monopoly in April, 1834. Nor can the Company itself trade, or authorize any others to do so, except within the limits of its Charter, or between Canton and the United Kingdom; with the exceptions, that for the purposes of this trade, the Cape of Good Hope is included within the Company's limits, and that permission has been given by the Act 5 Geo. IV. cap. 88, for the Company to trade direct between China and our colonies in North America.

It has formed a subject of great complaint, that even under no restrictions and regulations are British ships allowed to trade between China and the ports of continental Europe; so that British merchants, who have desired to embark in that line of commerce, have been compelled to cover their dealings by employing foreign ships, and by using the cloak of foreign names.

While the Company reserves to itself all the trade between the United Kingdom and China, excepting only a small portion allowed as a privilege to the commanders and officers of its ships, it grants licenses to the owners of Indian vessels, usually called "country ships," to trade between India and China, with liberty to export from the latter country a limited quantity of tea—not exceeding 400 chests in each ship—and to dispose of the same at any intermediate port between Canton and the port in India to which the ship belongs. In these ports New South Wales is included.

This licensed trade between India and China has grown up to be one of considerable importance. It is conducted quite distinct from the transactions of the Company. The Company does not license British subjects out of its service to reside in China. A small number are indeed resident there, and carry on mercantile dealings, but these persons are removed from the control of the Company, by holding foreign consular appointments; their number is therefore necessarily limited. The captains of all vessels employed in this country trade are compelled to sign a bond, obliging themselves to conform to the orders of the Company's ser-

vants at Canton. The dealings in respect of their cargoes are sometimes conducted by these captains, sometimes by supercargoes who accompany them; but the foreign consuls just mentioned, and some Parsee merchants resident at Canton, are usually employed as agents.

The trade with China thus carried on for private account, in the year ending 30th June, 1828, amounted to the sum of 25,502,410 dollars. Of this amount, nearly 3,500,000 of dollars was made up of the imports of cotton-wool into Canton, principally from Bombay. The value of 10,271 chests of opium was 11,243,496 dollars. The remainder of the imports consisted of pepper, betel-nut, sandal-wood, ivory, rattans, cloves, iron, lead, tin, and spelter, woollen and cotton cloths, pearls and cornelians, clocks and machinery, with various other articles in small quantities. The exports consisted of raw silk, nankeen cloths, sugar, cassia lignea, tortoise-shell, silk goods, China-ware, cochineal, damasks, camphor, and several others of less importance. A considerable value, upwards of 6,000,000 of dollars, was likewise brought back in the shape of gold and silver bullion.

The trade in cotton between India and China was greatly increased in the following year. According to a statement extracted from the Canton Register, said to be a very respectable authority, the imports consisted of

112,631 bales	from Bombay
58,326 ———	Bengal
13,643 ———	Madras
Altogether 184,600 Bales	

weighing 474,223 peculs, or 62,229,700 pounds, and valued at 5,552,875 dollars.

The value of goods imported into Canton on private account very considerably exceeds that of the goods exported in return; while, on the other hand, the shipments of tea made by the Company are of very much greater value than its outward investment. The balance is adjusted through the private merchants, by means of bills of exchange drawn by the Company's servants, at Canton, upon the Bengal Government, and to a small amount also on the Court of Directors in London.

The Company's affairs at Canton are managed by an expensive establishment of twenty supercargoes and writers, with two inspectors of tea. Three or four of the senior supercargoes are appointed a select committee, which, under the orders of the Court of Directors, forms a sort of government for the management of British interests in China. This committee is invested with considerable power over British subjects when in China; and assumes authority, not only over the Company's servants and traders, but likewise over persons engaged in the country trade.

It is stated that the influence of this committee is very great with the Chinese authorities,—a fact not quite in agreement with the alleged dislike of the government to all foreign intercourse. It is natural, that a body whose dealings are so much greater than those of individuals, and whose transactions, for a long series of years, have been conducted with good faith and regularity, should have established itself in the good opinion of the government. It is, however, very much doubted by many of the witnesses examined before the committee, whether the influence of the Company's servants has at any time proved advantageous to any but to that body: neither private British traders, nor foreigners, it is alleged, have derived any benefit from the Company's influence. The advantages of the establishment had need be great in some way or other, since the expense at which it is maintained amounts to more than 100,000*l.* annually.

The principal, it may be said the only, object of the Company's trade with China is to provide tea for the consumption of the United Kingdom. The Act 24 Geo. III. cap. 38, commonly called 'The Commutation Act,' requires that the Company shall, from time to time, send orders for the purchase of such quantities of tea, and provide sufficient ships to import the same, as being added to the stock in their warehouses, and to the quantities ordered and not arrived, shall amount to a sufficient supply for the keeping a stock, at least equal to one year's consumption, according to the sales of the last preceding year, always before hand.'

Previous to the great extension of the country trade, the tea purchased by the Company was principally paid for with bullion exported from England; its exports of goods, which principally consisted of woollen-cloths, with a small quantity of iron, being wholly inadequate to that purpose. The balance is now differently provided for, as already mentioned.

The conditions upon which the Company makes its purchases of goods for export from this country are exceedingly strict, so that the persons who furnish them are accustomed to indemnify themselves from the risk of rejection by charging high prices. The strictness of the Company in this respect is said to be productive of this valuable effect, that goods with its mark are held in such reputation, as to pass from Canton into the interior of the country, without the necessity of previous examination. The reason assigned by the Directors for their continuance of a trade which is but little profitable is 'the desire to promote the interests of the manufacturers, and of the growers of British wool, and a conviction, that their conduct in this respect is in accordance with a policy prescribed in charters and legislative enactments.'

It appears that the trade thus carried on is, in a great measure, a forced one. Woollen goods are much used in the northern part of the Chinese empire during a portion of the year; but in the district where our trade is carried on, the demand is only limited, while the transmission of such bulky goods to any distance is difficult and expensive, and renders them liable to heavy transit duties. The Company, whose dealings are confined entirely to the Hong merchants, finds in them, it is said, unwilling purchasers, who are induced to take the goods only in consideration of the advantages resulting to them, from the Company's large purchases of tea; and it is given in evidence, that the Hong merchants, unable to put off their goods profitably in the regular way of trade, stipulate in turn with the people who bring the tea to market, that they shall take the goods in part payment.

The Company's tea trade, which has very considerably increased of late years, now comprises the whole of its exports from China. A large proportion of its purchases of tea are made under previous contracts with the Hong merchants, who, on their part, form corresponding engagements with the cultivators. This mode of contracting, in one season, for deliveries in the next, is thought to be necessary, in order to secure a regular and sufficient supply. It may be questioned, however, whether such a mode of dealing is best adapted to secure this end. If the cultivators were left to themselves in this respect, they would equally bring forward their produce for sale, and might then be dealt with more advantageously to the purchaser. The market at Canton fluctuates considerably; and it is probable that if the contract system were abandoned, the competition among the sellers at the period of the greatest supply would cause the price to be lower than that which the growers are likely to accept prospectively. To entertain fears as to the sufficiency of the supply, under any system of dealing, appears preposterous, when it is considered that, throughout the populous empire of China, tea is an article of universal consumption among all classes. It is used at all hours of the day, as the general beverage; so that you can hardly enter a house in which there is not, in the principal apartment, a vessel containing it, ready for use and available to all comers. This being the case, the quantity taken for exportation would form only a small proportion of that which is grown, if even the demand should be very greatly increased.

The officers of the Company, being the largest buyers of black tea in Canton, have a kind of pre-emption of all of that description which is brought in for sale; while the Americans, whose purchases exceed those of the Company in green tea, have the same advantage as regards that kind.

§ 3. The third head of inquiry comprises the mode in which the Company's sales of tea in England are conducted, and the effects of the laws which regulate the trade in that article, upon the Company and upon the public respectively.

The Company is obliged to hold four sales of tea within the year, at each of which sales a quantity shall be brought forward, equal to the supposed demand, and sold without reserve to the highest bidder, provided an advance of one penny per pound shall be offered upon the price at which each lot respectively is put up. With regard to this upset price, the act declares, that 'it shall not be lawful for the Company to put up their tea for sale at any prices which shall, upon the whole of the teas so put up at any one sale, exceed the *prime cost* thereof, with the *freight* and *charges* of importation, together with lawful *interest* from the time of the arrival of such tea in Great Britain, and the common

premium of insurance, as the compensation for the sea-risk incurred thereon.'

It is necessary to offer some explanation of the manner in which, complying with the letter of the act, the Company estimates these five component parts of the price of tea.

The prime cost is computed at the sums expended in making the consignments and remittances to Canton, which are required to pay for their homeward investment. In this computation, the charges on the outward consignments, including insurance, are added together, with interest on the cost and charges, until the time of the arrival of the tea in England. Their computation of the cost of the tea at Canton is further made according to the Mint price of standard silver, which considerably exceeds the market price. It appears from the report of the Committee, that by the mode of reckoning which has been described, the upset prices of tea at the Company's sales are about 25 per cent. above the actual money expended.

The freight of tea is necessarily enhanced to the Company, in consequence of its ships being equipped more expensively, and navigated at greater charge than private ships, a fact which is consequent upon the political capacity of the Company, the ships being employed in the conveyance of troops. The difference in the rate of freight incurred by the Company, and that for which private ships would carry tea from Canton to Europe, is said to be 40 per cent.

The charges included under that name, in computing the upset prices of tea, are only those on the tea itself, the charges on the outward shipments being included in the prime cost. These homeward charges include the expense of the Company's establishment at Canton.

The interest added to the upset price of tea is charged at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, from the time of the first expenditure in providing funds, till eighteen months after the arrival of the tea in England.

No charge is directly incurred for insurance by the Company, which is, in all cases, its own insurer. The rate added on this account is 3 per cent.; while the losses of the Company at sea, during fifteen years, are stated not to have exceeded one fourth of that rate.

The sale price of the Company's tea has generally much exceeded the upset price; an effect which may be easily produced where the supply of a market is under the control of one body. In the present case, such an effect must necessarily have accompanied the increasing demand for the article on the part of the public, without supposing that the Company has departed from the letter of the law, which obliges it to put up at its quarterly sales "such quantities as shall be judged equal to the demand."

It is difficult to enter into comparative estimates, with regard to the prices in different markets, of an article which comprises such various qualities as tea. That the prices paid by the consumer in Great Britain are greater than those paid on the continent of Europe—after deducting the duty—has been shown by a comparison of prices affixed by London brokers, as their value here, to samples of tea purchased on the continent, and mostly obtained there at lower rates. The profits of the Company's tea trade, as disclosed by them in returns to parliament, are in fact such as no persons unprotected by exclusive privileges of trading could hope to realise.

§ 4. The trade of the Americans, and of other foreigners, with China, forms the fourth head of the Committee's inquiry.

In consequence of the privilege they enjoy of trading overland with China, Russian vessels are not allowed by the Chinese government to enter Canton. The trade carried on by Dutch, French, Swedish, Danish, and Austrian vessels is trifling. The Dutch trade is principally conducted by an association, although the trade is open to all the merchants of Holland. The object of this association was avowedly to encourage the exportation of their home manufactures to China,—an object which has not been attended with much success, the trade of the association having very greatly declined of late years.

The American trade with Canton has fluctuated considerably. Much overtrading occurred in it a few years back, and great losses were sustained in consequence. It is probable, however, that the recent repeal by congress of the importation duty upon tea, and the reduction in that on the silk manufactures of India and China, may have an important influence in reviving this branch of industry. It is much to be wished, on the part of our manufacturers, that this should prove to be the case; since the outward investments of American merchants were in part composed of British manufactured goods. The trade between China and the United States is not confined to the article of tea; a large quantity of manufactured silk goods being likewise brought home for use in America. The trade between the Chinese and Americans has not experienced any greater interruption than that of the East India Company. An American consul is resident at Canton, whose good offices appear to have been in all cases sufficient to protect the interests of his countrymen. This gentleman undertakes the agency of any merchants who may employ him; but the management of the American trade is divided between several merchants from the United States, who are resident in China.

§ 5. The last head of inquiry proposed by the committee on this branch of the subject, viz.—"the effects expected from the abolition of the Company's exclusive privilege"—is one upon which it is probable that the discussion in parliament will principally turn.

Much pains have been taken to impress upon the members of the legislature, and upon the public, the belief that the personal interference of the Company's servants, resident at Canton, has at different times been exerted with an effect which no other individuals or body of men could have produced. That intelligent and respectable gentlemen should be able, after a continued residence of many years in a foreign country, to render themselves personally acceptable to the authorities with whom they have dealings, will readily be conceded. Feelings thus created, however, can never influence the policy of a government. Interest or fear are the only motives by which any people is wont to be swayed in the manner alleged. It were absurd to suppose that fear has any agency in the matter. One word from the emperor would in a moment effect the expulsion of every foreigner from his kingdom. It must be interest, and interest alone, which disposes the Chinese government to admit our traders; and if the opening of the trade should cause a greater number of vessels to resort to China—and it cannot be doubted this would be the case—the increase thereby occasioned to the public revenue, and to the gains of public functionaries, would add materially to the influence of this powerful motive, and render the trade less liable to interruption than at present. The expulsion of British traders from Canton, even if that were a direct consequence of a change of system, would not be an evil of great amount. As a general principle, it cannot be controverted that trade carried on directly with any place must be more profitable, and therefore more considerable, than that conducted circuitously. It may be doubted, however, whether, under the peculiar policy of China, which restricts the access of foreigners to only one port of the empire, this principle will hold good: whether more extensive markets might not be eventually opened for the sale of our manufactures, and for procuring acceptable returns, if, through the expulsion of our ships from that port, the native merchants were led to seek our goods in the neighbouring settlements. The trade in this case would assuredly not be confined to Canton.

We have already alluded to the fact, that when the Company ceased to make purchases of raw silk at Canton, supplies to a greater extent were conveyed by Chinese traders to Semapore, and thence found their way, in private ships, to this country.

It is not pretended by any one, that if the trade with China were opened, the price of tea to English consumers would continue as high as it has hitherto been; and none will deny, that to reduce the cost of an article of such general use, must be beneficial to the country at large. The principal arguments by which it has been attempted to show the impolicy of effecting this reduction are—the probability of the trade being altogether stopped—the effect of competition in raising the price at Canton—and the fact that, as the government duty in this kingdom is charged according to the prices at which the tea is sold, the higher those prices are maintained, the more advantageous it must be for the public.

The first of these positions has been noticed above: the third hardly deserves an answer; the wonder being how it could ever be gravely advanced. The duty at present charged is 96 per cent. upon tea sold under two shillings per pound, and 100 per cent. upon all sold above that price. Assuming then, that, owing to the Company's monopoly, the public are made to pay 25 per cent. more than they would if the trade were opened, it would, in the latter case, be better to increase the rate of duty so that the consumer might

save, at least, the 25 per cent. in the first cost of the article. Can it be doubted, however, in the present day, that so considerable a reduction in the price would occasion an increase of consumption which would fully compensate the Exchequer, without resorting to the expedient of increasing the rate of duty?

The remaining argument—that the increased demand consequent upon the opening of the trade would materially raise the price of tea in China—remains to be examined. The force of this argument is, at best, of a very evanescent nature, since no instance can be adduced of any great article of commerce being permanently raised above its natural level—that is, above the cost of production and transport, including the ordinary rate of profit. A great concourse of buyers, upon an unprepared market, would certainly raise the pretensions of the sellers, who for the time would realise unwonted profits; but on the supposition that the country is capable of answering the increased demand, such exorbitant profits must soon cease. In fact, monopolists, the tendency of whose dealings it is to limit the supply, frequently pay dearer for their investments than they would if a more general demand were allowed to produce its inevitable consequence—a more liberal supply. For the moment, however, we may admit the objection to be valid. Let us then see how we should be affected by an advance in the market of Canton.

It is natural that, on the first opening of any considerable market, many competitors should rush into it; and it is probable that some of these, acting without due caution, and without the guidance of experience, might bring losses upon themselves in consequence. This effect has frequently followed in similar cases. Shortly after the opening of the trade with India, as many hats were exported from England to Calcutta during one year, as, upon a moderate calculation, would last the hat-wearing population of the province during six years; but can it be contended that, because certain individual hat-manufacturers, acting without concert, were anxious to secure the first advantage of what had been a profitable market, and, in their eagerness for gain, furnished an over supply, that therefore the private trade with India has, in succeeding years, and after experience has been gained, proved unprofitable? It is probable, and perhaps inevitable, that, among the early competitors for the profits of a new trade, several will be losers. Is the nation, therefore, to forego a general advantage because a few unadvised and inconsiderate traders may injure themselves? Nor does it follow that because the competition of buyers will temporarily raise the prices in Canton, the cost to the English consumer will therefore be enhanced. The very contrary effect will naturally follow. The more buyers there are at Canton, the more sellers there will be in London; and if their competition raises the price in one market, it will as infallibly depress it in another. These effects will, however, be only temporary. The China trade, like all other trades, will soon fall into regular channels, and, becoming better understood, the supply will be adjusted to the demand with as much precision as in other branches of commerce. We may safely leave our merchants to take care of themselves, and content ourselves with legislating according to what appears to be the general advantage.

Documents compiled under the authority of the Directors of the East India Company, and by them presented to Parliament, show satisfactorily that, according to the prices now paid for tea by the consumers in this kingdom, the import trade in this article is exceedingly profitable. The cost price of 27,457,268 pounds sold in the season 1829-30 is stated at 2,203,127*l.*, or 1*s.* $7\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}$*d.* per pound, when loaded with all the exorbitant charges which it is the nature of monopolies to create;* the amount realized from the sale was 3,037,483*l.*, or 2*s.* $2\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}$*d.* per pound, exhibiting a net profit of 834,356*l.*, or 7$\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}\frac{8}{10}$*d.* per pound. If the Company had been at liberty, as individual traders will be, to sell its investment immediately on arrival in Great Britain, the proceeds would by this means have furnished funds for defraying the charges of freight and landing, and the prices obtained would have been equal to a profit of 55 per cent. upon the capital invested in China. A profit such as this could in the present day only result from a close monopoly. It has been attempted to justify its existence in the case of the East India Company by referring to the argument already noticed, namely, the necessity under which it is placed of making large annual remittances to England which could not, it is said, be advantageously made otherwise than through the medium of Chinese produce. It is too much, however, to condemn the consumers of tea in England—that is, the entire population—to pay a monopoly price, in order that the Company may possess a convenient mode of remitting its surplus funds. The same difficulty as that to which the Company might then be exposed is now actually experienced by private traders, to whom the markets of China, if opened, would afford relief to the same extent as it may be lost by the Company. It is further said, 'that what the Company gains from its China trade is necessary, with the obligations imposed upon it, to enable it to administer the government of India.' Is then the Company's dominion in the east a thing so advantageous, so necessary to us, that we must be taxed thus heavily in order that it may be maintained? The proposition appears monstrous, and it can hardly be expected that Parliament will listen to arguments of such a nature.

It is said, that if the trade were opened, the Company would still possess the power of trading with China in the same manner as it may now compete with private merchants in the trade with India. It appears more than probable, however, that in this case its China trade would experience the same fate as that which attended the opening of the markets of India; that individual enterprise, skill, and economy, will prove more than a match for an unwieldy corporation; and that, while private traders are enabled to obtain a fair return for their capital, the Company will be subjected to a competition that will drive it from the field.

Hitherto we have considered the market of Canton with reference to only one article of Chinese produce. Fettered as the trade now is, and confined as regards British subjects to the trifling adventures of the Company's officers, we are yet enabled to procure a great number of articles, the produce of China; and if we consider the extent of the country and the variety of climates in which its different provinces are placed, together with the acknowledged industry of its dense population, it is impossible to doubt that many other articles desirable for consumption in Europe may be procured. Silk is already obtained in abundance, and of a quality peculiarly well fitted for some branches of our manufacture. Nankeen cloths, at one time in such general use, may be procured in any quantity. Silk piece goods, aniseed, cassia and cassia-buds, nutmegs and mace, China-root, cloves, dragon's blood, mother of pearl shells, oils of cassia and of cinnamon, rhubarb, sago, sugar, tin, tortoiseshell, and turmeric, are among the articles at present procured. The sugar of China is of a quality so superior to that of India, owing to the greater skill of the manufacturers, that nearly all the sugar consumed by Europeans in the Company's possessions is imported from China.

Almost every portion of the Chinese empire produces tobacco of fine quality, and at rates cheap enough to enable the growers to supply the Chinese colonists of the neighbouring countries.

The articles of export from Europe, of which what is called 'the privileged trade' with China is made up, are still more numerous; and it is preposterous to suppose that among a population of 150,000,000 of people, who have much to give in exchange, customers could not be found for such an amount of our manufactures as would furnish employment to a great additional number of British artisans.

It may be said, that the comparatively small amount of the country trade carried on between India and China, under licenses granted by the Company, holds out but small encouragement to European adventurers. On the other hand, it may be urged, that the articles which India can supply to China, as well as those which it can receive in exchange, are for the most part produced indifferently in both countries. It is also to be considered, that the greater part of this trade from India is limited to the supply of an article strictly prohibited by the Chinese government, so that the ships in which it is carried on cannot frequent the port whence alone foreign commerce is permitted.

The anxiety shown by the Company to retain its monopoly of the China trade is sufficiently accounted for by the statements which it has furnished, in compliance with the call of parliament, connected with its commercial dealings.

* The average prices of tea sold in Hamburg, according to papers laid before parliament, do not exceed 1*s.* 2*d.* per pound. The qualities are perhaps not equal to those which form the Company's investment; but only a comparatively small abatement need be made on this score from the 47 per cent. thus shown to be paid by the British consumer beyond the prices of the north of Germany.

The account delivered to the committee on the 3d of March, 1832, and which is inserted in the Minutes of Evidence taken on the second branch of the inquiry, (Finance and Accounts, pp. 66, 69.) shows that, but for this monopoly, no funds would have existed out of which any dividend could have been paid to the proprietors of stock. The profits of the China trade are herein stated to be 813,234*l.*, which sum is reduced to 354,261*l.* by losses sustained upon the trade with India; so that, to make up a show of profits sufficient to provide a fund for payment of the dividends, other sums must be brought into the account. Among these sums are 238,753*l.* for interest and discounts, including an adjustment for former years in respect of the interest charged in the territorial invoices outwards, and 197,785*l.* interest on the balance due from the territorial to the commercial branch at the close of the season 1827-28. As regards the first of these items, upwards of 200,000*l.* of it belong to 'adjustments for former years,' commencing in 1814; and no similar amount can, consequently, be reckoned upon in any future year. With regard to the second amount, it is difficult to justify its insertion upon any other ground than the necessity for exhibiting an apparent fund, out of which the proprietors of India stock are to be paid. The Company in its political capacity is burthened with a heavy debt, incurred in the prosecution of numerous wars; and in its necessities has borrowed from itself, in its commercial capacity, a sum upon which an interest account is raised, the amount of which is here brought forward. It would sorely puzzle the Accountant-general by whom the statement is furnished to show that the amount thus exhibited exists anywhere except on the books of the Company—that it can really be considered as an item of profit, or indeed as an item at all. The proprietors of the Company's stock are as much proprietors in respect of its territorial as of its commercial concerns,—proprietors, in fact, of its debts as well as its assets. The corporation must indeed, in this sense, be really, as it is held to be legally, one individual; and how, it may be asked, can any individual owe money to himself? The whole affair of the payment of dividends by the Company out of gains acquired in one capacity, while it has been constantly accumulating debts in another, is a species of mystification which, we should suppose, will not be tolerated under the regulations to be prescribed for the Company's future guidance.

Not even this factitious aid, however, would suffice to accomplish this object, if it were not for the real amount of profit obtained from the Company's homeward investments from China. Deprived of this, the balance of the profit and loss account of the commercial branch would appear on the wrong side of the account. In fact, a sum equal to 10½ per cent. upon its stock, is annually divided among the proprietors of a corporation, which, according to a statement drawn out by its Accountant-general, in August last, is burthened with a "a deficient balance" of no less a sum than 12,228,135*l.*, while its territorial debt in India, bearing interest, amounts to about 40,000,000*l.* sterl.

Notwithstanding this unpromising appearance, we are far from believing, that in the event of parliament annulling the commercial privileges of the Company, the Directors would be unable to realize sufficient surplus funds for paying dividends to the proprietors. In the event supposed, the capital now employed in the prosecution of commercial objects would be progressively applicable to the reduction of debt, and consequently to a diminution of the charge which it brings; the continually growing commerce of India would render one principal branch of its revenue, the customs, more and more productive;* and the land revenue, which has of late years experienced a constant and steady improvement, may be expected to go forward at the same advantageous rate of progression. If, too, the regulations of the Company affecting the settlement of Europeans in its dominions were abolished or materially relaxed, in a few years such an improvement might be expected in the habits and means of the native inhabitants, as would occasion not only an important increase in the commerce of the East, and in the revenue thence derived, but would also produce an augmentation in the territorial revenues of the Company, to which the present rate of increase is trifling.

To show that these anticipated improvements are not mere visionary speculation without warrant or foundation, we will mention, that the annual average amount of the *gross* revenues of India, which in the three last years of the term which expired in 1814, was 16,764,700*l.*, was, in the three years up to 1828-9 inclusive, as high as 22,987,472*l.*

This increase has arisen from a variety of sources, and through different causes. Among these may be mentioned the acquisition of new territory; enlarged commercial dealings among private traders; increase of population; the enactment of better laws; a more efficient management on the part of the Company's officers; the imposition of new stamp duties; and the greater profit of the opium monopoly arising out of the continually growing consumption of that article in China.

During the time that the revenues of the Company in India have been augmented in the degree above stated, the annual charges of government have, on the other hand, gone on increasing in a still greater ratio. This effect has followed from the expensive wars in which the Company has been engaged, and particularly from that carried on against the Burmese, during the continuance of which the debt was increased by the sum of 13,007,823*l.* The success of the Indian government in these wars has been such as materially to change its position relatively to other powers. Formerly, its territory was so situated and distributed, that it was surrounded by countries ready and willing, upon every occasion, to take up arms against their European neighbours; whereas now, there is no enemy, properly so called, to be found within the whole Peninsula of India. If this favourable alteration were followed up by further measures of conciliation towards the native subjects of the Company, to which nothing would tend more than an improved system of jurisprudence, the permanent military establishment of the Company might be securely lessened, and a variety of economical plans adopted which have hitherto been impracticable.

It is urged with considerable earnestness by the advocates of the Company, in favour of the continuance of its commercial monopoly, that the remittances which must be made from India, to meet the territorial charges defrayed in England, and which necessarily amount to 3,000,000*l.* annually, cannot be effected with so much advantage through any other means than the commercial branch. The remittances for this purposes are now made by purchases of goods in India, and by the homeward investment from China.

In support of this opinion, it is alleged, that upon the average of the whole period since the last renewal of the charter, the Company's remittances have been made more advantageously through the medium of their trade, than if bills of exchange had been purchased from private merchants in India, who, by combining together, might have raised the price of their bills against the Company; and that, if recourse had been had to bullion for making remittances, great inconvenience and probably distress would have been occasioned to the commercial body in India. It has been argued, on the other hand, that the extent of the annual imports from India and China, which would equally find their way to Europe, although the Company should not engage in making them, and which, in all probability, would be shipped in larger quantities if the Company did not so engage, would render it difficult for the private merchants to combine against the Company, which being the only, or nearly the only, purchaser of bills in the market, would be better able to regulate the exchanges with reference to its own peculiar interest; and that, in any case, its servants might resort to the alternative of remitting bullion, a course which would be more detrimental to the merchants than to any other class or body, so that a consciousness of this power being held against them would raise up yet another security against combination. The directors have used as a further argument for the retaining of their commercial privileges, that it would be unjustifiable in them to take upon the Company the risk of the solvency of so many persons, and for such large amounts, as they must remit to Europe. It does not appear, however, that it would be necessary to incur any such risk, since the merchants who might sell their bills would be willing to accompany them by a security upon their bills of lading, so that the goods which might form the foundation for their drafts would be pledged as security for their payment. Another mode of effecting the

* The produce of this branch of revenue is stated by the Company to be as follows:—

1823-24 . . .	£1,353,557	1826-27 . . .	£1,469,608
1824-25 . . .	1,403,889	1827-28 . . .	1,565,270
1825-26 . . .	1,416,466	1828-29 . . .	1,641,657

necessary remittances is offered by the sale of bills in England drawn upon the Indian treasuries.'

Among the reasons alleged by the Company in favour of a renewal of its monopoly, it has been stated that the perfect security and great facility now experienced in collecting the duty on tea, could not possibly continue if the trade were thrown open; and that the management of the warehousing and sale branch of the Company's business is conducted with great economy, and at less charge to the public than would then be experienced.

With regard to the collection of the duty, it might be found proper to confine the trade with China to such ports in the United Kingdom as are warehousing ports, and possessed of warehouses of special security; in which case we have the evidence of Sir John Hall, the secretary to the Saint Katharine Dock Company, for asserting that the duty on teas deposited in the warehouses of that Company could be equally well collected and secured to the crown, as under the existing regulations with the East India Company. If this security could be obtained from one establishment, it follows, that the same security could be given by other similar establishments. The collection of the tea duty has hitherto been managed by the excise officers. By a recent regulation, the article will very shortly be placed under the supervision of the customs, where, as an article of foreign trade, it seems proper to place it. The expense to the government is stated at 10,000*l.* per annum, or very little more than a quarter per cent. upon the amount collected. This is independent of the salaries of excise officers, who have the supervision of the stock of tea in the hands of dealers; and of the expense of the coast blockade. As this rate is very greatly below that incurred in the collection of the custom duty generally, it is argued that the difference between the rates is so much saving, occasioned by the peculiar conveniences offered by the Company. It would, perhaps, be nearer to the truth to assert, that, as in every port to which tea would be brought, there are already existing custom houses, with their long array of collectors, comptrollers, searchers, waiters, and clerks, the additional labour which would attach to these officers, if required to receive the duty upon one article in addition to those already under their charge, would call for no additional outlay; and that the sum now paid, however small its per centage rate upon the duty collected, is unnecessarily paid, and may be altogether saved to the country by a new arrangement.

With respect to the argument grounded upon the low charges on merchandise made by the Company, we have the same evidence to prove that it is without foundation; that the Saint Katharine Dock Company, and consequently that other establishments, could perform the service much cheaper than the rate incurred by the East India Company. Nor is this mere assertion without at least analogous proof. The East India Company's charge upon the article of indigo is stated to amount to 32*s.* per chest, while the rates and charges of the St. Katharine Dock Company upon the same article do not exceed 21*s.* per chest.

VI.—*Propriety of Separating the Political from the Commercial Character of the Company.*

Under the act of 1813, the Directors are enjoined to apply the surplus commercial profits of the Company to the reduction of its Indian debt, or home bond debt. The surplus profits thus applicable, which have accrued since the passing of the act up to the session 1830-31 inclusive, are stated by the Company's accountant to have amounted to 8,135,567*l.*, of which sum 5,333,198*l.* has been appropriated accordingly, the Directors assuming the right to retain a considerable balance unappropriated, in order to make provision against unforeseen losses in subsequent years.

Much conflicting evidence was adduced before the Committee of 1830, upon the subject of the real or supposed advantage which, previously to the year 1794, one branch of the Company's affairs obtained at the expense of the other. On one hand it was contended that, during the period in question, commerce derived considerable benefit at the expense of territory; while, on the other, a directly contrary opinion has been maintained.

Opinions not less conflicting were offered to the Committee, as to the state of the account between the two branches during the Company's last term. Statements have been drawn out by different parties, at variance with those presented by the Company, and which equally differ from each other, both in principle and details. The Committee does not attempt to draw any conclusion from the conflicting statements thus brought forward, but contents itself with drawing the attention of the House to the controversy. It is quite impossible within our limits to attempt any elucidation of so complicated a subject. We will merely state, that the accountant employed by the government for the examination of the accounts of the Company discredits the views taken by the parties who controvert the statements of the Company.

Great anxiety is shown by the Directors to establish the existence of a considerable debt owing to the commercial by the territorial branch; and the reason for this anxiety is sufficiently obvious. If Parliament should determine upon confirming its territorial possessions to the Company, an argument is hence furnished why that confirmation should be accompanied by a continuance of commercial privileges, thus shown to be so important towards the administration of political functions. If, on the other hand, the state should determine to take those territorial possessions into its own hands, the Company will have made out a claim to a very considerable compensation in its commercial capacity. This is one reason why, in continuing to the Company its political functions, that continuance should be accompanied by commercial privileges; and that reason would be its inability to provide, by any other means, the revenue necessary for the proper administration of the government. Let us examine, by means of the accounts before us, how far the surplus profits derived from trade can be made instrumental to this end.

A statement of the profits derived by the Company from the whole of its commercial dealings, in the ten years from 1819-20 to 1828-29 inclusive, shows an average sum of 815,900*l.*, which, being chargeable with the dividends to the proprietors, amounting to 630,000*l.* per annum, leaves only 185,900*l.* annually applicable in aid of the Indian revenues. The territorial debts in India bearing interest amounted, on May 1, 1830, to 39,948,488*l.*, and it does not appear that any material alteration has been subsequently made in its amount. The interest annually payable in respect of this debt amounts to 2,153,430*l.*, being an average interest of about 5⅜ per cent. The balance in favour of the commercial branch is stated by the Company's accountant to be 21,102,182*l.* If from this sum we deduct the Company's home bond debt, 3,795,892*l.*, we have a sum remaining applicable to the reduction of the debt of 17,306,290*l.* Of this sum 5,926,674*l.* consists of the fixed capital of the Company in warehouses, &c., and payments made on account of the territorial branch. Some considerable loss would be sustained by the sale of property constituting the first item, and the last is evidently not available. Leaving these sums, therefore, out of the question, and making a liberal allowance for other losses which might be sustained in realizing all the assets, the Company might still apply 10,000,000*l.* of liberated commercial capital towards the extinction of its Indian debt; and this, effected at the average rate of interest above stated, would cancel an annual charge to the amount of 537,500*l.* But a considerable portion of the debt bears interest at the rates of 6 and 8 per cent.; and if the redemption took place in those portions, the annual saving would amount to more than 600,000*l.*, a sum but little short of the average commercial profits as stated above, and very far beyond the realized profits of the year 1829-30, the last of which the reports furnish any detailed statement.

In the Appendix, No. 7 to Part II. (Finance and Trade), of the Report of 1832, we find a statement of reductions, civil, marine, and military, *ordered* by the Court of Directors and the several local governments since the close of the year 1827-28. These reductions amount to more than 1,700,000*l.* per annum; and, although it may not be practicable all at once to effect so sweeping a reform, there can be no doubt that fully as much as is contemplated in these orders may be effected in the course of a few years, provided no fresh hostilities should be offered on the part of any of the native powers. A variety of circumstances lead to the conclusion that such an event is less likely to happen now than at any period since our first conquests were effected in India; and it may even be, that, by depriving the Company of its commercial character, one fruitful source of jealousies may be dried up, and wars may by that means be rendered less probable. We see besides, from the evidence before us, that the territorial and fiscal revenues of the Company

have for some time been in a course of progressive improvement. We cannot doubt, therefore, that if the minds of the Company's servants were directed undividedly to improve the system of government in the vast empire over which it rules, the amount of revenue at present drawn from it might be further augmented, while the charges of government might be lessened.

There are many points connected with the Company's government, which are embraced in the documents before us, of importance to be understood by those whowish to make themselves fully masters of a very large and complicated subject. The matters which we have here taken up are those which have the greatest interest for the commercial and manufacturing portions of the community at this present moment. The branches which we have passed over although not so immediately connected with the matters that will form the subjects of parliamentary discussion as those upon which we have entered, are yet replete with interest. We may be induced, upon a future occasion, to devote some pages to an account of the Company's system of internal management, as pursued in the financial and judicial government of its possessions; in the meanwhile, a very short account of the revenue branch of this system, as disclosed in parliamentary reports, may be seen in the Companion to the Almanac for the present year.

AN ACCOUNT of the Profit or Loss upon the Trade of the East India Company between Europe and India, Europe and China, India and China, and between China and the British North American Colonies.

	Imports from India.		Exports to India.		Imports from China.		Exports to China.		Trade between India and China.		Trade between China & Brit. N. A. Colonies.	
	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.
	£.	£	£	£	£	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1819-20	40,523	. . . . .	39,128	. . .	1,020,670	. . .	80,977	. . . .	. . .	10,566	. . . .	. .
1820-21	. . . .	165,556	. . . .	9,066	1,052,417	. . .	104,610	. . . .	. . .	71,094	. . . .	. .
1821-22	. . . .	83,259	10,150	. . .	1,246,786	. . .	9,752	. . . .	. . .	186,387	. . . .	. .
1822-23	. . . .	118,549	49,740	. . .	1,116,387	. . .	. . . .	92,018	. . .	45,838	. . . .	. .
1823-24	. . . .	365,875	35,749	. . .	1,145,383	. . .	10,924	. . . .	. . .	40,460	. . . .	. .
1824-25	. . . .	44,192	39,457	. . .	1,141,454	. . .	. . . .	2,424	. . .	3,678	. . . .	. .
1825-26	. . . .	119,172	21,942	. . .	1,067,166	. . .	21,261	. . . .	24,310	. . . .	18,557	. .
1826-27	. . . .	401,174	3,334	. . .	935,868	. . .	60,551	. . . .	. . .	8,744	12,225	. .
1827-28	. . . .	348,060	. . . .	13,565	788,094	. . .	18,024	. . . .	. . .	70,470	13,796	. .
1828-29	. . . .	507,627	. . . .	18,835	763,434	. . .	. . . .	22,084	. . .	. . . .	14,970	. .
	40,523	2,153,464	199,500	41,466			306,099	116,526	24,310	437,177		
		40,523	41,466				116,526			24,310		
Profit .	. . . .	. . . . .	158,034	. . .	10,277,659	. . .	189,573	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	39,548	. .
Loss .	. . . .	2,112,941	. . . .	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	. . . . .	. . . .	. . .	412,867	. . . .	. .
					Profits		£10,684,814					
					Losses		2,525,808					
					Balance of Gain		£8,159,006					
1829-30	. . . .	519,541	. . . .	66,399	. . . . .	. . .	34,644	. . . .	. . .	68,605	20,055	. .

The Trade carried on with China by American merchants during fifteen years, from 1813-14 to 1827-28 inclusive, is stated in the Appendix to the Lords' Report of 1830 as follows:—

	Ships.	Tons.	Val. of Imports. Dollars.	Val. of Exp. Dollars.
1813-14 } 1814-15 }	9	2,854	451,500	572,000
1815-16	30	10,208	2,527,500	4,220,000
1816-17	38	13,096	5,609,600	5,703,000
1817-18	39	14,325	7,076,828	6,777,000
1818-19	46	16,022	10,017,151	9,041,755
1819-20	39	13,641	8,158,961	8,182,016
1820-21	25	8,470	not stated	
1821-22	42	14,702	8,199,741	7,058,741
1822-23	31	11,297	8,339,398	7,523,492
1823-24	35	13,635	6,313,126	5,677,149
1824-25	37	14,452	8,962,045	8,501,121
1825-26	38	not stated	7,756,031	8,752,562
1826-27	19	7,034	3,843,717	4,363,788
1827-28	20	8,597	6,238,788	6,659,925

The Imports, of which the value is above stated, consisted of ginseng, opium, quicksilver, metals, skins, cochineal, pepper, and other spices, cotton, and cotton goods, woollen goods, linen goods, rice cleaned and in the husk, sandal wood, and dollars.

The exports consisted of tea, nankeen cloth, raw and wrought silks, cassia, china ware, mats and matting, sugar, and drugs.

The declared value of British Produce and Manufactures, exported from the United Kingdom to China in foreign ships, was—

	£		£
1818	2,527	1824	
1819	29,324	1825	
1820	178,362	1826	143,897
1821	135,954	1827	70,985
1822	12,500	1828	66,253
1823	104,165	1829	

These goods consisted principally of cotton and woollen manufactures, glass-ware, guns and pistols, copper, iron wrought and unwrought, lead and shot, machinery, plate, plated ware, jewellery, and trinkets.

Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter, issued March 27, 1833.

Since the above article was in type, and just as we were about to proceed to press, a correspondence of considerable length between the Court of Directors and the Right Hon. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, accompanied with other papers relating to the renewal of the Company's Charter, has been printed by order of the Court of Proprietors. The negotiations of which these papers contain the history commenced on the 12th of October, 1830, on which day a conference took place at Apsley-house between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough on the one part, and the Chairman and Deputy-chairman of the Company on the other, "in order," as his Grace stated, "to ascertain what the views and intentions of the Company would be in the event of its being considered expedient that the Court of Directors should continue to exercise functions similar to those now intrusted to them in the government of India, but that the Company should no longer possess the monopoly of the China trade." After the accession of the present ministry, the negotiations were resumed by an interview which took place at the India Board between Mr. Grant and the two Chairmen of the Company, and which appears to have been followed by several others, of which the memoranda are not given. But the more important part of the correspondence is that which has taken place since the 10th of December last, on which day Earl Grey and Mr. Grant submitted to the Chairman the following "Paper of Hints," being an outline of the plan which the government was prepared to propose to Parliament for the future regulation of the Company:—

The China monopoly to cease.

The East India Company to retain their political functions.

The Company's assets, commercial and territorial, with all their possessions and rights, to be assigned to the Crown, on behalf of the territorial government of India.

An annuity of 630,000*l.* to be granted to the proprietors, to be

paid in England by half-yearly instalments, and to be charged upon the territorial revenues of India exclusively, and to form part of the territorial debt of that country, not to be redeemable before the 30th of April, 18—, and then, at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity.

Such part of the commercial assets as is convertible into money to be so converted, and the proceeds, with the cash balance of the commercial department, as exhibited in the account of stock by computation for the 30th of April, 1834, appropriated to the discharge of an amount of the present territorial debt equal to a capital producing 630,000*l.* a year.

The territorial revenue of India to be chargeable with all expenses incurred on account of that country at home and abroad.

The new annuitants to retain the character of a joint stock company.

The qualification of the proprietors, and the right of voting, to remain as at present.

The number of directors to be ; one fourth to go out by rotation every year, but to be immediately re-eligible.

The patronage to remain vested in the directors.

The military patronage to be exercised as at present.

The civil servants to be educated at Haileybury.

The details of the arrangement to be settled hereafter; but, perhaps, something of the following nature might answer:—

The students at the college to be considered only as competitors for writerships.

Their number to be so regulated that there may be always more candidates than appointments.

Each student to remain at the college no longer than years.

Vacancies for civil appointments in India to be filled from the college, on public examination, by the students approved the most able.

The directors to fill up the vacancies at the college each year: each director to nominate in succession.

The plans and arrangements respecting the course and subjects of study to be formed by the Board and the professors.

The 47th section of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, to remain, but made applicable to *removal* as well as appointment, and to *Professors* as well as Principals.

The Governor-general in council to report annually, on his responsibility, the number of writers and cadets and assistant-surgeons required for the service of the next year.

The Board of Control to have the power of reducing, but not of augmenting, that number.

Every British subject to have the right of going out to the seats of government of the three presidencies of India, without license; but his right of visiting the interior, or of residing there, and of acquiring and holding property, to be subject to the restraints and regulations which the local government may impose.

The powers of the Court, and its relations with the India Board, to remain as at present, except as modified in the following summary:—

The Court, on the Board's final and conclusive order, are to send the despatch by the first ship that goes after such order.

In the event of the Court refusing to prepare a despatch, or to send a despatch as altered by the Board, the Board to have the power of sending it themselves.

Appointment of Governors subject, as now, to the approbation of the King; but the Board to have a veto on the recall.

The same with regard to commanders of the forces.

The Board to have the same power with regard to pensions or salaries below 200*l.* a year, and to gratuities below 600*l*, that they have now with respect to salaries, pensions, or gratuities above those amounts.

Home expenditure and establishment to be under the control of the Board.

The subsequent correspondence refers, of course, entirely to these propositions; and the following are the principal points which come into discussion. On the important subject of the monopoly of the trade to China, Mr. Grant's declaration in his letter of the 12th of February, is perfectly explicit. After a long and elaborate argument, he concludes by saying:—"Whatever may be the decision of the Company, I must repeat, that it is not the intention of the government to recommend to Parliament the renewal of the Company's exclusive privilege of trade with China." He adds, in the same communication, "I am bound to state frankly, that his Majesty's ministers being, on the fullest consideration, convinced of the justice and liberality of the terms now offered, will be prepared, in the event of a rejection of them, to propose to Parliament a plan for the future government of India without the instrumentality of the Company." He concludes by intimating that if no decision of the proprietors is communicated to him by the 23d of March, he will feel himself compelled to consider that the proposal is *declined*. In a subsequent letter, however, dated the 14th March, he states that he had no desire to adhere to the period here specified as the limit of deliberation on the subject.

The directors demand, as an indispensable preliminary to their acceptance of the government of India on the terms submitted, that they "should be secured in the regular supply of funds to defray the territorial payments in England, amounting to between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* annually;" but to this Mr. Grant replies, "that the funds requisite to meet the expenses of the Indian empire must be sought, and will be found, in the resources of that empire itself;" and "that the means of making available in England any part of those resources, will be furnished by some of the different modes of remittance which are usual in the commercial world, and which are never found wanting where remittance is required, either for commercial or political purposes." Another demand of the directors is, that some collateral security should be provided "for the regular payment of the dividend, and, ultimately, if necessary, the principal, in the shape of an effective sinking-fund, based upon the investment in the national stocks of some portion of the commercial assets." They wish that a sum of 3,000,000*l.* should be devoted to this purpose. To meet these views, the government make the following proposal:—

"That there shall be taken out of the commercial assets of the company the sum of 1,200,000*l.* sterling, which shall be invested in the national stocks or other public securities of this country, and shall, with its accumulated interest, form a fund, as a guarantee or collateral security for the capital stock of the Company, and applicable to its future redemption. That this sum shall not, nor shall any part of it, nor of the dividends arising from it, be applied to any other purpose than the formation of such guarantee fund for the object just mentioned; but that it shall be suffered to accumulate until it shall be applied, as hereinafter mentioned, towards the redemption of the annuity of 630,000*l.*, or until it shall, together with its accumulations, amount to the sum of twelve millions; after which, no further accumulation shall take place, but all the subsequent interests or dividends shall be applied, at the option of the directors and the board, either towards the discharge of the principal of the general territorial debt of India, or in some other manner for the benefit of the territory."

The security, therefore, it will be observed, is not to be applied to the payment of the dividend, but only to the redemption of the capital. It is afterwards stated that ministers, expecting that the guarantee-fund thus established will, in the course of forty years, amount to 6,000,000*l.*, are ready to recommend it to Parliament to declare that the annuity shall not be liable to a compulsory discharge within that term That the repayment shall be at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* is declared by Mr. Grant to be considered by him as a *sine qua non*. With the commercial property of the Company it is also intimated that there will be transferred to the government "all the obligations, whether of a legal kind, or binding on the ground of equity and liberality, which may attach to that property." Finally, the period during which the political functions of the Company shall be continued, it is proposed to fix at about fifteen years; and it is hinted that meanwhile, as the duties of the Directors will, under the new arrangement, be considerably diminished, it may be proper that their number should be reduced in a corresponding ratio. This correspondence, we have only further to add, was read to a General Court of Proprietors on Monday, the 25th inst., when no debate took place, but the discussion was adjourned to the 15th of April. The manner in which the plan of the government is likely to be received by the proprietors and the public may be anticipated from the fact that on the day after this communication was made, India stock rose immediately not less than 12 per cent.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL, EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, Groombridge, *Panyer-alley, Paternoster-row.*

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Martin.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne,—Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibham.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.

Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by William Clowes, Stamford-street.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 4. MAY 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Banking System of Great Britain	49	Results of Election Petitions, and Alterations in the Representation	63
Reforms in the Law of Real Property	54	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	63
Courts of Local Jurisdiction	55	Post Office Arrangements with France	64
Crime in London	56	Notice	64
Present State of Private Bills	60		
Public Petitions	60		
New Patent Bill	61		

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It was our intention to have devoted a *Supplementary* Number to an analysis of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons (August, 1832) on the affairs of the Bank of England; and, incidentally, to have added some remarks on the subject of banking generally. We have, however, thought it more advisable to limit the publication of Supplements to *one in each Quarter;* and, therefore, as the question of the renewal of the Bank Charter will almost immediately come under the consideration of Parliament, it has appeared to us right, at the risk of affording little variety in the present Number, to give the main facts of this important subject without delay. The knowledge of these facts may throw some light upon the general question of the currency, which has just been disposed of by Parliament. The subject will divide itself into two parts:—1st, The rise, progress, and present state of the Bank of England. 2dly, The operations of the Provincial Banks of England and of the Banks of Ireland and Scotland; with a notice of the improvements in our banking system that naturally arise out of the renewal of the Bank Charter. To the first division of the subject we shall confine ourselves in the present Number.

Origin of Banking and early Banks.

All banks were originally for the purpose of deposit; money, jewels, and other portable effects of great value for the space they occupied, being lodged there for safe custody. By degrees, the value of the deposits increased, and banks became useful for mercantile and financial purposes. In these, as in other commercial institutions, the Italians took the lead of the rest of modern Europe, in consequence, not as some writers imagine, of any particular intelligence or power of invention in the inhabitants of Italy, but of the earlier progress of civilization and trade in that country. A commercial intercourse was maintained on the part of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, with Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, in an age when transactions with foreign countries were, in a manner, unknown in the north and west of Europe. Italy thus derived advantage from two causes; she preserved the remains of the civilization of antiquity, and was in a fit state to profit by intercourse with her contemporaries when, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the dawn of improvement appeared in Germany, France, and England. Hence, a considerable increase in her town population at a time when, in the rest of Europe, nine-tenths of the inhabitants lived in the open country.

Bank of Venice.—Of the commercial towns of Italy, Venice was the first to attain wealth and a large population, in consequence of the security from attack afforded by her peculiar position. It was in the latter half of the twelfth century (in the year 1171) that the Bank of Venice was founded, and received a regular constitution from the government of the republic. The first point was to provide for the security of the deposits, whether of coin, bullion, jewellery, or bills of exchange; the next, to make it the interest of the depositors that the money or effects should remain in the bank. This could be done only by enabling the depositors to transfer their property by orders, in writing, without an actual removal of the articles. With that view, the bank opened an account in its books with each depositor; giving him credit for the amount of the money, or the value of effects sent in by him. The holder of such credits was said to be the holder of so much bank-money; and the effect of certain public regulations, emanating from the government, was to render bank-money fully equal, or rather more than equal, in value to the current money of the city. Compared with the latter, bank-money bore a premium or *agio*, small in amount, but sufficient to induce the owner, when making a payment to a third party, to do so by cheque or order, instead of withdrawing the money or effects. The same motive operated with the persons receiving the cheque or transfer ticket; so that the property remained generally in the bank.

Bank of Amsterdam.—About four centuries later, Amsterdam attained great importance in trade. Several circumstances concurred to this fortunate result;—the extensive opening to the north-east of Germany afforded by the Zuyder-zee; the vicinity of Flanders, at that time the most improved part of the north of Europe; and, after the siege and capture of Antwerp in 1585, the removal of many of the principal merchants of that city to Amsterdam. The consequence was a great extension of the Dutch trade with foreign parts—with the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the central part of Europe; so that, in buying and selling, much inconvenience was experienced from the number and diversity of foreign coins. Hence the establishment of a bank, on a plan similar to that of Venice,—viz., giving credit to depositors for specific sums in the books of the bank; hence, also, regulations on the part of the magistracy, calculated to enhance the value of bank-money, compared to metallic currency. With that view, it was enacted, that all bills of exchange, payable in Amsterdam, should be acquitted in bank-money; also, that coins, when deposited at the bank, should be entered to the credit of the depositors, in a manner which rendered bank-money more valuable than the metallic currency.

The directors thus attained their object of inducing depositors to make payments by cheques or written transfers, instead of actual removal of the money or effects. From these and other regulations, the bank acquired the complete confidence of merchants and the public; bank-money bore a regular premium or *agio*; and, during the seventeenth century, the period of a great extension of the trade of Holland, the deposits in the Bank of Amsterdam were successively on the increase.

Bank of Hamburgh.—Hamburgh, like Amsterdam, was a place of trade in the middle ages; but, notwithstanding its spacious river, it was much longer in acquiring extensive commerce, in consequence, doubtless, of the poverty of the adjacent country. The Bank of Hamburgh was established in 1619 under the guarantee of the magistrates, two of whom are *ex officio* members of the bank direction. It has been all along a well-conducted establishment, accommodating the public by discounts, as well as by loans on deposits of gold, silver, and jewels. The rule is, to advance to the depositor three-fourths of the value, and continue the loan from six to twelve months.

Bank of England.

The Bank of England received its first charter in 1694, in the midst of the arduous contest maintained by England, Germany, and Holland, against the restless ambition of Louis XIV. The finances of government being straitened, a loan of 1,200,000*l.* was made by respectable merchants in London, on condition of receiving interest at the rate of 8 per cent. and a charter of incorporation as a bank, under the title of Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

The charter specified, at some length, the fundamental duties and privileges of the corporation; and was drawn in such a manner as to indicate a considerable advance in the knowledge of commercial principles. Thus, instead of ob-

taining exclusive privileges in trading,—which a century before would have been an object of ambition with a society of merchants,—the bank was limited to a specific department of business, viz., dealing in bills of exchange and in gold and silver. It was prohibited from taking part in any mercantile concern; but it was authorized to make advances, like the Bank of Hamburgh, on the security of merchandise lodged with it, or pledged to it by written documents. Loans on goods, which in later times have been so seldom required from the bank, would, it was then thought, form a principal part of its business; so limited in those days was the monied capital of bankers, brokers, or merchants. One part of the functions of the new association was the management of the public debt; for which (the amount being then very small), the allowance from government was fixed at 4000*l.* a year.

Such was the original constitution of the Bank of England. The merits or demerits of such an establishment being then very little understood, the first charter was limited to eleven years; but the reign of Anne being, like that of King William, a period of war, and of war on a very expensive scale, the bank directors had little difficulty in obtaining its renewal. This took place in 1708, in the midst of the successes of Marlborough, when government and the public accounted a loan of money the greatest service that patriotic subjects could render to their country. In that year the bank added about 2,000,000*l.* to their original advance to government, making their total advance 3,375,000*l.* —in return for which, their charter received an extension of upwards of twenty years, viz. to 1732. The current rate of interest having fallen during the fifteen years that had elapsed since the establishment of the bank, the charge to government was now reduced from 8 to 6 per cent.; which, high as it now seems, was a more moderate rate of interest than then prevailed in any part of Europe except Holland.

The extent of the advances to government now made it necessary for the bank directors to increase their capital; that is, to call on the persons holding bank stock to advance more money, receiving stock in return. Thus, in 1708, the capital was doubled; the holder of 100*l.* bank stock being offered a further 100*l.* stock, if he thought fit to advance to the bank a further 100*l.* in money. As to such an exchange, there was and could be little hesitation on the part of the proprietors, the affairs of the bank being prosperous, and yielding a yearly dividend of 8 or 9 per cent. Its stock was consequently at a premium; that is, a person acquiring 100*l.* bank stock could readily dispose of it on the Stock Exchange for more than 100*l.* in money.

The long war, caused by the ambition of Louis XIV., came at last to a close: England, Holland, and Austria, all laid down their arms; and financiers as well as merchants calculated on a long continuance of peace. The bank now received a further extension of its charter; and in 1717 increased its advances to government by 2,000,000*l.*, reducing, at the same time, its yearly charge to the Treasury from 6 to 5 per cent.

The years 1720 and 1721 were the æra of the South Sea Company; the career of which, when compared with that of the Bank of England, afforded a striking proof of the superiority of careful management, and limited profit, over blind confidence and sanguine speculation. The distress consequent on the failure of the South Sea Scheme, was general and great: government and the bank now came forward to relieve the unfortunate shareholders. The bank had money to advance; and government, by obtaining an Act of Parliament to secure the payment of the interest on a given sum of South Sea stock, was able to render that stock of equal value with other funded property. This was accordingly done: the bank bought South Sea Stock to the extent of 4,000,000*l.*, on the responsibility of government, and paid that large sum by calling, as before, on its proprietors; viz., by giving to those who chose it, 100*l* of bank stock for 100*l.* in money; an exchange very readily accepted, because the former was, as on the preceding occasion, at a premium—100*l.* bank stock selling on the Stock Exchange for more than 100*l.* money.

We are now arrived at the administration of Sir Robert Walpole in this country, and of Cardinal Fleury in France; a period marked by more than twenty years of peace, and by an anxious attention, on the part of either minister, to financial reform and the reduction of the public burdens. The sinking fund, instituted by Walpole, paid off in 1727, 1,000,000*l.* of the debt of government to the bank; and if we question the policy of a sinking fund, formed by continuing taxes which might and ought to have been repealed, there can be no doubt of the advantage of a measure which soon followed; we mean, reducing the rate of interest paid by government to the bank from 5 to 4 per cent. That reduction, the largest as yet made, afforded another striking example of the abundance of disposable capital attendant on a continuance of peace.

Sir Robert Walpole was driven from the ministry in 1741 by the clamour of faction and the impatience of the public for a war with Spain. The contest soon extended to France; and in 1742 the aid of the Bank of England was again called in by government. The result was, on the one hand, an increased advance by the bank to the Treasury; on the other, a continuation of the bank charter to the year 1764. This war was of very varied success: by sea, our countrymen maintained their accustomed superiority; by land, the French, commanded by Marshal Saxe, had, in general, the advantage of the allies. Money, abundant during the early part of the war, became scarce as it proceeded, and as the scale of our expenditure increased. In 1746 the bank advanced nearly 1,000,000*l.* to government, and raised the money from the proprietors of bank stock, by giving them, as before, the option of receiving 100*l.* stock for 100*l.* money. At last came peace and a returning abundance of capital, which enabled government to reduce the interest payable to the bank, first from 4 to 3½ per cent., and eventually to 3 per cent.

The next war, begun in 1756, was conducted, under the able administration of Lord Chatham, with vigour and success: the credit of government with the mercantile body stood high; there was little difficulty in raising money by public loan, so that it was not necessary for ministers to call on the bank for any permanent loan. Besides, the amount already lent by the bank to government (above 11,000,000*l.*) was as great as was consistent with prudence, or with the means of the proprietors of bank stock. Next came, in 1775, the war with our American colonies, which extended, in 1778, to a war with France, Spain, and eventually Holland. Still no advance beyond the usual amount took place, on the part of the bank, till towards the close of the war (the year 1781), when a temporary loan was made to government in consideration of an extension of the bank charter to the year 1812.

The peace of 1783 relieved this country from a most arduous and expensive contest: a state of confirmed peace directed to a productive purpose the thousands of men and millions of capital lately wasted in destructive hostility. The public recovered gradually from the apprehension of loss of power caused by the separation of the North American colonies; our town population increased; our manufactures extended, favoured as they were by the easy conveyance of fuel, raw materials, and bulky goods, on canals. Add to this the animating effect of the increase of country banking, which at this time was extended without being abused. The revenue improved slowly but progressively; and Mr. Pitt was enabled to conduct our finances during ten years without any aid from the bank beyond that of temporary advances.

Such was the condition of the country until the close of the year 1792, when the affairs of France unfortunately assumed an aspect which led to the relinquishment of a state of peace, and of the various reforms for which that state was indispensable. The transition from peace to war was unexpected, and the shock to our productive industry was great. The circulation of our country banks had increased, and a number of manufacturing and other establishments had been formed on the faith of the continuance of peace, and of a low interest of money. All this was now reversed. Hence that succession of failures among merchants and country bankers, which gave so gloomy a colouring to the early part of 1793, and led to a heavy drain of specie from the Bank of England. During three years, the advance of the bank to government averaged eight millions; in 1795, our subsidy to Austria was increased, and the advance of the bank in that year, and in 1796, rose first to ten, afterwards to twelve millions. This produced the greatest inconvenience to the bank, because a deficiency in our crops had, at that time, rendered necessary the purchase and import of foreign corn, to pay for which required large sums in gold and silver. The export of these sums reduced the bullion reserve in the bank, and prevented the directors from increasing their discounts to merchants. To this was added, in the beginning of the year 1797, a general apprehension of invasion, and a further drain of specie from the bank on the part of country bankers,

so that, towards the end of February, the bullion in the bank coffers was reduced to little more than 1,200,000*l.* sterling. A further drain being apprehended, ministers took a step which formed a memorable æra in the history of our trade and finance, we mean exempting the bank from paying in cash, and authorising it to issue small notes (of 1*l.* and 2*l.*) in lieu of gold.

Our war expenditure, hitherto kept within bounds by pecuniary difficulties, now increased every year, rising from thirty to forty and even fifty millions. These very large sums were raised without much pressure on the bank by the Treasury, because the general ease in regard to money consequent on the exemption from cash payments, was for a time highly favourable to the circumstances of individuals, producing that progressive rise of prices, wages, salaries, and incomes generally, which facilitates the payment of taxes, and admits of a progressive addition to their amount.

The peace of Amiens was signed in May, 1802, and the existing law required a resumption of cash payments six months after that date. This was postponed for a year, on account of the serious inconvenience it would have caused to trade, and after the rupture, in 1803, the public called loudly for a continuance of the exemption from cash payments. In fact the ease with which that exemption enabled us to meet our expenditure, was a main cause of the popularity of the war with the government of Napoleon. It continued during twelve years, and throughout that long period our financial means continued abundant, enabling ministers to give an unexampled latitude to our operations, both by sea and land. In those days of excitement and sanguine expectation, the abundance of money was ascribed to an increase of national wealth: but the painful experience of nearly twenty years has shown that it was in a great measure artificial and temporary.

In 1810, when the Bullion Committee was appointed, the exemption of the bank from paying in cash had lasted twelve years, and to men of reflection it had often been a matter of surprise that our paper currency should have been so long inconvertible without incurring any serious depreciation. Our public expenditure, during the period in question, took place almost wholly at home, and was defrayed in bank paper, which being returned to government in loans and taxes, the whole was *little more than a circulation*. Bank notes were put to the test only when sent to the Continent; and for some time certain favourable circumstances, principally to be ascribed to the neutral commerce of the United States, prevented their sudden and violent depreciation. Our war expenditure in Spain and Portugal, and the necessity of purchasing foreign corn, occasioned, during the years 1811, 1812, 1813, a very serious depreciation of our bank paper abroad, to an extent exceeding 15 and even 20 per cent.

Resumption of Cash Payments; Act of 1819.—So early as the year 1815, an Act of Parliament passed, declaring in the preamble, that "it was highly desirable that the Bank of England should return as soon as possible to the payment of its notes in cash." But the year following (1816) being one of great commercial distress, the return to cash payments was, by a further act, postponed during two years, at the end of which the resumption was fixed to take place in July, 1819. In the years 1817 and 1818, the bank directors made a partial trial of the practicability of returning to a gold currency, having in those years issued above 6,000,000*l.* in guineas and sovereigns. But this was productive of no permanent good, the chief part of this large sum having soon disappeared from circulation, and been exported to the Continent in consequences of a fall in the exchanges. In 1819 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject generally, of which committee Mr. Peel was chairman. Upon the recommendation of their Report, an Act was passed enjoining the bank to make arrangements for resuming cash payments, at the expiration of three years, viz., in 1822. The directors of the Bank of England considered themselves bound by this Act, (Evidence of the Governor, page 69,) to provide gold to the amount of no less than twenty millions sterling.

Discounts by the Bank to Merchants.—We have already stated in what manner the permanent capital of the bank, or the sums raised by calls on the holders of bank stock, was lent to government. The amount thus lent is, in all, 14,686,800*l.*; and the rate of interest paid by government is, since the year 1757, not more than 3 per cent. With this large amount the bank directors have nothing to do, except receiving the interest from government and paying it to the proprietors. It may, therefore, be called the fixed part of the bank capital; the loan of which to government, in an age when it was difficult to effect a loan, was the inducement to confer on the bank the exclusive privilege of circulating paper money. This loan will be repayable by government only when the Bank of England charter shall expire and not be renewed.

The disposable capital of the Bank is larger than the permanent, and consists of the

Amount raised by the issue of notes;

Amount held by deposit from government and individuals; and lastly,

Profits realized, but not divided among the proprietors.

These form the capital under the management of the directors; of which part is vested in coin and bullion, but a larger part in securities producing interest, such as Exchequer bills and mercantile acceptances. The Appendix to the Report of last year's Committee contains an official return of the assets of the bank, and of the mode of employing them, since the year 1778, being somewhat more than half a century. The average annual amount of mercantile bills discounted by the bank has greatly varied: in 1809 and 1810 they rose to the very large average of seventeen millions. During the last six years, we mean from 1827 to the present time, the amount of discounts at the bank has averaged only the comparatively small sum of a million and a half. The decrease of discounts since the peace is a consequence of the abundance of money in the hands of individual banking-houses, and of their charge for interest being lower than that of the bank.

Quarterly advances made by the Bank.—The issue of the dividends on government stock makes money plenty in January, April, July, and October; but the preceding months, being the time of making payments into the Exchequer to prepare for the dividends, have, till lately, been periods of scarcity of money. During the last three years, the bank has come forward to meet the wants of the public in a very plain and easy manner, viz. by making advances on the deposit of Exchequer bills, bills of exchange, and other securities, during the interval of scarcity, and resuming these advances as soon as money became plentiful by the issue of the dividends. This course has been followed every three months, and has been found completely to answer. The discount charged by the bank on these temporary advances varies, according to the market rate of interest, from 3 to 4 per cent. The applicants are, in general, merchants or brokers, and the securities tendered must amount to 2000*l.* or upwards.

Assistance by the Bank on financial emergencies.—The directors have at different times, particularly during the panic in December, 1825, issued their notes largely for the purpose of relieving individuals, considering themselves bound to come forward in a season of distress, and assist the public, even at a degree of risk to their establishment. The amount of Bank of England notes in circulation on 3d December 1825, was not 17,500,000*l.*; but on the 25th of that month it exceeded 25,500,000*l.* This arose from an issue of no less than 8,000,000*l.* to bankers and merchants; made in the case of merchants in the discount of bills of exchange; in the case of bankers on the deposit partly of bills, partly of title deeds and other securities. At such a time of alarm no notes except those of a body of undoubted stability like the Bank of England would have been current; and large issues of them were required to replace the void caused as well by the discredit of country bank paper as by that hoarding of gold, on the part of timid persons, which always takes place in seasons of alarm. On one memorable day, the number of mercantile bills discounted by the bank was 4200. On a former emergency in the history of the bank, viz., in the year 1745, when the Pretender was marching towards the capital, at the head of his Highland followers, the bank had sought to gain time by making its payments in silver; but in 1825, gold was handed over as soon as called for, and in the quickest manner; not by tale, but in bags of twenty-five sovereigns each. The run on the bank for gold, in December, 1825, was the greatest that had taken place since February, 1797. Comparing the two occasions, we find that in 1797, the directors lessened their discounts, and withheld their issues, apprehending that to continue them would lead to the exhaustion of their treasure; but their successors, in 1825, took the bold course of continuing their advances.

Advances by the Bank of England to Government.—The advances made by the directors out of their disposable capital, half a century ago, averaged 8,000,000*l.*, and continued to increase in succeeding years, particularly on the exemption of the bank from cash payments, in 1797. After that remarkable event, the bank advances to government rose to 14,000,000*l.*, continued at that sum or upwards during the war, and are at present considerably above it; because in a time of profound peace, the bank leave the discounts of mercantile bills to individual banking houses, and invest their money in government securities. The following is a summary for the last thirty-five years.

Average of the advances of the bank to government, on the security chiefly of Exchequer bills.

During the ten years,	from 1797 to 1807	14,000,000*l.*
do. do.	from 1807 to 1817	22,000,000
do. do.	from 1817 to 1827	19,000,000
do. five years,	from 1827 to 1832	19,000,000

It thus appears that the bank advances to government are as large since the peace as during the war, but at a very different rate of charge, Exchequer bills bearing now only 2½ instead of 5 per cent. interest. A somewhat higher interest might be obtained for the bank, by vesting money in the public funds, but these necessarily vary in price, and it is a rule in banking to avoid investing in a security of fluctuating value.

Foreign Exchanges; their Effect on the Bank.—Although the bank has no commercial transactions, not even in drawing or receiving bills from abroad, it is incumbent on the directors to look attentively at the exchanges, from their influence on the export and import of the precious metals.

The mercantile intercourse between places of such magnitude as London, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburgh, implies the frequent transmission of money and bills of exchange: and the rate of exchange is, of course, regulated by the nature of the existing transactions. In time of peace the value of specie is nearly the same in all parts of Europe, because the transmission of gold takes place at a very small charge, less than 5*s.* per 100*l.*

The rate of exchange varies very little in peace, for whenever it exceeds ¼ per cent., the merchants who are desirous of remitting, draw coin or bullion from the Bank of England, and send it abroad through the medium of those who make the conveyance of the precious metals a branch of business. In the year 1823, the exchanges were favourable to this country, and large sums of gold came in; in the autumn of 1824, they turned against us, and exports of coin and bullion took place on a large scale. After the panic in December, 1825, there was a general fall in the price of merchandise; and the exchanges turned once more in our favour, according to the law in mercantile intercourse, that a decline in the price of goods tends to bring gold and silver into the country of the decline, for the plain reason that merchandise can be bought more cheaply there than elsewhere. Again in the autumn of 1828, our harvest being partially deficient, the foreign exchanges turned, in some measure, against us, it being foreseen that money would be required on the Continent to purchase corn for this country.

To all such circumstances the bank directors are obliged to attend, and to limit their circulation accordingly. This forms the difference in the situation of the bank now, and at the time of the exemption from cash payments; a time when it was unnecessary to watch the exchanges, because the bank could not be subjected to any drain of bullion or coin. The difference is very great; for in the one case the bank is under a direct and peremptory check; in the other, it was wholly independent, and, the currency being in paper, the directors could with ease furnish the advances required by either government or the mercantile body.

The Bank of England possesses the power of expanding or contracting the amount of its notes in circulation; but, in the exercise of that power, the directors act with great caution. Thus, when the foreign exchanges are likely to fall, and it appears incumbent on the bank to contract its paper, the directors do not act on opinion, but wait until an actual demand for gold has been made on the bank. Even then they do not make a direct contraction of their circulation; they merely forbear to issue notes in the place of those which have been paid in by the public for gold. They (the directors) are aware, that, under any circumstances, a diminution of the currency is unfavourable to trade, lowering the price of commodities and producing a general dullness in markets.

The price of gold in the bullion-market of London varies very little in time of peace, being regulated by the rate at which the bank makes its purchases: at present, that rate is 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per ounce. The price of silver depends on the foreign exchanges, and rises or falls with them. The bank seldom attempts to influence the rate of exchange; but on particular occasions, when it seemed of consequence to prevent a fall of the exchange with Paris, the bank has sent abroad a quantity of silver, as a means of lessening the number of bills to be drawn on London. Such exports are seldom large, not exceeding a few hundred thousand pounds; and they take place either in bullion, foreign coin, or bar-silver.

The Cash Reserve at the Bank.—It is a rule at the bank to keep in treasure a sum equal to a third, or nearly a third, of the amount of their notes in circulation. Thus when the amount of the latter is eighteen millions, six millions form a fair proportion for the cash reserve, and twelve millions are vested so as to produce interest. Such a reserve has almost always been found sufficient; for even in the latter part of that year of wild speculation, 1825, the gold drawn from the bank had paid for all our foreign purchases, and the exchanges were turning in our favour; when, unfortunately, the failure of a number of country banks caused a farther drain of gold from the Bank of England to the extent of several millions, and brought the reserve very low. After that came a long interval of tranquillity, for there was no serious drain of gold from the bank during four or five years; till, after August, 1830, the troubled state of France and Belgium made money scarce in those countries, and obliged foreign merchants to apply to their correspondents in England to obtain loans of money. The sums thus required were drawn from the bank, so that in less than a year the gold in the bank was reduced from eleven to six millions.

These examples of sudden drain make it incumbent on the directors to keep a considerable reserve in coin and bullion. They reckon on having to supply the money market of London with coin, as well as to be provided against the possible occurrence of a commercial panic, which would force both town and country bankers to drain gold in large sums from the bank. With that view most of the disposable capital of the bank is invested in securities, which can, if required, be brought to sale on the Stock Exchange; such is the case, not only with exchequer bills and government stock, but with the greatest of all their assets, the annuity on the dead weight. That annuity might be divided or subdivided, so that portions of it might, if necessary, be sold to public companies or individual capitalists.

Moneys deposited in the Bank.—The public consider the Bank of England chiefly as a bank of issue, as the quarter for supplying paper money to the metropolis, and in some degree to England in general. That is, doubtless, its most important function; but it has transactions also on a very large scale as a bank of deposit. It receives, in this manner, for safe custody:—

Money from bankers whether in town or country.

Money from merchants and others in London, who are not bankers; and, above all,

The money of government; rendering to the Treasury and other public offices, in daily paying and receiving sums of money, the same services as a banking-house in Lombard-Street does to its mercantile connexions.

Deposits by Merchants and Private Individuals.—The amount of notes deposited in the bank by merchants and others for safe custody was at all times considerable, but not great until of late years. Before the war of 1793, the amount varied from one to two millions; during the war, it continued nearly the same; also during ten years of peace, merchants having, in general, great confidence in their respective bankers. But this underwent a change after the panic in December, 1825, when four banking-houses in London, and twenty in the country, suddenly stopped payment. Many persons now considered their money safe only in the Bank of England; they removed it thither; and the result was, that the deposits in the bank by individuals increased gradually from two to three, four, and eventually to six millions, which is their present amount.

Deposits on Account of Government.—The balances remaining at the bank on account of the government offices are, in general, large. Before the war of 1793, the amount of

the whole was usually from three to four millions; but as the war proceeded, and loans and taxes increased, the average amount rose until it became seven, eight, ten, and even eleven millions. These sums were so large as to fix the attention of a Parliamentary Committee in 1807, and to lead to an arrangement by which, in consideration of the magnitude of these balances, the bank agreed to lend government three millions without interest.

Since the peace and the cessation of public loans, the deposits in the bank for government have decreased greatly, and now average only three or four millions.

Capital of the Bank of England; its amount, and how invested.—The bank capital is composed of the following:—

(1) The sums paid up at different periods, between 1694 and 1781, by proprietors or holders of bank stock, in all	£11,642,400
(2) Added in 1806, from accumulated profits, 25 per cent. to the existing capital	2,910,600
Together	£14,553,000

This is the capital on which the holders of bank stock receive dividends, and, being permanently lent to government, may be called the fixed capital of the bank.

(3) The disposable capital of the bank, consisting of the following:—

The amount of the bank notes in circulation; the amount of the deposits in the bank by government and individuals; and lastly, the rest or undivided profits of the bank proprietors. The large sums of money arising from these sources are never permanently lent, but remain at the disposal of the directors, and are invested by them in securities which fall due at fixed periods, and are consequently changed from time to time. On 29th February, 1832, the date of the latest published return, the disposable assets or capital of the bank were as follows:

Exchequer bills		£6,834,940
Amount advanced by the bank to government towards the "dead weight," or half-pay and pensions of the army and navy. This advance was made in the five years between April, 1823, and April, 1828, to the amount of		10,897,880
In return, the bank are entitled to receive from government 585,740*l.* annually, until the year 1867.		
Government 3 per cent. stock purchased by the bank		764,000
The bank hold of government 3 per cent. stock	£14,686,800	
While there is due by the bank to its proprietors, only	14,553,000	
Leaving a surplus of		133,800
City bonds		500,000
Mercantile bills and notes under discount		2,951,970
Lent on mortgages		1,452,100
Lent to the London Dock Company		227,500
Advanced on various securities		570,690
Coin and bullion in bank		5,293,150
Total of disposable assets		£29,626,030

Responsibilities of the Bank.

Bank-notes in circulation	£18,051,710
Ditto deposited in the bank by the government offices	2,034,790
Ditto by bankers and other individuals	5,738,430
Due to government for balance of Audit Roll, Exchequer bills deposited, and unpaid annuities	1,165,940
Surplus in favour of the bank	2,637,160
Total	£29,626,030

Annuity on account of the Dead Weight.—The advance made by the bank to government on account of the "dead-weight," or half-pay and pensions of retired officers of the army, navy, and ordnance, is of such importance as to require explanation. Ten years ago (in 1823) the sums thus payable by government amounted to the very large sum of five millions annually. Ministers saw on one side that the pressure of taxation was very severe; on the other, that our population returns showed a regular increase of numbers, which, added to the prospect of continued peace, justified them in assuming that, as time passed on, the nation would gradually be less oppressed by the burden; thence the plan of obtaining present relief by transferring a part of the burden to the next generation. The debt in question was not in its nature permanent; the deaths occurring among the officers lessened the amount to be paid by nearly 100,000*l.* annually: and it was calculated that, on the average of mortality, the whole would come to a close in the course of forty-four years. This suggested the idea of offering to a great public body a fixed annuity for that term of years, in consideration of their coming forward and relieving the public of a part of the present payments. The South Sea directors entertained the project for a time, but soon discovered that it was beyond their means; ministers had then recourse to the Bank of England, who accepted the offer to a limited extent, and advanced, in the course of five years, nearly eleven millions of money, receiving from government an engagement to pay them an annuity of 585,740*l.* until the year 1867.

Yearly Income of the Bank.—The income of the bank arises from the following sources:—

Interest on Exchequer bills and other government securities.
Ditto on mercantile bills discounted.
Ditto, 3 per cent. on the permanent capital at the bank, 14,553,600*l.* belonging to the proprietors and lent to government.
Allowance from government for managing the public debt.

The Bank of England has at all times had a steady income or profit, because its business has been conducted with caution; but the same reason prevented its profit, at least in former times, from exceeding a certain moderate limit: 7 per cent. was the usual annual dividend to the proprietors of bank stock during almost the whole of the eighteenth century; but in 1797 the exemption from cash payments made a complete change in its situation. The exemption increased the income of the bank in two ways; by extending its circulation, and by saving it the large sum of interest sacrificed till then in keeping a cash reserve. Hence a great addition to the income of the proprietors of bank stock; which was given to them in occasional distributions or extra allowances, as follows:—10 per cent. in 1799, 5 per cent. in 1801, 2½ per cent. in 1802, 5 per cent. in 1804, 5 per cent. in 1805, and 5 per cent. in 1806.

After this, the extra allowances were suspended, and the annual dividend was raised from 7 to 10 per cent., at which it continued till the peace in 1815. It then became incumbent on the directors to make a final settlement with the proprietors for the accumulated profits; and, accordingly, a sum of no less than 25 per cent. on the existing capital was carried to the credit of the account of each proprietor in the bank books. The annual dividend was continued at 10 per cent. until the year 1823, when, from a decrease in the profits, consequent on the recall of the small notes and the resumption of cash payments, the dividend was reduced to 8 per cent., at which it has since continued.

The Rest or Surplus of undivided Profits.—The amount of these was about 3,000,000*l.* until 1797, after which, the bank being exempt from cash payments, the surplus increased to four, five, and six millions; attaining its greatest amount at the end of the war, which led, in 1816, to the above-mentioned dividend. Considerable expense was incurred by the bank in procuring gold from abroad, in 1817 and 1818; and still more in 1820, 1821, and 1822; after which, the surplus fund of profits was reduced to two and a half millions, its present amount.

Profit from the Circulation of Bank Notes.—The notes issued by the bank are invested so as to afford several different rates of profit: Exchequer bills yield only 2½ per cent.; government stock somewhat more than 3 per cent.; and mercantile bills, 4 per cent., annually; the medium being 3 per cent. This, on so great a sum as is circulated by the bank, would afford a very large income; but it is a rule, that the same notes shall be issued only once: as soon as they are brought back to the bank, they are cancelled, even though very lately issued, and consequently unimpaired by wear. The motive for this extra trouble and expense is, that whenever notes are called for, there should be ready for delivery a regular succession of numbers, which to bankers is a great convenience in counting money. But so extensive a fabrication of notes is attended with considerable expense; and it is computed, that though the interest

obtained by the bank, on the amount of its circulation, averages 3 per cent., the net profit arising from the circulation does not exceed 1¼ per cent.

This great reduction arises mainly from two causes; the cost of stamps, or rather the composition with the Stamp Office, which, for the whole circulation of the bank, averages 75,000*l.* annually; and the various charges attending the preparing and issuing the notes computed at 100,000*l.*

Summary of the income and expenditure of the bank for the year 1832.

Expenditure.		Income.	
Salaries, &c. as above	£339,400	Discounts	£248,321
Forgeries, losses, and sundry items	89,274	Interest on Exchequer bills and other government securities	670,598
Stamp duty on notes	70,875	Ditto on capital 3 per cent. received from government	446,502
Dividend to proprietors, 8 per cent. on permanent capital	1,164,235	Allowance for managing the public debt	251,896
Surplus on the year	25,392	Profits on bullion, agency, &c.	71,859
Total	£1,689,176	Total	£1,689,176

Regulations of the Bank of England; its Interior Management.—There are four general meetings of proprietors in the course of a year; viz., in March or April, July, September, and December. A proprietor, to vote at these meetings, must hold 500*l.* of bank stock. The qualification, as it is called, of a director, or the sum that a proprietor must hold to enable him to be a director, is 2000*l.*; and few, if any, of the directors hold more.

A committee of three directors sit daily at the bank. On the Wednesday, a court of ten directors sit, to consider all London notes and bills sent in for discount. On Thursday, there is a meeting of the whole court, when all notes of more than 2000*l.* come under their review. No step of importance is taken without the assent of a majority of the court. Communications between the bank directors and government take place with the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The directors account it their duty to inform these ministers of the state of their cash reserve, and of other points of importance; but there is no interference, on the part of government, with the affairs of the bank. "There is," said the governor to the late Committee, "no concealment in our communication with the Treasury; not even on the confidential part of the business at the bank. Ministers have no legal authority for enforcing any change in the arrangements of the bank, but their opinions are always considered with attention by the directors."

Accounts of the Bank.—In former times, the practice of the Bank of England, like that of Venice and Amsterdam, was to observe strict secresy in regard to its accounts, whether relating to the amount of its notes in circulation, its treasure in hand, or its yearly profits. In 1797, the suspension of cash payments made it incumbent on the directors to deviate in some degree from this mystery; and the result was, that they thenceforth reported regularly to government the amount of their notes in circulation, which was afterwards made known to the public by the newspapers. Everything else, however, was kept secret until last year, when the Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Bank Affairs gave to the public a great deal of information on topics hitherto considered confidential: viz., the amount of discounts, the coin and bullion in hand, the yearly expenses and profits of the bank. The question now is, whether the publication shall be continued, particularly in regard to the amount of coin and bullion in hand. The objection to stating it to the public is, that at a time when it might be low, as in the autumn of 1825, a combination might be formed to bring it still lower, and to seek individual profit from the general distress. However, such an apprehension is not at all general, intelligent men taking a different view of the probabilities of the case, and considering, that on such an emergency the bank would receive the willing support of many capitalists, which, joined to the extent of its own resources and the ready means of importing gold from abroad, would soon baffle so reprehensible a combination. The question, as to continuing to publish, is not yet decided; but the confidence with which documents of all kinds were last year laid before the Committee, and subsequently before the public, affords the prospect of a similar publicity being continued by the directors. Of this there is already an example in the case of the Bank of France, where the amounts of discounts and of cash in hand are communicated in print, every half-year, to the proprietors of bank stock.

REFORMS IN THE LAW OF REAL PROPERTY.

During the present session several bills have been introduced, having for their object to reform various parts of our law, which needed alteration, from being inconsistent with good sense, or from having been established in times, and under circumstances, different from the present. The common law of England grew up in an age when the wealth and population of the country were comparatively insignificant,—when the spirit and temper of men were interwoven with the feudal system—when there was little manufacturing or commercial enterprise—when land was almost the only possession of substantial value,—its cultivation badly understood—and its transfer not very frequent. The common law was never fixed upon any regular principles of jurisprudence, or upon any comprehensive plan, but is nothing more than the ancient and general customs of the realm, just as the customs of a manor are recognized as the law of that manor, by the common consent of the lord and the tenants. The relation of the king to the owners of land is analogous to that of the lord of a manor to his copyholders. The king's judges sanction the customs whose force has been anciently recognized, and confirmed by judicial decisions, or by statutes. But many of these customs, or laws, have been found by experience to be inconvenient, and it is proposed to make some alterations which we are about to notice. Five bills, intended to come into operation on the 1st of January, 1834, have been brought in by the Solicitor-general, at the recommendation of the commissioners appointed a few years since to inquire into the state of the law of real property, of which the titles are:

1. A Bill for the Limitation of Actions and Suits relating to Real Property, and for simplifying the Remedies for trying the Rights thereto.
2. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law relating to Dower.
3. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law relating to the Estate of a Tenant by the courtesy of England.
4. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law of Inheritance.
5. A Bill for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple modes of Assurance.

The first bill limits to twenty years from the period of the right accruing, the time for making any entry or distress, or bringing any action to recover any land, or rent; so that twenty years possession will now, generally speaking, confer a good title, instead of sixty years, for which it has generally been necessary to deduce titles. This will not only prevent litigation by claimants of old standing, but will materially abridge the expense of making out titles, for the purposes of sale, mortgage, or otherwise. Mortgagers of land are to be limited, in redeeming from mortgagees in possession, to the period of twenty years from the time when possession was taken, or an acknowledgment of title given. No lands are to be recovered by ecclesiastical or eleemosynary corporations sole, (such as bishops, parsons, &c.) but within two incumbencies and six years, or otherwise within sixty years after the right accruing. No advowsons are to be recovered but within three adverse incumbencies, or sixty years, and no advowson is to be recovered after a hundred years, unless a clerk presented by the claimant shall subsequently have obtained possession. All real and mixed actions, except those of dower, *quare impedit*, and ejectment, are to be abolished—a very important provision, which gets rid of no less than sixty-two antiquated and expensive forms of actions having reference to land, so that the only proceedings will now be, a writ for women's dower, a *quare impedit* for rights of presentation, and an action of ejectment to recover the possession of land. Money charged in any manner upon land, and legacies, are to be deemed satisfied at the end of twenty years, unless there be a payment of interest, or an acknowledgment, and no arrears of dower, of rent, or of interest, are to be recovered for more than six years, which puts them on the footing of simple contract debts. Such are the leading provisions of this bill, and it is to be hoped they will be found conducive to the desired ends—namely, the prevention of litigation, the security of property, and the diminution of legal expenses.

The second bill makes alterations in the present law, which gives to widows dower, or thirds, out of any estates of which

their husbands were legally seised in their life-time. It provides that equitable as well as legal estates shall confer dower, and that a right, as well as a seisin or possession; on the part of the husband, shall give it. It enacts that there shall be no dower out of estates sold or devised by the husband—that dower shall be subject to all debts and engagements of the husband—and that a husband may bar his wife's dower either by deed or will. This is an important change, inasmuch as it takes away the ancient legal provision for widows, and subjects their rights either to the pleasure of the husband, or to the disposition of a marriage-settlement. The rights of dower have been found very inconvenient in cases of transfers of property, it being at present necessary to bar them by fine. The limitation of dower to lands of which the husband died possessed is the same thing which exists in most manors in regard to copyholds, and seems quite as fair as the limitation of the right of inheritance, which only applies to land of which a man died possessed. When it is considered that a marriage scarcely ever takes place without a settlement, where there is any property in the case, there does not seem much reason to apprehend that widows will suffer much by these restrictions upon their right of dower.

The third bill declares that a husband may enjoy his wife's estate as tenant by the courtesy, although actual possession of it in his life-time may not have been had, and although there may not have been issue of the marriage,—and also that, where there is issue of the wife by a former marriage, the estate by the courtesy shall only extend to one moiety. These changes appear reasonable, but tenancy by the courtesy is not now very common, as women's property is usually settled at the time of their marriage.

The fourth bill, among several technical regulations as to tracing descent, &c. makes the following just and reasonable alterations in the law of inheritance, viz. that the lineal ancestor may inherit in preference to collaterals, so that a father will be preferred to a brother or sister,—that relations of the half-blood may inherit after those of the whole blood of the same degree;—and that the descendants of an alien, or an attainted person, may inherit. The propriety of these enactments has been advocated by lawyers, as well as others, for many years past.

The fifth bill is intended to abolish fines and recoveries. A fine is a fictitious action mostly used for barring dower, in which the husband and wife acknowledge the land demanded to be the property of the demandant, and so it passes from them. A recovery is also a fictitious action commenced usually to recover lands in which a tenant in tail is interested. The tenant appoints an attorney to appear at the bar of the court of Common Pleas, who appears there accordingly, and vouches a person, who does not come, whereby judgment by default is obtained by the demandant, and so the entail is barred. This proceeding was invented by the ingenuity of the early judges, in order to evade an old statute, called the statute *de donis*, which declares that the will of the donor of lands shall be observed, and entails never be cut off. Both fines and recoveries have useful objects, but the fictions they rest upon are objectionable, and the expenses of them, composed chiefly of the fees paid at the law-offices, are much greater in general than the property can conveniently be subjected to. The present bill, therefore, enables the same object to be effected by simpler means. It gives to tenants in tail the power of disposing of lands entailed upon them, without suffering any recovery, just as if they held the lands absolutely, or in fee-simple. It also puts an end to fines, and enables married women, with their husbands' concurrence, to dispose of their estates in right of dower, or otherwise, by deed to be executed in the presence of a judge, or master in chancery, or commissioner properly authorised. Probably it might have been practicable to have retained the forms of fines and recoveries, with a diminution of their expenses, but this does not appear to us at all desirable, and we do not see how any simpler mode could have been devised than that prescribed by the present bill.

We should add, that a bill was introduced last session, at the like recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry, for establishing a general register for all deeds and instruments affecting real property, in England and Wales. It is intended that, in due time, this register shall be the place where all titles may be traced, and it will, in fact, gradually become a repository for all the titles in the kingdom. Its advantages seem to be that it will prevent the possibility of frauds in the way of secret incumbrances, and that it will afford a simple means for deducing titles to land, just as is at present the case with regard to shipping, the ownership of which is registered at the Custom-House. Registration has long been practised in Scotland, and also, it is said, in several parts of the continent, particularly in the towns in Germany, with great public convenience and advantage. On the other hand, the system is not generally agreeable to the landed interest, who seem to fear the disclosure of incumbrances on their estates, and many petitions have been presented against it, on the ground, in a great measure, that it will be injurious to commercial credit by publishing the mortgages and charges on estates. To this, however, it has been replied, that the register will only be allowed to be searched by parties interested in doing so, and not for purposes of curiosity. We certainly do not dread much the evil of making deeds public, for we think it would, in the long run, be much better if the exact state of every man's property was known to those with whom he has dealings, but we have some doubts whether it might not be advisable to delay the establishment of the register until the system of conveyancing be generally reformed. The late Mr. Humphreys, in his book on the subject, pointed out more clearly, perhaps, than any one else, how that might be done. If it should be found possible to simplify and shorten deeds to any considerable extent, and to bring to an end many superfluous ceremonies with which conveyancing is now embarrassed, then we should say that a register of deeds would be the crown of the other reforms. But it is not very clear that a general Metropolitan Register would be preferable to local registers in counties or districts; and there are other doubtful questions in regard to the present bill, which deserve mature consideration before it is finally adopted. We believe it is not intended to press it during the present session.

COURTS OF LOCAL JURISDICTION.

The Lord Chancellor has introduced into the House of Lords, a bill for establishing courts of local jurisdiction, the preamble of which recites, "That the means should be afforded to the people of this realm of having their suits tried as speedily and as near to their own homes as may be, whereby expense, vexation, and delay, may be avoided; and that it is fitting that, at the first, the provisions for this purpose should be confined to certain parts of the country, to the end that the rest thereof may profit of the improvements suggested by experience, when the same shall be extended over the whole of the kingdom, and that the due administration of justice may be placed upon a sure foundation." This is one of the most important reforms which has yet reached our civil jurisprudence, and the heads of the bill ought to be generally known, in order that its value may be duly appreciated.

The bill enables the crown to appoint judges in ordinary for counties or districts, who are not to be removable except by parliamentary address, together with registrars, in order to form local courts. These courts are to take cognizance of debts not exceeding 20*l.*, and of torts, such as assaults, libels, crim. cons., &c. not exceeding 50*l.*, provided the title to land does not come in question, and by consent of parties their jurisdiction is to extend to all actions generally. The actions are to be brought in the courts of the counties where both parties, or the defendants, reside. The parties are to be allowed to examine each other in the presence of the judge before trial. The trial may be had without a jury, if desired by both parties, or otherwise by a jury of six. The judges are to hold courts of reconcilement, and if the parties agree to abide by the judge's advice, and do not abide by it, they may sue each other for breach of the agreement. The bankruptcy business is to be administered by the local judges, and official assignees are to be appointed in the country. There are other minor provisions, which we do not recapitulate here.

One of the first objects of governments ought to be to secure the due administration of justice at the least possible inconvenience to the parties. But under the present system, if a man residing in Yorkshire is obliged to sue his neighbour for a debt or injury, he must commence his proceedings in London, and continue them there until the trial, which takes place at the assize town, at the distance of, perhaps, thirty or forty miles from the residence of himself, his attorney, and witnesses. In this manner an expense of 50*l.* may be incurred in an action for 5*l.*, and an action commenced in August may not be tried till the next Lent assizes in March.

Now the great majority of actions that are brought at all, are brought for very trifling sums, and hence the time of the judges of assize is for the most part occupied with matters which might be otherwise disposed of with great advantage to all parties. All this is very contrary to the rule laid down by that eminent jurist, Mr. Bentham, that there ought to be a court of justice so near every man, that he may go to it, obtain justice, and return before night. The whole of the administration of civil justice is centred in London, with the exception of the trials at the assizes. It is a system of centralization, like that of many institutions of imperial origin in France, excellent as far its uniformity goes, but highly inconvenient to those upon whom it operates.

The most perfect scheme of jurisprudence would be that which brought home to every man's door both civil and criminal justice, in all cases whatever. But inasmuch as our procedure has been established on a directly opposite system, the difficulty lies in approximating to a plan totally different from the present. It must be admitted that uniformity of legal decisions and proceedings throughout the kingdom is highly desirable; but this uniformity might be obtained by means of a superior court of appeal, or revision, like the court of cassation in France, which revises the judgments of the local tribunals there. We do not imagine it would be impracticable to preserve uniformity of law, even if each county had an entirely distinct administration of justice of its own, supposing there were in London one superior court of appeal to reconcile and control any errors in the local courts. But the present bill is only a very distant approximation to a regular system of local jurisprudence, its scope being, as already stated, very limited, and its operation being intended to be confined, at first, to a few counties, among which Kent and Yorkshire have been named.

It is not merely the principle of the bill which is good, but it contains several excellent provisions hitherto unknown in our law, such as the enabling the parties to examine each other, and the establishment of courts of reconcilement or arbitration, for the amicable settlement of differences before going to trial. This institution has been found to answer extremely well in Denmark, and some other foreign states, and is based not only upon good sense, but upon Christian principles. We hope the judges may have the most employment in their character of peacemakers.

A jury of six will, we apprehend, be found quite a sufficient number, and will lessen the inconvenience which jurymen are obliged to sustain in the public service. Indeed, looking at the kind of actions to be tried, it is probable that the permission to try before the judge, without a jury, will be often availed of.

The local judges will afford a good opportunity for extending to the country the benefits of the new administration of the bankruptcy laws now in operation in London, and they will also be useful in furthering incidental proceedings and inquiries for the courts of equity.

We should have supposed that the jurisdiction of the local courts might safely have extended to debts of 100*l.* and torts of 200*l.*, if the Lord Chancellor had not stated that he concurred in the opinions of the judges that the sums fixed by the bill were a proper limit. But at all events the measure is highly valuable as the first departure from a bad system, and the first step toward a general system of local judicature, which will, we trust, sooner or later, be established in this country.

CRIME IN LONDON.

THE suppression of crime is the first duty and the first interest of society. It is that upon which its very existence depends. If a free country were even to be conquered and reduced to subjection by another state, such a calamity would not be so great as would be the entire overthrow of the law which protects person and property. In the one case the community would lose only its political independence, and its power of self-movement and self-regulation; in the other, it would be utterly broken up and dissolved.

A people, when their political independence is in danger, would think it strange to be dissuaded from attempting the defence of so invaluable a possession, on the ground that the effort would probably cost much money. The universal cry would justly be, that the cost in such a case was not deserving of a thought. The thing to be preserved has ever, in such circumstances, been felt to be one, the price of which could not be measured in money.

Now, on the subject of a police for the prevention of crime, it may be equally laid down as a first principle, that the mere expense of such an establishment, in so far as such an expense is necessary for the object aimed at, is a matter which has no claim to be considered at all. We think, that in this country such a view of the case has not usually been admitted so fully as it ought to have been. We have spent immense sums upon many other objects, of different degrees of importance,—upon wars, necessary or otherwise—upon state establishments of various kinds—upon colonies—upon the support of the agricultural interest—upon the maintenance of the poor in idleness: but to the institution of any comprehensive and effective system of contrivances for the prevention of offences against the law, the public feeling seems to have been hitherto indifferent and almost repugnant; and any portion of the national resources that has been occasionally allowed to flow in that direction has been parsimoniously and grudgingly given. The matter has scarcely been regarded as a perfectly legitimate object of public expenditure.

This aversion, which is so general a feeling in England, has originated, there can be no doubt, whatever shape it may sometimes assume, in considerations very different from any of a merely economical character. If it had been quite evident, that even at a very large cost in money the perpetration of crimes could be prevented, or much more completely restrained than it is, without any equiponderating evil of any other kind following the attempt, the popular prejudice which we have now to contend with never would have sprung up. But in this, as in every other question of politics, there is the balance of advantages and disadvantages to be considered,—that intermixture of the evil with every good, and of the good with every evil, which the shallow declaimer for what he calls a principle, usually overlooks, but which the true politician knows to be, in every case, the whole problem which his science has to resolve. A police to restrain crime might, it was apprehended, interfere with and shackle the liberty of all others as well as criminals. It might be made an instrument in the hands of the government to abridge the public freedom, and lay the foundations of a despotism. Or, it might, without this perversion, turn out to be an annoying and intolerable impediment in every man's way, meeting him in his most secluded and domestic movements, and depriving him of all refuge from publicity as entirely as if he were caged in a panopticon. And, doubtless, both of these apprehended results are such as, if they were the inevitable consequences of any great extension of our present police, would make it better for us to continue to suffer all the inconveniences which its imperfection entails upon us, than to attempt its improvement.

It is right, however, at any rate, that we should be fully aware of the amount and character of the evils to which we are, and long have been, subjected under the existing system—of the price which we deem ourselves compelled to pay for our peculiar immunities. If the public attention were brought to bear as fully as it ought upon this part of the subject, we are quite certain that more anxious efforts than any that have hitherto been made, would be applied to the contrivance of means for the reconcilement of those two great but often interfering and conflicting ends of civil society, the maintenance of liberty on the one hand, and that of order on the other. Nor should we despair of such a system—partly of police, and partly of institutions of a different character—being in consequence discovered and put in force, as should greatly reduce the present amount of crime in these kingdoms, without any abridgment of the freedom of individual action whatever.

The subject is so large a one, that an examination of it, in all its parts, would occupy many volumes. All that we propose to do on the present occasion is to introduce it to the attention of our readers by some notices of the state of crime in the present day and at various past times, in what has always been its chief haunt, this immense metropolis.

The fullest account that has been given of the modern criminal state of London is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to examine into the subject in 1828, and in the evidence thereto appended. Other committees had sat and made reports in 1772, 1793, 1812, 1818, and 1822; but on none of these occasions had anything like the same amount of

information been collected. It is very interesting to compare some of the statements contained in the Report of 1828 with the notices we have of the state of things at different former periods; nor is such an inquiry without its useful lessons. If there are any descriptions of offences, formerly prevailing to a large extent, which in the progress of time have greatly diminished among us, or altogether disappeared, we may probably in this way be able to trace the causes to which we owe our deliverance from them; and in so far, at least, as the evil has been put down by the successful operation of expedients which have been expressly devised and carried into execution for that end, the fact ought to furnish us with an important direction as to the methods to be adopted in those other cases, in which no such amelioration has taken place. We shall confine our present remarks to a few of those criminal pursuits which have been carried on in the metropolis for centuries, and are still followed as extensively, and with nearly as much impunity, as ever.

One of the chief points to which the inquiries of the Committee of 1828 were directed, was the system of receiving-houses for stolen goods, with that of the compounding of robberies and other felonies with which it is intimately connected. The following is an extract from their Report, in illustration of the extent to which the practice of such composition had come to be carried, even by respectable parties: —"Two banks, that had severally been robbed of notes to the amount of 4000*l.*, recovered them on payment of 1000*l.* each. In another case, 2200*l.* were restored out of 3200*l.* stolen, for 230*l.* or 240*l.* This bank having called in their old circulation and issued fresh notes immediately after the robbery, the difficulty thus occasioned was the cause of not much above 10 per cent. being demanded. In another case, Spanish bonds, nominally worth 2000*l.*, were given back on payment of 100*l.* A sum, not quite amounting to 20,000*l.*, was in one case restored for 1000*l.* . . . In the case of another bank, the sum stolen, being not less than 20,000*l.*, is stated to have been bought of the thieves by a receiver for 200*l.*, and 2800*l.* taken of the legal owners as the price of restitution. The Committee does not think it necessary to detail all the cases which have been disclosed to them; but though it is evident they have not been informed of anything like all the transactions that must have occurred under so general a system, they have proof of more than sixteen banks having sought by these means to indemnify themselves for their losses; and that property of various sorts, to a value above 200,000*l.*, has, within a few years, been the subject of negociation or compromise. They have found it difficult, for many reasons, to ascertain, in several of the cases they have examined, the actual payments made to the thieves or receivers; but they have proof of nearly 12,000*l.* having been paid to them by bankers only, accompanied with a clearance from every risk, and perfect impunity to their crimes."

"The frequency," it is afterwards stated, "of these seemingly blameless transactions has led to the organization of a system, which undermines the security of all valuable property,—which gives police officers a direct interest that robberies to a large amount should not be prevented; and which has established a set of 'putters-up' and 'fences,' with means of evading, if not defying, the arm of the law; who are wealthy enough, if large rewards are offered for their detection, to double them for their impunity; and who would in one case have given 1000*l.* to get rid of a single witness. Some of these persons ostensibly carry on a trade: one, who had been tried formerly for robbing a coach, afterwards carried on business as a Smithfield drover, and died worth, it is believed, 15,000*l.* Your Committee could not ascertain how many of these persons there are at present, but four of the principal have been pointed out. One was lately the farmer of one of the greatest turnpike-trusts in the metropolis. . . . Another has, it is said, been a surgeon in the army. The two others of the four have no trade, but live like men of property; and one of these, who appears to be the chief of the whole set, is well known on the turf, and is stated, on good grounds, to be worth 30,000*l.*"

In 1796 appeared the first edition of the well-known "Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis," by the late Mr. Colquhoun, then one of the magistrates attached to the office in Worship Street, Finsbury Square. We look upon this work as one of the most important expositions ever published on the social condition of this or any other country. Some of its statements have been charged with exaggeration; and, considering the impossibility of attaining perfect accuracy in regard to such subjects, it is possible that one or two of the author's conjectural estimates, as to the numbers of the various descriptions of criminals, may be beyond the truth; although we are not aware that he has yet been proved to be in error as to any of those points respecting which his authority has been disputed by persons whose inquiries and means of ascertaining the facts had not been nearly so ample as his. But, be our confidence in these enumerations what it may, there can be no question as to the substantial correctness of the information given in the work, with regard to the practices and habits of the several classes of persons engaged in the systematic violation of the law. On the general subject of police and criminal jurisprudence, also, the views which it advocates are greatly in advance of those which were generally entertained at the time when it appeared. There is almost no improvement, which has been since introduced into our system of police, which is not pointed out by Mr. Colquhoun; and most of the great principles which for the last twenty or thirty years have been contended for by the most enlightened of our law reformers—such, for example, as the mitigation of the criminal code, the substitution of certain for sanguinary punishments, the application of punishment to the reformation of the offender and retribution to the party whom he has injured, the classification of prisoners, &c.—are to be found strenuously recommended in his publication. The book excited great attention when it first appeared; and it has been many times reprinted since. It is probable, however, that the period at which the intelligent author proposed his reforms operated unfavourably to their adoption by the government; which, while the French revolution was running its course of blood and madness, opposed itself to all change, with a determination in which it was supported by the alarmed feelings of the country in general. Had it not been for this cause, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Colquhoun's statements and suggestions should have, for many years, produced so little effect in the improvement of the system, the faults of which he so ably and so clearly pointed out. Many of the most important of them, indeed, yet remain to be adopted.

But to return to the system of receivers. According to the late Report, the persons by whom the ordinary business of this infamous traffic is principally carried on, are those low buyers and sellers of old metal, designated "Dealers in Marine Stores," whose apparently wretched shops, so inscribed, may be seen in many of the lowest streets of the metropolis. All pewter pots pilfered from publicans, and pieces of lead, brass, and iron, stolen by workmen and others, are immediately carried to these depositories, and converted into money. The reader may form some conception of the extent to which thefts of this description are committed, when he is told that the publicans of London and its vicinity, in a petition to the House of Commons in 1796, estimated their loss, in pewter pots, at no less a sum than 100,000*l.* per annum; Mr. Colquhoun has set it down in his list at 55,000*l.* At the time when he published his work, the old iron, rag, and store shops, which, with scarcely an exception, were well known to be kept mainly for the purpose of receiving stolen goods, amounted, in London alone, to upwards of three thousand. And within the preceding twenty years they had multiplied nearly tenfold,—having, at the commencement of that period, been only between three and four hundred in number. Although these shops exhibited to public view only a beggarly appearance of old iron, many of them, it is stated, had large premises behind, filled with a great variety of valuable articles, almost all of which had been pilfered.

Formerly it was the pawnbrokers who principally carried on this trade; and although there are now many respectable members of that body, it is well known that there are still some who continue the practices of their predecessors. About the middle of the last century, all pawnbrokers appear to have been looked upon as in league with thieves. Fielding, the novelist, who was for many years a magistrate of the Bow Street police office, and who, in 1751, published a curious pamphlet, entitled "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robbers," speaks of them in that work, almost without any qualification, as merely receivers of stolen goods. "Is it impossible," he asks, "to find any means of regulating brokers and pawnbrokers? If so, what arguments are there against extirpating entirely a set of miscreants, which, like other vermin, harbour only about

the poor, and grew fat by sucking their blood?" He afterwards (p. 75) expresses himself as doubtful if there ever be any honest trade between the pawnbroker and the poor.

The trade of a pawnbroker, however, has been since put under regulation by an Act passed in 1775, and other subsequent statutes; and the consequence has been, as we have just remarked, a decided improvement in the mode in which it is generally conducted. But even before the passing of the first of these Acts, a system had been adopted of sending round notices to the different pawnbrokers, as soon as it was known that any burglary had been committed or property stolen; which seems to have had the effect of deterring them from purchasing articles respecting which they had been thus forewarned. This innovation transferred a great part of the trade of receiving stolen goods into other hands. Among the witnesses examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1772 was Fielding's brother, Sir John Fielding, who was also for many years an active police magistrate. Having laid before the Committee some statements in proof of the great increase of housebreaking for some years preceding, he was asked to what, in his opinion, the increase was to be attributed; when he said "that felons formerly carried their goods to pawnbrokers; but by the present method of quick notice to pawnbrokers, silversmiths, and others, that plan is defeated; and the housebreakers now go to Jews, who melt the plate immediately, and destroy other things that might be evidence, which in burglary can be nothing but the goods, though in other cases the person may be sworn to; that they disguise jewels by knocking them out of the sockets, so that they cannot be sworn to." The new plan, therefore, we see, although it had corrected one evil, had in its stead produced another and a still greater. It had, in a great measure, put down the malpractices of the pawnbrokers; but by sharpening the ingenuity of the thieves to find out a new mode of disposing of their spoil, it had enabled them to institute a still more effective plan for that purpose, and hence to carry on their depredations to a greater extent than ever.

The compounding of a felony was not punishable by law before 1752: up to which time it was common for persons, who had lost property by robberies, openly to advertise a reward to whoever would bring it back, which should be paid without any questions being asked. But in that year an Act was passed, inflicting a penalty of fifty pounds on any person, including the printer and publisher, from whom such an advertisement should proceed. Yet the practice of compounding, as we have seen, has continued to be carried on, on a large scale, down to the present day. Colquhoun states that, in his time, the number of receivers, or, as they are called in the cant language, *fences*, in immediate connexion with thieves, burglars, and highway robbers, was understood to be about fifty or sixty,—"of whom," he adds, "not more than ten (whose names and places of abode are well known) can be said to be persons of property, who can raise money to purchase articles of value." The most notorious case on record, of a person carrying on a regular and extensive trade in the receiving of stolen property, is that of Jonathan Wild, who was executed in 1725, and whom Fielding has immortalized as the hero of one of his works. More ample details, however, of his life and actions, than are given in that performance, may be found in some of the publications which appeared immediately after he fell into the hands of justice. The following extract from one of these, entitled "The Life of Jonathan Wild, by H. D., late Clerk to Justice R.," while it affords a curious sample of his mode of doing business, places in a striking light the extent and completeness to which he had carried his arrangements. In giving an account of the many expert thieves whom he had in his employment, the writer says:—"These people sometimes went disguised like chairmen, in great-coats and harness; and a couple of them meeting together, stole the young Duchess of Marlborough's chair, as her Grace was visiting at Mrs. H—n's in Piccadilly; her chairmen and footmen being gone to a neighbouring alehouse. One of her servants thought immediately of applying to Mr. Wild, who told him that, if he would leave ten guineas, he might have the chair the next day. The man made some difficulty of leaving the money beforehand, but Mr. Wild told him he was a man of honour, and scorned to wrong him; and, indeed, his character was by this time established as a man that dealt honourably in his way; so that the man ventured at last to leave the money: wherefore Mr. Wild bade him direct the Duchess's chairmen to attend the morning prayers at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and there they should find the chair; which the fellows did accordingly, and they found the chair with the crimson velvet cushion and damask curtains, all safe and unhurt. And it must be observed that whenever Jonathan obliged the parties to leave the money beforehand, he very punctually complied with the terms of his agreement as to the delivery of the goods; for one of his common sayings was, that *honesty was the best policy*."

The audacity of Wild's proceedings occasioned an amendment of the law against the receiving of stolen goods, and the taking of a reward for helping any person to their recovery; the former of which offences was, in 1719, made punishable by transportation for fourteen years, and the latter by death. These penalties deterred Wild for some time from prosecuting his trade; but after a while he got over his fears, and proceeding again, with nearly as much boldness as ever, was at length caught in the fatal meshes of the new statute.

Persons who kept houses for the receipt of stolen goods, and who had thieves in regular pay, had however existed in this metropolis long before the time of Wild. "At the sessions, in July, 1585," says Maitland, the historian of London, "this may be worthy to be related, as it was written by Fleetwood, the recorder to the lord-treasurer—that he, and some others that were then upon the bench, spent a day about searching out sundry that were receivers of felons; and a great many were found in London, Westminster, Southwark, and places about the same. And they got the names of forty-five masterless men and cutpurses, whose practice was to rob gentlemen's chambers and artificers' shops in and about London, and seven houses of entertainment for such in London, six more in Westminster, three more in the suburbs, and two in Southwark. Among the rest they found out one Wotton, a gentleman born, and sometime a merchant of good credit, but fallen by time into decay. This man kept an alehouse at Smart's Key, near Billingsgate; and after, for some misdemeanour, put down, he reared up a new trade of life; and in the same house he procured all the cutpurses about the city to repair to his house. There was a school set up to learn young boys to cut purses. Two devices were hung up; one was a pocket, and another was a purse: the pocket had in it certain counters, and was hung about with hawks'-bells, and over the top did hang a little sacring-bell: the purse had silver in it; and he that could take out a counter without any noise was allowed to be a public *Foyster*; and he that could take a piece of silver out of the purse, without noise of any of the bells, was adjudged a judicial *Nypper*, according to their terms of art. A foyster was a pickpocket, a nypper was a pickpurse or cutpurse. It gave great encouragement to evil-doers about these times, and good men complained of it, that thieves and malefactors condemned were so frequently and commonly spared; and this evil came from the court, insomuch that the recorder aforesaid, a wise and honest man, observed to the lord-treasurer, that it was grown a trade in the court to make means for reprieves."

The latter part of this statement introduces us to a very important topic,—the fearful amount of juvenile delinquency in London. At the present day, large multitudes of both sexes, some from the utter destitution in which they are thrown upon the world, and others under the tuition of the bad example of their parents, may be said to be reared in crime almost from their cradles. They have been taught no other way of supporting existence, except by the violation of the laws; they practise no other, and they have scarcely an idea of any other. The evidence attached to the Report of the Committee of 1828 contains many statements upon this head. The following passages from the evidence of Mr. J. S. Thomas (now one of the superintendents of police) present a view of a part of the evil:—

"According to your observation, are there many boys employed about the theatres in picking pockets?—Yes; I have taken seven or eight at a time: I speak of boys that are bill-deliverers. There is a publication called the Theatrical Observer, and those boys deliver the bills, and, if they possibly can, they pick pockets. There are from fifty to sixty immediately round the theatre; I took eight of them before Sir Richard Birnie, one night, to try how far we could interfere in dispersing them; and Sir Richard Birnie spoke to them: one gave one account and one

another; some came from a part of the town called Mutton Hill, at the end of Hatton Garden, some from St. Giles's, and some from Tothill-fields, Westminster; and they place themselves all down Brydges-street, Catharine-street, Charles-street, Bow-street, and round the piazzas at Covent Garden, and even as far as St. Martin's-court, Leicester-fields.

"What are their parents?—In many instances they are fatherless, and in some instances they have proved to have neither father nor mother. There was one little fellow, a most intelligent and interesting-looking lad as ever I saw, who stated that his father was an officer; that he had been born in Colchester barracks; he was illegitimate; and that his father in the first instance had abandoned him, and finally his mother, and that he had no other means of living, and he paid four pence a night for his lodgings: that boy was cautioned, along with the rest, never to be seen there any more; one or two of them went down on their knees before Sir Richard Birnie, and made most solemn assurances that they never would, and within an hour I found them at it again, and they have continued to do so ever since.

"Do these boys attend any school?—None, as I believe.

"Are there not many boys of that age who sleep in baskets and on the offal round Covent Garden?—Yes; I have taken some of them up, and I have saved one or two from destruction, by taking charge of them in the night and handing them over to their parents. There was an instance of a son of a surveyor at Marylebone: I found him in company with some professed thieves at three o'clock one morning; he had a watch and some shirts, and other things, which were the property of his father, and he was then only waiting for daylight to get a ship to go off; and I took him to the watch-house for the night, and he was restored to his anxious father the next day.

"Are there not certain classes of boys that have no regular lodgings, who live in the market, and who sleep in the baskets at night?—Yes, there are, and not only at night, but in the day. We can take nearly a hundred of them, particularly at the time the oranges are about; they come there picking up the bits of oranges, both boys and girls; and there are prostitutes at eleven, twelve, and thirteen years of age. * * * I counted last night, at the king's entrance of the theatre, seventeen individuals, men and women, that were apparently houseless, sleeping there."

Mr. Dyer, the police magistrate, states, in his evidence, that children are frequently brought before him, of "ten years of age, and even under." These juvenile delinquents are frequently employed by the older thieves to assist them in cases in which the smallness of their persons gives them an advantage: as, for instance, in entering a house by a window from which one of the panes has been removed. In committing their ordinary depredations, they generally prowl about the streets in companies of two or three, of whom each has his particular part to act, one snatching up the plunder, and another receiving it from him and running off with it.

It is very obvious that no mere police regulations are at all likely to be effectual in putting down this description of criminals, so long as the destitution and abandonment by which they are bred continue to exist. They are the natural produce of that hotbed of vice and misery; and will continue to issue from it while it remains unremoved. Any punishments that may be inflicted can, in the nature of things, operate but very imperfectly in restraining either their growth or their delinquencies. To send them to jail, as most of our jails are at present conducted, is only to send them to the best school of crime. But even if our system of prison discipline were made ever so perfect, this improvement alone could not be expected to clear our streets of these marauders, for successive detachments of whom, indeed, a prison might afford an asylum for a few months, but it could be for that short period only. When again restored to liberty they would still, as at present, find themselves again thrown upon their own resources, and compelled to resort to their former practices. Besides, no reformation, even were it complete and permanent, of the existing race, could prevent the succession of new swarms from the same prolific source. To heal this disease of our political condition, the general habits of the most degraded portion of our population must be changed, and education and all other salutary influences plentifully and perseveringly applied to eradicate the vice and wretchedness with which they are overrun.

The most lamentable of all the debasing habits to which many of the poorer classes in England have surrendered themselves, is that of gin-drinking. This vice is one of comparatively recent introduction. "A new kind of drunkenness," says Fielding, writing in 1751, "unknown to our ancestors, is lately sprung up amongst us, and which, if not put a stop to, will infallibly destroy a great part of the inferior people. The drunkenness I here intend is that acquired by the strongest intoxicating liquors, and particularly by that poison called *gin*; which, I have great reason to think, is the principal sustenance (if it may be so called) of more than a hundred thousand people in this metropolis. Many of these wretches there are who swallow pints of this poison within the twenty-four hours; the dreadful effects of which I have the misfortune every day to see, and to smell too." The habit in question, however, appears to have made considerable progress more than a quarter of a century before this date. In the Life of Wild, already quoted, which was published in 1725, we find mention made (p. 23) of the "venders of the royal liquor commonly called gin." And in February, 1729, a presentment was made by the grand jury of the county of Middlesex to the following effect:—"We, the grand jury of the county of Middlesex, being sensible of the great mischiefs which arise from the number of shops or houses selling a liquor called Geneva, in and about this city, think it our duty to take notice of them as public nuisances, since we apprehend they may be ranked among the worst of disorderly houses; it being notorious that they not only harbour the vilest of both sexes among the meanest of the people, but, by enuring them to a habit of laziness and debauchery, bring them to want and misery; and, when intoxicated with these pernicious liquors, they are hardened enough to attempt the greatest villanies, such as were formerly scarce known to our nation, though we now, with the greatest concern, observe that they grow familiar to us. The incredible prejudice which his majesty's subjects suffer by frequenting these houses is too obvious to pass unobserved; since the constitutions of the labouring people are not only thereby weakened, but utterly destroyed: and we do not conceive that even any addition to the revenue can be equivalent to the loss the public sustains by the ruin of such numbers of poor families, which fill both the city and country with beggars and vagabonds; of which we at present see the fatal consequences, and fear posterity will feel worse, if, by a speedy regulation of these disorderly houses, an effectual stop be not put to this growing evil."

The price of gin, in consequence of an act respecting the distilleries, suddenly rose, in the year 1796, to something greatly exceeding its previous amount. Referring to this circumstance, Mr. Colquhoun, writing in the following year, states that the sobriety exhibited by the labouring classes was then much greater than it had been before; a fact which was evinced by the number of quarrels and assaults being very considerably diminished, while the pressure, with respect to the means of living, was also apparently less than in the spring of 1795, notwithstanding that no charities had been distributed, and bread was considerably higher. "It would seem reasonable," he adds, "to attribute this favourable change to the high price of gin, which being in a great measure inaccessible, the lower ranks have it now in their power to apply the money formerly spent in this way to the purchase of provisions—perhaps to the extent of some hundred thousand pounds a year in the metropolis alone." Fielding seems inclined to reckon upon one cure of this evil—"the loss of our gin-drinkers." "Should the drinking of this poison," he says, "be continued in its present height during the next twenty years, there will, by that time, be very few of the common people left to drink it." This consequence has not followed; for, however great the number of the poor which gin-drinking may have destroyed on the one hand, it has, on the other, been constantly bringing down as many more to the same level of misery, to serve it for new victims. There is reason, also, to believe that this destructive habit has been gradually extending its ravages higher up into society. Fielding speaks of it, in his time, as indulged in only by the lowest of the people; but it is now well known to have spread to a wide extent among the classes of servants and small tradesmen. A fact, especially to be lamented, is the number of females, respectable in their circumstances, who, without carrying their predilection for gin to the excess

of making themselves intoxicated with it, are yet accustomed to indulge in that liquid as a regular or very frequent beverage. And equally sad is it to reflect on the manner in which society is poisoned at the root by the gin-drinking of mere children. In the evidence of Sir Richard Birnie before the Committee of 1828, it is stated that the consumption of spirits by children begins at ten or twelve; and we fear there are many instances in which the pernicious habit has been acquired at a still earlier age.

Having thrown together these illustrations, respecting certain descriptions of crime and immorality which still continue to flourish in the metropolis to the same or a greater extent than in former times, we shall, on resuming the subject, consider another class of offences, which, having in past times largely prevailed there, have now been nearly or wholly extirpated.

PRIVATE BILLS.

List of Petitions for Private Bills and progress therein, Session, 1833. *April* 15.

Petitions presented	185
Bills read 1st time	163
Bills read 2d time	104
Bills read 3d time	38
Royal assent	25
Bills withdrawn, &c.	21

Abstract of Private Bills in Parliament in the Session of 1833.

I. AGRICULTURE.
- 18 Inclosure Bills, of which there are two for Cambridge, one for Cumberland, two for Derby, one for Glamorgan, one for Gloucester, one for Hereford, one for Somerset, one for Suffolk, one for Sussex, one for Tipperary, one for Wilts, one for Worcester, four for York, two of the bills being for one inclosure in the latter county.
- 4 Draining.

II. COMPANIES.
- 1 Cheltenham Sewers.
- 1 Dublin Steam Packet.
- 1 Economic Life Assurance.
- 1 Edinburgh Life Assurance.
- 1 Exeter Water.
- 1 Leeds Oil Gas.
- 1 St. George Steam Packet.
- 1 Thames Tunnel.

III. IMPROVEMENTS OF TOWNS AND DISTRICTS.
- 6 General Improvement.
- 12 Churches, Markets, Bridges, Gaols, &c.
- 6 Local Water Works.
- 4 Local Gas Works.
- 11 Municipal Regulations, Vestries, &c.

IV. INTERNAL COMMUNICATION.
- 78 Roads, of which 15 have passed, and 4 have been withdrawn.
- 1. Canal. Enniscorthy in Ireland.
- 14 Railways.

V. NAVIGATION.
- 4 Improvement of Harbours, &c.
- 3 Docks.
- 1 Pier.

VI. PRIVATE REGULATIONS.
- 14 Estates, Naturalizations, &c.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

IN No. 3 of the "Companion to the Newspaper" we gave an abstract of the first six Reports of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions. Eleven Reports have now been published, and we proceed to give an abstract of those issued since our last publication. The numbers include all the petitions and signatures that have been presented upon each subject since the commencement of the session.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	24	16214
For triennial parliaments	2	2368
Against the septennial act	6	4660
Reform of parliament (England)	2	1101
Reform of parliament (Ireland)	2	404
Complaining of the interference of the military and magistrates in the Mayo election	1	104
Complaining of the registration in West Stirlingshire	1	110
For the House to remove to a more commodious place of assembly	1	83
Against nocturnal legislation	7	2167
Against the property qualification of members	2	3944
Complaining of proceedings at the Walsall election	1	100
From the committee for conducting the election of Sir H. Douglas at Liverpool, denying the allegations of bribery	1	53
Complaining of the interference of the Marquis of Ailesbury at the Marlborough election	1	111
Praying for some measure to secure the freedom of election	1	1
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	623	150439
Against the Sabbath observance bill	3	212
Against the present system of lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	60	36117
Of Protestant Dissenters against the Church Establishment	49	11736
Against tithes in England	25	13224
Against tithes in Ireland	60	19915
Against the administering of oaths	6	663
Against Church in Ireland bill	20	753
For the removal of religious disabilities	24	5535
Against the removal of religious disabilities	2	133
For the relief of the Protestant clergy in Ireland	1	20
For the repeal of all compulsory laws for the support of ministers of the gospel	1	233
Taxes.		
For a repeal of the assessed taxes	30	15002
For a repeal of the house and window duty	33	25274
For a repeal of the attornies' tax	2	86
For a reduction of taxes	20	18136
Against taxes on knowledge	8	8248
Against the stamp duties	2	65
For a complete abrogation of the corn laws	7	6506
Against the duty on soap	32	3782
Against the personal estate tax	1	97
Against the soke of Bradford tax	1	1
Complaining of oppression under the house and window assessment	1	1
Against the statute duty	1	23
Against excise licences	3	137
Against receipt stamps	3	63
Against the malt duty	6	7168
Against the tax on carts	11	1282
Praying for the abolition of tolls and customs at fairs and markets in Ireland	1	149
For a repeal of the tax on almanacs	1	1
Against the tax on apprentices' Indentures, from the Burgh of Paisley	1	seal
Against the marine insurance tax	2	157
Against post-horse and stage-coach duty	1	23
Ireland.		
For the repeal of the Union	32	9066
Against the disturbances in (Ireland) bill	652	413989
Against the new system of education in Ireland	2	288
From keepers of prisons praying for superannuation allowances, &c.	16	962
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	352	111857
In favour of the factories' regulation Bill	62	89882
Against the factories' regulation Bill	15	2031
For a repeal or modification of the retail beer Act	66	7605
Complaining of abuses in corporations	70	30491
In favour of Taylor, Hetherington, &c., and complaining of the partial administration of justice	23	2863
Praying that coroners' courts be opened to the public	1	18
In favour of keeping the coroners' courts closed	1	1
From hand-loom weavers, praying for a legislative regulation of wages, &c.	11	14488
From fishermen in the vicinity of Dublin	1	270
Against the monopoly in bibles	3	268
For an alteration in the labourers' employment act	5	172
Complaining of distress	14	4297

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Against the East India Company monopoly	2	623
Complaining of cases of magisterial oppression	2	2
For an alteration in the law of executors, and against clergymen being magistrates	1	1
From the Princess Olive of Cumberland, praying for an investigation into her case	1	1
For the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland	2	325
Against the punishment of death	8	6528
For regulating the election, &c., of schoolmasters in Scotland	2	426
For a repeal of part of the dramatic performances Bill	2	4
Respecting imprisonment for debt	1	205
Praying for relief to the sugar-refiners	6	223
Against sinecures, &c.	5	2151
Complaining of private grievances	5	5
Against the vestry act, from the churchwardens of Lambeth	1	1
In favour of allowing counsel to prisoners	1	1
Respecting the currency	2	185
Against the jury laws (Ireland)	8	2686
Complaining of the libel law	1	1
For the abolition of the church establishment	1	1
From the boatmen of Deal, complaining of the regulations regarding pilots	2	6
For simplifying conveyancing	1	1
Against the inequality of the poor laws	1	124
For a less expensive plan for the recovery of small debts	3	608
For an alteration of the patent law	3	3
Manchester petition for holding separate assizes in the Hundred of Salford	1	20
Manchester petition for the repeal of the Select Vestry's Acts	1	6040
For removing the Lancaster assizes to Manchester	2	6014
Praying for the removal of restrictions relative to the Brazil trade	3	135
For the better regulation of hackney carriages in London	1	384
To prevent the obstruction of footpaths in fields	1	1
From a Catholic priest, complaining of an insult offered to him on account of his religion, at the Bank of Ireland	1	1
From the owners of British vessels trading from Liverpool, complaining of burdensome duties and unfair monopolies	1	98
Against the use of machinery	1	53
From the general commissioners of police of Glasgow, relative to poor-laws for Ireland	1	1
On the low rate of wages of labourers in Ireland	1	1
To prevent the passing of the bill for limiting of actions	8	11
For the establishment of district courts in Scotland from the burgh of Perth	1	seal.
From debtors in Newcastle and Maryborough gaols	9	85
From surgeons and apothecaries at York and Scarborough, concerning the apothecaries' act	1	12
Praying for an alteration of the law relating to the assessment for sewers	1	31
From Wm. Thornsett of Dover, complaining of a seizure made by a post-office inspector	1	1
From the contributors to the Glamorganshire county rates	1	243
From certain merchants, bankers, &c. of Plymouth for facilitating the law of debtor and creditor	1	1809
From D'Arcy Mahon, late a commissioner of stamps in Ireland, for an addition to his superannuating allowance	1	1
Concerning Trinity Hospital, New Ross	1	143
From Drogheda, in Ireland, relative to the game act	1	110
From the landlord, proprietors, freeholders, of New Ross, Wexford, relative to the grand juries (Ireland) bill	1	132
From the Irish Law Society, relative to the payment of attorney's fees	1	19
Against the renewal of the metropolitan police act	2	368
For amending the laws relating to lunatics	1	3
From certain tradesmen of Frome Selwood, for facilitating the recovery of small debts	2	377
For amending an act relative to the employment of labourers, passed in the preceding session	4	424
For appointing a day of general thanksgiving for the cessation of Cholera	1	25
From the rate-payers of Bedworth, Warwick, to amend the poor laws	1	194
Relative to dramatic performances	1	2
For compensation to colonists for all property of which the law may dispossess them	1	1
From Robert Robison, late a Captain in his Majesty's service, for a further inquiry into his case	1	1
From the unemployed mariners of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, complaining of distress	1	516

The total number of petitions presented and reported upon, up to April 19, has been 2597.

NEW PATENT BILL.

Some weeks ago, a bill "to explain and amend the laws respecting letters-patent for inventions" was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Godson, the member for Kidderminster; and the subject has since been submitted to the consideration of a select committee. It is one of very considerable public importance, and also by no means free from difficulty.

If there were no law for rewarding useful inventions, ingenious persons would be deprived of a strong inducement to apply themselves to the improvement of the arts; and such discoveries as were made would be as far as possible kept from the knowledge of the public, and retained for the exclusive use of their authors.

The most equitable mode of rewarding inventions appears to be that which has in modern times been adopted in this and most other countries, namely, the giving to the inventor a monopoly of his invention—that is, an exclusive right of using it, for a certain term of years, after which it shall become the property of the public.

In this way of managing the matter, a bargain is, as it were, struck between the inventor on the one hand and the public on the other, each of the two parties engaging to give one thing in return for another thing which it is to receive. The inventor imparts to the public the knowledge of his secret; the public grants to the inventor protection from the piracy of his discovery by any one else for a certain period.

There are here, therefore, two parties, whose separate and opposing interests the law has to look to, and to maintain. But it is by the claims of a third party that the case is principally complicated, namely, the rival inventor, whose rights must not be infringed upon by the protection given to the person taking out the patent. In other words, there must be an assurance, before granting the patent, not only that the patentee has given such a specification or description of his invention as shall suffice truly to put the public in possession of it, but also that it is really a new discovery, and that it has actually been made by the person who claims to be the author of it.

These considerations are enough to show, that it would not exactly do to grant a patent as a matter of course, and without both examination and notice to the public, to any person who might apply for it. The necessity of giving public notice, at least to a certain extent, of every application for a patent, is in particular a source of great embarrassment. If such notice were not to be given at all, one man might obtain a patent for an invention which had really been made by another, or for something which was already in common use. But, on the other hand, the very publication of the claim that has been made has the strongest tendency to endanger it, although it may be really a fair one, by tempting some other person fraudulently to pretend to have himself made the same discovery, the knowledge of which he may sometimes contrive to acquire even from the shortest announcement of its nature and object. The announcement must always, however brief and reserved as to particulars, be a correct description, in so far as it goes; and likewise so definite and specific, as that its meaning shall be perfectly intelligible: for otherwise, it is obvious it would be no better than no announcement at all.

Such are some, but by no means the whole, of what may be called the preliminary difficulties of the subject, or those which attend the mere granting of the patent. There are others that attach to the questions of the degree and manner in which it should be protected after it has been granted.

Although, however, it might not be easy, by any law, to

meet all the difficulties of the subject, there can be no doubt as to the many defects and objectionable provisions of the present law; and some of the principal of these we will now enumerate, with a reference to the provisions of Mr. Godson's bill, by which they are proposed to be met.

We will begin with those as to the proper mode of dealing with which there can be little or no controversy.

In the first place, the expense of taking out a patent, under the present law, has long been complained of. The fees alone, laying aside the cost of agency, come to about 107*l.* for England, about 80*l.* for Scotland, and about 128*l.* for Ireland. There are some reasons for holding, that it would not be expedient to abolish these taxes entirely, and to make a patent cost no more than the price of the parchment upon which it is written; but whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the propriety of still continuing to check the taking out of patents, in a certain degree, by making it a thing which cannot be done but at some cost, there can be no doubt that the present cost is needlessly and oppressively high. It is proposed, in Mr. Godson's bill, that the expense shall be reduced to a certain portion of its present amount, to be settled in the committee.

As the law now stands, although a patent may be taken out by the first introducer of an invention from another country, provided he swears the secret has been communicated to him by a foreigner, the protection in question cannot be granted to him if the person from whom he received the invention was an Englishman residing abroad. According to the new bill, "letters-patent may be granted to any person in Great Britain and Ireland, who may have received from any person being abroad, or from any person being resident within the kingdom, information of any new manufacture whatever."

At present, the assignees of an inventor while he is himself alive, cannot take out a patent for his discovery. By the proposed measure, a patentee is to be at liberty to assign or transfer his interest in his patent, or grant licences to make or use the same, in any manner, or to any number of persons, he may think fit. Of course, by this enactment, also, the present prohibition against more than five individuals having an interest in the same patent, is done away with.

The present patent law being founded upon an old statute (the 21 James I. cap. 3), in which the only expression used to describe the person to whom a patent may be granted, is the *inventor of a new manufacture*, considerable difficulty has been experienced in the attempt to stretch the meaning of these words, so as to comprehend all sorts of discoverers and introducers of inventions. To obviate the doubts which have been thus occasioned, and which have been strengthened by conflicting decisions of the judges, it is proposed to enact, "that all new substances or things made, that all new machines, that all new combinations or arrangements of machinery or things, either already known or newly discovered; that all principles newly discovered, and all new applications, which, when reduced into practice, produce some article fit for sale; that all chemical discoveries, methods, or processes, which result in or produce an article of commerce, shall be the subjects for which letters-patent shall be granted; whether they be discovered within the United Kingdom or be obtained by communication or sale." This is perhaps as comprehensive a description as could well be framed, and will probably be found to embrace every case fairly entitled to protection.

At present, if it shall be discovered that any one part of a complicated contrivance, all the parts of which a patentee has claimed as his own inventions, had been previously in use, the whole patent is vitiated by that single mistake. The hardship and absurdity of this rule have been often complained of; and it is now proposed to substitute the enactment, "That if a patent and specification be bad in law as to part thereof, they shall not be bad in law as to the remainder thereof respectively:" the patentee will only be required to lodge an amended specification.

If a patentee at present shall make any improvement on his invention, after he has taken out his patent, he can only protect that improvement by taking out a new patent, at the same expense as the former. The Bill proposes to allow him to secure the monopoly of such improvements, to any number, merely by enrolling so many new, or, as they are termed, secondary specifications.

The only term for which a patent can be granted under the existing law is fourteen years; but it is probable that if a patent could be obtained for a shorter period, provided the expense were less, it would in many instances be preferred. The choice of taking out a patent either for fourteen or for only seven years, the fees being different in the two cases, is accordingly given in the new Bill. And whereas, at present, the extension of a patent beyond the original term, which is in some cases no more than a fair indulgence, can only be obtained by an application to parliament, it is proposed, that in such cases his Majesty shall be empowered to grant a new patent, after the matter has been submitted to an examination of the same nature with that on which the original patent was obtained.

So far there will probably be little difference of opinion in regard to the suggested alterations of the law. There are, however, some other points, as to which, although there may be a general agreement that the present practice is attended with injustice or inconvenience, the proper mode of correcting it may not be quite so clear.

At present any person who wishes, for whatever purpose, honest or the reverse, to know for what new inventions patents are applied for, may, at an expense of 15*s.*, lodge what is called a caveat, which will entitle him to a notice of all patents applied for during the following six months. Great abuses are alleged to have sprung up from this practice; and in particular it is stated to have often happened that the secret of inventions has thereby escaped before the letters-patent were sealed. The entering of caveats it is therefore proposed to place for the future under great restrictions. Of these the chief is, that each person shall, at the time of entering the same, lodge an outline or description of that invention of his own which he professes to think is about to be made the subject of letters-patent to be granted to another person. It may seem at first sight that this is an unfair restriction of the rights of the public, who are entitled to ascertain by means of these caveats what patents are applied for, whether they relate to subjects on which the party lodging the caveat has matured any invention of his own or no. But the force of this objection is perhaps abated by the consideration, that the mere taking out of a patent does not protect a patentee against all disturbance in the enjoyment of his monopoly; but that if the same proof which would have at first prevented the patent being granted shall be afterwards adduced in a court of law, the patent will be thereby overturned. This risk, it may be argued, is quite enough to protect the interests of the public.

One of the objections which have been most strongly urged against the present system is derived from the incompetency of the persons on whose decision letters-patent are granted. The officers charged with this duty are the Attorney and Solicitor-General; personages, certainly, whose knowledge of arts and manufactures is not usually very profound. Under the new Bill the dignitary of the law is to be allowed in disputed cases to call in any two men practically skilled in the arts and sciences, to assist him in coming to his determination, the costs to be paid by the parties in the proportions that he shall direct.

Some important innovations are also proposed in the law which has hitherto regulated the grounds on which patents may be set aside, or declared void; although the Bill does not go the length, as suggested by some, of taking the consideration of such questions out of the hands of a common judge and jury, and making them over to a peculiar tribunal. But whereas at present there is no limit to the period during which it is competent to allege that an invention has been formerly used, in order to defeat a patent obtained for it, it is proposed now to enact that the patent shall not become void, unless the invention shall be proved to have been practically used in a public manner within the last ten years preceding the date of the patent. Another important provision is, that if in an action at law upon the infringement of a patent, the patentee obtain a verdict, the court may grant a certificate that the validity of the letters-patent has been fully tried on the merits thereof, and that in all future actions brought upon the same patent, the patentee shall, upon the production of the said certificate, be required only to prove the infringement of the party sued, and the damages suffered, and nothing more. This rule will put an end to one of the most oppressive grievances of the present system, namely, the liability which a patentee is under to have his rights called in question by repeated trials at law, notwithstanding any number of verdicts that may have been given in his favour.

These are not all the enactments of Mr. Godson's Bill,

but they are the most material. So far as they go, they constitute, we think, unquestionable improvements on the existing law. But the subject, we repeat, is one of very considerable difficulty; and it would require much consideration to say what in all respects would be the most perfect measure for the legislature to adopt. It is probable that the investigations of the committee, which has just been appointed, will be productive of some valuable suggestions in correction of, or in addition to, those upon which the present Bill proceeds.

ELECTION PETITIONS.

In our first number, at page 12, we gave a list of the returns petitioned against. The following is the result of the petitions or the state in which they remain where they are not yet decided upon :—

1. Barnstaple, borough—Petition abandoned.
2. Bath, city—Election affirmed.
3. Bedford, borough—Election affirmed.
4. Bristol, city—Committee appointed, April 25.
5. Bury St. Edmund's, borough—Ballot for committee May 2.
6. Carlow, county—Ballot for committee May 14.
7. Carmarthen, borough—Petition abandoned.
8. Carnarvon, borough—Sir C. Paget declared not duly elected, and the return amended with the name of O. J. E. Nanney, Esq. The return of Mr. Nanney was petitioned against, and the petition ordered to be taken into consideration on the 16th May, but has been abandoned.
9. Carrickfergus, borough—Election of C. R. Dobbs declared void: the suspension of the issue of a new writ recommended, and the serious attention of the House called to the gross bribery and corruption which have prevailed at the last and previous elections.
10. Clonmell, borough—Ballot for committee May 16.
11. Coleraine, borough—Ballot for committee May 7.
12. Cork, city—Petition abandoned.
13. Coventry, city—Election affirmed.
14. Ennis, borough—Election affirmed.
15. Galway, county—Ballot for committee May 14.
16. ——— town—Committee appointed April 23.
17. Harwich, borough—Petition abandoned.
18. Hertford, borough—Viscount Ingestrie and Viscount Mahon declared unduly elected; and, on the ground that bribery and treating had prevailed, the suspending of the issue of a new writ recommended until after April 22; subsequently extended till May 2.
19. Knaresborough, borough—Petition abandoned.
20. Launceston, borough—Petition abandoned.
21. Limerick city—Ballot for committee May 14.
22. Lincoln, city—Ballot for committee May 2.
23. Linlithgow, county—Ballot for committee April 30.
24. Londonderry, borough—Election affirmed; the petition declared frivolous and vexatious.
25. Longford, county—L. White and J. H. Rorke declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the names of Viscount Forbes and A. Lefroy.
26. Mallow, borough—W. J. O'Neil Daunt declared not duly elected, and the return ordered to be amended by substituting the name of C. D O. Jephson.
27. Montgomery, borough—Election of D. Pugh declared void. At the subsequent election, Col. J. Edwards was returned.
28. Newry, borough—Election affirmed.
29. Norfolk, county (east div.)—Ballot for committee May 2.
30. Northumberland, county (south. div.)—Petition abandoned.
31. Norwich, city—Election affirmed.
32. Oxford, city—The election, as far as regarded T. Stonor, declared void. At a subsequent election, W. Hughes Hughes was returned, and now sits.
33. Petersfield, borough—J. G. Lefevre declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended by substituting Hylton Jolliffe.
34. Portarlington, borough—Election affirmed.
35. Ripon, borough—Election affirmed.
36. Salisbury, city—Ballot for committee April 30.
37. Southampton, town—J. B. Hoy declared unduly elected; and the return amended with the name of J. S. Penleaze.
38. Stafford, borough—Petition abandoned.
39. Stirling, burghs—Petition abandoned.
40. Tivérton, borough—Ballot for committee May 9.
41. Warwick, borough—Ballot for committee May 7.
42. Weymouth, &c., borough—Petition abandoned.
43. Windsor, borough—Petition abandoned.
44. York, city—Petition abandoned.

Mr. C. P. Thomson having been returned for Dover and Manchester, made choice to sit for the latter place. On a new election for Dover, Mr. Halcomb was returned, but the return was petitioned against, and the petition ordered to be taken into consideration on the 21st of May.

The following alterations have also been made in the representation since the commencement of the session :—

Cumberland (west)	S. Irton	vice Lord Lowther, elected to sit for Westmoreland, having been returned for both places.
Gloucester, city	H. T. Hope	vice Hon. M. F. Berkeley.
London	G. Lyall	— Ald. Waithman, dec.
Malton	J. C. Ramsden	— Hon. W. W. Fitzwilliam (now Lord Milton).
Marylebone	Sir S. B. Whalley	— E. B. Portman.
Northamptonshire, (north)	Lord Milton	— Lord Milton (now Earl Fitzwilliam).
Sunderland	Ald. Thompson	— Hon. G. Barrington.
Worcestershire (W.)	vacant	— Hon. T. H. Foley, succeeding his father, as Lord Foley.
Dundee	Sir H. Parnell	— G. Kinloch, deceased.
Inverness burghs	vacant	— Col. J. Baillie, by the death of.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Number of Holders of National Stock, and amount of Shares.—By a return, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 17th of April, it appears that the total number of accounts on which a half year's dividend was due at the last half-yearly payment thereof, on each description of public stock, and on each description of terminable annuities, was 279,751. The amounts of the half-yearly dividends, received by these holders, are classified as follows :—

Not exceeding	£ 5	87,176
	10	44,648
	50	98,305
	100	25 641
	200	14,701
	300	4495
	500	2827
	1000	1367
	2000 (151 are joint accounts, or of public companies)	417
	3000 (35 do.)	75
	4000 (24 do.)	39
	5000 (10 do.)	14
Exceeding	5000 (34 do.)	46

Gold and Silver Coinage.—In the twenty years from 1790 to 1809, both inclusive, the amount of gold coined was 21,493,640*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The greatest amount in any one year was 2,967,501*l.* 15*s.*, in 1798. The silver coined during the same period amounted only to 1216*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* In the twenty years from 1810 to 1829, both inclusive, the coinage of gold amounted to 45,387,423*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; the greatest amount in any one year being 9,520,758*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* in 1821. During the same period, 9,149,411*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, were also coined in silver; 2,436,297*l.* 12*s.* of which was coined in 1827.

Milbank Penitentiary.—The annual Report of the superintending Committee of this establishment states that, on the 31st December, 1831, the number of convicts in the prison amounted to 538, of whom 144 were females. On Dec. 31, 1832, the number was 519, of whom 136 were females. During the year, 178 males and 42 females had been admitted; 24 had died, and 215 had been discharged for various causes: the far greater part, namely, 132 males and 29 females, having received free pardons in consequence of their good conduct. The earnings of the prisoners amounted to 2683*l.* 10*s.* Of this sum a proportion is reserved for the prisoners and for the officers of the establishment; leaving a net amount, toward the expenses of the Penitentiary, of 2012*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* The total net expense, after deducting the above, was 17,178*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* Taking the average number of prisoners at 530, this gives an expenditure of upwards of 32*l.* per head per annum. The Report states, also, that the conduct of those discharged in former years has been in general very satisfactory; that a large proportion have applied for, and received, the gratuities allowed for good conduct since their liberation; and that greater

exertions have been made latterly to extend moral and religious instruction in the Penitentiary, and apparently with the most beneficial effects.

Debtors.—The number of prisoners, confined for debt in the several prisons of England and Wales, in the year ending Michaelmas, 1832, amounted to 16,661.

Game Laws.—The number of commitments under the Game Laws, in England and Wales, from Nov. 1, 1831, to Nov. 1, 1832, was 2845.

POST OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE.

THE improvements which are understood to be contemplated in the transmission of letters to and from Paris ought to have taken place many years ago. The delay of them has proceeded, less from any direct obstacle, whether physical or political, than from the slowness with which an alteration in almost any department of the civil service is effected in France. "We are very raw," said an intelligent Frenchman several years ago, "in all that regards the management of civil affairs. Madame de Staël had abundant reason to affirm, that for a long time past we have managed nothing well except war." In the year 1814, when the intercourse between London and Paris was re-opened, an answer to a letter was not obtained from one capital to the other until the fifth day from the original despatch, while it is only within these two or three years, and by means of estafettes, or couriers on horseback, that greater expedition has been attained. The post-days, or days for the despatch of the mail, have been only four in the week, viz, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday; omitting Wednesday and Saturday: although the extent of mercantile business, to say nothing of political, was assuredly such as to call for a daily post as much as between London and Edinburgh or Dublin. In proof of this, we have merely to refer to the number of expresses for Messrs. Rothschild and other members of the Stock Exchange, the whole of which might have been spared, had the mail been, as was perfectly practicable, conveyed from one capital to the other in thirty-six hours.

But if we censure the French for slowness in the introduction of such improvements, we by no means attribute that slowness to a feeling of repugnance or indifference in respect to connexion with England. They have long held in high esteem our commercial institutions, and have acknowledged our superiority in commerce, navigation, and the useful arts generally. Only admit to a Frenchman "*que Paris brille dans les beaux arts,*" (that Paris excels in the fine arts,) and you will find him perfectly disposed to give to England the lead in a variety of more important points. A century ago, Voltaire, after passing some years in this country, apprized his readers when he returned to France, that we could reckon among our eminent men many besides Marlborough; and in the present age ample justice has been done to us by Dupin and other Frenchmen who have visited our capital, our dock-yards, and the seats of our manufactures. Contrasting the calm steadiness of our workmen, with the lively, but often inefficient bustle of the French, Dupin says, "There reigns in the workshops of England a silent activity;" while another of his countrymen, adverting to several of our minor regulations in civil matters, and explaining their origin, adds, "We find that, in general, the arrangements of the English bear the stamp of reflection and good sense." The late Jean Baptiste Say, the political economist of France, visited England in 1814, when his penetrating eye detected much that was hollow in our imagined prosperity, and foresaw a great deal of the distress that afterwards took place; but even he, unsparing as he was in animadversion, and wholly unaccustomed to the language of compliment, pronounced us "*Une nation admirablement industrieuse;*" by which he meant a nation where the division and subdivision of industry was better understood and practised than in any other.

With such favourable impressions of the state of productive industry in this country, the public in France will receive with pleasure the assurance of a more speedy and frequent intercourse between the two capitals. They will regard it as a further ground for the expectation of continued peace between the two governments, a point on which they were for many years in doubt, so deeply had Bonaparte impressed them with the notion that England was the cause of the long continuance of the war, the inveterate enemy of the tranquillity of France. The escape of that adventurer from Elba was attributed by the majority of the French to a plan on the part of our government to embroil their country anew in war; and they had little confidence in the maintenance of peace on our part until the year 1823, when we remained neutral after their invasion of Spain; and still more in 1830, when we so promptly relieved them from anxiety by acknowledging the title of the Orleans branch to the crown.

The public roads in France are greatly inferior to those of this country, and the cross-roads are hardly passable. The stage-coaches are nearly as large and heavy as those of England were a century ago; the average rate of travelling by them does not exceed four or five miles an hour; while by the mail it is hardly six miles. This slow progress arises not from the country being in general more hilly than England, nor from the want of road materials, but from the insufficient care and labour hitherto bestowed on the roads. There are in France no tolls or turnpikes; no road trustees; all is under the charge of government, who seldom find it convenient to make an addition to the sum (about 1,200,000*l.*) usually appropriated to this purpose in the budget.

As to the postage on letters to France, the practice hitherto has been to divide it; half, or nearly half, being paid here by the persons despatching letters, the other half by the receivers of the letters in France. It was proposed, on the part of the French, that persons forwarding letters either to or from Paris, should do as with letters to a country town in Great Britain or Ireland; either paying the whole postage, or no part of it; or lastly, continuing as at present to pay the half. This, we understand, is not likely to be acceded to. It might be useful in particular cases; in a general sense, it will be less important than would be a reduction of the charge, the present rate (2*s.* 4*d.* per letter) being considerably beyond what can be afforded by the low prices of merchandise, and the diminished profits of trade in a season of profound peace. But whether the charge be reduced or not, the accelerated despatch of the mails, and the increase of post-days from four to six a-week, will prove highly acceptable to the merchants on both sides of the channel.

NOTICE.

QUARTERLY PART OF THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

The present number forms the Fourth of this work, namely, three regular Monthly Numbers, and one Supplement. By the publication of one Supplement in each Quarter, the work may be issued in a Quarterly Part, stitched in a wrapper, at the price of Ninepence. In the first year, the quarterly issues will be as follows:—

1833,	May 1st,	Part I.
——	Aug. 1st,	— II.
——	Nov. 1st,	— III.
1834,	Feb. 1st,	— IV.

It is intended, also, on the 1st of February, 1834, to publish a Fifth Part, price Ninepence, containing a RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR 1833. This Appendix will complete the annual volume, which will be sold, bound in cloth, at Five Shillings.

[The Supplement, No. 3, published April 1, is wholly devoted to the subject of the East India Company's Charter.]

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, GROOMBRIDGE, *Panyer-alley, Paternoster-row.*
Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooks & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooks & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tilsman.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.
Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford-street.

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 5. JUNE 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Crime in London. No. II.	65	Inquest on Robert Culley	76
West India Question	69	Public Petitions	76
Proposed New Laws relating to Dramatic Literary Property and Theatrical Performances	70	Election Petitions	79
Bill for the Relief of the Jews	71	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	79
The Banking System of Great Britain. No. II.	72	Counsel to Prisoners	80
		Notice	80

CRIME IN LONDON.—No. II.

We are now to present a few notices illustrative of the diminution or disappearance of certain descriptions of crime in the metropolis, and of the causes by which the change has been brought about.

In the most flourishing times of the Saxon kings a very strict system of police seems to have existed in England, which is said to have operated with remarkable effect in reducing the amount of crime. Under the institutions established by Alfred the Great, by which all the individuals composing a tithing became securities for the good conduct of each other, the law, if we may believe some of our old writers, was maintained in almost unviolated authority. The songs of Moore have made every reader familiar with the golden age of Ireland, when, under the renowned Brien Boromhe, a solitary female, attired in richest and rarest jewels, might have passed unharmed and without danger from one end of the country to the other,—

—— "on she went, and her maiden smile
In safety lighted her round the Green Isle."

In the same age, the tenth century, our own historians state that the protection of person and property was equally perfect in England. Brompton, for instance, affirms that in Alfred's time, although gold bracelets were wont to be hung up at the meeting of several high-roads, no man durst touch them. Other authorities state that the robbery of a traveller in any part of the country was a thing altogether unknown. This degree of security, however, was obtained by a system of universal interference and restriction quite incompatible with the existence of anything like freedom, in the modern sense of the term, or even with that of a progressive civilization. It was, in fact, as has been remarked, exactly the same system which has prevailed from time immemorial in China; and proceeded mainly upon two principles,—first, that already mentioned, of holding each individual security for his neighbour; and, secondly, that of fixing down every man for life to the place in which he was born, and preventing all removals from one district to another. So long as the people could be made to submit to this system of government, it probably answered its end of keeping down crime tolerably well; and there is reason to believe that it held together longer than is commonly supposed. We have, indeed, some remnants of it even at the present day in the still surviving provisions of the law of settlement, and in the custom by which the hundred, in case of the destruction of property by riots, is made liable for the damage. It is interesting and instructive, however, to remark the evidences, which present themselves in the latter days of this system, of its constantly-increasing unsuitableness to the state of the country. We will only quote, as one example of the severe measures to which it was at last deemed necessary to resort, in order to uphold so much of it as had not then entirely passed away, the following statutes, of the reign of Edward VI.

"If any person shall bring to two justices of peace any runagate servant, or any other, which liveth idly and loiteringly by the space of three days, the said justices shall cause the said idle and loitering servant or vagabond to be marked with a hot iron, on the breast with the sign V, and adjudge the same person so marked to be the true servant, for two years, of him that brought him, and shall give him bread, water or small drink, and such refuse meat as he shall cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, to such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile. And if such slave absent himself from his master for the term by the space of fourteen days, he shall be marked by two justices of the peace to be marked on the forehead or the ball of the cheek with a hot iron, with the sign of an S, and shall be adjudged to be slave to his said master for ever; and if the said slave shall run away a second time, he shall be adjudged a felon."

It is not by regulations of this description that even so important an object as the repression of crime can ever be attempted in a country pretending to the possession of any portion of liberty. The remedy is a thousand times more dreadful than the disease. It would brutalize the community, and crush out the life of the social principle, much more completely than would the prevalence of mere disorder and licence to any extent to which they have ever spread under the most relaxed and feeble forms of government. But fortunately there are other means which may be applied to effect the same end, and upon the success of which, in so far at least as some of the most flagrant violations of the law are concerned, sure dependence may be placed. A comparison, in regard to some particulars, of the present with the past state of London will put this in a clear light.

In the year 1285, the 13th of Edward I., a statute was passed, of which the following is an extract:—"Whereas many evils, as murders, robberies, and manslaughters, have been committed heretofore in the city by night and by day, and people have been beaten and evil-entreated, and divers other mischances have befallen against his (the king's) peace; it is enjoined that none be so hardy as to be found going or wandering about the streets of the city after curfew tolled at St. Martin's-le-Grand, with sword, or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief, or wherein evil suspicion might arise, nor any in any other manner, unless he be a great man, or other lawful person of good repute, or their certain messenger, having their warrants to go from one to another, with lantern in hand."

How different is the picture here presented of the state of London, at this remote era, from the comparative quiet and security with which nearly every part of it may now be traversed both by day and by night! It is curious, however, to observe up to how recent a period its streets retained so small part of the dangers in which they abounded in the thirteenth century. Even not much more than a hundred years ago, it seems to have been considered unsafe to venture out after dark on horseback or in a coach. "Who," exclaims Gay in his *Trivia*, published in 1712,

——"through night would hire the harnessed steed?
And who would choose the rattling wheel for speed?"

In the same poem, also, occurs the following passage:—

"Where Lincoln's Inn, wide space, is railed around,
Cross not with venturous step: there oft is found
The lurking thief, who, while the daylight shone,
Made the walls echo with his begging tone;
That crutch, which late compassion moved, shall wield
Thy bleeding head, and fell thee to the ground.
Though thou art tempted by the link-man's call,
Yet trust him not along the dusky wall;
In the mid-way he'll quench the
And share the booty with the
Still keep the public
Shot from the cryptic

the space now lying between the Great and the Little Turnstiles, on the south side of Holborn, where a formidable crew of the most abandoned and desperate characters were congregated together, forming a body which the arm of the law hardly dared to touch. When this colony of criminals was rooted out, and the square was properly lighted and watched, the dangers for which it had been so long infamous were at an end.

This is an example of one of the expedients which may be applied with the greatest efficacy in the suppression of crime. It is a disgrace to the authorities of a great city, or to the system of its government and police, that there should be suffered to exist in it any spot or district which is notorious as the retreat merely of the profligate and lawless part of society. There are unfortunately several places—for instance, a place called Field Lane—which still insult and defy the sovereignty of the law in the heart of modern London. Field Lane is a wild tract lying in the way between two important sections of the town, which is never to be crossed without precaution and some danger. Such a place ought long ago to have been swept away, simply because of its injurious effects upon the moral health of the city. If there are at present in London other places as bad as Field Lane, no considerations of expense ought to prevent the adoption of the requisite means to obliterate such ulcers from the body of our social system.

We must now, however, proceed to another head. "On Wednesday last," says a notice in the *Evening Post* of the 16th March, 1716, "four gentlemen were robbed and stripped in the fields between London and Marylebone." These *fields* are now covered by some of our most populous streets, in which the notion of four gentlemen being stripped is sufficiently ridiculous; but in those days things nearly equally bold were attempted every day in the heart of the metropolis. About 1728 it is recorded that street robbers had become extremely numerous and daring; and "their audacious villany," says Maitland, "was got to such a height that they formed a design to rob the queen in St. Paul's Churchyard, as she privately returned from supper in the city to the palace of St. James's, as confessed by one of the gang when under sentence of death. But those execrable villains being busily employed in robbing Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an alderman of London, on his return in his chariot from the House of Commons, her Majesty luckily passed them in her coach without being attacked." This attempt, it is added, produced so general and strong an alarm, that the magistrates applied themselves with unusual energy to the remedy of the evil; and the consequence was that the streets were soon cleared of the desperate characters by whom they had been infested, many of whom were taken and executed.

About this time, indeed, the evil seems to have suddenly grown to a height greatly transcending the degree in which it had for some time before prevailed. In one of their presentments, we find the Grand Jury of 1729 characterizing it as "a wickedness that, till within these few years, was unheard of among us." They attribute its prevalence to the unusual swarms they had of late observed of sturdy and clamorous beggars; and they add that, unless this nuisance be put down, "many quiet and inoffensive people will hardly venture to stir out of their houses on their lawful callings, for fear of being saucily importuned in the day and audaciously attacked and robbed in the night."

But a good many years after matters seem to have been no better. In 1744 it is stated that the street robbers used to go to the houses of the peace-officers, and make them beg their pardon, and promise not to molest them; while the lives of other officers, who had particularly distinguished themselves by their activity, were conceived to be in such danger, that they dared not show themselves in the streets. Mr. Jones, the Deputy-Marshal of the city, having one day met a fellow of the name of Billingsby, a well-known offender, endeavoured to seize him; "but twelve villains," says Maitland, "armed with cutlasses, and two with pistols, came up, crying, *We know what you have been about, but defy all power*, and directly attacked Mr. Thomas, a constable, giving him several wounds, and fired their pistols at Mr. Jones, who received a slight wound in the forehead; but firing a pocket blunderbuss amongst them, loaded with duck-shot, wounded several, and at last they dispersed." "On Saturday, the [illegible] of April," again writes the same historian, under this year, "near twenty desperate thieves and gamblers assembled themselves before St. Martin's round-house, about 11 o'clock in the morning, in order to rescue some notorious offenders that were in it; and appeared with cutlasses, bludgeons, and pistols, and through the windows of the said round-house gave in arms to the prisoners that were in it; and then began a formidable attack both within and without, which gave so great an alarm that a party of horse-grenadiers and foot-guards were sent for, and four of the villains were taken, and brought before Sir Thomas de Veil, and, after an examination of near five hours, were committed to Newgate."

In consequence of the alarm excited by this state of things, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, on the 13th of October, went up with an address to his Majesty, in which they stated "that divers confederacies of great numbers of evil-disposed persons, armed with bludgeons, pistols, cutlasses, and other dangerous weapons, infest not only the private lanes and passages, but likewise the public streets and places of usual concourse, and commit most daring outrages upon the persons of your Majesty's good subjects, whose affairs oblige them to pass through the streets, by terrifying, robbing, and wounding them; and these facts are frequently perpetrated at such times as were heretofore deemed hours of security: that the officers of justice have been repulsed in the performance of their duty: some of whom have been shot at, some wounded, and others murdered, in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons; by which means many are intimidated from duly executing their offices, and others put in manifest danger of their lives."

On this a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 100*l.* for the conviction of any street robber; and others, to the same effect, followed in 1748 and 1751. But the evil does not appear to have been thereby abated, if we may judge from the following statements of Fielding, written in the last of these two years:—"The great increase of robberies within these few years is an evil which to me appears to deserve some attention. * * * In fact, I make no doubt but that the streets of this town, and the roads leading to it, will shortly be impassable without the utmost hazard; nor are we threatened with seeing less dangerous gangs of rogues among us than those which the Italians call the *banditti*. * * * What, indeed, may not the public apprehend, when they are informed, as an unquestionable fact, that there are at this time a great gang of rogues, whose number falls little short of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a treasury, and have reduced theft and robbery into a regular system! There are of this society men who appear in all disguises, and mix in most companies. Nor are they better versed in every art of cheating, thieving, and robbing, than they are armed with every method of evading the law, if they should ever be discovered, and an attempt made to bring them to justice. Here, if they fail in rescuing the prisoner, or (which seldom happens) in bribing or deterring the prosecutor, they have, for their last resource, some rotten members of the law to forge a defence for them, and a great number of false witnesses ready to support it." And afterwards,—"How long have we known highwaymen reign in this kingdom after they have been publicly known for such! Have not some of these committed robberies in open daylight, in the sight of many people, and have afterward rode solemnly and triumphantly through the neighbouring towns without any danger or molestation? This happens to every rogue who is become eminent for his audaciousness, and is thought to be desperate; and is in a more particular manner the case of great and numerous gangs, many of which have for a long time committed the most open outrages in defiance of the law. Officers of justice have owned to me that they have passed by such, with warrants in their pockets against them, without daring to apprehend them; and, indeed, they could not be blamed for not exposing themselves to sure destruction; for it is a melancholy truth that, at this very day, a rogue no sooner gives the alarm, within certain purlieus, than twenty or thirty armed villains are found ready to come to his assistance."

Fielding's pamphlet, from which we quote this statement, appears to have produced a great effect on the public mind. From this time, partly through certain new measures of police, and partly by means of the more resolute determination awakened in the public generally to put down the evil, the robberies, both by footpads and mounted highwaymen, which had been so frequent on various roads in the vicinity of the metropolis, began rapidly to decline. Sir John Fielding informed the Committee of 1772 "that for twenty years a footpad had not escaped; that highwaymen cannot escape,

upon account of the early information given to the aforesaid office (that of Bow Street), and the great number of prosecutors who always appear against them, which he thinks must in time put an end to the evil." These causes, and the greater extension which was afterwards given to the police establishment of the metropolis, eventually brought about the result here anticipated,—in regard, at least, to the more daring order of these violators of the law. In his amusingly characteristic, but still interesting and valuable, evidence, given before the Committee of 1816, Townsend, who had at that time been a Bow Street officer for thirty-four years, makes the following statement:—"There is one thing which appears to me most extraordinary, when I remember, in very likely a week, there should be from ten to fifteen highway robberies. We have not had a man committed for a highway robbery lately; I speak of persons on horseback; formerly there were two, three, or four highwaymen, some on Hounslow Heath, some on Wimbledon Common, some on Finchley Common, some on the Romford road. I have actually come to Bow Street office in the morning, and while I have been leaning over the desk, had three or four people come in and say, I was robbed by two highwaymen, in such a place; I was robbed by a single highwayman, in such a place. People travel now safely by means of the horse-patrol that Sir Richard Ford planned. Where are these highway robberies now? as I was observing to the Chancellor (Lord Eldon) at the time I was up at his house on the Corn Bill. He said, 'Townsend, I knew you very well so many years ago.' I said, 'Yes, my Lord, I remember your first coming to the bar, first in your plain gown, and then as King's Counsel, and now Chancellor. Now, your Lordship sits as Chancellor, and directs the executions on the Recorder's report; but where are the highway robberies now?' And his Lordship said, 'Yes, I am astonished.' There are no footpad robberies or road robberies now, but merely jostling you in the streets. They used to be ready to pop at a man as soon as he let down his glass: that was done by banditti." So the late Sir Richard Birnie, in his evidence given in 1828, says, "There has not been a mounted highwayman these thirty years."

But highway robbery is only one of many descriptions of crime and immorality, characterized by a portion of the same audacity and violence, which are now likewise entirely or nearly suppressed. Forty or fifty years ago there were numerous establishments in the metropolis where swarms of the most lawless characters openly congregated, and might be said to enjoy entire security from even the approach of the wretched police which then existed. The names of some of these haunts of profligacy were the Bull in the Pound, the Apollo Gardens, the Dog and Duck, the Temple of Flora, &c. "A dreadful society of vagabonds," said Sir John Fielding, who remembered them well, when examined in 1816, "were certainly collected together in those places." Thence issued the bold ruffians by whom highway robberies were perpetrated to such an extent in those days. "The character of the highwayman," continues Sir John, "is certainly less heard of since the putting down those two infernal places of meeting, the Dog and Duck and the Temple of Flora, which were certainly the most dreadful places in or about the metropolis." Again, down to a much later period than that here referred to, it is stated to have been a general practice in the metropolis for the lower orders to amuse themselves by the brutal diversion called bull-hanking, and driving the bulls about the streets. Indeed, this practice continued to be known in certain districts of London till within the last few years. The following statement was made by the Rev. Joshua King, the clergyman of the parish of Bethnal Green, in his examination by the Committee of 1816:—"Every Sunday morning, during the time of divine service, several hundred persons assemble in a field adjoining the churchyard, where they fight dogs, hunt ducks, gamble, enter into subscriptions to fee drovers for a bullock: I have seen them drive the animal through the most populous parts of the parish, force sticks pointed with iron up the body, put peas into the ears, and infuriate the beast, so as to endanger the lives of all persons passing along the streets." Such enormities as this, we presume, are now entirely put an end to. And so are such systematic atrocities as those said to have been committed in former times by the Mohocks (whom the readers of the *Spectator* will remember), and by the infamous associations of the Cutter-Lads, and others of a similar description. All our great thoroughfares at least may now, indeed, be said to be effectually cleared from open assailants either of person or property, and rendered perfectly safe to every one passing along them, at all hours of the day and night.

Now this great change for the better has not certainly been brought about by the establishment among us of any oppressive system of inquisition and espionage, but simply by the abatement of universally-acknowledged nuisances, and by other regulations of police and civic economy, for which we have paid no other penalty but the money-tax necessary for carrying them into effect. Ancient London, for example, abounded in places legally, or claiming to be privileged, where not only debtors but felons of every description sought an asylum from the law, to which from these retreats they offered, in their banded numbers, the most daring defiance. Such sanctuaries, as they were called, were in fact nothing else than permanent nurseries of crime. Besides the celebrated Whitefriars, or Alsatia, of which the pages of Scott have given us a picture so full of life, and Whetstone Park, already mentioned, to the north of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, there were the sanctuaries of St. Martin-le-Grand, of the Minories, of Salisbury-court, of Ram-alley, of Mitre-court, of Fulwood's-rents, of Baldwin's-gardens, (Gray's-Inn-Lane,) of the Savoy, of the Mint, of the Clink, in Southwark, and others. These nuisances, strange as it may be thought, although attempts had repeatedly been made to regulate them, were not finally suppressed by the legislature till 1697, nine years after the Revolution. Nay, it was a good many years later before they were all effectually rooted out.

Again, it is not yet quite a century since the streets of this great capital could be almost said to be lighted at night at all. Until the year 1736, there were only a thousand lamps hung out throughout the whole city, and these were kept burning only till midnight; and, for one half of the year, namely, from Lady-day till Michaelmas, were never lighted at all: nay, even during the winter months, there were ten nights every moon, from the sixth day after full to the third day after new moon, on which, however cloudy the sky, not a wick lent its feeble aid to dissipate the obscurity. In fact, the thousand lamps were only kept burning for about seven hundred and fifty hours in the course of the year. The streets of a town left in this state were necessarily delivered over, during a great part of every twenty-four hours, to the uncontrolled dominion of robbers and other violators of the law.

The paving and widening of many of our most crowded thoroughfares, and the removal of many impediments by which passage through the streets used formerly to be interrupted, are other improvements which have all materially contributed to the same result. The establishment (in 1792) of the several police-offices, and that of the horse-patrol, imperfect as they both are, have nevertheless undoubtedly been the means of maintaining, throughout the space over which their jurisdiction extends, a measure of order and general security greatly exceeding what had previously prevailed. And, lastly, the recent substitution of the new police in the room of that long-tolerated nuisance the old parochial watch, will now be confessed, we believe, even by the greater number of those who were at first most opposed to the change, to have been an improvement of the very highest value and importance.

The grand result, as we have said, is, that in so far as London and its vicinity are concerned, all those descriptions of criminals who were wont to inspire the greatest terror have not indeed been entirely extirpated, but have at least been forced to withdraw from the systematic pursuit of their lawless courses. A burglary, a robbery on the highway, a murder, still occasionally occur; but those bands of marauders who used to make our streets and roads constantly unsafe at certain hours, are broken up and no longer exist. The law, which was formerly kept in check by these ruffians, is now master and keeps them in check. They may sometimes escape its vigilance, but they dare no longer offer it open defiance: when they succeed in breaking through its mandates, it is by running away from it, not by bearding it. The substitution of this state of things is an immense gain. It is a step forward in civilization, and an actual advantage of vast amount. While the leagued enemies of the law intimidate the law itself, society can hardly be said to be consolidated. In a perfect condition of society, crime would not exist at all; it would not require even a law to suppress it. At this ultimate limit of all improvement we certainly have

not yet arrived, nor possibly are we destined ever to reach it. But we have gained at least the intermediate space between that and the commencing point of civilization, when, in the contest between the criminal and the law, we have seen the latter assert its permanent supremacy, and the former acknowledge its strength and its terrors, even though still striving to elude its notice. Then, the practical benefit of the change,—that which we feel every day and every hour,—is not to be told. We move about everywhere without dread and without danger. No man, generally speaking, dreams of the chance of being either murdered, or knocked down, or robbed, of being exposed to injury either in person or property, while passing along the public street or the king's highway, be it at what hour it may. He moves about upon his lawful occasions, whithersoever they may carry him, in the feeling and in the reality of perfect security.

The robberies, and assaults, and murders, that are still sometimes perpetrated, take place out of sight, in remote and lonely situations, not to be kept under perpetual observation by the most numerous and best appointed police, and on victims who have usually been first decoyed and snared before they have been plundered or sacrificed. If while two individuals are together in a room, one of them who is the stronger of the two, or who is on the watch for his opportunity, shall suddenly give the other a blow which stuns him, and shall then rob or murder him,—this is a case which no vigilance on the part of a police could have prevented. Such are our modern crimes of violence. They will always be committed while the immorality and evil propensities by which they are instigated remain in the bosoms of men; let police be made however perfect. The machinery for their detection might indeed be improved: but in regard, for example, to those inhuman atrocities of this description which are done at the bidding of the worst passions to which our nature is subject, and by maddened or brutalized wretches incapable of being acted upon by any but their one governing impulse, it may be doubted if any possible increase of the chances of detection would operate with much effect. Other remedial influences, of a different character altogether, must be applied to bring about the extinction of such crimes. Meanwhile the persons who suffer from them are extremely few in number; and the risk of suffering from them can hardly be said to give a moment's uneasiness to anybody. It is a mere metaphysical possibility, or little more, on which no one spends a thought. And is not this a state of security and ease well worth the price, in so many pounds, shillings, and pence, at which it has been bought?

Notwithstanding the undeniable state of the fact, however, with regard to the metropolis, it has been doubted whether even the more violent description of offences has of late decreased throughout the country generally. If we are to judge by the committals and convictions, it would appear that such offences have increased in number very considerably during the last thirty years. The apparent increase has even been greater in proportion than the increase of the population. It has only not been so great as the increase of minor delinquencies. There can be no question, however, that a considerable part of this apparent increase is apparent only, and to be attributed to the more exact administration of justice, which now takes notice of many crimes that would formerly have been overlooked, and neither brought to punishment nor trial. Whatever may be the case also with regard to the mere number of such more heinous violations of the law, the whole amount of evidence upon the subject goes to show that they are attended in general (we do not allude to extraordinary cases) with a much less degree of outrage and cruelty than were formerly their concomitants. There has been a progressive mitigation of the old ferocity of the populace, and the improved tone of manners has extended even to the worst order of criminals themselves. This is fit matter of congratulation, both on its own account, and for the sake of that to which it may lead. It ought also to be remarked that any comparison drawn as to this point between the last eighteen or nineteen years, and the times immediately preceding, can hardly be expected to show a favourable result, when the great change which took place in the circumstances of the country at the commencement of the more recent period is taken into consideration—the transition, we mean, from a state of war to a state of peace, accompanied as it was both by the disbanding o. the greater portion of the army and navy, and by a shifting in the channels of our commerce and domestic industry, to an extent never perhaps before so suddenly experienced by any nation. Both these causes must undoubtedly, by throwing many thousands of persons loose from their wonted employments and resources, have added largely to our criminal population.

But we are still inclined to think that the cause which more than any other lies at the root of the evil, and chiefly accounts for the steadily progressive growth among us of all descriptions of crime, is the vast increase which has of late years taken place in the number of juvenile delinquents. All the witnesses that have been examined before the several committees on police agree in bearing testimony to the fact of this increase, although few or any of them express a distinct opinion as to the causes to which it ought to be assigned. There is probably something in the conjecture which has been hazarded, that it may be partly owing to the much greater proportion of children from among the whole number born that are now reared to maturity than were formerly. The value of human life at every age has been considerably augmented; but the augmentation that has taken place in the value of infant life, owing to the introduction of vaccination and other causes, is the greatest of all. If, therefore, five children, for example, live now for three that lived formerly, in families of that class from which the ranks of juvenile delinquency have always been supplied, the consequence is very evident. Those ranks must have acquired an immense accession of numbers. Now, this is the nursery in which our greater criminals are reared. These unhappy children commence their career by pilfering and other minor offences; they are sent to prison, to be there associated with and tutored by older malefactors; they come out more accomplished adepts in villany, more hardened, and if possible more destitute than ever: they plunge again, and in truth are almost forced to do so, into their former courses, only in all probability, with their increased age and more matured habits of lawlessness, choosing a higher and broader path of criminal adventure, and pursuing it with bolder and more reckless steps: till at last, such of them as dissipation and misery have not yet destroyed, ripen into desperadoes of violence and blood. Very few, we believe, of those most unfortunate victims of neglect and destitution are ever reformed into useful members of society. The draughting off of such multitudes of the young of both sexes to an existence of almost hopeless depravity and perdition, is, indeed, a fearful waste of the very life-blood and best strength of the community. It is here unquestionably, if any chance of success is to be given to the attempt, that the suppression of crime must begin. A few years ago it was stated to a Committee of the House of Commons that there were 130,000 children in London without the means of education. What an appalling fact is this alone! and how are we entitled to expect that the growth of immorality and crime should ever be checked so long as this state of things shall remain unredressed?

The subject which we have here taken up, and upon only a few of the leading points of which we have been able to touch, is likely immediately to engage much of the attention of Parliament. Mr. Lamb, the Under-secretary of State, has lately brought into the House of Commons a Bill for consolidating the several Acts relative to the Police-offices of London and Westminster; and a Committee has also since been appointed to inquire into the subject of the police of these cities. What has been already accomplished is the best proof that much more may yet be done to improve our police system. We believe that it may be rendered much more perfect than it now is, without being made in any respect more than it is now either an instrument of oppression in the hands of the government, or in any way an annoyance to the peaceably-disposed portion of society. But it is not to be forgotten, we repeat, that the repression of crime is not to be attained by the most complete form of what is commonly called a police establishment alone. The general system of the law and of its administration, the discipline maintained in prisons and other places appointed for the punishment of delinquents, and the state of every institution affecting the social condition of the people generally, have each and all a direct and powerful bearing upon this matter. It is, however, a matter as intimately connected as any other with the well-being of the community at large, and than which there is none having a stronger claim upon

the best attention of the legislature, or more imperatively demanding that the most strenuous exertions should be applied to its right consideration and management.

We shall, in a future Number, under the head "Crime in the Country," examine a few of the circumstances which distinguish the offences peculiar to our rural population.

WEST INDIA QUESTION.

On the 14th of the last month, Mr. Stanley, in a speech of remarkable ability, brought forward in the House of Commons the plan proposed by ministers for the accomplishment of the great object on which the heart of the country has been so long and earnestly set,—the extinction of colonial slavery. We shall, in the first place, endeavour to present such a summary and explanation of the intended measure, as may enable our readers perfectly to understand its several provisions.

The most important immediate effect of the new law will be the entire cessation, from that instant, of the further growth of slavery. All children born after the passing of the act, or who, at the time of its passing, shall be under the age of six years, are to be free, provided their respective parents shall take upon themselves the charge of their maintenance. Those children only whose parents may decline maintaining them are to be bound apprentices to the master of the parents, and to work for him without wages—the males till the age of twenty-four, and the females till that of twenty, at which periods they are to be absolutely free.

With regard, secondly, to the grown-up negroes, it is proposed that they shall all become free within twelve years, or twelve years and a half, at the farthest, after the passing of the act. Only those who prefer being slaves can remain such after the expiration of that period.

Meanwhile, the condition of the slave is also to be immediately altered in various important respects. Every slave who chooses is to be at liberty to claim to be registered as an apprenticed labourer to his master; and the effect of this change in the relation between the two will be at once to destroy and put an end for ever to many of the most degrading distinctions by which the lot of the former is at present marked. Except, indeed, in respect to the compulsion which he will still be under to work for his master, during a certain part of his time, he will immediately enter into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of a freeman. He will of course cease, though it is not expressly so stated in the resolutions, to be a commodity transferable by sale. He will be capable, it is distinctly intimated, of giving evidence in all courts, criminal as well as civil, and as well against his employer as against any other person: of serving upon juries and in the militia; of attending whatever place of worship or teacher of religion he pleases; and generally will have and enjoy all other rights and privileges whatsoever of a British subject. The power of inflicting upon him corporal punishment, also, will be taken out of the hands of his master, and be transferred to the magistrate. Finally, instead of working, as at present, for ten hours of the day or more, he will be obliged, under his contract of apprenticeship, to work only three-fourths of that time. And for this amount of labour, he may, at his own option, be either paid, as at present, by being lodged, clothed, and fed, or by receiving a sum in money, weekly, to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

During the remaining fourth of his time, he is to be permitted to work for wages, either to his master, from whom he shall be entitled to claim employment, or elsewhere if he pleases. Should he remain in the service of his master, he will receive wages at a rate to be regulated on this principle:—The master will fix a price upon him at the time of his apprenticeship, and of that he will be bound to pay him a twelfth part every year as his wages. This is an arrangement of great importance, and very ingeniously contrived for the effecting of its object, the ascertainment of the real value of the negro to his master, a point which it would be probably impossible to get at in any other way. By this scheme it is made equally the interest of the master not to fix that price either too high or too low. If he should fix it too high, he will have to pay the negro a correspondingly high rate of wages; if, on the other hand, he should name too small a sum, he will run the risk of being obliged altogether to forego the benefit of the negro's labour for that inadequate compensation, it being provided, that the latter, on paying, at any time, the price fixed upon him, or such portion of it as may remain due, (the meaning being, we presume, that a twelfth part is to be counted off every year,) shall become absolutely free. The negro may obtain the money for this purpose, by borrowing it, and binding himself, for such period as may be agreed upon, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

It is proposed that, in order to compensate the master for this abstraction of the fourth part of the negro's time and labour, a loan of 15,000,000*l.* sterling shall be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on approved security in the case of each individual, and on payment of interest. The provisions of the scheme which refer to this loan are at present somewhat imperfectly stated, and may probably receive considerable modification. From a passage in Mr. Stanley's speech, it would appear that it is to be left to the future consideration of Parliament, whether it will ever require repayment of the money, or eventually convert it into a gift. In the mean time, however, it is proposed that it shall be, in part at least, liquidated by a deduction or tax, which each negro is to be compelled to pay half-yearly out of his wages. In default of such payment by the negro, the master is to be liable, and in return may exact an equivalent amount of labour, without wages, in the succeeding half-year. It is this clause which may, in some cases, protract the existence of slavery for six months beyond the twelve years. But it is not likely, we think, that the proposal of taxing the negro will be ultimately persevered in. No hint has been given as to how much of the loan is expected to be recovered by this arrangement; but we should suppose the amount reckoned upon cannot be very considerable. It is to be recollected that, although the negro is now to receive wages for a portion of his time, he is, on the other hand, to be burthened with the new charge of supporting his family out of his earnings. If it be intended that he shall, in what we may call his state of transition, have any opportunity of accumulating property, and thereby learning some of the habits which promise to be of most value to him when he shall be absolutely emancipated, it would seem to be unadvisable to diminish the pittance out of which his savings are to be made, by any further deduction than that to which his domestic expenses must subject it.

Such are the outlines of the proposed plan. It may be considered as a scheme for the equitable distribution, among the different parties concerned, of the burthen to be borne in effecting the great object contemplated.

These parties are three in number—the public, the planters, and the slaves. They all receive a certain share of the benefit, and are each also called upon to pay something for what they receive. The public is to be gratified by the accomplishment of its strongly expressed desire for the abolition after slavery; and for that it is to pay 15,000,000*l.* sterling, money, or some other large sum. The various denizens of which are to accrue to the slave have just be acquired a single He is the party having the strongest claim, who happened to which the measure may have to bestow: All the disabilities purchase the immediate liberty of his Irish religion would still eventual emancipation, by being subject the rest. The only labour for a certain period. The planter, had been to add is to be deprived of various things in which existing among us had a legal right of property—of the labour of one-fourth part of every day—of the labour excited such a slave for the whole day after a period of twelve years bill. The all the profit which he might have made of the negro other inwithin the last six years, or to be born in future on his are per- The advantage by which it is proposed that he shall be country pensated for these sacrifices, (besides his exemption from the expense of maintaining the individuals thus made free,) must be regarded as consisting in the deliverance which the successful operation of the plan may be expected to bring him, from the obloquy and insecurity to which he is at present exposed, and the increased value which his property will acquire after the establishment of the new system.

We shall not at present venture to express our opinion as to how far the above division of the gain and loss may be regarded as a fair apportionment. Upon this head nothing can be certainly advanced, until the details of the measure shall have been discussed and settled. As yet it can be said to exist only in outline. We will add, however, a few words as to one of the leading principles of the plan, which has been somewhat violently attacked.

Of the three parties we have mentioned, the first, namely, the public or the nation, are unquestionably the authors of

the evil to be redressed, and ought, therefore, it may be said, in strict justice to bear the whole cost of its removal. And were it only for the purpose of relieving them of a part of this charge, that it was proposed to pay a portion of the master's claim by the labour of the negroes for twelve years longer, we should certainly not be prepared to defend that arrangement. But if we rightly understand the government plan, this is not the object, or at least the principal object, of the enactment in question. It is plain that this most difficult subject, embarrassed as it is by a multitude of considerations both of right and of expediency, cannot be surrendered to the domination of any single principle, but must be treated with a reference to all the conflicting interests that have become mixed up in it, and settled, if at all, only in the way of mutual concession and compromise. It would neither be practicable nor just for the government to attempt any other mode of managing it. It would be an experiment pregnant with danger to the interests, not of some of the parties concerned, but of all. Suppose, for instance, that what is called the indefeasible claim of the negro to his liberty were alone to be looked to. You have no right to keep these men under restraint for another hour, upon any pretence whatever: you have no such right, even on the plea that you do so for their good. You are not entitled to sit or judge respecting what is for their good. Arguing the matter merely upon the abstract rights of man, the only question is, what do they themselves feel and wish? Would you allow *them* to impose any restraint upon you on their conviction that they were thereby doing you a service, or protecting you from a danger? We should scout such a pretension, and justly insist upon being allowed to judge for ourselves. On the principle of the rights of man, the negro is equally entitled to do the same. He is entitled, in other words, not only to his freedom, as soon as you shall conscientiously believe it safe and for his own interest that he should be made free, but, if he wishes it, to his freedom immediately, and without reference to any apprehensions of yours, however conscientious or disinterested. If you are to go simply upon the rights of man, you are not more justified in imposing yourself upon him as his guardian than as his driver.

But all this only shows the absurdity of attempting to combat the difficulties of a great political question with the armour of this schoolboy metaphysics. Let the doctrine of the rights of man say what it will, there are few people in their sound senses who will be ready to consent to liberate the West Indian negroes by a mere proclamation of 'Slaves! be free!' Those among us who are most anxious for the extinction, and if possible the instant extinction, of the state of slavery, would hardly demand that the bondsman of the last moment should be the entirely-unrestricted freeman of the next. The apprehension might, after all, by possibility, be an unfounded one; but all rational persons would consent to a certain extent, in this case, upon the supposition that they are to judge if at once released from all his existing appear that such a class would be in some danger of making considerably during his customary bondage; and that both himself and others would be an unfortunate increase has even the effect of suffering terrible crease of the population by his imprudence would be generally, for instance, thought increase of minors in such an event, against the chance however, that a considerable portion of the West India islands being thrown is apparent on them administration by the land being allowed to lie uncultivated, crimes that for a single year, even although the regulations neither be necessary to avert that calamity should trench somebe the in the absolute freedom of the emancipated negroes. more two evils, the less would be submitted to in order to evil the greater.

But the moment that this mode of proceeding is adopted, the principle of mere abstract right is relinquished, and that of expediency is taken as the rule. So it is in the present plan. It is true, that, on the doctrine of the equal rights of all men, you are not entitled to retain these negroes another day, either in a state of slavery or in a state of apprenticeship; but you take the liberty of looking to other considerations as well as to this,—to the security, for instance, of the property of the planters, and to the benefit of the negroes themselves. With a reference to these two objects, it is proposed that the emancipation of the slave shall not be immediate, but gradual; that he shall have to work his way up to his new state of freedom through a period of considerable length, in the course of which both he and his master may have ample opportunity to prepare for the changed condition of things to which they are both to be transferred. But this delay, we are bound to add, will be altogether useless for its professed purpose, in so far as the benefit of the slave is concerned, and will be only a cruel prolongation of his servitude for no justifiable end whatever, unless adequate measures shall, in the mean time, be taken to turn these years to account in the improvement of his moral and intellectual nature. Unless this use shall be made of the interval, the general emancipation, with which it is proposed that it shall close, might as well take place now. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we observe the intimation with which the announcement of the government plan concludes, to the effect that means will be taken to establish, in the colonies to which this great measure relates, "a general system of religious and moral education." For the reasons we have stated, we hope this system will be of such a nature as to comprehend the instruction not only of the emancipated child, but also of his nearly equally ignorant and still unliberated parent.

PROPOSED NEW LAWS RELATING TO DRAMATIC LITERARY PROPERTY AND THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES.

IT would be difficult to conceive anything more absurd or more unjust than our present law of literary property, in so far as the drama is concerned. In all other cases, the admitted principle is, that the property of a thing and the right of using it are in the person by whom it has been created. Sometimes this right is granted with, sometimes without, limitation; but there is no other instance, we believe, in which the benefit of anything having an exchangeable or pecuniary value is taken from him by whose labour or ingenuity the article was produced, and transferred to another party, who has only had the trouble of seizing upon it. Yet this is the manner in which the law treats the writer of a play. His work, as soon as it issues from the press, may be taken possession of by any theatrical manager who chooses to try the speculation, and employed by him in nearly all respects as if it had been the produce of his own brain, or had been purchased by his own money. He cannot, indeed, (at least immediately,) print and sell another edition of it on his own account; but he can turn it to profit in a way which is commonly much more productive. What can be made by the sale of the printed copies is what the law, in its wisdom and liberality, allots to the author; the remainder of the productive value of the piece belongs, it says, no more to him than it does to anybody else. The hardship in this is in every way grievous. If the play is what a play ought to be, it will be something adapted essentially and principally for exhibition on the stage; it will be dependent, in a main degree, for its effect upon the illusions of the theatre and the presence of an audience; it will be only half felt and enjoyed by him who peruses it in his closet. The money return, therefore, of such a production will be derived in great part from its representation. This is not an imaginary case; it is one which has often happened.

But suppose that the drama, as sometimes happens, shall not have been written specially for representation, and that the author, conscious that it is not adapted for the stage, gives it to the world rather as a dramatic poem than as a play, and proclaims his aversion to its being acted. His aversion is all that he can express; it is not in his power to issue his prohibition. The players, induced by the notoriety of his name, or by some similar consideration, lay their hands upon the unfortunate production, and he can no more protect it from their grasp than if he had not any right of property in it whatever. It receives the unsuitable honour of being acted, probably only to be followed by the disgrace of failure and condemnation. This also has actually happened. The operation of the law here, it will be observed, inflicts a positive injury upon the author, and is, therefore, still more oppressive and iniquitous than in the former case, in which it only deprives him of a right.

All this arises from the error of not giving to the author of a dramatic composition the same property in his production which is recognized in the case of every other producer. He is undoubtedly entitled to claim that another party shall not be permitted to make a profit by the use of what he has created, without his consent. Nobody is allowed to print his play but himself; why should any one be allowed to act it, and thus to appropriate what is, in almost all cases, by far the greater part of its commercial value?

A bill, having for its object the correction of this glaring defect in the law, has this session been introduced into Par-

liament, and has already passed the House of Commons. It provides that no play, which may be written from this time forward, and also no one which has been printed within the last seven years, shall be produced on any theatre, without leave obtained in writing from the author, for a period of twenty-eight years from the date of its first publication, nor for so many years beyond that term as the author shall live. This is the same extent of protection which the legislature has already thought proper to grant to authors against the piracy of their works by the press. A penalty of 50*l.*, which may be reduced by the Judge to 10*l.*, with double costs, is affixed to every infringement of the regulation. The action must be brought within twelve months from the date of the offence.

Another bill, of great importance in relation to this subject, has also been brought into the House of Commons, entitled "A Bill for Licensing Theatres, and for the Regulation of Dramatic Performances in the cities of London and Westminster, and within a certain distance thereof." At present, as is well known, the only theatres licensed in the metropolis, for the performance of what is called the regular drama, are those of Drury Lane and Covent Garden for eight months in the year, and that of the Haymarket for the remaining four. In other words, the number of theatres, open for the representation of comedies and tragedies during the principal theatrical season, is still just the same as it was at the Restoration, or nearly two hundred years ago, although the population of London has at least *doubled* since then, and its extent been increased in even a higher ratio. The object of the present bill is to rectify this state of things, by giving to the Lord Chamberlain the power of licensing additional theatres in London and Westminster, and within a circuit of twenty miles around these cities; or, rather, making it compulsory upon him to grant a licence to every establishment within that space, which shall adduce certain specified recommendations in support of its claim. Of these required conditions, the principal is, that the application shall not be opposed by a majority of the contiguous proprietors, who are defined to be all persons, residing not farther than a quarter of a mile from the building, who have the privilege of voting at the election of a member of Parliament. The licence is to be renewed annually. It is proposed that, on the institution of this new system, an end shall be put to the power, at present exercised by justices of the peace, of licensing theatres for certain descriptions of entertainments in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; but all those houses which are open under such authority at present, are immediately to receive new and more unrestricted licences from the Lord Chamberlain. The second part of the bill gives to that officer the same right of superintendence over the performances at all the houses to be licensed under the new system, as he has at present over those which take place at the two patent theatres. That is to say, no new piece is to be represented without first being submitted to his inspection, and having obtained his sanction as containing nothing either immoral, profane, or seditious. Persons contravening any prohibition which he may issue against the performance of an objectionable play, may be sent to prison for six months by any two justices of the peace within whose jurisdiction the theatre may be situate.

There are several of the enactments in this latter bill which may probably give rise to some discussion, and which may be considerably modified before it becomes a law. But some legislative provision, embracing at least its principal object, the breaking up of the monopoly of the two patent theatres, is imperatively required. In addition to the argument, already noticed, derived from the vast extension of the metropolis since that monopoly was established, there are various other pressing reasons which demand this reform. Let us mention only one more. The attempt to make the same number of two theatres serve for the London of the present day which served for that of the seventeenth century, has led to an extension of each house, altogether incompatible with the effective performance, at least, of the higher drama. But it is the interest created by this high drama alone that can ever give to the theatre anything like an empire over the national mind. Banish that from your boards, and the playhouse becomes merely one among the multitude of places of entertainment, with nothing national about it more than any other show. The true love of the drama languishes and dies among the population! It loses altogether its old character of a high intellectual banquet. All its power over the imagination, and the deeper and more permanent fountains of feeling and reflection, is gone. It is resorted to as the mere amusement of a listless or vacant hour, and with the expectation that the senses shall be gratified at least as much as the intellect. It is, in short, a disenchanted thing; like a rich shrine to which devotees have ceased to crowd, and which is only visited by successive companies of the curious and the worldly, who come to feed their eyes on the glare of its gold and jewellery.

BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE JEWS.

ANOTHER great triumph of the principle of religious liberty, in addition to those of the emancipation of the Catholics, and the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, is likely soon to be achieved in parliament, by the repeal of the disabilities affecting the Jews. The resolution in favour of this measure, agreed to by the House of Commons on the 18th of April, was to the effect, "that it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions that are provided with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion;" and the bill which has since been brought in, and the second reading of which took place on the 22d of the last month, merely contains the enactments necessary to secure the object thus announced. It is proposed, that from the passing of the act it shall be lawful for the persons to whom it refers, "to have and enjoy all such and the same civil rights, franchises, and privileges, and to hold, exercise, and possess such and the same offices, places, emoluments, trusts and confidences, as the subjects of his Majesty professing the Roman Catholic religion are now by law able and competent to have, enjoy, hold, exercise, and possess, and under the same restrictions." They are to take the same oaths on being admitted to sit and vote in parliament, and on being appointed to any office under the crown, which are required by the late relief act to be taken by Catholics on the like occasions; with this difference, that, in the declaration substituted in room of the sacramental test, the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" shall be omitted. The incapacities to which they are to continue liable are also the same with those to which Catholics are still subjected; the chief of these being inability to hold the offices of Lord High Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any office in the established churches or the universities.

In 1752, a bill was brought into parliament, and passed through both houses almost without opposition, for permitting persons professing the Jewish religion, who had resided in Great Britain or Ireland for three years, to be naturalized without taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Every Jew actually born in Great Britain, it is to be observed, was already naturalized independently of this new law; so that what it proposed to effect was in reality as small a matter as it is easy to conceive. The few Jews born abroad who, under its operation, would have been admitted denizens of the kingdom, would not thereby have acquired a single privilege beyond those of their brethren who happened to be the King's natural born subjects. All the disabilities affecting persons professing the Jewish religion would still have attached to them as well as to the rest. The only possible effect, therefore, of the law would have been to add a few more individuals to a class already existing among us to the number of several thousands.

Yet seldom has any political question excited such a ferment in England as did the passing of this bill. The people were plied with pamphlets, sermons, and other inflammatory appeals upon the subject, till they were persuaded that the ruin of the constitution and of the country was certain to be the speedy consequence of the step the legislature had taken. No prognostication of the tendency and necessary results of the new law was too absurd to be gravely proclaimed, and to obtain ready and extensive acquiescence. It was alleged, for instance, that, with their early marriages, the Jews, under the encouragement about to be given them, would increase at such a rate as in no long time to form a body in a high degree dangerous to the commonwealth from its numerical force. Another favourite topic was that, whether their numbers increased or not, they would certainly soon draw to themselves all the trade of the kingdom. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, presented a petition to parliament against the bill, in which they expressed their strong apprehensions that, if passed into a law, it would place the constitution in jeopardy. After it had passed, many of the other corporations through-

out the country followed this wise example. Public meetings were held in most of the boroughs and counties, and resolutions voted calling upon the members to get the law repealed. So perseveringly, in short, were the clamour and agitation continued, that it was at length deemed expedient to yield to it; and the law was actually repealed the following session.

No class of persons have ever endured so general and so long-continued a persecution as have the Jews. It has been their lot to be subjected to all the degradation and oppression that contempt and hatred could inflict in almost every nation in which they have sojourned, and alike by the adherents of all the other great systems of theological belief. Sects opposed to each other in almost every other point of doctrine and feeling have united in trampling upon this unhappy race. In this particular, Roman Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Mahometans, have pursued with equal zeal the same course. In Turkey, in Spain and Portugal, in France, in Germany, in England, the Jew has been looked upon not merely as an alien, but almost as an outcast from the great human family, and often treated as if he possessed neither the feelings nor the form of man. In some cases, indeed, the treatment so far vindicated the notion from which it sprung as to produce, in a certain degree, that very result. The physical structure of the Jew, when allowed to develop itself freely and in favourable circumstances, has always manifested eminent activity, strength, and elegance; this, for instance, is its character generally in both sexes in Poland, where for a long time the race has enjoyed a degree of consideration which it has scarcely anywhere else attained. But in most of the European capitals a Jew used to be distinguishable by his feeble and stunted appearance; and probably in many places this is still, to a considerable extent, the case. Ages of persecution had dwarfed and withered the race; and no doubt the debasement and suffering they have had to endure have not passed over them without leaving some of their noxious effects upon their moral nature as well as upon their physical.

There is one thing which makes the dislike and hostility which Christians have so long displayed to the Jews peculiarly discreditable to the former. It appears to have been originally excited in a great measure by envy of the Jew's superiority in learning, science, the arts of life, and all the constituents of civilization. It was in the darkest night of what are called the middle ages, that the persecution of this ill-fated people by Christian states commenced, and was carried on with the greatest rage and cruelty. During this period they were the most cultivated inhabitants of Europe. In England they appear to have existed in considerable numbers some centuries before the Conquest; but the first general plunder and massacre of them of which we read, took place towards the close of the twelfth century, in the reign of Richard I. During the hundred years that followed, similar outbreakings of the popular fury, generally excited and aided by the public authorities, were frequently repeated, till at last, in 1290, Edward I. completed the work by seizing upon all estates in the hands of Jews, and banishing every individual of that denomination from the kingdom. The Jews, as is well known, remained excluded from England, till they were re-admitted, in 1655, by Cromwell,—not without vehement remonstrances against the measure from the prejudice of that day,—the remains of the old popular feeling, which nearly four centuries of the cessation of all irritation from the presence of its objects had not been able to extinguish. Englishmen could not, even at that distance of time, forgive the Jew that his forefathers had been distinguished by talents, knowledge, and wealth, when theirs were ignorant, rude, and poor,—that the former had acquired property to be plundered, at an era when the latter could boast of nothing except the numerical force which enabled them to effect the spoliation.

It is time that this unworthy jealousy should cease, and that even its last faint traces should be obliterated. Since the Christian has succeeded to that superiority which was formerly the distinction of the Jew, the ancient aversion, as is natural, has become greatly mitigated. The Hebrew race has been amply repaid for the decline of its old social consequence, by the freedom from molestation which, in its comparative obscurity, it now enjoys. There is no reason, of any force that we can see, against adding to this release from actual oppression the other boon of political emancipation. The number of Jews at present in England is not supposed to amount to more than between twenty and thirty thousand; and the notion, therefore, of danger to any of our institutions, either in church or state, from the abolition of disabilities affecting so mere a handful of the population, is quite out of the question.

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN.

No. II.

Country Banking in England.

Country banks began to be formed in England after the middle of last century,—a time when the inhabitants of our provincial towns slowly but perceptibly increased their numbers. The chief causes of increase were the improvement of turnpike roads, the extension of canals, and the diffusion of the cotton and iron manufactures. There was no obstacle to the establishment of a bank in any town, except the attendant expense; if that could be defrayed by the paper circulated, and the accompanying agency, a partnership was formed, and notes were engraved and issued in the name of the firm. The lowest sum on a bank note, at that time as at present, was 5*l*. Country banks thus continued to increase. They met, like other mercantile establishments, with a severe check in the sudden transition from peace to war in 1793; but most of them recovered from the shock, and their number throughout England was computed at 280 in 1797. In that year leave was given to them, as well as to the metropolitan bank, to issue 1*l*. and 2*l*. bank notes. This privilege was coupled with the equally important one of not paying their notes in cash. From this period there was a surprising extension in the business of country banks; in the seventeen years between 1797 and 1814, their number was more than trebled, for in the latter year it exceeded 900. Then, indeed, came a time of severe trial. In the course of three years (1814, 1815, 1816) there were no less than ninety insolvents among country banks, followed by an equal number of dissolutions of partnership. The number of country banks throughout England was now between 7 and 800: in the year of speculation, 1825, it increased, but was soon brought down by the heavy failures of that and the following year. To this was added the forced recall of the small notes in 1829. Since this time, several country banks have dissolved partnership, the total number in England last year being reduced to 636.

Country banking has had a comparatively small share of the attention of parliament. Fourteen years ago the Committee on the Resumption of Cash Payments was altogether at a loss to form an opinion of the amount of country bank notes in circulation. They conjectured that it might exceed twenty millions sterling: but they could make no satisfactory estimate of the occasional variations in the amount, because they had no means of judging except by returns from the Stamp-office. This was a very uncertain criterion, since the same stamps might remain in circulation three, four, or five years. Last year, however, a Mr. Burgess, Secretary to the Society of Country Bankers who meet in London, gave to the Committee on the Bank of England Charter some useful information in regard to the variations, or rather the comparative steadiness in the circulation of country bank paper, for the fluctuation proved to be less than had been previously supposed. Take, for instance, the eight years from 1818 to 1825, a period first of declining, afterwards of increasing business. During the first six years of the eight, there was a decrease in the amount of country bank notes of about 2 per cent. annually; while in the two remaining years, (1824 and 1825,) the increase amounted to 7 per cent. each year, leaving very nearly the same sum in circulation at the end as at the beginning of the period.

Security from Country Bankers.

The great defect in the system of country banking in England hitherto has been the want of security to the public. Any partnership of individuals, not exceeding six in number, could exercise the important privilege of issuing notes in provincial towns and districts, without giving a guarantee of their ability to pay them. The history of commerce does not exhibit so gross an anomaly. Yet in consequence, at one time, of the dependence of government on the Bank of England,—at another, of the unacquaintance of men in office with the principles of banking,—this abuse has been allowed to continue until the present day. The expiration of the Bank of England Charter prevents any further toleration of it, and renders it incumbent on government to provide for the security of the public.

Ministers are, doubtless, desirous to preserve to private banks the connexion and the business they have taken so many years to acquire; but while they keep that in view, they will be under the necessity of considering that persons possessing the important privilege of issuing bank notes ought to lodge undoubted security somewhere, so as to remove all question of their responsibility. Such a measure has not yet been proposed to country bankers; but they have anticipated its discussion, and have found it to involve the following considerations. Country banks in England serve, as in Scotland, as a medium for the transfer of money from one class of persons to another. From those who have money to lend, they receive deposits and pay interest at 3 per cent.; while to those who stand in need of advances, they lend money at an interest of 4 or 5 per cent., the difference forming their profit. Now the depositors, say the country bankers, are their most valuable customers; they are the select friends of the partnership, and ought certainly not to rank second, in point of security, to those of the public who happen (frequently by accident) to be holders of their notes. This argument has some claim to attention; but it should be borne in mind that there is an essential distinction between the position of a depositor in a country bank, and a holder of its notes. The one makes an election without any control: he believes in the security of the bank, and he lends his money to it. The other is, to a certain degree, compelled to take the notes; for, if they constitute any large portion of the currency of a district, an individual cannot refuse to receive them, without the most serious inconvenience. The workman might, in the event of such a refusal, be deprived of employment, and the shopkeeper of customers. Let us hope, therefore, that it will be found practicable to obtain security from country bankers or their sureties, without depriving them of any great part of their capital. Various kinds of security would be eligible, funded property; mortgages on land and houses; and, to a certain extent, personal bonds, might answer the purpose of government.

Chartering Country Banks in England.

We come next to a question which, like the requisition of security from bankers, ought long since to have engaged the attention of government;—the granting of charters to the principal country banks in England, as was done above a century ago to those of Scotland.

The origin of this most unfortunate defect in our banking system was as follows. So long ago as the year 1708, a joint-stock association, called the Mine Adventure Company, began to issue promissory notes, payable to bearer, like those of the Bank of England: on which the latter, having made a very opportune advance of money to government, obtained an act of parliament to the effect that "it should not be lawful for any body corporate, or any persons whatsoever, united in partnerships exceeding the number of six persons, to issue any notes payable on demand;" in short, that no bank for circulating notes, except the Bank of England, should have more than six partners.

The metropolitan bank, bearing from the first the name of Bank of England (not Bank of London), might allege, in some degree, a claim to a circulation of its notes throughout the kingdom, and a right to restrict the business of country bankers. Had it been made incumbent on the latter to give security for their issues, the interest of the public would have been provided for, and the Bank of England could hardly have complained of the grant of charters; but to limit all country banks to six partners, was to deprive them of a stable foundation; permitting them, indeed, to circulate notes, but providing that these notes should be of secondary credit.

At the time this enactment took place, and for many years after, the extent of injury arising from it was not perceived, because there were few country banks in England, and, of course, few failures among them; but, during the last half-century, the case has been very different. After the year 1770, a progressive increase took place in the cotton and iron manufactures. The extension of our town population brought an addition to the number of provincial banks. Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Norwich, Hull, all became populous. This increase continued during the ten years of peace that followed 1783, a period of prosperity and general content. But the sudden check given to trade by the war of 1793, fell directly on country banks, and brought but too clearly into view the perhicious effect of the act which forbade their having a sufficient number of partners. Twenty-two country banks declared their insolvency in the course of one year. Yet so little attention did government bestow on the subject, and so wholly was the consideration of the Bank of England directors confined to their own establishment, that the unfortunate limitation to six partners was again inserted in the Bank of England Charter, when renewed in 1800. This insertion was productive, as might have been foreseen, of new scenes of embarrassment: in 1810, twenty country banks stopped payment; in 1812, seventeen; while, in 1814, 1815, 1816, the average number was nearly thirty. Lastly, in the two years 1825 and 1826, the failures of country banks amounted to no less than eighty. Now, amidst all these stoppages in England, not a single bank proved insolvent in Scotland; in consequence certainly not of greater prudence or greater wealth in that part of the kingdom, but of the non-existence of the limitation in question, and the consequent power of the banks to admit a sufficient number of partners.

The approaching expiration of the Bank of England Charter affords the opportunity, which has been so long neglected, of chartering country banks. Should such a salutary principle be adopted, it would be important to declare that partners in such banks shall be liable for only a specific sum, at the rate, perhaps, of 200*l.* for each 100*l.* share they may hold. This exemption from unlimited responsibility would have the best effect on men of property. It would induce both the landholder and retired capitalist to become shareholders in such banks.

Small Notes of Country Bankers.

In 1797, when leave was given to the Bank of England to circulate small notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.*, the same privilege was conferred on country bankers, and continued to be exercised by both until 1821. In that year the small notes of the Bank of England ceased to be issued, their place being supplied by sovereigns. In regard to the small notes of country bankers, the case would have been the same, had not that been a year of agricultural distress. At that time witnesses were examined, and an elaborate report was made on the subject by a committee of the House of Commons. The prices of corn and cattle continued equally low the year after, and led to such complaints from the landed interest, that ministers could not refuse their request, that the small notes of country bankers should continue to have currency some time longer. A clause to that effect was introduced into an act of parliament, and small notes continued, much more than sovereigns, to be the circulating medium of country districts during the years 1823, 1824, 1825. An opinion then became prevalent, that the extravagant speculations of the last of these years had been fostered by the too ready issue of small notes on the part of country bankers; and early in the session of 1826 an act was passed for their being called in in the course of three years. This act was passed almost by acclamation. The considerations that are alleged, and with some reason, for the re-issue of small notes, are the following:—

1. Notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* are a currency for petty payments or purchases; not for speculation in either buying or selling.

2. There was no speculation of consequence in corn or other country produce during 1824 and 1825; they were almost the only articles exempt from the *mania* of the day.

3. Country bankers cannot, as the governor of the bank informed the parliamentary committee of last year, maintain a larger issue of notes than the wants of their districts require: they issue only on demand, and the extent of the demand depends on the prices current in their neighbourhood at the time.

4. Excitement and speculation may be carried to a great height in countries devoid of small notes, and, even in some measure, of bank paper; witness the case of France in 1830. At that time credit was so extended, and bill transactions had been so multiplied in France, that the re-action in trade consequent on the troubles in Paris and Brussels was most serious and long-continued; and was hardly inferior to the re-action in England in 1826.

Three years elapsed between passing the act for calling in the small notes and their actual recall. On the appointment last year of a committee on banking affairs, it was expected that a re-issue of the small notes of country bankers would be called for by several of the persons examined. Little, however, was said on the subject, the witnesses considering that in the event of a commercial alarm the chief trouble to the bankers would arise from the hum

bler classes, who are commonly the holders of small notes. If country banks in England were to be put upon a solid footing, uniting security and public accommodation, the recurrence of alarm would be prevented. If, however, it should still be thought expedient to prevent the issue of small notes, attention should be given to the point of making 5*l.* and 10*l.* notes of the Bank of England a legal tender, and thus enabling country bankers to pay small sums in such notes instead of gold. This would be a considerable accommodation to country banks, who are at present obliged (see evidence of Henry Burgess) to keep nearly half the amount of their circulation in gold. Of Bank of England notes a much smaller proportion would suffice, satisfied as the partners would be, that when a supply was wanted they would have merely to send for it to the neighbouring branch of the Bank of England. The plan of making 5*l.* and 10*l.* Bank of England notes a legal tender, is advised by several witnesses examined before the late committee;—men who never issue notes, and have consequently no interest in the question, such as Mr. Tooke, the Russia merchant; Messrs. Glyn and Grote, the London bankers; Mr. Norman, the Bank of England Director; and others. The effect of improvements in banking is, to reduce the charge of discount to the public. Such would be the consequence of the proposed measure, and it would have the farther advantage of rendering the Bank of England the place of deposit for metallic currency for the kingdom at large. The directors would then know, much more distinctly than at present, the amount for which they would have to provide in case of adverse exchanges.

Branch Banks of the Bank of England.

These form the latest appendage to the great establishment in Threadneedle Street. The towns in which branch banks have as yet been established are

Manchester,	Bristol,	Exeter,
Liverpool,	Newcastle on Tyne,	Hull,
Birmingham,	Gloucester,	Norwich.
Leeds,	Swansea,	

It was in the year 1826 that the Bank of England began to establish these branches, at the suggestion, it was said, of the late Lord Liverpool, and for the purpose of lessening the inconvenience and loss arising from the frequent discredit of country banks. The branches were not expected to be productive of profit to the Bank of England, nor have they proved so.

In laying down regulations for their branch banks, the Bank of England directors have carefully avoided interfering with the business of country bankers. Their agents at the branches allow no interest on money deposited with them, nor do they permit any one to overdraw his account. The latter is occasionally done by private bankers, and generally without risk, in consequence of the intimate knowledge they have of the affairs of their customers. The branches further consult the convenience of the neighbouring bankers by supplying them with gold when required, and by lending at the moderate interest of 3 per cent. Bank of England notes to those bankers who think fit to use them instead of notes of their own. As yet, however, few bankers have thought fit to withdraw their notes from circulation, being under an impression that their respectability in the eyes of their neighbours would be lessened by the withdrawal, and by substituting Bank of England notes in their place. A branch bank is further useful in a large town like Leeds, in receiving gold from the bankers who happen to hold more than they require, and in supplying gold to those who stand in need of it. Lastly, branch banks are useful for the safe transmission of money from a country town to London, or *vice versâ*, the rule being to take charge of such payments at the branch bank without any expense but postage. It is fit to add, that the Bank of England, after having agreed, on the deposit of certain securities to advance a sum of money to a country bank, has not, under any circumstances, contracted such credits. The stamps and other charges on the notes of a country banker cost from 1 to 2 per cent. annually on the amount of his circulation; so that several persons believe it would be a public advantage, that the bank paper in circulation were almost wholly of the Bank of England.

Of the whole paper-money of the Bank of England, about three-fourths are in circulation in the metropolis, and its district; the remaining fourth in country parts, particularly in Lancashire.

Banking in Scotland.

From the mixed picture presented by country banks in England it is gratifying to turn to those of the northern part of the island, however inferior to the southern in wealth and population. The contrast affords one more example, that the distress which has at different times pressed so heavily on England is, in several points, the result of our own mismanagement, and would not on any occasion have reached such a height, had country banking been left to its natural course. The distinction between the two countries hitherto has been, that the one has possessed great capital without freedom in the mode of employing it; the other a limited capital with complete liberty in its appropriation. Hence a stability almost uninterrupted in its banking establishments; no alarms, no runs, such as prevailed in England to so fatal an extent in 1793, 1814, and 1825.

Lord Liverpool, in one of his speeches against the use of small notes, adverted to the state of France in the years 1814 and 1815; "though twice invaded and overrun, there was," said his lordship, "no panic in the public mind as to money, because, the currency was not small notes, but gold and silver." We have here an example of the mistakes into which even a well-informed mind is apt to fall when eager in a particular argument. Had Scotland the misfortune to be invaded, the inhabitants would not question the solvency of their banks, but would consider their money safer there than in their own custody. And in England, alarm, when it occurs, arises not from the currency being in paper, but from the banks being of insufficient capital, in consequence of the unfortunate restriction as to partners.

The amount of bank paper circulated in Scotland is between three and four millions, of which more than half are in notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* The number of banks in Scotland which issue notes is thirty, of which the three principal hold charters; viz.

The Bank of Scotland, established in 1695; capital progressively augmented to 1,500,000*l.*, its present amount.

The Royal Bank, established in 1727; capital 1,500,000*l.*

The British Linen Company, incorporated in 1746; capital 500,000*l.*

Of the other banking companies in Scotland, several have a great number of partners; to the extent of two, three, four, or even five hundred; but as they act without charters, each partner is liable to the extent of his property. The management is uniformly in a body of directors chosen by the shareholders. These often conduct business at small profit to themselves or the bank. But insolvency on the part of a Scotch bank is extremely rare. Where the transactions are extensive, the number of partners affords complete security; and where the partners are few, the concern is, in general, very prudently managed.

Notes of 1*l.* have been issued in Scotland during more than a century, being suitable to a country which at that time was poor and thinly peopled. In 1826, when parliament called in small notes in England, a similar attempt was made in regard to Scotland; but a committee being called for by the Scots members, the result was a determination in nowise to interfere with the existing system in that part of the island. Ireland preserved her small notes in like manner. It is customary with banks in Scotland to give what they term "cash credits," that is, to make advances of money on receiving personal security from the friends of the borrower. An individual, whether engaged in trade or farming, finds two neighbours or relations, of fair character and circumstances, who become his guarantees to a bank, to the extent of 500*l.*, or any given sum. The money is forthwith advanced by the bank, and an account opened with the party, in which he receives credit for the sums, however small, which it may suit him to pay from time to time in reduction of his debt. The persons receiving this accommodation are generally industrious and respectable, otherwise their relations or neighbours would hardly become responsible for them.

Another custom of banks in Scotland has a title to unqualified approbation; we mean that of allowing interest even on small deposits. They perform the part of saving-banks on a large scale. The depositors are very frequently mechanics or humble tradesmen; yet the aggregate of the sums so deposited in the different banks to the north of the Tweed, is said (Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Banking, in 1826,) to amount to twenty millions. A similar service is rendered in various parts of England by

country banks. But in Scotland it is an established practice; and the depositors are wholly free from anxiety, there not being one example in a century of money being lost by confiding it to a bank.

Banking in Ireland.

The history of country banking in the sister island may be termed a bad epitome of that of England, the same faults, unhappily, having been committed, and the evil arising from them having been much more conspicuous. It is now half a century since there was established in Dublin a national bank, with privileges similar to those of the Bank of England, and containing most unfortunately in its charter a clause, that "no other bank issuing notes should consist of more than six partners." This was, doubtless, inserted on the part of the Bank of Ireland to give it a monopoly of the circulation.

In a country so advanced in civilization and trade as England, the defects of public institutions are frequently neutralized by the prudence and reflection of individuals; but in Ireland, an agricultural country, with comparatively little experience in trade, the case was very different, and the delicate business of banking has been conducted in provincial towns with very little method or judgment. What has been the consequence of that and of the unfortunate limitation to six partners? The failure of one bank after another, so that out of a total of fifty country banks in Ireland, no less than forty have stopped payment; and of these ten failed in one year, viz. 1820, all in the southern part of the island.

The exemption from paying in cash granted to the Bank of England in 1797, was extended in that year to Ireland, and led forthwith to a great increase in the circulation of bank paper. From little more than half a million sterling in 1796, the circulation of the Bank of Ireland was carried by the end of the war in 1815 to three millions. At present it is twice that amount, and the income of the bank is large, —the rate of discount charged by it being higher by 1 per cent. than in London or Edinburgh.

In the north of Ireland banking is better understood than in the south, and in 1825 a joint-stock bank was formed at Belfast with a capital of half a million, under the title of the Northern Banking Company. In the same year there was established in London the Provincial Bank of Ireland, with the large capital of two millions, subscribed chiefly in London. That great establishment has since appointed in all the chief towns of Ireland branch banks, which have been of the greatest service to the public, and supply the void caused by the unfortunate failure of the local banks. Happily the Provincial Bank and the Bank of Ireland carry on their business in perfect harmony, their agents at the different towns giving cash for the notes of either bank indiscriminately.

The amount of the bank paper current in Ireland on account of the Provincial Bank and the Northern Banking Company is between two and three millions. The charter of the Bank of Ireland extends to the year 1838, and the restriction as to six partners cannot be removed from country banks before that time, except by a special arrangement between government and the Bank of Ireland. The capital of the latter is 3,000,000*l.*

Savings' Banks.

Our view of the Banking System of Great Britain would be incomplete, if it did not comprehend a slight notice of those admirable institutions for the safe deposit of the accumulations of the humbler classes, the Savings' Banks. The political impostors, who, in their ignorance or roguery, confound the ideas of currency and capital, denounce Savings' Banks as withdrawing so much from the circulating medium as the deposits represent in money. This attempt at delusion comes too late. The people know that what is accumulated in Savings' Banks is so much capital saved from unproductive consumption;—and they know, in the same way, that if the Birmingham, or any other currency fanatic, could be allowed, to-morrow, to coin as many notes as he pleased, not a penny would be added to the national riches. On some future occasion we may return to this subject. In the mean time we give the following Summary of Savings' Banks in England, Wales, and Ireland, for 1832; with the increase (*i*) and decrease (*d*) as compared with 1833.—

Summary of Savings' Banks in England, Wales, and Ireland.

	England.		Wales.		Ireland.		Total for England, Wales, and Ireland.	
No. of Depositors under £20 each	195,035	8,698 *i*	5,186	69 *i*	18,945	1,925 *i*	219,166	10,692 *i*
" Depositors under 50....	102,536	688 *i*	3,234	80 *d*	12,991	2,145 *i*	118,761	2,753 *i*
" Depositors under 100....	47,903	139 *i*	1,296	23 *i*	4,622	300 *i*	53,821	462 *i*
" Depositors under 150....	17,031	150 *d*	384	2 *i*	982	68 *i*	18,397	80 *d*
" Depositors under 200....	7,908	282 *i*	177	25 *i*	293	69 *i*	8,378	375 *i*
" Depositors above 200....	3,756	455 *d*	97	1 *d*	65	2 *d*	3,918	448 *d*
Total No. of Depositors.....	374,169	9,212 *i*	10,374	39 *i*	37,898	4,505 *i*	422,441	13,754 *i*
" Friendly Societies..	4,162	71 *i*	167	6 *i*	234	66 *i*	4,563	143 *i*
" Charitable Societies.	1,996	216 *i*	53	15 *i*	347	79 *i*	2,396	310 *i*
Total No. of Accounts.....	380,327	9,499 *i*	10,594	60 *i*	38,479	4,650 *i*	429,400	14,207 *i*
Total Amount of Investments... £	12,916,028	3,597 *d*	349,794	4,047 *d*	1,045,825	122,642 *i*	14,311,647	114,998 *i*
Average Amount of each Depositor	£32		£31		£26		£30	

Concluding Remarks.

We have now passed in review the principal events in the history of the Bank of England since it was first constituted, nearly 140 years ago. Throughout almost the whole of that long period the management of the persons intrusted with its direction has been marked by prudence and consideration. Confining themselves to the proper business of their establishment, they have looked steadily to a secure investment of their funds, satisfied with a moderate profit when assured of the safety of the principal. They have, all along, avoided taking part in speculative enterprise, however alluring the profit. The plausible scheme of traffic to the South Sea, above a century ago, was declined by them in the same manner as the no less plausible project of working the mines of Mexico was declined, in the year 1824. The great change in the situation of the bank took place after the exemption from cash payments in 1797. Extremes are always productive of injury, and this change added too largely to the profit of the bank—for it altered to rapid accumulation that gradual acquisition of property which had marked its transactions during a century. But even these augmented gains led to no imprudent adventure on the part of the directors. Their extended means continued to be applied to the same objects; to assist the mercantile body by discounts, and to facilitate to government the payment of its vast expenditure. Great errors, doubtless, were committed in carrying that expenditure to such a length, and in failing to consider that a day of reckoning and retribution must come; but these were considerations for ministers and the

parliament. The blame to be attributed to the Bank of England directors was applicable to many others during the war; to the great majority of our merchants and public men. It arose from deficient information in regard to trade and finance; for none of them appear to have profited by the lessons of history. Holland, a commercial state like England, had borne, a century earlier, the burden of resisting the power of France; but there was no distinct record of the manner in which evil had arisen to her from undue expenditure. The case was the same as to the injury arising to this country from the heavy charges attendant on the wars of 1756 and 1775. Historical writers give very imperfect views of the injury caused to productive industry by war and taxes; while our public seminaries present as yet but feeble means of instruction in that department, highly important as it is to the merchant, the member of parliament, and, above all, to a public minister. How vast a sacrifice might have been spared had either the members of the cabinet, or the directors of the Bank of England, been aware of the hazardous situation in which their paper circulation was placed after it ceased to be convertible into cash! Though it continued suitable for the payment of all public expenses at home, the case was very different in regard to expenditure abroad, the foreign exchanges being perpetually put to hazard by the payment of subsidies, or by keeping up troops in any great number on the continent. Had public men been aware of the insecure foundation of our circulating medium, they would have paused before beginning a second war in 1803, or forming a new coalition in 1805. They went on blindly, thinking that as our bank paper had stood its ground during several years, it would continue to do so; and they became alive to its insufficiency for foreign payments only when it was too late to recall their steps.

From these distressing errors in banking and finance, it is satisfactory to advert to the benefit arising from a legitimate and prudent use of public credit. If it present nothing brilliant or wonderful—nothing like what filled the imaginations of our countrymen above twenty years ago—it will be found to comprise much that is useful and substantial. To go back to a primitive age: the origin of banking is to be traced to a plain and obvious cause; the advantage of having a place of safe deposit for money, jewels, and other precious effects. Such was the earliest object of banks; but as the population and wealth of the towns or districts in which they were situated increased, they were made useful for other purposes; particularly for advances of money to government and individuals. In a country like England, where money and bill transactions are so frequent and on so large a scale, banks are of the greatest use, saving to merchants and others the trouble and risk of carrying sums of money from place to place, or of keeping them, at a degree of hazard, in a private house. The convenience arising from banking is most strongly felt when it happens to be for a season out of our reach. Those of our countrymen who have resided in France, have had ample opportunity of seeing, in the provincial towns, the inconvenience of carrying about silver in bags; and of having none but individual merchants, or rather dealers, to apply to for the discount of bills.

Large cities, like London, Paris, and Amsterdam, are remarkable for the subdivision of employment, and for the simple and economical form thereby given to the business of houses of the greatest capital and connexion. In no line is that more remarkable than in banking, particularly in London. No commission is charged on receipts or payments; nor is any interest allowed on deposits. The emolument of the banker arises from the use he may make of the money deposited with him by his connexions, or, as they are familiarly termed, his customers; a profit which must be small when interest is so low as it has been for several years; it can be great only by the extent of business done.

In former times bankers in London were accustomed to circulate their promissory notes like country bankers, but during fifty years and upwards they have relinquished that practice, and circulate only notes of the Bank of England. This was one important step towards simplifying, in other words improving, the business in the metropolis. The changes which require to be made in country banking will all tend to the same result; and will benefit the public, inasmuch as diminution of expense is always in the event a national benefit.

THE INQUEST ON ROBERT CULLEY.

THE verdict delivered within these few days by the coroner's jury, in the case of the policeman who met with his death at the late meeting in Coldbath-Fields, is even more transcendantly absurd than we had anticipated it would be from the previous proceedings of its authors. From the commencement of their labours, indeed, the persons to whom we are indebted for this new exposition of the law afforded us abundant means of perceiving how well qualified they were for the discharge of the duty which had devolved upon them; but we put the most charitable interpretation we could upon their various escapades, and certainly did not imagine that, when they came to perform the last and most solemn obligation of their oath, they would commit themselves by so tremendous a display of inconsiderate and presuming ignorance. It is well, however, as matters have turned out, that we have the whole of their conduct before us: nothing can be desired better calculated to neutralize the mischief of the verdict than the report of the inquest.

That extraordinary verdict is in the following terms:—"We find a verdict of *Justifiable Homicide* on these grounds,—That no riot act was read, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse; that the government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling; and that the conduct of the police was ferocious, brutal, and unprovoked by the people; and we, moreover, express our anxious hope, that the government will, in future, take better precautions to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful transactions in this metropolis."

Now, what a strange jumble, under the shape of an exposition of reasons, have we here. The slaughter of the policeman, it seems, was an act of justifiable homicide, because "the government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling." The persons who tell us this might as well have told us that the man was justifiably killed because Lord Althorp did not make what they deemed a good speech, a few evenings before, in the House of Commons. Supposing the government to deserve this charge of negligence or mismanagement, was that the fault of the policeman? Was he to be therefore considered as deprived of all right of protection, and subject to be put to death with impunity? The consequences of the general application of this principle would be somewhat new. Whenever it was conceived that an act of interference, legal in itself, had not been gone about in the best of all possible modes, we might expect to find the officers of justice not only resisted in the execution of their duty, but, when opportunity served, stabbed to the heart. The murder, or assassination, as we have been accustomed to regard it, would be a justifiable homicide. "But," as the gravedigger in *Hamlet* asks, "is this law?" "Ay," as his companion answers, "marry is't; crowner's quest law."

The poor policeman, however, according to these jurymen, deserved to be killed on another account. "No riot act was read, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse." And what of that? Has any authority laid it down, till now, that an illegal assembly may not be dispersed by officers of the peace, armed only with their batons, without the riot act being read? The riot act, indeed, makes it felony in any one to remain on the ground longer than an hour after it has been read; but to be present at an illegal meeting at all is a misdemeanour at common law. Any individual, who is so present, may be apprehended; and, if he shall resist, force may be used for that purpose. It may be used whether the riot act has been read or not. The performance of that ceremony makes no difference as to the officer's right either to take offenders into custody, or generally to use force to clear the ground. Most especially, nothing so wild was ever imagined, until this jury told us so, that it was the reading of the riot act alone which made it in any degree a crime for a person seized by an officer in a mob to retaliate upon his assailant by stabbing him to the heart. Such an act might, or might not, be justifiable on other grounds altogether; but to put its justification on this circumstance, is simply to show an entire ignorance of the law bearing on the subject.

We come then to the third allegation of the jurors—"that the conduct of the police was ferocious, brutal, and unprovoked by the people." It is the only statement they make in the least degree like a *ground* for their verdict; but even if it were made out, it certainly would not in law support that extraordinary delivery. The plain English of the de-

clamatory rumble of epithets, "ferocious, brutal, &c." can be no more than that the attack of the police was made with undue impetuosity, and that they used their batons with wanton and unnecessary violence. It is not alleged or insinuated either that their advance itself for the purpose of capturing the flags was, apart from its circumstances, illegal or unauthorized; or that it placed the unresisting people in such clear and imminent danger of losing their lives that no chance of safety appeared except in a resort to deadly weapons. And yet, if even all this had been asserted, it would have been a sufficiently bold and unusual thing (especially for a coroner's jury, whose constitutional duty it is in all cases of the least doubt to send the person at whose hands another has met with a violent death to take his trial before a higher tribunal) to return a verdict of Justifiable Homicide. Manslaughter, or Excusable Homicide, is the most lenient description which even in the case supposed could properly be applied by such a jury to the act of taking away life. But it is indeed something altogether unheard of till now for a jury of any kind to declare that if, in attempting to disperse a mob, or in forcing their way to the hustings in order to seize the leaders and their illegal banners, the police shall knock a few individuals down, who may afterwards get kicked and trampled upon, the people shall be perfectly justified in turning upon them with deadly weapons; and that any of the unfortunate officers of the law who shall fall in the encounter by pistol-shot or dagger, shall, in so far as the verdict of the said jury can effect that object, perish without those who slew them being even sent to trial for the deed.

If this doctrine is in future to be law, we will not mince the matter, but will say at once that the possibility of society holding together is at an end. The doctrine laid down by these jurors is nothing else than a sanction to any act of the wildest insubordination. What is to be expected to come of it, for one thing, except that whenever a public meeting is called, under the avowal, it may be, of the most treasonable and revolutionary purposes, the desperadoes by whom it is convoked, and their partisans, will come, as this verdict says they may and ought to do, one and all of them armed? And which of them, if any attempt should be made by the civil force to disperse the assemblage, will have the least hesitation in shooting or poniarding any officer of the law who may come within his reach? It will be too good an opportunity for the ruffian to neglect of despatching without risk a few of his natural enemies. There only needs a certain degree of confusion, which is easily got up, to ensure the law's actual approval of what he has done; for that, we may without exaggeration say, is really the meaning of a verdict of justifiable homicide. It is the sentence which would be passed on a magistrate if he were brought to trial for superintending the execution of a malefactor under a legal warrant. The law has no higher testimony of absolute innocence and propriety of conduct to bestow in any case in which it is clear that one man has fallen by the hand, or under the orders, of another. And this is the meed, it may almost be said, of praise and honour, which the persons who sat on the late inquest have taken upon them to bestow upon the hidden perpetrator of the foul assassination they were charged to investigate. They must, of course, feel somewhat surprised and disappointed that the hero, or patriot, whom their high authority has thus justified, has not yet chosen to come forward and avow himself. They could hardly have expected less, while they were drawing up his honourable acquittal, than to hear of him exhibiting himself openly in the streets next morning, bloody dagger and all.

But the strangest of all the circumstances attending this unexampled verdict remains to be noticed. Its authors actually thereby pronounce their justification of a transaction of which, by their own confession, they know nothing whatever, except that it terminated in the loss of the policeman's life. They indulge, it is true, in various conjectures upon the subject. One juror, the first day, started the ingenious hypothesis that Culley might have been stabbed by one of his own comrades. They certainly did not bring in their verdict upon their belief of any of the direct evidence which was brought forward. There were only three of the witnesses, at least according to the newspaper report, who spoke to having seen the man stabbed—the girl Mary Anne Perkins, the woman Mary Hamilton, and the boy Henry William Fricker. The girl said the act was committed by a person dressed like a working man, but having a respectable appearance, who, having received a blow from a policeman's staff over the shoulder, immediately stabbed him with his dagger, and then ran off. It does not, however, distinctly appear that this was the policeman who was killed; and the scene of the transaction, near the Union public house, Bagnigge Wells, would seem to imply that it was not, Culley having certainly received his death-wound in Calthorpe Street. However, the foreman, in his conversation with the coroner after the delivery of the verdict, intimated his disbelief of the evidence of this witness; and, at any rate, it would not have made out a case of justifiable homicide. As for the evidence of the woman Hamilton, after she had been browbeaten in the vulgar style which marked the whole of these proceedings, one of the jurors, when she described the instrument with which the man was stabbed as resembling a butcher's steel, sneeringly remarked, "Then it may have been a piece of wire for aught you know;" an interruption which called forth from the coroner the exclamation, "Good God! gentlemen, witnesses are not to be treated in this way:"—another juror, a Mr. Alexander, had the decency to declare, that if he must speak his mind, he did not believe one iota of what she had stated. Fricker's account was, that when Culley stepped forward and seized one of the banner-bearers, he saw a young man, a mere boy, seize Culley, who fell immediately. It is plain, that the persons who brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide could have put no faith in this statement. Of the real circumstances of the homicide, therefore, which they thus boldly justified, we are warranted in affirming as we have done, that they knew and could know nothing.

The two witnesses by whose evidence the jury seem to have been most influenced, were a Mr. Nathaniel Stallwood, of 13, Calthorpe-Street, who was the first person that presented himself for examination; and a Mr. William Henry Goore, of Broadway, Worcestershire, solicitor. Both these individuals testify to great violence having been exhibited by the police. Stallwood is a most amusing personage. He appears, if we may trust the newspaper report of the inquest, to have gone about on the day of the meeting representing himself as a justice of peace for the county. This is proved, not only by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Jeffery, but by Mr. William Carpenter, the Editor of the *True Sun*, who was one of the witnesses on his own side. However, it appears that he has no claim to the character which he thus assumed, having, according to his own confession on the third day of the inquest, been some time ago struck out of the commission. He stated at the same time, that the Duke of Portland refused to allow him to see the evidence upon which he was dismissed. He has probably seen quite as much of it since as he cares to see; for it has been published to all the world in the *Times*. As for Mr. William Henry Goore, he professes to be a solicitor, and possibly is so. "I was passing down Gray's-Inn-Lane, on Monday last;" the newspaper makes him begin his evidence. He does not let it appear, observe, that he was on his way to the meeting, or that he proceeded thither with any particular object. He merely, having met a body of people carrying banners, turned round and marched along with them. Entering into conversation, he told them of Lord Melbourne's proclamation, of which they were not before aware; but they considered it, it seems, not effective or legal, because it was not signed by his lordship. The witness does not say that he put this idea in their heads. He afterwards proceeded to counsel them to be exceedingly guarded in their conduct at the place of meeting, because the police were lying in ambush close at hand. Notwithstanding all his sagacity and prudence, however, Mr. Goore, wise and wary as he was, had the bad luck to be knocked down in the confusion himself. Then, according to the newspapers, he goes on to swear; "Perhaps forty or fifty policemen walked over me, treading on and bruising various parts of my body, before I could recover strength to raise myself from the ground." No wonder to find him adding, "I was very much bruised." However, he was immediately after able to assist a gentleman to his gig, who had received two cuts in the arm, one of which had broken the limb, but who, if we may believe Mr. Goore, refused to tell his name, lest the government should say he was in some way concerned in getting up the meeting. The next instant we find the witness flying to the assistance of another man, who had received a wound in the skull. This person he took along with him to the office of the *True Sun*, feeling exceedingly anxious, he declares, that the thing should be made public. But Mr. Goore

swords not only to what did happen, but to what, in certain given circumstances, would have happened. "I do," says he, "upon my oath, say, that if the police had not interfered there would have been no disturbance." "If you had had a stick with you," asks one of the jurors, "would you have resented the blow?" "Certainly," replies the valiant solicitor, "I would have cut the head off the man who gave it." So at least it stands in the newspapers. This legal opinion seems to have made a great impression on the jurors, one of whom afterwards refers to it in justification of the verdict.

To witnesses of this description, the demeanour of the jury is all approbation and encouragement. No remark is made, or question asked, except what has a tendency to adjust and reconcile the different parts of the testimony. But such as depose to the violence of the mob receive very different treatment. On the first day's examination, Mr. Baker, the superintendent of police, was forced to complain that the questions were put so rapidly to him, as to make it impossible for him to answer them, and that he was tried rather than examined.* On the next day, when the long staves headed with pikes, known by the name of Maceronis, which had been captured by the police, were produced, a juror, casting his eye on the armoury of insurrection, coolly remarked, that there did not appear to be any thing very formidable in the weapons. The business of the fourth and last day commenced with the examination of Mr. John Jeffery, cabinet-maker, a most intelligent witness. After giving an account of a violent harangue made to the mob by Mr. Stallwood, Mr. Jeffery added, "The people again collected to the amount of three hundred, taking courage, as I presumed, at the moment, from what Mr. Stallwood said." "Do you admit this as evidence, Mr. Coroner?" immediately exclaimed the foreman; "the witness is stating something that he presumed." Mr. Stirling said it was certainly not evidence. But it was at least as good evidence as Mr. Goore's declaration of what would have happened if the police had not interfered, which we have noticed above—or indeed as many parts of the evidence favourable to the other side of the question, which were received with avidity. Again, a little lower down, we find the foreman aiming at the witness one of his heavy sarcasms, in the remark, "You have given a very elaborate description of the scuffle between the flag-bearer and the policeman; pray, how long did it occupy?" Then because Mr. Jeffery had described the flag-bearer, after stabbing the policeman, as having run forward for a little distance in a stooping position, with his hands upon his head, a juror chooses to ask, with a sneer of incredulity, how that could be. Another, immediately after, contends that it is impossible for a near-sighted person to tell that a coat had a velvet collar, without being at the same time able to distinguish its colour to a certainty—a position which, in regard at least to certain colours, is manifestly absurd. In the same style is the following scene, which is stated to have occurred the first day on the examination of Flack, a policeman. "The foreman.—You seem to have had plenty of room and time to observe the dress and stature of these men. Pray, why did you not take them into custody? Witness.—We could not, Sir; there was great confusion at the time: and it happened, that in that confusion, I and my comrade were left behind by the rest of the force, and against such unequal odds, we had no power to apprehend the two men. The foreman.—Why, there were two of you, and only two of them, according to your account? Witness.—You don't seem to understand me, Sir. The whole mob was against us. Foreman.—How then is it that you could observe their dress and stature with so much seeming accuracy?" The stupidity of this defies, and does not require, comment.

After all, only nine witnesses seem to have come forward to swear that they had been actually attacked by the police, and among these were several who were only slightly hurt. There was not a woman among the number, notwithstanding the numbers of females, old and young, whom some of the witnesses declared they saw knocked down and otherwise ill-used. If we suppose the casualties to have been even twice or thrice as numerous as this evidence would indicate, still the amount does not seem greater than might have been calculated on in the case of a collision with a multitude of 4000 people. On the other hand, we have one policeman killed, two others stabbed, and many more struck with brick-bats and bludgeons. The ruffianly intentions of [illegible] of the mob are also incontrovertibly established by [illegible] revolutionary flags, the pikes, and Maceronis, the [illegible] lettos, and other formidable weapons, which were captured by the police.

But we must close our remarks on this painful subject. We observe with great satisfaction, that Lord Melbourne has not hesitated at once to meet the justifiable homicide verdict of the coroner's jury by the proclamation of a reward of 100*l.* for the discovery of the author of the policeman's death, designating the act at the same time by its proper name, of a murder. We trust the murderer will yet be found, and dealt with as he richly deserves. Meanwhile we have endeavoured to perform our own duty by joining our voice to that of the respectable part of the press on both sides of politics, in reprobating the deplorable proceedings which have grown out of his crime, and exposing both the absurdity and the fatal tendency of this ignorant and thoughtless verdict. We are well aware that there are some of the organs of public discussion, which hold a very different language on the subject from that which we have employed, and profess to take nearly the same view of it with the coroner's jury. It may be very natural that they should. How, for example, could we expect such a paper as *The Despatch* to speak in any other than a tone of triumph and congratulation of the murder of one of those policemen whom (notwithstanding that it is the property of an alderman of London and a magistrate, bound by his office and his oath to exert himself to his utmost in the maintenance of civil order) it rarely fails, once a week, either in its own columns, or by puffing placards of its contents, posted over the town, to denounce as brutes and savages?—In a cause like this, we do not reckon upon support from such a quarter. Neither, in the remarks which we have made, we beg to say, do we address ourselves, with any hope of being favourably heard, to the seventeen jurymen upon whose conduct we have felt it necessary so freely to comment. They have been solicited by the *Times* to reconsider their verdict; but, for our own part, we shall not trouble them with any such useless request. The mischief they have done must be mended by other hands than theirs. They have heard the shouts of the mob, and they may hear them again. The bakers' windows of Paris are all barred and grated, because in the days of tumult, especially in the revolution, the bakers were peculiarly objects of plunder. Our bakers' windows are not barred, because the rights of property are better protected by the moral strength of the people themselves. Six of these jurymen are bakers. If their shops are ever plundered, they will perhaps "reconsider their verdict."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE Nineteenth Report of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions has been published, and we proceed to give our abstract; but, as great part of what we have hitherto enumerated under the head of Miscellaneous occupies a large space, without possessing a corresponding interest, we have on the present occasion only given the number of petitions and the amount of signatures contained in the last eight reports, without detailing their particular objects. In the other classes the number of petitions and the amount of signatures include all that have been presented since the commencement of the session, except where stated to the contrary.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs
Parliamentary.		
Against the septennial act	12	7,420
For vote by ballot	33	18,976
Against nocturnal legislation	8	2,281
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	982	241,168
Against the Sabbath observance bill	11	1,906
Against the present system of lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	119	57,185
Against tithes in England	40	15,934
Against church temporalities bill (Ireland)	32	4,983
In favour of ditto	4	774
Against union of church and state	8	20,909
For the removal of religious disabilities	38	18,427
For removal of civil disabilities from the Jews	43	43,327
Against administering of oaths	12	1,107
Taxes.		
Against assessed taxes	45	20,158
Against the house and window tax	90	57,156
Against receipt stamps	14	6,709
Against the malt tax	44	25,136
Against the corn laws	9	6,621

Against alteration in corn laws	2	488
Against taxes of different kinds—these have all been reported since the abstract in the last Companion to the Newspaper	44	15,685
Ireland.		
Against the disturbances (in Ireland) bill	635	415,529
Against the new system of education	9	751
For introduction of poor laws	11	2,477
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	2914	614,136
In favour of factories' bill	79	100,302
Complaining of abuses in corporations	105	62,513
Against the retail beer act	135	14,788
For a legislative regulation of wages for hand-loom weaving	45	39,353
Reported since the publication of the last Companion to the Newspaper	137	20,691

ELECTION PETITIONS.

In page 63 we gave the result of those petitions which had been decided, and the state of those which were yet unsettled. The following is a statement of the decisions since our last publication :—

Bristol city—Election affirmed.
Carlow county—Election affirmed.
Carnarvon borough—O. J. E. Nanney declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of Sir C. Paget. Sir C. Paget was originally returned, and had been previously unseated on a petition from Mr. Nanney. In our last number we stated this petition had been abandoned, but there was a second petition to the same effect which was overlooked.
Clonmell—Election affirmed.
Colerame—Sir J. P. Beresford declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of W. T. Copeland.
Dover—Election affirmed.
Galway county—Election affirmed.
Galway town—L. Maclachlan declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of M. J. Blake.
Limerick city—Election affirmed.
Lincoln city—Election affirmed.
Linlithgow county—Election affirmed.
Montgomery borough (new election of Colonel Edwards petitioned against)—Committee sitting.
Salisbury city—W Wyndham declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of the Hon. D. P. Bouverie.
Tiverton borough—Election of J. Kennedy declared void.
Warwick borough—Election of Sir C. J. Greville declared void, and that gross bribery had prevailed on the part of his agents The issuing of the writ has been suspended.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Population of Ireland.—Return of the population of the several counties in Ireland, as enumerated in 1821 and 1831. [N.B. The return of 1821 was very imperfect, in consequence of many places forwarding no returns. In Carlow, for instance, out of 61 places there were ten which made no return, and in Meath 70 omitted out of 229. Similar omissions, varying in their extent, prevail throughout all the counties. In 1831, there appears to be scarcely any instances of similar neglect.]

LEINSTER.	1821.	1831.
Carlow	79,251	81,576
Dublin	149,034	183,042
——— city*	185,881	203,752†
Kildare	99,243	108,401
Kilkenny	156,969	169,283
——— city	23,230	28,741
King's	130,198	144,029
Longford	106,570	112,391
Louth	99,957	108,168
Drogheda town	18,118	17,365
Meath	160,347	177,023
Queen's	135,515	145,843
Westmeath	125,536	136,799
Athlone town	7,543	11,362
Wexford	171,053	182,991
Wicklow	111,234	122,301
	1,737,295	1,928,077
MUNSTER.		
Clare	241,911	258,262
Cork	656,758	705,926
——— city	100,650	107,041
Kerry	216,342	264,359
Limerick	214,994	228,505
——— city, including St. Francis' Abbey, extra parochial	60,595	66,[illegible]
Tipperary	346,398	402,[illegible]
Waterford	125,258	145,[illegible]
——— city	28,679	29,[illegible]
	1,971,683	2,215,[illegible]
ULSTER.		
Antrim	262,820	314,606
Carrickfergus	8,023	8,698
Armagh	194,884	220,651
Cavan	195,076	228,050
Donegal	247,710	298,104
Down	327,071	352,571
Fermanagh	129,304	149,555
Londonderry	184,752	222,416
Monaghan	174,693	195,532
Tyrone	261,015	302,943
	1,985,348	2,293,128
CONNAUGHT.		
Galway	399,695	394,287
——— town	27,775	33,120
Leitrim	124,785	141,303
Mayo	292,709	367,956
Roscommon	204,376	239,903
Sligo	146,233	171,508
	1,105,573	1,348,077
SUMMARY.		
PROVINCES.		
Leinster	1,737,295	1,928,067
Munster	1,971,683	2,215,364
Ulster	1,985,348	2,293,128
Connaught	1,105,573	1,348,097
	6,799,899	7,784,636

* This is the population of the county of the city of Dublin. The returns state, that the population of Dublin, inside the Circular Road, and as connected with the county inside the Circular Road, amounts to 232,362; and with the suburbs inside and outside the Circular Road, to 265,316.

† The summary in the Parliamentary Return gives the number as 203,652; the number here given is that of the amount of the respective parishes.

The cities and towns which are given separately, are so returned as being counties in themselves.

Brewers.—The following is an account of the number of brewers, licensed victuallers, and persons licensed to retail beer in England, with the number of the two latter classes who brew their own beer; the number of brewers and licensed victuallers in Scotland, and of brewers in Ireland; and the total quantity of malt used by each class, in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833.

England.—Brewers in London 108, in the country 1615, total, 1753; licensed victuallers, in London 4391, of whom 22 brew their own beer; in the country 46,405, of whom 24,271 brew their own beer; persons licensed to retail beer in London 1017, of whom 129 brew; in the country 29,900, of whom 12,973 brew. The quantity of malt used was, by brewers, 13,891,851 bushels; by licensed victuallers, 8,898,789 bushels; and by persons licensed for the general sale of beer, 3,093,519 bushels.

Scotland.—Brewers, 216; licensed victuallers, 17,070, of whom 318 brew their own beer. The quantity of malt used was, by brewers, 893,901 bushels, and by licensed victuallers, 96,505 bushels.

Ireland.—Brewers, 216. Quantity of malt used, 1,543,265 bushels.

The number of barrels of beer exported during the same period was, from England, 65,268, from Scotland, 2854½, from Ireland, 2024½; total, 70,136½; on which was allowed a drawback of duty to the amount of 17,534*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

Hops.—The total number of acres of land in Great Britain under the cultivation of hops, in 1832, amounted to 47,101½; the total amount of duty for the same period was 241,771*l.* 1*s.*

Malt.—In the year ending Oct. 10, 1832, there were manufactured in England 4,122,590½ qrs. of malt, on

which a duty of 1*l.* 8*s.* was levied, producing the amount of [illegible] 9*s.* 4*d.*; in Scotland, during the same period, [illegible] qrs. of malt were manufactured from barley, paying the same duty, and 93,623 qrs. from bigg, at a duty of 12*s.*, being a total of 464,152½ qrs. of malt, and producing the sum of 457,779*l.* 16*s.*; in Ireland, 231,304½ qrs. were made from barley, and 37,779½ from bigg, at the above duties, being a total of 259,084 qrs. of malt, and producing the sum of 258,905*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* The total number of quarters in the United Kingdom was 4,845,828, and the duty levied amounted to 4,976,894*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* In the same period were used in distillation, in England, 22,461 qrs.; in Scotland, [illegible],389 qrs.; and in Ireland, 33,666 qrs., being a total of [illegible],756 qrs.

Wealth.—The importation of corn into Great Britain in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, was, of wheat and wheat flour [illegible] quarters, 5 bushels; of other corn, 177,584 quarters, 6 bushels. The amount of duty received in the same period has been, for wheat and wheat flour 264,704*l.* 18*s.*; for other corn and meal, 45,318*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* The average prices of corn in Great Britain, in the year 1832, were, barley, per quarter, [illegible]*s.* 1*d.*; beans, 35*s.* 4*d.*; oats, 20*s.* 5*d.*; pease, 37*s.*; rye, [illegible]*s.* 7*d.*; wheat, 58*s.* 8*d.*

COUNSEL TO PRISONERS.

ACCORDING to the present practice of our law, a prisoner, charged with felony, as is well known, is not allowed on his trial to have the aid of counsel to address the jury in his defence. The only exception is in cases of treason, for which provision has been made by a special statute. On all other indictments, the prisoner's counsel can only examine and cross-examine the witnesses, and speak on points of law that may arise; he cannot address the jury on the general question of the prisoner's guilt or innocence, nor even explain to them, however ill-qualified his client may be for doing so himself, the answer which he has to make to the charge. It is left to the prisoner himself, who is in most cases an uneducated man,—and often additionally embarrassed by the feeling, enough to shake the strongest minded, that his life hangs on the issue of the trial,—to watch and sift the evidence, to detect the points of it that make most for his acquittal, and in a formal speech both to arrange these in the most advantageous and lucid order, and to rebut the unfavourable presumptions which other circumstances may have raised. Meanwhile, on the side of the prosecution, counsel has been permitted both to examine and cross-examine witnesses, and to address the jury. There is some reason for believing that in very ancient times the rule which thus denies to one side of the question the advantages which are granted to the other did not obtain in the practice of our courts; and several attempts have been recently made to do away with it as unreasonable and unfair. In 1828, the present Lord Melbourne, then Mr. Lamb, brought a bill into the House of Commons to effect this object, which however was afterwards withdrawn. This session the subject has been again taken up by Mr. Ewart, the member for Liverpool. A bill introduced by this gentleman has been read a first time, and stands for a second reading on the 5th of June. It provides that in future, "on all trials for felonies, whensoever any counsel learned in the law, being then of counsel for the prosecution of such felony, shall have called his witnesses on the matters of fact in furtherance of such prosecution, the person or persons so prosecuted shall be admitted to make his, her, or their answer and defence thereto, and to state his, her, and their case, by counsel learned in the law; any law, custom, or practice to the contrary notwithstanding." It is proposed that the counsel for the prosecution shall not be allowed to reply to the address of the prisoner's counsel, except when evidence has in addition been produced on the part of the prisoner. This is the same rule which is observed in civil suits.

In answer to the reasons which have been urged, for thus giving to prisoners charged with felonies the same legal aid in making their defence which is allowed to defendants in civil actions, various objections have been raised; but none, in our opinion, of much force. Perhaps the strongest is derived from the difficulty of dealing with the cases of those numerous prisoners who are too poor to employ counsel. Mr. Ewart's bill proposes to meet this difficulty, by enacting that whenever the person prosecuted is without the means of retaining counsel, the judge may, with the consent of such prisoner, assign him to conduct the defence, without fee or reward. This plan is not, perhaps, perfectly unobjectionable, but it is, we think, the best that could be adopted. To call upon the country, or the county, to pay the expense of counsel for every prisoner, would certainly be carrying philanthropy for delinquents very far indeed. At all events, we would not begin by the adoption of this principle. If any case should occur, in which there was reason to apprehend that the prisoner was likely to suffer hardship or oppression from not being able to procure the aid of counsel, there can be little doubt that public benevolence would always be ready to come forward with the necessary assistance. If, after a trial of this scheme, it was found that few prisoners obtained the advantage which the law intended to allow them, the expediency of purchasing the services of counsel in all cases might then be taken into consideration. In point of fact, however, counsel are very often employed by prisoners; but one great advantage of their employment is denied to the prisoner.

An argument which Mr. Justice Blackstone brings forward is, that the judge is the prisoner's counsel. Now, certainly, no other feeling can be attributed to the judges than the desire to deliver the innocent and punish the guilty. But it does not seem to be the strict duty of a judge to act as counsel either on the one side or the other. Nor does he in truth ever do so. The business of a counsel is to represent his client's case in the most favourable light which his ingenuity can enable him to do. There would be an unfairness in this, if there were no other counsel to do the same for the opposite side. This is precisely the unfairness which is charged against the present mode of trying indictments for felony; for although, in most cases, the counsel for the crown exercises his exclusive privilege with great caution, the truth might be expected to be more clearly brought out by a contest between the counsel. The duty of the judge is to look with the same impartial consideration to both sides, and not to allow more force to what tells for the prisoner than to what tells against him.

It has also been said that prisoners are sufficiently protected by the preliminary inquiry before the committing magistrate, and by the intervention of the grand jury. This however, seems more than doubtful; for a large proportion of prisoners annually indicted are acquitted, notwithstanding these fences against undue accusations. During the seven years ending with 1831, out of 121,518 persons committed for trial, while 85,257 were convicted, no fewer than 23,442 were acquitted. The remainder were not brought to trial at all.

Lastly, it is apprehended that the allowing of counsel to address the jury for the prisoner, would occasion trials to be so protracted, that there would scarcely be time to get through the business of the court. But to this it may be replied, that the time of the judges being the property of the public by whom they are paid, the case of the judicial bench ought not to be taken into consideration in the decision of the question; and that if more judges are necessary, more ought to be appointed. Justice must not be left undone for the sake of this expense.

We may observe, in conclusion, that prisoners are not by the present practice allowed copies of the depositions against them before the committing magistrate. These they ought surely to be furnished with in every case; and we trust the attention of the Secretary of State will shortly be directed to this subject.

On the 1st of July will be published,

The QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT to the COMPANION to the NEWSPAPER,

THE POOR LAWS.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, Groombridge, *Paternoster-row.*
Bath, Shatto.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Wadley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lambert.
Cambridge, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Dorchester, Bryne.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, [illegible]
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carne, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson and Wale & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, [illegible]
Norwich, [illegible]
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Mansell, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Eddowes.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Stone End, Staffordshire, C. Wain.
Worcester, Deighton.
Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by William Clowes, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 6. JULY 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
State of Crime in Great Britain and Ireland	81	Juvenile Vagrancy	89
Turkey and Egypt	83	Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt	91
Proposed Change in the Law of Libel	86	Combinations	92
Corporation Reform	87	Public Petitions	93
Local Courts Bill	88	Post-Office Arrangements with France	93
		Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	94

STATE OF CRIME IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

For some years past very full and particular accounts have been annually laid before Parliament, of the number of persons committed, tried, convicted, and acquitted, on each of the different criminal charges known to the law, throughout England, and also statements of the same nature, more or less complete, for the other parts of the United Kingdom. It is the principal object of the present paper to present an analysis of these returns for the year 1832, accompanied by a few observations illustrative of the general conclusions to which the facts seem to lead. There is no department of political science more important than that which relates to the statistics of crime. Without an accurate knowledge of the facts coming under this head, no sound opinion can be formed respecting almost any measure that goes to affect the social condition of the great body of the people; and the business of legislation, in its most vitally influential exercise, becomes merely an unprofitable and hazardous course of experimenting in the dark. Scarcely any new law or other measure of public policy can be adopted which has not a bearing in this direction—a tendency either to increase or to diminish some particular species of crime. The greater or less prevalence of any particular species of crime, on the other hand, is often a valuable diagnostic of improving health or growing disease in some region of the body politic. Looked to as a whole, again, the amount of crime existing in a country, is, perhaps, the best single index of its general prosperity and civilization. If we could obtain a perfectly accurate record of the progressive increase or diminution of crime throughout the community, that alone might almost serve as a measure of the public welfare.

It is important, however, to observe that we are by no means as yet in a condition safely to compare in this manner our own country in its existing state, either with other countries, or with itself at a former period. Of the criminal statistics of other countries, we have, in general, no sufficiently detailed accounts; and even if our information were more minute and complete than it is, there are many other circumstances besides the mere enumeration of offenders, which would have to be taken into consideration before a safe judgment could be come to. The peculiar form of the government, and the nature of the laws, in so far as they differed from our own, would in particular require to be examined and allowed for. Acts that were punishable in the one country, might not be reckoned offences at all in the other. A more rigorous and oppressive police in the one, without extirpating either the disposition to crime, or any of the other causes which usually lead to its prevalence, might yet prevent it from actually breaking out to the same extent as in the other, where more individual freedom was enjoyed. And various other differences might in a similar way affect the comparison. The same difficulties also, to a certain extent, interfere when we attempt to compare the present with the past state of our own country. Even if we confine ourselves to the short period during which the annual accounts of criminal offenders have been made up and published with the requisite fulness, we cannot safely place our dependence upon these documents alone. During this space of time, various changes may have taken place which, without the state of crime having been affected, nevertheless tend to give a new aspect to the official exposition of it. It is certain, for instance, that of the offences committed in this country, a considerably larger proportion are now made the subjects of prosecution than were even a very few years ago. Much of this increased activity of the law is owing merely to the natural progress of society. The more remote, and out-of-the-way corners of the country, in which offences used frequently to be committed with impunity, are every day becoming more subjected to public observation; while the growing intelligence of the people also enables them to perceive more clearly the importance of not permitting violations of the law to go unpunished. But above all, it is well known, that an act passed a few years ago for regulating the allowance of their expenses to prosecutors, has greatly contributed to increase the number of offences brought under the cognizance of the courts, and even the number of committals for trial, without, of course, having at all affected the actual amount of crime. Many persons who have had the best opportunities of investigating the subject, are of opinion that these causes are quite sufficient to account for the increase in the number of offences, as exhibited by the public accounts, without supposing any real increase of crime at all.

We do not, therefore, propose to seek in the Parliamentary Returns before us, any evidence with regard to this latter point—holding it to be at least extremely doubtful how far we ought to trust their apparent testimony here. But they may still be taken as showing, in certain cases, the increase or diminution of particular offences. If, for instance, it shall appear that one class of offences has increased, while another has diminished or continued stationary, no alteration having taken place in the law with regard to either, it may be safely inferred that some circumstances in the situation of the country have occasioned the change. It is not to be supposed that the augmented vigilance of the law, and the zeal of prosecutors, have been, in general, directed upon one description of offences more than upon another. But after all, our chief object is to exhibit a view of the existing state of crime, without much reference to its state at any past period. This is at least the first thing which it is necessary to know in directing our attention to the evil, with the view of applying the proper remedies. The condition of the community cannot be understood in the most interesting and important of its elements, until this knowledge has been acquired.

The first return which we shall proceed to examine is the House of Commons' Paper, numbered 135, containing a statement of the committals, convictions, and acquittals for the seven years, from 1826 to 1832, inclusive, in the different counties of England and Wales. In the fifty-two counties of this part of the United Kingdom, and in the city and county of Bristol, it appears that the number of *committals* for each of the seven years was as follows:

For 1826	16,164	For 1830	18,107
7	17,924	1	19,647
8	16,564	2	20,829
9	18,675		

The movement here exhibited, it will be observed, so far from having been steadily progressive, has occasionally even retrograded. In 1828, and again in 1830, the number of committals was less than in the preceding year. The increase, also, although considerable on a comparison of the two extreme years in the series, is very much diminished if the year 1827 be compared with 1831. On this interval of four years, it is only 1,723, or about 10 per cent.; the population, be it recollected, having probably increased about eight per cent. in the same time. There remains, therefore, only 2 per cent. of the increase of crime to be accounted for by the increased activity in the administration of the law.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

The following is the number of females committed during each of the seven years:

In 1826	2,692	In 1830	2,972
7	2,770	1	3,047
8	2,732	2	3,343
9	3,119		

This makes the proportion of female commitments generally somewhat less than one-sixth of the whole number; excepting in 1829, when it was rather more than one-sixth; and in 1832, when it nearly amounted to one-fifth. It does not appear, however, to be regularly on the increase.

On an average of the seven years, rather more than a tenth of the persons committed have not been prosecuted. Of the 127,910 persons committed, no prosecutions have taken place in the case of 13,300. Of the remainder, 24,370 have been tried and acquitted, being somewhat less than one-fifth of the whole number committed. The number convicted has been 90,240, being not quite 3¾ convictions for one acquittal on the whole number brought to trial. On the whole, the convictions have not amounted to two-thirds of the whole committals; and this proportion has been nearly uniform throughout the seven years.

There can be no doubt that very many of the persons who have thus escaped punishment, have nevertheless been guilty of the offences for which they were sent to gaol; and it is also manifestly impossible, on the other hand, under the most perfect administration of the law, to prevent an innocent man from being sometimes apprehended on a criminal charge, and sent to take his trial. Yet, when for every 90 persons convicted, about 38 others, who had been in like manner charged as guilty, and subjected to the hardship and degradation of imprisonment, are after all dismissed without anything being proved against them, it is difficult not to feel that there is something faulty in the system of which such is the result. The evil may lie partly in the law, and partly in its administration: or it may arise, as it probably does in a great measure, from a defective police, which allows too many opportunities to the lawless portion of the community to commit offences in circumstances where their agency can be only matter of suspicion. But still it is, in any view of it, a serious consideration, that there should be nearly 6000 persons every year, in England alone, committed to jail as criminals, against whom no charge is ever substantiated. It is, of course, impossible to say what proportion of the number may be innocent: but let it be either considerable or insignificant, the fact is almost equally to be deplored. We have either many innocent persons treated, to a certain extent, as if they were criminals; or we have many criminals permitted to escape without their deserved punishment. In either case we have the guilty and the innocent confounded together, and the law made to seem contemptible for its weakness, where it is not hated for its injustice and oppression.

The total number of convictions for 1832 was 14,947. Taking the population of England and Wales as amounting that year to somewhat above fourteen millions, this would make rather more than one criminal in every thousand of the inhabitants. But although the number quoted is stated to be that of the *persons* convicted in the year, we presume it is the number of convictions which is meant to be given; in which case the number of criminals must be taken at considerably less. The persons by whom larcenies, and larcenies from the person are mostly committed, are in a great many cases convicted several times in the course of the year; and probably it is not too much to say that on an average each suffers two convictions during that time. If so, we may subtract between 5000 and 6000 from the total number of convictions; when the real number of the *persons* annually convicted will remain little more than 9000, or about one in every 1500 of the population.

Of the 14,947 crimes for which convictions were obtained in the course of the last year, considerably more than two-thirds were what in common parlance would be termed petty delinquencies - indicating the existence, indeed, of a large number of persons living by depredation, but not that of habits of violence and ferocity in any considerable fraction of the population. When this large number of convictions is mentioned, it ought not to be forgotton that 10,130 of them were for larceny simply, and 1151 for larceny from the person. Connected with these cases may be noticed 347 convictions for receiving stolen goods, a criminal trade in which the persons engaged are commonly much greater scoundrels than the thieves (most of them mere children) through whom they derive their infamous gains. The other most numerous classes of criminals are those convicted of breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny, (of whom, in 1832, there were 583,) of breaking into a shop, &c., not connected with a dwelling house (of whom there were that year 203), of burglary (of whom there were 118), of counterfeiting coin, uttering, &c., (of whom there were 349), of frauds (of whom there were 280), of offences against the game laws (of whom there were 163), of embezzlement by servants (of whom there were 154), of horse-stealing (of whom there were 155), and of sheep-stealing (of whom there were 219). For robbery of the person there were 223 convictions, in none of the cases there being any attempt to kill or maim. For murder there were 20 convictions, for the attempt to commit murder 52, for rape 16, for assault with intent 80, and for arson 35. Of the 14,947 convictions, the 203 last enumerated are nearly all that can be described as of peculiar atrocity. If we add to these the 118 cases of burglary, and the 223 cases of robbery of the person, we shall include almost all that come under the head of violent and daring outrages against the law.

In looking over this table of convictions with a view to discover which particular offences have most remarkably increased or diminished during the last seven years, we find that that of arson has increased from 8 cases in 1826, to 35 cases in 1832; that of breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny from 125 to 583; those of counterfeiting the coin, uttering, &c., from 210 to 349; that of embezzlement by servants from 91 to 154; that of forging instruments other than Bank of England notes from 8 to 50; that of frauds from 147 to 280; and that of receiving stolen goods from 157 to 347. On the other hand, cases of burglary have diminished from 311 to 118; forgery of Bank of England notes from 15 to 5; and larceny in dwelling-houses from 222 to 127. Some of these changes, however, have been occasioned by alterations in the law, according to which offences that were formerly comprehended under one head are now transferred to another, or are differently punished from what they were formerly.

The number of persons sentenced to death, in 1832, was 1449, of whom 54 were executed, namely, 16 for arson, 15 for murder, 7 for rape, 4 for breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny, 4 for riot and felony, 4 for robbery of the person, 2 for attempts to murder, 1 for burglary, and 1 for secreting and stealing letters containing bank notes. The proportion of executions to condemnations, therefore, was that year not much more than 1 in 27. On the whole seven years, from 1826 to 1832, it has been nearly 1 in 23: 414 persons having been executed during that time from among 9729 sentenced to death.

Of the other persons convicted in 1832, there were sentenced to transportation for life 546, for 14 years 764, and for 7 years 2603. Of the remainder, 7644 were sentenced only to imprisonment for six months and under, and to be severally whipped, fined, kept to hard labour, &c.

The second part of this paper contains a statement of the number of persons committed, convicted, sentenced, and acquitted in London and Middlesex alone. The entire number of persons committed, in 1832, was 3739, of whom 866 were females, being nearly one-fourth of the whole, instead of only one-sixth, as throughout England generally. Of 2653 persons convicted, 120 were sentenced to death, and 6 were executed, being one-twentieth of the whole. In 1826, of 204 persons condemned to death, 20 were executed, being nearly one-tenth of the whole. The proportion of executions has been greatly reduced since 1829,—in which year nearly 1 in 5 of all who were convicted were left to suffer. No person has since then been executed either for burglary, coining, forgery, horse-stealing, or the attempt to murder, for all of which offences there formerly used to be several executions every year. There have been no convictions for arson, in London or Middlesex, since 1829.

But besides those committed to gaol on criminal charges, a great many persons are every year taken into custody in London and its vicinity by the metropolitan police, and being brought before the magistrates, are either, when not immediately discharged, committed for trial, or summarily convicted. The House of Commons' Paper (No. 225) contains a statement of the number of persons thus taken into custody, with the charges on which they were taken, and the manner in which the several charges were dealt with by the magistrates, for the years 1831 and 1832. From

this account it appears that the total number of persons taken into custody was in 1831, 72,824, and in 1832, 77,543. The cases, in the two years respectively, were disposed of as follows; drunken cases, dismissed when sober by superintendents, 23,787 and 25,702; discharged by magistrates, 24,239 and 24,727; summarily convicted by ditto, 21,843 and 23,458; committed for trial, 2955 and 3656. Those committed for trial form part, of course, of the cases already enumerated under the head of Committals for England and Wales; and the drunken cases, and those discharged, cannot be considered as adding to the number of offences. There remain for 1832 the 23,458 persons who were summarily convicted by the magistrates. Of these, 16,052 were males, and 7406 females. Of the latter 2505 were taken up as disorderly prostitutes; and of the whole number, 5859 were charged with vagrancy, 3842 with common assaults, 3505 with drunkenness, 2177 with being disorderly characters, 1511 as suspicious characters, 1009 with the commission of acts of wilful damage, 933 with having unlawful possession of goods, and 932 with being reputed thieves.

Of the whole number of persons taken into custody by the police in 1832, 49,890 were males, and 27,653 females, being in the proportion of not quite 2 to 1. The smallest number of males was taken up in January, the smallest number of females in December: the greatest number of males in June, and of females in July. Upon the whole, however, the increase and diminution were not great. Of the whole number of cases of drunkenness taken before the magistrates, 4893 were cases of males, and 2041 of females; of those discharged when sober by the superintendents, 15,411 were males, and 10,291 females*.

We have no means of stating the number of charges or convictions before country magistrates, although that information would be necessary to enable us to arrive at the whole number of persons annually called to account for offences against the law in England and Wales. In the absence of official returns, any rude guess that might be hazarded as to this matter is extremely little to be depended on. We may, however, that if we should suppose the number of charges made throughout the rest of the kingdom to be only half as great in proportion to the population as in London, the result would be that about 250,000 charges in all would be made every year, or about one for every fifty-six of the population. This amount, being multiplied by the number of years which a generation takes in passing across the scene of life, would leave hardly a chance to one man in two of not being, some time or other, called at least to meet a formal accusation of having infringed the law, were it not that there is a large class of persons, each of whom bears, perhaps, ten or twenty times his own share of such charges. And, besides all this, it is to be remembered, there are those other risks of coming personally in contact with the officers of the law which arise in attachments for debt, and other civil processes.

We will now, to complete our survey, glance, in conclusion, at the state of crime in Scotland and in Ireland. The House of Commons' Paper, No. 45, contains a statement of the committals and convictions on criminal charges, in the former country, for the last year. The offences enumerated in this statement, which is very minute and somewhat complicated, amount to eighty-eight different descriptions in all, ranging from murder down to vagrancy. For all these violations of the law, there appear to have been, in 1832, committed for trial, 1898 males and 533 females; of which number of 2431, there were liberated, without trial, 539, and brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, the Circuit Court, the Sheriff, the Burgh Magistrates, the Justices of Peace, or other court, 1758. The remaining 134 appear to have been reserved for trial till the next year.

* We ought to remark that this return is defective in various respects. Although there is a separate statement of persons committed for trial by the magistrates for 1831, there is no similar account for 1832. There is also no recapitulation for 1832, similar to that given for 1831. The consequence of these defects is that a complete comparison of the accounts for the two years becomes difficult or impracticable.—Since this Paper was prepared, a return (No. 354) has been printed by order of the House of Commons, containing a statement of the number of persons committed during 1832, from each of the police-offices in Middlesex, Westminster, Surrey, the city of London, and the borough of Southwark, distinguishing their several offences. It is impossible, however, to give within a moderate space any summary of the various lists contained in this return.

Upon the whole year, the convictions and outlawries were 1599, and the acquittals 164: there were also three persons found to be insane. We have thus 2431 committals, 703 acquittals, and 1602 convictions (including cases of insanity), in a population of probably about 2,100,000. In Scotland, therefore, there is only one committal in every 864 of the population, instead of in every 672 as in England; and one conviction in every 1300, instead of in every 1000. The whole number of acquittals and liberations bears a considerably higher ratio to the committals in Scotland than in England,—being in the former as 1 to 2¼, while in the latter it is nearly as 1 to 2⅛. This arises from the very large numbers who in Scotland are liberated without ever being brought to trial,—being very nearly one-third of the whole committals, instead of about one-seventh as in England. We believe, however, it is very well understood in that country that by far the greater number of these persons are so liberated, not because they are believed to be innocent, or even because there would be any difficulty in proving their guilt, but in the feeling that they have been already sufficiently punished by their incarceration. The proportion of acquittals after trial, it will be observed, is much lower in Scotland than in England; being little more than at the rate of one to ten convictions, whereas in England it is as one to four convictions. It would be an interesting inquiry, but one which we cannot here afford to pursue, to endeavour to ascertain in how far these disagreements result from differences in the situation of the two countries, and in how far from peculiarities in the two systems of law. Upon the latter head, we may merely observe that in Scotland, in consequence of the existence of a public prosecutor, the expense of a criminal prosecution is never thrown upon an individual; that the jury are not required to be unanimous; and that they have it in their power to acquit the prisoner by a verdict of *not proven*, as well as by one of *not guilty*.

The House of Commons' Paper, No. 80, contains a return of the number of offences against the law which have been committed in Ireland during the years 1831 and 1832. This, however, is only a statement of offences as reported to government, not as ascertained by the conviction of the criminals. It is, therefore, a very imperfect document. The offences for 1831 are arranged under thirty heads, and those for 1832 under thirty-three heads; but in neither list are the numbers summed up. The following table presents in one view the general recapitulation for both years:—

	1831.	1832.
Homicide	210	248
Robbery	1478	1172
Burglary	534	844
Burning	466	571
Houghing or maiming cattle	293	295
Assaults connected with Ribbonism	885	1080
Riot	149	201
Rescue	196	352
Illegal notice	1798	2086
Rape	200	212
Illegal meeting	1792	422
Injury of property	657	729
Stealing cattle	486	387
Abduction	30	38
Attacks on houses	2296	1675
Serious assaults	121	161
Firing at, with intent to kill	125	209
Administration of oaths	981	170
Robbery of arms	678	116
Demanding arms	135	24
Appearing in arms	30	17
Firing into dwellings	24	8
Waylaying	7	16
Levelling	247	79
Turning up land	66	20
Cutting and maiming	1	4
Infanticide	5	17
Compulsory drowning	4	—
Common assaults	2981	2790
Trespass on common	2	—
Attempt to poison	—	1
Resistance to legal process	—	4
Resistance to tithe	—	49
Taking forcible possession	—	2
Breaking church windows	—	2

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

The conflict between the sultan and his vassal or viceroy, the pasha of Egypt, which has terminated so disadvantage-

ously to Turkey, obliging her to seek the protection of Russia, the most feared of all her Christian enemies, originated in a quarrel between Abdallah Pasha of Acre and the Egyptian government.

Though nominally professing allegiance to Sultan Mahmoud, the head of the Ottoman empire and the Mussulman faith, both these pashas had been for many years nearly independent of his authority. Mehemet-Ali of Egypt, though by far the more powerful of the two (and probably it was the consciousness of this power that produced his moderation) was moderate, circumspect, and even under circumstances of strong temptation, persevered in a show of reverence and obedience to the Sublime Porte. Not so Abdallah of Acre, a man of hardy presumption and violent passions. In 1822, to go no further back in his history, he boldly threw aside his mask of submission, and at the head of an army composed of Arabs, Druses from Mount Lebanon, and mercenaries from all parts of the Turkish empire, he endeavoured to seize on the pashalic of Damascus, as a conqueror. He was foiled, however, in his attempt, and speedily obliged to retreat. He shut himself up in his strong fortress of Acre, where, by command of the Porte, he was besieged by five neighbouring pashas, foremost among whom was the adopted son of the viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, who afterwards distinguished himself by his campaigns in Greece, and who has lately gained much more fame as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army against the sultan*.

Ibrahim, and the four pashas his colleagues, with an army of 9000 men, could make no impression on Acre, and, after a ten months' siege, Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, having become mediator with the Porte, the daring Abdallah, who could not be beaten, was pardoned by the sultan, and restored to his former honours, on condition of paying a heavy sum of money as a fine; which was not punishing Abdallah but the unfortunate people over whom he ruled; for in true pasha fashion he wrung all the money that was paid, from the poor Syrians.

Mehemet Ali had the whole of the merit (such as it was) of effecting this reconciliation, and of removing the scandal of seeing the emperor of the Ottomans defied by a contumacious vassal in a corner of his dominions; and in this transaction he conceived he had laid both Sultan Mahmoud and Abdallah Pasha under obligations to himself. From the latter, it is certain, he thenceforward exacted more deference than that proud chieftain was inclined to pay. To the sultan, he continued the same line of respectful submission, in which he had so long persisted. It is stated by those who had good opportunities of judging of the pasha of Egypt's conduct and motives, that he withheld himself from the fatal war in Greece as long as he could consistently with the allegiance he professed to the sultan, and that he never entered upon that war with national zeal.

In 1824, however, when he was known to have a regular army of 24,000 men, well disciplined in the European manner, besides his irregular forces, he complied with the demands of the Porte, which he could no longer resist without incurring the suspicions of his liege, and embarked for the Morea four regiments of infantry, making 16,000 men, four companies of sappers and miners, and about 700 horse (the flower of his army) the whole under the command of his adopted son Ibrahim Pasha. Escorted by the then very respectable Egyptian fleet, 100 transports with this army on board sailed from Alexandria in the month of July, 1824.

It was confidently anticipated by the mass of the Mussulman population of the empire, that this force would vindicate the cause of Mahomet, preserve the dominions of the sultan from dismemberment, and reduce the Greeks, as a former army of the pasha of Egypt's had reduced the rebellious Wahhabees. It might, indeed, have done all this but for the intervention of England, France, and Russia, in favour of the unfortunate Greeks.

* It may be agreeable to know something of the character and appearance of this man, who certainly deserves the epithet of extraordinary. He is thus described by a French officer, who knew him well.

"Ibrahim's character is hasty and violent, but he easily recovers from his excesses of rage; his bravery and obstinacy are well known. His perseverance in danger increases in proportion to the obstacles he meets; he only sees his object, and bounds forward to attain it. His person is far from agreeable, being that of a rude and robust warrior."—*Planat. De la Régénération de l'Egypte.* Paris, 1830.

It may be well to notice at this point the circumstances of the revolt and suppression of the Wahhabees, as showing some of the more valuable services performed in favour of Sultan Mahmoud by Mehemet Ali.

The Wahhabees, or sectarian followers of the schismatic Abdool Wahhab, were spiritual and political puritans—fanatic reformers of the Mahometan church and Ottoman state, who sprang up in the deserts of Arabia, and, aiming at an entire change in the existing state of things, from the beginning of the last century defied the arms of the Turks and a succession of eight sultans. They had advanced from the remote Arabian district of Ared, had beaten or foiled the troops of the most powerful pashas sent against them by the Porte, had taken Mecca, the holy city, and had despoiled and desecrated the tomb of the prophet Mahomet: for such things were as odious in the sight of those reformers, as monasteries, and cathedrals, masses and votive offerings, were in the eyes of the followers of John Knox. Matters were in this condition, and the enthusiastic Wahhabees not only threatened a radical change in many of the dogmas, and in all the practices of the Mahometan faith, in the very spots where that faith first arose, but gave most serious grounds for alarm as to the integrity of the Asiatic dominions of the Turks; when Mehemet Ali, who had consolidated his power in Egypt, took up arms against them. After an arduous struggle, of which the reader may form a competent idea by referring to the curious memoirs of "Giovanni Finati," an Italian adventurer who served with the Egyptians, the arms of Mehemet Ali, aided by his profound and astutious policy, prevailed: the Wahhabees were driven back to the deserts, to scenes more suiting the austerity and simplicity of their doctrines; the prophet's tomb at Mecca was again open to orthodox Mussulmans, and the Porte was relieved from a long dreaded enemy. This was done in 1818, and as all was done in the name of the sultan, he had the glory of it, and the advantage of being, for a time, considered by the orthodox Mahometans in the light of a defender of the insulted faith.

Though thus defeated and expelled from Djedda, Mecca, Medina and the whole neighbourhood of those important places, the Wahhabees several times reassumed the offensive, and in the commencement of the year 1824, they occupied the gorges of the chain of mountains that defends their country, and kept the holy cities in a state of alarm. In the month of February, only five months before he embarked Ibrahim Pasha and his army for the Morea, Mehemet Ali was obliged to despatch a considerable force by Cosseir, the Desert, and the Red Sea, to make head against those Arabs. This force checked the Wahhabees and saved the holy cities.

To return to Mehemet Ali's efforts to recover Greece for the sultan, in October 1825 he sent 8000 more disciplined troops of the line to Ibrahim Pasha, together with a good supply of field and battering artillery, and ammunition.

With these reinforcements Ibrahim carried on a successful, but a barbarous warfare; he retook nearly all the places lost by the Turks, and the remnant of the Greek people was doomed to transportation into Egypt, and their place was to have been supplied by submissive colonies from the banks of the Nile, when the treaty of the 6th of July, followed up by the battle of Navarino, arrested his destructive triumph, and secured to Greece an existence as an independent state.

Before that crisis, overtures were made to Mehemet Ali in the name of the allied powers, to withdraw his troops and fleet from the Morea, and to detach himself from the sultan, at least inasmuch as related to the Greek war, which those powers had determined should cease. How far beyond this the proposals made went to affect his allegiance to the sultan, is known to Colonel Cradock and others who were in the diplomatic secrets. About the time of Colonel Cradock's arrival (August, 1827) in Egypt, the pasha was smarting under the bad news, that the Wahhabees had again issued from their mountain gorges and even taken Mecca once more; he was in immediate want of troops, to defend the countries under his own government; he knew the weakness of the sultan, that a war with Russia was imminent, that the fleets, not only of Russia, but of England and France were in the Mediterranean; but he still persisted in fidelity to his liege, and though, it is said, guarantees were offered to him for his future security, he would give no other answer to the representations made to him on the part of the allies, than that he was a subject of the Porte, and could enter into negociations only on the express order

of the sultan, and in the sense he (the sultan) should determine. This fidelity cost him his valuable fleet.

It will be remembered also, that even after the catastrophe of Navarino, Mehemet Ali was slow in withdrawing his troops from Greece, and that he affected to act in everything as the sultan's most submissive servant.

The clearly foreseen war with Russia then took place;—it exhausted the sultan, and the second campaign saw a Russian army almost at the walls of Constantinople. Mehemet Ali might have declared his independence and laid his hands on Syria, in those moments of misfortune and weakness; yet he remained quiet and respectful, though backward in paying *all* the demands made on him for money by the Porte.

The Russian war was soon followed by the dangerous revolt of the Albanians, which cost the impoverished sultan much money and many men. So deranged, indeed, was the state of things produced by this struggle, that when Mr. D. Urquhart, who has just published an interesting work on Turkey and Greece*, travelled through Albania and European Turkey in 1830, during the sanguinary contest, he entertained "very little hope of seeing the country tranquillized, or the Turkish rule prolonged." This, too, one would have thought a favourable moment† for Mehemet Ali to develope the ambitious plans he has since acted upon, yet still he remained quiet: and it is curious to observe, (a fact mentioned by Mr. Urquhart) that out of those very Albanians, who would then have assisted his attempt, by diverting the arms of the Turks in Europe, the sultan, after reducing them to order, mustered 6000 brave soldiers, who were the nucleus and strength of the grand vizier's army in Asia Minor, and by far the most formidable foes with whom the Egyptians have had to contend in their advance on Kutaiah. At last, in November 1831, the quarrel between Mehemet Ali and Abdallah Pasha of Acre, broke out.

Proceeding now without waiting for orders from the Porte, an Egyptian army with proper artillery and European engineer officers (in all, very superior in quality to the force that ineffectually besieged the same place in 1822) laid siege to Acre, and took it on the 27th May, 1832, after a bold resistance of six months. The fierce Abdallah was carried as prisoner of war to Mehemet Ali, who treated him with great respect.

Abdallah had been any thing, rather than a submissive or faithful vassal to the sultan; the sultan, however, naturally averse to see pashas carrying on war on their own account, (though such things have not been rare in the Turkish empire,) reprobated the conduct of Mehemet Ali, and espoused the cause of Abdallah.

We cannot determine how far the angry, uncompromising tone assumed by the Porte may have influenced the conduct of Mehemet Ali; but it is natural to suppose he would never have given up Acre, which had belonged to Egypt at no very remote period, and had long been an object of desire in his eyes. And then Acre, as Bonaparte felt when he besieged it, was the key to Syria, and having taken it,—having taken the first step, which is the one that costs most,—Mehemet Ali may not have been able to resist the temptation of so easy a conquest as lay before him, and the prospect of uniting under his rule, the dominions of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, viz., Egypt, large tracts of Syria, and the whole of Palestine.

Whatever were his motives, the fact was, he sent forward Ibrahim with an Egyptian army, which overran and occupied Syria almost without resistance. He would willingly have stayed his career of conquest on the Syrian frontier, and here, had the sultan properly attended to his own weakness, he would have treated with his emancipated and powerful vassal, permitting him to retain what he could not hope, at present, to wrench from him. But Mahmoud was obstinate, and the successful Ibrahim penetrated into Asia Minor, and advanced towards the capital of the Turkish empire. The sultan, too late, conscious of his want of strength, then called in the aid of the Russians—his enemies of but the other day—the power that by prophecy and long belief, the Turks look upon as the sure destroyer of their empire. Nothing that the sultan has done, or left undone, no enormity, no other attack on the prejudices of the Mussulman people could have done so much to dethrone him in their hearts, as this last fatal proceeding. The orthodox Mussulmans had, indeed, long considered parts of his conduct as contrary to the laws of the prophet; but on learning that he had summoned the Muscovites to his aid, they held him as a downright ghiaour or infidel. This feeling was more particularly declared in Asia Minor, where Ibrahim was then encamped as a conqueror, for the Turks there are much more bigoted than the Turks in Europe.

Nor does it appear that the sultan has gained anything by thus debasing himself, and offending the prejudices of his people. Even after the arrival of a Russian fleet and army at his capital, he has had to make peace with Ibrahim through the medium of a French diplomatist, and to grant to the pasha of Egypt the very terms the pasha would have accepted at the beginning of the campaign, and neither less nor more than he demanded before the arrival of the sultan's Muscovite allies*. Unless the troops and population of the place had risen against him, Mahmoud was safe in Constantinople without the Russian aid. Ibrahim Pasha could not have crossed even the narrow Bosphorus without something like a fleet, and the introduction of a fleet into those seas by the Dardanelles, though once effected by the English, was far too bold a project for the Egyptian marine. The fact was, Mehemet Ali not only never thought of attacking Constantinople, but he never thought his army would go so far as it did into Asia Minor.

The causes that facilitated the extraordinary progress of Ibrahim Pasha merit attention. One of the greatest difficulties in the opinion of Europeans who had travelled in that country, was the obtaining of provisions for his army. These gentlemen had seen the arrival of only six or eight individuals occasion an apparent dearth in a village; but they had travelled with an escort of armed Turks, from whom the timid inhabitants carefully concealed all signs of wealth and abundance. On Ibrahim's approach, as it was found he made no military extortions, and paid for all that was furnished for his army, the cultivators flocked to him with their hidden stores of grain, and he thus found comparative abundance, where a Turkish army probably would not have been able to detect a bushel of corn. We have this information from persons who were in the country at the time. Moreover, ever since the year 1829, whole districts in the interior of Asia Minor had been in almost a continual state of revolt. They longed for a change of masters, and welcomed an army of the same faith as themselves, led on by the guardian of the holy sepulchre of the prophet†, as friends and deliverers. And then, that army itself was infinitely superior in quality to that which the sultan had to oppose to it. Mehemet Ali, who had long before annihilated the power of the turbulent Mamelouks, began his military reforms in 1815. Mahmoud did not dispose of his turbulent janissaries, and commence the formation of a disciplined army *à l'Européenne*, until 1825. The pasha had thus the incalculable advantage of ten years over the sultan. He had also a set of instructors; a staff of fifty French and Italian officers, all men of experience, and some of them men of distinguished talents in their profession, and conversant with all that enters into the organization and disposing of an army. The sultan had scarcely six European officers of any merit, and Calosso, the best of these, was merely a good cavalry officer. Excepting the 6000 Albanians we have mentioned, and who were excellent troops, the grand vizier, when he met Ibrahim in the field, had nothing but undisciplined hordes, an ill-armed rabble. The sultan could not spare his tacticoes‡ from Europe. Add to all this, the Egyptians had a retrospect of victory. They

* "Turkey and its Resources," &c. &c. London. 1833.

† At the same time, in European Turkey, the Servians had asserted and secured their independence, and the Bosnians, who had formerly furnished brave troops, scorned all intercourse with the Porte.

* Mehemet Ali's condition, that Adana should be ceded to him, caused some delay in the negociations. The prize, however, was worth contending for. The district of Adana, situated in a corner, between Syria and Karamania, though not extensive, is fertile, salubrious and beautiful. The Pasha of Egypt pretended to covet possession of it on account of its fine wood and materials for shipbuilding; but it is more than probable he looked to it as a place whence he might avail himself of the advantages presented by the contiguous coast of Karamania. What those natural advantages are, and what is the present impoverished, distracted state of that country, with many other matters of great interest, the reader may learn from Captain Beaufort's admirable volume on Karamania.

† This title was bestowed by the sultan on Ibrahim, after he had recovered Mecca and its treasures from the Wahhabees.

‡ The regular troops of the Sultan are so called by the Franks.

had been victorious in Arabia against the Wahhabees, in Dongola, Sennaar and Cordofan, in the Morea, and before Acre; whereas the Turks had scarcely anything to look back upon, except a lengthened series of defeats. We trust these few words will render intelligible, the success of Ibrahim Pasha against the Sultan.

In an article in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for June last, all the misfortunes that have befallen the sultan, are attributed to his having disturbed the old order of things, and meddled with the elements of *reform!* Does the author of that article know what was the execrable old order of things in Turkey? or does he fancy that the despised, unwarlike janissaries, who, for so many years, had ceased to be formidable to any others than their own sovereign, their peaceable countrymen, and the Christian and Jewish rajahs, would have been more successful against the Russians, than the sultan's disciplined troops? The reverses of the Ottoman Porte are not attributable to any such cause. Constant defeat had heaped dirt on the national banner; the empire, before reform, was hurrying on to the last stage of dissolution, and reform might have saved it, had it not been attacked by the Russians before reform was matured, or had time to develope its benefits. It was, then, not reform, but the interruption of reform, that laid Turkey prostrate. And was not this writer, who goes to the flagitious old Ottoman government for arguments in support of Tory principles, struck with the brilliant successes of Mehemet Ali? and can he deny that the whole and sole source of the means by which those successes have been achieved, sprang from the matured reform the pasha of Egypt had effected in his own dominions?

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE LAW OF LIBEL.

ACCORDING to the present practice of the English law, when a person who conceives himself to have been injured by a libel brings an action for damages against the author or publisher, he will fail to obtain a verdict if it shall be proved that the statements of the libel are true. Satisfactory evidence to that effect is held to be an answer to the charge. The admission of this principle has no doubt been forced upon the courts by the obvious consideration, that otherwise a man without shame might make a trading stock of his bad character and immoral conduct, committing disgraceful acts for the mere purpose of afterwards filling his pocket at the expense of whosoever should expose or notice them.

When the author or publisher of what is asserted to be a libel, however, is called upon to answer for it on an indictment, that is to say on a demand, not that he shall be made to pay damages to the prosecutor, but that he shall be punished as one who has committed an offence, it is not allowed to be any justification of the libel that its statements are true. The question of its truth or falsehood is not permitted to be brought forward.

The apology which is made for this mode of proceeding in the law is, that every uttering of a libel is in itself a crime, and as such, obnoxious to punishment. It is an act which, for certain reasons, good or bad, has been interdicted; and, therefore, merely to plead that the libel is true, without proving that it has not been uttered, can be no answer to the charge.

Those, consequently, who contend for the admission of evidence as to the truth or falsehood of the libel, on the trial of an indictment respecting it, must be understood to demand the abandonment of the principle or rule of law which declares the utterance of a libel to be in itself always a penal act, and the adoption of the entirely different principle, that a libel shall only be held to be a crime in certain circumstances. What these circumstances ought to be, is the next point to be determined.

In regard to this matter, there are only two propositions which have been made—the first, that the utterance of what the law now calls a libel should only be held to be a crime when the person so charged shall fail to prove the statements of the libel to be true;—the second, that proof of the truth of the libellous statement shall not be admitted as an absolute justification of the utterance, but shall nevertheless be allowed to be brought forward, for the jury to give what weight to it they may think fit.

This short account will put the reader in possession of the various conflicting views to which the subject has given rise, and of the general grounds upon which each professes to rest. Early in the present session, a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Francis Vincent, one of the members for St. Alban's, to alter and amend the laws respecting libels, which at present stands for a second reading on Wednesday the 3rd of July. It is not probable that the bill will now pass this session; but there is little doubt that this or some other measure of a similar character will very soon receive the sanction of the legislature.

The principle upon which Sir Francis Vincent's bill proceeds is that which we have mentioned as the second of the two propositions that have been suggested for the improvement of the present law. One of its enactments is, "that in every proceeding for a libel, whether the same be by action or indictment, it shall be lawful for the defendant to give in evidence the truth of the matter or imputation contained in, or conveyed by, the publication charged as a libel." The evidence of the truth of the libel, in other words, is to be tendered, not as its absolute justification, but as an essential part of the case on which the jury are to pronounce their verdict.

Public opinion may be said to be made up as to the absurdity and oppressive character of the principle that a libel is, in all cases, as deserving of punishment when it is true, as when it is false. The law has never yet distinctly defined what a libel is; and by Mr. Fox's celebrated act, passed in the 32nd year of George III, the determination of the question, whether the publication charged be a libel or no, is left with the jury. It has been commonly said, that in this case, we have a singular instance of juries being called upon to decide a question of law as well as a question of fact; but if such a duty were really imposed upon juries by Mr. Fox's bill, it would, in our opinion, be but little deserving of the commendation which it has generally received. Juries are obviously incompetent to pronounce upon questions of law; to do this is the province of the judge. But it is, in truth, because the question of whether any publication be or be not a libel is not a mere question of law, but, to a great extent, if not mainly, a question of fact, that Mr. Fox's bill has most properly left its decision with the jury. It is as much a question of fact as is the question whether any particular act or thing which is complained of be or be not a nuisance; or the question whether the killing of a man, in any given circumstances, be a murder or a homicide; or many of the other questions, the determination of which is equally left with the jury. In the instance of a libel, precisely as in all those other instances, the jury are, especially since the passing of Mr. Fox's act, called upon to deliver their verdict upon a consideration of the whole case, and with all the circumstances before them. They are called upon to say guilty or not guilty, of having published *a* libel, not of having published *the* libel.

It is true that, while confiding all this discretion to the jury, the law may still consistently say, that the truth or falsehood of the statement shall not be taken into consideration as one of the ingredients affecting its libellous character. But to lay down such a principle as this, seems, at any rate, to be neutralizing nearly all the benefit of the power allowed to be exercised by the jury, and making the transference to them of the duty of deciding whether the subject of the charge be a libel or no, appear to be without either propriety or meaning. If there be one consideration which more than any other is likely, in certain cases at least —we should indeed say in most cases—to sway the opinion of a jury as to whether a particular writing, or other utterance, deserved to be declared criminal, it is precisely that of its truth or falsehood. Let the law say what it may, therefore, we may be quite certain that this consideration will seldom be really overlooked by the jury. Evidence distinctly bearing upon the point may be prevented from being brought forward on the trial; but it is impossible to prevent an impression being made as to how the fact really stands; and upon that impression the jury will act. They will not be disposed, in a multitude of cases at least, to pass the same condemnation upon the author of a statement which they have reason to think is perfectly true, however libellous, as they would do upon the author of a similar libel, every sentence of which they believe to be a falsehood, uttered in the knowledge that it was false.

This, then, is the state of the case. The fundamental and guiding principle of the law may be considered as having been laid down in the express statute which gives the right of deciding the question of libel or no libel to the jury. If

the law is to be consistent with itself, and not to fight by one of its provisions against the object which it affects to promote by another, all its arrangements ought to be brought into accordance with the spirit of this its leading regulation. But, for the reasons alluded to above, juries, entrusted with the power granted to them by Mr. Fox's act, will not, in judging of the criminality of a libel, overlook the circumstances of its truth or falsehood. If they are not allowed to obtain a knowledge of that circumstance from the direct evidence brought forward on the trial, they will still found their verdict upon what they may merely believe or suspect regarding it. Nothing therefore is gained by preventing the point in question from being made the subject of evidence. The law, in laying down this prohibition, merely attempts what it cannot compass. It may exclude the evidence from the court, but it cannot exclude the consideration of the matter from the minds of the jury. The only effect is to leave them to come to their determination on a vague, and it may be erroneous guess, instead of on correct and clear information as to the fact.

Nor does there appear to be any sufficient reason for laying it down as a general principle, that the truth or falsehood of the libel is really unimportant in reference to its criminal character. It is commonly said that an injurious imputation directed by one person against another, even although true, has still a tendency to interrupt the peace and order of society; and, on that account, ought to be punished. But if every act were to be prohibited to which that tendency might be ascribed, the business of the world could not be carried on. Profligacy and insolence would have it all their own way. It would be to surrender the rule of human affairs, without resistance or question, to mere might and wrong. But this notion is really, we believe, nothing more than a popular misconception arising from the charge in an indictment for libel, as in all other indictments, that the act of the defendant was done against the peace of our lord the king —which means, simply, that it was done in violation of the law.

The true ground on which the present law of libel stands, would rather seem to be that, if an individual has committed an act deserving of blame, it is not fair to call him to account for it in any court, except upon the trial of a charge regularly made against him. On a trial, for example, with regard to the criminal character of a particular publication, it is not fair that the person, whose conduct the publication attacks, should be called upon to defend or explain that conduct. This, it is said, would be in fact to try two distinct questions, affecting two different parties, at one and the same time.

But there is not much, after all, in this plausible reasoning. In many other cases, as well as in that under consideration, the same legal investigation may be regarded as having for its object the examination and decision of two several questions at the same time. Whenever the fact of one party being in the right depends upon and involves the fact of the opposite party being in the wrong, there are two questions examined and decided by the same trial. Now this is precisely what would happen on a trial for libel under the proposed new law. Whenever evidence of the truth of the libel was accepted by the jury as its justification, their verdict, acquitting the defendant, would indeed in so far condemn the plaintiff. But, on the other hand, it would not condemn him to any punishment, even if the charge made against him in the libel should have been a penal one. It would only assert that he was not placed in circumstances entitling him to demand the punishment of the defendant.

But the shortest, and at the same time the best, answer to these and all other objections which may be urged against the proposed amendment of the law, is found in the fact already noticed, that in an action for damages on account of a libel, evidence that the libel is true has long been allowed to be brought forward on the side of the defence. It cannot therefore be pretended that any actual inconvenience would follow from the introduction of the same rule into the trial of indictments. The innovation might, indeed, injure a little the technical symmetry of our legal system; but that, we believe, would be the whole amount of its injurious effect.

We have said nothing in illustration of the desirableness of having the publication of the truth, in general, secured from punishment; that being, we conceive, too obvious to be disputed. At the same time we hold that the present bill takes the proper line, when it proposes to admit evidence of the truth of the libel, not as its absolute justification, but only as matter for the consideration of the jury. There are cases in which the truth of an injurious imputation ought certainly not to be received as a justification of its utterance. Some particular passage in a man's history, in which he has deserved blame, is not to be allowed to be constantly held up to his annoyance, by any one who chooses, out of pure malignity, or from some other base or private motive to do so. Proof of something more than the truth of the statement ought surely to be required in such a case to justify the libeller. He ought to be called upon to show, in addition, that his object was a good one.

The bill before us contains a variety of other new regulations; but these we do not at present notice, as they can hardly be said to involve any important principle, and may also be, some of them, altered before the proposition shall pass into a law. The point to which we have confined our attention forms the essential enactment of the bill.

CORPORATION REFORM.

We refer our readers to an article in the first number of the Companion for a general view of the origin and present state of our municipal corporations, and of the principal points in their constitution, or at least in the condition into which they have fallen, that require alteration and reform. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of these bodies in England and Ireland, has now been printed, along with the Evidence taken by the Committee in twenty-seven sittings, from the 25th of February to the 3d of May in the present year inclusive. The whole forms a volume of nearly 400 pages.

The Report itself, however, is very short and general. The Committee, conceiving, as they state, that they would best discharge their duty by inquiring how far Corporations, as at present constituted, were useful and efficient, rather than by seeking to detect past abuses with a view to their exposure or punishment, confined their examinations principally to corporate officers, from whom, of course, they could expect to ascertain little more than what they might have derived from an inspection of the charters of the several boroughs. Yet even upon the information thus collected, they have come to a conclusion strongly unfavourable to the existing order of things in almost all our corporations. The following passage in the Report enumerates and explains the principal points which they conceive to call for attention in the contemplated revision of the system:—

"The jurisdiction of corporations is defective in some cases in consequence of the town having been extended beyond the limits of the ancient borough: and, in other cases, it is objectionable, from extending to places that are distant, and more properly falling within the jurisdiction of county magistrates.

"The principle which prevails of a small portion of corporators choosing those who are to be associated with them in power, and generally for life, is felt to be a great grievance. The tendency of this principle is to maintain an exclusive system, to uphold local, political, and religious party feelings, and is destructive of that confidence which ought always to be reposed in those who are entrusted with control, judicial or otherwise, over their fellow-citizens.

"One of the consequences of this system of close election has been, that publicity has been rarely given to the amount and application of the funds belonging to the different corporations. It is probable that, if in this respect the corporations had acted under the influence and control of public opinion, their debts would have been less in amount, and more benefit would have been conferred on the community. It is desirable, therefore, that the management and expenditure of corporate funds should be subjected to a systematic and efficient control.

"The powers vested in corporations for the administration of justice, both criminal and civil, are various and extensive, and are among the most important objects of inquiry. In some cases, the choice of recorders has been, both in practice and in principle, highly creditable to the corporations; in other cases, recorders have been chosen of unexceptionable character, but selected rather on account of their rank and station, than from a regard to their fitness to discharge the duties of the office. The way in which the juries are summoned seems to be left too much to the discretion of the parties whose duty it is to summon them. There are no regular lists of those liable to serve on juries, and there is no control over the discretion of the officer, who selects, from

among those qualified by law, such as he pleases. The civil courts appear either to have fallen entirely into disuse, or to have been but little resorted to. According to the evidence given before the Committee, the Admiralty's jurisdiction, belonging to the corporation of Yarmouth, is one which has not been administered advantageously or usefully, and that, and others, if such there be, are very fit subjects for future inquiry and improvement.

"The privileges and exemptions from tolls and dues which are enjoyed by freemen give them, in some cases, very considerable advantage, in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of life, over those who are not freemen. It is stated, that two persons engaged in trade in Hull, and in all other respects being equal, except that the one is, and the other is not, a freeman, the exemption from port and other dues will give an advantage to the freeman to the amount of 100*l.* per annum. It may well be questioned whether such exemptions rest on any public principle sufficiently strong to compensate for, and justify an interference with, that equality of rights which ought to be enjoyed by members of the same community. In most considerable places, private acts of parliament have been obtained for the purpose of watching, paving, and lighting the towns. Thus some important functions of police have been transferred to bodies independent of, and unconnected with, the corporations; and as the Committee did not consider that, under the reference made to them, they had power to inquire into the efficiency and administration of those acts, as regards the police of the respective towns, they have abstained from the inquiry. It may be remarked, however, that it is probable that if the corporations had been more popularly constituted, and had enjoyed a larger share of public confidence, they might have been invested with a greater, if not an exclusive, control over the execution of these acts of parliament."

They afterwards add the following general expression of the opinion to which they have come as to the means to be taken in order to restore the usefulness of these institutions;—

"Your Committee are further led to infer, that corporations, as now constituted, are not adapted to the present state of society; the corporative officers are not identified with the community, who have rarely any influence in choosing them, and have no control over their proceedings; corporate offices, even the highest in rank, are not always objects of desire, and are likely to be less so now that the political influence of corporations has been so much diminished. To make corporations instruments of useful and efficient local government, it seems to be essential that the corporate officers should be more popularly chosen; that the offices should be accessible to all that have entitled themselves by their conduct to the good opinion and confidence of their fellow-citizens; that their proceedings should be open and subject to the control of public opinion: and that it should be felt by the community that the maintenance of order, and the equal administration of justice in all things, depend on the energy and principle of the corporate officers. If these objects could be obtained, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the wholesome influence and authority of corporations would be increased, that their powers of usefulness would be extended, that public confidence would be established, and that the desire of honourable distinction and the sense of duty would call into the service of the community those who are most capable of discharging the duties of the corporate offices with ability and integrity. Such are some of the results which your Committee anticipate from a zealous and honest prosecution of this most important inquiry."

The Report concludes as follows:—

"The proposal to recommend the appointment of a commission has met with the almost general concurrence of the Committee.

"If the country is divided into districts, the labour will be abridged; the commissioners being on the spot, will be accessible to those who have important facts to communicate; they will be enabled to command the evidence necessary to decide on the weight of conflicting statements; and they may, in a short space of time, collect the necessary information more easily and more accurately than it could be obtained by any other proceeding. Your Committee, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, earnestly recommend that no time should be lost in taking the necessary measures for appointing commissioners to prosecute the inquiry with promptitude and vigour, so that the materials to be collected may be arranged and brought under the consideration of Parliament early in the next session."

The evidence, as might be expected from the sources whence it is chiefly derived, affords so imperfect an exposition of corporation abuses that we shall not at present submit any extracts from it. We may look for a much more searching and complete investigation of the subject from the commission which is probably about to be appointed. Such an investigation is quite indispensable to enable Parliament properly to deal with the evil, and to construct the better system that must be substituted for the present. Meanwhile the Report, as far as it goes, is extremely satisfactory and gratifying, and may be regarded as a most auspicious beginning of the work of reform in this important department.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

IN our fourth number we gave an account of the principal provisions of the bill which has been introduced into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, for establishing Courts of Local Jurisdiction, in order, as it is expressed in the preamble, that the means may be "afforded to the people of this realm of having their suits tried as speedily and as near their own homes as may be, whereby expense, vexation, and delay, may be avoided." This bill has now been read a second time, and is at present in committee. The measure is one of the most important ever submitted to the legislature, and we therefore return to it for the purpose of adding a few observations in further illustration of the great principle which it involves.

With the exception of the courts of quarter sessions, and certain ancient district courts, irregularly scattered over the country, and exhibiting every conceivable diversity of constitution and jurisdiction, England, as is well known, does not at present possess any other tribunals for the trial of causes except those which sit in Westminster Hall, and those which are held twice in the year in other parts of the kingdom, by the judges on circuit. The principle of the system is, that the dispensation of justice over the whole realm shall proceed from, and be governed throughout by, the body of judges sitting in Westminster Hall, who accordingly are appointed, either collectively or individually, to act as its sole superintendents. In this way it is conceived that the surest means are taken to secure the important object of a uniformity in the administration of the law: and to prevent the many inconveniences and mischiefs that would arise from decisions on legal points being given by one independent tribunal, contradictory in principle to those proceeding from another.

It would appear that, for the sake of this object, the system of English judicature has, in the course of ages, been materially changed from its original form. In the Saxon times, local courts seem to have existed not only in every county or shire, but even for smaller districts; and their jurisdiction, in regard at least to civil suits, was probably of unlimited extent. Some have even thought that they had a criminal jurisdiction also. The abolition of these tribunals, whatever peculiar advantages may have been afterwards discovered in the new system, in all likelihood originated merely in the despotic policy of the first Norman kings, and their wish to retain in their own hands so immense a power as that of the interpretation and administration of the law for the whole country. The Court of King's Bench, to which all the other courts in the kingdom were thus subjected, was, in the literal sense of the words, the king's own court, which for a long time followed him wherever he went, and in which he frequently presided in person, while the ordinary judges were always of his appointment, and sat merely as his substitutes. It is true, that as good often arises out of evil, this arrangement has eventually turned out to be productive of certain advantages which were probably but little contemplated when it was first introduced; but this accidental result has perhaps had the effect of making some inconveniences be too much overlooked with which it has been also attended.

Among these is one at least of serious magnitude—the general withdrawal of justice from the doors of the people, to a distance at which it is always of difficult access, and frequently altogether inaccessible. If two of the king's subjects have a difference respecting a matter of which the law of the land can take cognizance, they are entitled to have it decided in the speediest and cheapest manner that is consistent with the dispensation of justice to each. Under the

system according to which the law is now administered in England, this principle seems to be almost wholly forgotten or disregarded. The making justice speedy and cheap does not appear to have been thought an object worth aiming at. It cannot be said that the attempt has failed; it never has been made. It may possibly be that law cannot be lowered in price without being also deteriorated in quality; but our present system cannot be deemed even to have recognised the former result as desirable, although there were nothing to prevent its being attained. The spirit of that system may almost be asserted to have rather been that cheap law was in itself an evil- that the more expensive, tedious, and vexatious, suits could be made, so much the better—that the farther justice could be removed from every man's door, as if it were the case of some nuisance upon which people wanted to turn their backs, the more perfect did the arrangements of society deserve to be accounted.

Other views, however, have of late years begun to be expressed. The public have become tired of the blessings of dear and difficult law. The suitor who, having obtained a judgment in his favour, finds that he is nevertheless out of pocket by the result of the action, after having been put a thousand times out of temper during its dilatory progress, has shown symptoms of a disposition to grumble at this mode of dispensing justice, by which, although declared to be in the right, he is yet treated as if he were in the wrong. Even the less unfortunate litigant, who has succeeded in recovering a part of his claim, and has thus come off a gainer upon the whole, asks why he should have had so much trouble, and should have been put to so much expense, in obtaining what was his due. Supposing the outlay to be all eventually repaid, still its pressure in the first instance is severely felt. To the man who is without funds, it is often a complete bar to the assertion of his right, let it be ever so strong. Plaintiff and defendant, in every suit, except where one of the parties is playing a dishonest game, and making use of the heavy charges of the cause to oppress and overwhelm his adversary, alike suffer and cry out under this grievance.

These complaints have long ago established a general conviction in the public mind in favour of some such measure as that which is now, we trust, about to be adopted by the legislature. The institution of a system of local judicatories has been recommended to Parliament by several of the most influential persons on both sides of politics. Many years ago, the subject was taken up by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp. A bill to effect its accomplishment was afterwards introduced into the House of Commons by Mr (now Sir Robert) Peel, then one of the ministers of the crown. On the 29th of April, 1830, the present Lord Chancellor (then Mr. Brougham) obtained leave to bring in another bill for the same purpose. In the debate which took place on this occasion, a concurrence in the general views of the mover was expressed by Mr. Secretary Peel, the Solicitor-General (Sir Edward B. Sugden), and other speakers; and no opposition was made to the proposition for bringing in the bill. The measure, however, after having been read a second time and committed, was allowed to drop, principally in consequence of the prorogation of Parliament in the following July. A few days after the commencement of the next session, namely, on the 10th of November, Mr. Brougham again introduced nearly the same bill, but was prevented from carrying it farther by his removal soon after to the House of Lords. On the 2d of December following, however, he brought it forward in that house, when it was read once and ordered to be printed, but was not farther proceeded with. The present bill, which differs from the former in some of its details, was introduced by his Lordship on the 28th of March in the present year. The public attention, therefore, has been repeatedly called to the subject; and ample opportunities have been afforded for its consideration. But, notwithstanding this, on none of the occasions on which the measure has been brought forward, with the exception of the last, has any stand been made by any party or individual against its principle, or more than some doubts expressed as to the practicability or expediency of some of its provisions.

Even now it can hardly be said that the principle of the bill has been contested. Both Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Eldon, while objecting to several of its details, have, by implication at least, assumed the possibility of its coming out of the committee in such a form as might induce them to withdraw their opposition. Lord Lyndhurst, in the committee, even described a counter-project of his own, by which he proposed to attain the same object with that contemplated by the Lord Chancellor's bill, namely, the providing of courts to which suitors might resort, and where they might have their causes tried, in the neighbourhood of their own homes. The necessity, therefore, of some such reform of the present system as shall secure this end, may be regarded as a point conceded on all hands. Whether the present measure shall pass or not, or whether it may or may not be found to answer its purpose, it may be taken as certain that Westminster Hall will not much longer continue to be the place in which nearly all the suits are carried on that arise in every part of England. There is now, however, every prospect that the bill, with some modification, perhaps, of a few of its clauses, will receive the sanction of the legislature.

JUVENILE VAGRANCY.

In our two preceding Numbers we have noticed and deplored the progressive growth of juvenile delinquency. To arrest this increasing evil, to snatch the youthful vagrant from temptation and misery, ere his mind is tainted with vice, to lead the young criminal from the path of guilt, and to give to both habits of virtue and industry, are among the highest objects which can engage the attention of the philanthropist. To preserve the rising generation from crime is at once to strike at the root of the mischief, since the misery in which our thieves and malefactors are reared is then destroyed. The benefit which is thus done to society is infinite, and every member of the community must be personally interested in the furtherance of such an object. "If crime and misery are increasing, is the public sufficiently aware that the fault is in a great measure our own? The felons of 1832 were the neglected children of 1810; and *prisons* are *colleges* where misguided youth is placed under the tuition of the most expert masters in the arts of fraud and villainy. In the streets and workhouses, thousands of children are under a course of education in crime at the public expense; eventually, perhaps, also to be hung or transported at the expense of the public."

The above quotation is from the Prospectus of a Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy, formed three years ago by Captain Brenton and some other benevolent individuals. It is evident, however, that such a Society should be on a very extensive plan to be productive of any permanent efficacy. Ample funds are necessary, as well as the active support of all persons who are more anxious to prevent the existence, than to punish the commission of crime. The above Society has, at present, an establishment at Hackney Wick for the education, employment, and maintenance of Juvenile Vagrants. Here they are instructed in reading and writing for about two or three hours daily, the rest of their time being spent in cultivating the ground. The master works with the boys and superintends their general conduct. He reports that, considering the circumstance of their having been taken from so degraded a class, their good behaviour and their industry are astonishing; they are in general, he adds, attentive to the instruction bestowed on them, and are apparently happy.

The history of some of these unfortunate children shows that, notwithstanding the enormous poor-rates levied in every parish, there are cases of hopeless poverty into which even children may fall; and that at the age when they still require the fostering care of a parent to minister to their wants they may be left neglected and alone, either to starve, to beg, or to steal, as their previous habits may lead them. The account given of himself by one little boy who is now in this asylum is particularly affecting. He is apparently about nine or ten years of age; and for the last twelve months this child has been a houseless wanderer in Hyde Park. He does not recollect ever to have been the object of a mother's care. His father was a seaman, and when he went on his last voyage, left 30*s.* for the use of his child, who received it in weekly payments of three shillings at a time. The father died on his passage home, and no farther allowance was made to the boy; on which the woman with whom he lived refused to keep him, and turned him adrift. He then went to the place where he was accustomed to be paid his weekly allowance, and some compassionate sailors gave him money. He afterwards called again at his former dwelling, but the woman no longer lived there; from that time he begged in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park, and at

night slept in a hollow tree. In the severe weather he obtained some straw to put into his miserable resting-place; but he was often very cold. Many days he was entirely without food, and once he fasted for forty-eight hours. He was sometimes ill, yet with all this suffering he would not steal, because, as he says, "his father told him it was a crime to God." If he attempted to join other boys, they drove him from them; and thus was this poor little outcast struggling through life, till he was discovered and received into this asylum, where he is very happy and very willing to work. It appears that, joined to the excellent moral precepts of his father, he had likewise received some education for six months in a national school at Whitechapel, and can now read tolerably well. There is no reason to doubt the truth of the child's statement; he has been repeatedly questioned and cross-examined by different gentlemen of the committee, and he has never deviated from his first account.

There are now about twenty-eight boys in this school; but it is evident that, with funds however large, the employment of young vagrants, and the reformation of juvenile offenders cannot be conducted on a sufficiently extensive scale at home. There are now on board the Euryalus convict hulk at Chatham, 407 boys, between the ages of nine and sixteen years. "I will only ask," says Captain Brenton, "if these poor creatures, thus pent up and associated, are likely to improve in their moral or religious habits; whether the trades of shoemakers and tailors, which they are learning, are likely to be enriched by their labours; or whether, on their release from the hulk, they are not likely to be out of work themselves, or to displace others in these crafts, which are already overstocked with labourers? Assuming that these questions can only be answered in the affirmative, I ask what possible good can accrue to society from such a forced and expensive education, and whether the honest and industrious of those trades, who have fairly served their time, and paid their premium of apprenticeship, have not a just right to complain that their earnings have been shared by a superabundance of workmen, who are thrust upon them by means of a government capital? For if these be *good* workmen, such must be the effect; and if bad workmen, then has the money expended on them been thrown away. The only remedy for this, and most of the evils now existing; is the application of labour to those works which can do injury to none, and are ready to receive all." Such occupation is to be found in our colonies. To maintain children here in the unprofitable labour of turning up soil which will yield little or no return, is clearly an improvident waste of that industry which might be beneficially employed in the more fertile lands of our colonies; and this society is anxious to extend its sphere of usefulness, by permanently providing for the myriads of poor children who infest our streets, and sending them to some of our possessions abroad. "Nor should we wait," says the Report, "until they had disgraced themselves by crime, or plundered and destroyed ten times as much as their voyage and outfit would cost. If children can be snatched from infamy at a small expense, and if our colonies will receive them, shall we not carry on the good work with vigour and perseverance equal to the object?"

The originators of this institution are already in communication with a committee of gentlemen of the Society for Promoting Emigration to the District of Albany at the Cape of Good Hope, who have evidently seconded the views of their correspondents, and are anxious to co-operate with them in every possible manner. Encouraged by this proffer of support, the Society has sent twenty-four boys to the Cape, and intends to forward another division as soon as its funds will admit. Government has paid one-half of the expenses of the passage and outfit of this first shipment, but is pledged no farther. "At the Midsummer sessions at the Old Bailey," to quote again from the Report, "*thirty-three* little boys, between ten and thirteen years of age, were sentenced to various terms of transportation; and thus the gangs of full-grown villains are constantly recruited by the operation of the law, and thieves are educated at the expense of government, at a greator cost than it would require to make them honest and happy."

The settlement to which the children have been sent, is Graham's town, a considerable distance inland. Since the first communication, "demands have been pouring in from the Cape of Good Hope to send children out in almost unlimited numbers." It is proposed that these children shall be consigned to a Committee of gentlemen in the settlement, who immediately on their arrival would draught them off among the settlers wishing for such young labourers*. To these settlers the children should be bound apprentices for five or seven years, according to their ages, and in return for their services, should be maintained entirely during that time, and should likewise receive at the end of their term something to begin the world with, when they could either become small farmers themselves, or continue as daily labourers. The committee would not lose sight of these apprentices, but would continue to watch over their welfare, and take care that they were well treated by their masters. Religious and moral education would, it is hoped, be provided for them as far as circumstances might render possible. The expense of furnishing with clothes and outfit, and of shipping the children already sent, was under 10*l.*, for each, while the cost of maintaining a child in a work-house is estimated at 10*l.* per annum; therefore, for not more than the cost of supporting them for one year, those children, who have no parents or friends to be interested in their welfare, whose melancholy, isolated situation, is emphatically denoted by the term "parish children" can be sent to a country where they may obtain independence by the exercise of honest industry, while by their labour they will materially benefit the rising colonies.

"In this society," says the 'South African Advertiser' of the 18th October, 1832, "we see the germs of much good to the Cape. Our friends in Albany, and other parts of the colony, have often expressed a strong desire for a steady supply of free labourers from Europe; and experience has shown, that such apprentices as the Society are training, would be upon the whole preferable to *adult* emigrants, whose habits have been formed in a state of society very different from that to be found in our agricultural districts, and whose *fixed* dispositions and tempers render them not only averse to a mode of life and a species of labour quite new to them, but in many instances absolutely incapable, even if willing, to discharge their duty as apprentices. * * If the Albany farmers take this plan into consideration, they can open a correspondence with the society upon very favourable grounds. In their district the apprentices would neither be associated with slaves, as in some other colonies—and in some districts, unhappily, of this colony—nor with convicts, as in New South Wales, or any of our other penal settlements. They would be soothed and reconciled to a life of peaceable industry by being placed among their own country people, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and entertaining the same feelings and sentiments respecting the many topics of daily thought and conversation with themselves."

In Nova Scotia, labour is likewise in great demand, and steps have been taken to establish a branch society there on the same plan as that at Graham's Town. The expense of sending children to this settlement it is supposed would not be more than 7*0s.* each. Some gentlemen who are now exerting themselves for the farther extension of this institution have likewise an interest in the prosperity of the emigrants of Nova Scotia, and are fully impressed with the conviction that the free importation of these young labourers will greatly benefit the colony. They are, therefore, willing to afford every facility which can best forward their emigration and promote their future advancement. Some of the members of the Society are rather desirous that delinquents before they are sent abroad should pass through a probationary state here; but to attempt this would be unadvisable in two points of view. The funds necessary for such a purpose, if the emigration be pursued on an extensive scale, would be much beyond what the most sanguine could hope to raise; while it is doubtful whether the work of reformation could be so successfully carried on among several hundreds of boys already initiated in vice. Rather take the children from their old haunts, separate them at once from their depraved associates, disperse them among respectable settlers where no bad example will be exhibited to them—where no motive for a continuance in depravity will be given to them, but on the contrary a strong motive for doing right. They are then placed in a more favourable situation for losing their old habits, and for becoming useful and virtuous members of society, than if they were under the most judicious course of education, within the limits of a school, where they must

* This is the settlement formed in the year 1820, when about 5000 British emigrants were conveyed to South Africa under the patronage of government; an account of their early adventures appeared in Nos. 51 and 52 of the "Penny Magazine."

necessarily herd with their old companions, or with some equally vicious. Emigration then, as soon as possible after they are received into the asylum here, appears to be the plan most likely to be attended with success.

If this great work is to be carried on to any beneficial extent, the co-operation of the hearts and heads of many benevolent and intelligent persons will be required—all acting in unison and with judicious foresight. A few individuals however zealous, however able, cannot unassisted accomplish so great an end. Large funds are essential to complete success; the time and thoughts of many intelligent persons are required to appropriate these funds judiciously. The benevolent may therefore be expected to come forward liberally with their aid in support of this most excellent and useful charity, the object of which is to promote both the happiness of the individuals more immediately benefited, and the good of society at large. By its successful working, not only crime, but the producing cause of crime, will be destroyed, and a wide spreading contagion of vice will be exchanged for individual industry, virtue, and happiness.

ABOLITION OF IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Among various important measures of law reform which have been this session introduced into the House of Commons by the Solicitor-General, is one entitled "A Bill for facilitating the recovery of Debts, the prevention of Frauds by Debtors, the relief of Debtors willing to make Cession of their property for the payment of their debts, and abolishing Imprisonment for Debt, except in cases of Fraud." The last of the objects enumerated is that which the bill may be said to have chiefly in view, and in reference to which all its enactments may be considered to be framed. The previous clauses having laid down the modes by which it is proposed that the property of debtors shall for the future in all cases be made available for the satisfaction of the claims of their creditors, the 81st and 82d clauses proceed as follows:—"And whereas the present power of arrest is unnecessarily extensive and severe, and, provision being made to facilitate the remedy of creditors against the property of debtors, may be safely relaxed; be it therefore further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, no person shall be arrested upon any process for debt issuing out of any court, unless the plaintiff shall make oath that he believes the debtor is about to abscond to avoid payment of his debt, or on special order made by one of the judges of the superior courts.—And be it further enacted, that if any debtor, having been arrested either on mesne or final process, shall bring an action against the person at whose suit he was arrested, it shall be incumbent on such person to prove that he had probable cause for believing that the party arrested was about to abscond."

If this bill shall, as there is every reason to expect, be passed into a law, it will put an end to the worst relic of barbarism that still disgraces our legal system. The principle on which the present law of arrest proceeds is, that to be owing money, and to be unable to pay it, is in all cases a species of crime. Imprisonment, or the deprivation of personal liberty, is one of the common punishments of criminals; it is also appointed to be the punishment of debtors. To this punishment all descriptions of debtors are subjected indiscriminately—no distinction being made between the worst cases of improvidence or of fraud on the one hand, and those of the most unavoidable misfortune on the other.

There are few persons, probably, who will contend at the present day that such a law as this is consistent either with equity or with common sense. The only object, indeed, which it can be reasonably regarded as contemplating, is the interdiction of credit altogether. It has in effect said that the person who borrows, or purchases on credit, although he will not be called to account if he shall be fortunate enough to be able to meet his obligations, nevertheless does so at the risk of being punished as a criminal, if any accident, no matter how unavoidable, should intervene to put it out of his power to discharge his debt when it becomes due. Or, to put the thing in another way, it has left every man who may have incurred a debt so far at the mercy of his creditor, that the latter, if not otherwise able to recover the amount with which he has entrusted him, may insist that he shall be treated as if he had committed some crime. What is this but to declare that to ask credit is really a criminal act, which will be punished whenever the perpetrator becomes involved in certain circumstances entitling another person to call upon the law to take its course, notwithstanding that it may be passed over when attention is not thus specially directed to it?

If this was really the object of the law, it would have been better to have enacted at once that credit should not be at all allowed, and that every person detected in so transgressing the law should be sent to prison. This would at any rate have been the more open and straight-forward course. Besides, in that case the power of applying or suspending the law, which is here the power of deciding whether or no an individual shall be treated as a criminal, would not have been left to the caprice of the very party who is worst situated for its calm and dispassionate exercise.

It is not impossible that, in the uncommercial period when our law of arrest originated, some prejudice against the practice of credit, akin to the prejudice against usury, may have contributed to its introduction and maintenance. It certainly, at any rate, would be no favourite object of legislation in those days to facilitate credit. But the motive of the law is no doubt to be principally sought in the same spirit which has given so tyrannical a character to various other laws protective of the rights of property, and which appears to have constantly regarded the conservation of those rights as an object almost paramount to every other. In this instance the operation of the spirit in question has produced a singular result. In the first place, the right of the creditor to his property, namely, the money due to him by his debtor, has been held to be so sacred that it has been deemed proper to allow it to be exercised at the cost even of the personal liberty of the debtor. And in the second place, the property of the debtor also has been fenced round with nearly the same extreme solicitude; so that in many cases it is actually possible to incarcerate his person, when it is impossible to lay hands upon a shilling of his property.

Any thing more absurd than this state of the law can hardly be imagined. Of two powers, either of which might have been given to him, the creditor has actually been denied the only one which he was likely to find at all serviceable in the recovery of his money, and invested with the other, which in most cases he cannot apply for that purpose with any effect whatever.

But the worst characteristic of the present law is its unnecessarily cruel bearing upon the debtor. We have already observed that it makes no distinction between the honest and the dishonest debtor—between the scoundrel who has incurred obligations which he never expected and perhaps never intended to discharge, and the merely unfortunate man who, without any fault of his own, may have been rendered unable to pay what he owes. But we might have gone farther than this: for it actually places the dishonest debtor in a far better position than the other. It sends both of them, indeed, to prison; but him who refuses to surrender his property for the benefit of his creditors, it permits to live there in the enjoyment often of almost any accommodations or luxuries his pecuniary resources can procure: while it leaves him who has honourably despoiled himself of everything, that he may pay what he owes, at least as far as he can, to pine in destitution and wretchedness on the gaol allowance. It thus offers an immense premium to dishonesty, and does its utmost to tempt and encourage the insolvent debtor to refrain from taking that course which is the only just one that he can adopt, namely, to surrender his property, if required, to the last farthing to help to discharge his debts.

The imposition of imprisonment as a punishment for the non-payment of a just debt, might indeed be necessary, were there no other method of giving the creditor a hold upon his debtor. The former must of course be enabled in some way or other to recover what is due to him from a party unwilling to pay it. But so far from there being no other means available for this purpose, there is a mode by which it would be answered a thousand times better, ready at hand if the law would only adopt it. It consists simply in depriving the creditor of his control over the person of his debtor, and giving him in exchange a control over his property.

This amendment of the law it is the object of the present bill to effect. We cannot here enter into any explanation of the various arrangements which it proposes with the view of placing the property of insolvent debtors more completely at the disposal of their creditors; but we may probably return to this part of the subject after the bill has received its last cor-

rections in passing through the two Houses. If it shall become a law, as we trust it will do, the improvement, we repeat, which it will introduce into our legal system, will be one of the greatest ever made. It will destroy a power held by one class of men over another class, which ought not to exist in a country calling itself civilized; which is more liable to be abused than any other which it would be possible to name; and which, in by far the majority of instances, is only injurious instead of the reverse to the interests even of the person exercising it himself. And for this barbarous, dangerous, and almost useless right of control, it will substitute a natural and really effective check, and one which can hardly admit of being in any circumstances abused.

COMBINATIONS.

THE metropolis, at the present moment, presents one of the most curious and instructive examples upon record, of the ignorance and tyranny which are too often displayed by workmen in the management of their unions. It is the case of the copper-plate printers.

Before we proceed to detail such of the facts of this particular case as have come to our knowledge, we must premise, that we thoroughly admit the right of workmen to join together for the protection of their own interests. The old combination laws were, with great propriety and justice, repealed, because they were destructive of the freedom of industry. The object which we have in view in pointing out some of the absurdities which united workmen commit, is to show that the greater number of their laws and regulations are, in the same way, destructive of the freedom of industry; that they could not be tolerated if they emanated from any government or corporate authority; and that, in truth, they are without any parallel in the extent of their folly, except the instances which are furnished by the anti-commercial decrees of various states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The copper-plate printers of London, for the most part, form a society or union. The number of workmen, altogether, does not reach 300. For the last fortnight the business has been nearly altogether suspended: and the progress of the periodical works of art, the great branch of the business, is either interrupted or altogether stopped. Several publications which had furnished employment for many hands, from month to month, will not appear on the regular day. The dispute between the masters and the journeymen originated in a question of price, not very important in its amount; but the masters, finding that the regulations of the union, as they ought to have discovered long ago, were calculated to embarrass the natural operations of their manufacture at every step, have resolved to resist many of the conditions which the men require to be observed before they will consent to exchange their labour for wages.

The business of plate-printing has very considerably increased within the last seven years, and it is daily increasing. This is the natural consequence of the introduction of engraving upon steel; by which the finest works of art may be so multiplied from a single plate, that they are placed within the capacity of purchase of the middle classes, instead of being the exclusive luxury of the rich. Now it is perfectly clear that, with an extending market, derived from an extension of the taste which creates a demand, the supply of labour which was adequate seven years ago is not sufficient now. In point of fact, the business of plate-printing in London has increased six-fold. The regulations of the workmen have not had the effect of proportioning the supply of labour to the demand: they have kept the supply below the demand, and consequently production has been impeded to a considerable extent. The labourer, the capitalist, and the consumer, are each injured by such regulations.

The principal points in which the combination of plate-printers exhibits a lamentable ignorance of the principles of commercial freedom are, 1st. in their regulations for the taking apprentices; 2d. in their proscription of all other workmen but those of London; and 3d. in their enforcement of enormous wages for night-work. For the assertion of their opinions upon these subjects nearly two hundred men are now out of employ: living, indeed, upon a common fund, but, in so living, exhausting the provision which might have supported them in sickness or old age. Unfortunately, they do not look to these casualties of life; the parish is at the end of a long vista of high wages and improvi[illegible]penditure.

With a rapidly increasing market, the two or three hundred plate-printers of London hold that they are equal to supplying all the demand of that market. They begin, therefore, by asserting that no master, whatever be the extent of his capital or connexion, whether he employs two presses or two hundred, shall take more than two apprentices—in some special cases three have been allowed. If any partner in a plate-printing firm has not been regularly apprenticed *in London*, the privilege of taking any apprentice at all is refused. This is tolerably arbitrary, to begin with. But the folly and despotism do not end here. Having prevented any addition to the number of labourers, with a rapidly increasing demand for their labour, the journeymen plate-printers draw a line of circumvallation round London; and maintain that no man shall be employed who has not been apprenticed in London, or within ten miles. Many plate-printers are employed in Birmingham—they cannot come to the metropolis; and yet the metropolis is ready to offer them constant work and high wages. An industrious and skilful hand in this branch may earn from 2*l*. to 3*l*. per week; and the extension of the market ensures the continuance of this state of things. But no: the workman from Birmingham is not to set foot in Middlesex; the workmen in Middlesex are resolved that no addition shall be made to their numbers; the extension of the market is of course to be limited by their authority. To prevent this extension they resolve to keep up prices;—and they set about this in a most injurious way.

The hours of work in this trade are from eight in the morning till eight at night, with two hours deducted for meals. There are no fines for not being at work early enough; but if a man presumes to stay a moment beyond eight in the evening without charging for night-work, he is fined a guinea. Night-work is paid one-half more than day-work: at night the work is worse done, and there is a waste of capital in artificial light. But the journeymen like night-work, and night-work accordingly enters largely into the price of all engravings.

We had intended to have offered a few parallel examples of the modes in which the freedom of industry was kept down by the ordinances of guilds and states in the infancy of commerce, but our space will not permit us, although we may return to the subject. These evils have been destroyed, as far as governments and municipal corporations have been concerned, by the growing intelligence of society, but chiefly by the competition of country with country. The nation which permitted such clogs upon industry to exist, found out that poverty and decrepitude followed in their train: and that whilst the interests of particular classes were sought to be protected, the common welfare of all was destroyed. It will be the same with all combinations of workmen which are founded upon such gross injustice as that of the plate-printers. They will be destroyed by competition. France, and the Netherlands, and Italy, have many skilful plate-printers, who will soon find their way to London if such ignorant resolutions as those we have described are persisted in. The journeymen of this trade are fortunately situated, if they could appreciate their own position. The wages of their labour must have a natural tendency to rise, if they will leave the balance of demand and supply in the labour-market to regulate itself.

Combinations of workmen are becoming so general, that it is of the utmost importance that some steps should be taken to inform them as to their own real interests. We shall endeavour to contribute to this work whenever we see occasion. We may properly conclude this notice by an extract from "The Information received by his Majesty's Commissioners as to the Administration and Operation of the Poor-Laws." It exhibits, in a very striking manner, the self-abasement and real misery which a workman encounters when he relies, not upon his own honest exertions, but upon union funds and parish funds—both, in their misapplication, intolerable evils:—

"A leather-dresser has, for some years past, preferred parish and casual relief to the honest gains of his employment. The overseer stated eighteen years as the period of his present mode of life. The pauper seems to think it is not quite so long; he talks of thirteen: however, he does not violently impeach the overseer's statement, which may therefore be assumed to be tolerably correct.

"He belongs to an incorporated or combined trade; the directors of this combination issue tickets to the members. These tickets are renewed from time to time. The holder

of one goes about from place to place, but must not take the same road more than once in six months. With these intervals he is again and again assisted, and, as in the present case, for a very long space of time together.

"This ticket is available in every part of the United Kingdom where a club or lodge of the trade is established. The individual in question might have had work at 1*l.* per week, but he refused to take it, or indeed 30*s.* per week; nothing under 2*l.* will satisfy him; and when pressed for reasons to account for his refusing such offers—when asked whether it would not be better to get 1*l.* per week than to trust to casual sources of support, he replied, that he should not like to be 'turned black' (query—returned, black?) which would be the case if he worked under price.

"Thus, then, as far as an individual instance will avail, (and it seems to be a fair sample of the general system,) we see the effects of parish aid upon the combinations for raising and keeping up wages, whose ramifications extend over the whole of these kingdoms. This man gets a ticket; he is, by his own admission, a most worthless fellow: to use his own mild and gentle language, he has been 'a very *foolish* man, his fault has been drinking.' Though at times of his life, and that too for long periods, he has been earning from 2*l.* to 3*l* per week, he has neglected to make the slightest provision for his future necessities; his health has been greatly impaired by his vicious habits; his character, probably his value as a workman, has been lowered by his own deliberate acts, yet he is not to take employment but at the highest wages; and in order to support him in this unreasonable demand, he gets a ticket from the trade, for which he pays 1*s.* 6*d.* per month, constantly: this furnishes him with his own support as a vagabond; for when he is at home his relief from the trade ceases, and the intervals of travelling are filled up by parish aid. His wife and family, let it be observed, are constantly on the parish, for *he* only travels his rounds. No source of support is objected to by his fellows; nothing incapacitates him from receiving the benefit of his ticket, but honest industry in his own trade: let it be known that he has once been guilty of this of making the best terms he could—of agreeing for what his services are worth, and supporting himself and his family honestly and in comfort—and he is struck off the list, and denied all future benefit from this fund: the payments to which are in a manner compulsory, and raised from all in the trade. It is probable that this fund, if honestly, and fairly, and properly expended, might nearly destroy all necessity for the members of this trade having recourse to parish aid: so far, however, from the funds being applied to such honourable and beneficial purposes, they are made to contribute to the support of combinations."

This is a condition which, we should think, every honest and intelligent workman would shrink from as the worst of calamities.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Since our last publication nine Reports, from the twentieth to the twenty-eighth, both inclusive, of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions have been issued. As before, we give an abstract, showing the most important parts of their contents. The number of petitions and signatures are the total amount presented during the session, except where mentioned to the contrary.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	39	25299
Against the septennial act	16	9290
Against nocturnal legislation	9	3155
For an alteration in the reform act	4	1594
Miscellaneous petitions connected with parliament	10	5214
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	1132	271282
Against the Sabbath observance bill	21	2914
Against the administering of oaths	19	1307
Against tithes and church-rates	1	119
For alteration of the laws relating to Roman Catholic marriages	7	4570
For the removal of religious disabilities	112	22248
Against lay patronage in Scotland	148	66197
Against church temporalities bill (Ireland)	113	9915
For better regulating the Established Church in Wales	6	2542
Ecclesiastical.		
For teaching the Irish to read the Scriptures in their own language	4	45
Against tithe commutation bill	5	437
For removal of civil disabilities from the Jews	49	45596
Against removal of disabilities from the Jews	4	134
For commutation of tithe	2	205
For abolition of tithes in England	45	17142
For abolition of tithes in Ireland	67	22461
For appointing in Ireland clergymen who speak Irish	2	10
Against the Irish Church establishment	10	3826
Taxes.		
Against the corn laws	20	19836
Against the assessed taxes	46	19923
Against the house and window tax	120	68306
Against taxes on knowledge	18	13283
Against malt tax	86	36368
Against stamp on receipts	23	8396
Against the tax on soap	38	5288
For a reduction of taxes	38	45513
Against various other taxes—none of these have been included in former publications	65	4608
Ireland.		
Against the new system of education	13	1486
For introduction of poor laws	19	3378
Against the disturbances bill	665	421345
For a repeal of the Union	36	10899
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	4942	1295813
Against abolition without compensation	5	937
For renewal of East India Charter	3	1805
Against the retail beer act	190	22997
In favour of ditto	15	13706
Complaining of abuses in corporations	124	71719
In favour of factories' regulation bill	94	114261
Against factories' regulation bill	19	2122
For repeal of criminal laws	19	7284
For a legislative regulation of wages for hand-loom weaving	54	48505
Against the vestry acts	4	21944
Against general register bill	20	2207
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the publication of the last Companion to the Newspaper	90	34601

POST-OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE.

In the Companion to the Newspaper, for May last, we gave a detailed statement of the contemplated improvements in the Post-Office arrangements with France. We have now to announce that, to a certain extent, these arrangements are completed. The treaty was signed in London on the 21st of June last, and sent on the following day to Paris to be ratified: on the receipt of this ratification, which must arrive in a few days, the arrangements will be immediately carried into effect. As we formerly stated would probably happen, the proposal on the part of the French that the whole of the postage, in either country, might be paid on delivery of the letter, has not been acceded to; and another proposal, for the mutual transmission of newspapers, either free or at a low rate of postage, has also been rejected, together with some other suggestions of a similar tendency

The points agreed upon are, that the communication shall be daily instead of four times a week, as has hitherto been the case: and that misdirected letters, which have up to this time been retained by the respective post-offices, shall be returned monthly: in order, wherever possible, to be restored to the writer. This, in many cases, will be found of great importance, as the letters often contained money, which, although the address of the sender may have been stated, was taken possession of by the post-office establishments. This unfair gain, which in France, is said to have in some years amounted to seven or eight thousand pounds, is at length to be abolished. We trust, however, that the steps now taken will lead shortly to still further improvements;—and that a principle of co-operation, which bids fair to establish one branch of that harmonious arrangement which ought to subsist between two great nations, may not be prevented reaching its full practical operation, through any technical difficulties which perseverance may surmount.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

TRADE.—*Trade of the United Kingdom, in the Year ended 5th January,* 1832.

COUNTRIES.	UNITED KINGDOM.			
	OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.		
		British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	TOTAL EXPORTS.
EUROPE:	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Russia	4,696,368 17 11	1,746,972 12 5	856,856 14 8	2,603,829 7 1
Sweden	212,639 13 1	94,587 5 1	67,788 12 8	162,375 17 9
Norway	91,678 10 1	92,599 1 1	58,225 5 6	150,824 6 7
Denmark	410,981 7 2	173,280 1 11	83,423 8 3	256,703 10 2
Prussia	1,200,102 7 5	264,618 2 1	564,684 12 10	829,302 14 11
Germany	1,684,165 8 3	7,667,147 0 3	1,806,480 8 9	9,473,627 9 0
Netherlands	1,276,081 12 3	3,179,298 13 6	3,270,927 0 11	6,450,225 14 5
France	3,056 154 12 4	635,927 13 5	256,081 19 7	892,009 13 0
Portugal, Azores and Madeira	520,616 18 8	2,251,584 3 0	68,197 17 1	2,319,782 0 1
Spain and the Canaries	1,293,924 0 4	1,036,623 17 8	318,038 7 8	1,354,662 5 4
Gibraltar	19,668 7 0	879,382 3 7	121,340 18 3	1,000,723 1 10
Italy	1,475,304 6 10	4,528,151 10 4	820,651 1 0	5,348,805 11 4
Malta	63,550 2 10	257,537 8 8	20,485 2 6	278,022 11 2
Ionian Islands	187,185 11 4	71,592 13 2	13,383 8 7	84,976 1 9
Turkey and Continental Greece	759,797 19 1	2,113,928 9 2	95,777 3 2	2,209,705 12 4
Morea and Greek Islands	29,273 6 9	28,563 12 0	1,743 11 10	30,307 3 10
Isles Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Man	202,940 14 7	445,410 2 4	126,435 1 2	571,845 3 6
	17,180,433 15 11	25,467,207 9 8	8,550,520 14 5	34,017,728 4 1
AFRICA:				
Egypt, Ports on the Mediterranean	275,547 19 7	236,189 15 3	2,068 9 9	238,258 5 0
Tripoli, Barbary and Morocco	45,986 5 9	759 10 0	4,950 16 11	5,710 6 11
Western Coast of Africa	299,105 0 5	352,182 17 9	155,275 19 7	507,458 17 4
Cape of Good Hope	183,481 14 2	351,107 13 3	28,940 6 1	380,047 19 4
Eastern Coast of Africa	2,328 17 0	—	—	—
Cape Verde Islands	- - -	123 17 6	75 3 8	199 1 2
St. Helena	44,512 3 8	28,439 6 3	3,030 9 10	31,469 16 1
Mauritius	724,285 8 2	268,963 16 4	11,984 17 9	280,948 11 1
ASIA:				
East Indies and China	7,920,182 3 9	6,521,532 10 7	426,068 0 7	6,947,600 11 2
New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Swan River	191,841 3 2	427,378 18 8	149,735 11 9	577,114 10 5
New Zealand and South Sea Islands	6,442 10 0	4,056 12 6	815 8 3	4,872 0 9
AMERICA:				
British Northern Colonies	1,532,582 19 0	2,858,514 19 9	271,975 9 3	3,130,490 9 0
British West Indies	8,448,839 8 7	3,729,521 14 3	258,764 6 4	3,988,286 0 7
Foreign West Indies	615,594 7 2	2,186,482 5 7	48,762 14 11	2,235,245 0 6
United States	8,970,342 8 3	12,007,208 8 11	588,965 9 0	12,596,173 17 11
Mexico	160,751 12 3	1,112,916 12 11	138,852 4 10	1,251,768 17 9
Guatemala	8,065 4 6	—	—	—
Columbia	25,243 14 1	476,768 0 0	22,964 17 4	499,732 17 4
States of the Rio de la Plata	476,272 14 10	582,086 6 4	8,224 8 10	590,310 15 2
Chili	21,030 16 11	1,057,621 17 2	10,812 2 8	1,068,463 19 10
Peru	42,377 9 3	624,639 11 10	21,392 9 3	646,032 1 1
Brazil	2,278,059 18 4	2,392,662 8 4	39,002 8 7	2,431,664 16 11
THE WHALE FISHERIES	273,800 19 9	- - -	1,914 0 0	1,914 0 0
TOTAL £	49,727,108 14 6	60,686,364 12 10	10,745,126 9 7	71,431,491 2 5

THE proportional Value of the Trade carried on with each Country, during the year ended 5th January, 1833, cannot at present be stated, and therefore the following ABSTRACT is subjoined, of the Total Official Value of the Imports and Exports . . .

	£ s. d.
TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS into the UNITED KINGDOM	44,586,241 15 0
TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE of EXPORTS from the UNITED KINGDOM; *viz.*	
British and Irish Produce and Manufactures . . . £ 65,026,702 11 0	
Foreign and Colonial Merchandise 11,047,869 17 0	76,071,572 8 0

W. India Produce.—The following returns of articles chiefly of W. India produce imported into and exported from the United Kingdom, are all for the year ended 5th Jan. 1833.

Sugar.—The quantity of sugar imported was, of the produce of the British plantations, 3,784,244 cwts. 2 qrs. 6 lbs.; of Mauritius, 541,770 cwts. 1 qr. 6 lbs.; of the East Indies, 175,252 cwts. 5 lbs.; of the foreign plantations, 366,481 cwts. 2 qrs. 21 lbs.; making a total of 4,867,784 cwt. 2 qrs. 10 lbs. The total amount of duty received was 5,864,440*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; the bounty paid on the exportation of British refined sugar, and repayments on over-entries and damages, &c., amounted to 960,101*l.* 19*s.*, leaving 4,304,338*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* as the net produce of the duties on sugar. The total quantity exported was 1,143,034 cwts. 3 qrs. 17 lbs., of which 368,095 cwts. 3 qrs. was raw; and remainder refined, reckoning the latter in the proportion of 34 cwts. of raw to 20 cwts. of refined sugar.

Rum.—The quantity imported was 4,753,789 gallons; 3,513,965 proof gallons were entered for home consumption; and the gross amount of duty received was 1,581,499*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* The exports amounted to 2,323,335 gallons; of which 988,497 were taken by Germany and Prussia, and 1701 only by France.

Coffee.—The quantity of coffee imported was 49,982,939 lbs.; the net produce of the duty 598,038*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; and the total quantity exported 25,719,742 lbs.

Cocoa.—The quantity of cocoa-nuts imported of British plantations and foreign produce was 2,971,019 lbs.; together with 319,504 lbs. of husks and shells, and 1835 lbs. of chocolate and cocoa-paste; the gross amount of duty received upon which was 16,929*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*

Spirits.—In the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, the quantity of spirits manufactured or distilled, amounted, in England, to 3,788,068 gallons, in Scotland to 9,979,038 gallons, in Ireland to 9,260,920 gallons: total, 21,028,026 gallons. Of this quantity there was duty paid for home consumption, in England upon 7,259,287 gallons, at 7*s.* per gallon; in Scotland, upon 1,861,515 gallons, at 3*s.* 4*d.*; and in Ireland, upon 8,657,756 gallons, likewise at 3*s.* 4*d.* The total number of gallons for home consumption amounting to 20,778,558, and the amount of duty to 4,975,444*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

Tobacco and Snuff.—The quantity of tobacco, &c. entered for home consumption in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, was, of unmanufactured tobacco, 20,164,864 lbs.; of manufactured tobacco and cigars, 148,517 lbs.; and of snuff, 231 lbs. The rate of duty is 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb. on unmanufactured tobacco of any British possession in America, and 3*s.* of any other place; 9*s.* per lb. on manufactured tobacco and cigars; and 6*s.* per lb. on snuff. The total gross receipt of duty, during the above period, was 3,090,270*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

Metals imported into and exported from the United Kingdom in the year 1832.

Iron, Foreign, imported in bars or unwrought, 18,961 tons, 12 cwts. 2 qrs.; in rods, pigs, wire, old broken, and old cast-iron, &c. 192 tons, 1 qr. 5 lbs.; iron ore, 377 tons, 17 cwts. 1 qr. 19 lbs.; chromate of iron, 339 tons, 17 cwts. 15 lbs.; unwrought steel 622 tons, 4 cwts. 2 qrs. 9 lbs.; steel wire 50 lbs.; iron and steel manufactures, not otherwise described, entered by weight, 197 tons, 6½ cwts.; entered at value 2772*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

Exported:—In bars or unwrought, 3450 tons, 12 cwts. 3 qrs. 2 lbs.; in rods and pigs, 65 tons, 13 cwts. 15 lbs.; unwrought steel 810 tons, 13 cwts. 8 lbs.; steel wire 52 lbs.; iron and steel manufactures, not otherwise described, entered by weight 197 tons, 6½ cwts.; entered at value 345*l.*

Iron, British.—Exported:—Bar iron, 74,024 tons, 5 cwts. 1 qr. 24 lbs.; bolt and rod-iron, 6938 tons, 1 cwt. 3 qrs. 18 lbs.; pig-iron, 17,566 tons, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 13 lbs.; cast-iron, 12,495 tons, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lbs.; iron wire, 666 tons, 7 cwts. 3 lbs.; anchors and grapnels, 1606 tons, 18 cwts. 3 qrs. 3 lbs.; hoops, 9417 tons, 14 cwts. 1 qr. 6 lbs.; nails, 4347 tons, 18 cwts. 1 qr. 2 lbs.; other wrought articles (excepting ordnance) 18,595 tons, 3 qrs. 17 lbs.; old iron for re-manufacture, 773 tons, 6 cwts.; unwrought steel, 1112 tons, 7 lbs.; British hardware and cutlery, 15,294 tons, 15 cwts. 1 lb.; the declared value of which was 1,433,297*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Copper, Foreign.—Imported:—Unwrought, partly wrought, or old for re-manufacture, 2260 cwts. 2 qrs. 1 lb.; copper ore, 79,219 cwts. 1 qr. 21 lbs.; manufactured, entered by weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.; entered at value, 4636*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

Exported:—Unwrought, partly wrought, or old for re-manufacture, 1864 cwt. 3 qrs. 3 lbs.; manufactures entered by weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.; entered at value 157*l.*

Copper, British.—Exported:—unwrought, 77,497 cwts. 3 lbs.; coin, 2 cwts.; sheets, nails, &c., 79,994 cwts. 16 lbs.; wire, 13 cwts. 2 qrs. 18 lbs.; wrought copper of other sorts, 37,155 cwts. 1 qr. 19 lbs.; total of British copper exported, 194,612 cwts. 22 lbs.; smelted in the kingdom from foreign ore, 13,894 cwts. 1 qr. 18 lbs.

Tin.—Imported:—29,203 cwts. 1 qr. 8 lbs. Exported:—British, 31,837 cwts. 2 qrs. 3 lbs.; Foreign, 21,719 cwts. 3 qrs. 13 lbs.

Glass.—Quantities of flint and plate, broad, crown, and bottle glass charged with duty in the United Kingdom in each year, from 1826 to 1832; stated in cwts.

1826.—Flint glass, 71,625; plate, 12,958; broad, 8118; crown, 135,606; bottle, 422,544.

1827.—Flint, 75,987; plate, 14,807; broad, 7611; crown, 138,744; bottle, 418,268.

1828.—Flint, 82,494; plate, 17,684; broad, 6972; crown, 141,787; bottle, 430,799.

1829.—Flint, 79,250; plate, 14,484; broad, 6864; crown, 114,862; bottle, 382,894.

1830.—Flint, 72,942; plate, 13,301; broad, 4845; crown, 96,565; bottle, 340,793.

1831.—Flint, 75,619; plate, 15,067; broad, 5915; crown, 100,086; bottle, 293,868.

1832.—Flint, 75,771; plate, 12,270; broad, 5304; crown, 103,902; bottle, 316,365.

The amount of duty charged in 1832, was, on flint glass, 212,160*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*; plate, 36,810*l.*; broad, 7956*l.*; crown, 381,839*l.* 17*s.*; bottle, 109,328*l.* The drawback paid in the same period, was, on flint, 67,726*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*; plate, with allowance for lost metal, 3023*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*; broad, nothing; crown, 65,120*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; bottle, 53,765*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*

Shipping.—In the year 1832 there were built and registered in the several ports of the United Kingdom 759 vessels, the total tonnage of which amounted to 92,915; and also 33 steam vessels, of which the tonnage was 2851.

The number of ships entered inwards in the different ports of the United Kingdom, in 1832, was, of British, 13,372, the tonnage amounting to 2,185,980, and the men employed to 122,594: Foreign, 4546 ships, 639,979 tons, 35,399 men. Cleared outwards.—British, 13,292 ships, 2,229,269 tons, 128,293 men: Foreign, 4391 ships, 651,223 tons, 34,834 men.

Attorneys.—The number of certificates annually taken out by attorneys and solicitors practising in England and Wales has been during the following years, reckoning from Easter Term in each year, in 1819-20, 6764; 1820-21, 6930; 1821-22, 7090; 1822-23, 7353; 1823-24, 7648; 1824-25, 7894; 1825-26, 7928; 1826-27, 8193; 1827-28, 8430; 1828-29, 8624; 1829-30, 8908; 1830-31, 9016; 1831-32, 9083; 1832-33, 9221. The duty has increased during the above period, from 57,646*l.* in the first twelve-month to 79,006*l.* in the last.

Bankruptcy.—The following is a list of the commissions of bankruptcy, sealed and opened, in the years from 1822 to 1832, both inclusive.

	Commissions sealed.	Town Commissions opened.	Country Commissions opened.
1822	1419	468	534
1823	1250	532	396
1824	1240	574	396
1825	1475	683	448
1826	3307	1229	1220
1827	1688	671	742
1828	1519	601	620
1829	2150	809	910
1830	1720	661	748
1831	1886	692	770
1832	1772	643	740

Church of Ireland.—Several accounts relating to the church of Ireland have been lately prepared under the direction of the Royal Commissioners appointed for inquiring into the Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in that part of the United Kingdom. One of these is a statement of the revenues of the different sees, from which we extract that part giving the net yearly produce of each see, and of the preferments annexed to it, on an average of three years ending 31st Dec., 1831, omitting pence and farthings. We add from another paper the gross number of acres in

statute measure, profitable and unprofitable, attached to each see, with the gross amount of rent received from tenants of all descriptions, whether holding in fee, or for terms of lives and years, or at will, or without lease. This rent, of course, forms part of the sum stated as the whole revenue of the see.

	Net Revenue. £	Acres.	Rents. £
Archbishop of Armagh	14,494	100,563	4,634
——— Dublin	7,786	34,040	3,202
——— Cashel	6,308	20,046	2,100
——— Tuam	6,996	86,899	2,730
Bishop of Meath	4,068	29,269	3,065
——— Clogher	8,668	22,591	2,356
——— Down and Connor	4,204	30,241	1,352
——— Derry	12,159	77,102	2,593
——— Raphoe	5,052	1,392	1,451
——— Kilmore	6,225	28,531	1,537
——— Dromore	4,216	18,122	1,518
——— Kildare	6,061	5,074	2,629
——— Ossory	3,322	21,730	1,015
——— Ferns	5,730	26,291	2 096
——— Limerick	4,973	12,985	2,452
——— Waterford	3,933	13,189	2,493
——— Cork	3,901	11,485	1,471
——— Cloyne	4,091	12,482	1,311
——— Killaloe	3,966	16,765	1,345
——— Elphin	6,263	42,843	2,044
——— Clonfert	2,970	11,744	543
——— Killala	3,410	45,542	1,280
	£128,808	669,247	£45,258

From another paper it appears that the gross income of the deans and chapters is 4266*l.*; that of the vicars' choral estates, 11,261*l.*; that of the minor canonries, 762*l.*; and that of the economy estates (the funds appropriated to the repair of cathedrals, &c.), 7316*l.* The total income of these ecclesiastical corporations, therefore, is 23,606*l.*

Another paper has been printed containing an account of the respective values of the benefices in the several dioceses in Ireland. From this it appears that there are, in all, 1456 benefices or livings in the Irish church, of which 1, (in the diocese of Down,) is of the value of 2800*l.*: 10 are between 2000*l.* and 2600*l.*; 20 between 1500*l.* and 2000*l.*; 23 between 1200*l.* and 1500*l.*; 48 between 1000*l.* and 1200*l.*; 74 between 800*l.* and 1000*l.*; 148 between 600*l* and 800*l.*; 281 between 400*l.* and 600*l.*: 386 between 200*l.* and 400*l.*; and 465 between 30*l.* and 200*l.*

Taxation.—Estimated gross and net amount of taxes repealed, expired, and reduced, and of taxes imposed in each year since the termination of the war.

	Repealed, Expired, or Reduced. Gross.	Net.	Imposed. Gross.		Net.	
	£	£	£	s.	£	s.
1814	948,861	932,827	288,685	0	288,685	0
1815	222,749	222,749	176 772	0	176 772	0
1816	17,886,666	17,547,365	392,058	0	375,058	0
1817	37,812	36,195	8,191	0	7,991	0
1818	9.524	9,504	1,356	0	1,356	0
1819	273,573	269,484	3,102,302	0	3,102,302	0
1820	4,000	4,000	119,602	0	119,602	0
1821	490,113	471,309	45,200	0	44,842	0
1822	2,164,037	2,139,101	—		—	
1823	4,286,389	4,185,735	18,800	0	18,596	0
1824	1,805,467	1,801,333	49,605	0	49,605	0
1825	3,771,019	3,676,239	53 100	0	48,100	0
1826	1,973,915	1 967,215	188,955	0	188,725	0
1827	84,938	81,038	21,402	0	21,402	0
1828	52,227	51,998	1,966	10	1,966	10
1829	126,406	126,406	—		—	
1830	4,264,425	4,070,742	696,004	0	696,004	0
1831	3,189,312	1,588,052	627,586	0	627,586	0
1832	751,996	747,264	44,526	0	44,526	0
	42,345,529	39,931,856	5,836,110	10	5,813,118	10

British Museum.—A return of all bequests, donations, and contributions made to the British Museum, from 1821 to March 1833, has been printed by order of the House of Commons. The principal gifts have been that of the library of George III., the cabinet of Greek coins of R. P. Knight, Esq., the coins and medals of George IV., a collection of Italian history and topography by Sir R. C. Hoare, a collection of architectural and other casts in plaster, formerly the property of Sir Thomas Lawrence, by the Royal Academy; and a collection of thirty-five pictures, chiefly by able masters, by the late Rev. Wm. Holwell Carr. There are also enumerated twenty-six other accessions of minor value. The number of MSS. in the Museum in 1821 was 17,937, there are now 21,604. The number of charters in 1821 was 16,423, there are now 19,093. The number of volumes of printed books in 1821 was 115,925, there are now 218,957, and 14,410 duplicate volumes have been parted with.

Diplomatic Pensions.—The following is a list of the names of persons now receiving pensions for diplomatic services, with the length of service, the annual amount of present pension, and the aggregate amount of what has been paid to each person, as abstracted from a return presented to the House of Commons, which contains in addition the date of the grant of pension, the number of years it has been paid, and a statement of the capacities in which the holders have been employed.

Name.	Years' service.	Present annual pension*	Aggregate amount paid.		
		£	£	s.	d.
Arbuthnot, Right Hon. Charles	33½	2056	8672	3	7
Adair, Right Hon. Sir Robert	6½	2056	44843	12	10
Bagot, Right Hon. Sir Charles	19¾	1700	779	17	11
Cathcart, Earl	8¼	1780	22535	19	8
Chad, George William	19	1300	295	2	3
Clancarty, Earl	11	1786	16074	0	0
Cockburn, Alexander	21	1516	17172	8	8
Cowley, Right Hon. Lord	28½	1786	4533	17	4
Crawford, Sir James	9½	886	2525	0	0
Douglas, Andrew Snape	20¼	706	2824	0	0
Elgin, Earl of	11	1786	53133	10	0
Falcon, John	6	436	12317	0	0
Frere, Right Hon J. H.	8	1516	40553	0	0
Frere, Bartholomew	18¼	1066	12132	12	4
Hales, Daniel	17	1000	31196	7	3
Hammond, George	34⅓	1066	25882	14	4
Hervey, Lionel	10½	1066	8262	10	0
Hamilton, Terrick	12¾	706	6001	0	0
Heytesbury, Lord	26	1700	657	4	3
Keene, Charles	3	213	8520	0	0
Liston, Right Hon Sir Robert	30½	2056	37050	2	10
Mackenzie, Colin Alexander	24	886	1801	17	10
Merry, Anthony	19	1516	39037	0	0
Morier, John Philip	19¾	1516	16913	0	5
Morier, James	10½	976	11767	16	9
Morton, Earl of	13¼	436	3488	0	0
Orford, Earl of	15¼	706	5471	10	0
Onseley, Sir Gore	5⅛	1786	31255	0	0
Paget, Sir Arthur	13	1786	44650	0	0
Penrose, Rev. Thomas	½	213	4473	0	0
Pierrepont, Henry	5¼	1066	26801	1	6
St. Helen's, Lord	19	2056	72553	1	2
Smith, John Spencer	8½	1066	27449	10	0
Strangford, Viscount	22½	2056	13550	9	1
Stuart de Rothesay, Lord	29½	2056	7373	0	0
Talbot, James	6½	526	15517	0	0
Taylor, Right Hon. Sir Brook	30	1336	11173	0	9
Thornton, Right Hon. Sir Edward	25	1786	20872	7	0
Walpole, Thomas	13	706	25416	0	0
Werry, Francis Peter	13¼	436	3815	0	0
Wickham, Right Hon. William	6¼	1066	29315	0	0
Willock, Sir Henry	17	346	2076	0	0

* These pensions are, in several cases, increased pensions, those granted in the first instance having been smaller in amount; but the whole are included in the aggregate.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:

London, Groombridge, *Panyer alley, Paternoster row*
Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lansdester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devenport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith
Llandovery, D, R. & W Rees
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson, and Webb & Simms
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibham.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.
Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.
Berlin and Petersburgh, Asher.

Printed by William Clowes, Duke-street, Lambeth.]

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

No. 7. JULY 1, 1833. Price 2d.

THE POOR-LAWS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Introduction	97	Proper Mode of Relief	104
Incidental Advantages of a Poor-Law	98	Necessity of an Improved and Uniform System in the Administration of the Poor-Laws	106
Provisions of the English Poor-Laws	100	Education	110
Defects in the English Poor-Laws	101	Tubular Accounts	111, 112

INTRODUCTION.

THE working of the poor-laws has at length taken so forcible a hold on the public mind, that it is easy to foresee that important changes in these laws must soon be made. It would be but a truism to remark that, when on the point of legislating, it is of great importance that the whole country should have before it a clear view of the facts and arguments of the case.

The question of the poor-laws,—that is, the question whether or not it is really wise and humane in society to undertake the care and relief of the indigent,—is one on which able, upright, and benevolent men have come to opposite conclusions. Thus it is that, at the present moment, while many excellent persons are strongly advocating the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland, others, with equally good motives, are not only opposing such a measure, but are condemning the existence of poor-laws altogether, and endeavouring to prepare the public mind for their repeal in this country.

The fact is, the question is one of such extent, and branches off in so many directions, that it is no easy matter to get that general view of it which is necessary to enable us to pronounce whether, *as a whole*, the institution is good or bad. For so much is there of good and of bad in the working of it, that any one who enters upon its examination, with an impression either in its favour or against it, will find plenty of materials to support his opinion.

The public is indebted for a vast amount of evidence, relating to the working of the poor laws, to the laborious researches of different committees of both Houses of Parliament, and to those gentlemen who form the present Poor-Law Commission. We shall draw abundantly from the stock thus amassed.

The English poor-laws, as they now stand, were enacted somewhat more than two hundred years ago,—namely, in the year 1601, being the 43d year of the reign of Elizabeth. For many years previous, owing chiefly to the breaking up of the feudal system in the reign of Henry VII., by which the retainers of the great landed proprietors were dissevered in vast numbers from their ancient connexion, pauperism and crime (which almost always go together) had existed to a frightful extent in this country, and many ineffectual attempts had been made to suppress them. Punishment in its most appalling form had been tried in vain, not only on the malefactor, but on the mere beggar. In the year 1546 (1st of Edward VI.), a law was passed condemning any able-bodied man or woman, who should refuse to labour, and who should be idle for three days, to the punishment of being branded with the letter V, with a red-hot iron, on the breast, and adjudged the slave of the informer for two years. If, after this, he ran away from his master, he was, on being caught, to become his slave for life. Subsequently to this statute, another was passed (in the year 1572), by which begging, if by children under fourteen years of age, was punished, "in the first instance, by grievous whipping, and burning through the gristle of the right ear," unless some creditable person would take the beggar into his service for a year; and if a vagabond, above eighteen years old, offended a second time, he was liable to suffer death as a felon, unless some creditable person would take him into service for two years; and if he offended a third time, he was to be adjudged a felon.

As to the punishment of ordinary offences, such as theft, burglary, &c., no bounds appear to have been observed. Sir Frederick Eden, in his *History of the Poor*, says, when speaking of the state of things in the sixteenth century,—"Writers who contend that severity of punishment is not the best preventive of crime, are fully justified by the history of the period. Never were severe laws issued in greater abundance, nor executed more rigorously; and never did the unrelenting vengeance of justice prove more ineffectual. The prisoners for debt, in the different gaols in the kingdom, are stated by Mr. Hume, on the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in 1512, to have exceeded the number of 60,000; and Harrison, a writer soon after the period in question, assures us that the king (Henry VIII.) executed his laws with such severity that 72,000 'great and petty thieves were put to death during his reign.' Harrison adds that, even in Elizabeth's reign, 'rogues were trussed up apace;' and that there was not 'one year commonly wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten by the gallows in one place and other.'"

That the numbers of executions just given are not exaggerated, is rendered probable by the fact that, great as they are, Harrison complains of the relaxation of the law, and regrets that so few rogues were punished in his time; and yet confirms, by his own statements, the numbers of deaths we have given.

To picture to ourselves the bloody work of the law (which Harrison thought insufficient) in its full extent, it is necessary to bear in mind that the population of the country three hundred years ago was much less than it is at the present time.

These accounts are strongly corroborated by a statement preserved by Strype, which was written by an eminent Justice of the Peace for Somersetshire in the year 1596. In enumerating the disorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us that 40 persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies: 35 burnt in the hand; 37 whipped; 183 discharged: that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: that, notwithstanding these great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to trial: and the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch of their sheepfolds, pastures, woods, and corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire, and many of them were even in a worse: that there were at least 300 or 400 able-bodied vagabonds in every county who lived by theft and rapine, and who sometimes met in troops, to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were reduced to good subjection they would form a strong army: and that the magistrates were awed by the associations, and the threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders.

It is plain, therefore, that, at the time when poor-laws were introduced, the country, from whatever cause, was in such a condition, from the prevalence of beggary and crime, as to make the adoption of some measure for the alleviation of the evil a matter of absolute necessity. The poor-law of the 43d of Elizabeth answered at least this temporary purpose; and whatever may have been its effects on the whole,

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

an important consequence, which immediately followed from it, was undoubtedly the removal of much of the destitution which had previously existed, and of the lawlessness to which that destitution led.

The length of time, in the second place, during which a legal provision for the poor has now been established in England, and the extent to which the habits of the labouring classes have become moulded to an accordance with that system, will be admitted, we believe, by all reflecting persons, to oppose an insuperable obstacle in the way of any attempt to effect its abolition except by the most gradual process. No such scheme can be entertained by any one who is not prepared to see society thrown into entire confusion. We must plainly lay our account, therefore, with the existing of the poor-laws for a long time to come. Indeed, the period of their abolition, if ever it should arrive, must be determined by the extent of the moral and intellectual advancement of the great mass of the working people. They must perceive themselves, that the poor-laws interfere with their advancement, and keep them down in the scale of society, before the removal of these laws can be safely, or even justly, set about. The only mitigation of the evil, which can be prudently attempted at present, is a reform of the administration of the law, and of such of its provisions as may be amended without its principle being interfered with. This being the case, it may not be amiss for us, before we proceed further, to notice shortly a few of the incidental advantages which seem to belong to a poor-law, that we may be the better disposed to submit to the pressure which, whatever may be its amount, we cannot all at once shake off.

Incidental Advantages of a Poor-Law.

1. *A Poor-Law seems to create a strong motive in the wealthy classes to attend to the welfare of the poor.*

The state of Ireland may serve as an illustration of the complete separation that will sometimes take place between the landholders and the labourers of a country, and of the dreadful condition in which the latter may be consequently left, when the misgovernment which has created the causes of the division is not met and counteracted by this corrective. The following is an extract from Mr. Scrope's able work on that country:—

"A servile war has, indeed, been for some time raging in Ireland: a convulsed and desperate struggle of thousands for existence. Those who have undertaken the task of pacifying and improving that country are much mistaken if they think that the remission of church-rates, or the concessions they have made of a part of the Protestant church establishment, will go any way towards effecting their object. The tithe question—the church—the grand-jury laws—the more or fewer Catholics appointed to the sheriffalty or magistracy,—these are all topics for political agitation among idle mobs; but the midnight massacre—the daily plunder—the frequent insurrection—the insecurity of life and property throughout the agricultural districts of Ireland,—these are neither caused by agitation nor can be put down by agitation. They are the desperate efforts at revenge of a people goaded by want and misery to madness: they are the necessary and natural results of a state of the law, which allows the landowners of a country at one time to encourage an excessive growth of the population on their estates, and at another, when the caprice seizes them, to dispossess all this population, and turn them out on the highways, without food, home, or shelter!

"That this is the true source of the horrible outrages which are now in almost daily perpetration in Ireland is proved beyond a possibility of doubt by an examination of the nature of these offences. Against whom are these sanguinary attacks and threats of attack for the most part levelled? The tithe-owners or their proctors? The magistrates and gentry? Excisemen or travellers? No! But against the 'land-takers,' as they are called—the *incoming tenants* of farms, whose former occupiers have been *turned out* to make room for them. Against those who, in the desperate competition for the occupation of land, as the only means of existence, outbid the herd of houseless wretches, and excite in them the same rabid jealousy as rouses a pack of gaunt and starving wolves against the one who may get possession of the morsel for which they are contending."

As a pleasing contrast to the conduct of many Irish landowners, we will lay before our readers a statement of the truly benevolent exertions of the parish-officers of Oldham in [illegible]shire, on an occasion of unforeseen calamity to the working classes. We extract from the Report of Mr. Henderson, one of the Poor-Law Commissioners:—

"The sound condition of Oldham is not attributable to uninterrupted prosperity. In the year 1826, in consequence of the failure of Saddleworth bank, the accidental burning of the Priory mills, and many of the factories ceasing to work, a large portion of the population was thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The poor-rates were doubled; and the select vestry made great efforts to meet the evil, sometimes assembling at twelve o'clock in the day, and sitting until three or four o'clock the following morning; and it was remarked that the relief administered by the select vestry was far more efficient than the subscription funds sent from London, and distributed through other hands. A well-organized system of relief has peculiar value in fluctuations such as these, to which manufacturing towns are extremely liable. The expenditure of the township was gradually reduced to its usual limits, as the difficulties of the times were surmounted. The poor-rate last year was 2*s.* in the pound, on a valuation of three-fourths of the rack-rent."

2. *The Poor-Laws put it in the power of society to check the rate of increase in population.*

The very opposite of the advantage here pointed out is often, indeed, justly laid to the charge of poor-laws; for it is said that these laws, by making a parent sure that his child will be provided for, act as a premium to improvident marriages.

The fact is, that almost anything, however excellent in its nature, may be perverted into an engine of mischief. As Bentham says, a loaf, shot from the mouth of a cannon, becomes an instrument of death. So, in the present case, if pauper parents are put under no discipline, and no part of the burden of the child is thrown on to their shoulders, they will surround themselves with families, without making any provision for their maintenance; and not only disproportionately increase the number of labourers, but exhaust the labour-fund in the shape of relief for want. In whole districts in this country, too, the restraint upon encumbering society with illegitimate children is very small. The mother is allowed to continue at large, and positively to receive more money every week for the support of the child than the child costs.

But suppose that principle of the poor-laws, which gives to society the control of those it is called upon to support, to be carried into full effect in all parts of the country—as it is to a certain extent in the best-regulated parishes—and then how do matters stand? Parents, who are giving birth to children they are unable to support, would be removed to a well-disciplined workhouse, separated, and made to work hard, until they had shown that they can be returned to society without becoming a burthen to it, either as regards themselves or their children. If this plan were always adopted, those who, without considering their means of providing for a family, would run headlong into marriage, thinking to throw the support of their children on their more prudent and industrious neighbours, would soon be stopped in their career, and made to feel the consequences of their attempt to defraud society.

In illustration of the better course of things in a well-regulated English parish, we will give an extract from the evidence of John Grey, Esq., before the Committee of the House of Lords appointed two years ago to inquire into the working of the poor-laws:—"Do marriages take place generally at a very early period?—Not very early. There is one check which I think is very salutary, the custom of being possessed of a cow. It is not considered a very reputable thing for a young man to marry, unless he can be so independent as to furnish a house and obtain a cow: when they are able to purchase a cow and furnish a house, they have a degree of independence which enables them to face the world and set up for themselves. It certainly does happen sometimes that there are early and improvident marriages, especially if there is a child in the way; that commonly ends in a marriage; but in such cases it is not unfrequent that there is that connexion between the master and servant, that the master may either lend him a cow of his own until he is able to get one, or give him a little assistance in purchasing it till he is able to work it out. I have done that, and prefer that mode, because it is desirable to let a man have a feeling of having a property of his own, for by so doing you encourage a spirit of independence."

3. *The Poor-Laws, rightly applied, afford an additional motive to the exercise of foresight and prudence, by making the reward of good conduct certain.*

Here again, as in the case of increase of population, the very opposite effect is often brought about by the unwise proceedings of parish officers and magistrates. In many parts of England, as we shall presently see more fully, a plan has been introduced, which, for its absurdity and demoralizing tendency, stands perhaps unrivalled. We refer to what is called the *allowance system*; which simply means an arrangement devised by certain country magistrates for securing to a pauper regular fixed wages every week, without the slightest regard to the man's character, his industry, or the value of his work. A pauper applies to the overseer for relief, and this is the kind of proceeding—"Have you a wife?—Yes. And how many children?—Five. Let me see: a man and his wife is nine shillings, and five children is seven shillings: that makes sixteen shillings. What wages are you getting?—Seven shillings a week, sir. Seven shillings? Hum! Seven from sixteen, leaves nine. There's your money. (Gives the man nine shillings.)"

This is no exaggeration of what takes place hundreds of times every week. But it is no more in the true spirit of the poor-laws to act in this way, or to treat all paupers alike, whatever be the cause of their poverty, than it might be to subject all criminals to the same punishment, whatever be the nature of their offence.

4. *The Poor-Laws withdraw temptation to crime, and give security to property.*

What we have said about the great decrease of crime in this country since the introduction of poor-laws, is here applicable, as are also our remarks on the vast amount of crime in Ireland at the present time.

When, in carrying forward the principle of the poor-laws, a good system of national education shall be established in this country, we may hope to see even the present amount of crime in England greatly reduced. The improvement in the public morals effected by education in some of the American states is most gratifying. It is the province of the poor-laws to step in, when, from any cause, whether from inevitable calamity or from sheer misconduct, a man is reduced to that state of destitution in which he is placed under great temptations to commit crime. For its own sake (to say nothing of the unhappy individual) society should take charge of any one of its members who has arrived at this point, unless the doing so is likely to bring others into the same situation.

There is much evidence in favour of the belief that the number of thieves is not very great. The person at the head of the police of the town of Birmingham informs us that the same set of offenders come through his hands time after time. He mentioned one case, in which a young woman had been committed to the county gaol *nine times in one year*. A cunning rogue, however, will not, he says, venture on more than two convictions in the same county—a third conviction being too frequently followed by transportation, a punishment not at all popular among thieves; after a second conviction, therefore, he generally moves his quarters to a neighbouring county.

The tax which society is silently paying in consequence of the existence of but a comparatively small number of thieves is enormous. How many thousands are there in this country who would gladly pay a yearly tax of ten, twenty, or fifty pounds, to be freed from the necessity of guarding against robbery! How much, too, would most kinds of property be increased in value, and how greatly would the daily transactions of life be facilitated, by any arrangement by which those who are likely to commit depredations should be placed under control!

5. *Mild punishments can be of little avail, unless either there is but little poverty in the country, or there is a provision for relieving the poor.*

It is evident that to a starving man, a prison in which he would be fed, clothed, and lodged, and required to work but moderately hard, would be anything but an object of fear. He would wish for admittance; and if he were not allowed to enter without going through the ceremony of breaking a law, the breach would soon be made. As it is, and even with an asylum provided for the poor, the dread of being placed in an English gaol, or of being sent to the hulks as a convict, is not always very great, as the following extracts from Mr. Chadwick's Report (pages 241—243) will show.—

Mr. Brown, one of the present overseers of Bethnal Green, stated that—

"It is quite common for the officers from the police-offices to come to our parish to inquire for bad characters against whom charges are made. The police-officers are well acquainted with their characters. It is the worst characters who generally raise tumults. They repeatedly tell me, that, by being sent to Bridewell, they are sure of getting plenty of food, and shall be sent out with clothes. I do not know what clothes are given to them there; but I have frequently seen them better dressed when they came out of prison, than they were when they were sent in. They frequently dare me to send them to Bridewell. There is no difference between the girls and the men; except that, of the two, the girls are the worst."

Mr. Charles Mott, the present contractor for the support of the poor of Lambeth parish, and who formerly contracted for the poor of Gosport, gave the following evidence:—

"I am sure, from conversations which I have had on the subject with the superintendent of convicts, that the convict receives more bread a-day than the pauper. Indeed, it is notorious at Gosport, where I have heard it descanted upon by many of the inhabitants, that the convicts receive one ounce of meat per day more than the soldiers set to guard them. I heard at Gosport, that the convicts being told to do something which they did not like, one of them exclaimed, in the presence of the military guard, 'What next, I wonder! d—n it, we shall soon be as bad off as soldiers.' The convicts ridicule the soldiers; and I have myself seen a convict hold up some food to the guard, saying, 'Soldier, will you have a bit?' Yet the operation of this system in gaols and workhouses was pointed out years ago, and it still continues. The convict's labour is proportionably slight.

"Do you find this state of things, as to punishment, react upon the workhouse?

"Decidedly so; and most mischievously as to discipline and management. The paupers are well aware that there is, in fact, no punishment for them. From the conversation I have had with convicts, it is clear, that confinement in a prison, or even transportation to the hulks, is not much dreaded. 'We are better fed,' I have heard them say, 'have better clothes, and more comfortable lodging, than we could obtain from our labour;' and the greatest, in fact almost only, punishment they appear to dread, is being deprived of female intercourse. Some months since, three young women (well-known prostitutes) applied for relief at Lambeth workhouse; and, upon being refused, two of them immediately broke the windows. On the moment, the *three* were given into custody to the police; but recollecting that only *two* were guilty of breaking the windows, the beadle was sent to state the fact, and request from the overseer, that the innocent person might be discharged: she, however, declared that she would not be separated from her companions, and immediately returned to the house and demolished two or three more windows to accomplish her desire."

Nothing can be clearer than that the actual condition of the labouring man, who maintains himself and his family without assistance from the parish, ought always to be kept in view in regulating the allowance of food, and the different comforts, of criminals and of paupers. The quantity of food given to the pauper ought always to be less than that obtained by the independent labourer, and of a coarser kind; he should also be required to work harder than the free labourer, and in every other respect he ought to be in a worse condition. So again the prisoner, the man who has committed a moral offence, ought to be in a lower state of comfort than the pauper. All this, one would think, is as plain as possible; yet as we have seen, and as we shall have occasion to point out again, this order of things is frequently positively reversed. The root of the evil is the want of an uniform system, as well for those receiving parochial relief, as for prisoners. As regards both classes, there is the widest difference in different parts of the country.

6. *The Poor-Laws, if fully administered, may be made to supersede the necessity of other charitable institutions of almost every kind.*

There is unhappily no doubt that the effect produced by many of the numerous charities of this country is by no means one of unmixed good.

"Charitable relief injudiciously applied acts as a reward to imposture, distracts the attention of the working man from

his own means of bettering his condition, creates discontent, and is in every way hurtful to society at large. It has been remarked by some traveller in Spain, that the convents at which alms are doled out without regard to the real merits of the applicants are always the centres of wretchedness. There is no doubt that the same effect is produced, to a certain extent, by some of the charities of this country. Some evidence relating to this matter appears in the report of the Lords' committee before referred to; and a good deal more has been met with by the present Poor-laws Commissioners.

The fact is that, unless there exists some ready test of a person's necessities, such as his willingness to enter a well-disciplined workhouse, and submit to hard work and spare diet, it is no easy matter to administer charity in a way that shall really promote the general welfare of the community. To perform the task of judiciously administering charity, it often demands a high degree of intelligence, a power of foreseeing distant effects, a capability of weighing evidence and sifting the truth, and lastly the power of keeping the feelings under the control of the judgment. Without these qualities in the dispenser of charity, there is great danger that he will be doing positive mischief. Some institutions, such as those for the blind, and the deaf and dumb, hospitals for the reception of the maimed, or those who are suffering from acute illness, together with schools for education without maintenance, are but little exposed to imposture; and are doubtless productive of great good. There are, however, many other kinds of charitable institutions, which, though highly honourable to the benevolent feelings of the supporters, and showing the greatest *desire* on their parts to do good, are nevertheless productive, we fear, of more evil than benefit.

The thing to be specially guarded against in relieving the misfortunes of others is *so acting as to turn that which was a misfortune, really into a source of advantage.* It is unnecessary to point out the mischief to which a departure from this rule is sure to give rise.

Now such institutions as we have mentioned are not exposed to this evil. No one will poke out his eyes or cut off his leg for the sake of getting into a blind asylum or an hospital. So with a well-regulated workhouse: if the diet is sparer and the work harder than that of the independent labourer, no one will covet admittance. But if, in consequence of a little illness, a lying-in, or a difficulty of finding work, a person gets money from one institution, clothes from another, and food from a third, besides perhaps small amounts of relief from ten or twenty private individuals, each ignorant of what the others have done, the object of all this charity may be much better off than if no illness had occurred, and there had been plenty of work to get for asking. The lesson thus taught is never forgotten. If once a man can "live by his misfortunes," misfortunes will come down upon him as thick as hail-stones: and in a wonderfully short time his neighbours will be found in a similar plight, and clamouring for the same "relief."

The following is taken from Mr. Chadwick's Report (pages 291 and 295.) The first extract consists of a reply to a question from Mr. Chadwick from the Rev. William Stone, rector of Spitalfields: a gentleman who appears to have become practically familiar with the administering of charity, and with all that relates to the welfare of his parishioners:

"Do you find many of the visiters competent to form a correct judgment as to the real wants of the poorer of the labouring classes?—I think that visiters are frequently mistaken; they are too apt to take into the houses of the poor their own standard of the value of money, and apply their own scale of personal and domestic comfort to *their* condition. I have known a visiter of our charities give an order for four bushels of coals, as the lowest proper amount of relief to a person of a class in which they obtain their own supplies only in pecks, or even in half-pecks."

Mr. Hewitt, the master of the workhouse of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr, stated, "I am satisfied that the in and out-door paupers of this metropolis get by far the greater share of the charities in and about London, or else the greater part of them could not consume so much tobacco and other things, and return home intoxicated, and money in pocket." "What evidence have you that they obtain money from the charities?"—"I have searched them, and found not only money but charity-passes showing from whence they came, and tickets and other things belonging to the different voluntary charities."

Mr. Thorn, assistant-overseer of St. Giles', Cripplegate, examined:

"Have you any monies to dispense in charities within your parish?"—"We have about 1600*l.* per annum available to be given to the poor in our charities, according to the directions of donors. For the most part, the donations consist of bread, fuel, and clothing."

"What is the effect produced by the distribution of these donations?"—"We find that, a few weeks previous to the gifts being distributed, the people leave their work in search of them. There are always a great many more seekers of gifts than finders. Most of them by leaving their work neglect their families, and become really necessitous: those who are disappointed are irritated, and then demand relief as a right, the parish being called upon to make good their loss. Even those who have received relief always say, when they come to us afterwards, 'that, though it was very true they had received the gift, yet it had done them no good; they had lost so much time, and they had got into debt.' We employ some of the out-door paupers in carrying home the gifts of coals, and pay them liberally for doing so. These men, when they apply for relief, and are told, 'Why, we gave you money the other day!' say, 'It is very true; but then we were in debt to our landlord, or the chandler-shopkeeper, and we were compelled to pay him when we returned from labour;' so they always calculate on the relief. After every season for the distribution of the gifts the applications for parochial relief are more numerous."

"During the time when the gifts are distributed, are the demands on the poor-rate reduced?"—"Not at all: in fact, when the effects of these charities are examined, as shown in our parish, it will be admitted by the most prejudiced person that they are a curse rather than a benefit. They were a great deal worse formerly, when settlements were to be obtained by forty days' residence in the parish, as it led numbers to endeavour to obtain settlements with us. I am sure that our parish has been considerably injured by them. I have long been of opinion that it would be of great advantage to have the funds of these charities applied directly in aid of the poor-rates."

The above evidence, and much more that might be given, goes to prove the importance of introducing a better system in the management of our charities. The fact is, that the only way in which frauds of this kind can be prevented, is by establishing a connexion between institutions of voluntary charity and those for regular and parochial relief; the whole being to a certain extent under the guidance of one central body. With a regulation of this kind, the assistance of those whose humane feelings prompt them to take part in the administration of charity, and who can command time for that purpose, might still be taken advantage of; and the public might be certain that every shilling subscribed for the relief of the unfortunate was wisely applied: they might also feel assured that an asylum was provided for every one who was really in destitute circumstances; and that, therefore, every person who attempted to obtain charitable relief on the plea of helpless misery *must necessarily be an impostor.*

Wherever there is a provision for the destitute we should say, "Clear the streets and roads of beggars, of drunkards, and of prostitutes; and place them, whether they wished it or not, in a place where they can neither annoy nor disgust: where they may be kindly treated, but where they shall be subjected to a discipline of labour and spare diet." Under such a system these miserable beings would in many cases change their character, and endeavour so to conduct themselves as to show that they might safely be restored to society.

The remainder of our subject we shall consider under the following heads:—

1st. The Provisions of the English poor-laws.

2nd. Defects in the English poor-laws, as well in their construction as in their administration; with the evils arising therefrom.

3rd. Tabular accounts showing the cost of the poor of England and Wales at several different periods; also, the comparative state of different parts of the country as regards pressure of poor-rates, &c.

Provisions of the English Poor-Laws.

The object of the poor-laws, as expressed in the act of 1601, (43rd of Elizabeth,) is "to set the poor to work: to

relieve the lame, impotent, old, and blind, and to put out their children as apprentices." To attain this object, the inhabitants of every parish in the country are required to raise a fund sufficient to maintain their own poor; and a way is open to a pauper by which he can compel the parish-officers to relieve him.

The poor-rates are raised by a tax on all the *real* property (as it is improperly called) in the parish.* Real property is defined to mean land, and every thing attached to the land, as houses, canals, &c. The yearly value of such property being assessed, the occupier or tenant is required to contribute towards the support of the poor in proportion to the amount.

The parish officers, whose business it is to make the assessment, to collect the rates, and to take the charge of the poor, are chosen in part by the rate-payers, and in part by the magistrates of the parish. The appointment of the overseer, who is nominally at the head of the parish, as regards the administration of the poor-laws, always rests with the magistrates, excepting in cases where, by the provisions of a local act, the power has been taken out of their hands.

In the best managed parishes, the rate-payers place the powers entrusted to them in the hands of a small body, chosen by them from their own number and called sometimes the Select Vestry,† and sometimes the Guardians of the Poor. This body appoints the assistant overseers and other standing officers, fixes their salaries, and holds them to responsibility for the performance of their duties.

In other parishes there is an open vestry; by which is meant that the management of the concerns of the parish, instead of being put into the hands of a chosen body, is left to the great body of rate-payers, each doing as much or as little as he likes. The affairs of such parishes are generally wretchedly managed; and when, as is often the case, even the assistant overseer is not a paid and permanent officer, the whole business is usually a scene of confusion.

It remains to point out how it is determined to what particular parish a pauper belongs, and what are his means of enforcing relief. The *law of settlement* is one which gives rise to endless disputes. By the enactments regulating this matter, every person is made to belong to that parish in which he was born, unless he has subsequently served an apprenticeship in another parish, or been hired in service for a whole year, or has occupied a house rated at not less than 10*l.* a-year. Either of these gives a settlement: but a man cannot have two settlements at the same time: by acquiring a new one, he always loses his former settlement. When a pauper applies to the officers of a parish for relief, and it appears that he does not belong to that particular parish, the officers apply to the magistrates of the district for an *order of removal* to the parish in which the pauper was last settled. Should this order be disputed by the officers of the other parish, the question is carried before the next quarter-sessions for revision.

Bastardy.—In cases of bastardy, the law of settlement is frequently very mischievous in its operations, as we shall presently see. A bastard child, like any other, obtains its first settlement in the parish in which it was born: but the parish officers may obtain an order of removal for any woman, not belonging to their parish, who is in a state of pregnancy. If the woman does belong to the parish, then their interest is to hunt out the man, and if he belongs to another parish, to frighten him or bribe him into marrying the woman. If they succeed in this, they can then get rid of the woman, (for the husband's settlement always extends to his wife,) and be secure against being burthened with the child. Parish officers have been known to go to the expense of a license, when time would not admit of the publication of banns, or when they feared the man would escape.

In many parts of the country the oath of the woman is considered sufficient evidence of the identity of the father. This regulation gives rise to the grossest perjury and injustice. Cases will be cited presently.

Enforcement of Relief.—If, for any cause whatever, an overseer or assistant-overseer refuse to grant relief to a pauper applying for it, any neighbouring magistrate may, on the application of the pauper, summon the overseer to appear before him, and state his reasons for refusing relief: if the magistrate be not satisfied with these reasons, he may *compel* the overseer to grant the relief applied for, during one month from that time; and if at the end of the month the overseer should again refuse, the magistrate may grant a new order, and so on. The exercise of this right of magistrates to interfere with the parish officers has, in country parishes, been carried to a very great extent; and, as we shall presently see, has been productive of endless mischief.

There are many other provisions in the English poor-laws, such as that for obliging parents to support their pauper children, and children their pauper parents, &c.; but the clauses we have mentioned are the most important.

Defects in the English Poor-Laws.

Without disputing the soundness of the general principle of compulsory relief to the poor, the questions to be considered are, what description of persons ought to be relieved? what should be the nature and extent of such relief? how ought the necessary funds to be raised? and under whose control should they be disbursed? In examining each of these points, we find much in the English system of poor-laws that cries aloud for amendment. We shall consider the two first questions together.

What description of persons ought to be relieved? and what should be the nature and extent of such relief?

We have already intimated our opinion, that a regimen of hard work and coarse food should be provided for all who choose to accept it; and not only for these, but for all who cannot show that they are earning an honest livelihood, whether they are inclined to submit to the discipline or not. Such men are not safe members of society; they are constantly exposed to strong temptation to crime; and it must always be borne in mind, that by some means or other, either by begging or stealing, such persons are, in fact, living on society. Society does not and cannot escape from the cost of their maintenance: and the only question is, how can they be maintained with the least cost to society, and with the best prospect of their own reform?

In answer to this question we reply, and we think most of our readers will agree with us, that this object can be best attained by subjecting the destitute to strict, but kind treatment—by enforcing the regular performance of hard bodily labour—by withdrawing stimulating food of every kind—by the adoption of a judicious system of encouragement and advice as soon as amendment begins to show itself. This we maintain to be the best and the *cheapest* way for society to go to work with the idle, the drunken, and all who are destitute in consequence of their own misconduct—hard work and spare diet for the body, and for the mind, the alternate use of remonstrance, friendly counsel, and sympathizing interest.

Such is the treatment which experience has shown to be the best for the idle and the vicious. But for the poor of another class—for those who have been struck down by a power beyond their own control, or against which no common prudence or foresight could have protected them—a very different management should be adopted. These latter should, wherever it is practicable, be kept quite separate from the idle, the vicious, and the drunken; not only is it desirable that they should occupy distinct rooms, but, if possible, they should live in separate buildings, and in different quarters of the town. Every regard, consistent with economy, should be paid to their feelings. The husband and wife should not be kept apart, nor should they be debarred from the occasional society of their children. Relief may, indeed, often be safely given to paupers of this class at their own homes, or work provided at which they may, without degradation, earn sufficient wages to procure the necessaries of life. In all arrangements, however, even for this class of the poor, the condition of the independent labourer must be steadily kept in view. To whatever degree our sympathies may be excited, it is unwise, nay, it is unjust to the independent labourer, to raise beyond a certain point the condition of the helpless.

The standard of the comfort of the man who earns his own bread, ought always to be in advance of that dependent on others. Before society ventures to increase the comforts of

* By law some kinds of moveable or *personal* property are subject to the poor-rate. But in practice such property is seldom if ever assessed.

† Much misunderstanding has arisen from the terms *select vestry* being used, not only in the sense just applied, but also to designate self-elected bodies like those at the head of some of the London parishes.

the latter class, let it first see that the independent labourer has risen in the scale of comfort and happiness.

We will now see how far the principles just laid down are abided by in granting relief to paupers in many parts of this country.

In the first place it is notorious, that numbers of beggars and prostitutes are to be found in most of our roads and streets; it is also tolerably certain that many of them would not, if allowed the choice, accept of a permission to enter a well-regulated workhouse; and that the mere knowledge that they should be placed there, if they did not change their mode of life and look out for honest work, would of itself greatly reduce their number. However numerous the remainder might be, it would be better to support them in a house than allow them to remain at large: in other words, it would be better to maintain them in a cheap way than in a dear way. But is this the usual mode of proceeding? On the contrary, are not our streets and roads allowed to harbour beggars, drunkards, and harlots, to the injury of public morals, the encouragement of impostors, and to the restriction of the personal liberty of the virtuous female? No one can hesitate in the reply, and few we hope can differ from us as to the remedy to be applied.

Let us now inquire what plan is followed in the treatment of the applicants for parish relief. Is it made to depend on the past and present conduct of the pauper, and on the condition of the independent labourer? Is the treatment in all cases such as to make a man earnestly desire to cease to be a pauper, and maintain himself and his family by his own efforts? Is it such as to correct the habits of the idle, the drunken, and the vicious? To all these questions we are compelled to answer in the negative, as regards the greater part of the country. A most absurd and mischievous arrangement has been adopted in the whole of the south of the island, in many of the midland counties, and in some districts in the north, by which the question of character is altogether set aside: the idle and the industrious, the virtuous woman and the prostitute, the rogue and the honest man—all are treated alike; except, indeed, that the most insolent and turbulent are generally best served.

The Allowance System.—The most disastrous system, to which we have already referred, and which is called the *allowance system*, originated in an order published by the magistrates of Berkshire in the year 1795. It is very probable that the error made by these magistrates sprang from good motives; but it betokened, it must be confessed, a most profound ignorance of the principles of sound government. The order was to this effect:—every labourer who received wages below a certain scale (drawn out by the magistrates) might require the overseers of his parish to make them up to that scale, on his showing that he had nothing but his wages to live on. It may readily be conceived what evils must have been created by this plan of laying down a rule of relief, to be abided by without regard to the character of the applicant, or the means of the rate-payer. It is evident in the first place, that, under this system, unless a man does work enough to get higher wages than those on the allowance scale, he may (as regards the amount of wages) just as well do no work at all; for all that he gets will be deducted from his allowance: whereas every hour's hard work ought to better a man's condition.

In some places the scale of allowance is so high, and consequently the inducement to work so low, that the greater part of the parishioners are positively living in idleness, whilst men from other parishes are hired to do the work. A man will frequently do work by stealth, and thus get a full allowance and wages to boot; or he will get a false statement of his wages from his employer; the farmer and pauper dividing the difference between them. Sometimes he will deceive the overseers as to the number of his children; for his wages, according to the allowance scale, increase with every additional child,—which increase is, in some parishes, so large as to more than cover the cost of the child's maintenance. In fifty different ways then is this absurd allowance system destructive of the morals of the people, to say nothing of the effect on the *property* of the community at large.

After these introductory remarks, our readers will be prepared for the following description of the state of things at Ely in Cambridgeshire, extracted from Mr. Cowell's Report, page [illegible].

"[illegible] is divided into two parishes; of which Trinity contains 4[illegible]5, while the total population is 6189

"The amount of rates, 3970*l.*, and of charities about 1200*l.* per annum.

"The bench of magistrates meet once a year at Michaelmas, and call before them all the overseers, and say to this effect: 'We have considered the price of things, and shall recommend 1*s* 6*d.* for a child, &c. We shall make order according to this scale, and we think it may save trouble to you and ourselves to tell you so at once.' Mr. Bishop and I examined eight or ten persons, being overseers and vestrymen. They described themselves as having no chance whatever against a pauper before a magistrate; declared unanimously that they were disgusted with applying to magistrates in any case, however flagrant; and as finding it, by experience, to be the best way to settle as well as they could with a pauper claimant, without permitting him to summon them.

"They pay the parish paupers every Wednesday, from six to nine o'clock in the evening, who are so turbulent and violent, that they are obliged to have a constable always present for their personal protection. Relief is independent of character, and they make no inquiry as to whether the wants of the applicants are real or simulated; guiding themselves, in giving or withholding relief, in every particular case, by their conjectures as to the probability of the magistrates ordering it or not.

"The following was given us as a specimen of the way in which applications were made and disposed of.

"'I want my money.'

"'How much have you earned?'—'Four shillings.'

"'How many children have you?'—'Six.'

"'Well, here are six eighteen-pences for you.'

"We inquired what, if the man had said he earned nothing, instead of 4*s*, they should have given him.—13*s.* instead of 9*s*. We inquired if they could assign any reason why the man earned or acknowledged earning 4*s*.—None.

"Publishing the names of paupers is rather detrimental than otherwise. Those who are not receiving relief, read the names of those who are, and come immediately and apply for 'their money,' and if they do not receive it, abuse the overseers, and say they will have them up before their betters.

"There is quite work enough in the parish for all the population; the labour of which, however, under the system above described, is insufficient, and recourse is had to ex-parishioners, whose wages are half as much again as those of the native population, owing to their superior conduct, accounted for by their having no dependence except on character and ability.

"A pauper named Sutton returned to the parish with his wife and child, having been away some time, and applied for relief and clothes for himself and family. The overseers, suspecting that he possessed clothes, managed to get him and his wife out of the room, keeping his little girl in, and then asked the child where her Sunday frock was. She answered, that it was locked up in a box at Cambridge with other things. Here the mother came in to call the girl out, but the overseers would not let her go, whereupon the father Sutton came in with a bludgeon, and seized the child by the arm. The overseers held her, but the father pulling her so as to hurt her, they let her go, and he took her out and beat her violently. He then returned, demanding relief, which they refused. He abused them dreadfully, threatening to rip up one, burn the town, &c. and behaved with such violence that they were compelled to have him handcuffed and his legs tied, and he was wheeled in a barrow to the magistrate, where they charged him with assault. The magistrate asked whether they could swear they were in bodily fear of Sutton, and they replying that they were not, he dismissed the charge, *and ordered Sutton relief.*"

That the melancholy and demoralizing state of things just described is not necessarily connected with the poor-laws is proved by a few simple facts. 1. Although the poor-laws apply to the whole of England, there are many parts in which the allowance system is unknown. 2. From several parishes, into which the allowance system had been introduced, it has subsequently been driven out, and the people brought back to a condition worthy of the character of the English peasantry. 3. The poor-laws were, in their present form, introduced into England in the year 1601; the allowance system was a device of 1795: so that of the 232 years during which the present poor-laws have existed, the allowance system has defaced them during thirty-eight years only.

And here we may remark how frequently one evil brings others in its train; and, therefore, how important it is to keep in the simple track of justice. The real cause of the introduction of the allowance system into England (joined with the ignorance of those who originated it) was the violent change in the value of money which took place about forty years ago; and later changes, of equal or perhaps greater violence, have done much towards extending the use of this system. At the time in question (1795), money was rapidly falling in value,—in other words, prices were rising. Now, it unfortunately happens that wages, which, like everything else, ought to rise and fall with the value of money, change very slowly either in one way or the other. Thus, in the time we are speaking of, bread and meat were getting dearer faster than wages were rising, so that the labouring man was in great distress; and this it was, probably, that induced the Berkshire magistrates to attempt to regulate wages: in doing which they planted a deadly weed which has since spread over a great part of the country.

Again, the more recent changes in the value of money have, by greatly raising the farmer's rent, &c., thrown him in many cases into great difficulties; and his distress at length reaching the labourer, new motives have offered themselves to the unreflecting for extending the allowance system.

In justice, however, to those who have either introduced or propagated the allowance system, it must not be forgotten that a great deal of the blame lies with the country at large, in not providing an efficient system of police to protect life and property from the turbulent and lawless. Many of those who have the administration of the poor-laws are fully aware of the dreadful evils of the allowance system: they see that, in many places, it is hurrying both themselves and the labourers to ruin; but it requires no ordinary courage and firmness to take a step which would, in many cases, put their property and *lives* in peril.

The following is the pleasing picture of a parish redeemed from the state of degradation into which the allowance system had reduced it. It is taken from Mr. Cowell's Report, p. 388. The parish is that of Bingham, Nottinghamshire; and the gentleman to whom the honour of the reform is due, is the Rev. Mr. Lowe, incumbent of the parish. Mr. Lowe began the good work in the year 1818. The year before, the poor-rates were 1200*l.*, the population being 1500. An immediate effect was produced on the amount of the rates, as is shown by the following table:—

	£
1817 . .	1206
1818 . .	984
1819 . .	711
1820 . .	510
1821 . .	338

Such was the change in the cost of the poor; and we have no doubt that, if a scale could be drawn out, showing the real comfort and happiness of the inhabitants generally, it would be found that those advanced quite as rapidly as the poor-rates fell off. The present amount of the rates is 450*l.* The population of Bingham has, however, increased somewhat; and, of course, Bingham cannot escape the causes of agricultural distress, beyond the reach of local reforms.

"The Rev. Mr. Lowe became the incumbent of this parish in the year 1814; he is a magistrate, and resides on his living. He found it in a terrible state. In the year 1817 there were more than forty inmates in the workhouse; seventy-eight receiving constant weekly pay out of it: and, for the twelve weeks ending the 27th of June that year, I [Mr. Cowell] counted the number of roundsmen in the parish books, and found it amount to 103.

"The state of morals was that which invariably accompanies this manner of administering the poor-laws. The labourers were turbulent, idle, dissolute, profuse; scarcely a night passed without mischief; and in the two years preceding 1818, seven men of the parish were transported for felonies. The poor, to use the words of my examinants, Mr. Lowe, and Deane the overseer, were completely masters.

"In 1818-19, Mr. Lowe undertook to remedy this state of things. Being satisfied that it proceeded entirely from the operation of the poor-laws, and that there was no cause, independent of their influence, to prevent his parishioners from being happy, honest, and industrious, and knowing that it was impossible to refuse relief, according to the practice and custom of the country, he devised means for rendering relief itself so irksome and disagreeable that none would consent to receive it who could possibly do without it; while at the same time it should come in the shape of comfort and consolation to those whom every benevolent man would wish to succour—the old, infirm, idiots, and cripples. For this purpose, he placed in the workhouse a steady, cool-tempered man, who was procured from a distance, and was not known in the parish, as master, refused all relief in kind or money, and sent every applicant and his family at once into the workhouse. The fare is meat three times a week, soup twice, pudding once, milk porridge five times.

"Surely no man who says that he cannot maintain himself, wife, and children, by the sweat of his brow—who declares that he is starving—who applies for charity—has a right to complain of being placed in a clean and comfortable house, of having a good bed to sleep on, and such fare every day as I have described above; and had Mr. Lowe stopped here, matters would not have been much mended. But the applicant who entered the workhouse, *on the plea that he was starving for want of work*, was taken at his word, and told that these luxuries and benefits could only be given by the parish *against work*, and in addition, that a certain regular routine was established, to which all the inmates must conform. The man goes to one side of the house, the wife to the other, and the children into the school-room. Separation is steadily enforced. Their own clothes are taken off, and the uniform of the workhouse put on. No beer, tobacco, or snuff is allowed. Regular hours kept, or meals forfeited. Every one must appear in a state of personal cleanliness. No access to bed-rooms during the day. No communication with friends out of doors. Breaking stones in the yard by the grate [piece], as large a quantity required every day as an able bodied labourer is enabled to break.

"What is there in all this of which an applicant for a portion of the property of others, *on the ground that he is starving*, has any right to complain? He has a better house over his head, better clothes on his back, better and more palatable food to eat, better medical advice, than nine-tenths of the peasantry of Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy, and he is not required to do harder work. But the monotony, the restraint, the want of stimulants, the regularity of hours, are irksome to the pretended pauper. He bethinks himself of liberty and work, and work he will find, if there is a job undone in the parish or neighbourhood within a day's walk. No man stood this discipline for three weeks. After a struggle which lasted a few months, the paupers of Bingham gave the matter up. The inmates of the workhouse dropped from forty-five to twelve, who were all either old, idiots, or infirm, and to whom a workhouse is really a place of comfort. The number of persons relieved out of the workhouse dropped from seventy-eight to twenty-seven. The weekly pay from 6*l.* to 1*l.* 16*s.* to pensioners, all of whom are old and blind, or crippled. These are permitted to live with their relations, as such instances of relieving out of the workhouse produce no mischief.

"Wages rose to twelve shillings a week, winter and summer, all the year through; the labourer husbanded his resources, took a pride and pleasure in his cottage, and resumed his rank in the scale of moral being.

"The effect of this system is far more important in a moral point of view, than in a pecuniary or an economical one. The conduct and habits of the population of Bingham, according to the representations of Mr. Lowe and Deane, and by the consent of the neighbourhood, are now as different from what they were fifteen years ago, as can be conceived; no crimes, no misdeeds, no disturbances."

The example set by Mr. Lowe, in the reform of Bingham, has been followed in other places with equal success; and reforms, on a more extensive scale, have, in the course of the last few years, been effected in Liverpool, Birmingham, Derby, Oldham, and other large towns. In some of these (as we shall show when considering the effects of superior parochial government), the cost of the poor has been greatly reduced, even with an increasing population; and this reduction of the burthen to the rate-payers has been brought about without any sacrifice of the real interests of the poor—nay, to their great benefit.

Bastardy.—The provision for bastard children forms, to a certain extent, a branch of the allowance system. We have already given some explanation of the state of the law of bastardy. The burthen of the support of a bastard child, like that of any other child, falls by law on the parents—the parish being required to provide for the child only in case of extreme indigence on the part of the parents; the

parish, in that case, having the power to prosecute the father and mother for the offence which has brought a burthen upon it. Now, there is nothing objectionable in the *principle* of the law, as just laid down, but the *practice* is bad enough. The parents are seldom punished in any way whatever; and the allowance to the mother for the support of the child is often greater than that afforded to the widow for her legitimate offspring,—nay, the mother of a bastard child is often the better off for her offence; *she frequently receives more than the child costs her:* her children, therefore, become a source of income to her, and make her an object to be scrambled for in marriage by the young fellows of her parish.

The following extract from Mr. Cowell's Report of the parish of Swaffham, in Norfolk, (page 393,) will show that our picture is not overdrawn. The Reports from the other Commissioners, as also that of the Lords' Committee in 1831, abound in similar matter; and here we may observe that the evidence given in the Report of the Lords' Committee has been very generally confirmed by the Poor-Law Commissioners. Several of the facts we have extracted from the Commissioners' Report might have been taken from that of the Lords' Committee.

"A woman in a neighbouring parish had five illegitimate children, for whom she was allowed 10*s.* per week, and 6*s.* for herself. Finding herself pregnant for the sixth time, she employed a man to go round to various persons with whom she might or might not have had connexion, to acquaint each of them separately with the fact of her pregnancy, and of her intention of swearing the child to him unless he consented to send her a sum of money, when she would engage to swear it to some one else. Her demands for this hush-money ranged as high as 10*l.* in some instances. The first man to whom her ambassador applied gave him 10*l.* The ambassador returned, and represented to his employer that the man had laughed at her threat, but had sent her half-a-crown, out of which he thought she ought to give him 1*s.*-6*d.* for his trouble. To this she consented; so he benefited 9*l.* 19*s.*, and she 1*s.* by this first negotiation. She carried on this course with several persons with various success, and at last swore the child to a man who resisted, and on his appeal succeeded in getting the order on him quashed. The case was tried at Swaffham, where the above circumstances came to light in court.

"This woman was never punished. She gave birth to her child, was allowed 2*s.* for it by the parish, and is now in the receipt of 18*s.* per week, the produce of successful bastardy adventures.

"My informant in this and the following instance was Mr. Sewell, clerk to the magistrates at Swaffham.

"A woman of Swaffham was reproached by the magistrate, Mr. Young, with the burdens she had brought upon the parish, on the occasion of her appearing before him to present the parish with her seventh bastard. She replied, 'I am not going to be disappointed in my company with men to save the parish.' This woman now receives 14*s.* a week for her seven bastards, being 2*s.* a head for each. Mr. Sewell informed me that, had she been a widow with seven legitimate children, she would not have received so much by 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week, according to their scale of allowance to widows. A bastard child is thus about 25 per cent. more valuable to a parent than a legitimate one. The premium upon want of chastity, perjury, and extortion, is here very obvious; and Mr. Sewell informed me that it is considered a good speculation to marry a woman who can bring a fortune of one or two bastards to her husband. Mr. Sewell had never known in the course of his experience but two women punished for having illegitimate children. The profligacy in this neighbourhood is very great."

It is needless to expatiate on the utter incapacity of men under whose management such a state of things as this could arise. What can be more simple than that if you give a premium for incontinence and perjury, incontinence and perjury will be created? The conclusion, however, to be drawn from the facts just given, and from a hundred others of a like kind, is, that the administration of the poor-laws ought to be placed in the hands of men who are chosen *because of their fitness for office*—who have some knowledge of human nature and of the springs of action, and who are held responsible for the performance of their duties. The extent of bastardy, in any particular district, like that of most of the other evils we have considered, depends more on the intelligence or ignorance of those who administer the poor-laws than on anything else. As one among many proofs of this, we may mention Burghfield parish, near Reading, where the introduction of a superior parochial government was quickly followed by a reduction to one-half in the number of births of bastard children.

Proper Mode of Relief.

Having now pointed out some of the many evils resulting from the relief by allowance, it appears advisable to state in what manner it seems most eligible to afford relief. In rendering relief, the three things to be constantly kept in mind are, 1st, a strict economy of the funds of the ratepayers; 2dly, the moral improvement and real welfare of the pauper; 3dly, the effect of the treatment of the pauper on the independent labourer.

We have already spoken of the treatment of paupers in workhouses. According to their character, conduct, and past character, the discipline should approach that of the prison in severity, or place the inmate in a situation not very far inferior to that of the independent labourer. The most difficult part of the duty of a parish officer, however, is the relief of out-paupers—so various are the ways in which he may be imposed upon. The out-pauper may be getting higher wages than he states, or he may be able to get work which he refuses to take, or he may be wasting part of his income at the gin-shop, or he may be receiving relief from some charity, or from another parish. In any one, or in all these ways, the out-pauper may be deceiving and defrauding.

What are the precautions to be taken against all this? In the first place, we should say that, excepting under very peculiar circumstances, such as a sudden and unforeseen calamity causing general and severe distress, no person ought ever to receive relief out of the workhouse, unless the overseer fully believes him to be a sober, honest, and industrious man. If there be any doubt of his character, he should be immediately placed in the workhouse, where (under good arrangements) he can be compelled to work, and has no opportunity of abusing the parish relief by buying gin, &c. Even those who may be safely trusted to receive relief at their own homes should not obtain it in *money*. That most tempting commodity, money, ought never to get into the hands of a pauper; for if it is to be of real service to his family, the man must exchange the money for bread and clothes: then why not keep him out of temptation by giving him food and clothes at once? Independently of this, relief in kind is the cheapest; for surely a parish can, under tolerable management, buy and cook more economically than a man who has only a few shillings to expend. In a later part of our article, we shall (in speaking of the advantage of incorporating small parishes) give some valuable evidence on the saving that may be effected by providing for people in large numbers. Relief then, we repeat, should always be given in kind, never in money. Another regulation we venture to recommend, is, to have the food, clothing, &c., carried round to the houses of the paupers, and delivered to the *wife*, who is almost always a better manager than the husband, and more anxious for the comfort of the children. With this arrangement, too, there would be no chance of a man's getting supplied by two parishes at the same time. Again, the fact of his receiving relief would be generally known to the charitable in the neighbourhood; moreover, the man's own day would not be broken into by his having to fetch his parish allowance, nor would he be brought into association for a couple of hours every week with numbers of other paupers.

In no case, except that of sickness, should relief be afforded without a full quantity of work, of some kind or other, being previously done. In many parishes, the cost of the paupers has been considerably reduced by the work performed by them. In the workhouse of Shardlow parish, Derbyshire, for example, the able-bodied poor, according to Mr. Pilkington's Report, very nearly earned the cost of their maintenance last year. If the out-paupers did nothing more than keep the streets and roads clean in wet weather, and well watered in hot, dusty weather, they would be doing something which would add very much to the comfort of the inhabitants of our towns and villages. The out-paupers might also do a great deal towards protecting the health of the town by draining, removing heaps of manure, whitewashing, cleaning, &c. The state of our towns and villages, when the fear of the cholera roused attention to these matters, showed how much labour might be profitably employed in

the way we have pointed out. But the greatest advantage derived from the plan of hard labour is the ready test it affords of a pauper's necessities. The principal instrument in effecting the parochial reforms we have spoken of has been *work;* and any relaxation has been followed by an increase in the numbers of paupers.

The following is taken from Mr. Henderson's Report from Liverpool, page 346. Mr. Henderson is speaking of the way in which the reform of parish affairs there was carried into effect,—a reform which, in the space of two years, reduced the amount of poor-rates from 41,000*l.* to 23,000*l.* This took place in the years 1821 and 1822.

"This change was brought about by a thorough investigation of all the cases on the parish books: the parties receiving relief were examined, and the circumstances under which they first became chargeable were carefully scrutinized, by which means numerous impositions were detected, and the parish was enabled to reduce or withdraw many of the allowances. Great exertions were also made to provide work for able-bodied paupers: the vestry at one time contracted to fill up part of an old stone quarry, and make a road over it; at another to cultivate by spade labour a large tract of ground called the Rector's Fields; and at another time to level, for the sum of 1000*l.*, a large rock near the workhouse, on the site of which the Infirmary has since been built. Thus they set to work all able-bodied applicants for relief, and also turned all able-bodied men out of the workhouse, paying them one shilling a day to provide themselves, and exacting a good day's work in return. Many under this system, who had been for years in the workhouse, quitted it, and eventually found employment for themselves elsewhere."

Mr Chadwick gives the evidence of some of the assistant-overseers of London parishes, on the necessity of providing work for out-paupers. The following is that of Mr. Luke Teather, assistant-overseer of St. Mary, Lambeth:—

"If you could get hard work for your able-bodied out-door poor, so as to make their condition on the whole less eligible than that of the independent labourer, what proportion of those who are now chargeable to the parish do you think would remain so?—On a rough guess, I do not think that more than one out of five would remain.

"Can you state any facts to justify that conclusion?—Yes: the instances of the proportions who have left us on their having had work given them. Some time ago, for instance, we had a lot of granite broken: there were not above twenty per cent. of the men who began the work who remained to work at all; there were not above two per cent. who remained the whole of the time during which the work lasted. Many of them, however, were not idle men; but they found other jobs."

"With the view of reducing the parochial expenditure of the populous parish of Marylebone, the stone-yard was discontinued, as it was believed to be conducted at a loss, and the able-bodied paupers receiving out-door relief were no longer employed. Soon after this proceeding, the able-bodied applicants for parochial relief increased in such numbers, that it has recently been found necessary to recur to the use of the stone-yard to stem the influx. Nine hundred of the applicants for relief were set to work; only eighty-five have continued at work. The average wages were from 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week, but some got as much as 18*s.*"

The evidence of the Rev. Thomas Whateley, before the Lords' Committee, is very strong on the advantages of providing work for the poor. Mr. Whateley is speaking of Cookham parish, Berkshire:—

"The system of management introduced by the select vestry of the parish of Cookham has been attended with very beneficial effects, both to the rate-payer and to the poor. To the former it has saved in eight years up to Lady-day last, compared with the preceding eight years, no less a sum than 15,008*l.* To the latter it has been equally beneficial, by introducing habits of frugality, industry, and providence, which have been strongly marked by their beneficial effects. Only one bastard child has been registered in either of the two last years. The system is simple, and may be accommodated to the circumstances of most agricultural parishes. Its leading features are the employment of the able-bodied poor, who apply for relief, at low wages and at hard work by the piece, showing them that the parish is the hardest task-master and the lowest pay-master they can apply to. Never giving any thing in aid of labour, rent, or rates. Dividing the paupers in the workhouse into two classes; the old, infirm, and impotent form the first; the idle, improvident, and vicious constitute the second. To the former is allowed an ample supply of butcher's meat and other suitable food; to the second class nothing but bread and cheese. None are allowed to absent themselves from the workhouse, or to receive visiters within its walls, without an express and written order from an overseer.

"Every possible encouragement is given to honest industry, providence, and frugality, by the establishment of a saving-bank, a friendly society, a lying-in-charity, and all other means that can be devised. Young persons going to service are allowed an outfit of clothes; and a member of the friendly society is always received by the select vestry with marked attention. I cannot help adding that, during the late troubles, there has been no fire, no riot, no threatening letter in the parish."

Mr. Chadwick's Report bears evidence of the happy effects on the comforts and moral welfare of the inhabitants of Cookham, produced by these and other arrangements introduced by Mr. Whateley:—

"In Cookham, where the change was the most extensive, the parochial expenditure was reduced from 313*l.* to 115*l.* and the general condition of the labouring classes improved. Mr. Russell, the magistrate of Swallowfield, stated to me, that in riding through Cookham he was so much struck with the appearance of comfort observable in the persons and residences of some of the labouring classes of that village, that he was led to make inquiries into the cause. The answers he received, determined him to exert his influence to procure a similar change of system in Swallowfield."

We may here remark how true it is with voluntary charities as with compulsory relief, that their good or bad effect depends on their administration. In few places is more done for the poor and the labouring classes than at Cookham: the assistance, however, is judiciously afforded, and few places can be pointed out in which the people are in a more thriving state.

To return, however, to the subject of pauper labour. Whenever there is any difficulty in obtaining the proper amount of work from an out-pauper, the privilege of receiving relief at his own house should be withdrawn, and he should be forthwith subjected to the discipline of the workhouse.

Under a good general system of management we have little doubt that work might readily be found, in draining, cleansing, cutting new roads, widening streets, &c. &c., which would enable society with very little loss to afford wages sufficient to procure the necessaries of life to all who choose to apply for employment. If this could be brought about, most of the vexations about paupers' settlements, &c. would be done away with. If a man earned, or nearly earned, the allowance afforded him by the parish, there would be but little motive for inquiring whether or not he happened to belong to that particular parish.

The following evidence of Mr. William Winkworth, the overseer of the parish of St. Mary's, Reading, is from Mr. Chadwick's Report, p. 207:—

"In this town great advantages would be derived by a union of the parishes: first, in obtaining more efficient officers and administrators; next, in systematic and united management: thirdly, in more economical expenditure; and fourthly, in finding things for labour, and in directing the labour of the able-bodied paupers.

"The town, for example, wants draining. We have brickmakers and carpenters, and other labourers, on the parishes, receiving relief; and the whole town might be well drained by the labour of these paupers, at the expense of materials only—bricks, wood, mortar, and sand. This, however, is a work which the parishes cannot, or will not, undertake separately: it is prevented by petty jealousies and dissensions, and the want of able officers to direct the work of the paupers. The owners of premises well situated and well drained, say, 'Drainage is a benefit to the owners of the property, and we do not see why we should be called upon to contribute money for their benefit.' The owners of the houses where the drainage is most wanted say, 'We can get no rents to pay for the work, and the nuisances which are caused by the want of it must therefore continue.' No account is taken of the necessity of finding work of any sort for the able-bodied paupers: nothing can be done with the separate parishes governed by open vestries, no cordial co-operation can be got, and the benefit of considerable labour is lost. As the surveyor of the road from this town to Be-

singularly, and also of the road from house to Shillingford, I can state, from my observation of the several parishes (nineteen in number) through which these roads pass, that very considerable labour might be found, under good direction, in improving their private roads. This is an instance of the sort of work which might frequently be found for paupers. In some of the parishes the roads are kept in very good order,—but this is mere accident; whilst in the immediately adjoining parishes more money will be expended, and the roads will, nevertheless, be in so bad a state, that the parish is indictable for them."

Again, at page 316, Mr. Mott gives the following evidence:—

"From the statements of medical men in the metropolis, and also of such persons as Dr. Kay of Manchester, it appears that, in consequence of the want of drainage of certain districts, and the crowded and dirty state of the habitations, there are some neighbourhoods from which disease is never absent. 'Have you observed similar effects in the parishes with which you are acquainted?'—'I have observed it, not only in Lambeth, but in all crowded neighbourhoods; and, seeing how large a source of unavoidable pauperism this is, I have long regretted that the proprietors of these small houses were not compelled to keep them in a proper state. An independent labourer may be industrious and provident, and yet both he and his family may be subjected to a fever, or other disease, and thrown upon the parish, in consequence of want of drainage, and filth, and other causes, which he has no means of removing.'

"'So that, looking merely to the poor-rates, it would be good economy to pay attention to drainage and the enforcement of sanatory regulations?'—'I think so; and that it would be attended with great benefit. Some neighbourhoods are so constantly the seats of particular diseases, and sources of pauperism from that cause, that if assistant-overseers, and others accustomed to visit the abodes of the poor, were asked for cases of those diseases, they could direct you to particular places where you would almost be sure to find the disease at work. I remember that, one winter, when the weather was very severe, the beadles of Newington parish were directed to pay particular attention to the sick out-door poor. They went at once to some courts in Kent Street, as a matter of course, without making any inquiry (just as a gamekeeper would go to a well-stocked preserve); and returned with two coach-loads full of most deplorable objects, the victims of frightful disease.'"

Necessity of an improved and uniform System in the Administration of the Poor-Laws.

The remaining defects in the English poor-laws (we speak of the principal ones only) can perhaps be best considered under the present head.

Parishes too small.—As the present division of the country, as to parishes, was made long before the introduction of poor-laws, and therefore without the slightest reference to their administration, it is not surprising that it should prove a very inconvenient one; the only wonder is, that the arrangement has not been changed long ago. One thing appears certain, namely, that, as regards the administration of the poor-laws, most of the existing parishes are far too small. There is plenty of evidence to show that, excepting under peculiar circumstances, the large parishes are much better managed than the small ones.

In the year 1831, the cost of the poor of Liverpool was only 4*s.* 3½*d.* per head of the population; that is to say, every person on an average was called upon for only 4*s.* 3½*d.* of poor-rates. In Oldham the rates were yet lower, being only 2*s.* 3½*d.* each individual. Taking the whole county of Lancaster, with its great towns and throngs of inhabitants, the poor-rates amounted to not more than 4*s.* 4½*d.* per head of the population, *which is considerably less than in any other county in the whole of England and Wales.* This low rate is most nearly approached by the counties in the extreme north of the country. We are not aware that parishes are at all larger there than elsewhere; the inhabitants, however, have in their old-established customs many securities against pauperism which do not exist in other parts of the country. We wish we had room to give a detailed account of their mode of life; for the present we must content ourselves with referring such of our readers as have access to the document, to the very interesting evidence of Mr. Grey given in the Report of the Lords' Committee of 1831.

We will now inquire what the amount of poor-rates is in some parishes where the bad management, generally found in small parishes, is not checked by causes like those operating in the north. In Berkshire, the rates in the year 1831 were 16*s.* 2*d.* a head; in Wiltshire, 16*s.* 7*d.*; and in Sussex, 19*s.* 5*d.*; being more than four times the proportion of poor-rates to population in Lancashire, and nearly *eight* times what it is at the town of Oldham.

With these general facts to start with, we may now go on to consider in what the advantages of large parishes consist.

In the first place, a great deal of trouble and vexation is saved in determining settlements. In a large parish, a man may generally go where his labour is wanted, and may change his abode many times without making any alteration in his settlement, or giving room for any dispute concerning it; but in the ridiculously small parishes to be found in some parts of the country, containing only a few hundred acres of land, a labourer can scarcely take a hop, stride, and jump, without changing his parish, or at least getting on debateable ground.

England and Wales are at present chopped up into as many as 10,000 distinct parishes; and the city of London, within the walls, containing a population of not more than 55,000, is divided into ninety-six separate parishes.

If the 10,000 parishes, into which the country is divided, were incorporated into 500, there would still be much room for further union at a future time. Still, however, an important step would be taken, and much good would result. If such new divisions of the country were made, advantage should be taken of the opportunity of forming districts or parishes on really good principles of union. We would submit the following for consideration, each to be abided by as far as a general attention to all will admit:—Equality of population and wealth—similarity of interests and occupations among the inhabitants—facility of intercourse—and convenience of boundary. A number of parishes formed on these principles might together make a county, and be placed under a municipal government.

With a good system of management, such as is at the command of large bodies acting in unison, the advantages resulting from the junction of parishes would probably be so great that, in a few years, there would be a general inclination to join yet further. In this case we should venture to recommend that the parishes should still remain separate, as far as regards the amount of poor-levies required from them, but that they should be united in all that relates to the expenditure of the levies. The question how much each particular parish should be required to contribute, might be decided by the municipal government; and should be determined on a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the parish, and how far the inhabitants had exerted themselves to remove, by education or otherwise, the *causes* of pauperism.

To return to the evils produced at present by the settlement laws, and the division of the country into small parishes. As we have before said, a great deal of money is at present wasted in determining to what particular parish a pauper belongs; and labouring men are often refused employment in parishes where they are really wanted, lest they should get settlements there, and so eventually become a burden. To prevent settlements of this kind another evil is often run into. Labourers and servants are hired for short periods; and thus a bar is put to the growth of those mutual sympathies between employer and labourer which are so important in their effects on the character of each. Sometimes the difficulty is on the side of the labourer himself, who refuses work offered him elsewhere, lest he should lose a settlement in a "good parish,"—meaning by that, a parish in which the allowance system is in full play, and the scale high. It is easy to see that all this must lead to a great deal of trouble and mischief; and by referring to the evidence of facts, such conclusion is fully borne out. Mr. Chadwick, from whose able Report we have already given several extracts, supplies us with the following apposite matter:—

"The Rev. R. R. Bailey, chaplain to the Tower, who has had extensive opportunities of observing the operation of the poor-laws in the rural districts, states,—

"'I consider that the present law of settlement renders the peasant, to all intents and purposes, a bondsman: he is chained to the soil by the operation of the system, and it forbids his acquiring property, or enjoying it openly or honestly. I am of opinion that management by hundreds,

instead of by parishes, would greatly benefit all classes. Very frequent instances have occurred to me of one parish being full of labourers, and suffering greatly from want of employment, whilst in another adjacent parish there is a demand for labour. I have no doubt that if the labourers were freed from their present trammels, there would be such a circulation of labour as would relieve the agricultural districts.'

" 'Can you give any instances within your own knowledge of the operation of the law of settlement?'—'I was requested by Colonel Bogson, Kesgrove House, to furnish him with a farming bailiff I found a man in all respects qualified for his situation; he was working at 9*s* a week in the parish where I lived. The man was not encumbered by a family, and he thankfully accepted my offer: the situation was, in point of emolument, and comfort, and station, a considerable advance; his advantages would have been doubled In about a week he altered his mind, and declined the situation, in consequence, as I understood, of his fearing to remove from what was considered a good parish to a bad one, the parish to which it was proposed to remove him being connected with a hundred house, in which there was more strict management—I was requested by a poor man, whom I respected, to find a situation for his son, in London, the son was a strong young man, working at that time at about 8*s* a week I eventually succeeded in getting him a good situation of one guinea per week, in London, where his labour would have been much less than it was in the country, but when the period arrived at which he was expected in London, he was not forthcoming It appeared he had altered his mind, and determined not to take the place as I understood, his reason for refusing to accept it arose from a reluctance to endanger his settlement in his parish Such are the instances which are continually presented to my observation, with respect to the operation of the present system of settlement '

In connexion with the subject of bastardy, we have already given some facts, showing evils arising from the present settlement-laws The following displays an abuse of another kind —

" A proprietor possessing nearly the whole of a parish at some distance from Ely, has, we are told, hired a farm in Ely, which he manages by a bailiff, he sends his own parishioners to work on it To these persons his bailiff gives settlements in Ely, by hiring, and at the end of the year they are turned off upon Trinity parish in Ely, and their places supplied by a fresh immigration from the mother parish The proprietor may have had very different motives from those attributed to him by our examinants; and this circumstance is not mentioned for the purpose of casting any reflection on him, (we do not know his name, nor what account of the transaction he himself might give,) but in order to point out the temptations which 'settlement by hiring and service' throws in the way of persons even of station and education In the case of Great Shelford, narrated above, are not the landowners, who daily see their property slowly but surely passing away from them, under a strong temptation to save themselves from ruin by hiring a couple of farms for seven years, in two distinct parishes, and bribing their supernumerary families to take service there? And this is clearly possible by the existing law —*Report of Poor-Law Commissioners*, p 387

From all that has been brought forward, it appears that the evils connected with the question of settlements are very great, and that the remedies to be applied are, 1st, Enlargement of parishes 2d, The introduction of a uniform system throughout the country, so that a pauper may receive exactly the same treatment in one parish as in another 3d, The reduction of the cost of a pauper to the least possible amount, as well by attention to strict economy as by employing the pauper in useful labour In addition to these reforms it would be well to adopt some more simple law of settlement than the present one. In Scotland every person belongs to that parish in which he has dwelt during the greater part of the previous three years; and this law of settlement appears to work tolerably well—at any rate very much better than the English law; for the amount of litigation in Scotland on the subject of settlement is trifling compared with the amount in England.

Frauds by Paupers.—These would be much checked by an enlargement of parishes, and the introduction of a general and uniform system of administration We have already, in considering the way in which relief should be afforded, spoken of the frauds practised by paupers. For additional information on this subject we turn to Mr. Chadwick's Report, p 257 :—

" The general effect of particular modes of living and gradation of dietaries, may be best proved by the declarations and conduct of those who have tried them all.

" In consequence of the inquiries I have made on this subject, many of the inmates of the workhouses have been questioned as to their experience. Mr. Hewitt, the master of the workhouse of St Andrew's, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr, made separate and close inquiries of several of the paupers in that house, who had been in various prisons and workhouses, and on board the hulks. He has furnished me with several dietaries made up from the statements of the paupers, and I find that they correspond very accurately with the dietaries set forth in the official returns. From these statements and admissions of the paupers, it appeared that they usually knew to an ounce the dietaries of the metropolitan prisons, and the hulks, and of many of the workhouses, of which some one amongst them had made trial One of the paupers, named James Philby, a stout able bodied man, (with the exception that he had a club foot,) had been fifteen times in the House of Correction for various misdemeanours He also acknowledged that he had received relief from the parishes of St James, Clerkenwell; Chelsea, Bethnal Green; St Giles, Bloomsbury; St. Dunstan, Fleet Street, St Andrew, Holborn, above bars; the Liberty of the Rolls; Whitechapel, St Mary, Newington St Andrew, Saffron Hill, Kensington; and St. George, Southwark He had resided in all these workhouses, he had lived in one workhouse whilst he managed to get relief as an out-door pauper from others, and that too during the same week He had also received 'sets up,' or grants of stated sums for stated periods, from the several parishes He admitted that he had, at times, varied his occupation by stealing a little One instance was mentioned, where, after he had been liberated from an imprisonment for stealing a gentleman's great coat, he went to the owner, and, as a favour, offered to let him have his own coat back a bargain This pauper, after having received relief fraudulently from St George's parish, Southwark, during twelve years, was prosecuted by them, and his sentence was four months' imprisonment This sentence according to his own statement, transferred him from the workhouse—where, as an inmate on a low diet, the allowance was only 134 oz of food weekly—to a place where the allowance was 230 oz. From the statements of these persons, it appeared that the average dietaries of the workhouses in the metropolis was about 170 oz of solid food, whilst in prison the dietaries were from 200 oz to 280 oz of solid food weekly. They admitted that the labour in the prisons was very often little more than 'mere exercise,' that they were always 'very kindly treated, but that, as they lived well enough in the workhouse, they preferred it, because they had more liberty there, and could get better society when they were out. 'As to regular work, Philby said that he could at all times travel to any part of the country, and live better on the road than he could possibly do by hard labour

Superior Economy of large Parishes.—Under other heads we have had occasion to bring forward some facts in support of the opinion that the maintenance of the poor in a large parish can be managed more economically than in a small one. The following additional evidence has been given by Mr. Charles Mott, the contractor for the poor of Lambeth parish :—

" The city of London within the walls comprehends a population of 55,000, whose poor are relieved and managed in ninety-six parishes Lambeth comprehends a population of 87,000, and the administration of relief to the poor is managed by one establishment, and the money raised for the purpose is collected on one rate—What do you consider would be the effect of the subdivision of Lambeth into ninety-six independent parishes, each managing the poor independently of the rest, or each exercising the right of assent or dissent from any combined management in the same way as each parish belonging to the incorporated hundreds?—The chief effects which appear to me to be likely to ensue, are, that we should have ninety-six imperfect establishments instead of one; ninety-six sources of population instead of one; ninety-six sets of officers to be imposed upon by paupers instead of one set; ninety-six sources of litigation and of expense for removals and disputed settlements instead of one; and ninety-six modes of doing instead of one."

The witness referred to the returns of parochial expenditure, and stated,—"It appears that the ninety-six city parishes, (many of which are extremely wealthy and lightly burthened with poor,) with a population of 55,000, expended for the relief of the poor in the year 1831, 64,000*l.* Lambeth, with 32,000 more people, and many densely-peopled districts containing very poor people, expended on the relief of the poor only 37,000*l.* during the same year. In the wealthy parishes of the city of London the money paid as poor's-rates amounted to 1*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* per head; whilst in Lambeth the amount paid is 8*s.* 6*d.* and a fraction per head. I believe that the individuals relieved are much more numerous in Lambeth than in the city of London. They were so formerly, and I believe they are so now. The adults of Lambeth parish are now supported in the workhouse at 3*s.* 11*d.* per head; whilst in the city of London, the greater proportion of all classes of poor, including children, are farmed out at an expense of from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* each, whilst the expense of those maintained in the small city workhouses varies from 5*s.* to 8*s.* per head per week for all classes.

"Do you think this statement gives a fair view of the merits of management in small as compared with large town parishes?—It never occurred to me to make any comparison of this kind until it was suggested by the question; but my impression is, that it does afford a fair comparison. The management of the poor in incorporated hundreds is undoubtedly superior to the management by independent parishes; but still the good of the hundred management is much diminished by the numerous sets of officers, and quarrels and conflicting interests of the separate parishes."

Profitable Work more easily provided in large Parishes.—The evidence of the overseer of St. Mary's parish, Reading, (which we have given under another head,) is here also applicable. The following is, moreover, well worthy of consideration—it consists of another extract from Mr. Mott's evidence. (See *Report*, p. 318.)

"It has been stated to us that in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the paupers have been usefully employed in cleansing the streets more frequently than would be done by the contractor. Do you not think that much labour of that sort might be found for the paupers?—The mischief is, that the superintendence of the paupers, and the application of their labour, and the management of the roads, are usually under distinct trusts. In most cases the surveyors do not like to be troubled with paupers. Arrangements might, I think, be made, to render the greater proportion of the road-labour available for the purpose of employing the poor. But this could only be by a union of management of large districts, in which there would always be a large stock of pauper labour available, and in which there could be skilful management.

"Have you observed that, in the smaller agricultural parishes, one main difficulty in the way of the employment of the paupers is the want of permanent superintendents of adequate skill to direct their labours?—Yes; and the cause is obvious, in the want of sufficient extent of the parish to pay a competent person, and the want of a sufficient amount of disposable labour to make it worth while to employ such a person, even if the parish could afford it."

Mr. M'Adam, the celebrated improver of the art of road-making, is of opinion that great public advantage might be derived from the introduction of a general system for the employment of paupers in repairing the roads. We extract the following evidence, given by Mr. M'Adam before a committee of the House of Commons, on labourers' wages:—

"I am of opinion that if several parishes—three or six, according to the size—were consolidated, as to roads, under one management, or rather under one proper and efficient surveyor, paid for his services, and a very small portion (say a fourth part) of the value of the statute labour was taken in money, and that was judiciously applied upon the roads, that they would be in a much better state; the poor would be employed, and the roads would be put into a good condition.

"A very fruitful source of employment might be found in parishes undertaking to supply the several trusts that run through their parishes with materials prepared for the repair of the roads; which materials they might obtain and prepare at such times as they were most oppressed with applications for relief from persons who could not otherwise obtain employment.

"Do you find that by putting the labourers to task-work you have diminished the poor's-rates in many parishes?—Very considerably, indeed. In the parish of Ewell it was stated in evidence, if I recollect correctly, before a committee of this House, that the poor's-rates were reduced one half, in consequence of the poor being employed on all the roads by task-work."

Superior Government in large Parishes.—The enlightened management adopted in the large parishes of Liverpool, Birmingham, Oldham, &c., has already been referred to. It indicates a very superior parochial government to that which is to be found in the generality of small parishes, where there is seldom a paid and responsible officer, or, at any rate, one whose time and attention are exclusively devoted to the business of the parish. The salary which a small parish can afford to pay is quite insufficient to provide a man with a respectable maintenance for himself and family, whereas, in a large parish, the magnitude of the concern makes it well worth while engaging competent persons to give their whole time and attention to the parish business.

Men of enlarged views, with their thoughts concentrated on the subject, and with the advantage of daily and hourly experience, will not waste their time and the funds of the parish in silly squabbles about settlements, but will employ themselves in devising and carrying into effect plans for improving the discipline of paupers, reducing the expense of their maintenance, and (where practicable) for removing the *causes* of pauperism.

In Birmingham and Liverpool a provision has been made for taking the children of paupers from the care of their parents, training them in habits of industry, and giving them the elements of education, so that they may never follow in the track of their parents. Even when the children have left the asylum in which they are brought up, and are placed out as apprentices, an eye is kept over them. Once every year they are all visited, and the master is questioned as to the conduct of his apprentice, while the apprentice is also examined as to the kind of treatment he receives from his employer: and whenever a case arises in which it appears that the child has not been kindly dealt with, measures are taken for compelling the master to give him up.

But how can all this be done without that division of labour obtained by people acting on a large scale? It is evidently impossible. With a separate establishment and distinct set of officers for every little parish, the expense and labour attending the adoption of such plans would be enormous in comparison with the numbers benefited.

We have already given specimens of mismanagement of parish business. The following short extract from Mr. Moylan's Report (p. 179) is all the additional matter of this kind for which we have room:—

"Nothing, I think, strikes one more than the unfitness of the men who (particularly in small places) fill the responsible office of overseer. From the temporary nature of the appointment, it would, indeed, be difficult for them to acquire a sufficient knowledge of their duties; to say nothing of the unreasonableness of expecting from men engaged in their own concerns such a devotion of their time, without remuneration, as would qualify them for the discharge of those duties. It necessarily follows, that the assistant-overseer is often left in the exclusive management of the poor, and almost unlimited control of the parish funds."

In contrast with the ordinary mismanagement of small parishes, we will now give a description of the way in which parochial business is conducted at Liverpool. We extract from Mr. Henderson's Report, page 346:—

"The permanent usefulness of the select vestry consisting in their vigilance and intelligence in administering relief, it may be well to state a few details of their proceedings in this department.

"The select vestry is divided into five boards, each of four members; one of these boards sits in rotation every week-day, except Tuesday, at nine or ten A.M., and the business usually lasts till one P.M. A salaried secretary constantly attends, and takes a principal share in conducting the business. This preserves uniformity in the management of all the boards, and on changing the select vestry the parish still has the benefit of the secretary's experience and knowledge of the cases on the books.

"On a first application for relief, if entertained at all, the name and address of the applicant are taken down on a card, which is delivered to the visitor, a salaried officer, in order that he may ascertain the nature of the case at the abode of the party; the visitor makes a written report to the select vestry, on which, and on a subsequent examination of

the party, relief is granted or refused. In cases of urgent necessity, a few shillings are sometimes ordered before visitation, and the visitor has always a discretionary power to relieve when he visits, but the general rule is for the vestry to decide on the propriety of relief.

"When the distress is of a temporary nature, the pauper is required to appear once a week before the board. No excuse, except sickness, proved by a medical certificate, is admitted. The party is urged by the board, when it seems practicable, to seek other means of support; and when this is not done within a reasonable time, the relief is diminished or stopped. When the case presents no prospect of early improvement, a card or ticket is given for relief during a definite period of three or six months, according to circumstances, and the sum granted is paid weekly on presenting the card at the pay-office. When the period has elapsed, another visitation and examination takes place before another card is granted; the cards in cases apparently hopeless used to be perpetual, but are now subject to annual revision, and the members of the select vestry frequently act as visitors in such cases."

General Board of Control.—In addition to an enlargement of parishes, and the other measures we have pointed out, it appears very desirable that there should be established a central body, having a certain influence over all the parochial governments in the kingdom. Until, however, its advantages were generally appreciated, and it had secured the confidence of the people, it would be well to allow any parish to obtain exemption from its authority, provided it could be shown that the administration of the poor-laws in the particular parish was in a good state.

The good that would result from a well-appointed Central Board would be manifold. A Central Board is perhaps the only means by which a uniform system of administration can be obtained. The mere introduction of a general system of parish accounts (an arrangement which could be brought about at once by a Central Board) would be attended with great advantages in preventing fraud and jobbing; and would be of no little value to the country at large, by enabling it to obtain correct statistical information on the subject of the poor.

All pretence for the interference of magistrates in parochial matters would be done away by the appointment of a Central Board. We have already given a good deal of evidence showing the mischievous effect of this interference; and we have remarked that they were the originators of the allowance system, and have always been its main supporters.

We are far from attributing bad motives to the magistracy of the country, nor are we unmindful that the reformers of parochial abuses have in several instances been of their number. Still, taken as a whole body, and in their character of *magistrates*,—placed as they are above the authority of the rate-payers, and in fact subject to no efficient control of any kind,—frequently not living in the parish in whose concerns they interfere, and paying nothing towards its poor-rates,—we must give it as our opinion that they have, as a body, exerted a most pernicious influence on the administration of the poor-laws. In fact, one of the great advantages of large towns (when they form but one parish) is the practical exemption they enjoy from the interference of magistrates.

We could more than fill the remainder of our article with evidence of the evil complained of. The following, in addition to that which has been given, must suffice.

Mr. Okeden, (pages 101 and 110):—

"Soon after the riots of 1830 a new and more liberal scale was made by the magistrates of the division; and in February, 1831, an order was given to the overseers of Hasilbury Bryan, requiring them to relieve ten families, all able-bodied and in employ, by the new scale. The overseers contended, and the clergyman protested, against this order in vain. In this district, indeed, the overseers know so well the inutility of resistance, that to avoid trouble, expense, and reproof, they generally accede to the demands, and settle all claims, not by character or merit, but by the rules of addition and subtraction. I have already named, in my Report on Dorsetshire, the district of Sturminster Newton, as the worst regulated as to poor concerns, with the highest proportionate rates, in the county. It is certain that in no district is there so much magisterial interference.

"Cranbourne, Dorset, is an instance of a large and populous parish, which, after suffering for many years by constant magisterial interference, has, by a complete change of system, risen to comfort and content, and in which the most satisfactory improvement in morals, appearance, and character of the poor, has succeeded to depression and degradation."

Mr. Bishop's Report from Oxford, (page 118):—

"The city magistrates themselves are perhaps civil, but lukewarm and indifferent to the overseers; and the precincts of the court are beset by a number of blackguards, who assail the overseers with scoffs and jeers and insults, sometimes almost with personal violence. This the overseers have to encounter in their official character,—as *such* they are marked out for insult,—and this conduct seems to meet with no check or animadversion even from the magistrates."

Mr. C. T. Villiers, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire:—

"Riots and destruction of property were carried to great lengths in this neighbourhood. Some of the magistrates raised their scale of relief upon this occasion, and went round themselves to the farmers, to insist upon their giving higher wages, and making larger allowances, to men with families."

Mr. Chadwick, (page 265.) Evidence of Mr. Waite, one of the parish-officers of Whitechapel:—

"I adduce these as instances of the impositions which, though detected and defeated before the board, unavoidably succeeded before the magistrates." [Mr. Waite had just given some cases of gross fraud on the part of paupers.] "These characters, males and females, at the office doors were often so clamorous and desperate, that it became necessary to let me out from the police-office by the private door. I have been pursued by them through the streets, and obliged to seek shelter in shops. During twenty-seven years at sea, I encountered many perils in the waves, but these never hurt my mind so much as apparent perils amongst paupers. Had this system gone on, the expenses of our parish must have materially increased, notwithstanding the utmost labour that I or any other officer could have bestowed.

"Fortunately for our parish, and probably for the other parishes in the district, a different system was soon after adopted at Lambeth-street Police-office. The parochial business of the office being left to Mr. Walker, and he having determined not to receive any appeals from the decisions of the parish-officers, who were the best acquainted with the circumstances of the paupers, we got rid of a number of this sort of cases, when we found that they were cases of imposture.

"Had you any riots or any disturbances when the poor were thus left wholly at the mercy of the parish officers?—No; not so many riots by far as we had before the alteration. Formerly the paupers of the worst class were accustomed to swear at us when we refused them relief, and would say that they would have us before our masters and compel us to relieve them. I had my windows broken several times, and was constantly threatened and annoyed at my doors. Since the appeal to the magistrates is altered, we find the parish materially benefited, and that there is less bad behaviour on the part of the paupers.

"Did the independent people of the labouring classes—those who might become chargeable—manifest any sympathy with the paupers, or evince any disposition to rise for their protection?—None whatever: they appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the proceedings of the parish officers. I received more praise from independent labourers than from any other classes."

By the appointment of a general board of control, improvements made in particular parishes in the administration of the poor-laws might be readily introduced into other parishes. There is no doubt that if the reforms which have already been effected, and the means by which they were brought about, were generally known, they would be followed to a considerable extent.

A general board of control would have sufficient influence with parliament and government to call attention to defects in the poor-laws requiring legislative enactments for their removal; such, for instance, as the present regulations respecting settlements, and the power of interference possessed by magistrates. The general board could also have good opportunities for collecting evidence as to the causes which affect the condition of the working classes generally. It would have the means of estimating the advantages which would be obtained by the adoption of a system of national education; of ascertaining how far certain taxes tend to injure the labourer and create pauperism, &c. &c. Lastly, when the working of the poor-laws was deranged by the bad state of some other department of government, the general board would at once become aware of the fact,

and would have access to those with whom the remedy lay. There is no doubt, as we have before remarked, that the inefficient state of the police of the country, especially in rural districts, has been one main cause of the evils frequently laid to the charge of the poor-laws. Protection is not afforded to life or property; and in such a state of things people will yield to threats and intimidation.

The evidence we have given on other points contains many facts connected with the general state of the police. The following also may be quoted: it is taken from Mr. Majendie's Report, page 26:—

"The riots in the north-east parts of the rape of Hastings commenced simultaneously on the 5th and 6th of November, 1830. The farmers observed that their labourers all at once left their work: they were taken away by night by a systematic arrangement; no leader could be identified, but bills were run up at the public-houses in the evening, and in the morning a stranger came and paid.

"The mobs generally had written forms containing their demands; they varied a little in the amount of wages, but all agreed in the amount of 'allowance' of 1*s.* 6*d.* for every child above two; that there should be no assistant-overseer; that they should be paid full wages wet or dry; that they would pay their own rents*. There were nine cases of incendiarism that winter at Battle. The mob which assembled there, on the day of the magistrates' meeting, amounted to nearly 700: all the principal magistrates of the division, nineteen in number, assembled; the arrival of a troop of horse established order.

"Though the guilt of one of the incendiaries, J. Bufford, who was executed, was clear and admitted by himself, yet the feeling of the country was so much in his favour that he was considered as a martyr: he was exhibited in his coffin, and a subscription made for his family.

"A permapent bench of magistrates was established at Battle, at which Mr. Courthope presided, at their particular request, and directed by day and night the measures which were requisite for public tranquillity.

"This harassing duty continued during a month; but from that period, a certain degree of intimidation has prevailed in this district. The assistant-overseers having been then ill-treated by the mobs, are reluctant to make complaints for neglect of work, lest they should become marked men, and their lives rendered uncomfortable or even unsafe. Farmers permit their labourers to receive relief, founded on a calculation of a rate of wages lower than that actually paid: they are unwilling to put themselves in collision with the labourers, and will not give an account of earnings, or if they do, beg that their names may not be mentioned. A similar feeling prevails in East Kent: at Westwell, the farmers are afraid to express, at vestry-meetings, their opinions against a pauper who applies for relief, for fear their premises should be set fire to. Two of the fires immediately followed such a resistance; one of them happened to a most respectable farmer, a kind and liberal master, and a promoter of cottage allotments."

We have already referred to one gross abuse, arising, no doubt, in great measure, from the want of a general directing body, and a regular connexion between the police department and that of the poor-laws. We speak of the extraordinary fact, that criminals have in many gaols a greater allowance of food than that given to paupers, and that paupers in their turn are often better fed than independent labourers. The following striking document has been drawn up by Mr. Chadwick from authentic sources:—

"THE SCALE.

I. THE INDEPENDENT AGRICULTURAL LABOURER—
According to the returns of Labourers' Expenditure, they are unable to get, in the shape of solid food, more than the average allowance of

	oz.	
Bread (daily) 17 oz. = per week	119	
Bacon, per week	4 oz.	
Loss in cooking	1 „	
	3	Solid Food. 122 oz.

II. THE SOLDIER—

Bread (daily) 16 oz. = per week	112	
Meat .. 12 ..	84 oz.	
Loss in cooking	28 „	
	56	168

III. THE ABLE-BODIED PAUPER—

	oz.	
Bread per week	98	
Meat	31 oz.	
Loss in cooking	10 „	
	21	
Cheese	16	Solid Food.
Pudding	16	151 oz.

In addition to the above, which is an average allowance, the inmates of most workhouses have—

Vegetables	48 oz.
Soup	3 quarts.
Milk Porridge	3 ..
Table Beer	7 ..

and many other comforts.

IV. THE SUSPECTED THIEF—(see the Gaol Returns from Lancaster)—

Bread per week	112	
Meat	24 oz.	
Loss in cooking	8 „	
	16	
Oatmeal	40	
Rice	5	
Peas	4	
Cheese	4	181

Winchester—

Bread per week	192	
Meat	16 oz.	
Loss in cooking	5 „	
	11	203

V. THE CONVICTED THIEF—

Bread per week	140	
Meat	56 oz.	
Loss in cooking	18 „	
	38	
Scotch Barley	28	
Oatmeal	21	
Cheese	12	239

VI. THE TRANSPORTED THIEF—

10½ lbs. meat per week =	168 oz.	
Loss in cooking	56 „	
	112	
10½ lbs. flour, which will increase, when made into bread	218	330"

* "This last point is remarkable: perhaps it may be thus explained,—that the labourers were aware that high rents, paid out of the poor-rates, formed part of the system of parish jobbing, of little advantage to them."

EDUCATION.

When we entered on the subject of the poor-laws, we hoped to have had an opportunity of touching on many topics which want of room compels us to pass by. Especially we wished to point out some of the immediate and exciting causes of pauperism, and to bring forward the remedies which private or local experience has proved to be successfu On some of the more remote causes, too, we should have liked to dwell. The necessity of the establishment of a system of National Education is a matter which must force itself on the attention of any one who dives below the surface in inquiring into the causes of pauperism. Nor is it less obvious, when we consider the mismanagement of the fund for the relief of want, and the general ignorance of some of the leading causes of the creation of want, that those who administer the poor-laws are in many essential particulars as ill-educated as the poor themselves. Upon this subject, which is one of great importance, we refer our readers to an article in the Quarterly Journal of Education, No. XI. which has just appeared. The concluding passage of that article may appropriately conclude our own paper, the limits of which have prevented us dwelling as fully as we had hoped to do upon the great remedy of pauperism—the elevation of the moral and intellectual condition of the people:—

"We hold that the poor-laws cannot be better administered until those who administer them are better educated. But we further maintain that the necessity for a vigilant, we had almost said a severe, administration of them will never cease, until the working classes are raised completely above a dependence upon charitable relief, whether forced or voluntary. The poor man must be made a thinking man—a man capable of high intellectual pleasures; he must be purified in his tastes, and elevated in his understanding; he must be taught to comprehend the real dignity of all useful employments; he must learn to look upon the distinctions of society without envy or servility; he must respect them, for they are open to him as well as to others, but he must respect himself more. The best enjoyments of our nature may be common to him and the most favoured by fortune; let him be taught how to appreciate them. Diminish the

attractions of his sensual enjoyments, by extending the range of his mental pleasures.

"Let the child be taught some of that knowledge which may render him happier in his domestic relations, and wiser in his public ones. He cannot be a good citizen if his obedience to the laws is founded upon ignorance. The greater part of the heartburnings of the working classes proceeds from their utter ignorance of the structure of society, and the principles of social happiness. They believe that everything is to be done by a government, and nothing by themselves. They know not how much their own powers of industry and of self-control influence their own condition and that of all the community. They have no means of comparing their own actual condition, bad as it may be, with the worse condition of the past generation, and the still worse condition of men less advanced in civilization. They are told by the ignorant or factious, that they live in a time of unexampled distress, and that the labouring man is worse off than at any previous period of our history. How can they arrive at the rejection of these monstrous falsehoods, unless they have a considerable share of accurate knowledge—knowledge, indeed, which the rich want as much as themselves? Capable as their condition may be of still further improvement, it has yet improved in spite of profligate poor-laws and lavish taxation. The great springs of our national industry have still preserved their elasticity under the loads imposed upon them. No one who has examined the history of the people can doubt that the humblest among us has now a larger command of the necessaries and comforts of life than a person of the same class had a quarter of a century ago. Machinery and improved communication have doubled and quadrupled the power of every consumer. It is a part of the general ignorance of which we complain, to believe that our condition is deteriorating. Our best hope for the final removal of social evil is the conviction that we are steadily progressing; that the body is sound, though it is deformed by external marks of disease. Mr. Chadwick, whose researches into the causes and effects of pauperism are beyond all praise, gives his testimony to the improved condition even of the agricultural labourers—

"'The evidence with relation to the labourers in agricultural districts which I visited appeared to establish these facts: that the labourers have now the *means* of obtaining as much of necessaries and comforts as at any former period, if not more:—*i. e.*, that their wages will go as far, if not farther, than at any time known to the present generation: that, although the position of the agricultural labourers may be (as the subsequent evidence will show), relatively to others, one of great disadvantage, it is nevertheless a position from which they may fall still lower; and that the single labourers are aware, that if the factitious inducements to improvident marriages afforded by the ordinary administration of the poor-laws were removed, it would be their interest to remain unmarried until they had attained a situation of greater comfort and secured the means of providing for their offspring.'

"The condition of the manufacturing population may be estimated by the following table, which has been communicated to us from an authority upon which reliance may be placed:—

Wages of Young Women employed in Cotton-Mills at Manchester, compared with the Prices of Articles of Necessity.

	1803	1808	1813	1818	1823	1828	1833
Throstle Spinners, per week of 72 hours	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 9 0	8s. 4½d. adv. to 9s. 2d.	s. d. 9 10	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 8 10
Hours worked	78	60	75	77	74	72	69
Wages paid	s. d. 10 1¼	s. d. 7 5½	8s. 8d. adv. to 9s. 6d.	s. d. 10 5	s. d. 9 3½	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 8 5¼
Bread, per lb.	..	..	rose to 4d.	1816 } 1817 } 4½d. 1818 2½d.	0 2	0 2 to 2½	0 1¾
Flour, per load of 240 lbs.	40 0	55 0	70s. to 82s.	47s. to 60s.	40 0	45 0	35 0
Oatmeal, per load of 240 lbs.	36 0	49 0	55s.	42s. to 50s.	31 0	30 0	25 0
Potatoes, per load of 240 lbs.	7 6	12 0	rose to 12s.	7s. 6d.	{ 3 9 to 5 9 }	7 0	4 6
Butcher's meat, per lb., (contract price for Salford Workhouse)	0 6	0 5½	..	0 5	0 4½	0 4½	0 3½
Cheese, per 112 lbs.	80 0	85 0	80s. to 85s.	63s. to 85s.	60 0	75 0	55 0
Butter, per 112 lbs.	120 0	122 0	126s.	134s.	..	..	90 0
Soap, per lb.	0 9	0 9½	8d. to 9½d.	9d.	0 6½	0 6½	0 6
Candles, per lb.	0 10½	0 10	11½d. to 12½d.	9½d. to 11½d.	0 6½	0 6½	0 6
Coals, per 112 lbs.	0 10	0 8½	8d.	6d. to 7d.	6d. to 6½d.	6d. to 6½	0 5½
Salt, per lb.	..	0 3	3d.	4d.	0 4	0 0½	0 0½
		1810			1820		
Linen, per yard	..	1 6	..	..	1 2	..	0 9
Strong Calico, per yard	..	0 10	..	..	0 9	..	0 4
Printed Calico, per yard	..	2 2	..	..	1 4	..	6d. to 8d.

"Here, then, is our encouragement to pursue a wiser course with the working population. They have the means of comfort in their own hands, if they could be provident and moral: they cannot be provident and moral while they are ignorant. Is there any other course but education—a large, comprehensive National Education? When we have advanced a few years in such a course, the poor will cease to be abject and the rich will cease to be overbearing. That friendly intercourse between man and man, which religion and philosophy equally prescribe, will stand in the place of that proud reserve, and that suppressed insolence, which are the remaining badges of feudality. The poor's-rate will then be the refuge of the helpless widow and the fatherless orphan,—of the aged man tottering to his grave, and the infant whose mother is not here to cherish it. Few, indeed, will be the cases in which relief will be asked; for a moral and provident race of working men will have a joint stock purse for the mitigation of casual misfortune. Then will come the time when the farmer may sleep in peace, without the dread of waking to the light of his own burning homestead; and then the better-educated lord of thousands of acres, whose miserable progenitor now rushes to a foreign land in the dread of anarchy, (leaving his proxy to be wielded against every improvement by which anarchy may be arrested,) may look upon a smiling tenantry and happy labourers, nor tremble at the phantom of political convulsion, nor dread that all the real distinctions of civilized life will be swept away, because the artificial pretensions are levelled, not by the degradation of the mighty, but by the elevation of the humble."

Tabular Account, showing the Cost of the Poor of England and Wales at several Different Periods. also the Comparative State of the Country, as regards Pressure of Poor-Rates.

[Note.—The amounts are given in round numbers.]

		Amount of Poor-Rates expressed in Money and in Wheat.		Average price of Wheat per quarter		Average amount of Poor-Rates levied on every head of the population			Population.		Fraction of the population receiving some amount of parochial relief.
		Money. £	Wheat. quarters	s.	d.	in Money. s.	d.	in Wheat. pecks.			
Year ending at Easter	1776	1,500,000	700,000	42	8	4	0	3	about	7,500,000	not known.
Ditto	1803	4,000,000	1,267,000	63	2	8	11	4½	about	9,000,000	not known.
Average of three years ending at Easter	1815	6,100,000	1,232,000	99	0	11	1	3¾	about	11,000,000	1/16
Year ending at Easter	1832	7,000,000	2,187,000	64	0	10	0	5		14,000,000	not known.

Manufacturing and Commercial Counties.

	Rates expended on the poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of population.	
	£		s.	d.
Cornwall	102,000	302,000	6	9
Derbyshire	81,000	237,000	6	10
Gloucestershire	173,000	387,000	8	11
Lancashire	301,000	1,340,000	4	8
Middlesex	688,000	1,360,000	10	1
Nottinghamshire	74,000	225,000	6	7
Staffordshire	133,000	410,000	6	6
Warwickshire	168,000	337,000	10	0
Yorkshire—West Riding	283,000	976,000	5	10
Totals	2,003,000	5,574,000	7	2

Northern Agricultural Counties.

The people in the northern districts are more generally educated than elsewhere. The peasantry, too, are paid for their services in a way which appears to be attended with the happiest effects. They receive the greater portion of their wages in *kind*, and that too without regard to fluctuations in prices. They are thus secured against the dangers of an irregular income, and the temptations created by the possession of ready money. In point of fact, the northern peasantry are distinguished for frugality, prudence, and sobriety; and for the great length of time they remain with the same employer.

	Rates expended on the poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831	Average Rate levied on each head of population.	
	£		s.	d
Cumberland	48,000	170,000	5	8
Durham	86,000	254,000	6	9
Northumberland	78,000	223,000	7	0
Westmoreland	26 000	55,000	9	3
Yorkshire—North Riding	86,000	191,000	9	0
East Riding	106,000	204,000	10	5
Totals	430,000	1,097,000	7	11

Agricultural Counties generally.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.	
	£		s.	d.
Bedfordshire	77,000	95,000	16	2
Buckinghamshire	145,000	147,000	19	8
Cambridgeshire	104,000	144,000	14	5
Cheshire	105,000	334,000	6	3
Devonshire	225,000	494,000	9	1
Hampshire	231,000	314,000	14	9
Herefordshire	63,000	111,000	11	4
Hertfordshire	96,000	143,000	13	5
Huntingdonshire	41,000	53,000	15	6
Leicestershire	116.000	197,000	11	9
Lincolnshire	178,000	317,000	11	3
Monmouthshire	28,000	108,000	5	9
Norfolk	318,000	390,000	16	4
Northamptonshire	154.000	180,000	17	1
Oxfordshire	137,000	152,000	18	0
Rutlandshire	9.000	19,000	9	6
Shropshire	89,000	223,000	8	0
Somersetshire	192,000	404,000	9	6
Suffolk	279,000	296,000	18	10
Surrey	283,000	486,000	11	8
Worcestershire	87.000	211,000	8	3
Totals	2,957,000	4,808,000	12	4

Southern Agricultural Counties.

The southern district, especially the eastern part of it, is distinguished for a bad administration of the poor-laws, for a neglect of education, and for the demoralization of the people. The fires of 1830-1. first burst out in this district, and were there carried to the greatest extent.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.	
	£		s.	d.
Berkshire	121,000	145,000	16	8
Dorsetshire	93,000	160,000	11	7
Essex	278,000	317,000	17	6
Kent	364,000	480,000	15	2
Sussex	285,000	272,000	20	11
Wiltshire	199,000	240,000	16	7
Totals	1,340,000	1,614,000	16	7

WALES.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.	
	£		s.	d.
Anglesey	18,000	48,000	7	6
Brecknshire	20,000	48 000	8	4
Cardiganshire	19,000	65,000	5	10
Carmarthenshire	35,000	100,000	7	0
Carnarvonshire	21.000	66,000	6	4
Denbighshire	37,000	83.000	8	11
Flintshire	22,000	60 000	7	4
Glamorganshire	43 000	127,000	6	9
Merionethshire	15,000	36.000	8	4
Montgomeryshire	37,000	66,000	11	3
Pembrokeshire	25,000	81,000	6	2
Radnorshire	14,000	25,000	11	2
Totals	306,000	805,000	7	7

London: published by Charles Knight, 22, Ludgate Street; and 13, Pall-Mall East.

William Clowes, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER,

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 8. AUGUST 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Scotch Burgh Reform	113	Portugal—Don Pedro and Don Miguel	124
Factories Inquiry	116	Public Petitions	127
Amendment of the Apothecaries' Act	119	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	128
Warwick Borough Election	121		
Official Tables of Revenue, &c.	123		

SCOTCH BURGH REFORM.

Two bills, brought in by the Lord Advocate, have just passed the House of Commons, which, when they shall become the law of the land, will effect, in some respects, a greater change in the political state of that division of the empire to which they apply than has been effected even by the Reform Act itself. We allude to the bills respecting the election of Magistrates and Councils in the Royal Burghs of Scotland, and in the other burghs and towns of that part of the island which now return, or contribute to return, members to parliament.

Before the passing of the act for the reform of parliament, Scotland could hardly be said to have a constitution at all. The people generally had no political rights whatever, no share in the election of their legislators and governors, no power of influencing the conduct of public affairs, any more than the cattle that grazed, or the trees that grew, in the fields. The elective franchise was wholly in the possession of a mere handful of individuals, not amounting to much more than one five hundredth part of the population. If this was a constitution, it was one in which the democratic element was altogether wanting. Still, there were circumstances which, even under this vicious arrangement, preserved to public opinion some controul over the conduct of the parliamentary representatives of the country. First, there was the usual protection arising from the division of parties in the state. Secondly, there was the publicity of parliamentary proceedings. And lastly, and principally, there was the nearly complete identification of the interests of the country, and of its government and public concerns, with those of another country enjoying so comparatively free a constitution as England.

On these accounts the Reform Bill, although it may be said to have given for the first time a free constitution to Scotland, and could not therefore fail to change the whole aspect of things almost as if a new sun had appeared in the heavens, nevertheless did not bring with it that feeling of entire regeneration which, in different circumstances, might have been expected to attend the sudden endowment of a whole people with the gift of a political existence. The restoration of a free constitution to the burghs, although apparently a far lower as well as more limited reform, will probably occasion a greater immediate stir and renovation. This will be to let in the light where all has hitherto been impenetrable darkness,—to bring under the popular control what has, up to this time, been almost as independent of public opinion as the movements of the planets. The details which we are about to present will sufficiently prove that we do not exaggerate in thus expressing ourselves.

The Royal Burghs of Scotland are sixty-six in number, all having charters older at least than the year 1707, when the Act of Union was passed, which declared that their number should never be either increased or diminished. The antiquity of some of them reaches, we believe, to the eleventh century.

The reform of the constitution of these corporations has been loudly demanded by the public voice for nearly half a century. The subject was taken up about the year 1787, by the burgesses, or freemen, with appointed delegates to proceed to London, and to manage an application to parliament in their behalf. A bill was even prepared which it was proposed to bring forward in the House of Commons; and a select committee of that House was appointed to take the subject into consideration. That committee made its report in 1793; but here the matter dropt. The war with France drew off attention from all questions of domestic policy; and the alarm excited by the progress of the Revolution in that country made the very name of reform or change unpopular in this. The agitation of the subject was not resumed till some time after the termination of the war; nor was it till the year 1819 that it was again formally brought before parliament. On the 6th of May that year the late Lord Archibald Hamilton moved in the House of Commons for a select committee to examine the allegations of the numerous petitions which had been previously presented, complaining of the existing system of government in the burghs; and although he was opposed by Mr. Canning and the ministers, he carried his motion by a majority of 149 to 144. The committee produced a voluminous report the same session; and, having been permitted to resume their labours in 1820, followed it by another that year,—both strongly confirmatory of the statements and views of the petitioners. In 1821 a new committee was appointed, by whom a third report was produced; and on the 20th of February in the following year Lord Archibald Hamilton moved that the subject should be taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House. The motion, however, was negatived on the division by a majority of 35 in a very thin House,—only 46 voting for it and 81 against it. Soon after, in the course of the same session, the Lord Advocate brought in a bill, which passed both Houses; restricting to a certain extent the powers hitherto exercised by the magistrates in the expenditure of the burgh funds,—but not touching the existing system in any other respect. And this is all that has been done in the matter up to the introduction of the present bills.

In one most material respect, however, the act for the reform of the representation has anticipated the object of burgh reform. Till that act was passed, the election of the members for the burghs was wholly in the hands of the magistrates and councils, the general body of the inhabitants having nowhere anything whatever to say in the matter. That is now altered; and one consequence is, that burgh reform becomes a question to be considered by itself, and not, as before, chiefly in reference to another and a more important question. The [illegible] and argument against the reform of the burghs used to be, that it would be in effect a reform of parliament. Mr. Canning employed no other, in opposing Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion in 1819. Those, therefore, by whom the proposition was brought forward, were always wont to be vehement in their protestations that they had really no such ultimate object as was thus imputed to them; but, with all their pains, they could not disprove or dispute the fact, that the tendency and effect of the measure would be what was asserted. From all this difficulty and embarrassment they are now relieved, and the question comes to be, simply, whether or no the right government of the burghs themselves requires that a new constitution should be given to them.

Originally the magistrates and councils in the Scotch royal burghs appear to have been elected annually by the votes of the burgesses, or of the whole community. But in the year 1469, an act was passed by the parliament, which entirely abrogated this free constitution, by declaring that for the future the votes of the burgesses or community should not be taken at all, but that at the end of every year the old council should elect the new. By another act passed in 1474, it was further ordained that four of the persons composing the new council should be always selected from the old one. Upon these acts is founded the present mode of election, which [illegible]

[William Clowes, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

self election is carried into execution, varies a good deal in the different burghs. The committee of 1793 state, that in thirteen burghs the majority of the council either may or must be continued without change or re-election; that in one, half the council are continued without election, and there is no restriction against re-electing the majority of the remainder; that in two, one less than the half of the council is continued, and that with that number a majority of the council may be re-elected; that in thirty-four the council, or a part of the council, elect the majority of the new council, without there being any restrictions in the sett, (or constitution,) against their re-electing a majority of themselves; and that in four, the old council elect the new, but a majority of the counsellors for the ensuing year must be different persons. The setts, it is remarked, appear in several cases to have been framed by the Town Councils themselves, while, in other places, the modes of election rest on no other authority than usage.

The new mode of election introduced in 1469, although designed, as expressed in the act, to get rid of the great contention yearly occasioned "through multitude and clamour of commons, simple persons," was not attended with the tranquillity and contentment which it had been expected to secure. On the contrary, it not only led to multiplied abuses in the government of the burghs, but produced, as their natural consequence, a dissatisfaction in the community generally, which repeatedly vented itself in attempts to bring about a restoration of the old order of things. Complaints were constantly made both to the parliament and to the convention, or meeting of delegates from the several town-councils, held every year at Edinburgh. The committee of 1793 sum up the result of their inquiries, by stating that, from a very early period after the year 1469, "the administration of the affairs of the royal burghs appears to have been matter of great and frequent complaint in several of the royal burghs, as repeatedly declared by the parliament and by the executive government of Scotland, by the Claim of Rights, by supplications of individual burghs to the general convention, and by the acts of the general convention itself; that the principle of election introduced by that statute still continues to act universally, or almost universally, in the royal burghs, although with respect to the particular modifications of that principle, and the various ways in which it has been carried into effect, the modes of election in the burghs appear to be widely different, to depend on no certain or uniform authority, and to be maintained in direct contradiction to the clauses of election in a great majority of the charters; that taxes have been imposed without the authority of parliament, and greater sums levied in the name of, or together with the land-tax, than what is paid to government, and the expense of collecting taken together; and that the powers exercised by the town-councils, before the Union, of contracting debts, disposing of the common revenues, and alienating the common property and common lands of the burghs at their pleasure, remain unaltered and undiminished."

An order was made in 1793 for an account of the revenue of each burgh for the preceding year. No returns to this order were made by two of the burghs, Pittenweem and West Anstruther; but of the remaining sixty-four the gross revenue appeared to be somewhat above 47,000*l*. No more recent account has fallen under our notice; but, notwithstanding much waste and alienation which have since taken place, there can be little doubt that the increased value of property has now considerably augmented this amount of annual income. In 1817 the net revenue of Edinburgh alone had risen to 39,200*l*.; and that of Glasgow and of most of the other large towns must also have greatly increased.

While their resources have thus been improving, however, so wretched has been the mismanagement resulting from the close and irresponsible system on which the government of these burghs has been hitherto conducted, that several of them are now in a state of insolvency. The debt of the town of Aberdeen did not, in 1789, amount to 12,000*l*. In 1817 the annual interest alone had risen nearly to that sum—the debt itself being somewhat above 230,000*l*. In the month of February of that year the treasurer found himself obliged to make a public declaration that the town was bankrupt.

This event, and the investigations with which it was necessarily followed, led to some disclosures curiously illustrative of the conduct of self-elected town councils. As a specimen we quote the following statement from the report of the committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1818. "Previous to the insolvency of the burgh, several of the office-bearers of the corporation were possessed, as trustees, of lands destined for charitable purposes, almost all of which appear to have been sold by order of the magistrates and council, not from any want of money on the part of these charities, but that the price might be lent to the treasurer, to supply the expensive speculations of the magistrates. All these office-bearers are now creditors of the town, to the amount of 68,134*l*. 17*s*., for such charities as are under the *sole* control and management of the magistrates and council, and to the amount of 12,367*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*. for those of which they are only joint trustees. Mr. Hardie, the chamberlain, states, that there is not one charitable institution under the management of the town council, whose funds have not been lent to the treasurer, and involved in the town's insolvency; and these charities now receive only 4 per cent. interest, with but a distant prospect of being repaid the principal."

The disgraceful transactions which were thus brought to light, excited throughout the country a feeling of no small alarm as well as of indignation; for, according to the law as it then stood, it was generally held, that in case of the magistrates being unable to fulfil their engagements from the property of the burgh, the burgesses, although without a voice in the management which had produced such a result, were liable to be called on to make good the deficiency. It has since, indeed, been declared by the act passed in 1822, that that liability shall no longer exist,—although it is certain that the creditors of the burghs had very generally lent their money in the confidence of possessing such an ultimate security. The announcement of the insolvency of Aberdeen awakened the citizens of Edinburgh, in particular, to extreme apprehension respecting the financial concerns of that burgh, which had been for some time suspected to be not in the best condition. They were indeed in a state sufficiently awkward and alarming. In 1817, it appeared, according to accounts submitted to the committee of 1819 by the magistrates themselves, that the deficiency of the revenue, as compared with the expenditure, had been above 16,000. In 1818, the deficiency had been 18,242*l*. In 1819, the amount of debt owing by the burgh was 497,101*l*.; the total value of the then available property belonging to it, being, by the magistrates' own estimate, only 158,765*l*. Adding what might in course of time become available, but which could not be counted upon with any certainty, the total amount would only be 181,772*l*. On the whole, after disposing of whatever could be sold to pay off so much of the debt, and paying interest for the remainder, it appeared that, by the most favourable calculation, there would remain to the city a net revenue of only about 11,000*l*., while the absolutely necessary expenditure amounted annually to above 14,000*l*.

"No book," says the committee, "exhibiting an account of the debts of the city, or of its property, or of its net revenue, or of the necessary annual charges on the revenue, or of the comparative amount of annual expenditure and revenue, has ever been kept; nor has there ever been any attempt to make up an account of the state of the city's affairs, till, in December, 1817, the present Lord Provost thought proper to direct the statements which have been laid before the committee to be prepared by the accomptant, as appears, for his private information. * * * Nevertheless, the Lord Provost being asked by your committee what he considered the state of the city of Edinburgh's affairs? answered, 'Decidedly favourable;' and it is certain that he took no measures to diminish the expenditure; and that he never communicated that document to the town council, or called their attention to the result. On the contrary, when a motion was made by Deacon Paterson, in the council, soon after Michaelmas, 1818, that a statement of the funds of the city should be laid before the council, the Lord Provost joined in opposing it, and the motion was lost by a majority of 21 or 22 to 3. It appears from the Lord Provost's evidence that during the last eighteen months a series of motions in succession, and protests in succession, were made by Deacon Paterson and others; but no statement of the city's affairs was laid before the council; for which the Lord Provost has in his evidence assigned as a reason, 'that he did not consider it his duty merely to gratify Deacon Paterson.'"

To this curious exposition it only remains to be added, that notwithstanding the "decidedly favourable" state in which, according to the Lord Provost, the city's affairs were in 1817, the magistrates, we understand, have within these

few months been deliberating whether they should not follow the example of Aberdeen, and make a declaration of insolvency.

Now where has all this money gone? Here is a sum amounting to within a few pounds of half a million sterling, which has been borrowed, all probably in the course of the last fifty or sixty years by this single burgh, and expended in addition to its large ordinary revenue. Who have chiefly received the benefit of all this extravagance? A glance at the mode in which the successive town councils and office-bearers of the corporation have been elected answers the question. The magistracy of one year has been regularly and unvaryingly the mere representative and *locum-tenens* of that of the preceding. The burgh has thus been all along in the hands of the same little knot of individuals or of families, who accordingly could hardly have been expected to look upon it in any other light than as a sort of private estate. Indeed they have exercised over its funds and revenues nearly all the rights which they could have exercised over their own property, and with fully as little responsibility. They have not only loaded the estate with an immense amount of debt, but they have sold and alienated such portions of it as they chose. And as to the expenditure of the income, they have merely applied it to any object they thought fit, without considering themselves accountable to anybody.

The following extract from the evidence appended to the report of the committee of 1819, affords an exemplification, too good to be omitted, of the way in which the individuals who have been fortunate enough to be connected with this system have been wont to secure to themselves a share in the good things accruing from it. The witness is speaking of the burgh of Dunfermline in Fife:—"From what sources is the income of the town derived?—From the rents of land, coal, and the common good of the burgh. Have those properties been let by public or by private sale, and the utmost income derived from them by competition?—I believe all the properties have been let by public sale; but many instances have occurred where persons in the council have taken these at public sale, who have afterwards induced the town council to depart from the conditions of the sale, much to the disadvantage of the town. Can you state any particular instances where, by such interference of the council, the funds of the burgh have been injured or lost?—I can state one very strong instance: the farm of Bellycomur and Preylands was let by public roup to Baillie David Beveridge, at a rent of 26*l.* in 1808. By the articles of roup the tenant was allowed to expend to the extent of 630*l.* in erecting a new steading, and that steading he was bound to erect within three years: he was allowed to retain one-half of his rent yearly, until that sum should be repaid to him; Baillie David Beveridge persuaded the council to depart from the articles of the roup; got the town-council to build the steading themselves; and instead of building one to the amount of 630*l.*, they built him a steading which cost nearly 1700*l.* For how many years was that lease granted?—Nineteen years. Was Baillie Beveridge a member of the council at the time?—He was a member of council, and the leader of the party. He also prevailed upon the council to lower his rent for the year 1815, and during the currency of the lease, to 2*l.* per acre (the former rent being 2*l.* 18*s.*), and to grant him a temporary abatement, for the last three years, of 25 per cent.; these two abatements amount annually to 119*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They have also planted seven acres, one rood, thirty-one falls and seven ells of the farm, for which they allow him at the rate of 4*l.* per acre, which amounts to 29*l.* 16*s.* Counting the interest on the cost of the steading at 7½ per cent., which amounts to 126*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, and the insurance of the steading 1*l.* 5*s.*, the town lose by this lease 16*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*, annually, besides deriving no rent whatever from that farm. By the statement which I have made, the town will lose by the end of the lease, in consequence of having departed from the original agreement with Baillie Beveridge, 419*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*; and if the abatement of 25 per cent., which is only temporarily given, be continued to the end of the lease, and which is by no means unlikely, a further sum of 419*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* will be lost, besides the interest of the latter sum. Is Baillie Beveridge a relative of the present chief magistrate?—He is. What profession is he?—He is a farmer. Will you deliver that statement in to the committee?—Yes; the town council have also allowed the Baillie to build a farm servants' house upon the property, for which they have agreed to allow him value at the end of the lease. When they reduced the rent 25 per cent., did they make any deduction from the allowance they made to him for planting?—None; they only draw from that land, now, thirty shillings an acre, while they continue to give him 4*l.* an acre for the barren parts which have been planted. Are there any other instances?—There is another very strong instance which I have also here; Baillie Scotland is tenant of a considerable part of the town's lands; he subset them very soon after he took them, and in the year 1816, while he was deriving a considerable surplus revenue from the lands, on the very day that Baillie Beveridge applied for a reduction, Baillie Scotland made a verbal application for a reduction of his rent also; and the town-council, without any more consideration of the matter, granted him an abatement of 25 per cent.; at that time, by his own admission, he was deriving a considerable surplus from subsets. He was a member of council?—Yes. Was he likewise related to the Provost?—He is married to the Provost's niece."

Any thing of the kind richer than this is not to be desired. We have, however, to bring forward an instance of dexterity in the application of the principle of self-election which probably outdoes anything that has been attempted either by the Dunfermline town-council or by any other. Indeed it deserves rather to be described as an improvement of the machinery which has more than doubled its efficacy. Its conception is due to the inventive genius of the rulers of another burgh in Fife, a county which, although only one of thirty-three, and but of moderate dimensions, contains no fewer than thirteen, or about a fifth of the whole number of burghs, and may therefore claim to be designated the Cornwall of Scotland. The burgh in question is Cupar; and we will give from the evidence appended to the report of the Committee of 1820, the description of the very curious mode in which the annual election of the magistrates and council was then wont to be conducted:—

"The old council, consisting of thirteen, meet on the Wednesday after Michaelmas, to elect the new council of a like number. If one or more of the thirteen are absent, those who appear proceed to fill up the vacancy by open vote, the magistrate last in office, or the councillor who has been longest in the council, being in the chair, and having a vote and the casting vote. The thirteen old council being thus full, they proceed to elect the new council thus,—not by vote, but by beginning at the person whose name stands first on the roll of the thirteen old councillors, and asking him to nominate a councillor to succeed him for the ensuing year. This he does by naming whom he chooses. The town clerk then opens the town-house window, and calls the person's name so elected over the window, and desires him to come up to the council-room and take his seat. This he does; and in the same manner it proceeds, until the whole thirteen have each named one." The two individuals, one of whom thus nominates the other as his successor, go by the name of joint or neighbour councillors; and A electing B one year, B in turn elects A the next.

For some time the committee could not be made exactly to comprehend this singular process, by which the council was in fact divided into thirteen parts, each entirely independent of the rest. It appeared to them that although it might be customary to allow each individual in this manner to nominate or rather to suggest the person who was to succeed him, the thing could only be managed by an understanding upon the part of the majority, that when it came to the vote, they were to support each other's choice. The town-clerk accordingly was asked what happened in case of the council not ratifying any individual member's nomination of his successor? The old man, who had spent the greater part of a long life in intimate connection with the system, and to whom its workings must have been all as familiar as any of the most ordinary processes of nature, seems to have been struck with no little surprise at the question. The notion of any member's choice being in the slightest degree interfered with by the rest, he seemed as a mere folly and absurdity,—as something inconsistent with the very constitution of things; "They do not ratify it at all;" he replied with contemptuous asperity; "*they have no business with it.*"

The pertinacity with which these compacts seem to have been adhered to is very remarkable, and may be taken as another illustration of Milton's assertion as to the "firm concord" of persons engaged in common pursuits which are

not of the most creditable description. One witness states that he knows only of two instances within the last hundred years in which the practice of joint councillors has been departed from. According to the Cupar code of honour no baseness seems to have been accounted comparable to that of breaking through this arrangement on any pretence, or for any reason whatever. If two individuals, who had been thus leagued, became personal enemies, they still continued united as neighbour councillors. It not unfrequently happened that they were even the leaders or followers of the two opposite parties in the council; but still each usually considered himself bound to call up his opponent to be his successor when he was himself obliged to resign his seat. One instance in particular is mentioned, which occurred a few years ago, of a member, at a critical moment, when the continuance of the ascendency of himself and his party, of which he was the head, depended upon a single vote, nevertheless holding by the established usage, and nominating to the new council a man who was not only one of the most zealous partisans of the adverse faction, but his personal enemy besides, to whom he had not spoken for ten years. In another case, also of recent occurrence, a challenge which would have led to a duel between the parties if the peace officers had not taken them into custody on the field, is stated to have been the immediate result of a breach of the family compact on the part of one of them. For, so far was the thing wont to be carried, that when either party died, it was considered that his son stept, as a matter of course, into his place in the confederacy, and inherited all his rights and obligations. When there was no son, the dead man's representative was found in any more distant relation, whom it was agreed upon to put forward. Nothing evidently could go beyond this system in its tendency to secure a perpetuity of office to one set of people and their descendants. One of the witnesses examined by the committee, states that his own ancestors or those of his wife had, he believed, sat in the town-council for two hundred years.

The effects of the system were such as might have been expected—a thick growth of abuses of all descriptions. The funds of the burgh, in the first place, appear to have been managed in the usual way. One witness, who had been for a short time a member of the council, says—"I moved that an abstract of the income and expenditure of the funds of the burgh should be made out for ten or twelve years; that motion I carried unanimously, and was empowered to employ a clerk to make out the statement; and I also moved that it should be printed and circulated to the inhabitants. I employed a clerk for the purpose, and gave him all the necessary documents for that purpose; but one way or another he was kept back from doing so; one councillor came and took away one book; another councillor came and took away another book, and I fought for the whole of the [illegible] I was in council to get that accomplished, but till [illegible] ating the [illegible] er was done." No; they were not such fools [illegible] their pleasure, [illegible] of the kind. Print and circulate an [illegible] took [illegible] was made in [illegible] expenditure of the burgh! They two years [illegible] for the preceding [illegible] submit this day it ne[illegible] as to permit anything [illegible] the burghs, [illegible] tween and several account of the income and expen[illegible] sixty-[illegible] our the gross [illegible] would have thought it as reasonable [illegible] No more to the public an account of their yearly ga[illegible]e; but, [illegible] private capacities.

Places so snug as these were accounted of some value, and bore their price in the market. From evidence which was laid before the committee, it appears that a seat in the Town Council of Cupar sold for from thirty to a hundred guineas. Various instances of the completion of the bargain are given, with the names of the parties, and all other particulars. We content ourselves with quoting the judgment of the committee:—"A specific allegation," they say, having been made, that seats in the council of that burgh had frequently been bought and sold, your committee lament to report, that the evidence has fully confirmed this allegation; that these proceedings, so gross and iniquitous in their nature, and so injurious in their effects, have been fully established; nay, even admitted to be true, by the very persons themselves who took part in them, and who were in fact the principal delinquents."

As a sample of the benefits which the town has been accustomed to derive from being ruled in this way, we may refer to the evidence of one of the witnesses who had been an inhabitant of Cupar for twenty-two years. He states, that for many years past the town has been engaged in lawsuits, both before the inferior, and also before the superior [illegible] lawsuits have generally been occasioned and that he never knew the council to gain a suit except once.

Now, is not all this as bad as can be, and do not the facts we have stated make out a perfectly irresistible argument for the total abolition of a system of which such have been the results? It is impossible to conceive grosser misgovernment than that which these burghs have almost universally exhibited. Generally speaking, there is no part of their trust which the magistrates have not abused—no power they have been permitted to exercise which they have not, as far as possible, turned to their own advantage, without any regard whatever to that of the community. But there is nothing in all this at which we are entitled to be surprised. When has power, exercised without responsibility, been exercised otherwise than selfishly and mischievously? This is the root of the whole evil, and must be put an end to before any minor or more partial corrective can be usefully applied.

The bill brought in by the Lord Advocate to alter and amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of the Scotch royal burghs, restores to those burghs the full amount of that ancient free constitution of which the act of 1469 deprived them. After declaring, by way of preamble, that the right of election "appears to have been originally in certain large classes of the inhabitants of such burghs; by the abrogation of which ancient and wholesome usage, much loss, inconvenience, and discontent have been occasioned," it goes on to enact that in future the electors of the town councils in all such burghs shall be all who are entitled to vote at the election of the member of parliament for the burgh; or, in other words, all the householders within the limits of the burgh who occupy houses rented as high as ten pounds a year. This is the governing provision of the measure; but the bill of course contains many other enactments, regulating the particular manner in which the new principle of election is to be applied. Into a detail of these, however, we cannot at present attempt to enter. The second of the two bills brought in by the learned Lord is intended to meet the case of those burghs and towns of Scotland which, since the passing of the Reform Act, return, or contribute to return, members to parliament, and are not royal burghs. In regard to them, the same principle is adopted as in the case of the others; in all of them the ten pound householders are to elect the town-council. We may give a summary of the other provisions of these two acts when they shall have been passed into laws.

FACTORIES INQUIRY.

THE Central Board of his Majesty's Commissioners "appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, and as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of their labour," have published two Reports, with Minutes of Evidence. The first was ordered by the House of Commons on the 28th June, and the second, [illegible] annuations to be printed, most voluminous documents on the 15th July. They are will offer most abundant [illegible]. The evidence, in particular, of the general [illegible]embe[illegible] materials for a more complete view than we [illegible] condition of the manufacturing population be[illegible] t appears have yet been able to obtain; and as this Inquiry naturally involves the consideration of many highly important points in our social economy, we propose, for the present, only to offer an abstract, and that principally in the words of the Commissioners themselves, of the Report before us, without comment. Our readers will, in this way, be better prepared for that general view of the subject of the proposed interference between the capitalist and the labourer, which we shall feel it our duty to lay before them, at no distant period.

The Central Board first states the mode in which the inquiry was conducted:—

"Four districts were traced out, comprehending the seats of each of the principal branches of manufacture in which any large proportion of infant labour is employed. Two civil commissioners and one medical commissioner were appointed to each district."

The abstract of the evidence first refers to the duration of labour:—

"In relation to the regular hours of labour, it appears from the evidence, that in Scotland there are two or three factories in which the regular hours of labour do not exceed from ten to eleven daily, but that in general they are from twelve to twelve hours and a half, while in several districts they are not less than thirteen.

"It is customary to leave off work on the Saturdays, in some places one and in others two hours earlier than on the other days; but the time thus lost on Saturday is sometimes made up by working a quarter of an hour later on the other days.

"In England, in the north-eastern district, in a few factories, the regular hours of labour do not exceed eleven. In general, both at Leicester and Nottingham, they are not less than twelve. 'Eleven hours is called a day at Leeds;' but it is seldom that in this district the hours are really less than twelve, while occasionally they are thirteen. In Manchester the regular hours of work are twelve. There are many places in the western district, as at Coventry and Birmingham, in which the regular hours of labour do not exceed ten; while it appears that some of the work-people labour upon an average not more than nine hours daily. In these towns, indeed, there is no factory labour, properly so called; for the operatives, with few exceptions, work at their own houses. But in some of the factories in the great clothing district the hours of labour are the same, seldom if ever exceeding ten. In general, however, they are somewhat longer; both in the carpet and in the clothing factories they are seldom less than eleven, and scarcely ever more than twelve. * * * *

"In some factories, in the several districts, there is no intermission of the work, day or night. In such cases, two sets of work-people are employed, each set commonly working twelve hours; occasionally there are three sets, and then each set works eight hours.

"It appears that the time allowed for meals differs considerably in different districts, and in the same district in different factories. In one or two factories in Scotland, the meal hours are one hour for breakfast, and one hour and a half for dinner. In a few others, three quarters of an hour is allowed for each of these meals; but in the great majority of cases the time allowed is half an hour for breakfast and half an hour for dinner, with no stoppage for tea, or drinking, as it is termed. In the north-eastern district, the practice in some factories, as at Leicester and Nottingham, is to stop half an hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea; but in others only a quarter of an hour is allowed for breakfast, and half an hour for dinner; sometimes there is no stoppage either for breakfast or tea, but only for dinner—in some factories for an hour, in others and this is the more general rule, for half an hour. At Leeds they sometimes stop half an hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour for drinking, but this is very unusual. It is seldom that they stop more than forty minutes for dinner, and often not at all either for breakfast or drinking. There is, however, much difference in this respect in different factories; and in some it is pretty evident that practices have been resorted to, to cheat the work-people of a portion of their meal hours, which cannot be too strongly reprobated. * * *

"In many factories it is not an unusual practice for the work people to stop during a part of the dinner-hour to clean the machinery; this sometimes occupies them half their dinner-hour, at other times not more than ten minutes. The children commonly stop to clean their own work. In some factories care is taken on the part of the proprietors to secure to the work-people the whole of the time allotted to meals; while in others this time is encroached upon without scruple. Occasionally, but not often, the work continues without intermission during the whole of the meal-hours; the engine never stopping excepting about ten minutes to be oiled, and the work-people 'eating how they can.' * *

"In order to regain the time lost by stoppages, whether from the breakage of machinery, from the want of a due supply of water, or from holydays, it is the custom for the people to work sometimes half an hour, at other times an hour, and occasionally even as much as two hours daily, until the whole of the lost time be made up. When the children do not clean the machinery out of the hours allotted for their meals, they clean it at extra hours. * *

"For additional labour to make up lost time from stoppages, with scarcely a single exception, no additional wages are paid, and the work-people, young and old, perform this labour with reluctance.

"On the other hand, when from any cause there is a press of work requiring extra hours of labour, for which extra wages are paid, there seems to be no limit to the period for which the people will continue at their employment; sometimes, indeed, reluctantly, but more often, not only without grudging, but with thankfulness, looking upon the permission to do so as a privilege and a boon."

The ages at which children are employed is thus stated:—

"It appears in evidence, that in some rare instances children begin to work in factories at five years old; it is not uncommon to find them there at six, many are under seven, still more under eight, but the greater number are nine; while some, but comparatively few, branches of manufacture do not admit of the employment of children under ten years of age."

The general state of the factories, as connected with the well-being of the work-people, is thus noticed:—

"The present inquiry has led to a very complete exposition of the nature of the labour in which children are employed in the different factories of the kingdom. * * * The present inquiry has likewise brought together a large body of evidence relative to those various circumstances connected with the state of factories, which concur with the nature of the employment in exerting an important influence on the health of the work-people, whether children or adults, but which more especially affect the health of the former. Such concurrent circumstances are, the situation of the factory, the state of the drainage about the building, the size and height of the work-rooms, the perfect or imperfect ventilation, the degree of temperature, the nature and quantity of the effluvia evolved, whether necessarily or not necessarily in the different processes of manufacture, the conveniences afforded to the work-people for washing and changing their clothes on leaving the factory, and the habitual state both of the factory and of the operatives as to cleanliness. Details, which place in a striking point of view, on the one hand, the conservative influence of careful and judicious attention to such concurrent causes in the general arrangements of the establishment, and on the other, the pernicious consequences that result from inattention to them, will be found in the account given of the state of individual factories in most of the reports. * * *

"While not a few signal examples are recorded of a beneficent care exercised over the work-people, yet it must be admitted that there are too many instances in which an utter disregard is shown, not only to their convenience and comfort, but even to circumstances which must influence, in no inconsiderable degree, their moral feelings and habits."

The treatment of the children by those to whose authority they are committed—the most important branch of the inquiry—is detailed as follows:—

"It will appear from the evidence annexed to this report, that the commissioners have everywhere investigated, with the utmost care, the treatment to which children are subjected while engaged in the labour of the factory. These inquiries have been obtained from the children themselves, from their parents, from operatives, overlookers, proprietors, medical practitioners, and magistrates * * *

"It appears in evidence that in Scotland, and in the eastern district of England, where the harshest treatment of children has taken place, the greatest number of bad cases occur in the small obscure mills belonging to the smallest proprietors, and that the bad treatment is inflicted by violent and dissipated workmen, often the very men who raise the loudest outcry about the cruelties to which children are subject in factories. * * * *

"In considering the statements of the severe and cruel treatment of children, it would be injustice not to bear in mind that it is established by the most abundant evidence, that in Scotland, at least, the small mill is the only factory in which such treatment ever takes place in the present day, and that there are many, even of the smallest mills in that country, honourably distinguished for a kinder treatment of their workers; but the greater mass of the people employed in factories, and especially the young, are in establishments of which such descriptions as the following are given:—

'We reached Catrine, the great manufacturing establishment of Messrs. James Finlay and Company, yesterday morning. I had great pleasure in walking through the eighteen apartments of the spinning-mills and power-loom weaving establishment, and witnessing the admirable order of the works, and the apparent happiness of the people employed, which is quite as remarkable and as obvious as at any of the other great factories situated in country districts. The windows open from the top; the rooms are thoroughly ventilated; there is a clock and a thermometer in every room; no unpleasant smell in any part of the work; the utmost cleanness and neatness prevail throughout

works are well provided with fanners in the preparing-rooms; there are between 800 and 900 workers, all occupying houses originally built by the company, of a very different and superior description from those generally occupied by persons of the same situation in life in this country. They have a chapel, and every establishment necessary for their accommodation. The population of the village amounts to 4,253 persons, one half of which is a population engaged in manufactures; yet in the last twenty years the landed proprietors of the parish have only been called on to pay for the poor 212*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, not much more than 10*l.* per annum." * * * *

"In like manner, from the statements and depositions obtained under the present inquiry in the several districts in England, and from all classes of witnesses, it appears that, in the great majority of cases, corporeal punishment is prohibited by the proprietors; while it is proved on oath, by several witnesses, that operatives and overlookers have been suspended, and even dismissed from their employment, for disobeying this command. It is impossible to read the evidence from Leeds, Manchester, and the western district, without being satisfied that a great improvement has taken place, within the last few years, in the treatment of children. What ill-treatment still exists is found chiefly in the small and obscure factories, while both in the large and small factories in England it is inflicted by workmen over children whom they themselves hire and pay, and who are completely under their control. In Scotland, personal chastisement, when inflicted, is inflicted by the overlooker; in England, by the work-people."

The general treatment of children in the factories, and the collateral circumstances under which their employment is carried on, naturally lead the Commissioners to inquire into the general effects of that employment:—

"The effects of factory labour on children are immediate and remote: the immediate effects are fatigue, sleepiness, and pain; the remote effects, such at least as are usually conceived to result from it, are, deterioration of the physical constitution, deformity, disease, and deficient mental instruction and moral culture. * * * *

"That this excessive fatigue, privation of sleep, pain in various parts of the body, and swelling of the feet, experienced by the young workers, coupled with the constant standing, the peculiar attitudes of the body, and the peculiar motions of the limbs required in the labour of the factory, together with the elevated temperature and the impure atmosphere in which that labour is often carried on, do sometimes ultimately terminate in the production of serious, permanent, and incurable disease, appear to us to be established. From cases detailed in the evidence, and the accuracy of which has been strictly investigated, we do not conceive it can be possible to arrive at any other conclusion. The evidence, especially from Dundee and Glasgow; from Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby; from Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford; from Manchester to Macclesfield, it never, we regret to record, from all the great manufacturing dence, exhibits anything of the sort, perhaps, of those in the western ter, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, and experience of disease pro- and Stockport; in a word, from all the great manufacturing towns, with the exception, perhaps, of those in the western district, in which there is little indication of any. No more duced by early and extensive labour, shows that grievous and incurable maladies do result in young persons from labour commenced in the factory at the age at which it is at present not uncommon to begin it, and continued for the number of hours during which it is not unusual to protract it."

We rejoice to see that the Commissioners have directed their attention to the principal evil resulting from the unremitting employment of children in factories—the neglect of their education. If education were really national, as it ought to be, the want of a proper system of instruction amongst so large and important a body of the rising generation, would be the real ground for the interference of the State between the employer and the employed:—

"From the same evidence it appears, that the physical evil inflicted on children by factory labour, when commenced as early and continued as long as it now is, is not the only evil sustained by them. From the statements and depositions of witnesses of all classes, it appears, that even when the employment of children at so early an age, and for so many hours as is customary at present, produces no manifest bodily disease, yet, in the great majority of cases, it incapacitates them from receiving instruction. On this head, the statements of the children themselves must be admitted to be of some importance; and it will be found that the [illegible] much fatigued to attend school, even when a school is provided for them. This is more uniformly the declaration of the children in the factories of Scotland than in those of England. The evidence of other witnesses, both as to the capacity of the children for receiving instruction, and as to their actual state in regard to education, is conflicting. Few will be prepared to expect the statements that will be found on this head in regard to Scotland, where the education of the children is neglected to a far greater extent than is commonly believed, where only a very small number can write; where, though perhaps the majority can read, many cannot; and where, with some honourable exceptions, it seems certain that the care once bestowed on the instruction of the young has ceased to be exemplary. The reports of the Commissioners for Scotland, who will be found to have kept this subject continually before their view, are decisive on this head."

The injuries resulting to the work-people in factories, especially to children, from the want of proper care in the construction of the machinery, are justly pointed out:—

"One of the great evils to which people employed in factories are exposed, is, the danger of receiving serious and even fatal injury from the machinery. It does not seem possible, by any precautions that are practicable, to remove this danger altogether. There are factories in which everything is done that it seems practicable to do to reduce this danger to the least possible amount, and with such success that no serious accident happens for years together. By the returns which we have received, however, it appears that there are other factories, and that these are by no means few in number—not confined to the smaller mills, in which serious accidents are continually occurring, and in which, notwithstanding, dangerous parts of the machinery are allowed to remain unfenced. The greater the carelessness of the proprietors in neglecting sufficiently to fence the machinery, and the greater the number of accidents, the less their sympathy with the sufferers. In factories in which precaution is taken to prevent accidents, care is taken of the work-people when they do occur, and a desire is shown to make what compensation may be possible. But it appears in evidence, that cases frequently occur in which the work-people are abandoned from the moment that an accident occurs; their wages are stopped; no medical attendance is provided; and whatever the extent of the injury, no compensation is afforded."

The general bearings of the evidence are thus summed up:—

"From the whole of the evidence laid before us, of which we have thus endeavoured to exhibit the material points, we find:—

"1st. That the children employed in all the principal branches of manufacture throughout the kingdom, work during the same number of hours as the adults.

"2nd. That the effects of labour during such hours are, in a great number of cases, permanent deterioration of the physical constitution; the production of disease often wholly irremediable; and the partial or entire exclusion (by reason of excessive fatigue) from the means of obtaining adequate education, and acquiring useful habits, or of profiting by such means when afforded.

"3rd. That at the age when children suffer these injuries from the labour they undergo, they are not free agents, but are let out to hire, the wages they earn being received and appropriated by their parents and guardians.

"We are therefore of opinion that a case is made out for the interference of the legislature in behalf of the children employed in factories.

"4th. In regard to morals, we find, that though the statements and depositions of the different witnesses that have been examined are to a considerable degree conflicting, yet there is no evidence to show that vice and immorality are more prevalent among these people, considered as a class, than amongst any other portion of the community in the same station, and with the same limited means of information. Distinguished from other classes by being collected together (both sexes, young and old) in large numbers, the language and behaviour common to uneducated people, under such circumstances, is found to be checked in no in considerable degree by the presence of fathers, mothers, and brothers; and for any evil of this kind which may, nevertheless, exist, the proper remedy seems to be a more general and careful education of the young people."

Much of the evidence collected by the Commissioners would naturally relate to the probable effect of the measures

before Parliament; and they consequently offer the following conclusions, on a view of the whole character of what is called the "Ten-hour Bill":—

"That this bill does not accomplish the object at which it purports to aim. Its professed object is the protection of children; but it does not protect children. For the same evidence which shows that the legislative protection of children is necessary, shows that the restriction of the labour of children to ten hours a-day is not an adequate protection. * * * *

"Independently of the objection which there appears to be in principle to any compulsory interference with the hours or terms of adult labour, we find reason to anticipate very serious practical evils from imposing any such arbitrary restriction on the operations of so large a proportion of the manufacturing industry of the country."

"The most direct and undisputed consequence of the passing of the Ten Hour Bill would be the general limitation of the labour of adults within the same hours as those assigned to children and adolescents. We are spared the labour of weighing conflicting testimony on this point, as it is generally admitted or assumed on both sides of the question. On the part of the manufacturers it is generally taken for granted, that such will be the first effect of the measure under discussion, and that assumption is made the basis of reasoning as to its ultimate issue. With the operatives, the same assumption is prominently put forward in the arguments of most of the leading advocates of the measure, and is generally dwelt upon as forming a principle item amongst the benefits which they expect to derive from the passing of the measure. * * *

"It appears to be the general opinion of the operatives, that though wages may in the first instance fall, from reduction of the hours of labour, the artificial scarcity of commodities thus occasioned will effect a rise of prices, and a consequent rise of wages, as well as an increase of work for hands which are now partially out of employ, by occasioning the erection of new establishments to supply the deficiency of production caused by the diminution of labour.

"There might indeed, if the restriction of hours affecting the productive power of machinery in this country, to the extent that would be effected by the proposed Ten-hour Bill were immediately enforced, be a temporary scarcity of manufactured goods, so as, in the first instance, to occasion a rise of prices, which might as long as it lasted, allow of the maintenance of wages, notwithstanding the reduced hours. But this rise could not in the nature of things be of long duration. This temporary rise of price, combined with the permanent advantage to the foreign manufacturer of the increased cost of production in this country, would inevitably operate in producing an extension of the existing works, and the erection of new ones abroad. The increased production from these, and from the extended works in this country, stimulated by the advance of price, would, after no long interval, restore the former proportion of the supply to the demand, and the consequences would then be most disastrous to the English manufacturer and workman. The smaller and less favourably situated manufactories would be swept away. Even the more opulent and best situated establishments would have great difficulty in maintaining their ground, workmen would be thrown out of employ, and wages must, under such circumstances, inevitably fall to the lowest point consistent with the most bare subsistence of the working class.

"These effects would vary in degree in the different branches of the manufacture to which the artificially restricted production in this country would apply; but the ultimate result in all would be a general reduction of profit and wages.

"And it may generally be stated, that the final clauses of this bill are of a nature so vexatious and arbitrary as, if sanctioned by the legislature, would create a serious objection to the investment of capital in manufacturing industry in this country."

The remedies proposed by the Commissioners are as follow:—

"The restrictions we venture to propose with regard to children are, that children under nine years of age shall not be employed in mills or factories, subject, however, to the considerations hereinafter stated. That until the commencement of the fourteenth year the hours of labour during any one day shall not in any case exceed eight. That until the commencement of the fourteenth year children shall not in any case be allowed to work at night; that is to say, between the hours of ten at night and five in the morning.

"The great evil of the manufacturing system, as at present conducted, has appeared to us to be, that it entails the necessity of continuing the labour of children to the utmost length of that of the adults. The only remedy for this evil short of a limitation of the labour of adults, which would, in our opinion, create an evil greater than that which it sought to be remedied, appears to be the plan of working double sets of children."

It is not our intention, at present, to enter into a consideration of the plan of the Commissioners, or of the other measures before Parliament. We shall recur, without delay, to the subject; sincerely hoping that we shall not have to examine any act of blind legislation, upon a question presenting greater difficulties, and involving more extensive and complicated interests, than any with which Parliament has had to deal.

AMENDMENT OF THE APOTHECARIES' ACT.

What is called the Apothecaries' Act, is one of the most impudent pieces of legislation that have been perpetrated in modern times. Indeed, mischievous as much of our law-making within that period has been, we do not recollect any other statute passed since the commencement of the present century, the injustice and absurdity of which have been at the same time so sweeping and so scandalous.

The act in question was passed in the year 1815, and is entitled, "An Act for better regulating the practice of Apothecaries throughout England and Wales." The deception, of which the whole measure is a tissue, commences with the title. Though *Apothecaries* is the term employed here and elsewhere, in order to afford a pretext for the powers conferred upon the Apothecaries' Company, the persons whom the act affects are, with few exceptions, the whole body of medical practitioners throughout the kingdom. In London, and some of our other great towns, there are physicians and surgeons who do not compound or vend medicines; but in the country this distinction of the three branches of the profession does not generally exist. Except in our larger towns, every man who practises medicine at all, likewise deals in drugs, and must do so, unless he should undertake, in the treatment of his patients, to dispense with the *materia medica* altogether, or to cure them by making them swallow the written prescription itself, instead of the actual powders, draughts, and boluses. If he were not to supply them with medicines, there is nobody else from whom they could procure them.

The consequence is, as we have said, that over all England the medical practitioners are also apothecaries within the meaning of this act. The exceptions are to be found only in the metropolis, and a few of our other largest towns. But even in the metropolis, probably nine-tenths of the practice is in the hands of persons who dispense drugs as well as advice and attendance.

Now, by this act, all these persons, constituting as they do almost the entire medical profession throughout England, must, in the first place, be Licentiates of the Apothecaries' Company. When apothecaries were first heard of in England, they were accounted merely grocers, with whom they formed one company in the City of London, down to the year 1617. The separation which was then made between the dispensers of a class of articles so numerous, and requiring such accurate measurement, and such nice discrimination as medicines, and the venders of dried plums and pepper, was perfectly proper. But it does not seem quite so reasonable that, because the apothecaries have ceased to be grocers, they should be forthwith invested with the entire regulation of the practice of medicine in England.

This would not, we think, be a judicious arrangement in any circumstances, nor although it had been guarded by the strictest checks and corrective provisions. A mercantile company originally instituted for the sale of certain commodities, and whose chief business that still continues to be, would not seem to be the fittest authority to which to confide the superintendence of one of the liberal professions, and the power of saying who shall, and who shall not, be permitted to enter it. Even if we had had no colleges and universities where medicine was taught as a science, and no incorporated societies of the practitioners of its higher branches, it would seem to be sufficiently absurd to give

the right of licensing its practitioners to the Company of Apothecaries. Better to demand as a qualification the diploma of some foreign school, or to institute a new board for the trial and examination of applicants. Nor, if the Apothecaries' Company were a great public establishment, instead of being a mere private incorporation, and were regulated in regard to all its arrangements by some certain rules from which it could not depart, instead of being entitled to make for itself what by-laws and other regulations it pleases, would it still have any rational claim to be placed at the head of our national medicine.

But the apothecaries have not been contented with insisting that no one shall presume to practise medicine without their licence. By another clause of their act it is provided that no person shall have a right to be even examined by them for a certificate, unless he shall have served an apprenticeship of not less than five years to an apothecary. The absurdity of this regulation would be ludicrous were it not for its monstrous injustice. Of course, every medical practitioner who finds it necessary to be the dispenser of drugs to his patients, ought to have acquired the habit of distinguishing, and measuring, and mixing the various articles of the *materia medica*. But to pretend that this cannot be done without standing behind a counter for five years, is nonsense. Indeed, we are not aware that such an assertion has ever been distinctly made. The Company of Apothecaries themselves would probably be unwilling to affirm, in so many words, anything so ridiculous. In point of fact, there were few country practitioners in England before this act came into operation, as there are still few, if any, in Scotland, where it does not operate, part of whose professional education had not consisted in an attendance for some time, in a shop where medicines were sold. But not a great many of them, certainly, had devoted five years to the pestle and mortar alone. For a young man who has made himself sufficiently acquainted with chemistry, as well as with the other studies belonging to his profession, one year's practice in compounding and selling medicines, instead of five, will be found amply sufficient to give him the requisite knowledge and skill.

The injustice of this monopoly in the hands of the Company of Apothecaries, as bearing upon the prospects and fair claims of the members of one of our most eminent professions, is enormous; but the inconsistencies which it involves are, if possible, still greater. The act declares that, after the 1st of August 1815, none but licentiates of the Apothecaries' Company shall be allowed to practise, *except persons then actually practising*. Upon what ground is this exception tolerated? If it be indispensable for the safety of the lieges that nobody should be allowed to compound or vend drugs without having served an apprenticeship of five years to an apothecary, surely it is preposterous thing to assert, that a person not so qualified a strang[illegible]less, be permitted to practise to the end of may, nevertheless[illegible] of danger, because he was actually his life without injury [illegible]ust, 1815. Or, if it shall be practising on the 1st of Aug[illegible] practitioners demanded said, that justice to the established pr[illegible]tion, let the that they should have the benefit of this exemption, danger be what it might, why, we ask, was it limited to them? Why was it not extended to all who had already finished, or even to all who had already begun their professional education—very few of whom can be supposed to have found it much more convenient, than would the established practitioners have done, to stop short in the course they have marked out for themselves, and to throw away five years in standing behind a counter, and running errands under the superintendence of a number of the Apothecary's Company?

But further, upon what principle are the people of England and Wales alone to be protected by this five years' apprenticeship? How comes it that, if such an ordeal be necessary to make a finished or even ordinarily competent medical practitioner, mere graduates of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Dublin, and of the colleges of surgeons of London and Edinburgh, are not only allowed to practise in any part of Scotland or Ireland, or the colonies, but are even admitted into the service of the East India Company, and into his Majesty's army and navy? If the Legislature considered the five years' apprenticeship to be an essential part of medical education, why did they not enforce it universally? How, above all, came they not to require it from those whom the Government selects to take care of the health and the lives of our soldiers and sailors?

But in truth, the Legislature in passing this act contemplated manifestly no such purpose, as that which it has been made to serve in the hands of the parties by whom it was procured. Parliament was taken in by the title of the bill, which bore to refer to the practice of apothecaries merely—a matter which the Company of Apothecaries might be, naturally enough, supposed to have some claim to interfere with. It never could have been imagined, that under the description of apothecaries were, in fact, comprehended almost all persons practising medicine throughout the kingdom, and that the whole profession was thus made over to be farmed and fleeced for the profit of this city company.

The consequences of the act have been, that no person graduated or licensed by the eminent and distinguished bodies that have been mentioned above, is now permitted to practise medicine (except simply as a physician or surgeon, not dispensing drugs) in any part of England—and, that, in place of such well-educated professional men, the country must be contented with the services of so many druggists' apprentices. This is a grievous hardship and injustice to the excluded graduates—to those who after preparing themselves for the exercise of their profession by a long, laborious, and expensive course of study, find themselves thus debarred from entering it;—and it is also a hardship in reference to the community, which is deprived of their services. The company, we may here remark, have not allowed their oppressive privilege to remain a dead letter. For some years past they have employed the powers with which they are invested, with more and more severity every year. According to a return furnished a few weeks ago to the House of Commons by themselves, it appears that the number of prosecutions for penalties which they have instituted since the 29th of March 1825, have been two in that year; two in 1826; one in 1827; nine in 1828; nine in 1829; sixteen in 1830; fifteen in 1831; and eighteen in 1832. In addition to these cases, numerous persons, they inform us, have discontinued practising on being threatened with prosecution. They complain of not having been able to enforce the law to the extent they would have wished, "in consequence of the great unwillingness and backwardness in parties, when called upon, to furnish evidence, or to come forward as witnesses." Here then we have a confession, under their own hands, of the public abhorrence of their monopoly.

Notwithstanding the difficulties they have had to encounter, however, they have contrived to work the act to some purpose. By another return it appears that from the 29th of March 1825, to the 19th of June 1833, their certificates alone have brought them 22,822*l.* 16*s.* But this is the least part of what the monopoly enjoyed by the Company puts into the pockets of its members. Their principal gains must arise from the premiums paid to them by their apprentices. There has also been laid before the House of Commons a return of the manner in which the money received for certificates has been expended; but it only accounts for 18,564*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* of it. Of that sum, it appears, 10,218*l.* 12*s.* has been paid in the course of the eight years to the examiners, besides 980*l.* to their secretary; and 4,604*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* have gone to defray law charges. Of the other items one is "Remuneration to Beadle for extra trouble during same period,—465*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.*" The beadle seems to have his fair share of the spoil.

But the Company boast that they demand other accomplishments besides a knowledge of drugs from the persons to whom they grant their certificates; and that they have even laid down a course of study which candidates are required to pursue previously to being examined. In doing all this we would remark, in the first place, that the apothecaries seem to us to have stepped very far out of their proper sphere. But the whole statement is merely a piece of solemn absurdity. Will they pretend to compare the course of study which they have established with that which is made imperative upon candidates for graduation at, for instance, the colleges of Glasgow and Edinburgh? Without entering further into particulars, is it not the fact that while the latter occupies of necessity four years, independently of a previous literary course, the former, at least until within the last three or four years, might have been gone over in six, or at most in eight months? If the regulations respecting this matter have been since, in any respect, improved, as we believe they have been slightly, the reform has been forced upon the Company by the public agitation of the subject and the apprehension of parliamentary interference, and after all exists

merely by a by-law, which may be repealed at any time. Is there any law, we ask, which prevents the Company, if they please, from licensing a person who has served the requisite five years' apprenticeship, although he have not in addition gone through any course of medical study whatever?

This state of things has lasted too long; and we rejoice, therefore, that a bill, some time ago brought into the House of Commons to put an end to it, has already received the sanction of that branch of the legislature. We trust that this bill, notwithstanding the powerful opposition to be expected from the body whose mischievous monopoly it goes to destroy, will be triumphantly carried through the other House by the force of its own reasonableness and justice. It leaves quite as much authority over the medical profession to the Company of Apothecaries as they can with any fairness demand. It enacts that every person who has obtained, or shall hereafter obtain, the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university of Edinburgh, of Glasgow, or of Aberdeen, shall be entitled to practise as an apothecary, and to dispense medicines to his patients in any part of England or Wales, without having undergone any such examination, or received any such certificate from the London Company, as the act of 1815 requires. He is merely required to notify his degree to that Company for registration. In order to secure the requisite knowledge of drugs, instead of the five years' apprenticeship, it is provided that in future no degree shall be conferred by any of the aforesaid universities, except on evidence being produced by the candidate, previous to his examination, that he has served an apprenticeship to a regularly licensed medical practitioner keeping a laboratory for the dispensing of medicines, or that he has attended for at least twelve months at the laboratory of a surgeon or apothecary, or of a public hospital or dispensary, or that he has, during that time, been engaged in compounding and dispensing medicines. As to persons having diplomas from the College of Surgeons of London, of Dublin, or of Edinburgh, or from the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, and who have acquired a knowledge of drugs in the manner just stated, they are to be admitted to examination by the apothecaries as a matter of course. Finally, it is enacted that for the future any person who has, or shall have, held any commission or warrant as a surgeon or assistant-surgeon in the Royal Navy, or as surgeon, assistant-surgeon, or apothecary in any of his Majesty's Land Forces, or as surgeon or assistant-surgeon in the service of the East India Company, may practise in any part of England or Wales as an apothecary, and dispense medicines without either the certificate of the Apothecaries or any examination by them, and without being liable to any penalty or disability whatever by reason of such practice.

WARWICK BOROUGH ELECTION.

The history of contested elections scarcely affords anything to parallel the extraordinary scenes which appear to have distinguished the last election for the borough of Warwick. On that occasion, the candidates were the Hon. Sir Charles John Greville in the one interest, and Mr. Bolton King and Mr. Jones in the other: Sir Charles being supported by what is there called the influence of the Castle, that is, of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Lieutenant of the county: and his two opponents by the independent party in the town. Sir Charles Greville and Mr. King were returned. Both returns, however, having been petitioned against, Sir Charles was unseated by the decision of a Committee of the House of Commons. This Committee, which made its report on the 15th of May, had, in the course of its investigations, discovered such evidence of gross bribery having been resorted to, both at the last and at preceding elections for Warwick, that they directed their chairman to move for the suspension of the writ for the borough until further inquiry should be made. Eventually an order of the House revived the same Committee, "to make further inquiry into the proceedings of the last election for the borough of Warwick, and to consider and report upon the best mode of preventing bribery, treating, and other corrupt practices in all future elections for members to serve in parliament for the said borough." The report of this second Committee, which commenced its sittings on the 27th of June, was presented to the House on the 22d of July, along with a voluminous body of evidence. This report is one of the most remarkable expositions ever laid before Parliament.

It commences by stating, that the gross bribery affirmed by the former report to have been committed at the said election, by the agents of Sir Charles Greville, remains uncontradicted. The names of several individuals, by whom acts of gross bribery have been proved to have been committed, are then given: among them is James Tibbitts, the town-clerk. It is added, "that the money distributed by those persons in such gross bribery, appears to have been paid to them by the said James Tibbitts; and that such money was supplied to the said James Tibbitts by Alexander Brown, the then steward of the Right Hon. Henry Richard Greville, Earl of Warwick, from the private funds of the said Earl of Warwick, standing in the name of the said Alexander Brown, at the Warwick bank of Messrs. Greenway and Greaves."

A subsequent passage is, "That it appears to your Committee, that there were unusual and serious riots previous to and at the said election, and that there were great injury to the persons of the burgesses, and destruction to their property; that the aid of the military was called in to support the civil power: that such riots and disturbances originated in the introduction into the borough, by the agents of the said Sir C. J. Greville, of large bodies of strangers and non-resident agricultural labourers, many of them in the employ of tenants of the Earl of Warwick, and of hired fighting-men from neighbouring places: and that such persons were maintained and paid by Henry Thomas Cooke and others, and the money provided by the said James Tibbitts, the town-clerk." Several aldermen and members of the corporation are then mentioned by name, as having been cognizant of the introduction of these fighting-men, and as having culpably neglected their duty, as municipal officers of the borough, in not preventing the disorders which arose. The following are the next three paragraphs of the report:—

"That it appears, that the Right Hon. Henry Richard Greville, Earl of Warwick, a peer of the realm, lord lieutenant of the county of Warwick and recorder of the borough, in violation of the resolutions and standing orders of the House, did unconstitutionally apply, by his agent and steward, Alexander Brown, 3000*l.* and upwards towards the election expenditure and promotion of the political interest of the candidate, Sir Charles John Greville, in the transfer of such sum of money to James Tibbitts, town-clerk of the said borough, who appropriated the same to various corrupt and illegal practices at the last election, the office of town-clerk being in the appointment of the recorder. That Alexander Brown, steward of the Earl of Warwick, subsequent to the election of 1831, caused numerous persons, (many of them non-resident in the borough, and dependants of the Earl of Warwick) to be fictitiously rated to the poor of the two parishes of the said borough, and chiefly in respect of property of the said Earl, for the sole purpose of creating fraudulent votes, and that fictitious receipts for rent appeared to have been produced by Alexander Brown in support of them. That a considerable number of such colourably rated persons were erased from the register of electors by the revising barristers, but that many were retained and voted at the last election for the said Sir Charles John Greville, and that Alderman Henry Smyth and James Tibbitts, the town-clerk, aided and abetted Alexander Brown in supporting such fictitious votes; but that the Hon. Sir Charles John Greville does not appear to your Committee to have personally participated in the above corrupt and illegal practices. That your Committee have been impeded in their inquiries by the absence of Alexander Brown, the steward of the Earl of Warwick; and that it was proved to their satisfaction, that due diligence had been used to procure the attendance of the said Alexander Brown, and it is their opinion that such absence was wilful, and for the purpose of impeding their inquiry."

While we write, the evidence taken by the second Committee has not yet been placed in the hands of members, but a summary of it has appeared in the *Times* newspaper, from which many curious particulars may be gathered. The bribery by the agents of Sir Charles Greville appears to have been traced by the evidence of numerous witnesses, and to have been of the most reckless description, involving, in various instances, the deep and disgraceful guilt of instigating the persons upon whom it was practised to commit the most revolting perjury. But the most extraordinary part of the evidence is that which refers to the interference of the Earl of Warwick. It is proved that sums amounting

in all to 3,100*l.*, being money kept in the Warwick Bank by Lord Warwick, in the name of his steward Brown, were, at the time of the election, transferred by the latter to the account of Messrs. Tibbitts and Son, by whom 2,469*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* was subsequently drawn out by successive checks. Other large sums are also shown to have been paid to other agents and partisans of the Castle interest. It is proved that no fewer than thirty-nine public-houses and beer-shops were opened in the interest of Sir Charles Greville, and more or less kept open for treating the voters in his interest, from the canvass early in October up to the close of the poll on the 13th of December last. Twenty-five of the publicans were examined, who admitted, after much prevarication, that they had all headed their accounts "Sir G. Greville's Committee." Some had received part-payment from Cooke and Tibbitts. The accounts of these twenty-five ranged severally from 10*l.* up to somewhat above 500*l.*; the whole amount being 4,270*l.* The gross expenditure incurred in treating is estimated to have amounted to 10,000*l.* Orders for ribbons and handkerchiefs to drapers and silkmercers, from committee-men and partisans of Sir C. Greville, were likewise produced to the Committee, to the extent of above 400*l.*

The introduction of the fighting-men into the town was also distinctly traced to the agency of the partisans of Lord Warwick. A good many were hired by written orders from members of Sir C. Greville's Committee, and were paid by Cooke and Tibbitts. Another part of the evidence showed the intimidation exercised towards the voters by Lord Warwick, in notices to quit, and actions of ejectment served against his tenants in the opposite interest. Finally, his lordship's partisans were proved to have attempted, and partly succeeded, in the prosecution of a most daring scheme for the creation of fictitious votes, by getting persons colourably rated for property in the borough belonging to his lordship, who turned out to be, for the most part, non-occupiers of such property, and, in almost all instances, not to be actually paying the rent at which they were rated, and for which, nevertheless, they had got receipts from Brown the steward. The names of 140 persons in this situation had been put, in the first instance, on the list of electors.

Any comment upon proceedings such as these is quite unnecessary. They go evidently to turn the representation of the people, not into a farce, but into a nuisance and a curse, and to make an election merely a scene of wholesale profligacy and demoralization. Idleness, drunkenness, riotous blackguardism, political dishonesty, corruption, perjury—these are the vices which are by such doings taught the labouring classes, and diffused among them by their superiors in wealth and station. Can these persons have any other object except to barbarize and brutalize the people? Sure we are at least that they cannot count upon retaining their ascendency through either the affection or respect of those in a humbler sphere by whom they are surrounded; for such conduct can engender no feelings towards them but contempt and loathing in the breasts even of the degraded wretches who consent to take their money. And if Lord Warwick could even thus buy and secure to himself, not merely the services for this particular turn, but the real and lasting adherence of every voter in his borough, what would it avail him against the indignation which transactions such as those we have detailed must excite in the minds of the public generally, wherever they shall be known?

It is probable that the report of the Committee will be followed by such an immediate enlargement of the constituency of Warwick, as shall, for the future, effectually emancipate that borough from the influence of the Castle. The plan adopted will, in all likelihood, be to throw into the borough the adjoining parish of Leamington-Priors, the population of which, being at the same time rapidly increasing, already amounts to above 6200 persons, among whom are 800 ten-pound householders.

There can also be little doubt that some at least of the individuals charged in the report with acts of treating and gross bribery, will be prosecuted at law for these offences. The House of Commons will probably order this to be done. Bribery at elections is a crime at common law, and punishable by fine and imprisonment. Under certain acts of parliament, actions may likewise be brought against the parties concerned in bribery or treating, and heavy penalties recovered from them. By the statutes of the 7th Will. III., cap. 4, and the 49th Geo. III. cap. 118, any person found guilty of treating after the teste (that is, the date) of the writ, is declared to be rendered thereby incapable of serving for that place in that parliament; and if any money, gift, office, employment, or reward, be given or promised, the giver or promiser forfeits 1000*l.*, and the receiver 500*l.*, while both are for ever disabled from holding office in any corporation, unless either shall, before conviction, inform against some other offender, in which case he escapes from the legal consequences of his own guilt.

It does not appear that there will be any possibility of tracing a participation in the offence of bribery directly home to the noble lord who figures so conspicuously in the affair; but he, too, will probably be made to experience some further consequences of his conduct, besides the loss of his domination over the borough of Warwick. The right of a peer to interfere at elections of members of parliament, is one of the points upon which the two Houses have always been at variance. The Commons have been long in the habit, at the commencement of every session, of passing the following among their other resolutions:—"That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the House of Commons for any Lord of Parliament, or Lord Lieutenant of any county, to concern himself in the election of any member of parliament." There is not, however, we believe, any instance in which they have either attempted to get such conduct punished by the courts of law, or have punished it themselves. The case in which they proceeded farthest appears to have been that of Dr. William Lloyd, who, in the year 1702, was charged with having exerted himself to prevent the election of Sir J. Pekington for the county of Worcester. On the complaint of Pekington, who was returned, the conduct of the bishop was taken into consideration by the House; and, it appearing that the charge was made out, it was resolved to address the Queen to remove his lordship from the situation of her Almoner—a request with which her Majesty complied. But this dismissal, of course, can be considered as nothing more than a mark of disapprobation of the bishop's conduct by the court or the ministry. It was no punishment, as her Majesty herself told the House of Lords, when that House, immediately after it had been announced, sent up an address stating that, in their opinion, no person ought to be subjected to punishment on a mere resolution of the Commons, and without being allowed an opportunity of being heard in his own defence. To this remonstrance her Majesty merely replied, that she considered herself to have the right of saying who should and who should not hold places about her person. In other instances, the Commons have satisfied themselves with merely passing a strong censure upon the party implicated; as, for example, upon the Bishop of Carlisle, when in the year 1710 he was accused of having interfered to procure the return of Sir James Montagu as one of the representatives for that city. On this occasion the bishop was admitted into the House, and heard in his own defence: but, notwithstanding what he advanced, it was resolved that his lordship, "by concerning himself in the said election, hath highly infringed the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain." A similar resolution was passed in 1789, on a charge of the same kind being brought forward and substantiated to the satisfaction of the House against the Duke of Chandos.

On the other hand, as Mr. Hatsell remarks, the House of Lords has never admitted the principle thus maintained by the Commons: and that writer states, that individual peers have, in various instances, actually voted at elections, without having had their right to do so questioned. He adds, however, in a note, (*Precedents*, vol. iii., p. 73, edit. of 1818,) "I do not mean to justify this doctrine of the Lords. The resolution of the House of Commons, which is renewed every session, appears to me to be founded in the true principles of the constitution: and though it is every day abused by a contrary practice, and that abuse is overlooked by all parties, yet, when a flagrant instance occurs, it is becoming the dignity of the House of Commons to vindicate their independence in this particular; and if the private situation of the Lord complained of will not admit of their proceeding farther, they ought to reprehend this conduct in the peer, and to assert their own rights by a strong and spirited resolution."

In the present instance, if the House of Commons are to follow the opinion expressed by this eminent constitutional authority, their course is plain. The Earl of Warwick is not a nobleman placed in that "private situation" which

"will not admit of their proceeding farther." He is lord lieutenant of his county. Let then the chairman of the Committee which has detected these scandalous transactions move, as was done in the case of the Bishop of Worcester, in the reign of Queen Anne, that his Majesty be addressed to dismiss Lord Warwick from the place which he holds under the crown. We do not think that his Lordship's dismissal should be the unprompted act of the government, or even that the motion for the House to address the crown should come from the ministers. The House ought to take upon itself the duty of asserting its own privileges, and of seeking redress for the violation of its repeatedly-affirmed resolution. If it so act, there cannot be a doubt as to the result. Unless his Majesty's ministers mean distinctly to say, that in this old controversy between the two Houses, the Lords have all along been in the right and the Commons in the wrong, they will dismiss the Earl of Warwick from his lord lieutenancy as a matter of course. And in the present day, we believe there is but little chance that the peers will, either by a remonstrance or in any other way, attempt to dispute or avert such an exercise of the royal prerogative.*

OFFICIAL TABLES OF REVENUE, &c.

SINCE the date of our last publication, a volume calculated to throw much light upon the condition of the country, and to assist materially in the business of legislation, has been laid by command of his Majesty upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament. This volume—the contents of which are derived from official sources—is entitled, *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c. of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies*, and the compilation is made to embrace the period of twelve years, from 1820 to 1831 inclusive.

We learn from the notice prefixed to these tables that it is intended to follow up this presentation by the immediate preparation of another volume, to contain those occurrences in detail for the year 1832 which are here given in a more condensed form for the twelve preceding years; and that a similar volume will in future be printed annually, with the view of simplifying the labours of Parliament, by supplying, at the earliest possible moment after its meeting, connected statements with regard to all those points of a statistical nature which have usually claimed its attention.

The collecting of statistical information can never be so satisfactorily undertaken by individuals or private societies as by governments, which alone can impart that assurance of authenticity in which the principal value of such statements must consist. However much this fact may have been disregarded up to the present time by our own government, it is one which has been generally recognized and acted upon elsewhere, so that there scarcely can be mentioned even a second-rate power on the continent of Europe which has not a statistical office attached to some branch of its executive government.

It has constantly afforded matter for surprise how the business of legislation can have been carried on in this kingdom with a due regard to its various and complicated interests, seeing what a total absence there has been of all system and arrangement for preserving a record of facts and circumstances which should form the groundwork of that business. It may be said, that until a recent period, a great part of the important work of legislation was intrusted to men whose lengthened experience stood them in some degree in the place of such a system of arrangement. Now, however, that election has taken the place of nomination to seats in the popular branch of our legislature, something beyond mere technical experience is looked for as a qualification in our representatives, and the necessity is rendered undeniable of possessing a compilation which will present in a lucid and compendious form, the leading facts which bear upon the commerce and the fiscal system of the government.

Few, except those persons whose avocations have led them to an acquaintance with the course of parliamentary proceedings, can form any correct idea of the number and bulk of the volumes in which the Sessional Papers of the House of Commons are comprised. None but those who have been compelled to consult their contents can conceive how unsatisfactory, in regard both to their substance and arrangement, are the documents thus brought together. It is hardly possible to extract from them a series of statements upon any one point which affords means for making comparisons between similar matters occurring in different years, although it must be evident that by means of such comparisons alone can a true judgment be formed, in many cases, as to the effect of particular measures. Even where the inexperienced inquirer might imagine that he had discovered the materials for making such comparisons, a nearer inspection of the accounts given in the Sessional volumes may show him to be mistaken. If, for example, information be sought upon some branch of trade, respecting which returns have been constantly required by Parliament, it will often be found, that these returns have been called for in order to suit particular and partial objects, and that they are made to comprise only parts of the subject, while some of the details necessary to its proper elucidation are either accidentally or purposely omitted. It will frequently be found, too, that these omissions vary both in their nature and amount in different years, so that the statements are robbed of all their usefulness, if indeed they be not rendered positively mischievous, by misleading the inquirer. The volume of tables now before us appears to be free from this fault, the whole of the statements being prepared upon one uniform system, and so arranged as to convey to the eye at one glance all the information required for the understanding of each particular subject, so that the comparison between one year and another presents itself immediately, and without the inconvenience of referring from one part of the work to another.

The contents of this volume are necessarily of a miscellaneous nature, comprehending abstracts of the Public Revenue and Expenditure—of the National Debt and the Annual Charge which it occasions—of the Amount of Bank Notes in circulation at different periods,—of the Number of Savings' Banks and the Depositors, stated in classes according to the amount of their deposits—and of the Net Produce of the Public Revenue in each of its different branches of Customs, Excise, Stamps, &c. Under this head we have some very curious details of the progress of the Assessed Taxes, specifying the number of persons and articles charged under each head of duty in every year; thus contributing towards the means of ascertaining the progress of the country in wealth, by marking the continually increasing use of conveniences and luxuries. Further means to this end are afforded by statements of the quantities of excisable commodities, and of foreign and colonial productions, which have in each year been retained for consumption in the United Kingdom. The progressive condition of our foreign commerce may also be ascertained by the quantities here registered of every kind of goods imported and exported, while the continually augmenting quantities of the raw materials of manufacture imported and of finished goods exported, show the astonishing degree in which that most important branch of national industry is increasing. In 1820, the total quantity of cotton entered for consumption was 152,829,633 lbs.; in 1831, through the extension of the manufacture, this quantity was augmented to 273,249,653 lbs. being an increase of 78 per cent. The quantity of foreign sheep's wool imported, which in 1820 was short of ten millions of pounds, amounted in 1831 to more than three times that quantity. The number of yards of plain and printed cotton goods exported in 1820 was 127,141,603, which quantity was augmented to 421,385,303 yards in 1831, being an increase of 231 per cent. The export of woollen goods in 1820, amounted to 1,293,372 pieces, besides 4,791,354 yards; the quantities exported in 1831 were 1,997,348 pieces, and 5,797,546 yards.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into further details on this head, and we should content ourselves with stating, in general terms, that the volume before us abounds with proofs the most gratifying of the successful exertion of British skill and industry, did we not here perceive the means of correcting some important errors which appear to have taken hold upon the public mind. In regard to the slipping interest of the country, which year after year has been represented as in a declining state, we see in the table

* Since the above article was in type, and as we are about to put to press, we observe that Lord Althorp has intimated in the House of Commons that a letter has been, or will immediately be, addressed to the Earl of Warwick, who is abroad, stating what had been reported against him, and calling on him for an explanation, in order that the Government might ascertain whether it was necessary or desirable to take any further steps in the matter.

(pp. 50 and 51), that the number of ships built and registered in 1820 was 886, of the aggregate burthen of 84,582 tons, while the number built and registered in 1830 (the returns for 1831 were not completed when this statement was prepared) was 1117 ships, of the aggregate burthen of 110,130 tons. The number of vessels which entered inwards from foreign parts, in all the ports of the kingdom, was 14,757, of 2,115,671 tons burthen, in 1820; while the number of arrivals in 1831 was 20,573 ships, of the burthen of 3,241,927 tons, showing an increase of more than 50 per cent. in the foreign trade of the country. This increase must not be wholly attributed to the peculiar advantages possessed in this respect by England in the extent of her colonial possessions and dependencies, for we see (page 52) that of the ships of all nations which passed the Sound in 1831, if the estimate is made according to the aggregate burthen of the vessels, those under the British flag amounted to 450-1000ths, or within a very minute fraction of one half.

These tables contain further very complete abstracts of the number of criminal offenders, and the nature of their crimes, for a series of years in each part of the United Kingdom, opening an interesting field for examination, into which it is not possible for us to enter at present, but which we may hereafter use to illustrate the opinions we have expressed in our previous Numbers on the subject of the moral condition of the people.

Among the particulars given under the head of population, is a statement, showing, in conjunction with the numerical and per centage increase found at each enumeration in 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831, the amount raised by taxation, and the sums expended for the relief of the poor at each of those periods. Upon these data calculations have been made showing the average proportional sums paid on those accounts by each individual in the kingdom, taking into the estimate the price of gold at the time of each enumeration; the result may be seen in the following abstract:

Year.	Average Proportion of Taxes	Av rage Proportion of Poor Rates.	Total
1801	1 18 0	8 4	2 6 4
1811	2 17 1	10 8	3 7 9
1821	2 12 8	10 7	3 3 3
1831	1 18 3	9 9	2 8 0

Showing that, although the burthen upon each individual on these accounts is now 3½ per cent. greater than in 1801, it is 31½ per cent. less than in 1821, and 41 per cent. less than in 1811.

Writers upon statistical subjects have often found themselves at a loss for some extensive and authentic record of prices, which, taken in conjunction with the rate of wages, would be of great assistance in showing the extent to which the bulk of the community are enabled to command the necessaries and conveniences of life. This branch of statistics has not been forgotten in the compilation before us, which presents a few authentic tables of prices, extending over a considerable period of time. We trust that this subject will be continually kept in view, and that the future volumes compiled by Government, will contribute more largely to the stock of our knowledge upon this important point.

It is probably owing to the great interest at present excited in the public mind, concerning our relations with Ireland and with India, that so many pages of the volume are devoted to the registration of facts bearing upon the intercourse with those countries. The tables constructed for this purpose may be examined with advantage, and will serve to establish a conviction that the commercial enterprize which has been directed to those quarters has been productive, *at least* in the usual degree, of its accustomed advantages. It is is to be regretted that since the year 1825, when the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was put upon the footing of a coasting trade, no means have been afforded for registering the nature and amount of the intercourse between the two islands, except as relates to the importation of grain and meal from Ireland. This was a great oversight which we shall be glad to see remedied.

In the year 1801, the first year of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the number of ships that entered the ports of Ireland from Great Britain was 6816, and their aggregate burthen was 582,033 tons. In 1831 the trade had so increased that the number of ships amounted to 13,584, and their burthen to 1,262,221 tons, being an increase since the union of 116 per cent.

The number and quantities of agricultural stock and provisions exported from Ireland to Great Britain, have increased within the same period, as under:—

	1801	1825
Cows and oxen	No. 31,543	63,519
Swine	1968	65,919
Horses	609	3130
Sheep	2879	72,161
Butter	Cwt. 250,620	425,670
Beef	Barls. 58,911	63,507
Pork	73,495	83,783
Bacon and Ham	Cwt. 21,100	361,139

That these exports must have materially increased since 1825, is proved by the fact, that in 1831, Liverpool alone imported from Ireland 91,911 head of cattle; 160,487 sheep and lambs; and 156,001 pigs.

The importations of grain and meal from Ireland into Great Britain, stated in quarters, which in 1815, amounted to 821,192 qrs.; have since been augmented three-fold, and in 1831 amounted to 2,419,643 qrs. It has been absurdly imagined by some writers that these continued exportations have acted as so many drains to the life-blood of Ireland, and are to be taken as proofs of the wretchedness, rather than the prosperity of the people. The means of refuting this fallacy are also furnished in these tables. In page 177, we find a statement of the annual average quantities of certain articles retained for home consumption in Ireland, and are enabled to contrast the average consumption of 1790 with that of 1831, in some of the more important articles of convenience and luxury.

	1790.		1831.	
Home made Spirits.	Gals. 2,599,576	duty 1s. 11½d. p. Im. gal.	8,557,605	duty 3s. 4d p. Im. gal.
Tobacco	2 587,689	11d. per lb.	1,515,302	3s. per lb.
Coffee	44,370	5½d ,,	808,364	6d. ,,
Raw Sugar, cts.	199,255	12s. 4d. p. cwt.,	342,701	24s. per cwt.
Coals	tons 338,934		851,424	

		1828. The late-t period from which the account can be furnished.		
Tea	lbs. 1,732,374	4s½d. per lb.	3,847,955	96 per cwt and 100 per cent.

Our space will not allow us to enter further into detail on this occasion. The object we have had in abstracting the few particulars we have given, is to point out the various ways, in which publications of this nature may be made to exercise a beneficial influence upon public opinion, by exhibiting the truth in a form which approves itself at once to the mind of every one.

Valuable as these tables are in themselves, and we think enough has been said to prove in how high a degree they are so, they are chiefly to be prized as being the first step made by government towards the establishment of a system for presenting statistical facts in an authentic form to the public. Many branches of the subject are left untouched by them, which we hope will find a place in the volumes of future years. We are greatly at a loss for accurate information upon almost every point connected with the internal or domestic employment and condition of the people, and are at all times completely ignorant concerning the productiveness of our harvests. We are aware of the great difficulties which stand in the way of collecting any precise information upon these points: the intentions of government in obtaining it are very liable to misconstruction, and we know that the ill-understood interests of individuals may sometimes lead them to wish rather to deceive than to inform upon matters connected with their personal concerns. This will render great caution necessary in regard to the quarters whence information is accepted, but should by no means deter from the endeavour to attain an approximation towards the truth. Partial knowledge will at least be preferable to our present state of ignorance, and may exercise a beneficial influence upon government, leading to a juster appreciation than is at present entertained of the complicated interests of the Empire.

PORTUGAL—DON PEDRO AND DON MIGUEL.

The rival claims, and the unnatural contest of these princes of the House of Braganza, which have plunged, and still retain Portugal in infinite wretchedness, have been now for many months a theme of declamation all over Europe. We say *declamation*, because, generally speaking, that particular part of oratory, "discourse addressed to the passions," has characterised the discussion of this subject much more than cool argument or impartial exposition. To say nothing of other parts of the world, in this country the Portuguese question, involving the well being of an ancient and interesting people, has been made a downright party matter, and converted into a *champs clos*, where men of opposite

politics might tilt about the gold and silver sides of the shield, like the knights in the apologue.

On the one side Don Pedro has been held up as a model to princes, and the right of his Daughter Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal has been insisted upon with vehemence, though this particular party is not generally disposed to give much weight to legitimacy, or regular succession, or the divine right of princes. On the other side, where such sort of arguments are more in their place, it is maintained with equal warmth, that the right to the throne is legitimately vested in Don Miguel—that he is king *de jure* as well as *de facto*, and—in spite of the representations of the opposite party (which of course are exaggerated), the strong suspicions of more than one secret assassination, and the evidence of his public executions and proscriptions—a prince of kind and gentle manners, and of great magnanimity and singleness of heart! Before proceeding to unravel the matter, we will merely express a wish here, that the advocates for absolutism may always be equally unfortunate in the choice of the idol they would incense—for whatever be Miguel's rights as a prince, as a man the stamp of moral deformity is strongly impressed upon him.

The popular mind has been wildly agitated by the views presented by the one or the other of these two parties, and his Majesty's government has been alternately attacked by those who would even plunge them into a war for the chastisement of the usurper Miguel, and by those who accuse them of wanton breaches of neutrality and undue partiality for Pedro. In the heat and anger of prolonged discussion, the public has lost sight of the original points of the matter in dispute, and our present object is to state these in a clear, concise manner, without leaning to Miguelite or Pedroite, and abstaining from declamatory exaggeration.

King John VI., when driven from Portugal by the arms of Napoleon, retired with the whole of his family to his extensive colonies in the Brazils. This family then consisted of his queen, a violent and bigoted woman, sister to his present Majesty of Spain, of two sons, Pedro and Miguel, and two or three daughters. John VI. was a true king of the old continental school—of that school, whose radical defects alone can account for the facility with which Buonaparte disposed of the sovereigns that had been nurtured in it; he was indolent, short-sighted, and though timid, had a high notion of the royal prerogative. In other times, he, like several of his contemporaries, might have peaceably slumbered through a long reign, and have left his country neither much better nor much worse for his government; but he was not fitted to steer through the unprecedented difficulties of the nineteenth century, or to adopt and guide those new doctrines in politics which have penetrated into all parts of the world.

When the Portuguese, aided by the British, had boldly expelled the French invaders, and when Napoleon, the dethroner of many kings, was himself dethroned, and peace restored to Europe, John VI. remained in America, for there, probably, he would have ended his days, had not the spirit of revolution crossed the Atlantic, and the phantom of a constitution frightened him away. Yet, in his European states, he had to face the same object of his terror and dislike, and habited, be it said, in its least attractive garb.

Under an imbecile regency, which allowed the army to lose all its organization and discipline, imitating the conduct of the Spaniards, on the 23rd of August, 1820, a Portuguese colonel, and a few other military men at Oporto, revolted, declaring that the nation must have a constitution, and within three weeks, a lieutenant, with a handful of men, marched into Lisbon, and without any show of opposition, proclaimed a constitution in that Capital.

We must not let our reverence for a word blind us to the nature of a thing. This constitution, thus suddenly imposed, was anything rather than suitable to the Portuguese nation, and the conduct of the Cortes was characterized by folly, illiberality, and weakness, which soon alienated all parties. These men, to whom all the miseries that have ensued are mainly attributable, bullied the priesthood while they dreaded its power, and treated with indecent, and most impolitic, disrespect the old king, who, whatever might have been his degree of sincerity, testified respect, and even zeal for the constitution they had established. In short, they rendered the words Cortes and Constitution odious to the Portuguese people; and time, and the measures of wiser men, will be still required to remove this deeply-rooted popular antipathy.

Meanwhile, beset by insolent subjects, who totally misunderstood the spirit of constitutional government, which, like every other science, is not to be learned in a day, the repose of John VI. was further disturbed by a letter from his elder son, Don Pedro, whom he had left in Brazil as regent of those countries.

This letter, dated 4th October, 1821, informed the king that the Brazilians were anxious to detach themselves entirely from Portugal, and to proclaim him (Don Pedro) their emperor. But it contained besides protestations, whose very extravagance induces a doubt of their sincerity, that he, as a faithful subject and son, would never consent to their mad scheme, but oppose it, till he and all the Portuguese with him, were "cut to pieces." Another paragraph of this curious letter—supposing the writer of it to be sincere—would render his judgment and taste contemptible; for he says that he writes with *his own blood* the following words:—"I swear to be ever faithful to your Majesty, to the Portuguese nation and Constitution."

Seven months after this declaration, however, Don Pedro, when Brazil was *de facto* dissevered from Portugal, and to all intents and purposes an independent state, accepted in behalf of himself and children, the office of "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil." This was in May, 1822. The following year, when France chose to interfere with the internal government of Spain, and overthrow the Spanish constitution by force of arms, the constitution of Portugal, its sickly progeny fell to the ground, with no more efforts on the part of the nation for its support, than had been made against its establishment; and the only praise that can possibly be given to it is, that it rose and fell without bloodshed. It appears, however, from two royal decrees, published at the time, that John VI. contemplated giving some sort of representative government to Portugal, and it would have been a work of no great difficulty to have devised a better system than the one that had been adopted by the despised Cortes. To oppose this, the queen and Don Miguel, with the Marquisses Chaves and Abrantes, and the whole of the apostolic or Spanish faction, who had hastened the crisis of the late Cortes, employed all their energies. The queen, whom the members of that Cortes had declared mad by a majority of votes, and had placed in confinement, entertained abhorrence for every thing that approached a representative government, and this feeling was common to Don Miguel, and a numerous and powerful portion of the Portuguese nation. A crime of the blackest die rests on this party, and is supposed to have been their first step towards defeating the king's project of another constitution. That unlucky sovereign went to hunt at Salva-terra, and among other courtiers took with him the Marquis of Loulé, who was well known to be a powerful advocate of reform. Don Miguel, the Marquis of Abrantes, and two men of bad reputation, Cordeiro and Verissimo, since employed by Miguel in his police, were also of the party. Two days after their arrival at Salva-terra, the lifeless body of the Marquis of Loulé was found upon a heap of rubbish! The young prince—and Miguel was then only in his twenty-second year—shewed a strange alacrity in asserting that the Marquis had fallen from a window, but on examining the body it was found that a dagger or some other instrument had been thrust through the mouth into the brain of the noble victim! The old king fled in dismay to Lisbon, and Don Miguel put himself at the head of the demoralized army—that army that had made and unmade a constitution—and that now declared itself for the prince, the queen, and absolutism! The undutiful son had a war-cry which found an echo in the superstitious priest-ridden people. The revolutionary proceedings in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, had all been prepared by secret societies bearing different names and constitutions, but pretending for the most part to some sort of connection with free-masonry. Now these, all and severally, had just been anathematized by the pope, and the members composing them subjected to one general sentence of excommunication. At the same time, throughout the south of Europe, monks and priests, acting as missionaries, were going from place to place preaching against this free-masonry, as a sin more damnable than atheism, which was represented as being only one of its component vices, and all revolutionists or constitutionalists were declared to be free-masons, carbonari, &c. &c. Only an eye-witness can form a correct opinion of the effect produced by these missions on the minds of a fanatic, passionate people. At one of these preachings

in the streets of Naples, an unfortunate man whom the malice or mad zeal of a monk denounced as having been a capo-carbonaro, was nearly torn to pieces by the infuriated populace. Now the Portuguese mob is every whit as fanatic, and as easily excited as the Neapolitan, and consequently when Miguel and his partizans shouted in their ears, "Death to the thunderbolts of masonic impiety," he found a ready echo, and spell-bound them to his party.

While asserting that all he did was to secure the absolute power of his virtuous and revered father, he took possession of the palace with the soldiery and the mob, and made that father a prisoner. He issued orders that all his father's servants, ministers, and personal friends should be arrested, and drew up a list of proscriptions of fearful length. From this affectionate son, the old king contrived to escape. Among his subjects he knew not whom to trust; he was by constitution and habit a timid man, and he fled to a British man-of-war, the "Windsor Castle," then at anchor in the Tagus. Here he not only enjoyed safety, but he contrived to entrap the author of all his recent misfortunes. How so astucious a person as Miguel allowed himself to be so duped, is not clearly explained; but he *was* entrapped on board the "Windsor Castle," and thence sent into exile. The place appointed for his residence was Vienna, whose atmosphere should not seem to be the best for inspiring a love of constitutional government. The facts which we have simply stated without comment—a murder, a revolt, a son in arms against his father, and his father's gaoler—a proscription,—are styled by the *Quarterly Review**, with an obtuseness to moral feeling, which astonishes us even in an ultra-party writer, "a series of family squabbles and political intrigues," of which it is implied Miguel was the victim and not the author.

After the dismissal of his troublesome son, John VI. publicly removed his wife from court; granted a general amnesty, excluding, however, from its benefits the Marquis of Abrantes, Verissimo, and Cordeiro, the associates of Miguel, and the murderers of Loulé. He established moreover two liberal ministries, the first under Palmella and Pamplona, the second under Barrados and Lacerda; but these were odious to Spain, and not much to the taste of the Holy Alliance. They therefore soon fell to the ground, and the absolutists again flattered themselves with a prospect of ascendency. That distinguished diplomatist, Sir W. A'Court (now Lord Heytesbury) can, of course, give satisfactory explanations of the line of conduct he pursued while ambassador, at this time, at Lisbon, and probably it was only his curious destiny, that he should be "in at the death" of three constitutions in succession, viz., those of Naples, Spain, and Portugal. However this may be, no more talk was heard of charters and of cortes.

In March 1826, John VI. died, and now we are come to the [illegible] at issue between Don Miguel and his elder brother.

In the treaty of separation between Brazil and Portugal, the points [illegible] which was finally completed by Sir Charles Stuart, the existence of Brazil as an independent empire was fully recognized and established. The empty title of "Emperor of Brazil" was to be borne by John VI. as long as he lived, but the office and full power of emperor were to rest with Don Pedro, his eldest son, to whom also was preserved the right of succession to the throne of Portugal.

We shall treat the brothers in the order of seniority, and first make out Don Pedro's case as he and his advocates represent it. According to this shewing, on the death of his father, Don Pedro, as elder son, did lawfully and actually succeed to the European dominions of the House of Braganza, and was recognized as King of Portugal and the Algarves, as well as Emperor of Brazil, by the members of his family, and the different states of Europe and America. Soon finding, however, that the disseverment of Brazil and Portugal was of such a nature as not to admit of the rule of one and the same sovereign, he resolved to make a choice of one of the two states for himself, and to transfer his hereditary right in the other to a child of his own. He chose Brazil, and made a formal renunciation of Portugal in favour of his eldest daughter Donna Maria, whose heirs were to succeed her in her independent rights to that throne. At this time the Emperor of Brazil had one son, younger than his daughter Donna Maria; and this prince, Don Sebastiano, was to inherit the rights of his father Don Pedro in the American empire.

Pedro's abdication of Portugal carried two conditions along with it; 1st. That a constitutional charter should be granted to the Portuguese nation; 2nd. That the young Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria, should espouse her uncle Don Miguel. Well known as all the conduct of that prince must have been to Don Pedro, it was a bold step in him, as a father, to entrust the happiness of a daughter to such keeping; but he was a brother as well as a father, and Miguel by this time figured as a sobered and repentant young man. Besides, it seemed the best mode of uniting parties and reconciling enmities which had so distracted the unhappy Portuguese kingdom. Don Miguel was at once to return from his exile at Vienna to Lisbon, and to have the title of Lord-Lieutenant in Portugal.

Pedro's constitution was promulgated in Portugal, and was joyfully accepted by a majority of the more enlightened portion of that nation; but (we still state his case on his own, or his friends' showing) the temperate provisions of the charter disappointed the ultra-masonic-liberal party, composed of the fanatics of a theoretical and impracticable freedom: and the very name of constitution was as hateful as ever to the other extreme party, or the fanatics of catholicism and absolutism. Thus two violent extremes were hostile to the new system. It would not have been difficult to deal with the enthusiasts of one of these parties, who had no hold on the popular mind or the sympathies of the Portuguese people; but it was far different with the other party, which included the queen-mother, the church, and consequently the mob, and could count on the support of Spain and the complacence of most of the great continental powers. The priests and monks proceeded again in their anti-constitutional functions, and the absolutists confounded, with great art and treachery, the present charter of Don Pedro with that of the late Cortes, the object of popular detestation. They falsified many of the clauses of the new constitution, and industriously circulated their forgery as the provisions and words of Pedro.

All this time Don Miguel remained at Vienna, affecting a reluctance to embark on the troubled sea of politics, or to return as Lord Lieutenant to his native country; and he persevered in a semblance of truly exemplary submission and affection. In April, 1826, about a month after his father's death, he wrote a letter to his sister, Donna Maria Isabella, then Regent of Portugal, in which he expressed his desires that Portugal would be tranquil, and his dear brother, the Emperor of Brazil, as lawful heir and successor to the thrones, see all his wishes accomplished. He was also fearful that some evil-disposed persons might make use of his name to excite troubles, to counteract which, he entreated his sister, the regent, to give publicity to this his letter. In May of the same year he wrote a similar dutiful and most affectionate epistle to his brother Don Pedro; and again, in the month of June, another letter to his sister in the same tone as his last two letters: on the 4th of October, he solemnly and publicly swore to observe and maintain the constitution of Portugal as granted by Don Pedro; and finally, on the 29th of October, he contracted, in the presence of the whole Austrian court, a solemn affiance with Donna Maria II., Queen of Portugal!

Contemporary with these proceedings at Vienna, in Portugal Miguel's friends, the Marquesses of Chaves and Abrantes, raised the standard of revolt, and established a regency at Tariva, to act in behalf of KING Miguel. This movement was encouraged by Spain, who permitted the Portuguese refugees of the Apostolic party to gather on her own frontiers, and thence attack their country. It is said, moreover, that Spain furnished arms and money, and that the troops that poured into Portugal for this horrid warfare were not *all* Portuguese. It was at this crisis that our ministry, then directed by the lamented Mr. Canning, sent over an English army which soon restored tranquillity to the unhappy kingdom, though it could not, and did not, eradicate the hatred of Don Pedro's charter in the two extreme violent parties already mentioned.

The death of Mr. Canning, in August 1827, seems to have had the immediate effect of reviving the confidence of the anti-constitutionalists. Don Miguel, convinced, it is said, by the representations of the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, saw, all at once, the propriety of returning to Portugal, passing through England in his way. Accordingly, he set out from Vienna with the title of "Regent," which had been substituted by Metternich, some time before, for that of "Lord-Lieutenant." On what law-

* No. xcviii. July, 1833.

ful authority this was done, and why the English ambassador at the Austrian court acquiesced, as he did, in this change, does not appear.

Before he left Vienna, however, Don Miguel wrote to the King of Spain, requesting that monarch to restrain the rebellious proceedings of the Marquess of Chaves—his bosom friend, who had proclaimed him king!

On his arrival in England, Miguel pledged himself to George IV. to execute in all points the dispositions of his brother Pedro regarding Portugal, to maintain the constitution, &c. &c. He induced the late Lord Dudley, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to hasten the final acts connected with the resignation of the Portgueuse throne by his brother, and to delay the withdrawing of the British forces from Lisbon. He contrived to raise the sum of 200,000*l.* in London, and then set sail for Lisbon, where he landed on the 22nd of February, 1828, with fresh protestations of loyalty and constitutionalism on his lips. Yet, within a very few days after his landing, Sir F. Lamb, our ambassador, saw such grounds for doubting the intentions of the prince, that he boldly withheld from him the sum of money that had been raised for him in England.

We hasten over the hurried events that followed—they have nothing to do with the question of right. Miguel was received with raptures by what was decidedly the strongest party in the Portuguese nation, and he recalled the Marquess of Chaves, and his adherents, who had found a friendly asylum in Spain. In the conclaves of the devotees his affairs were soon settled, and this under the very nose of the English army that had been sent by Mr. Canning for the support of constitutional freedom. In a very short time the press of Lisbon teemed with eulogiums of Miguel, who was likened to the archangel Michael: and his right to the throne of Portugal, to the exclusion of his niece and affianced bride, Donna Maria, was openly asserted. At the same time the pulpit, infinitely more influential than the press in Portugal, resounded with his praises, and with denunciations of the whole Masonic, *i. e.*, the Constitutional party. So early as the 26th April, Miguel received addresses from sundry assemblies of absolutists, inviting him to assume the crown, and the prince, in a reply in which he used the royal style for the first time, called these "*faithful* addresses." He then convoked, by a royal circular, the ancient Cortes of the country, ordering the different electoral presidents to refuse the votes of all those suspected of being inimical to the true principles of legitimacy, or admirers of new institutions, and to permit the election of those only "who had in view the service of God and of the Throne." Such a Cortes did all that was expected from it, and Don Miguel ascended the throne not merely as king, but as ABSOLUTE king, in less than two months after his landing at Lisbon.

We now take up the cause of Don Miguel as represented by his advocates. According to their showing, Don Pedro had no right to the throne himself, and consequently no faculty of remitting it to his daughter Donna Maria. To prove this they quote the laws of the Cortes of Lamego—the fundamental act of the Portuguese monarchy—which expressly provide that none but a Portuguese can inherit the crown of Portugal. To shape their facts to meet this ancient law, they assert that Don Pedro, by accepting the separate sovereignty of Brazil, and by declaring and waging war against Portugal, as he has done in America, has lost his nationality, and ceased to be a Portuguese. Further, they appeal to a more modern, but not less fundamental law of Portugal. This last law was promulgated by the King and the three estates of the realm, at the establishment of the kingdom under the house of Braganza in 1640, when (which they do not state) the motives which induced the limiting of the succession arose from fears that the crown of Portugal might again revert to Spain, the country which is now most urgent in support of a law which was meant for the perpetual exclusion of its princes from the Portuguese throne. The instrument referred to confirms the resolutions of the Cortes of Lamego generally, and the question of succession is explicitly determined in these words—"The succession of this kingdom shall not, at any time, come to a foreign prince, nor to his children, notwithstanding they may be the next of kin to the last king in possession." These words, say Don Miguel's advocates, seem to have been devised on purpose to meet the exact case. They insist that Don Pedro, though next of kin to John VI., has made himself a foreign prince, and thereby excluded himself and his children for ever. They again quote from the same law,—

"And further, when it happens that the sovereign of these realms of Portugal shall succeed to any larger kingdom or lordship, he shall always be bound to reside in this; and having two or more male children, the eldest shall succeed to the foreign kingdom, and the second, to this one of Portugal."

And again, continuing to draw from the same source, they say, that the instrument provides that in case the king has but one son, then Portugal shall be separated, and go to that son's children on the conditions before-mentioned; and in case the king leaves only daughters, then the eldest daughter shall succeed to Portugal, on condition of marrying a native Portuguese selected by the Cortes. And if such daughter do not fulfil this condition, then the Cortes shall elect a native Portuguese for their king.

Having summed up all these arguments, Don Miguel's supporters maintain, that both the letter and spirit of these fundamental laws are decidedly in favour of that prince—that the dominions of Portugal having been, during the lifetime of John VI., split into two distinct and independent realms, Don Pedro, as elder son, and his descendants, inherited Brazil, or the foreign kingdom; and that Don Miguel, as younger son, was legitimate successor to the throne of Portugal.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

SIX Reports on Public Petitions have been issued since our last publication, numbered from 29 to 34. In the following abstract the number of petitions and signatures is the total amount during the session, unless the contrary is specified.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	44	25421
Against the septennial act	19	9889
Complaining of proceedings at the Preston election	1	6491
Relating to the borough of Warwick	2	743
Against the operation of the Scotch reform act	1	168
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the sabbath	1159	276092
Against the sabbath observance bill	22	2915
For better regulating the established church in Wales	7	2997
Against Irish church temporalities bill	119	11206
For removal of religious disabilities	120	23851
Against lay patronage in Scotland	154	67161
For appointing in Ireland clergymen who speak Irish	5	54
For abolition of tithes in Ireland	70	22812
For abolition of tithes in England	46	17796
Against tithes commutation bill	20	6469
Against church establishments	10	21712
For reform in church of England	8	5235
Against removal of disabilities from the Jews	5	282
Against tithe composition act (Ireland)	3	302
Taxes.		
For repeal of the corn laws	22	26322
Against alteration in corn laws	3	783
For repeal of the malt tax	124	41223
Against the house and window tax	124	69255
Against taxes on knowledge	19	13392
Against tax on soap	39	5478
Against alteration in timber duties	2	128
Against the assessed taxes	47	19924
Against stamps on receipts	24	8397
Against the tax on carts	22	3360
Against various other taxes—none of these are included in any former enumeration	14	6542
Ireland.		
Against the new system of education	16	1548
In favour of ditto	1	2
In favour of grand juries bill	4	468
For introduction of poor laws	20	3422
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	4986	1302110
Against renewal of East India Company's charter	5	2516
Against the retail beer act	215	30084
In favour of ditto	17	14246
For alteration of criminal laws	25	7638
Against general register bill	31	3668

Against highways bill	20	2627
Relating to the Scots burgh bill	67	7848
Consideration of law respecting sugar-refining	12	1927
Complaining of abuses in corporations	128	72240
Complaining of distress	21	8137
Against naval and military flogging	3	1113
For a legislative regulation of wages for hand-loom weaving	55	50044
For the release of Carlile, Taylor, and others confined for libels, &c.	41	11317
In favour of factories regulation bill	129	191767
Against ditto	21	2670
Against the Bank of England charter	8	1243
Against the bankrupt (Scotland) bill *	7	256
Against rating of tenements bill	8	2489
In favour of ditto	2	65
Against imprisonment for debt	2	113
Praying for a charter to London University	8	1213
In favour of notaries public bill	5	260
Against ditto	13	85
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the publication of the last Companion to the Newspaper	135	14701

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

TRADE.—*Wool.*—The quantity of foreign wool imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1832 was 28,142,489 lbs.; of which 555,014 lbs. was re-exported. Of the above quantity imported 19,832,225 lbs. was from Germany, and 2,377,057 lbs. from New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Swan River.

During the same period the British wool exported was 4,199,825 lbs.; and the woollen yarn 2,204,464 lbs. The total declared value of British woollen manufactures was 5,244,472*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* This amount was distributed as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Russia	144,997	0	0
Sweden	4,966	2	0
Norway	7,691	18	9
Denmark	1,380	0	0
Prussia	626	10	0
Germany	816,718	12	0
Umted Netherlands	389,910	2	6
France	43,186	12	0
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira	96,625	6	0
Spain and the Canaries	62,472	14	0
Gibraltar	25,681	0	0
Italy	194,081	11	0
Malta	8,077	10	0
Ionian Islands	2,322	0	0
Turkey and Continental Greece	27,829	5	8
Morea and Greek Islands	140	0	0
Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man	40,954	10	0
East Indies and China	696,073	8	4
New Holland	35,657	5	0
Cape of Good Hope	41,766	10	0
Other parts of Africa	12,890	19	0
British Colonies in North America	262,436	9	5
——— West Indies	92,902	15	6
United States of America	1,420,642	18	8
Foreign West Indies	66,519	5	0
Brazil	210,163	8	0
Mexico, and South American States	437,762	0	0

Refined Sugar.—The quantity of British refined sugar exported from the port of London during the quarter ended April 5, 1833, was 53,783 cwts. 21 lbs.; and during the quarter ended July 5, 1833, 35,862 cwts. 2 qrs. 27 lbs.

Newspaper Stamps.—The number of stamps issued for all the London Newspapers, from the commencement of 1832, to March 31, 1833, was 26,588,050. The number issued in Ireland during the same period was, 5,718,600.

Clocks and Watches.—Foreign clocks and watches are rated *ad valorem*, and therefore their number cannot be ascertained, nor is any distinction made between wooden and metal clocks in the Custom-house entries. During the following years the imports of foreign clocks and watches, have been valued as follows; we also give the value of the re-exports during the same periods:

	Clocks. Imported.			Clocks. Re-exported.			Watches. Imported.			Watches. Re-exported.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1825	16,074	6	2	660	0	0	833	18	4	442	10	0
1826	15,351	19	4	368	10	0	795	10	0	576	5	0
1827	15,509	10	3	270	0	0	594	3	0	249	10	0
1828	23,502	14	0	620	13	6	2146	17	0	1750	15	0
1829	24,820	13	11	720	2	0	3043	5	0	2838	15	0
1830	27,091	8	0	1370	14	0	2399	1	0	2278	0	0
1831	25,536	9	6	830	10	0	2688	2	0	2509	0	0
1832	25,332	6	0	1053	10	0	2298	4	0	2088	5	0

In the same years, the declared value of British clocks exported has been 4994*l.*, 5264*l.*, 5124*l.*, 6963*l.*, 8031*l.*, 5409*l.*, 3168*l.*, 3484*l.*; and the number of British watches exported has been 7098*l.*, 6697*l.*, 9258, 8603*l.*, 8633*l.*, 10,943*l.*, and 18,678.

Debtors.—In 1831 the number of warrants for debt against the person was, in Middlesex, 14,909; in Surrey, not stated; in 1832, in Middlesex, 13,355; in Surrey, not stated. The number of warrants on mesne process was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 11,800; in Surrey, 2161: in 1832, in Middlesex, 10,534; in Surrey, 2263. The number of warrants on writs of execution was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 3050; in Surrey, 628: in 1832, in Middlesex, 3021; in Surrey, 515. The number of bailable processes executed was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 5373; in Surrey, 1176: in 1832, in Middlesex, 5327; in Surrey, 1115.

The numbers of prisoners committed for debt to the different metropolitan prisons on mesne process, judgments recovered, or costs of suits, excluding crown debtors and prisoners for contempt of court, during the years 1831 and 1832, were as follows: the account is made up to the end of December, 1832, the number in custody is that of January 1, 1833.

To the King's Bench, in 1831, 1054; in 1832, 812; remaining in custody, 393.

To the Fleet, in 1831, 503; in 1832, 681; remaining in custody, 255.

To the Marshalsea, in 1831, 585; in 1832, 635; remaining in custody, 133.

To Whitecross Street, in 1831, 1901; in 1832, 1940; remaining in custody, 493.

To Whitecross Street, on processes issuing out of the Courts of Requests, in 1831, 1370, the amount of whose debts was 1374*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; and the amount of costs 548*l.*; in 1832, 1443, the amount of whose debts was 1282*l.* 6*s.* 1*d*; and the amount of costs 541*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The estimated annual expenditure for the maintenance of the Court of Request prisoners is 390*l.*

To Horsemonger Lane, in 1831, 339; in 1832, 332; remaining in custody, 69.

To Horsemonger Lane, on process out of the Courts of Request, in 1831, 1120, whose debts were 2417*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*, and the amount of costs 696*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*; in 1832, 945, whose debts were 2039*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, and the amount of costs 566*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* The amount paid for the maintenance of these prisoners was, in 1831, 208*l.*, and in 1832, 226*l.*

* These are all the petitions and signatures which are enumerated. In the thirty-second report, the numbers are made to be of petitions brought from preceding report 193, signatures 23 [illegible]; but these numbers appear to have been taken by mistake from the twenty-ninth report, where the same figures appear to the petitions and signatures against the bear bill, being the entry immediately below the only petition mentioned against the bankrupt bill. This error is carried on in the succeeding figures.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, GROOMBRIDGE, *Panyer-alley, Paternoster-row.*

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Martin.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkins & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.

Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Glasgow, Atkinson & Co.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 9. SEPTEMBER 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Session of Parliament .	129	Reforms in the Court of Chancery	137
Reduction of Taxation . . .	131	New Municipal Corporations .	138
Repeal and Reduction of Assessed Taxes	132	Public Petitions	138
Places of Recreation for the Inhabitants of Great Towns .	133	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	139
Duties on Tea	136	Stamped and Unstamped Publications	143
Apothecaries' Act and Royal College of Surgeons . . .	137		

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

In the preceding pages of the Companion to the Newspaper will be found ample accounts of nearly all the leading subjects that have engaged the attention of Parliament since it commenced its deliberations; but now that the long and laborious session whose progress we have accompanied is about to close, it will be desirable that we look back upon the ground over which we have passed, and endeavour to place before ourselves and our readers, in one distinct and comprehensive view, the whole amount of what has been done by the legislature in the period of nearly seven months to which its labours have extended. Such a retrospect on the present occasion claims no common importance. The session, whose course we are about to review, is the first produce of the Reform Act; it is the only experimental test we yet have of the character of that measure. It is also the first in which the present ministry have had an opportunity of carrying into practical exemplification any of the other professions, except that of parliamentary reform, upon which they accepted office. It may be regarded, therefore, as affording us the means of judging, both of their sincerity in these professions, and of their capacity for the government of this great nation. It is extremely interesting, considered in either of these two points of view.

But before proceeding to our summary of the work of the session, we would submit one or two general observations.

It has happened in the course of the present sessions, as it has usually done heretofore, that a good many measures have been brought under the notice of Parliament, and have met with more or less of acceptance, which yet, owing to various causes, have not been carried through the two Houses. In some cases the bill has been withdrawn, that it might be introduced in another session, with modifications, or in circumstances giving it a better chance of success. In other cases, after having been allowed to pass through some of its stages, it has been thrown out on a subsequent one by a vote of the House. Now what we would remark is, that these efforts, though they do not terminate in actual legislation, are by no means to be reckoned as going for nothing in the business of reforming the laws and institutions of the state. In working a great effect, it is not the last blow only that tells. A bill which after making its way through one of the two houses is rejected in the other, is lost indeed for the present; but for the present only. Its success eventually may be counted upon as certain. Who doubted, for example, that Catholic Emancipation would be carried after the lapse of a few years through both houses, from the day when the bill was first read a third time in the House of Commons? Who supposed that the Reform Bill could be effectually resisted by the Lords, after the other house had given it their sanction? And so it will be, for example, with the bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Jews, which was this year lost in the Lords after having passed the Commons. In the next, or in some early session, the measure will force its way through both houses. Nay, the same ultimate success, though perhaps later in arriving, may be confidently predicted even for some of the other reforms attempted in the course of the present session, which did not make quite so much progress as the one we have just instanced. Let but a bill involving a new principle reach a second reading in either house, and its speedy passage into a law is sure. Indeed, by the usage of Parliament, the principle of the measure when it has got this length is considered as having been acquiesced in by the House, and after that the only pretence of opposition lying in objections to the details is soon overcome. Such will be the case, we may anticipate, with the Local Courts Bill, which the Lords threw out this session on the third reading. They will probably pass it the next. And, generally, if any proposed innovation really deserving of adoption shall only have commanded so much attention as to have been once formally debated, that is a point, and a great point, gained for it. The vote, even on this first hearing, may be against it; but the argument may possibly for all that be in its favour; and at any rate it is no longer something new and strange, to be regarded with indifference or contempt by most,—by some, perhaps, with the exaggerated aversion or dread inspired by the distant and unknown:—it has been, as it were, introduced—it has acquired what may be called a standing—custom has made it familiar to those who most shrunk from it—it may, in one word, have divers other obstacles to encounter, but the first and most formidable are overcome.

Secondly, we would say, in reference to the cry that has been raised on the subject of the moderation of this first reformed Parliament, that this is the very last complaint which any considerate friend of the Reform Bill will make. An opponent of that measure might be conceived to lament that it has not been yet followed by any symptoms of the precipitation and recklessness in the remodelled legislature which he had expected, and perhaps confidently predicted, would be its immediate consequences. To him it might have been gratifying to see changes in every department of the state urged by our new representatives with so impetuous a hand, as to threaten, by the rapidity with which it was made to revolve, to set the whole machine in a blaze. There was, no doubt, reason to apprehend that some tendency of this kind might show itself. The Parliament might have been animated by a spirit similar to that which rages in some of our newspapers for constant movement and indiscriminate destruction. The awakened popular strength that had accomplished the great pull, might have been unable to restrain itself when it got to the top of the ascent, and might have dashed furiously on, breaking every thing to pieces, till it had been arrested by mere exhaustion, or the universal ruin it had made had stopped its further progress. If the first session of the reformed Parliament had exhibited any thing like the commencement of such a course as this, whose alone would have been the triumph?—Their's, undoubtedly, who in speeches, in pamphlets, in newspapers, in caricatures, prophesied incessantly that this very thing would happen. And whose would have been the gain?—Their's only whose plans of private advantage are formed upon the prospect of public confusion—that is, of the greatest, because involving the greatest number of sufferers, of all national calamities. For those who indulge in no such profligate speculations, it is far better that improvement for a time should even move with somewhat of a tardy pace, than that such a risk should be incurred. It is but the loss of a little time. If the direction in which things are proceeding is the right one, it is but a little matter, however it be viewed, that a certain change, or number of changes, which might apparently have been effected this year, should be deferred till another; whereas, on the other hand, the rate of the progress being comparatively of no importance, its certainty and its safety are everything.

If the reform that has been effected in the representation be good for anything, it will inevitably carry us forward in time through all other reforms, provided it shall not itself break down or be overturned. This is the only danger. Of

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

great political changes it may almost be said, that none which come suddenly are good, and none which come gradually are bad. The degree of preparation by which they have been preceded is the most important of the elements that determine their character. Let the best constitution that human wisdom can devise be given to a people not ripe for it, and it will be a curse instead of a blessing. No constitution indeed can be called good or bad abstractedly, and without reference to the condition of those among whom it is to be established. To set this in a strong light, let any one think what would be the result of the experiment of introducing such a constitution as that of Great Britain into New Zealand. Indeed, from the nature of the thing, a representative government can only be advantageous when the public to be represented is intelligent and virtuous. In other circumstances a despotism is better than a free constitution. The one form of government is as natural and as beneficial in an early, as the other is in a later stage of civilization. And the same thing is true of the different degrees of freedom. One degree may be the best now; a higher fifty or a hundred years hence. Such changes may be unwisely forced on, as well as unwisely kept back. Desirable as they might be on other accounts, they may be rendered pernicious by being premature.

Besides, there is this peculiarity attending all changes in national arrangements, that while the benefits by which they are compensated are for the most part removed to some distance, or only to be fully gathered in a long course of time, the inconvenience which they produce (and they always produce some inconvenience, often a great deal) is immediate. It is a heavy outlay to be undergone, long before there can be any returns. Hence the evident impossibility of a country standing a multitude of changes operated all at once. The remote advantages may be ever so great, but the present pressure of the cost at which they are to be obtained cannot be borne. It is the case of an individual who, in order to give himself a chance of some prospective good, should involve himself in a present expenditure which brings upon him utter ruin, and thereby puts it out of his power ever to pursue the speculation upon which he had entered. In the same manner, by the attempt to change too many things at the same time, a nation might occasion such extensive derangement in the relations of society, that total anarchy would overtake it before it could reap any of the advantages which it had promised itself from its various reforms. These things must therefore be proceeded with as the country can bear the cost. Order and gradual progress, which are so indispensable to the success of all other great operations, must not be disregarded here, or a fearful rush of mischiefs will soon avenge the rash and presumptuous experiment.

We hold, then, that in the sobriety which has distinguished the first reformed House of Commons, a point has been gained of the very first importance, both for the country, and for the character of the measure of Reform itself. The country has been carried in safety through a crisis of no little difficulty and danger; and the Reform Bill has been in so far vindicated from the heaviest charge which its opponents brought against it. Although, however, none of the precipitancy that might have been apprehended has been displayed by the new Parliament, the operations of the session have neither been few nor of slight importance, as we shall now proceed to show.

In the first place, four of the greatest questions that ever came before the legislature have been all settled in this one session. If nothing more had been done, the session would have been one of the most remarkable on record. An extensive reform effected in the Irish Church—a new government given to India—the terms of a new charter arranged for the Bank of England—and a termination assigned to West Indian Slavery, these are the measures that will make the first session of the first reformed Parliament for ever memorable. The questions that have been thus set at rest, are all questions that had been long and warmly agitated—that were encompassed with difficulties—in regard to which, powerful private interests were opposed to the changes demanded by the public voice. The plans for their settlement, brought forward in Parliament by Ministers, and supported in all their leading provisions by the majority of both Houses, were debated, at every stage through which they had to pass, with unusual keenness and pertinacity; and, except that for the reform of the Irish Church, were also each of them the subject of much correspondence, and negotiation in other forms, with public bodies out of doors. But what is the character of the new arrangements that have been made in the case of each? That is the important point. Are these arrangements of a liberal or of an illiberal complexion? Do they carry us forward, or send us a stage back, or only leave us where we were, in the career of improvement and civilization? It is not to be denied, that they one and all at least advance us in the right direction, as far as they go. Some might wish that they had gone farther; but even those who object most to the small quantity of the change will not object to its quality. The Irish establishment has been reduced so as to be considerably more in proportion to the numbers of the population connected with it; one of the most irritating of the imposts, too, by which it was supported, the vestry cess, has been abolished. In the new East India Charter, the monopoly of the China trade has been taken from the Company, the right has been secured to every British subject of visiting and residing at any of the presidencies, and the native and the European have for the first time been declared equal before the law. In the terms upon which the Charter of the Bank is to be renewed, the rate at which it is paid for the management of the national debt is to be reduced: provision is to be made for securing the regular publication of its accounts, and that part of its former monopoly, or supposed monopoly, which gave it the power of preventing the establishment of banks of deposit having more than six partners within sixty-five miles of London, is to be taken from it. The West Indian negro is not to be immediately made absolutely free; but he is to be immediately released from some of the hardest and most degrading distinctions of his present condition, and a period is fixed, which a few years will bring round, when he is to be as free as we are in England. All children of slaves now under six years of age, and all who shall hereafter be born, are declared already free.

What then is the spirit in which all these measures are conceived? Is it not that of reform and a liberal policy? When before, indeed, was so much gained for the cause of humanity and right government, in any single session since England had a legislature?

But many matters of great public importance, in addition to these chief ones, have received the attention of Parliament during the present session. First of all are to be mentioned the measures that have achieved the pacification of Ireland. For we do not use language too strong, when we say that, strenuously and obstinately as these measures were resisted in their passage through Parliament, they have effectually accomplished their purpose, and are at this moment regarded as having been the salvation of the unhappy country to which they have been applied, by all men there whose party passions do not make them blind and insensible to the most obvious considerations of common sense, as well as to everything that is passing before their eyes. The Act for the Suppression of Disturbances has indeed taken from the people of Ireland for a time some political rights of which they were nominally in the possession: but they were rights, the free exercise of which had been long before completely prevented by a tyranny far worse than that of the most despotic law. That tyranny is now put down, and the country has been brought to a state in which it is possible to live in it—in which families may retire to rest at night without the apprehension of being called up before daybreak by the light of their burning roofs, and the yells of a crew of savages come to batter out their brains, or to cut their throats, in the midst of the flames. But coercive measures are not the only ones that have been applied to Ireland. In addition to the reform of the church already mentioned, both her grand and her petty jury systems have been amended and liberalized, and both tribunals brought in their functions, as well as in their mode of election, more under the control of the public voice.

Passing now from Ireland to England, we here find a crowd of salutary changes in the law, either effected in the course of this session, or so far advanced towards accomplishment, that their speedy completion may be looked upon as certain. Besides the bill already noticed for the emancipation of the Jews, which, after the discussion it has undergone, and the large majorities by which it was carried through the House of Commons, cannot be long prevented from passing into a law, we have to add to the victories of religious liberty, which the last few years have witnessed, the admission of the first member of the Society of Friends

into Parliament, his affirmation at the table being accepted instead of the usual oaths; and the two bills for giving the force of an oath in all cases whatever to the affirmation of Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists. A bill for the permission of the marriages of Roman Catholics by their own clergymen in England, and another for the repeal of certain old penalties affecting clergymen of that church in Ireland, which, after having passed the Commons, are now in the House of Lords, are also to be reckoned as coming under the same head.

Among the general improvements again that have been effected in the law, may be enumerated the bill for securing to the author of a dramatic piece a share in the profits of his own performance; the bill by which a power is given to the judges to regulate and reform the rules of pleading in the common law courts; that for diminishing the expense of commissions of lunacy, and the better care of lunatics; the Solicitor General's five bills for the amendment of the law of real property; those for the amendment and consolidation of the highway laws, and the sewer laws; that for the better regulation of the police magistracy of the metropolis: and that for the diminution of the expense of the metropolitan police, by throwing a part of it upon the consolidated fund, or the general income of the country. All these either have passed into laws, or are certain to receive the sanction of the legislature before the session breaks up. Other measures of the same description, that have been lost or withdrawn for the present, but which have been so supported this session that their success in another may be reckoned upon as almost certain, are the bill for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act, that for the regulation of dramatic performances, that for the admission of evidence to the truth of the statement complained against in defences against prosecutions for libel, that for the remodelling of the patent law, that for the establishment of a general registry of deeds, that for the repeal of the Apothecaries' Act, that for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and that for giving to prisoners charged with felonies the aid of counsel in making their defence. To these add the very important bill already mentioned, for the establishment of local courts, which it is to be hoped another session will not elapse without seeing passed into a law. Several most valuable improvements of the laws and institutions of the northern part of the island have also been the work of this session, or will be completed before its close. We may mention in particular the acts for the reform of the royal burghs, and for the election of magistrates and councils in the parliamentary burghs: that for the establishment of a police in the towns of Scotland, and that for the establishment of small debt courts. Reforms of the Court of Session, of the Bankruptcy laws, of the Sheriff courts, and of the system of entails, have also more or less engaged the attention of the legislature, and have formed the subject of bills, which, after having been advanced some stages, have only been withdrawn for the present to be introduced again in another session.

The principal legislative measures of a commercial character, which have been passed during the present session, are ten bills introduced by Mr. Rice, being chiefly additions to and completions of as many consolidation acts, passed in 1825. Their titles are,—1. To regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad: 2. For the registering of British vessels; 3. For granting duties of Customs; 4. For the management of the Customs; 5. To grant certain bounties and allowances of Customs; 6. For the general regulation of the Customs; 7. For regulating the trade of the Isle of Man; 8. For the warehousing of goods; 9. For the prevention of smuggling; and 10. For the encouragement of British shipping and navigation. These bills, although they introduce no important innovations into our commercial law, are extremely valuable as codifications of several large branches of it. The measure of the session, of course, by which the commerce of the country will be most affected, is the bill for opening the trade to China. We may also, however, mention under this head the bill for permitting sugar to be imported into this country duty free and warehoused, in order to be refined for exportation, which has passed both Houses. The reductions of taxation that have been effected during the session we have noticed in another place.

This rapid statement, in which of course many minor matters are omitted, is enough, we think, to vindicate the legislature from the charge frequently brought against it, of having, during the long period it has sat, done little real business. There certainly has been a good deal of oratory, and some perhaps that could have been spared; but there has been a great deal of hard working too, and much actual legislation of a most useful and important kind. Indeed, if the character as well as the amount of what has been done be taken into consideration, we believe the present session may be favourably compared with any of its predecessors.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The reduction of the government expenditure to the lowest amount consistent with the public interests, is important in various other ways, as well as in an economical point of view. It operates to diminish government patronage, and, as much as any thing else perhaps that can be done, to satisfy popular feeling. A very interesting and valuable statement upon this subject has lately been laid before the public, in the corrected report of a speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 16th of July, by Mr. Spring Rice, one of the secretaries to the Treasury, in which the right honourable gentleman took a comprehensive, and, at the same time, a very minute review of all the reductions, both in expenditure and in taxation, that had been made since the peace. The account comprehends, of course, not only what has been done in the present session, but all that has been effected by the present ministers since they came into office, compared with what had been effected by their predecessors.

The Finance Committee, which sat in 1817, estimated the lowest amount to which the votes in supply for the army, navy, and miscellaneous expenditure could then be reduced, at 17,350,000*l.* It was some time, however, before the amount actually voted was brought down to this limit; and, indeed, from having, for 1818, been 18,970,959*l.*, it rose to be, for 1820, 19,673,717*l.* For 1822, it was for the first time below the estimate, being only 16,679,633*l.*; and for 1823, it was only 15,878,313*l.* But by 1827, it had risen again to 18,745,360*l.*; nor was it again so low as the estimate till 1830, for which year it was 16,648,762*l.* For 1831, it was 17,782,487*l.*; but for 1832 it was only 15,411,571*l.*; and the amount voted this year has been still lower, being only 14,622,219*l.* This is a reduction below the estimate of the Finance Committee of no less than 2,727,981*l.*, and below the amount voted for 1820, of more than five millions. Even upon the last two years it is a reduction of above three millions.

The whole actual government expenditure of last year was 44,922,000*l.*; but of this amount 32,949,000*l.* went to pay the interest on the national debt, and what is called the dead weight, being the annuity paid to the Bank in return for which it undertakes to defray the half-pay of the army and navy, and the retired and superannuation charges for civil officers. The whole sum, therefore, upon which reductions could be made, amounted to somewhat less than twelve millions of net revenue; or, adding the expense of collection, to about 12,800,000*l.* This is the whole sum upon which must be saved the difference between the votes in supply for the last and for the present year, which is very nearly eight hundred thousand pounds. That is to say, the reduction which has been made in one year upon the whole reducible expenditure of the country, is at the rate of nearly six per cent., or about a sixteenth part of the whole.

From another of the tables given in Mr. Rice's speech, it appears that the whole net amount of taxes repealed, expired, or reduced, from 1814 to 1832, was 39,931,856*l.*; and that the amount of the additional imposts proposed to be repealed in 1833, is 1,545,000*l.*; making a total of 41,476,856*l.* Meanwhile the taxes imposed have amounted only to 5,813,118*l.*; so that the actual amount of relief given has been not less than 35,663,738*l.* This is the difference between the annual pressure on the public at the close of the war and at present.

Of this diminution of taxation, a portion amounting to about 3,335,000*l.* has been effected since the present ministry came into office, or within the last three years. This sum has been remitted in the shape of a repeal of the duties on printed cottons, coals, and slates; candles, tiles, fire-insurances of farming stock, small receipt stamps, land-tax on personal estates, pamphlets, travellers or riders, clerks, bookkeepers, officemen, overseers, managers, shepherds, warehousemen, cellarmen, tax-carts, and horses of market-gardeners; and by a reduction of those on hemp, drugs, marine-insurances, advertisements, soap, cotton, wool, and

the houses of shopkeepers, licensed victuallers, and those rented from 10*l.* to 18*l.* The only tax imposed by the present ministry has been one on cotton wool, yielding a revenue of 300,000*l.* We give Mr. Rice's separate statement of the reductions that have been proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the present session:—

Tiles	£37,000
Marine-insurances	100,000
Advertisements	75,000
Assessed-taxes and farming stock	440,000
Cotton wool	300,000
Soap	593,000
Total	£1,545,000

The reductions which thus appear to have been made by the present government are to be considered, be it remembered, in connexion with the circumstance that they have been made in the comparatively narrow field for economy left to them by the reductions of preceding administrations. Upon this point Mr. Rice remarks—"The late government (that of the Duke of Wellington), in its disposition towards economy, carried reductions in many departments as far as, under the circumstances, and at that time, it might be considered prudent or proper to go. I have never undervalued the reductions of the late government: but the bolder were their economical measures, the greater, of course, the difficulty of effecting further reductions; and, therefore, when the merit of the late government in this particular is fully admitted, I trust that, without presumption, I am entitled to take credit, on behalf of those with whom I serve, for the additional merit of carrying these economical principles into fuller effect."

But the most interesting part of Mr. Rice's statement is that which relates to the extensive reductions in the establishments of the several public offices, which have been made within the last few years. As the details which he submitted as to this matter were derived from accounts which have since been printed by order of the House of Commons, we have given the official document referred to among our Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers.

It appears that since 1821, the number of persons employed in the public offices has been reduced by no fewer than 5689, occasioning an annual diminution of expense to the amount of 1,206,189. In this work the present ministry are shown by Mr. Rice to have at least equalled their predecessors in zeal and activity. The reductions made in 1828, 1829, and 1830 comprehended 909 persons, with salaries amounting to 106,177*l.*; but those made in 1831 and 1832, comprehended 1265 persons, and salaries to the amount of 219,968*l.* per annum. While the average salary of the persons dismissed by the late Government, therefore, was only 116*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*, that of those whose places have been abolished by the present Government has been 226*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*—showing that the present Government is that, by which appointments of high or considerable value have been most liberally sacrificed. This is further proved by another paper to which Mr. Rice refers—a separate return of the reductions that have been made within the last three years on salaries amounting to 1000*l.* and upwards. This return comprehends the Treasury, the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State, the President of the Council, the Board of Trade, the Board of Control, the Privy Seal, the Admiralty, and officers in the Customs, Excise, Post Office, Stamps, and Taxes, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and various other great offices. When the present ministry entered office, the annual salaries derived from these offices amounted to 315,649*l.*; of this sum 148,906*l.* has since been reduced, being not far from one-half of the whole. To this is to be added a saving of 50,000*l.* per annum on the diplomatic expenditure of the country, which has within the same period been reduced from 178,000*l.* to 127,000*l.* Altogether, therefore, these higher salaries have been diminished full 40 per cent., or by an annual sum of little less than 200,000*l.*

Again, in the collection of the revenue, according to Mr. Rice, between the years 1820 and 1833, a saving has been effected to the amount of half a million annually; and, by further reductions, which are at present under consideration, it is expected that 76,490*l.* more will be saved.

These facts sufficiently prove, that the pledges of economy with which the present ministers came into office have not been so entirely forgotten by them as some of our public censors, speaking from vague general impressions, or in wilful ignorance of what has been done, have been in the habit of asserting. It is true that the Government and the Parliament have not carried their zeal for the diminution of expenditure so far as either to violate national engagements, to destroy the efficiency of the public service, or in any other way to injure the interests and the honour, which is one of the first interests, of the country. If this be what any person means by economy, he may possibly not be satisfied either with what has been done, or with the disposition that has been shown. Those, for instance, who, acknowledging the claims of the national creditor, are fond of recommending what they call an equitable adjustment,—that is, in plain language, the substitution for the actual terms of the bargain between the two parties, of some other terms dictated merely by the will of one of them,—and those who, proceeding upon a simpler principle, would at once sponge out the debt altogether, will doubtless look upon the retrenchments of the present ministry as very superficial work. But with others it will be their recommendation, that they have not cut into the vitals of the state. The operation of getting rid of what is either morbid or superfluous has evidently, at any rate, been conducted without any wish to spare that of which governments are usually most tender, their own emoluments and patronage. After the sweeping reductions that have been made in the public offices, it is hardly to be expected that much more can be accomplished in this department. The number of persons employed is probably already as low as the necessities of the duties to be performed will permit. But other sources remain, from which we may look for a gradual reduction of the national burdens. As the holders of such sinecures as still exist drop off, their places will not be filled up; and in all other cases, in which the legal or equitable claims of the present possessors have prevented any interference with emoluments that might otherwise have been withdrawn or reduced, the principle of retrenchment will eventually be as fully applied as it has already been in other cases not sheltered by any such claim of exemption. But the chief process to which we must look for any considerable lightening of the load of taxation, is the reduction of the expenses of the army and navy. The domestic circumstances of the country, and especially the state of Ireland, have hitherto made it necessary to keep up a military establishment of certainly large amount for a time of peace: but we may hope that the permanent restoration of tranquillity, and the supremacy of the law, will ere long allow a large part of the existing apparatus of coercion to be dispensed with. This would be economy too; but it would be also something still better than economy.

REPEAL AND REDUCTION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

MOST of our readers are, no doubt, aware that a bill was some time ago brought into the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the reduction of certain of the duties on dwelling-houses, and the entire repeal of certain other of the Assessed Taxes. It has since been intimated by Lord Althorp that, in compliance with the strongly expressed desire of the public, the government will next year, if the state of the revenue shall permit, consent to the total repeal of the house and window taxes; but it is, nevertheless, important in the mean time, that the nature and amount of the reduction which it is at present proposed to make should be accurately understood. By an act passed in 1823, persons in trade were already partially relieved from the window-tax, no charge being made upon them for any number of windows not exceeding three in any shop or warehouse, in the front, and on the ground story of any dwelling-house occupied by them, provided that any goods, wares, or merchandise were exposed to sale in such shop or warehouse. It is now proposed to be enacted by way of additional relief, that from the 5th of April, 1833, where persons in trade occupy part of any tenement as a place of residence, and carry on their trade in another part of it, the latter being a shop or warehouse, such as is referred to in the act of 1823, they shall be exempted from half the entire duty chargeable by the present law on the rent, or annual value of the tenement, provided that their names be conspicuously and legibly painted on or affixed to the front. It is also proposed that, after the same date, the duties on all other descriptions of houses, if the rent be 10*l.*, shall be reduced from their present amount of 15*s.* to 10*s.*; if the rent be 11*l.*, from 16*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.*; if

the rent be 12*l.*, from 18*s.* to 14*s.*; if the rent be 13*l.*, from 19*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.*; if the rent be 14*l.*, from 21*s.* to 18*s.*; if the rent be 15*l.*, from 22*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.*; if the rent be 16*l.*, from 24*s.* to 22*s.*; if the rent be 17*l.*, from 25*s.* 6*d.* to 24*s.*; and if the rent be 18*l.*, from 27*s.* to 26*s.* The reduction is not to extend to higher-rented houses. The relief, however, inconsiderable as it is in each case, will be somewhat extensively diffused—the number of houses rented at 20*l.* and under, and paying the duty, being, in 1830, 208,794.

By this bill, likewise, it is proposed to repeal entirely the duties now payable for male persons employed as travellers, clerks, book-keepers, stewards, bailiffs, overseers, managers, shopmen, warehousemen, porters, and cellarmen. An account of these duties will be found in any almanac under the head of Assessed Taxes. Their total amount in 1831 was 295,111*l.*, having risen to that sum from 264,755*l.*, which it was in 1825, after the duty on occasional waiters had been repealed. In 1824, it was 268,844*l.*, after the rates of duty had been reduced one-half. In 1822, before this reduction, the amount was 596,001*l.*, which was reduced in 1823, to 459,451*l.*, by the repeal of the duty on occasional gardeners and husbandry servants.

The next reduction proposed in the bill is that of the entire duty on certain descriptions of carriages with less than four wheels, the duties on which were last year reduced from 3*l.* 5*s.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* The carriages in question are those kept by any person for his own use, and not for hire or profit, drawn by one horse, and built in certain respects in a manner which is particularly described in the bill. The original price of the carriage must not have exceeded 21*l.*, and it must have the christian and surname of the owner marked upon it in white letters on a black, or in black letters on a white ground, each letter being at least one inch high. If such carriages have springs wholly or in part of metal, they must be used truly and without fraud in the affairs of husbandry, or in the carriage of goods, or in the course of trade, though employed occasionally for riding in.

Finally, it is proposed that the duty on dogs solely employed by shepherds in the care of flocks in which they have a direct interest shall be taken off.

PLACES OF RECREATION FOR THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT TOWNS.

MANY persons hold that the single legitimate object of a government, besides the defence of the country from foreign aggression, is to prevent people from picking one another's pockets, and cutting one another's throats. In other words, their notion is that, with the exception of the arrangements made for the maintenance of the national independence, all public institutions ought to be merely institutions of police: and that the accomplishment of whatever else is desirable, beyond simply the protection of life and property, should be left to the exertions of individuals.

We deem this to be a short sighted and wretched misconception. Without any other government than a system of police to restrain offenders, a people may indeed perhaps continue to exist, and, in favourable circumstances, may even go on increasing in wealth and numbers, and exhibit a considerable show of such prosperity as may grow up without any moral progress. But, thus associated, they can hardly be called a nation. The congregated multitude undertakes none of the grander functions and duties by which a national existence is constituted. For that character is not to be acquired and sustained by either twenty men, or twenty millions of men, entering into an agreement that none of them shall be suffered to do certain things which the majority decide to be improper or inconvenient; but that, as for all other things, any one may do them or refrain from doing them as he pleases. This is for each individual to be merely in a state of neutrality towards the rest. But to exist as a nation implies the being bound together in an association or league for the promotion of some positive ends. The exaltation of the national name, honour, power, and greatness; the generation and sustenance of patriotic sentiment; the diffusion of intelligence, of virtue, and of whatever else contributes to the formation of manliness of character; the production of a style of each of the fine arts, and especially of a literature, which shall as it were taste of the soil, or be impregnated with the peculiar genius of the people; the maintenance and advancement, in one word, of the civilization of the country—these are among the prime functions and purposes which belong to a proper political constitution. It is not perhaps absolutely necessary for the existence of the society that any of these objects should be contemplated in the frame of laws and institutions by which it is held together; as some thousands of convicts are kept in order in the hulks simply by a system of coercion, so possibly may a confluence of some millions of individuals be restrained, at least for some time, without anything better, from utter disorganization. But although not the necessities of a political existence, they are its graces and its decencies, and all which render it really worth possessing. To those who object to any provision being made for these things, on the ground that they are not essential, and ask what need of them, it may be answered with as much truth in reference to a whole people as to an individual—

> "O reason not the need; our basest beggars
> Are in the poorest thing superfluous:
> Allow not nature more than nature needs,
> Man's life is cheap as beast's."

To tell a people, having in their power the means of national aggrandizement and glory, that they ought nevertheless not to attempt the acquisition, because it is merely ornamental and not essential, is quite as shallow and stupid as it would be to advise a man in rags not to trouble himself to procure a better coat, inasmuch as it was probable that his soul and body might hang together quite as long in his present as in any other habiliment. The true answer which goes to the root of all this weak and puerile sophistry is, that power, wherever it exists, is given to be exercised, and that all moral energies tend upwards by a law of nature as indestructible as that of the gravitation of material substances itself. Attempt to restrain the tendency, and the energy itself is impaired or extinguished. Persuade either an individual or a community to cease from all efforts to rise towards greatness, and the very capacity of rising is lost.

But take even a much lower view of the matter; consider it on the narrow principle laid down by the advocates of the opinion we are controverting. We say that even the protection of life and property (allowing, for a moment, that to be the only proper end of a national government) may be most materially promoted by other institutions than those coming under the head of what is commonly called police. The better the people are educated, for example, the more conversant they are made with humanizing and elevating sources of enjoyment, the higher the tone of their moral feelings is raised, the less disposed will they be to idleness, vice, and crime. Carry these other methods to perfection, and let them be applied with sufficient universality, and you may almost expect to supersede altogether the necessity for a police. Lead the popular mind by these various opposite attractions away from the love and the pursuit of crime, and you need no apparatus for the detection and punishment of crime. It is better than punished; it is prevented. Not only are offences checked and put down, offenders themselves are extirpated. And this, which is the most perfect, is also the cheapest process by which disorders can be repressed.

But it is only for a moment that we can admit the protection of life and property to be the sole end worthy of being contemplated in the establishment of a political constitution. We hold the other objects which we have mentioned to be abundantly deserving of being specially provided for, not merely as means or helps towards the attainment of this, but for their own sakes. The ultimate result, which is to be always kept in view, is the exaltation of the national happiness and virtue. The prevention of aggressions against life and property is only one element contributory to this result. It may be powerfully promoted in many other ways. Whatever these are, there is not one of them which a wisely constituted government will neglect. It is only when a people are united upon this comprehensive scheme that they can be rightly said to form a state. With institutions which look no farther than to the mere security of life and property, they have no more right to this name than an individual has to that of a good citizen, on the score simply of being neither a murderer nor a thief. The obligations resting upon a state are extensive and multifarious as are the powers inherent in that assemblage of numbers to which it owes its origin; and the functions with which it is endowed ought to be of the same high order with the duties it is called upon to perform. It ought to be invested with the means of concentrating and calling up into exercise all the public virtue that exists in the community. Its institutions should make provision both for the most effective training and application

of all the better tendencies of society, and for the escape or harmless display of those that are of an opposite character. Where the good and the evil naturally contend together, the institutions of the state should interfere with their influence to give the victory to the former. If there be any principles at work, which let alone would lead to evil, the fabric of the national polity ought to be so constructed as if possible to correct them and turn them to good. In this way alone can a great nation be built up. These views, indeed, would make political science a much larger and more complicated study than it is as exhibited by many of its expositors: but they make also all the difference that there is in this department of speculation between a profound and real comprehension of the subject, and an ignorant and superficial charlatanism. Reduced to practice, the two schemes—that which attends to such considerations, and that which altogether neglects them—are calculated to produce effects as opposite as would probably be produced on the human frame by a nice and difficult surgical operation, according as the knife were applied by a person learned in all the minutiæ of anatomy, or by a half-taught tyro or presuming quack. If nations ever again fall into barbarism, or greatly retrograde in civilization, it will be through their submission to the treatment of the incompetent political doctors, who would thus narrow and lower the whole science of government into a mere affair of police.

We have been led to these remarks by the appearance of what we deem a very gratifying document, namely, the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed soon after the commencement of the present Session, "to consider the best means of securing open spaces in the vicinity of populous towns, as public walks and places of exercise, calculated to promote the health and comfort of the inhabitants." We hold the object here announced to offer a perfectly legitimate case for the interference of the state. It is one which goes directly to promote, not the comfort merely, but the general improvement and civilization of the people. It admits also of being advocated on the ground of its tendency to aid powerfully in the diminution of crime, and the better observance of the law.

In the debate (on the 21st of February) on Mr Slaney's motion for the appointment of this committee, the honourable mover addressed to the House the following striking comparative statement of the increase, during the present century, of the different descriptions of our population. "I hold in my hand," he said, "an abstract from the Population Returns, which shows that, in the first ten years of the present century—from 1800 to 1811—the increase in the population of England and Wales was 15½ per cent.: in the second ten years—from 1810 to 1821—it was 17 per cent.: and during the third ten years—from 1820 to 1831—it was 15½ per cent. During the same interval, the increase of population in London was, in the first ten years, 17 per cent; in the second, 21 per cent.; and in the third, 20 per cent. In Manchester the increase was, in the first ten years, 22 per cent.: in the second, 40 per cent.; and, in the third, 47 per cent. I find that a proportionate increase of population took place in all the great communities of the kingdom, so that, in the course of the thirty years to which I have referred, it appears the increase of population in four rural districts was 30 per cent.; in London it was 58 per cent: in ten of the large manufacturing towns it was 80 per cent.; and in three of the largest manufacturing towns it was no less than 100 per cent., or exactly double." "At the beginning of the present century," Mr. Slaney afterwards remarked, "about one-third of the working population was engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, whilst two-thirds were occupied in agricultural labour. Now, the proportion is exactly reversed, two-thirds being engaged in manufacturing and mechanical employments, and only one-third in rural occupations."

It appears that, owing to various causes—to the improvement in the habits and accommodations of the people, as well as to the advance of medical and surgical science, the health of the general population has greatly increased since the commencement of the last century. From the year 1700 to 1780, the annual amount of deaths was one in thirty-seven of the whole population; from 1780 to 1790 it was one in forty-five; from 1790 to 1810, it was one in fifty-four; and from 1810 to 1820 it was only one in sixty. Notwithstanding the decided rise, however, that has thus taken place in the value of life upon the whole, it would seem that a great difference still exists between the healthiness of our town or manufacturing, and that of our country population. "I hold in my hand," he said, "a statement showing the mortality in different places of persons under twenty years of age. In a healthy country I find the number of deaths to be 3700 out of every 10,000; in a marshy country 4200; in the metropolis 4500, being about four and a half out of ten. in the city of Carlisle, which is partially a manufacturing town, 5600, or rather more than five and a half in ten; in Preston, Stockport, Wigan, Bury, and other places in Lancashire engaged in the cotton trade, the number of deaths is 6000 out of 10,000, that is, six out of ten; whilst in Leeds, where woollen and flax manufactures are carried on, the mortality is rather more than six out of ten; so that six out of ten of the population of the manufacturing towns die before they reach twenty years of age." From these facts the honourable member inferred the necessity of something being done to procure for the inhabitants of our crowded towns some greater means than they now possess of occasionally breathing the fresh air, and enjoying recreation in the open fields during their hours of leisure.

The committee which was appointed in consequence of this motion, sat on eight days between the 9th of March and the 3rd of May inclusive, in the course of which they examined twenty-five witnesses, who gave evidence in reference to thirteen towns, comprising some of the largest in England: namely, London, Bristol, Birmingham, Walsall, Hull, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury in Lancashire, Manchester, and Sheffield. The committee commence their report, dated the 27th of June, by expressing their opinion that, from the evidence which had been adduced before them, the following points may be considered as established, "1st. That during the last half century a very great increase has taken place in the population of large towns, more especially as regards those classes who are, with many of their children, almost continually engaged in manufacturing and mechanical employments. 2nd. That during the same period, from the increased value of property and extension of buildings, many inclosures of open spaces in the vicinity of towns have taken place, and little or no provision has been made for public walks, or open spaces, fitted to afford means of exercise or amusement to the middle or humbler classes. 3rd. That any such provision of public walks and open places would much conduce to the comfort, health, and content of the classes in question."

Upon several of the points to which the committee directed their inquiries, considerable diversity of opinion is expressed by the witnesses: but, among all those examined, only one person seems to be *wholly* opposed to the notion that any good would be done by affording the manufacturing population additional opportunities of recreation in the open air. In answer to the question, "Is there any open space, any public walk in a park or public gardens, open to the middle and humble classes of the neighbourhood of Blackburn?" his answer is, "None whatever." He states also that there is no water or stream near the town in which bathing can be had, and no place to which the children may resort for any game or exercise. But when asked if it is his opinion that additional facilities for exercise and walks are required for the humble and middle classes, he replies, "I do not think they would avail themselves of it if there were more facilities afforded;" and when the question is again pressed upon him, "Do not you think that the more decent among them, if they had places in which they could walk dry, and with some shelter from the sun, in which they could walk in company with their wives and children, or neighbours, would be more likely to take exercise than if they were obliged to walk through wet footpaths and undrained fields?" he still rejoins, "I do not know whether they would take advantage of that; I do not think they are likely, because we have good walks in the neighbourhood, by the road side and path roads." He also says, when asked if he thought there were any persons in the town or neighbourhood who were likely to subscribe or make donations towards the formation of a public walk for the inhabitants, "No—I do not think it would be received with any degree of favour there,—I do not think it would."

We have noticed the evidence of this witness thus particularly, because, while we dissent from his general conclusions, we perceive, in what he says, an impression which we hold to be to a considerable extent correct, as to certain of the views entertained by the committee, and by some of the other

witnesses. Several of the latter, we think, are too sanguine as to the immediate effects which they expect to result from the new accommodations and means of enjoyment which they propose should be given to the inhabitants of our great towns. Unquestionably, it is not to be hoped for that the benefit will for some time be either fully taken advantage of or appreciated. We fear that it will go but a very little way to elevate the habits or the condition of the existing generation of our operatives. The fresh air and the fields, to those who have been accustomed from infancy to their enjoyment, are almost necessaries of existence. If they are not the indispensable breath and sustenance of life, they are its light and inspiration—that without which neither body nor mind has its proper spring. But it is altogether otherwise with him who from his birth, "in populous city pent," has been inured to the deprivation of the fair face and free expanse of nature. His tastes and habits have all been formed and fashioned in accommodation to his prison-house; he has become attached to those amusements and relaxations exclusively with which alone he has ever been familiar. Public walks, however inviting, can hardly be expected to lure many who have been so trained from the public house, nor the sports of the green from the social board within doors. To the labourer living in the heart of an immense town, indeed, the house must always have many advantages, in the way of attraction, over the fields. The one is close at hand; the other must be often at such a distance as to demand the greater part of his short leisure to get to it. The comforts of the one are the same in all weathers and in all seasons; the other, during half the year, cannot be resorted to at all either in the morning or the evening; and a rainy day may at any time divest them of all their pleasantness. Either a walk or a game out of doors requires an exertion which is given with some reluctance after the toils of a laborious day. The enjoyments of the beer-shop are all of an easy, indolent kind, which, even when they most excite the mind, leave the body in repose. Here, too, are various enjoyments which the fields never can have to offer, at least in the same perfection, and all of a sort congenial to the tastes which are formed by a town life—the exhilarating beverage—the social talk or game—the newspaper, with its weekly or daily freight of fresh excitement. To the man habituated to spend his evening leisure among these things, the purer pleasures to be gathered under the eye of nature in the fields, are comparatively insipid and without allurement.

The case being so, we would deprecate as altogether unwise and unadvisable certain recommendations which we find to have been laid before the committee. In the first place, we do not think that public *walks* are exactly the thing that is wanted; and we hold it to be rather unfortunate that the title of the Report should be such as to convey the notion that this is what is principally contemplated. Walks will be almost useless without large open spaces, like our parks in London, which the people may traverse in all directions, and in which there may be room for the games of childhood, and the manly sports of maturer age. The walks might be frequented on Sundays, but they would never be resorted to at any other time. To appear on a public promenade is an affair of display—a thing which the working man would only do when he had dressed himself in his best.

Some of the witnesses, and especially the honourable mover and chairman of the committee, reckon much upon the pleasure and pride the poor man may be expected to have, when these walks are formed, in exhibiting himself and his family there in better attire than he would otherwise have been tempted to purchase. "There is one point of view," said Mr. Slaney in his speech, "—(and to this part of my subject I beg the attention of my right honourable friend, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade)—in which I think that the opening public walks would be very advantageous. I mean, that it would be a stimulus to industry, and would lead to an increased consumption of finer articles of clothing than are generally worn by our artizans. What I mean by public walks being a stimulus to industry is this:—and he is little acquainted with the workings of the human mind, who supposes that clothes are worn merely as articles of covering. A plain man, like myself, or like my noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, to be sure, wear coats and waistcoats for no other purpose than covering, or to keep him warm. But this is not the case with nine-tenths of the members of this House, or of mankind generally; and, without offence be it stated, of the other sex also, who wear clothes chiefly as the means of gratifying that ruling passion, the love of distinction. This principle pervades all ranks of the community; and the servant girl, or daughter of the artizan, is as proud of her new riband, as the lady of her fine equipage, or the duchess of her diamonds. The artizan feels a degree of pride in the decent appearance of his family, and he is stimulated to increased exertion that their appearance may be becoming. If, however, there are no public walks for the artizans, and their wives and families to exhibit themselves in, is it not evident that there is a drawback on that wholesome stimulus to industry, which operates so powerfully with so little encouragement? I happen to be a plain person myself, caring nothing as to the peculiar cut of my coat, or the neat fit of my boot; but I know that a feeling of much sensitiveness, as to matters of this sort, operates on mankind generally, and in all countries. I will not insist further on this part of my subject, but I am satisfied that it is not a matter of little importance. I recollect that late able and eloquent statesman, Sir James Mackintosh, said:—'You begin with necessaries; you proceed to what are called artificial necessaries, and then to luxuries; and those things which are necessaries to one class are luxuries to another. For instance, a watch-riband, which would be considered a luxury by the workman, is an article of necessity to the gentleman."

But whatever of truth there may be mixed up with this sanguine speculation, we fear the good effects anticipated are not likely to be realized by the mere formation of public walks, nor until a good many years shall have passed away, and other causes shall have produced a material change in the condition of our labouring population. It ought never to be forgotten, while we are considering this subject, that at present at least, and in the beginning of the plan, the people will require to be wooed to the appropriation of its advantages. The difficulty will be to get them to relinquish the other enjoyments to which they have been accustomed, for this new enjoyment. Until they have acquired tastes which they have not at present, everything must be done which is possible to throw the utmost attraction around the rural pleasures in which they are to be invited to indulge, and no feature, whatever may be its other recommendations, ought to be introduced into the scheme, which may have the chance of augmenting an indifference, which in too many cases is likely to be considerable enough at any rate. On this account, we would set ourselves altogether against the notion urged, or suggested by some of the witnesses, of making the people pay for admission to the places of recreation which it is proposed to open. Let the sum demanded be ever so trifling, we are confident that its exaction would be utterly fatal to the success of the measure. Do not let the semblance of anything private and exclusive be given to a place which is intended to be the general resort of the whole public. It ought to be as free as a common. In this way only will it ever draw to it the great body of the labouring population—those for whose use and benefit it is especially instituted. The demand of money for liberty to enter it, perverts it at once from this its proper character, into a place of formality and restraint, which the people will never learn to visit habitually. While there, and going thither, every man should feel as if he stood on, or were proceeding to his own grounds. And in the same spirit we object to the institution of any particular apparatus of police for preserving order in these places of amusement. We do not believe that anything of this kind will be at all necessary. On the contrary, we think that a system of rigid surveillance, offensively obtruded upon the notice of the persons present, would be the likeliest thing in the world to beget a tendency to disturbance and other sorts of misconduct. The ordinary means which exist, or ought to exist, in every large town for securing the public tranquillity, would be found, we are certain, quite sufficient for the preservation of order here, as well as elsewhere.

The witness whose evidence we have quoted above appears to consider it unlikely that many wealthy persons would be disposed to come forward with their assistance in providing the funds necessary for the formation of these public walks, and other places of recreation; and several of the remaining witnesses concur with him in this opinion. Others, however, express a very confident belief that large sums of money would be forthcoming in this way, if Parliament would grant the requisite facilities, and remove the obstacles which under the present state of the law, and of the

municipal institutions of many towns, exist to prevent such improvements being properly effected. Speaking of the town of Manchester, Mr. Potter, the member for Wigan, says, "I think a large subscription would be raised. I have heard several gentlemen say that they would subscribe." "I think," he afterwards adds, "that those who have become rich in that place of trade, and having been so long in business, ought in a very great extent to contribute; and I might mention that Mr. Heywood, the late member for the county, did propose to make a public bath in the neighbourhood of Manchester, but there were some difficulties which afterwards prevented him." We agree with Mr. Potter, in regarding this as a case in which the wealthier classes ought to come forward liberally with their contributions. It is an opportunity which, for their own sakes, they should be eager to seize. The benefit to be conferred is one which the mass of the population are to enjoy; and never can the upper orders have a fairer occasion of showing their interest in the welfare and happiness of those around them, and earning the goodwill of their countrymen by a munificent gift graciously bestowed. These are the acts by which those who are in the enjoyment of opulence and a superior station may, notwithstanding the elevation that separates them in place from the bulk of the community, preserve themselves in secure union with the basis and real strength of the political fabric to which they belong, and most effectually cement all its parts together. They have the deepest interest both in gaining the attachment, and advancing the intelligence and morality of the humbler orders; and here is an opportunity presented to them of doing much to secure both these objects. "I have no hesitation in saying," one of the witnesses examined by the Committee observes, "that no gentleman who has been on the Continent, but finds the poor labouring classes more content and healthy than the labouring classes are here; and it arises in a great measure from their having those places for recreation." This same witness, (George Offor, Esq., one of the magistrates for the town limits), whose evidence presents a curious detail of the successive encroachments that have been made in the metropolis within the last half century upon the places of recreation that were wont to be enjoyed by the public, does not hesitate to describe the present state of the labouring classes, thus driven from all their former haunts of innocent amusement and healthy exercise, as "a very fearful one." And the following is the description given of the condition of the working classes in Manchester, by Dr. Kay, an eminent physician of that town: "The operative population of Manchester enjoys little or no leisure during the week, the whole available time being absorbed by their occupations. The few hours which intervene between labour and sleep are generally spent either at the tavern, or in making some necessary family arrangements. On Sunday the entire working population sinks into a state of abject sloth or listless apathy, or even into the more degrading condition of reckless sensuality. It is impossible to produce, by any process whatsoever, a sudden change in the manners of the people, and therefore it is vain to hope that the artizans will speedily be induced to frequent the places of worship. It would be very grateful to see them preferring healthful exercise in the open air to their present gross and degrading pursuits, and through this process they must pass ere they will listen to the instructions of their public teachers. At present the entire labouring population of Manchester is without any season of recreation, and is ignorant of all amusements, excepting that very small portion which frequents the theatre. Healthful exercise in the open air is seldom or never taken by the artizans of this town, and their health certainly suffers considerable depression from this deprivation. One reason of this state of the people is, that all scenes of interest are remote from the town, and that the walks which can be enjoyed by the poor are chiefly the turnpike-roads, alternately dusty or muddy. Were parks provided, recreation would be taken with avidity, and one of the first results would be a better use of the Sunday, and a substitution of innocent amusement at all other times, for the debasing pleasures now in vogue. I need not inform you how sad is our labouring population here. The health of the lower classes is much depressed by the combined influence of municipal evils, and their own corrupted manners and constant toil; but the total absence of all honest sources of amusement, and the neglect even of healthful exercise, are features in which I would fain hope we are singular."

In this state of things, no question, we think, can be entertained as to the desirableness of establishing such means of recreation for the inhabitants of our large towns as the present Report recommends. Our chief apprehension is, as we have stated above, that the long-established habits of this part of our population will make it not a little difficult, for a considerable time, to induce them in any great degree to avail themselves of the proposed facilities, were they to be put in their way. But the design ought not on this account to be given up. What it may not be possible to do for the existing generation, ought to be done for their children and their grandchildren. The obstacle that has been created to the immediate operation of the benefit has arisen from its having been too long withheld. This ought not to be made an argument for still further delay in providing it.

We must refer to the Report itself, or to an article in the last Supplement (No. 90) of the "Penny Magazine," for a particular account of the recommendations of the Committee. In specifying the additional places of public resort and recreation which they would propose to form or to throw open, they have confined themselves to the metropolis and its vicinity, in regard to which alone the evidence collected was sufficiently precise. The walks and fields open to the public, which they enumerate as already existing in and near London, are St James's Park, the Green Park, Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens, in the west; the Regent's Park and Primrose Hill, in the north; and, on the south side of the river, Kennington Common, and the Terrace Walk near Lambeth Palace. There is also another short walk on the north bank of the river, near the Penitentiary.

It is evident that, except for those residing at the west end of the town, there is no sufficient provision here of the means of healthy exercise. The inhabitants of the eastern, and of the north-eastern districts in particular, are without any open fields which they can get at, except by travelling for some miles along the high road. They may be therefore considered as, in point of fact, cooped up in the midst of the noise, and dust, and smoke of the city, except for a rare occasional holiday, from the beginning of the year to the end of it.

If there are still a few fields in different directions, the property of individuals, which the public are allowed to enter, they enjoy this advantage only on sufferance, and they are losing it every day. The progress of building is fast shutting them out from all their old haunts of this description. Some of the witnesses examined by the committee state a number of curious particulars as to spots which were open to everybody some years ago, and are now covered with houses, or on other accounts shut up.

To meet the evil as far as possible, the committee propose that the space, consisting of about fifty acres, called Copenhagen Fields, should be purchased and secured to the public; that public walks should be formed on Hackney Downs, otherwise called Bonner's Fields; and that the embankment along the river-side, from Limehouse to Blackwall, called the Mill Wall, should be improved and extended. They also strongly recommend for consideration the advantages which might be derived to all parts of the metropolis from the formation of public walks along the banks of the river. There are some reasons for believing that a considerable space on both sides of the river belonged originally of right to the public, and that the private erections by which both banks are now almost everywhere covered are illegal encroachments.

DUTIES ON TEA.

THE proposed opening of the China trade renders it necessary that some new arrangements should be made for the sale of tea, and the collection of the duties upon that article. Hitherto the trade in tea has been exclusively in the hands of the East India Company; and the importation has been confined to the Port of London. No duty has been received upon the article at the Custom-House; but that which has been payable, being an *ad valorem* rate, or rate proportional to the price, has been collected by the excise upon the sales made by the Company. The subsequent removal of packages from one place to another has also been regulated by permits granted by the Excise.

It being now, however, proposed to allow the importation of tea into all the principal ports of the kingdom, it becomes necessary to transfer the collection of the duties upon it from the Excise to the Customs, and also to change the

duty from one *ad valorem* to one of fixed amount. These are the objects of a bill which is at present on its way through the House of Commons. It provides, in the first place, that tea may, after the 22d of April, 1834, being the day on which the present charter of the East India Company expires, be imported into the United Kingdom "from the Cape of Good Hope, and from places eastward of the same to the Straits of Magellan, and not from any other place." This enactment, it will be observed, goes to prohibit the importation of tea into this country either from the United States of America or from the continent of Europe. It may be considered as introduced by way of protection to the contemplated free trade with China, which, at least in its commencement, may be thought to require such absence of competition. By a subsequent enactment the duties are proposed to be fixed, according to the different descriptions of tea, at one shilling and sixpence the pound on bohea, two shillings and sixpence on congou, twankay, hysonskin, and orange pekoe, and at three shillings on souchong, flowery pekoe, hyson, young hyson, gunpowder, imperial, and other sorts not enumerated. These duties, the collection of which is to be under the management of the Commissioners of Customs, are somewhat under those which have usually been received on the East India Company's sales; and therefore if the private traders shall be able to import their tea at the same cost at which the article has hitherto been imported by the Company, its price to the consumer may be expected to be lowered under the new state of the trade. The remainder of the bill consists of regulations for carrying the proposed changes into effect, and for the management of certain matters during the intermediate period. The last provision is, that the Lords of the Treasury may discontinue the practice of requiring permits for the removal of tea, and establish in their stead any other regulations, either of Customs or Excise, which shall appear to be necessary for the security of the revenue.

APOTHECARIES' ACT AND ROYAL COLLEGES OF SURGEONS.

When we sent to the press the article in our last Number on the bill for the repeal of the Apothecaries' Act, it had escaped our notice that the bill had been for the present withdrawn; and we are obliged to the kindness of an anonymous correspondent for calling our attention to the circumstance. On the 9th of July a resolution was reported from the committee on the bill to the following effect: "That before any bill to amend the laws for regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales shall be passed into a law, it is desirable to inquire more fully into the subject than can effectually be done during the present session of parliament." This resolution, in consequence of which the bill has been for the present session withdrawn, was come to in consequence of the opposition of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons to the clause by which it was proposed that their graduates should still be subject to an examination by the Company of Apothecaries before being allowed to practise in England. The graduates of the universities, it may be recollected, were to be released even from the necessity of undergoing this examination, as well as from that of serving the five years' apprenticeship. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the claims of the graduates in surgery to a like exemption with those in medicine, we think the bill, even although it did not concede this point, would have formed a great improvement on the present law: and therefore we regret that it has been withdrawn. But there can be no doubt that it will be again brought forward either in the same, or in an amended form next session; and it is in the meanwhile a great point gained that the most objectionable of the existing regulations, that requiring the five years' apprenticeship, appears to be given up on all hands. We believe the Company of Apothecaries themselves will not attempt to resist the abolition of this absurd and oppressive part of their present monopoly.

We take this opportunity of subjoining an abstract of a paper which has been lately printed by order of the House of Commons, containing accounts of the sums received during the last ten years for diplomas by the several Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh. By this paper it appears that from 1823 to 1832 inclusive, the London college received for diplomas the sum of 77,459*l.* 9*s.*, being at the rate of about 7,745*l.* per annum. Of this sum the court of examiners, consisting of ten members, has received 19,776*l.* 5*s.*, being at the rate of five guineas for each diploma. The remainder, amounting to 57,683*l.* 4*s.*, has been applied for the general purposes of the college. The number of diplomas granted during the ten years therefore must have been about 3746, or about 374 per annum; and the whole sum paid upon each diploma about 20*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* The largest sums received in a year, were 9601*l.* in 1827, 9644*l.* in 1829, and 9929*l.* in 1830; and the smallest, 6088*l.* in 1823, 6023*l.* in 1824, and 6065*l.* in 1831. The amount received in 1832 was 7625*l.*

The total amount received in the same ten years by the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, has been 20,050*l.*; being for diplomas, 7500*l.*; fees for registry of pupils on being bound apprentices to members or licentiates of the college, to qualify them to obtain diplomas, 1140*l.*; and from licentiates on being elected members, 1150*l.*, each paying a fee of thirty guineas. The average yearly amount received for diplomas, therefore, by this college, is 750*l.*; but the account supplies no means of arriving at the annual number of diplomas granted. The number of pupils annually registered, however, would appear to be about 108. In this college the members perform the various duties of president, examiners, &c. without fee or reward: and even the late secretary had only received an occasional remuneration to the amount of about 600*l.* in all for his services during the period of fifty years. The above-mentioned sum of 20,050*l.* has been exclusively applied to the erection, preservation, and repairs of the buildings of the college; the formation, augmentation, and preservation of the museum; the purchase of books for the library; and the payment of wages to servants, and salaries and gratuities to the housekeeper, registrar, and curator of the museum. No statement is given of yearly income and expenditure.

The account of the funds, income, and expenditure of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh is made out from Lammas, (the 1st of August,) 1822, to the same day in the year 1832. The whole number of diplomas granted during that period of ten years has been 1632; the annual numbers in their order being 114, 138, 147, 156, 199, 169, 201, 162, 195, 151. The total amount of the fees received upon these diplomas has been 8772*l.* 13*s.*; of which sum 1719*l.* 18*s.* has been paid to the examinators, and the remaining 7052*l.* 15*s.* has gone to the general funds of the college. The whole fee on each diploma, therefore, appears to be about 4*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, of which one guinea is paid to the examiners. The total regular income of the institution for the ten years in question appears to have been 18,489*l.* 15*s.* 1½*d.*, (in these accounts the diversities of national character are curiously illustrated by the reckoning even of farthings by the Scotch, the omission of pence by the English, and the disregard of every denomination save pounds by the Irish,) of which sum the principal items are, from diplomas, as above, 7052*l.* 15*s.*, entry money of fellows 5757*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*, fees of indentures 1604*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*, and dividends on property 3295*l.* 2*s.* 1½*d.* At Lammas, 1822, there was an accumulated fund of above 10,000*l.*, to which 2100*l.* was afterwards added by the sale of the Society's old hall. The regular annual expenditure for the whole ten years has been 9596*l.* 18*s.* 0½*d.*; besides which, 7497*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* has been laid out on the collection and preservation of a museum, and 19,060*l.* 5*s.* 11½*d.* on the erection and fitting-up of a new hall. The accumulated money had in this way been reduced to 7631*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* on the 1st of August, 1832.

REFORMS IN THE COURT OF CHANCERY.

We have noticed, in another place, the large reductions which have been made in the several Government offices by the present Administration, in addition to similar reforms, also of considerable extent, effected by their predecessors. In order, however, to have a complete view of the length to which the application of the principle of economy in the abolition of useless places has been carried, we subjoin a statement of the reductions that have been made in the Court of Chancery, from a speech which has just been delivered in the House of Commons by the Solicitor-General. From the newspaper report, it might seem that the offices alluded to by the learned gentleman were only about to be abolished by the bill, the third reading of which he was then moving; but the fact is, that they are already abolished by another act which was passed last year—the 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 111. That statute provided that the several offices in

question should "utterly cease and determine from and after the 28th day of August, 1833." The object of the bill, at present on its passage through Parliament, and in moving the third reading of which the Solicitor General's speech was made, is to provide for the performance of the duties of the offices thus abolished.

The following is a list of these offices, as enumerated in the act of last year, with the present incomes, as stated by the Solicitor-General, of the persons by whom they are held, and of those by whom the duties are performed :—

	Present Income of Principal.	Do. of Deputy and expenses.
	£.	£.
Keeper or Clerk of the Hanaper	2800	550
Patentee of the Subpœna Office	352	682
Registrar of Affidavits	1800	1000
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery	1100	1000
Clerk of the Patents	810	395
Clerk of the Custodies of Lunatics and Idiots	1347	375
Prothonotary of the Court of Chancery	100	—
Chafe-Wax	1300	400
Sealer	800	200
Clerk of the Presentations	43	100
Clerk of Dispensations and Faculties	316	—
Patentee of Bankrupts	7500	1500

With regard to these several offices, it is provided in the new bill that, in future, the duties of the Clerk of Custodies of Idiots and Lunatics shall be performed by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary of Lunatics, who shall receive on that account a salary of 200*l.*; those of the Chafe-wax and Sealer by the Purse-bearer to the Lord Chancellor, for a salary of 50*l.*, in addition to his salary of the same amount as Purse-bearer; those of the Clerk of the Presentations, and of the Clerk of Dispensations and Faculties, for a salary of 100*l.*, by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary of Presentations; and those of the Clerk of the Hanaper by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, for a salary of 200*l.*, his income as Clerk of the Crown being also reduced to 800*l.* In another bill, which was also read a third time, and passed on the 22nd August, "for the regulation of the proceedings and practice of certain offices of the High Court of Chancery," it is enacted that the duties of the Registrar of Affidavits, and of the Patentee of the Subpœna Office, shall in future be performed by an officer to be called the Clerk of the Affidavits, with a salary of 500*l.* And from the Solicitor-General's speech it appears that the income of the Clerk of the Patents is in future to be only 400*l.*, and that the office of the Prothonotary is to be abolished.

By these changes it will be found, that the duties of offices which have hitherto cost the country 22,220*l.* per annum, will henceforth be discharged at an annual expense of only 2,250*l.* The public, however, will of course only derive the benefit of this reform on the death of the present holders of the abolished places; who will continue to enjoy their present incomes so long as they shall survive, all except the brother of the Lord Chancellor, Mr. James Brougham, whose two places of Clerk of the Patents, and Registrar of Affidavits, are to be given up by him immediately. The saving of 22,220*l.*, which will thus eventually be effected, will be disposed of according to the calculation of the Solicitor General in the following manner; about 9000*l.* will go to the relief of the suitors by the reduction and abolition of fees, about 2,800*l.* will be paid into the Suitors' Fund; and about 9700*l.* will be paid to the account of the Consolidated Fund, to assist in the general expenses of the government.

Another important change will also be effected by the second of the two new bills we have mentioned, by which it is enacted, that the ten Masters in Chancery whose incomes at present average 3900*l.* a-year each, mostly derived from fees, shall, after the deaths of the present masters, be paid by salaries of only 2500*l.* each. The incomes of their chief clerks, it is also enacted, shall be reduced from the present amount of 1300*l.* a-year, to 1000*l.* a-year each. And various reductions are to be made in addition to these, which it is unnecessary at present to detail, bringing down the whole expense of the Masters' Office, from 86,500*l.* to 51,450*l.* annually. The Masters, also, who are at present appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and whose places are the most valuable he has to give away, are to be in future appointed by the crown.

NEW MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

A MEASURE of very great importance has been brought forward in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, in a bill for giving municipal constitutions to those towns upon which the Reform Act has, for the first time, bestowed the power of sending representatives to Parliament. The whole population of these towns is stated to amount to upwards of 1,200,000. The bill has only been read a first time, and will not be carried farther during the present session; but it is desirable that its leading provisions should be immediately made known and understood.

The general principles of the bill are nearly the same with those upon which are founded the two bills of which we gave an account in our last Number for the reform of the existing corporations, and the establishment of others in the new burghs, in Scotland. The persons in each burgh having the right of electing the member of Parliament are to elect the common council; and the latter body is to elect the aldermen or acting magistrates. The members of the common council are to be elected every three years; the magistrates are to be elected for life. The boundaries of each burgh are to be the same as those established for the parliamentary election. The common council, however, in the new English burghs, we presume, is to be a considerably more numerous body than what is called the town council in the Scotch burgh. It will probably more nearly resemble the common council of the City of London. In London, however, the Alderman, and also the Lord Mayor, instead of being nominated by this body, are chosen by the suffrages of the citizens themselves—those of each ward voting for their own alderman, and the whole for the Lord Mayor.

Each of the new burghs, in addition to its ordinary magistrates, is to have its own recorder, or criminal judge, who is to preside at the sessions, held once every quarter as at present, or more frequently, should it be found expedient, and composed of both the county and the burgh magistrates. As the bill stands at present, the appointment of the recorder is vested in the crown; but the Lord Chancellor intimated that the matter would be further considered before the bill was again brought forward, and that a right of concurring with the crown might possibly be given to the corporations in the appointment of the officer in question. To secure the proper discharge of the duties of the office, it is to be enacted, that the recorder shall reside for a certain part of the year in the place, and further that he shall not practise in his profession of a barrister, either at the sessions or the assizes. At present, as is well known, it frequently happens, that except when he comes to preside in his court, the recorder is never seen in the burgh whose officer he is.

Whatever modifications may be afterwards introduced into the details of the measure, it is probable that this outline will be finally adhered to in all its more important parts.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE Committee for reporting on Public Petitions have issued five Reports since our last publication, numbered from 35 to 39. The following is an abstract, upon a similar plan to our former ones :—

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	50	26597
For triennial parliaments	5	3264
Against nocturnal legislation	10	3156
For repeal of septennial act	20	10489
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the sabbath	1171	277167
Against the sabbath observance bill	23	2930
Against Irish church temporalities' bill	120	11268
For better regulating the established church in Wales	8	3509
Against church establishments	11	22300
For removal of religious disabilities	132	25610
For abolition of tithes in England	51	18080
Against tithes' commutation bill	36	9746
Against church patronage in Scotland	156	67529
For abolition of tithes in Ireland	73	38302
Against the composition act (Ireland)	5	450
For legalising Catholic marriages	9	5255

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
For removal of disabilities from the Jews	50	45465
For reform in Church of England	9	6551
Against the administering of oaths	21	1404
Taxes.		
Against the house and window tax	127	69605
Against the tax on merchant seamen	10	3930
For reduction of taxation	39	45515
For repeal of the malt tax	126	42866
Against the assessed taxes	48	20683
For the repeal of the corn laws	26	27612
In favour of Edinburgh annuity tax bill	1	9096
Against ditto	5	244
Against various other taxes, none of which have been included in any former enumeration	18	945
Ireland.		
For repeal of the union	42	12920
Against the disturbances' bill	668	422280
In favour of Dublin and Kingstown ship canal	9	475
Against ditto	2	91
In favour of the new system of education	2	87
Against ditto	18	2071
In favour of grand jury bill	16	5324
For introduction of poor-laws	22	3916
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	5018	1309696
Against the slavery abolition bill	26	15956
Ditto from the Cape of Good Hope	1	3570
Against compensation to slave-holders	7	1181
Against abolition without compensation	25	5946
For alteration of laws respecting sugar refining	22	13841
In favour of factories regulation bill	141	195959
Against ditto	23	2740
Against the retail beer act	227	31537
Against alteration in ditto	18	14298
Against apothecaries act	16	823
Ditto ditto bill	30	559
In favour of ditto	3	75
Against Bank of England charter	11	1687
Ditto ditto ditto bill	10	2780
Against the bankrupts' (Scotland) bill	19	636
In favour of Clackmannan and Kinross parishes bill	8	2886
Against ditto	10	2074
Against notaries-public bill	21	99
In favour of ditto	8	501
In favour of Poland	5	14225
Against rating of tenements' bill	16	3219
In favour of ditto	5	437
Relating to the Scots burgh bill	73	8717
For regulations respecting cut hose	1	5000
From frame-work knitters for ditto	5	8979
For regulations respecting linen weaving	5	5982
In favour of local courts	4	1289
For inquiry respecting Coldbath-fields meeting	3	1280
Complaining of abuses in corporations	131	76116
In favour of Edinburgh annuity tax bill	1	9036
Against ditto	4	191
Against imprisonment for debt	4	115
Against the metropolis police	8	5566
Against the vestry acts	5	21945
Against general register bill	32	3818
Against highways' bill	21	2637
Other miscellaneous petitions, reported since the publication of the Companion to the Newspaper, No VIII.	132	8624

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Trade.—Imports and Exports.—Quantities of the principal articles of foreign and colonial merchandise imported, retained for home consumption, and exported, in the year ending January 5, 1832—(all fractional quantities omitted).

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Ashes, pearl and pot . cwts.	228,756	192,046	23,469
Barilla . . . . do.	184,649	252,489	——
Bark, oak and cork tree do.	931,075	926,056	——
Brimstone, rough . do.	289,421	296,072	——
Bristles . . . . lbs.	2,070,306	1,819,288	——
Butter . . . . cwts.	123,169	121,193	——
Cassia, Lignia . . lbs.	398,420	61,162	718,772
Cheese . . . . cwts.	134,459	130,039	——
Cinnamon . . . lbs.	225,869	23,172	504,643
Gloves . . . . do.	128,223	83,885	81,912
Cochineal . . . do.	224,371	134,222	168,329
Cocoa-Nuts . . . do.	3,483,118	502,806	1,531,131
Coffee . . . . do	43,007,828	22,715,807	22,485,434
Copper, unwrought . cwts.	661	6	1,550
Cork, unmanufactured do.	46,962	43,274	——
CORN:—			
Wheat . . . qrs.	1,878,696	1,201,585	43,455
Barley . . . . do	576,538	522,096	642
Oats . . . . do	619,913	351,484	5,571
Rye . . . . do	9,565	56,167	36,735
Pease and Beans . do	85,904	77,226	597
Wheatmeal and Flour . . cwts.	1,636,059	1,015,142	68,664
Cortex Peruvianus, or Jesuits' Bark . lbs.	253,678	112,773	137,578
Cotton, piece goods of India not printed . . pieces	1,061,116	Value £32,889	784,317
Cottons, printed . sq. yds.	149,896	19,076	133,068
Currants . . . cwts.	212,799	139,648	——
DYE AND HARD WOODS:—			
Fustic . . . tons.	6,331	5,776	——
Logwood . . . do.	14,852	10,465	6,011
Mahogany . . do.	11,541	12,174	——
Elephants' teeth . cwts.	5,267	3,368	——
Figs . . . . do.	28,722	20,578	——
Flax and Tow, or Codilla of hemp and flax . cwts.	936,411	918,583	——
FURS:—			
Bear . . . Number	17,602	1,614	6,969
Beaver . . . no.	160,944	67,699	——
Fitch . . . . do.	243,705	238,427	——
Marten . . . do.	214,507	145,859	7,269
Musk . . . . do.	1,[illegible]61	56,000	——
Muspash . . do	772,893	271,211	602,662
Nutria . . . no.	494,007	420,672	——
Otter . . . . do.	25,[illegible]98	3,184	6,668
Ginger . . . . cwts.	5,715	4,[illegible]57	6,092
GUM:—			
Arabic . . . . do.	7,285	9,479	280
Lac dye . . . . tons.	782,599	454,779	143,611
Shellac . . . . do.	1,184,058	552,380	657,284
Hats or Bonnets of Straw . . Numbers	84,066	93,947	——
Hemp, undressed . cwts.	500,850	501,307	——
Hides untanned . do.	271,469	236,099	——
Indigo . . . . lbs.	7,299,605	2,490,134	4,374,241
Iron in bars . . . tons.	17,872	13,[illegible]6	4,255
Lead, pig . . . do.	1,272	14	1,234
Leather Gloves . pairs	1,196,465	1,181,538	——
LEMONS AND ORANGES:—			
Packages not exceeding 5000 cubic inches .	71,120	59,517	——
Ditto above 5000, and not exceeding 7300 . .	177,308	168,073	——
Ditto above 7300, and not exceeding 14,600 .	74,526	71,649	——
LINENS, CAMBRICS, &c.—			
Piece	55,092	53,571	——
Ditto, plain and diaper.—			
Entered by the ell . ells	425,824	——	454,431
Ditto by the piece . pieces	17,102	——	18,956
Ditto by the square yard . . sq. yds.	28,190	140	78,760
Ditto at value . . .	£11,039	£12,823	£915
Liquorice juice . . cwts.	8,873	6,002	——
Mace . . . . lbs.	41,257	18,894	63,795
Madder . . . cwts.	43,935	48,756	——
Madder-root . . do.	52,449	53,862	——
Molasses . . . do.	332,875	348,626	——
Nutmegs . . . lbs.	210,363	152,369	88,352
OIL:—			
Castor . . . lbs.	393,191	327,940	——
Olive . . . gallons	4,158,917	1,928,892	——
Palm . . . cwts.	164,760	175,452	——

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Blubber . . . tuns	1,969	1,969	——
Spermaceti . . . do.	6,816	6,774	——
Not blubber or Spermaceti . . . . . do.	15,884	14,283	——
Opium . . . . . lbs.	9,967	25,937	25,045
Pepper . . . . . do.	6,273,480	2,050,082	6,814,416
Pimento . . . . do.	1,810,616	304,400	1,815,537
Prunes . . . . . cwts.	9,370	8,011	——
Quicksilver . . . . lbs.	314,286	192,310	848,108
Raisins . . . . . cwts.	216,282	162,204	——
Rhubarb . . . . . lbs.	140,395	40,121	104,849
Rice . . . . . cwts.	168,714	140,100	88,886
Rice in the husks . bushels	225,556	189,388	——
Safflower . . . . cwts.	2,772	2,300	——
Sago . . . . . do.	2,549	3,423	——
Saltpetre . . . . . do.	175,938	155,499	20,168
Sarsaparilla . . . . lbs.	176,854	107,410	——
SEEDS:—			
Clover . . . . cwts.	110,255	114,663	——
Flax and Linseed bushels	2,759,103	2,476,990	——
Rape seed . . . do.	407,275	396,502	——
Tares . . . . . do.	88,939	81,480	——
Senna . . . . . lbs.	250,296	130,222	——
Shumac . . . . cwts.	133,799	127,821	——
SILK:—			
Raw and waste . lbs.	3,992,593	3,778,791	29,975
Thrown . . . . do.	629,281	514,240	25,311
Manufactures of Europe . . . . . do.	158,831	148,478	9,202
Ditto, India, viz. Bandanas, Romals, &c. pieces	185,117	101,023	100,337
Crape in pieces . . do.	1,307	Value £10,485	818
Crape scarfs, shawls, &c. . . . number	27,233		27,819
Taffeties, damasks, &c. pieces	10,631	£5,516	6,383
SKINS:—			
Calf and Kid, untanned, cwts.	42,637	40,194	——
Deer, undressed number	125,357	31,079	112,948
Goat, ditto . do.	354,584	212,422	97,469
Kid, ditto . . do.	595,573	486,527	——
Kid, dressed . do.	621,780	621,780	——
Lamb, undressed . do.	2,820,092	2,819,706	——
Seal, ditto . . do.	541,692	528,206	——
Smalts . . . . lbs.	391,523	348,115	——
Spelter . . . . cwts.	76,412	20,526	62,684
SPIRITS:—			
Rum . proof gallons	7,892,722	3,624,597	2,375,527
Brandy . . . . do.	1,461,897	1,235,101	504,172
Geneva . . . . do.	213,926	23,898	207,072
Sugar, unrefined . cwts.	5,366,262	3,781,011	120,721
Tallow . . . . . do.	1,040,691	918,733	——
Tar . . . . . lasts	10,572	10,075	——
Tea . . . . . lbs.	31,648,926	29,997,055	236,359
TIMBER:—			
Battens and batten ends . . gt. hunds.	14,596	11,637	——
Deal and deal ends do.	54,915	49,489	——
Lathwood . . . do.	11,373	11,269	——
Masts, yards, &c., under 12 inches in diameter . . . number	13,438	12,027	——
Ditto, 12 inches and above . . . loads	4,703	4,125	——
Oak plank, 2 inches thick or upwards . . do.	2,525	2,279	——
Staves . . gt. hunds.	76,431	70,307	——
Teak . . . . loads	23,839	24,981	——
Timber, 8 inches square or upwards . . do.	562,199	546,078	——
Wainscot logs, do. do.	2,571	2,701	——
Tin . . . . . cwts.	8,099	——	12,226
Tobacco, unmanufacd. lbs.	33,107,679	19,418,940	9,358,356
Ditto, manufactured, and Snuff . . . . do.	220,106	114,900	80,061
Turpentine, not worth more than 12s. per cwt. cwts.	317,895	301,199	——
Valonia . . . . do.	134,307	137,193	——
Wax, bees . . . do.	7,203	10,095	——
Whale fins . . . do.	7,191	6,723	——
Wool, cotton . . lbs.	288,674,853	273,249,653	22,308,555
Wool, sheep's . . do.	31,652,029	29,669,908	1,025,962
WINE:—			
Cape . . . gallons	428,154	539,584	30,942
French . . . . do.	351,102	254,366	76,152
Portugal . . . do.	2,763,211	2,707,734	235,129
Spanish . . . do.	2,605,328	2,089,532	377,138
Madeira . . . do.	356,514	209,127	128,828
Canary . . . do.	191,916	94,117	104,302
Rhenish . . . do.	71,352	57,888	8,152
Other sorts . . . do.	319,293	259,916	54,262
Of all sorts . . do.	7,116,870	6,212,264	1,014,925
Yarn, linen, raw . cwts.	17,352	17,352	——
Zaffre . . . . . lbs.	227,512	227,982	——

Shipping (*Port of London*).—The following is a statement of the number of Ships and their register tonnage, which have entered the port of London during each half year of the years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832, and the half year ending Midsummer 1833, distinguishing British and and foreign. For the last half year, we have also distinguished the Countries from whence they arrived.

For the half years ending	British.		Foreign	
	Ships	Tons	Ships.	Tons
Midsummer 1829	1366	200,164	684	111,112
Christmas 1829	1592	261,070	601	103,303
Midsummer 1830	924	120,757	457	70,024
Christmas 1830	1676	281,479	829	136,251
Midsummer 1831	1321	201,910	810	134,826
Christmas 1831	1551	252,623	714	130,532
Midsummer 1832	788	130,979	421	69 491
Christmas 1832	1256	194,320	430	81,054
Midsummer 1833	899	144,233	523	77,481

Wool.—In No. VIII. we gave a detailed abstract of the Exports and Imports of Wool and Woollen Manufactures for the year 1832. The following is a statement of the Exports of the quantities of Sheep and Lambs' Wool, and Woollen, and Worsted Yarn, and the declared value of Woollen Manufactures, from the year 1820 to the above year, both inclusive.

	Wool	Yarn.	Woollen Manufactures.
	lbs.	lbs.	£
1820	35,242	3,924	5,386,138
1821	31,226	9,121	6,462,886
1822	33 208	12,515	6,188,167
1823	28,563	6,423	5,636,586
1824	53,743	12,640	6,013 051
1825	112 424	76,961	6,185 648
1826	143,130	131,032	4,966,879
1827	278,552	255,708	5,245,649
1828	1,669,389	436,722	5,069,741
1829	1,332,097	589,558	4,587,603
1830	2,951,100	1,108,023	4,728,666
1831	3,491,275	1,592,455	5,232,013
1832	4,199,825	2,201,464	5,244,479

Coals.—The export duty on coals, culm, and cinders, has undergone considerable reductions within the last three years. It is now in no case higher than 6*s.* 8*d.* per ton, which is on being exported to foreign countries in foreign ships, not belonging to States with which we have treaties of reciprocity; and is only half that amount in other ships. The duty on small coals, culm, and cinders, is now 2*s.* per ton, in British ships or ships of States acting under treaties of reciprocity, and 4*s.* per ton in other ships. When exported to any British possessions, the whole are duty free. Under the previous scale, during part of 1831, small coals and cinders were subject to the same duty as coals. The following are the exports for the last three years, with the amount of duty thereon.

Quantities Exported.

	Coals and Cinders.	Small Coals.	Culm.	Total.	Total duty.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	£
1830.	255,169	248,717	535	504,419	63,690
1831	328,123	182,123	585	510,831	55,237
1832	370,282	217,836	328	588,446	56,706

RETURN of the ESTABLISHMENTS of the PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS and OFFICES in 1821 and 1832 respectively.

DEPARTMENTS.	ESTABLISHMENT. 1821. Number of Persons.	1821. Amount of Salaries.	ESTABLISHMENT. 1832. Number of Persons.	1832. Amount of Salaries.	REDUCTIONS. Already effected. Number of Persons.	Already effected. Amount of Salaries.	To be made as vacancies occur. Number of Persons.	To be made as vacancies occur. Amount of Salaries.	ADDITIONS. Number of Persons.	ADDITIONS. Amount of Salaries.
		£.		£.		£.		£.		£.
Treasury, including Commissariat	147	82,159	115	67,812	32	14,347	3	4,031	—	—
Secretary of State, Home Department	30	22,055	30	20,335	. .	1,720	1	1,972	—	—
Ditto Foreign ditto	33	25,525	39	23,527	. .	1,998	2	1,888	6	—
Ditto Colonial ditto	20	17,468	33	21,527	. .	. .	2	1,867	13	4,059
Privy Council Office	20	9,780	17	8,086	3	1,694	..	980	—	—
Ditto for Trade	20	7,862	25	9,880	. .	. .	..	. .	5	2,018
Admiralty, including the Naval, Victualling, and Royal Marine Departments, at Home and Abroad	1,678	465,496	723	214,591	955	250,915	—	—	—	—
Audit Office, including late Colonial Audit Office	183	54,190	95	31,152	88	23,038	2	566	—	—
Ordnance Department	1,221	238,763	824	146,991	397	91,772	20	1,550	—	—
Customs ditto	10,819	1,166,448	9,459	975,059	1,360	191,389	37	22,324	—	—
Excise ditto	8,578	925,087	6,377	744,450	2,201	180,637	36	23,516	—	—
Stamps ditto	624	174,760	458	121,789	166	52,972	..	1,065	—	—
Tax ditto	385	90,180	276	46,545	109	43,635	3	3,992	—	—
Post Office ditto	1,687	115,240	1,815	113,127	. .	2,113	1	890	128	—
Mint Office	27	10,631	30	10,175	. .	456	..	. .	3	—
War Office, including the Office for Military Boards	164	48,041	87	31,095	77	16,946	3	1,100	—	—
Army Pay Office	68	24,222	54	18,015	14	5,207	—	—	—	—
Commander-in-Chief's Office	25	13,524	26	11,311	. .	2,213	..	. .	1	—
Quartermaster-General's Office	22	5,272	24	5,712	. .	. .	..	. .	2	440
Adjutant-General's Office	24	6,712	28	7,327	. .	. .	2	183	4	615
Judge-Advocate-General's Office	8	4,630	7	3,570	1	1,060	—	—	—	—
Army Medical Board Office	11	4,998	13	5,140	. .	. .	..	. .	2	142
Chaplain-General's Department	2	900	1	216	1	684	—	—	—	—
Chelsea Hospital, including the Secretary's, Agent's, and Treasurer's Offices	168	20,637	162	19,887	6	750	—	—	—	—
Alien Office	9	1,451	8	1,166	1	285	—	—	—	—
Stationer Office	40	5,687	36	4,971	4	716	—	—	—	—
Registrar of Colonial Slaves Office	4	1,210	4	1,210	. .	. .	—	—	—	—
Stamp Paper Office	6	1,272	6	1,549	. .	. .	..	. .	..	277
Comptrollers of Army Accounts Office	29	11,785	28	10,489	1	1,296	—	—	—	—
National Debt Office	16	4,527	32	8,756	. .	. .	..	. .	16	4,229
Lottery Office	38	9,622	. .	. .	38	9,622	—	—	—	—
Auditor's Office, Exchequer	24	15,750	20	12,832	4	2,918	..	100	—	—
Teller of the Exchequer's Office	6	5,804	6	5,708	. .	32	—	—	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	5,330	5	4,994	1	386	..	294	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	5,900	5	5,000	1	800	—	—	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	6,212	6	6,003	. .	209	—	—	—	—
Clerk of the Pells Office, Exchequer	16	9,985	13	6,150	3	3,835	..	150	—	—
Exchequer Bill Office	11	3,870	11	3,720	. .	150	..	—	—	—
Auditor's Land Revenue Office	11	1,910	11	1,555	. .	355	—	—	—	—
Baron's Exchequer, Scotland	38	17,472	34	10,681	4	6,791	2	3,900	—	—
Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue Office	106	33,958	91	21,679	15	8,379	—	—	—	—
IRELAND.										
Chief Secretary's Office	54	17,329	38	14,536	16	2,883	..	—	—	—
Ditto in London	12	4,178	8	1,940	4	2,238	—	—	—	—
Privy Council Office	6	2,577	6	2,577	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vice-Treasurer's Office	27	16,544	14	6,315	13	10,229	—	—	—	—
Privy Seal Office	2	1,385	2	100	. .	1,285	—	—	—	—
Office of Public Works	131	12,516	39	5,677	92	6,839	—	—	—	—
Office for Auditing Civil Accounts	28	7,175	25	5,440	3	1,735	—	—	—	—
Board of First Fruits	5	4,048	8	775	. .	. .	..	. .	3	277
Hibernian School	27	1,979	24	1,698	3	281	—	—	—	—
Office of Lieutenant-General Commanding	8	1,849	6	1,103	2	746	—	—	—	—
Army Medical Office	20	6,666	16	4,605	4	2,061	—	—	—	—
Quartermaster-General's Office	9	1,111	5	661	4	450	—	—	—	—
Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General's Office	1	506	1	506	—	—	—	—	—	—
Provost-Marshal-General's Office	3	223	1	168	2	55	—	—	—	—
Adjutant-General's Office	9	1,018	9	1,018	—	—	—	—	—	—
Commissariat Department	92	8,146	13	2,420	79	5,726	—	—	—	—
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham	62	4,544	54	3,396	8	1,147	..	238	—	—
Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests	2	216	2	193	. .	23	—	—	—	—
Military Account Office	46	10,222	. .	. .	46	10,222	—	—	—	—
	26,880	3,772,805	21,305	2,819,622	5,758	965,240	114	73,006	183	12,05
Abate Additions					183	12,057				
Total Reductions effected since 1821					5,575	953,183				
Add Reductions directed to be made on Vacancies					114	73,006				
TOTAL made and to be made . . . Persons					5,689	1,026,189	Per Annum.			

Bankers.—A return was ordered by the House of Commons, of all joint-stock banks, and all private banks in England that have suspended payment, or become bankrupts since 1824, distinguishing those within sixty-five miles from London, from those beyond that distance. The return presented states that "there is no return or information in my office, whereby I am enabled to state the nature of any bank, whether it be one of joint stock or not; nor can I tell when any banker has stopped payment, except as it is evidenced by the lodgment in this office of documents for the issuing of a commission or fiat in bankruptcy." By this return it appears, that from Jan. 1824, to June, 1833, there were 39 dockets struck against banking firms in London, and within 65 miles thereof, and 120 beyond that distance; and commissions or fiats were issued in every case except three. It should, however, be added, that separate dockets appear to have been struck in several cases against the same firm, and against the different members of the same firm. Another return gives the amount of the dividend hitherto paid by the London bankers who have been declared bankrupt in the period abovementioned. By this, it appears that there has been paid by Fauntleroy and Co., 8*s.* 4*d.* in the pound: Chambers no dividend; Sikes and Wilkinson, 18*s.* 8*d.*; Pike, Howell, and Pike, 4*d.*; Gordon, Army Agent and Banker, 6¾*d.*; Marsh, Navy Agent and Banker, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Fry and Chapman, 3*s.*; Remington and Stephenson, 10*s.* 10*d.*; Gray, formerly of Hartsheath, near Mold, Flint, Wine-merchant and Banker, no dividend; Macdonald and Campbell, Army Agents and Bankers, no dividend; Bond and Pattisall, 11*s.* 8*d.*; Maberley, 2*s.*; Duckett and Morland, 6*s.*

Joint Stock Banks.—The following is a list of the joint-stock banks established under the act 7th Geo. IV. c. 46, with the number of partners in each bank and the places in which their business is transacted.

Bank of Birmingham, 203 partners; Birmingham.
Bank of Liverpool, 427; Liverpool
Bank of Manchester, 578; Manchester and Bolton, in Lancashire, and Stockport in Cheshire.
Bank of Westmoreland, 129; Kendal.
Barnsley Banking Company, 119; Barnsley
Birmingham Banking Company, 295; Birmingham.
Bradford Banking Company, 173, Bradford, Yorkshire.
Bradford Commercial Joint Stock Banking Company, 131; Bradford, Yorkshire.
Bristol Old Bank, 8; Bristol.
Cumberland Union Banking Company, 158; Workington, Cockermouth, Maryport, Wigton, Carlisle and Penrith.
Darlington District Joint Stock Banking Company, 274; Darlington, Stockton, and Barnard Castle, in Durham; Northallerton and Stokesley in Yorkshire.
Gloucestershire Banking Company, 130; Gloucester.
Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, 172; Halifax.
Huddersfield Banking Company, 285; Huddersfield.
Knaresborough and Claro Banking Company, 160; Knaresborough, Wetherby, Ripon, Easingwold, Helmsley, Thirsk, Boroughbridge, Masham, Pately Bridge, Otley and Harrogate.
Lancaster Banking Company, 81; Lancaster, Ulverston and Preston.
Leeds Banking Company, 496; Leeds.
Leicestershire Banking Company, 54; Leicester and Hinckley.
Leith Banking Company, 14; Carlisle.
Liverpool Commercial Banking Company, 104; Liverpool.
Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Company, 857: Manchester, Liverpool, Oldham, Ashton, Warrington, Bury, Preston, Blackburn and Wigan, in Lancashire; Stockport and Nantwich in Cheshire; Hanley, Stafford, Cheadle, Lane End and Rugeley, in Staffordshire; Market Drayton in Shropshire, and Glossop in Derbyshire.
Mirfield and Huddersfield District Banking Company, 213; Mirfield, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Dewsbury and Dobcross.
Norfolk and Norwich Joint Stock Banking Company, 131: Norwich, Swaffham, Foulsham, East Dereham, Fakenham, Lynn, Harleston and Watton, in Norfolk; and Bungay in Suffolk.
North of England Joint Stock Banking Company, 508; Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Northumberland, and Sunderland in Durham.
Plymouth and Devonport Banking Company, 132; Plymouth, Devonport and Kingsbridge.
Saddleworth Banking Company, 113; Saddleworth, Ashton, and Oldham.
Sheffield Banking Company, 154; Sheffield.
Stamford and Spalding Joint Stock Banking Company, 74; Stamford, Spalding, Market Deeping, Bourn and Grantham, in Lincolnshire; Ouncle, Kettering, Thrapstone and Peterborough, in Northamptonshire; Oakham and Uppingham, in Rutlandshire; Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough, in Leicestershire; Huntingdon in Hunts, and Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire.
Stuckey's Banking Company, 12; Bristol, Bridgewater, Taunton, Chard, Crewkerne, Ilminster, Langport, Wells, Bruton, and Shepton Mallet.
Wakefield Banking Company, 217; Wakefield.
Whitehaven Joint Stock Banking Company, 225; Whitehaven and Penrith.
Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Banking Company, 239; Wolverhampton.
York City and County Banking Company, 286; York, Malton, Selby, Howden, Scarborough, and Goole.
York Union Banking Company, 200; York, Bridlington and Great Driffield.

Excise Licenses.—The number of licenses issued in England and Wales, under the provisions of the act 1 Will. IV., c. 64, was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 29,558; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 31,300; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 33,738. The number of public houses licensed for the sale of beer, ale, and spirits, was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 45,886; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 46,359; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 47,286. The number of public houses licensed for the sale of beer and ale only was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 5120; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 5254; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 4821.

Revenue of India.—General Abstract of the Revenues and Charges of India for three years, according to the latest advices, showing the Net Revenue, the Amount paid for Interest on Debts, and the remaining surplus Revenue.

	Revenues. £.	Charges £.	Interest on Debt. £.
1828-9.			
Bengal	14,823,840	10,329,331	1,899,296
Madras	5,575,049	5,256,646	199,272
Bombay	2,331,802	3,600,841	22,957
Expenses of St. Helena		113,054	
	£22,740,691	19,597,306	2,121,165
Net surplus Revenue £1,022,130			
1829-30.			
Bengal	13,858,177	9,508,785	1,780,638
Madras	5,415,587	5,256,646	205,920
Bombay	2,421,443	3,600,841	21,135
Expense of St. Helena		93,004	
	21,695,207	18,549,276	2,007,693
Net surplus Revenue £1,138,238			
1830-31.			
Bengal	14,119,914	9,224,937	1,916,230
Madras	5,358,260	5,107,020	218,820
Bombay	2,541,136	3,594,472	42,154
Expense of St. Helena		86,044	
	22,019,310	18,013,473	2,207,204
Net surplus Revenue £1,799,633			

Writers and Cadets.—Number of writers and cadets appointed in the East India service each year, from 1813 to 1833.

	Writers.	Cadets.		Writers.	Cadets.
1813	31	59	1824	35	383
1814	7	47	1825	39	353
1815	53	65	1826	55	509
1816	39		1827	58	359
1817	20	85	1828	69	358
1818	37	336	1829	62	183
1819	27	527	1830	53	117
1820	32	499	1831	63	139
1821	40	403	1832	36	96
1822	37	314	1833	11	49
1823	22	211			

Tithe Composition, Ireland.—From the year 1824 to 1832, both inclusive, there has been advanced from the consolidated fund in Ireland, for the payment of commissioners appointed on behalf of the incumbents and

parishes for establishing a composition of tithes, the sum of 149,392*l.* 13*s.* 6½*d.*; of this sum there has been repaid, by incumbents, 14,925*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*, by parishes 28,606*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.*; leaving a balance due to the public of 105,860*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.*

Metropolitan Police Assessment.—Returns of the annual value of the property in each of the several parishes and extra-parochial places within the Metropolitan Police District, upon which the last Rate for the Relief of the Poor to the 5st of April, 1833, was assessed.

	£.		£.
Acton	8852	St. Clement Danes	68,043
Artillery Ground, Old	3663	St. George in the East	125,131
Barnes	7228	St. Geo., Hanover Sq.	537,604
Battersea	26,110	St. George, Southwark	98,280
Bermondsey	72,438	St. Giles and St. Geo.	227,532
Bethnal Green	76,424	St. James, Westminster	232,568
Brentford, New	745	St. John, Hampstead	31,372
Bromley	21,898	St. John, Southwark	34,710
Camberwell	122,967	St. John, Wapping	20,014
Charter-house	65	St. John, Westminster	47,718
Chelsea	119,144	St. Katharine	9513
Chiswick	12,709	St. Luke, Middlesex	9,387
Christ Church (Middl.)	28,395	St. Margaret, Westm.	96,968
Christ Church (Surrey)	36,106	St. Martin in the Fields	147,900
Clapham	30,070	St. Mary, Islington	153,775
Clerkenwell	160,140	St. Marylebone	727,033
Ealing	25,935	St Mary, Newington	109,533
Fulham	26,308	St Mary-le-Strand	11,119
Furnival's Inn	3185	St Mary, Stratford, Bow	15,009
Gray's Inn	15,832	St. Mary, Whitechapel	113,319
Greenwich	53,692	St Nicholas, Deptford	7968
Hackney	95,071	St Olave, Southwark	28,843
Hammersmith	26,162	St Pancras, Middlesex	441,241
Kensington	93,400	St Paul, Covent Garden	39,556
Lambeth	282,380	St. Paul, Deptford	27,193
Lincoln's Inn	10,799	St Paul, Shadwell	17,810
Mile End New Town	9,409	St. Saviour, Southwark	69,635
Mile End Old Town	72,240	St Sepulchre	12,580
Paddington	74,147	St Thomas, Southwark	3045
Penge	793	Saffron Hill, &c.	32,045
Poplar	97,407	Savoy	3685
Putney	20,152	Shoreditch	no Return
Ratcliff	23,985	Stoke Newington	13,520
Rotherhithe	49,300	Streatham	20,682
Rolls Liberty	12,775	Tooting	5907
St. Andrew & St George	109,313	Tower, Without	1855
St Anne, Limehouse	30,729	Tower, Within	no Return
St. Anne, Westminster	58,122	Trinity, Minories	5198
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate	33,780	Wandsworth	16,748

The above amounts are, for the most part, those of the rack rents, but in some cases, in different proportions below it. It also includes the rental of premises which are excused in the poor rate assessment, in consequence of being empty, or for other causes.

Registration of Slaves—Number of Slaves in each of the West India Colonies as they stood at the original and at the last registration, with the dates of such registrations.

		Males.	Females.	Total.
Antigua	1817	15,053	17,216	32,269
„	1827	14,066	15,773	29,839
Barbadoes	1817	35,354	42,139	77,493
„	1829	37,691	44,211	81,902
Bahamas	1822	5529	5279	10,808
„	1828	4608	4660	9268
Berbice	1817	13,802	10,747	24,549
„	1831	11,020	9625	23,768
Bermuda	1820	2505	2671	5176
„	1830	2107	2264	4371
Demerara	1817	44,137	33,730	77,867
„	1832	34,368	31,188	65,556
Dominica	1817	8624	9335	17,959
„	1826	7362	8030	15,392
Grenada	1817	13,737	14,292	28,029
„	1831	11,432	12,172	23,604
Jamaica	1817	173,319	172,831	346,150
„	1829	158,254	164,167	322,421
Montserrat	1817	3047	3563	6610
„	1827	2867	3395	6262
Nevis	1817	4685	4917	9602
„	1831	4526	4616	9142
St. Christopher	1817	9685	10,483	20,168
„	1831	9141	9944	19,085
St. Lucia	1816	7394	8891	16,285
„	1831	6119	7229	13,348
St. Vincent	1817	12,743	12,475	25,218
„	1831	11,216	11,781	22,997
Tobago	1819	7633	7837	15,470
„	1832	5603	6488	12,091
Trinidad	1816	14,133	11,411	25,544
„	1828	12,591	11,185	23,776
Virgin Islands	1818	3231	3668	6899
„	1828	2510	2889	5399

STAMPED AND UNSTAMPED PUBLICATIONS.

A Mr. Joshua Hobson, it appears, has been lately convicted at Huddersfield for publishing an unstamped newspaper, entitled *The Voice of the West Riding*, and not being able, or not choosing, to pay the consequent penalties, has been committed to the Wakefield House of Correction for six months. Upon this event a great outcry has been raised by a part of the newspaper press, which is in the habit of boasting loudest both of its honesty and its logic, but which, on the present occasion, has not shown much of either.

Mr. Hobson and his associates, according to the *True Sun*, (see that paper for August 13th,) were led to think that they might publish their unstamped newspaper with impunity by the example of the *Penny Magazine*. It is possible that this assertion may not be a mere rhetorical flourish, or a falsehood. These persons being constantly told by the *True Sun*, and other oracles professing an equal zeal for the diffusion of truth, that the *Penny Magazine* was allowed to be published without a stamp merely through the favour of the Government, may have believed that such was really the case. But when the editor of the *True Sun* goes on to say, "they saw that work established in defiance of the Stamp Office," we take leave to tell him that, enlightener of the popular ignorance as he would be thought, he asserts that which is false, and which he well knows to be false—aye, as false (though certainly not quite so indecent) as any of the quack doctors' advertisements, which he also daily serves up for the edification of his readers.

The *Penny Magazine* is published "in defiance of the Stamp Office," only in the same sense in which it may be said to be published in defiance of the office of the *True Sun* itself: the Stamp Office has nothing to do with it. It is not a publication coming under any of the statutes which give the Stamp Office a right of interference. It might as well be asserted, that Johnson's *Dictionary* is published in defiance of the Stamp Office.

The law on this subject is contained in the statute 60th Geo. III. chap. 9. That act imposes a stamp duty only upon periodical publications, the successive parts or numbers of which appear at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days, and which treat of matters belonging to church or state. The words of the statute are these: "All pamphlets and papers containing any public news, intelligence, or occurrences, or any remarks or observations thereon, or upon any matters in Church and State, printed in any part of the United Kingdom for sale, and published periodically, or in parts and numbers, at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days between the publication of any two such pamphlets or papers, parts or numbers, where any of the said pamphlets or papers, parts or numbers respectively, shall not exceed two sheets, or shall be published for sale for a less sum than sixpence, exclusive of the duty by this act imposed thereon, shall be deemed and taken to be newspapers, within the true intent and meaning of several other acts of Parliament now in force relating to newspapers, and be subject to such and the same duties of stamps," &c. The *Penny Magazine* does not treat of matters in church or state; it does not give public news, intelligence, or occurrences. The law demands a stamp only in the case of newspapers; the *Penny Magazine* is not a newspaper. It is not the description of publication for which a stamp is necessary; and therefore, and for no other reason, it is published without one.

This appears so simple a matter that, having been stated, it is difficult to conceive that any person should not be able to understand it. Yet, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless undeniable, that not only the *True Sun*, but sundry other newspapers have persisted for a very long time in at least pretending not to see the distinction which we

have just stated. The *Examiner* and *Spectator* in particular, in a manner very unworthy of the talent with which they are both conducted, have repeatedly descended to retail to their readers what they must have known to be the absurd imputation, of the *Penny Magazine* being allowed to be published without a stamp, because it was patronised by certain members of the Government. No refutation of this wretched nonsense ought to have been needed; but it so happens that the matter was some months ago very well and clearly explained in a reply which appeared in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal* to a very extraordinary attack by the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, on the illegality and unfairness of the very thing which that publication had itself been practising for many years. For if the *Literary Gazette* was allowed to be published without a stamp, as it is, it would certainly puzzle most people to assign a reason why the *Penny Magazine* should not. But the worthy editor, while penning that strange effusion, seemed to have forgotten his own case altogether. It was not a person rebuking his neighbour for a particular sin, being himself notorious for his addiction to another as bad, or worse; but the very perpetrator of the alleged offence coming forward with apparent unconsciousness, to address the public through an attack on his neighbour, in vehement denouncement of his own conduct. It might be hard to say, indeed, whether the oblivion was real or pretended; but take it either way, the exhibition was an exceedingly rich one. Mr. Chambers will excuse us, if we insert a passage from his remarks on this subject:

"For our own part, we most emphatically remonstrate against this system which the *London Literary Gazette*, and other papers above sixpence in price, have adopted, of denouncing to the stamp laws all literary sheets published below that standard of money. The stamp laws say, as plainly as words can speak, that all sheets which publish news and occurrences, and comment upon matters of church and state, shall pay duty. But the papers above sixpence give another reading to the law, and say, that all sheets published at a cheaper price than theirs shall be liable to impost. We had thought the law severe enough, since it prevented the people from getting news and politics without duty; but the severity of the law is liberality itself to the pseudo-liberal newspapers, which would urge the Government, against its own will, to tax the dissemination of general knowledge also. The case is exactly the same ludicrous one, as if the muslin mercer were to denounce war against the clothier for attracting customers to purchase his more substantial articles, to the neglect of gauzes and crapes. It is a mere commercial war, in which a regard to self has completely blinded the assailing party to those very principles of justice and truth which they affect to advocate zealously in general questions."

Unstamped periodicals, however, are no new thing among us. We have had many others, besides the *Literary Gazette*, for years past. This being considered, it does seem extraordinary that the outcry should have been raised on the subject which we have recently heard. Why, whatever the above-mentioned newspapers may pretend, they, and all the world, must have known perfectly well long ago, that periodical works, not giving news, nor discussing matters in church or state, might be published by any body without a stamp. Has not the well-known little work called *The Mirror*, for instance, been so published for many years? Had we not *The Olio*, *The Casket*, and dozens of other similar unstamped publications, long before the *Penny Magazine* was ever heard of? Were these all specially protected by their connexion with his Majesty's Ministers; or would not any body in those days have been laughed at for asserting that such either was or possibly could be the case? Yet, now we have our public instructors gravely pretending not to be able to account on any other except such a monstrous and perfectly ridiculous supposition, for the impunity of the unstamped *Penny Magazine*. They never before heard of such a thing, forsooth, as a publication of that cost issued without a stamp—and they cannot conceive how it can be done in the present case, except in the way that has been mentioned.

When the case of Hobson was mentioned in the House of Commons, the Solicitor General explained the law just as we have stated it. He said, "that if the man had been imprisoned merely for selling an unstamped penny publication, then undoubtedly the punishment was illegal, but if the offence was the selling of an unstamped newspaper, he had incurred the penalty of the law, and must suffer it." Having quoted these words, "Here," exclaims the editor of the *True Sun*, "is a *salvo* for the tender conscience of the Lord Chancellor! To sell an unstamped penny *publication*—the *Penny Magazine*, to wit, or any other periodical to which the society of Useful Knowledge may lend its countenance—is quite legal; but to sell an unstamped *Newspaper* (mark the distinction, reader) is a palpable violation of Whig law! A '*publication*,' in short, according to the Whigs, is not a '*Newspaper*'—and, conversely, a '*Newspaper*,' is not a '*publication*.' Now all this, though eminently in accordance with the genius of Whig logic, does not happen to satisfy us." This, we suppose, is intended for something very severe. If the readers of the *True Sun* take it for either good sense or honest absurdity, they must be very easily gulled.

These attacks upon the penny publications, and demands that the arm of the law should be stretched out to put them down, seem to come with no very good grace from the quarters where they have been most eagerly urged—from the newspapers that are most in the habit of obtruding upon the public their anxiety for the diffusion of knowledge of all kinds among the people. We should rather expect to find such newspapers expressing their satisfaction, that the law permitted so much information to be dispensed at a rate at which the people could afford to purchase it. What should we think of those who objected to the prohibition against the importation of foreign corn free from duty, on the ground that it diminished the supply of bread, were they to clamour incessantly for a tax upon the importation of foreign beef, if that also were an article of large consumption among the people? Would not their conduct appear to be rather inconsistent, and hardly to be explained upon any other supposition, except that they had some private interests of their own to serve, for the sake of which they were willing enough that a blow, no matter how heavy, should be given to those of the public? The newspapers which profess to wish for the diffusion of knowledge, and yet desire a law to put down the cheap non-political publications, are equally inconsistent. The people at present are not allowed to have political information without a tax, unless they receive it in the way in which our own work supplies it—at an interval of a month. If this be an evil, it is surely some mitigation rather than an aggravation of it, that they may have all other knowledge duty-free. This is something for patriots and philanthropists to rejoice in, not to rail against. But both philanthropy and patriotism are sometimes apt strangely to forget themselves.

It appears that the greater number of informations against the dealers in unstamped newspapers have been laid by common informers for the penalties. This, we should apprehend, would be decisive upon the question of liability to prosecution to any but the most prejudiced. The unstamped newspapers are clandestinely sold to very humble shopkeepers. The *Penny Magazine*, and similar publications, such as the *Saturday Magazine*, and *Chambers' Journal*, are sold not only by hawkers and small dealers, but by the most respectable booksellers in the metropolis and every provincial town. If their sale were any violation of the law, why are the persons who can pay the penalties not informed against? Informers are in general a sharp-sighted race. But we have a word to add upon this matter. We complain not that the *Government* has been too severe with the dealers in unstamped *newspapers*, but that they have not been severe enough. We complain that they have left the matter too much in the hands of informers. As long as the law exists imposing a stamp of fourpence upon "pamphlets and papers containing any public news," that law should be rigidly enforced. Our own opinions have been already expressed as to the impolicy of that law. Its evasion, however, by the publishers of unstamped newspapers lets loose upon us a great many of the evils that some persons dread from the licentiousness of the press, without any of the advantages of the cheaper, and therefore more extended, diffusion of political knowledge.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 10. OCTOBER 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Last Year's Emigration to the Canadas	145	The New Beer-Houses	152
Public General Acts	148	Abolition of the Monopoly of the East India Company	156
Private Bills of the Session of Parliament, 1833	150	General Education	159

LAST YEAR'S EMIGRATION TO THE CANADAS.

In the course of the late Session of Parliament a paper was printed by order of the House of Commons, consisting of Copies or Extracts of the Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of the British Colonies in North America and Australia, since the last returns, in as far as relates to the question of Emigration. We propose, in the present article, to lay before our readers some of the most interesting facts communicated in this document, with a few such remarks as the subject suggests, or seems to call for.

Emigration, conducted properly and in the most advantageous circumstances, dispenses its benefits at once in three directions. It improves the condition of the emigrant himself, of the country from which he is removed, and of the other country in which he settles. It is a process, therefore, which each of these three parties is interested in promoting, and it may be often worth while that it should be carried on by the co-operation of them all.

A case of this description, in all respects, seems to present itself in the relative circumstances of two countries so situated as Great Britain on the one part and Canada on the other. In the former, at present, we have a superabundant labouring population, with the natural consequences of that state of things—a general depression of the wages of labour, and a wide-spread and most burthensome pauperism. In the latter there is a scarcity of labourers, with a consequent high price of labour, and plenty of employment for all who want it. The transference of a portion of our population to Canada would at once, to a certain extent, adjust and rectify all these inconveniences. The persons so transferred would exchange a scanty and precarious subsistence, or a degrading dependence upon public charity, for bread enough and to spare, made sweet by the reflection that they had worked for whatever they consumed, and been liberally rewarded for their work. Instead of pining and withering away in an overstocked or exhausted soil, they would go to strike root and flourish in one full of nourishment, and where there was ample room for all. The market of labour in England would be relieved from part of the pressure that now keeps it down, the situation of the body of labourers who remained at home would be made more comfortable, and the weight of the poor-rates upon the rest of the community would be lightened. In Canada the woods would be cut down; the ground would be tilled and sown; towns and villages would be enlarged and multiplied; civilization would be carried out over many parts that are now uninhabited wastes; arts and manufactures would be gradually introduced; the wealth of the colony, and of all classes in it, would be increased; and along with that both its value to the mother country, and its power of maintaining its rights against attacks, whether from thence or from any other quarter. In short, what is a load upon us would be a support to it, and it would derive its best strength from what is a source of weakness to us.

Two incidental advantages which Canada holds out as a receptacle for the surplus population of Great Britain, are the identity of the language generally spoken there with our own, and the comparative shortness of the voyage which takes an emigrant to its shores from ours. It is the latter of these circumstances which must, for a long time to come, make it the most attractive of all our colonial dependencies for the great mass of emigrants. If it be compared, for instance, with New Holland or Van Diemen's Land, the demand for labourers may be as great in the two latter settlements; but, being so much more distant than the Canadas, they must, on that account alone, fail to draw anything like an equal share of the general emigration from the mother country. If the Canadas did not exist, the Australian colonies would be much sooner peopled. The former may be regarded as a station placed half way on the road to the latter, which intercepts nearly all that might otherwise have passed on.

For this reason, in fact, until the Canadas shall have received nearly all of our surplus population which they can absorb, there can be no voluntary and unaided emigration to Australia on an extensive scale. Our colonies in that quarter can only be supplied with labourers by the employment of some extraordinary stimulus to force emigration; such as the banishment thither of certain descriptions of criminals, or the bribing of persons to go out, by the colony or the government undertaking to defray the expenses of the voyage, or to make them grants of land, or to secure them some other similar advantage. Now such encouragements, it is sufficiently obvious, never can be applied except to a very limited extent. It is not to be imagined that we ever shall be able to draft off in this way such considerable numbers of our surplus labourers as shall sensibly ease the pressure occasioned by their excess. The subject of Australian emigration, therefore, is one of quite a different description from that of emigration to the Canadas. It is one in which we in this country are comparatively but little interested, except only in so far as the prosperity of our Australian colonies may be interesting to us. It is in the main their concern, not ours. New Holland and Van Diemen's Land may be benefited by the few hundreds of British labourers that may by any means be annually induced to resort to them: but neither will the condition of the great body of British labourers be at all bettered by this slight diminution of their numbers, nor can any relief be thence looked for to the general community of this country.

For the present, therefore, we propose to confine our attention to that portion of the returns before us which relates to the emigration that has recently taken place to the British colonies in North America. The information which is presented upon this subject is chiefly contained in a report addressed to Lord Aylmer, the governor of Canada, by Mr. Buchanan, chief agent for the superintendence of emigrants in that colony, and in various documents forming an appendix to that communication. We shall endeavour to comprise, under a few distinct heads, the principal facts to be collected from these statements.

It appears that the number of the emigrants who arrived in Canada from all parts (except the United States) in the course of the last year, was 51,746. The arrivals take place during the seven months from about the beginning of May to the end of November, being the season during which the navigation of the St. Lawrence is open; but they are very few in number after the middle of October. Last year, in the week ending the 19th of May, there were 6072 arrivals, and in that ending the 9th of June there were 10,599. Of the whole number, 46,246, or more than eight-ninths, had taken place by the 11th of August, or in the first fourteen of the twenty-eight weeks of which the season consists. The advantage to the emigrant of arriving in the country with a considerable part of the summer before him, instead of at the commencement of the inclement winter of that climate, is sufficiently obvious. Mr. Buchanan remarks, in one of the weekly notices appended to his general report, that the emigrants who come out even so late as towards the end of July and August, generally belong to a poorer class than those who make their appearance earlier. All who have

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

sufficient command of resources to enable them to make the voyage when they please, instead of being obliged to wait till they can, will of course time their movements so as to secure the greatest advantages.

It had, it seems, been the general opinion in the colony that the arrivals of 1832 would very greatly exceed in number those of the preceding year. It was thought they might probably amount to 80,000. Mr. Buchanan, however, states that he always expressed his opinion that this would be found a fallacious calculation; his conclusion being "principally," as he says, "drawn from the fact, that great pains were taken by some persons opposed to the introduction of British emigrants into the Canadas, to circulate unfounded reports respecting the extent of distress endured by them on arrival, and of a general want of employment in every part of the country." It turned out that the increase upon the number of the preceding year was very insignificant. In 1829 the arrivals were 15,945; in 1830, 28,000; and, in 1831, 50,254; but here the progressive increase stopped, or at least was reduced to little more than one-thirtieth of its former rate, the actual increase on the year, as already stated, being not quite 1500. In the arrivals from Ireland there was a great falling off, the number for 1831 having been 34,133, while that for 1832 was only 28,204. Of this difference, however, by far the smallest portion was occasioned by the declension of emigration from the most civilized parts of the island. The ports of Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, and Newry, which sent out 19,579 emigrants in 1831, still sent out 17,492 in 1832, exhibiting a decrease of only about eleven per cent.; while the decrease from the ports of Waterford, Ross, Cork, Limerick, and Sligo, was from 11,948 to 8440, or very nearly thirty per cent. From the whole of Scotland there was a small increase of 144; the number for 1831 having been 5356, while that for 1832 was 5500. The sources of the emigration, however, from that part of the island, had shifted considerably. From Greenock, for instance, there only arrived 1716 persons in 1832, instead of 2988, which was the number the preceding year; and from the ports of Dumfries, Ayr, Inverness, and Grangemouth, which in 1831 sent out 644, there were no arrivals at all in 1832. On the other hand, those from Leith had increased from 664 to 1145; those from Dundee from 249 to 439; those from Aberdeen from 158 to 478; and there were 906 persons from Campbelton, Stranraer (that, we suppose, is what is meant by *Strancour*), Isla, Annan (if that be the *Aunon* of the list), Alloa, Leven, and Irvine, from none of which places were there any arrivals the preceding year. But although the emigrants sailed from new ports, it does not follow that there was a change to the same extent in the districts from which they came. From England the number of arrivals in 1831 was 10,343, and 17,481 in 1832. Hull is the only port from which the numbers for the two successive years exhibit any considerable decrease on the second, the arrivals thence in 1831 having been 2780, and only 1288 in 1832. From Liverpool there was 2261 the former year, and 2217 the latter; the only other ports, the successive numbers from which exhibit a decrease, are Southampton, Gloucester and Frome, Carmarthen, Worthington, and Whitby, the aggregate amount of arrivals from these places having been 925 in 1831, and the following year only 482. From London, in 1831, there were 1135, and in 1832, 4150; from Plymouth, 474 the former year, and 1398 the latter; from Bristol the numbers were successively 764 and 1836; from Whitehaven, 138 and 795; from Maryport, 421 and 884; from Sunderland, 86 and 206; from Yarmouth, 514 and 793; and from Shoreham, Portsmouth, Newport, Dartmouth, Torquay, Exeter, Padstow, Milford, Swansea, Aberystwith, Llanelly, Scarborough, Stockton, Colchester, and Lynn, from all of which together only 30 persons came in 1831, there came no fewer than 2396 in 1832. In the latter year there were 9 arrivals from Hamburgh and Gibraltar, 6 from Demerara, and 546 from Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and New Brunswick, from none of which places had there been any in 1831. Mr. Buchanan, however, states "that although the recorded number of persons arrived this year (1832) exceeds that of last by 1492, yet owing to the abuses in violation of the Passenger Act last year, by some shipmasters, in making short reports of the number on board, the total number of emigrants by the St. Lawrence, arrrived in the Canadas in 1831, have exceeded that of the present season by about 5000." But "the excess," he adds, "will be more than counterbalanced by the influx of British and German emigrants into Upper Canada, who come by way of New York and Philadelphia;" so that "it will be found that the number of emigrants arrived this year, and actually settled in the Canadas, will vary little from 85,000." Of the 51,746 who came from other places than the United States, 19,830 were grown up males, 17,052 were grown up females, and 14,864 were children under fourteen years of age.

The next important point of inquiry is, to what description of persons the emigrants generally belong, and whether those of last year appear to have been of a class inferior or superior to those of preceding years. In the first place, of the whole number, 4988 were persons who had obtained the means of emigrating from their landlords or their parishes. These pauper emigrants, as they may be designated, were chiefly from the counties of York, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedford, Northampton, Kent, Sussex, Hants, Somerset, and Gloucester. Mr. Buchanan intimates, that those of them who receive their allowances of money previous to their embarkation, occasionally squander it on board the ship, or avail themselves of it after they have landed, to enable them to live for a short time at Quebec or Montreal, in idleness, instead of immediately exerting themselves to procure employment. He suggests therefore that, instead of its being, as at present, left optional with the parish authorities, it should be made compulsory upon them to adopt the plan of transmitting funds for the use of their emigrants recommended by the Commissioners for Emigration in London, according to which, while the paupers have their necessary expenses paid, up to their arrival at the place of their ultimate destination, they are not allowed to have the disbursement of any money themselves until they are fairly located. The late Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon), however, we observe, expresses himself as opposed to this suggestion, chiefly on the ground that its adoption "would create a responsibility and multiplication of duties, which no establishment that the government could conveniently support would be adequate to meet." It would appear, therefore, that this which the Commissioners have recommended as the best plan, is, after all, one which it is wished should be followed in as few instances as possible. It seems to us that government either ought not to undertake the business of managing this matter at all, or ought to be prepared to perform to its full extent the task it has imposed on itself. But we do not imagine that there would be required for this purpose any such considerable extension of existing establishments as Lord Goderich appears to have apprehended. The funds required for the use of all these pauper emigrants, while proceeding to their new settlements, might probably be transmitted through the government offices without giving much more trouble than is occasioned by the partial transmission which takes place at present.

Another division of the emigrants are those who pass under the denomination of Commuted Pensioners, being old soldiers who have been induced to resign their pensions for a grant of land in the colony. From their previous habits, and also from their time of life, this class of persons are in general, it may be apprehended, by no means the best suited for making their way in a new country, or engaging in an enterprize in which industry, sobriety, and prudence, together with health and vigour of body, are indispensable to success. They are not likely, in general, to benefit either the colony or themselves. The experiment of sending out these pensioners, accordingly, may, we believe, be considered as having failed, both in Canada and elsewhere. The number sent to Canada in 1832 was 1700; and Lord Goderich, in his letter to the governor, states, that probably no more will be sent out.

The great body of the emigrants of last year, according to Mr. Buchanan, were of a description above the average of preceding years. "Many respectable and wealthy families," he says, "came from all parts of the United Kingdom; and the extent of property and actual specie brought into the country by them has been exceedingly great, fully amounting to from 600,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* sterling." He afterwards speaks of one gentleman who had brought with him 4000*l.*; and of another who had a credit at the Quebec bank from a London banking house to the extent of 16,000*l.* Of those who had no such wealth as this the majority seem to have been in easy circumstances.

We will now proceed to state the manner in which the emigrants were disposed of after their arrival. A circumstance which last year occasioned extraordinary difficulties both to the emigrants themselves, and to the authorities

appointed to superintend their distribution and settlement, was the appearance in the colony of the cholera, early in June. The first cases having occurred among the emigrants, the inhabitants not unnaturally looked upon them as the importers and propagators of the disease, and for some time could hardly be persuaded by any inducement to afford them a night's shelter. On this account many of the unhappy strangers were exposed to the greatest privations, and they fell victims to the scourge in considerable numbers. There were 2350 of them in all carried off. The loss of their natural protectors made it necessary for a good many widows and orphans to be sent back to England. The number of persons thus returned upon the mother country, including about a hundred of the pensioners, and a few lazy characters, of whom nothing could be made, was 850. To these deductions are to be added 3346 individuals who went to the United States. The remaining 45,200 settled in the Canadas; but in very unequal portions in the two great divisions of the country; 35,000 having proceeded to Upper Canada, and only 10,200 having remained in the lower province. Of the latter, the city and district of Quebec absorbed 4500, and Montreal 4000.

Mr. Buchanan's report, and the documents by which it is accompanied, are extremely interesting and valuable on account of the authentic information they supply respecting the rates of wages in the colony, and other particulars intimately affecting the prospects of the settlers. In Upper Canada, particularly, the labourers who went out last year are stated to have received from all classes a hearty welcome. All the information, Mr. Buchanan says, that he has received from the several districts to which they principally proceeded, speaks loudly in favour of their prosperous condition. He adds, "The demand for all classes of working people has never been exceeded in the Canadas, particularly since the abatement of the cholera, and I can assure your Lordship, that during my late tour through the districts and settlements in Upper Canada, I did not meet an industrious emigrant who could not meet with employment; the number of that class arrived this year is not adequate to supply the demand created by the more wealthy emigrants. This was particularly felt in the western and London districts of the upper province; where the want of labourers was so great, that it was found necessary to encourage a number to come over from Ohio and Pennsylvania." The settlement of almost every portion of Upper Canada, indeed, is stated to be going on with great rapidity; villages rising, and buildings extending, in all directions. It is the simultaneous influx of labour and capital that is thus turning the wilderness into the home of civilization and busy industry. Either alone would be equally inefficient to produce the change. Without capital, which is merely the accumulated results of past labour, the present labour that is necessary to operate the transformation could not be procured or sustained. If there were no such thing as capital to do its part in the process, such a country as Canada, it may be safely affirmed, would remain uncultivated to the end of time. In climates where the earth yields its increase almost spontaneously, or with comparatively slight solicitation, labour may begin its work, and carry it on for some time, without the aid of capital created by previous labour; but in these rugged and inhospitable regions, the tiller of the ground would perish before the seed he had sown had begun to germinate, if his only dependence, in the meanwhile, were upon the proffered bounty of nature. In other words, the labourer would be as helpless without the capitalist, as the capitalist would be without the labourer.

In 1832, at Quebec, the wages per day of masons are stated to have been from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.*; those of carpenters, for whom there was a great demand, and whose wages rose accordingly, from 4*s.* to 5*s.*; those of smiths, from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*; and those of miners, and common labourers, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* Labourers at the cove, had from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*; boom men, 5*s.*; broad-axe men, from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*; narrow-axe men, from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*; and sawyers, 6*s.* 6*d.* Labourers on board of ships had from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per day, and were found on board with the best of every thing. In Quebec, Mr. Buchanan states, at no time throughout the year, was the slightest inconvenience felt from the increase of numbers, or the accumulation of emigrant labourers and artificers; but, on the contrary, a very general difficulty was experienced by master tradesmen and contractors, in getting hands to carry on their work, at an advanced rate of wages. He mentions several buildings, the progress of which was interrupted by the want of artificers and other labourers. Another fact which is noticed is very gratifying. "A very considerable number of labourers, servants, and mechanics," says Mr. Buchanan, "found profitable employment in Quebec and Montreal, and the accumulation of wealth by them, in general, is a certain proof that their industry has met a fair reward; and I have latterly witnessed a very great disposition among the working emigrants of last, and the preceding seasons, to find opportunities to get transmitted their little earnings to the United Kingdom, to aid their friends coming out to join them." There cannot be desired any better proof than this of the improved circumstances in which these persons find themselves in their new country. Comparing their previous with their present condition, they are so completely convinced of the superiority of the latter, that they not only wish their friends to join them, but are even willing to advance the funds necessary to enable them to make the adventure. It is a proof that the earnings of the settlers are more than sufficient for their support, that they are able to spare a portion of them for this purpose. Their willingness to make the loan, also, shews how perfectly satisfied they are that those by whom the money is accepted, should they come out, will soon be able to pay it back.

The facts that have been stated, we think, completely make out the advantages that are within the reach of those of our labouring population who are willing to emigrate to Canada, and whose steadiness and enterprize, as well as their time of life, fit them to make their way in a new country. The evidence also that we have of the capabilities of this colony to receive annually large importations of new comers without inconvenience, derived from the numbers which it has already absorbed, is exceedingly encouraging to the scheme of relieving our own overstocked market of labour by sending a portion of the commodity thither, where it is so much more in request. A letter from an inhabitant of Quebec, which is appended to Mr. Buchanan's Report, says, "The demand for labourers and mechanics is much greater here than it is in Europe. The emigrant Irish population of Quebec, and the townships in the immediate neighbourhood, I should incline to estimate, at present, about 13,000. In my opinion there are fewer pauper emigrants in Quebec and the province now than in former years. * * * The greater the emigration, the more cleared the country will become; markets thereby will be better supplied, and less chance will there then be for bad harvests or scarcity of provisions. The prospect for able-bodied labourers and mechanics cannot be better, if we but a moment consider the various improvements taking place in the cities and country parishes. As long as the trade of the Canadas is not impeded or interfered with, by restrictive policy in the mother country, the accommodations of the ports of Quebec and Montreal must become more enlarged every year: the revenue consequently must increase, and the internal improvements, both in town and country, be carried on on a more enlarged scale, thereby affording the emigrant on his arrival immediate employment—his grand, and it ought to be impressed upon him, his only protection against poverty in the winter." And other accounts speak in equally unqualified terms of the certainty that the colony for many years to come will continue able to receive large annual additions to its population from the mother country. On its part, however, the latter may do much to assist and accelerate a process in which it has so deep an interest. Parishes may apply the money that maintains their paupers at home in idleness to pay their passage to America, and by so doing get rid of them for ever. Of course, the emigration in all cases must be voluntary. No individual must be sent away without his own consent. It is one of the dishonest cries (for it could hardly have been raised in mere ignorance) by which it has been attempted to throw discredit upon pauper emigration, to assert that it was proposed to force the paupers to leave their native country whether they wished to do so or not. There never was a more unfounded calumny. Such a course was never suggested or thought of. The simple ground on which the supporters of the plan have rested their expectations of its success has been, that the pauper, convinced that he was likely to be a gainer by the change, would, in a great many cases, be willing and desirous to emigrate if the parish would supply him with the means. In such cases only has it been proposed that parishes should relieve themselves from their paupers by sending them out of the country. The amount of the pro-

position, in other words, is merely, that when persons subsisting on the poor-rates are disposed to follow the many thousands of their countrymen who are every year attracted to the colonies by the prospect of bettering their fortunes, the parish should come forward to enable them to carry their desire into effect.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS,

Passed in the FIRST Session of the ELEVENTH Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 3° & 4° Gul. IV.

1. To apply certain sums to the service of the year 1833.
2. For raising the sum of twelve millions by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1833.
3. For continuing to his Majesty, until the 5th of April 1834, certain duties on sugar imported into the United Kingdom, and for one year certain duties on personal estates, offices, and pensions in England, for the service of the year 1833.
4. For the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland.
5. For punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.
6. For the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.
7. To indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March, 1834; to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st day of Hilary term 1834, and to allow persons to make and file such affidavits, although the persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their annual certificates.
8. To amend an act for the conveyance of certain premises situate between London Bridge and the Tower of London.
9. For incorporating the members of a society, commonly called "The Seaman's Hospital Society," and their successors, as therein is mentioned and provided; and for the better enabling and empowering them to carry on the charitable and useful designs of the same society.
10. To reduce the duty payable on cotton wool imported into the United Kingdom.
11. For repealing the duties and drawbacks of excise on tiles.
12. To repeal the duties on personal estates continued by an act of the present session of parliament.
13. To provide for the execution of the duties performed by the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland in relation to the public revenue, and to place the management of the assessed taxes and land tax in Scotland under the commissioners for the affairs of taxes.
14. To enable depositors in Savings Banks, and others, to purchase government annuities through the medium of Savings Banks; and to amend an act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Savings Banks.
15. To amend the laws relating to dramatic literary property.
16. To repeal the duties, allowances, and drawbacks of excise on soap, and to grant other duties, allowances, and drawbacks in lieu thereof.
17. For repealing part of an act of the twenty-sixth year of King George the Third, for better securing the duties on starch, and for preventing frauds on the said duties; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.
18. To apply the sum of six millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year 1833.
19. For the more effectual administration of justice in the office of a justice of the peace in the several police offices established in the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations on the river Thames and its vicinity, for three years.
20. To indemnify witnesses who may give evidence before either house of parliament touching the charge of bribery in the election of burgesses to serve in parliament for the Borough of Stafford.
21. To suspend until the end of the next session of parliament the making of lists, and the ballots and enrolments for the militia of the United Kingdom.
22. To amend the laws relating to sewers.
23. To reduce the stamp duties on advertisements and on certain sea insurances; to repeal the stamp duties on pamphlets, and on receipts for sums under five pounds; and to exempt insurances on farming stock from stamp duties.
24. To amend an act of the tenth year of his late Majesty for regulating the reduction of the national debt.
25. For raising the sum of 15,752,650*l.* by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1833.
26. To repeal so much of an act passed in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-fourth year of his Majesty King George the Third as imposes fines on the masters of vessels lying in the river Liffey for having fires on board.
27. For the limitation of actions and suits relating to real property, and for simplifying the remedies for trying the rights thereto.
28. To repeal an act of the thirteenth year of his Majesty King George the First, for the better regulation of the woollen trade.
29. To make further provisions with respect to the payment of pensions granted for service in the royal artillery, engineers, and other military corps under the control of the Master-general and Board of Ordnance, and with respect to deductions hereafter to be made from pensions granted by the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital.
30. To exempt from poor and church rates all churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship.
31. To enable the election of officers of corporations and other public companies now required to be held on the Lord's Day to be held on the Saturday next preceding, or on the Monday next ensuing.
32. To amend the several acts authorising advances for carrying on public works.
33. To amend three acts passed for maintaining and keeping in repair the military and parliamentary roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and to improve certain lines of communication in the counties of Inverness and Ross.
34. To continue, until the 5th of April, 1835, compositions for the assessed taxes.
35. To remedy certain defects as to the recovery of rates and assessments made by commissioners and other persons under divers inclosure and drainage acts after the execution of the final awards of the said commissioners.
36. To diminish the inconvenience and expense of commissions in the nature of writs *de lunatico inquirendo*; and to provide for the better care and treatment of idiots, lunatics, and persons of unsound mind found such by inquisition.
37. To alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the church in Ireland.
38. To extend to the 21st of January, 1834, and to the end of the then next session of parliament, the time for carrying into execution an act of the first and second years of his present Majesty, for ascertaining the boundaries of the Forest of Dean, and for inquiring into the rights and privileges claimed by free miners of the hundred of Saint Briavels, and for other purposes.
39. To reduce certain of the duties on dwelling houses, and to repeal other duties of assessed taxes.
40. To repeal certain acts relating to the removal of poor persons born in Scotland and Ireland, and chargeable to parishes in England, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof, until the 1st of May, 1836, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.
41. For the better administration of justice in his Majesty's Privy Council.
42. For the further amendment of the law, and the better advancement of justice.
43. For transferring to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods and Forests the several powers now vested in the Holyhead Road Commissioners, and for discharging the last-mentioned commissioners from the future repairs and maintenance of the roads, harbours, and bridges now under their care and management.
44. To repeal so much of two acts of the 7th and 8th, and 9th of George IV., as inflicts the punishment of death upon persons breaking, entering, and stealing in a dwelling-house; also for giving power to the judges to add, to the punishment of transportation for life in certain cases of forgery, and in certain other cases.

45. To declare valid marriages solemnised at Hamburgh since the abolition of the British factory there.

46 To enable burghs in Scotland to establish a general system of police

47. To authorize his Majesty to give further powers to the judges of the Court of Bankruptcy, and to direct the times of sitting of the judges and commissioners of the said court

48 To amend an act of the second and third years of his present Majesty, relating to stage carriages in Great Britain, and also to explain and amend an act of the first and second years of his present Majesty, relating to hackney carriages used in the metropolis

49. To allow Quakers and Moravians to make affirmation in all cases where an oath is or shall be required

50. To repeal the several laws relating to the customs.

51. For the management of the customs

52. For the general regulation of the customs.

53 For the prevention of smuggling

54 For the encouragement of British shipping and navigation

55 For the registering of British vessels.

56 For granting duties of customs.

57 For the warehousing of goods

58 To grant certain bounties and allowances of customs.

59 To regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad

60 For regulating the trade of the Isle of Man

61 To adjust sugar without payment of duty to be refined for exportation

62 To defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain and Ireland and to grant allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, paymasters, quartermasters surgeons, assistant surgeons, surgeons mates, and serjeant majors of the militia until the 1st of July, 1834

63 To render valid indentures of apprenticeship allowed only by two justices acting for the county in which the parish from which such apprentices shall be bound, and for the county in which the parish into which such apprentices shall be bound, shall be situated, and also for remedying defective executions of indentures by corporations

64 To amend an act of the second and third year of his present Majesty, for regulating the care and treatment of insane persons in England

65 To enable the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom to acquire certain lands at Woolwich in the county of Kent, for better securing his Majesty's docks there, and for the improvement of the same

66 To authorize the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to purchase the duties of package, scavage, balliage, and porterage belonging to the corporation of London

67 To amend an act of the second year of his present Majesty, for the uniformity of process in personal actions in his Majesty's courts of law at Westminster

68. To amend the laws relating to the sale of wine, spirits, beer, and cider by retail in Ireland.

69. To extend and enlarge the powers of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works, and Buildings, in relation to the management and disposition of the land revenue of the Crown in Scotland.

70 To alter and amend an act of the forty first year of his Majesty King George the Third, for the better regulation of public notaries in England

71 For the appointment of convenient places for the holding of assizes in England and Wales

72 For carrying into effect two conventions with the King of the French for suppressing the slave trade

73. For the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves.

74 For the abolition of fines and recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple modes of assurance.

75 To continue until the end of the next session of parliament, two acts for the prevention, as far as may be possible, of the disease called the cholera, or spasmodic or Indian cholera, in England and Scotland

76. To alter and amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of the royal burghs in Scotland.

77. To provide for the appointment and election of magistrates and councillors for the several burghs and towns of Scotland, which now return or contribute to return members to parliament, and are not royal burghs.

78. To amend the laws relating to grand juries in Ireland.

79 To provide for the more impartial trial of offences in certain cases in Ireland

80. Requiring the annual statements of trustees or commissioners of turnpike-roads to be transmitted to the Secretary of State, and afterwards laid before parliament.

81 To authorise the application of part of the land revenue of the Crown for providing fixtures, furniture, fittings, and decorations for Buckingham Palace.

82. To allow the people called Separatists to make a solemn affirmation and declaration instead of an oath.

83 To compel banks issuing promissory notes payable to bearer on demand to make returns of their notes in circulation, and to authorize banks to issue notes payable in London for less than fifty pounds

84. To provide for the performance of the duties of certain offices connected with the Court of Chancery, which have been abolished.

85 For effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854

86 To provide for the payment of certain ancient grants and allowances formerly paid out of the civil list revenues.

87 For remedying a defect in titles to messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, allotted, sold, divided, or exchanged under acts of inclosure, in consequence of the award not having been enrolled, or not having been enrolled within the time limited by the several acts; and for authorizing the appointment of new commissioners in certain cases where the same shall have been omitted

88 To continue for seven years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, an act of the fifty ninth year of King George the Third, for facilitating the recovery of the wages of seamen in the merchants service

89 To authorize the issue of a sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund towards the support of the metropolitan police

90 To repeal an act of the eleventh year of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for the lighting and watching of parishes in England and Wales, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof

91 For consolidating and amending the laws relative to juries and juries in Ireland

92 To explain and amend the provisions of certain acts for the erecting and establishing public infirmaries, hospitals, and dispensaries in Ireland

93 To regulate the trade to China and India

94 For the regulation of the proceedings and practice of certain offices of the High Court of Chancery in England.

95 To appoint additional commissioners for executing the acts for granting an aid by a land-tax, and for continuing the duties on personal estates, offices, and pensions.

96 To apply the sum of six millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year 1833, and to appropriate the supplies granted in this session of parliament

97 To prevent the selling and uttering of forged stamps, and to exempt from stamp duty artificial mineral waters in Great Britain and to allow a drawback on the exportation of gold and silver plate manufactured in Ireland

98 For giving to the corporation of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England certain privileges, for a limited period, under certain conditions

99 For facilitating the appointment of sheriffs, and the more effectual audit and passing of their accounts; and for the more speedy return and recovery of fines, issues, forfeited recognizances, penalties, and deodands; and to abolish certain offices in the Court of Exchequer.

100. For the relief of the owners of tithes in Ireland, and for the amendment of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled "An act to amend three acts passed respectively in the fourth, fifth, and in the seventh and eighth years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, providing for the establishing of compositions for tithes in Ireland, and to make such compositions permanent."

101 To provide for the collection and management of the duties on tea.

102. To repeal certain penal enactments made in the par-

liament of Ireland against Roman Catholic clergymen for celebrating marriages contrary to the provisions of certain acts made in the parliament of Ireland.

103. To regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom.

104. To render freehold and copyhold estates assets for the payment of simple contract debts.

105. For the amendment of the law relating to dower.

106. For the amendment of the Law of Inheritance.

PRIVATE BILLS OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, 1833.

In our Prospectus we noticed the importance of what are termed Private Bills, in displaying the resources of the country, and in affording the means of estimating the progress of improvements which advance the prosperity and increase the convenience of the whole people. In our first Number, also, we gave a sketch of the general purposes of Private Bills, and the manner of carrying such bills through both houses of parliament; with a classified enumeration of the number of private bills passed in each year from 1825 to 1832, both inclusive. We now give the total number of petitions for private bills during 1833, with the different stages to which the bills were carried: a comparative classification of those of them that were passed, similar to that above alluded to for previous years; and a detailed abstract of their objects.

I. Numerical abstract of the petitions and private bills for the session 1833:—

Petitions presented to the Commons, or bills brought from the Lords	212
Bills read first time	189
Bills read second time	176
Bills read third time	169
Bills which received the royal assent	166

We must here notice, that the above numbers are those given in the list prepared for the use of the members of the House of Commons, and that they differ slightly from the list of acts given by the king's printer as a table of contents of the acts of the session, and which is of course the more correct. The variation consists in the acts respecting Highland Roads and the London Scavage and Package Duties being printed as public acts, and that for dissolving the Trooper's Fund Society being transferred from the public acts to the private. The real number of private bills passed is therefore 165.

II. Comparative classification of bills passed:—

Agriculture	19
Companies	10
Improvements of Towns and Districts	24
Internal Communications	81
Navigation	3
Private Regulation	28
	165

III. Abstract of petitions and private bills in parliament, session 1833:—

	Petitions.	Passed.	Not passed.
I. Agriculture—			
1. Inclosures	18	15	3
2. Draining	4	4	—
II. Companies—			
1. Cheltenham Sewers	1	1	—
2. Dublin Steam Packet	1	1	—
3. Economic Life Assurance	1	1	—
4. Edinburgh Life Assurance	1	1	—
5. Exeter Water	1	1	—
6. Glasgow Procurators	1	1	—
7. Imperial Continental Gas	1	1	—
8. Leeds Oil Gas	2	1	1
9. New Brunswick Land	1	—	1
10. St. George's Steam Packet	1	—	1
11. St. George's Fund Society	1	1	—
12. Thames Tunnel	1	1	—
III. Improvements of Towns and Districts—			
1. General Improvement	7	6	1
2. Churches, Gaols, Bridges, &c.	14	6	8
3. Local Water-works	6	3	3
4. Local Gas-works	3	1	2
5. Regulation of the Poor, &c.	11	8	3
IV. Internal Communications—			
1. Roads	80	70	10
2. Railways	15	11	4
3. Canal	1	—	1
V. Navigation—			
1. Harbours, &c.	6	2	4
2. Piers	1	1	—
3. Docks	2	—	2
VI. Private Regulations—			
Estates, Naturalizations, Divorces, &c.	30	28	2
	211	165	46

I. Agriculture. The fifteen *Inclosure Bills* passed during the last session were divided among the different counties as follows:—

Cambridge.—1. For inclosing lands in the parish of Oakington, and commuting the tithes in the said parish.

2. For inclosing, dividing, and allotting the commons, droves, and waste lands in the parish of Wisbech St. Mary's.

Cumberland.—3. For inclosing lands within the manor of Little Salkeld in the parish of Addingham.

Derbyshire.—4. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing lands in the township of Middleton by Worksworth.

Glamorganshire.—5. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing the commonable and waste lands in the borough of Loughor, in the manor of Loughor.

Gloucestershire.—6. For inclosing lands in the parish of Elkstone.

Herefordshire.—7. For inclosing lands in the parish of Ganerew.

Somersetshire.—8. For inclosing certain moors or commons called West Moor, East Moor, and Middle Moor.

Suffolk.—9. For inclosing lands within the parish of Lakenheath.

Sussex.—10. For inclosing lands in the parish of Bepton.

Wiltshire.—11. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing lands in the tithing of Hanging Langford, in the parish of Steeple Langford.

Worcestershire.—12. For inclosing lands in the parish of Yardley, and for commuting tithes in the said parish.

Yorkshire.—13. For inclosing lands in the township of Crakenhall, in the parish of Bedale, in the North Riding.

14. For inclosing lands in the township of Great Givendale, in the East Riding.

15. For inclosing lands in the township of Wortley, in the parish of Leeds, in the West Riding.

The acts for draining apply to the following places:—

1. For altering and amending several acts passed for the dramage and improvement of the lands lying in the North Level, part of the Great Level of the Fens called Bedford Level, and in Great Portsand, and in the manor of Crowland; and for providing additional funds for such drainage and improvement by the New Outfall Cut to the sea.

2. To amend two acts for more effectually draining and preserving certain marsh lands or low grounds in the counties of Kent and Sussex, draining into the river Rother and channel of Appledore.

3. For draining and preserving certain fen-lands and low grounds in the parish of Wiggenhall, St. Mary Magdalen, in the county of Norfolk, and other purposes.

4. To alter and amend three previous acts of George III. and IV. for draining lands within the level of Ancholme, in the county of Lincoln, and making certain parts of the river Ancholme navigable.

II. The acts respecting companies incorporated for particular purposes have been,—

1. For the better sewage, cleansing, and draining of the town of Cheltenham.

2. To amend an act for regulating and enabling the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company to sue and be sued.

3. To enable the Economic Life Assurance Company to sue and be sued in the name of any one of the directors or trustees of the said society.

4. To enable the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company to sue and be sued in the name of their manager, secretary, or a limited number of their ordinary directors, to hold property, and for other purposes relating thereto.

5. For more effectually supplying with water the city and county of the city of Exeter, and places adjacent thereto.

6. For the better establishing and securing a fund for

providing annuities to the widows and children of the members of the Faculty of Procurators of Glasgow.

7. For granting certain powers to a company called "the Imperial Continental Gas Association."

8 For dissolving the corporation of the Leeds Oil Gas Light Company, and for vesting the estate and effects of the company in trustees, to be sold for the benefit of the parties interested therein, and for finally settling and adjusting the company's concerns

9. For dissolving the St. George's Fund Society, otherwise called the Trooper's Fund, in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, and for distributing the fund.

10. To amend the acts relating to the Thames Tunnel Company, and to extend the powers thereby given for raising money for the completion of the said tunnel.

III. For improvements of towns and districts there have been passed, –

General Improvement – 1 For paving, lighting, watching, cleansing, and otherwise improving the township or chapelry of Birkenhead, in Cheshire, for regulating the police thereof, and for establishing a market within the said township

2 To explain and amend previous acts, for carrying into effect certain improvements within the city of Edinburgh, and adjacent to the same

3 For paving, cleansing, lighting, watching, and improving the town and parishes of Gravesend and Milton, in the county of Kent, and for removing and preventing nuisances and annoyances therein

4 For paving cleansing, lighting, watching, repairing, and improving a certain portion of the parish of Herne, in the county of Kent

5 For better regulating the market and cleansing the streets, and preventing nuisances in the town of Taunton, in Somersetshire, and for amending two previous acts relative thereto

6 For improving and enlarging the market-places within the city of York, and rendering the approaches thereto more commodious, and for regulating and maintaining the several markets and fairs held within the said city and the suburbs thereof, and for amending a previous act for paving, lighting watching, and improving the said city, and other purposes

Buildings, 7 For raising a sum of money for the repairs of Blackfriars Bridge

8 For erecting a bridge over the river Dungleddan, within the town and county of Haverfordwest.

9 For erecting and maintaining a gaol, court-houses, and public offices for the burgh of Lanark, and the Upper Ward of the county of Lanark, and also for erecting a gaol, court-houses and public offices for the burgh of Hamilton, and Middle Ward of the said county

10 For making the hamlets of Newbold and Armscott a separate parish from the parish of Tredington, in the county and diocese of Worcester, and for building a church, and providing a churchyard and parsonage-house at Newbold

11 For taking down the parish church of Stretton upon Dunsmore, in the county of Warwick, and building a new church in lieu thereof.

12 For building a bridge over the Trent from Walton-upon Trent, in Derbyshire, to Barton under Needwood, in Staffordshire.

Water-works – 13 For better supplying with water the city and county of the city of Exeter, and such part of the parish of St David as is situated in the county of Devon.

14. For supplying with water the town and county of Haverfordwest, and the liberties thereof.

15 For better supplying with water the town and borough of Lewes, and the neighbourhood thereof, in the county of Sussex.

Gas-works – 16 For lighting with gas the borough of Congleton, and the township of Buglawton within the parish of Astbury, in the county of Chester.

Municipal Regulation, &c – 17 For repealing a previous act for the relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon, in the county of Suffolk; and for granting more effectual powers in lieu thereof.

18. For raising money to pay compensation for damages committed within the hundred of Broxtowe, in the county of Nottingham, during the late riots and tumults therein.

19. To alter and amend a previous act passed for better assessing and collecting the poor and other rates in the parish of St. Giles, Camberwell, in the county of Surrey, and regulating the affairs thereof, and for other purposes relating thereto.

20 To appoint trustees for the creditors of the city of Edinburgh.

21 For amending several previous acts passed for the better relief and employment of the poor within the hundred of Forehal, in the county of Norfolk.

22 For the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the township of Hyde and other places therein mentioned, in the county of Chester

23 To alter, amend, and enlarge the powers of a previous act passed for the better relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Mutford and Lothingland, in the county of Suffolk.

24 To alter and enlarge the powers of several acts passed for the better relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Wangford, in Suffolk.

IV Under the head of Internal Communication, there have been passed seventy road-bills, and these have been chiefly for the more effectual repairing of the roads, or for enlarging the powers of the commissioners, &c. It would afford no useful information to detail the names of the particular places for which they were procured We shall, therefore, only state that one is for Ireland, and embraces a more extensive district than is usually included in one English road bill it is for more effectually repairing several roads in the counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Tipperary and also the road from the town of Clonmel, through the county of Waterford, to the cross-roads of Knocklofty, in the said county of Tipperary Two are for Scotland, one for repairing, amending, and maintaining the turnpike roads in the county of Haddington, for rendering turnpike certain statute labour and parish roads, and for more effectually collecting and applying the statute labour in the said county, and one for renewing and extending the terms of the acts relating to the Greenock and Renfrew, and Greenock and Kelly Bridge roads in the county of Renfrew In addition to these is the public act before alluded to, to amend previous acts passed for maintaining and keeping in repair the military and parliamentary roads and bridges in the highlands of Scotland, and to improve certain lines of communication in the counties of Inverness and Ross Six are for Wales, which offer nothing remarkable, and the remaining sixty one are for England

The late session presents the singular feature of there not having been passed a single bill relating to canals. The increased celerity of movement afforded by rail-roads seems to have given a check to any extension of the inland navigation, though not before canals had been carried through the country in almost every direction, and aided most materially in promoting its prosperity, facilitating its commerce, and increasing the comfort and convenience of every class of society In proportion as canal bills have fallen off, railway bills have increased Out of sixteen bills brought into the House of Commons the following eleven have been passed into acts

1 For making a railway from Birmingham to London.

2 and 3 To enable the Clarence (Durham) Railway Company to make certain additional branch railways; and to amend and enlarge the powers of the several acts for making and maintaining the said railway, and a second act to enable the company to make an extension of the line of their railway.

4 For making a railway from Greenwich to London.

5 and 6 To enable the company of proprietors of the Leicester and Swannington Railway, to execute additional works and branches, and for altering and amending the powers of the act relating to the said railway. Also a second act for making and maintaining a railway from the termination of the Leicester and Swannington Railway, in the township of Swannington, in the county of Leicester, to the Ashby-de-la Zouch Railway, in the township of Worthington, in the said county, and a branch railway therefrom This last is called the Coleorton Railway.

7. To alter, amend, and enlarge the powers of a previous act, passed for making and maintaining a railway or tram-road, from Gelly Gille Farm, in the parish of Llanelly, in the county of Carmarthen, to Machynis Pool, in the same parish and county; and for making and maintaining a wet-dock at the termination of the said railway or tram-road at Machynis Pool aforesaid.

8. For making two branch railways from the Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway; and for altering, amending,

and enlarging the powers of the previous act for making the said railway.

9. For enabling the Stratford and Moreton Railway Company to make a new branch of railway to Shipston-upon-Stour, in the county of Worcester.

10. For making a railway from the Warrington and Newton Railway at Warrington, in Lancashire, to Birmingham, in Warwickshire, to be called the Grand Junction Railway.

11. For making a railway from Whitby to Pickering, in the North Riding of the county of York.

V. The acts passed relating to Navigation have been:—

1. For better preserving the harbour of Maryport, and for lighting, and otherwise improving the township of Maryport, in Cumberland.

2. To alter and amend several acts passed relating to the harbour of Rye, in the county of Sussex, and for granting further powers for improving and completing the said harbour, and the navigation thereof.

3. To amend a previous act, passed for rebuilding, or for improving, regulating and maintaining the town-quay of Gravesend, in the county of Kent, and the landing-place belonging thereto; and for building a pier or jetty, adjoining thereto.

VI. The remaining twenty-eight bills fall under the head of *Private Regulations*. Of these, only the two following possess any public interest:—

For settling and preserving Sir John Soane's Museum, Library, and Works of Art, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in the county of Middlesex, for the benefit of the public, and for establishing a sufficient endowment for the due maintenance of the same.

For enabling and directing the trustees, acting under the will of Peter Thellusson, Esq., deceased, to grant certain leases of the estates subject to the trusts of the said will; and for other purposes.

The rest are bills for naturalization, exchanges, estates, divorce, and other matters of entirely individual interest.

It will be observed, on comparison with the statement in our first number, that the amount of private bills has been very considerably less during the late session, than for any of the years there given.

THE NEW BEER HOUSES.

THIS is a subject of such vast public importance in all its bearings, that we mean to devote a considerable part of our space to its consideration. By the two acts of 1 Will. IV. chaps. 51 and 64, both of which came into operation on the 10th of October, 1830, a change was made in the law, calculated to affect various great interests, as well as the comforts and general condition of the mass of the people, perhaps as directly as any measure that ever emanated from parliament. By the first of these statutes all duties upon beer, ale, or cider, brewed in Great Britain, were repealed; and by the second, the right to sell these commodities, which had been hitherto a privilege granted by favour to a comparatively small number of persons, was thrown open to all who chose to exercise it.

To any one at all acquainted with the habits of the people of England, and, therefore, having even the vaguest notion of the immense extent of the consumption of beer in this country, the mere statement of these alterations of the law is enough to convey an impression of consequences of vast magnitude and importance. But a few facts will give a clearer view of the exact amount of the effect that must have been produced by the measure in some of the directions in which it operated.

In the first place, the loss of revenue to the government exceeded three millions sterling per annum; or, deducting somewhat less than a third of this sum as having been recovered by the increased consumption of malt, the diminution was still above two millions a-year. In the three years that have elapsed, about seven millions in all have been given up. Assuming that the revenue could bear this diminution, if the duties on beer had not been abolished, taxes of equivalent amount on some other article would have been repealed instead; and, therefore, the sum we have mentioned may be considered as the price that has been paid for whatever benefits this particular measure has brought with it.

But the remission of taxation, or the actual relief to the people, resulting from the measure, is to be reckoned as amounting to the whole three millions per annum. That sum, which they had hitherto paid every year to the government, the people were henceforth to retain in their pockets, still drinking the same quantity of beer as before. If the consumption of malt has since extended, and that article has yielded a larger revenue, this is because more beer has been drunk by the people than heretofore. Say that the increase of the produce of the malt-tax has been one-eighth, which is so much more money that has been every year drawn from the people through this channel, the fact proves that for every eight pots of beer drunk before the remission of the duties and the opening of the trade, nine pots have been drunk since. Either every beer-drinker has had nine pots where he formerly had eight, or nine persons now consume the beverage for every eight that consumed formerly procure it;—or, what is no doubt the real state of the case, partly the one of these effects has been produced, and partly the other. But, at all events, and let the precise distribution of the benefit have been what it may, its amount is at least what we have stated.

It has most probably, indeed, been a good deal more. Owing to the corn-law, the supply of barley, from which malt is made, is prevented in this country from expanding in proportion to the demand; and, therefore, when the demand rises, (at least within a certain limit,) the price rises also. Such a rise of price has, in fact, been produced by the increased consumption of malt occasioned by the new beer law; and that circumstance has, of course, tended to enhance also the price of beer. But there is every reason to believe, that this influence has been much more than counteracted by other causes which have operated to reduce the price of the beverage. The opening of the trade has, of course, swept away the monopoly profits which the article was formerly made to yield. The largely-increased competition among the dealers in it has, independently of this consideration, produced its natural effect in reducing the rate at which it is sold. The augmented quantity that is disposed of, further goes to enable the dealer to let down his profit upon each separate barrel or pot. If he could formerly exist, and carry on his business with a profit of a penny on each pot, he can do so with a profit of only three farthings upon each, if he now sells four pots where he formerly sold three. Then the expense of fitting-up and maintaining the establishment of a beer-shop is a great deal less than that which the landlord of a public-house has to meet. Lastly, the more active competition which has been excited, and the direction of the trade into a new channel, have already had the effect of introducing improvements into the process of manufacturing beer, by means of which an equally good article can now be produced from a smaller quantity of malt, and, on other accounts, at a less cost generally. What has taken place is, in a multitude of respects, a most striking illustration of the regeneration and entirely new life which is given to a trade or branch of industry, by relieving it from the torpifying pressure of a monopoly, and suffering it to breathe the free air of competition. We ought to add, that in this case an additional relief still has been obtained by the manufacturer in his release from the interference of the excise in the operation of brewing, to which he was subject while the beer paid duty; and even this has, no doubt, its money value, which must be shared by the consumer. We have thus enumerated six different causes, besides the abolition of the duty, all of which must have tended, since the introduction of the new system, to reduce the price of beer. We shall in the sequel have occasion to examine with more precision what the effect of their conjoint operation, in the face of the single cause pressing in the opposite direction, has actually been.

But to one large division of the community, even the single circumstance which has operated to raise the price of beer has been a gain of no slight amount. The first year the trade was opened, the price of barley rose about six shillings the quarter. The measure, therefore, may be truly described as one of the greatest boons ever granted to the agricultural interest.

Such are the most remarkable financial effects which the change of the law has wrought. It may not be possible to ascertain their exact amount in pounds, shillings, and pence; but the general character of each, and the direction in which it has acted, cannot be made matter of dispute or doubt. There can be no question as to the following having been among the results of the new system: a large accu-

fice of the public revenue; a great diminution of the burthen of taxation; a reduction of the price of beer, of which the benefit has been shared by the whole community; and at the same time a rise in the price of barley, of which the agricultural interest has of course had the advantage.

So far all is clear. But besides these results, which must upon the whole be considered as great recommendations of the measure, it has been alleged that the change has brought along with it others of quite an opposite description, and so extensively bearing upon the condition and best interests of the community, that their evil must be regarded as far more than a counterbalance for any merely economical good of which those already mentioned may have been productive. Very soon after the new acts came into operation, this view of their tendency began to spread abroad, and the outcry it occasioned became at length so serious, that, early in the late session of parliament, the House of Commons appointed a select committee of its members to inquire into the subject, with a view of making such alterations in the law as the case might seem to demand. The report of the committee, which was brought up about the end of June, has since been printed by order of the House.

The committee was fifteen days occupied in hearing evidence, and in that time fifty-six witnesses were examined, from various parts of the kingdom, and of different professions and ranks in society. Among the number were clergymen, magistrates, country gentlemen, parish-overseers, excise-officers, brewers, attorneys, licenced victuallers, beer-house keepers, master tradesmen, journeymen mechanics, and labourers. The evidence covers between 200 and 300 folio pages, and consists of answers to between 4000 and 5000 questions.

It would probably be difficult to parallel the contradiction and opposition not only of the opinions expressed by this miscellaneous assemblage of authorities, but even of the facts adduced by them, or of their accounts of the same facts. The mass of their conflicting arguments and statements presents as chaotic a jumble as we remember ever before to have met with in print. We see little reason to think that any one of the fifty-six has asserted anything which he did not believe to be true, in order to make out a case favourable to his own interests; but it is sufficiently manifest that many of them have been powerfully acted upon by impressions which, however honest, have yet been derived, in great measure, from the particular position of each in reference to certain effects which have followed from the late opening of the trade in beer. Thus, for example, the magistrate, whom the new law has deprived of his power of preventing at pleasure the establishment of houses for the sale of fermented liquors, naturally feels prejudiced against an innovation which has so seriously curtailed his authority and influence. The power which has been put an end to was usually exercised, in regard to any particular parish, very much in conformity to the wishes of the clergyman or the resident proprietor, even where they were not themselves in the commission of the peace: and they too, therefore, feel themselves to be losers under the new state of things, or are opposed to it as sharing in the sympathies of their order, or of those with whom they habitually associate. Overseers, parish constables, and excise officers, side from instinct with their superiors. From all these several classes of persons, therefore, we may expect strong evidence against the beer-houses; nor, in truth, does the Report disappoint us in this respect. On the other hand, we may not unreasonably suspect that the pictures of the admirable manner in which those establishments are usually or universally conducted, which we find drawn by the partners or agents of the brewing companies by whom they are supplied with ale, or whose property they are, and by the more ardent lovers of the cheap potations and social cheer which they dispense, are possibly a little too softly tinted.

The Report, however, notwithstanding the contest and confusion of statement which it exhibits, contains a good deal of interesting information. A portion of this we will now endeavour to methodize, collecting as we go along the bearing of the several facts upon the question at issue. The evidence, we may observe, is chiefly if not entirely confined to the great towns of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Stockport, Warwick, Pilkington, Walsall, and Lowes; and to country places in the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks, Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, Bucks, Herts, Oxford, Essex Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, Lancashire, and Durham. It is the south and eastern divisions of England, therefore, almost exclusively, to which the inquiries of the Committee have been directed; no evidence having been obtained with respect to any country parts west of Oxfordshire, or north of Lincoln, with the exception of some portions of the great manufacturing and mining counties of Lancaster and Durham. As to several of the counties enumerated, too, the information collected is extremely scanty and imperfect. And what is very material to be observed is, that the counties in which the operation of the new law is thus exclusively inquired into, are, for the most part, those in which the labouring population was from other causes in the most degraded condition previous to its enactment. With the exception of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire, from which it may be presumed the accounts would have been nearly the same as those from Oxford, Buckingham, and Cambridge, by which they are surrounded, there is scarcely a county in England where the poor-rate has risen beyond an average amount that is not included in the list of those to which the evidence before us refers. On the other hand, the line thus drawn excludes all the northern counties, with the exception, as before mentioned, of certain parts of Durham and Lancaster, all the central portion of England, and all Wales.

In our selections we will begin with the evidence respecting the operation of the new system in the great towns. And this introduces us at once to almost the only point in the case as to which no difference of opinion is expressed; but that point is one of first-rate importance. In the metropolis it appears to be admitted on all hands that the opening of the new beer-houses has been an unquestionable and almost unmixed good. There are fifteen witnesses who speak to this matter, and the evidence of all of them is favourable. John Morris, styled a mathematician, but put down by himself, he says, a mathematical instrument maker, who frequents these houses three or four times in the week, or when it suits him, or when a friend calls upon him, declares he can take his oath that the beer sold at the new houses is in all respects better than that with which he was wont to be served by the licensed victuallers—cheaper, more palatable, and more wholesome,—that this is the opinion of hundreds to whom he has spoken on the subject,—and that he never meets at the beer-shops with any but respectable and orderly persons. He never, he says, saw any drunkenness in these places; "I am speaking," he adds, with great emphasis, "positively, and candidly, and honestly." The only thing that Mr. Morris complains of, is that they shut up so early. "When I have half got through my second pint," he says, "I am obliged to drink it up fast, in a rough way, to accommodate the landlords, in order not to suffer them to be fined; and when I am there and thirsty, I sometimes could stop another hour with great convenience, and without any inconvenience to myself and family." Mr. John Evans, surgeon and apothecary, who is in the habit of sometimes going to the beer-shops, several of their keepers, he says, being patients of his, observes on the subject of the quality of the beer sold there—"I am in the habit of recommending it to all my private patients, and taking it always myself at any time when I drink." So Mr. Thomas Phillips, called a musician, but who asserts that he is no such thing, but has a small independence, and is of no trade, when asked what sort of persons frequent the beer-houses, answers, "Like myself and respectable tradesmen, and two or three doctors and proctors; and a few persons of that kind meet there almost every evening—a very genteel party—but we are obliged to leave too soon." The enactment, obliging keepers of beer-shops to shut their doors and expel their customers at ten o'clock, is the subject of complaint with almost all the London witnesses, and appears, indeed, to have been productive of serious evils. "I should say a great injury has resulted," says Dr. Evans, "and a greater proportion of crime—that is what I say it struck me as being, generally noticing things and drawing a conclusion therefrom—that when those men retire from the beer-houses, very frequently the public-houses, especially gin-shops, are open, and they go from the beer-houses to the gin-shops; whereas, if they were obliged to close at the same hour, there would be less drunkenness, and, I think, less crime." Mr. Penny, accountant and valuer, says, "Myself I have an antipathy to any kind of spirituous liquor, but I have observed that a man that earns a guinea or 25s. a week will go to those beer-houses, and will find that he is not satisfied, and away he runs to a gin-shop. I have

actually noticed it in a clerk of my own. He says, 'It is ten o'clock, I shall not go home yet;' and he goes to a gin-shop, and, after taking a small quantity of ale, he goes and takes some pennyworths of gin, and it upsets the whole frame altogether; but I think if you were to put them all out at eleven o'clock, it would be a great benefit." "I have a lodger with me," says George Bish, a keeper of a beer-house, "that one night had a friend with him; he called for a pot of beer after ten o'clock, and I would not give it him, and he said he would go off to a public-house, and he went to the Marsh Gate, and he stayed till half-past eleven, and he came home, and I was obliged to lead him to bed." Thomas Ellis, another retailer of beer, says, "I have turned out as many as 120 out of my house at ten o'clock at night, and I have gone into the three neighbouring gin-shops and counted 54 out of those 120."

Even in London, however, where the practice has been hitherto by far most prevalent, there is reason to believe that spirit-drinking is beginning to give way before the increased consumption of beer, which has followed the opening of the trade in the latter article. Mr. W. Kimber, broker, of Lambeth, being asked if he is in the habit of going to beer-houses, replies, "Yes, I make a point of going there, for I enjoy the ale much better than I do at other places. Before I used to go there, I used to take a good deal of spirits; and since I have been in the habit of going there, I have not taken any spirits, and my health is better in consequence." William Keay, foreman to Mr. Nunn, coachmaker, in Westminster Bridge Road, states that his men, who now drink ale at the beer-house (for that is the common beverage there), used to drink a good deal of gin formerly when they drank porter, and that they now drink more beer and less spirits. Dr. Evans also asserts, that among mechanics and artisans, the habit of spirit-drinking has very much diminished. So Mr. Farren, brewer, at Nine Elms, Vauxhall, says, "I apprehend there are a great many people that were in the habit of drinking grog, that now drink ale instead."

Mr. Farren's evidence is extremely interesting, in reference to various points connected with the operation of the new law. He states that he brews entirely for the beer-shops, and is the only brewer in London whose business is exclusively confined to that branch. Such is the revolution, however, that has been occasioned in the trade generally, that "Barclay and Perkins," he says, "and other great houses, finding that there is a decrease in the consumption of porter, and an increase of the consumption of ale, have gone into the ale trade; nearly all the new trade is composed of mild ale." From all that he has seen, Mr. Farren asserts that the conduct of the persons who have taken out licenses to keep beer-shops in London has been perfectly orderly. "I have got," he adds, "between forty and fifty customers, and I do not think there is one but what is perfectly respectable." The ale sold in these houses is by no means all of London manufacture. This witness states that the average quantity of Scotch ale imported into London is 2,150 barrels a week; that there is hardly a beer-house but what takes in Scotch ale, in addition to the brewers' ale; and that there is also ale brought from almost every county in England, and a vast quantity of porter from Dublin. To fit up a London beer-house respectably will cost from 100*l.* to 300*l.*, and their rents may average 40*l.* a year each. At first, as was naturally to be expected, there was a rush into the new trade, and any mischief that resulted might be fairly imputed to its having been in this way overdone. But that evil has since in a great degree, if not completely, corrected itself. It appears that in the first three months after the bill came into operation, 1508 licenses were taken out in London: in the year 1831 the number taken out was 1407; and in 1832 it was only 1206. "Of the 1508 licenses granted in the first quarter," says Mr. Farren, "I am of opinion that not less than 800 were taken out by chandler-shop keepers, who had previously been privileged to sell beer not exceeding a certain price, without license. Allowing then for the licenses applicable to that class of persons, there would remain 708 licenses taken out by individuals who went into the new trade. I apprehend that there has been little or no diminution in the number of licenses taken out by chandler-shop keepers; and, therefore, deducting 800 for chandler-shops from the 1209 licenses granted in the year ending 5th January, 1833, there would remain only 406 licenses for beer-house keepers." Upon this calculation, then, we have a reduction on the number of the new retailers, in fifteen months, of 302 out of 708, or more than forty-two per cent. It is probable that the trade has now found its level.

Mr. Farren enters into some details, which set in a striking light the amount of the consumption of beer in London, as compared with other parts of the kingdom. If the comparison be even confined to England and Wales (and this we think is the fair view, there being little ale drunk by the great body of the inhabitants of either Scotland or Ireland), it appears that the consumption of London and its immediate vicinity is not much less than twice what it would be were it proportioned to the population. The population of London and its dependencies is not quite one-ninth of the population of all England and Wales; but the consumption of beer in this district is not much under one-fifth of the whole consumption of the country. If all the beer brewed and consumed within ten miles of London were taken into the account, Mr. Farren is of opinion that the rate of consumption in the metropolitan district would be greatly augmented.

There is, as we have said, no evidence of any evil or inconvenience whatever having followed the opening of the beer trade in London. On the contrary, all the witnesses examined by the Committee agree in stating that great benefits have attended the measure. The price of beer has unquestionably been reduced by more than the difference occasioned by the removal of the tax; though it is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of the reduction, owing partly to the circumstance that the descriptions of beverage now sold are not the same with those that were in demand, or rather which the public were forced to be contented with, before the opening of the trade. It appears from the evidence of several of the witnesses, that many of the public-houses still charge their customers about a penny on the pot more than they would be charged for liquor of the same quality at the beer-shops. One beer-shop keeper says that he has got some at 6*d.* a pot that you cannot get for 7*d.* at a public-house. Another witness says that for a mixture of ale and porter for which before the remission of the tax he used to pay 7*d.* at the public-house, he now pays only 5*d.* at the beer-shop. Another, who is a dealer, states that he sells ale for 6*d.* a pot, for which, before the passing of the beer-bill, he used himself invariably to pay 9*d.* From Mr. Farren's evidence, it appears that the reduction made by the brewers to their customers has been 12*s.* on the barrel, being 3*s.* more than the amount of the duty. Upon the whole it would seem that, in addition to the duty amounting to about 1*d.* on the pot, the average reduction upon all sorts of ale, as sold at the beer-shops, has been nearly 1*d.* more. The price varies, however, in different parts of the country, and, perhaps, also in differents districts of town; and it is to be recollected that it is, in most cases, higher at the public-houses than at the beer-shops. In the neighbourhood of Boston, in Lincolnshire, for instance, one witness states that the same beer which is sold for 6*d.* in the former may be had for 4*d.* in the latter. There are some attempts on the part of other witnesses to make it appear that the cheaper beverage is of an inferior quality; but the weight of evidence is greatly on the other side.

When we leave London, however, and proceed to the other great towns comprehended in the inquiry, we find the statements of the different witnesses more unsatisfactory. Of Birmingham, for instance, we have a most favourable account; but as it comes from the principal agent of a company of brewers, by whom most of the beer-houses throughout the town and its vicinity are supplied with ale, and by whom many of them have been set up, it may be thought to be liable to objection, in the absence of any corroborative testimony. Mr. Dawes, the witness in question, states that the company with which he is connected had then (in May last) opened two hundred beer-houses in Birmingham and the country within eight or ten miles round, and that they had refused an equal number of applications from other parties. The reduction that has taken place in the price of beer, he rates at from 15 to 25 per cent., independently of the amount of the duty. The duty having been 2*d.* a quart, it has fallen, he says, 1½*d.* altogether. The beer-houses have, besides, afforded accommodation to travellers of a certain description, which before they could not procure except at an exorbitant rate, and sometimes not at all. This is corroborated by other witnesses. Drunkenness in Birmingham, Mr. Dawes says, has diminished since the opening of the beer-houses; and

that as to the new law having been the cause of an increase of crime, there is not the most remote idea of anything of the kind in that town. The rent of the beer-houses there is in general 10*l.* and upwards. Spirit-drinking, the witness thinks, has considerably decreased. So greatly are the beer-shops appreciated, he says, by the labouring classes, that they could have got up a petition in their favour, signed by females alone, to the number of 10,000 or 20,000;—"in this kind of way," he adds, however, in explanation, "if they could have got it (the beer) to take home with them."

The evidence with respect to the town of Warwick, on the contrary, in the same county, represents the beer-shops as having been the source of all sorts of evils. The witness here is a police officer of the borough. Speaking of the effects of the new system, "I find," he says in different parts of his evidence, "that crime has increased a great deal in the neighbourhood;—common prostitutes, common thieves, and boys, are suffered to go to the beer-houses, and tipple and drink at all hours of the night;—I have apprehended a great many boys; and when I have had conversation with them, I have found that they have been seduced into crime by the low characters that they met at these beer-houses, that would not have been allowed to go into the old public-houses." He conceives that the beer-shops are operating with injurious effect even upon the old public-houses, and driving their landlords, in order that they may be enabled to keep their ground, to permit the same disorders which are tolerated by their competitors.

The evidence with regard to Liverpool is nearly of the same complexion. It comes from two witnesses, one a publican, the other a wholesale and retail dealer in wine and spirits. The former thinks the consumption of spirits has increased since the opening of the beer-shops (which he says are called Jerry-shops in Liverpool), and that the consumption of beer, in his opinion, has not increased at all. The other witness mentions an evil which is not, we believe, noticed in any other part of the Report. The owners of the beer shops in Liverpool, he says, "generally consist of persons who employ large bodies of labouring men, being themselves labouring men, either in the capacity of foreman or master of such men as undertake contracts for large excavations at the docks, and employing men in the discharge of vessels, who are technically called in Liverpool 'lumpers;' and those men always give the preference to those persons who frequent their beer-houses; and in some instances, it has come to my knowledge from the working men themselves, that they have complained very much of the operation of the beer-bill, as they have been compelled to spend a portion of their earnings at the beer-houses." The only two classes, he states, in Liverpool, who have been affected by the change, are the Irish labourers, and young men in the lower walks of life, of the age of fifteen and upwards, both of which classes, comprising large numbers, have become in consequence much more dissolute and drunken. The evidence as to Sheffield, which is given by Mr. George Wells, now a solicitor, and lately in the magistrates' clerks' office, in that town, is equally unfavourable. The number of beer-houses in Sheffield on the 1st of February last, was 280; that of the public-houses being 386. The rents of the beer-houses are nearly all under 10*l.* a year. Spirits are understood to be sold in them covertly; gaming is not unfrequently permitted; and it is no uncommon thing for the outer door to be fastened at night, while the company remain till eleven or twelve o'clock. The number of dram-shops has increased fourfold since the beer act passed. The thieves have also increased. We have the same kind of evidence as to Leeds, from the mayor of the town, and the chief constable of the town. According to the latter, there are in Leeds 280 licensed ale-houses, and 251 beer-shops, of which last the rent varies from about 5*l.* to about 20*l.* This witness also produces a statement, by which it appears that, during the three years before the beer bill was in operation, 639 persons only were brought before the magistrates for being drunk, being at the rate of 213 in the year; whereas, in the first 31 months after the opening of the trade, the number was 2023, being at the rate of 783 annually, or not much under four times as many as formerly. By an analysis of this curious document, we further find that the increase of drunken cases has taken place to the greatest extent among females under twenty-one years of age, of whom there are now more than six that get drunk for one that did formerly. The next greatest increase is among males under twenty-one; it appears to be from 1 to 4·235. Among males above twenty-one, the increase is from 1 to 3·745; and among females above twenty-one, it is from 1 to 2·423. If the accuracy of this document is to be depended on, the results which it shows are certainly appalling; and it is not to be denied that such a statement seems to go far to establish the position, that, in some places, the first experience of the new system has been eminently disastrous. We should like, however, to know what measures have been resorted to by the magistrates to repress this growing dissipation—in how many of the drunken cases brought before them they have imposed any punishment upon the offenders—and what means, if any, they have taken to keep the beer-houses within their jurisdiction in order, and to apply to them those restraints which the same law that has established them has provided for their regulation. Is the police of the town sufficiently strong? or, being strong enough, is it sufficiently active in this part of its duty?

We cannot now enter at any length into an analysis of the voluminous evidence collected by the committee, with regard to the effect of the opening of the beer trade in the country. Suffice it to state, that the principal evils which are alleged to have attended the measure are the same which its opponents charge it with having produced in the towns. It is asserted to have occasioned a large increase of drunkenness, profligacy, and crime among the mass of the population—to have engendered in some places habits of turbulence and disinclination to work among the labouring classes—and generally to have contributed powerfully to the initiation into dissipated habits of young people and children. The circumstance that beer-houses are often opened in retired lanes, in woods, on heaths, and in other places remote from observation, is dwelt upon by many of the witnesses as pregnant with the worst consequences. In the country the police is usually still more inefficient than in towns, in most of which it is extremely inadequate; and the difficulty of keeping the beer-shops in order is accordingly greater. In some cases, the poor-rates are stated to have been augmented by the increased idleness and immorality which the change in the law has occasioned; and the wives of the labourers are represented as in general complaining bitterly of what its operation has been, in so far as they and their families are concerned, considerably less of what their husbands earn now finding its way to the baker and the grocer than formerly, since the beer-shop keeper has come in for his share. It would rather appear that, not only the clergy and the landlords, but the farmers also are, in general, strongly opposed to the new system.

We have no wish to conceal or overlook these statements, although they are not very specific, and are probably in a considerable degree coloured by the influence of prejudices, natural to the quarters from which they proceed. Allowing them, however, all the weight which they can fairly claim, we must not forget many other important considerations which bear upon the question. It is pretty evident, from the various accounts we have quoted, that the opening of the new beer-houses has not been attended, in some places, with any of the injurious effects which it is alleged to have produced in others. In London, and we would also say, in Birmingham, it appears to be allowed on all hands to have been quite innocuous. One chief reason of this we believe to be, that in both these places the system of police is of a very superior order, and the duties of the magistracy are performed with a diligence and regularity quite unknown in most rural districts, and equalled even in very few of our other great towns. Indeed, throughout the greater part of England, a police can hardly be said to exist, either in our villages, or in our third and fourth-rate towns. Hence in a great degree both the disorders of beer-houses, and the prevalence of crime in general. We quite believe the statements of many of the witnesses, magistrates, and others, as to the extreme difficulty that is found in many places in keeping a sufficient watch over these houses, and even in suppressing disorders when known to take place in them. The people of England are prejudiced and wrongheaded upon this subject to a very remarkable degree. They imagine that much of the essence of the liberties and happiness of the country consists in the absence of a police. There never was a greater mistake. A police, properly constituted, is the good citizen's best protection. Should we be the freer if we had no laws to restrain

and punish criminals? But what is the use of laws without a force to make them be obeyed? If the latter be objected to, the former ought also to be dispensed with. But the chief folly is, that, if a judgment may be formed from our practice, it is not a police which we dislike, but a good or efficient police. The mere form of the thing we have a great attachment to; deeming a constabulary force which is incapable of doing any service, or is never called upon to act, to be indispensable to our humblest parishes. By the plan which we pursue, we entail upon ourselves the very evils which it is our wish to avoid. With a good police we might safely have milder laws, and more liberty in divers ways than we actually have. Such an instrument would much more effectually prevent the commission of crimes by watching criminals, than we now do by sending them to the treadmill, to Botany Bay, or to the gallows. Would fewer executions, fewer imprisonments, and fewer punishments of all sorts, imply any diminution of the public liberties? And was such a law as that, which, till lately, regulated the sale of beer in England, one of a particularly liberal and popular character? On the contrary, no system could have been devised more intensely aristocratic and coercive. And yet the chief, perhaps the only danger attendant upon the abolition of this tyranny, is created by our want of a regular police to see to the prevention of disorder, in the room of the capricious and irresponsible despotism to which we used to be subjected.

What the beer-houses want, in our opinion, where the new law is alleged to have operated injuriously, is merely to be somewhat better looked after. A return to the old *regime* of the magistracy is quite out of the question. We have got rid for ever of that machinery of oppression, favouritism, and jobbing, and must now have fixed rules by which to proceed in this matter, and no more mere arbitrary dictation. Let the beer-houses, if necessary, be put under stricter regulations—they cannot be put down. The right of any man to obtain a license to sell beer, under certain specified conditions, must be preserved. It is upon these principles that the act has been framed which was passed by parliament towards the close of the late session. By this statute it is provided, first, that every person applying hereafter for a beer license shall, along with his application, produce a certificate signed by six rated inhabitants of the parish, to the effect that the applicant is a person of good character, and likely to manage a house for the sale of beer or cider by retail, in a peaceable, orderly, and respectable manner. Upon presenting such a certificate, with the attestation of one of the overseers, that the persons subscribing it are really rated parishioners, the applicant is to obtain his license as a matter of course. Secondly, the duty is raised from its present amount of two guineas to five pounds. This alteration of the law will probably do something to exclude the more necessitous and irresponsible class of applicants, and to confine the trade to persons of some substance and respectability. The penalties for misconduct are also made more severe, it being now competent for the justices, in addition to the fine, to disqualify the offender for selling beer for a period of two years on a second conviction, instead of only on a third, as before; and on a third conviction to disqualify him for ever. Lastly, the old law is amended in those of its provisions which referred to the hours during which beer-houses might be kept open; it being now (very properly, we think) enacted that they shall not be open for beer to be drunk on the premises on any Sunday, Good-Friday, Christmas-Day, or day appointed for a public fast or thanksgiving, before half-past twelve in the afternoon, nor at all between ten in the morning and that hour. They were formerly allowed to be open on such days, as usual, from four till ten in the morning. They are still, as before, to be shut again from three till five in the afternoon. And it is enacted that the justices of the peace, in quarter-sessions, shall have the power to fix, once in each year, the hour at which they shall be closed at night on every other day; provided that the hour so fixed shall not, in any town, be earlier than ten o'clock or later than eleven; or in any country district earlier than nine or later than ten.

These alterations are all, we think, improvements upon the former act; and we are not disposed to say that it would have been wise to have gone farther in the way of limiting the mere right to open a house for the sale of beer. The committee, in their report, proposed, in addition to the restrictions which have been adopted, that the applicant should require to be rated to the parish at a certain amount, varying between 7*l.* and 15*l.*, to be fixed for every town or parish by the magistrates at quarter-sessions; but this would have been a power extremely liable to be abused, and it has therefore been wisely withheld. We concur, however, in another recommendation of the committee, to the effect that it is expedient that the system under which all houses are licensed for the retail of beer and spirituous liquors, should be revised in a future session of parliament; and we believe, with the Committee, that very serious reasons of justice and public advantage may be adduced in favour of an assimilation of all the regulations, as to hours and management, to which every description of house licensed to sell beer or spirituous liquors by retail should be subjected.

ABOLITION OF THE COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The new arrangement that has been made with regard to the East India Company is by far the most important commercial measure of the late session of parliament. We propose in the present article briefly to explain its nature, and to notice some of the most remarkable of the results by which it may be expected to be followed.

The change has been effected by three acts, numbered chapters 85, 93, and 101 of the 3d and 4th of William IV. The first is entitled, An Act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian Territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854; the second, An Act to regulate the trade to China and India: and the third, An Act to provide for the collection and management of the Duties on Tea.

By the first of these acts it is provided that the Indian territories shall remain under the government of the Company for a term of twenty years, from the 30th of April next; but that from the 22d of April, on which day the present charter expires, the Company shall discontinue and abstain from all commercial business, except in so far as may be necessary for the conversion into money of all their merchandise, stores, and effects, at home and abroad, distinguished in their account-books as commercial assets, and all their warehouses, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and property whatsoever which may not be retained for the purposes of the government of the said territories. By the 81st clause it is further enacted, "that it shall be lawful for any natural-born subject of his Majesty to proceed *by sea* to any port or place, having a custom-house establishment within the said territories, and to reside thereat, or to proceed to and reside in, or pass through, any part of such of the said territories as were under the government of the said Company, on the 1st day of January, 1800, and in any part of the countries ceded by the nabob of the *Carnatic*, of the province of *Cuttack*, and of the settlements of *Singapore*, and *Malacca*, without any license whatever." Persons who are not natives of the country are merely, on their arrival, to make known in writing to the chief officer of the customs their names, places of destination, and objects of pursuit in India. No person is to enter the country *by land* without license from the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, or the governor of any of the presidencies. It is likewise provided that no license to reside in other parts than those mentioned shall be revoked, unless in accordance with the terms of some express clause of revocation in such license contained. The governor-general, with the previous consent of the Court of Directors, may declare any other places open. And by the 86th clause it is enacted, "that any person authorized to reside in the said territories may acquire and hold lands, or any right, interest, or profit in or out of lands, for any term of years, in the parts in which he shall be so authorized to reside; and that the governor-general in council may further make such laws or regulations as shall enable any subjects of his Majesty to hold lands in any part of the said territories whatever." The act contains 117 clauses in all; but those which we have quoted are the only ones to which it is necessary for our present purpose that we should refer.

By the second of the three acts, that numbered chapter 93, the several acts prohibiting the importation of tea, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London, or of goods gene-

rally from China, except by the said Company, and into the said port, or the importation of tea into any of the British possessions in *America*, and into the Island of *Mauritius*, except from the *United Kingdom*, or from some other *British* possessions in *America*, and unless by the Company, or with their license, are repealed; and it is declared to be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade with any countries beyond the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *Straits of Magellan*. Commanders of vessels arriving at any place under the government of the Company are merely required to deliver at the custom-house a list of the persons they have on board. In place of the establishment of a supercargo, and other residents, which has been hitherto kept up in China by the Company, a chief superintendent, and two others, together with the necessary assistants, are to be appointed by his Majesty's commission to form the resident British authorities in that country. His Majesty, it is also enacted, may create a Court of Justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in China, and on the high seas within a hundred miles of the coast, one of the superintendents being appointed to act as judge. To defray the expense of these establishments, a duty is to be levied from vessels entering the ports where any of the said superintendents shall be stationed, not exceeding, in respect of tonnage, the sum of five shillings for every ton, and not exceeding, in respect of goods, the sum of ten shillings for every one hundred pounds of the value of the same.

The third act was shortly noticed in our last Number. It permits the importation of tea by any of his Majesty's subjects into the United Kingdom, from the Cape of Good Hope, and from places eastward of the same to the Straits of Magellan, and also into the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, and into the British possessions of America, either from these limits, or from Great Britain, on payment of the following duties, which have been somewhat modified since the bill was introduced; namely, one shilling and sixpence the pound on bohea, two shillings and twopence the pound on congou, twankay, hyson skin, orange pekoe, and campoi; and three shillings on souchong, flowery pekoe, hyson, young hyson, gunpowder, imperial, and other sorts not enumerated.

The general amount of these provisions may be stated to be, to throw open, for the first time, the countries to which they relate, to British enterprise and capital. Up to the last renewal of the Company's charter, in 1813, both China and India were as completely shut against the people of this country generally, as if they had been regions with the inhabitants of which we were at war. No British ship could approach any port in either, or bring home to Europe any commodity which either produced, except by the leave of the Company. The existing charter broke in, to a certain degree, upon this state of things; and the rigour of the old exclusion has been since still further relaxed in practice by the Company's indulgence. By the charter the ships of private traders were allowed to resort to India; and hence has grown up a considerable commerce between that country and this, altogether independent of the Company. More recently, regulations of the Indian government have permitted land to be held in India by persons who are not natives, and thereby led the way to the introduction both of British capital and of British residents into the country. But still this has been only upon sufferance, and on a comparatively small scale. In China, again, a limited number of persons, not connected with the Company, have for some years been allowed to reside, and to carry on a trade between Canton and India, which has now become one of some magnitude. But no relaxation of the monopoly of the trade between China and England has ever been conceded. That, with the exception of a trifling portion, called the privilege trade, allowed to be carried on by their naval officers for their private behoof, the Company have preserved entirely in their own hands.

Let us now see what is the nature and extent of the whole of our present commercial intercourse with India and China, and what proportion it bears to the total amount of our foreign trade. The following are the only articles of which any considerable quantities are imported from India and China into this country. We annex the quantities for the year 1831, according to a statement of the whole imports and exports of the United Kingdom for that year, which was a few weeks ago laid before the House of Commons, and of which we gave an abstract in our last number;

		Imports from India and China.	Total Imports.
Barilla	cwts.	2,264	184,649
Cassia Lignea	lbs.	358,413	398,420
Cinnamon	do.	222,991	225,869
Cloves	do.	122,709	128,223
Coffee	do.	7,457,417	43,007,828
Wheat	qrs.	1,368	1,838,696
Wheatmeal and Flour	cwts.	14,426	1,636,059
Cotton, Piece-goods of India, not printed	pieces	1,011,456	1,064,416
Elephants' Teeth	cwt.	2,172	5,267
Marten Furs	no.	2,290	214,107
Minks' Furs	do.	2,010	103,561
Ginger	cwt.	849	5,315
Gum Arabic	do.	2,488	7,285
Lac Dye	lbs.	753,252	782,399
Shellac	do.	1,141,329	1,183,668
Hemp, undressed	cwt.	9,472	530,620
Hides, untanned	do.	2,137	271,469
Indigo	lbs.	6,996,063	7,299,505
Mace	do.	40,921	41,267
Madder Root	cwts.	2,570	52,449
Nutmegs	lbs.	110,040	210,363
Castor Oil	do.	343,384	393,191
Pepper	do.	5,566,007	6,273,480
Rhubarb	do.	133,462	140,395
Rice	cwts.	123,496	168,744
Rice, in the husk	bushels	23,564	225,536
Safflower	cwts.	2,436	2,772
Sago	do.	2,250	2,349
Saltpetre	do.	170,722	175,938
Senna	lbs.	200,990	250,296
Silk, raw and waste	do.	1,643,876	3,992,593
Silk Bandannoes, Romals, and Handkerchiefs	pieces	183,549	185,117
Silk Crape in pieces	do.	932	1,367
Silk Crapes, Shawls, Scarfs, Gown-pieces, and Handkerchiefs	no.	23,278	27,233
Silk Taffaties, Damasks, and other Silks in pieces	pieces	9,096	10,631
Goat Skins, undressed	no.	29,374	354,584
Sugar	cwts.	185,572	5,366,262
Tea	lbs.	31,648,922	31,648,926
Tin	cwts.	6,608	8,099
Manufactured Tobacco and Snuff	lbs.	8,570	220,106
Cotton Wool	cwts.	25,805,153	288,674,853

Other articles, of which small quantities were imported, are cheese, barley, pease and beans, printed cottons, currants, beaver, musquash, and otter furs, straw hats, leather gloves, linens, madder, opium, pimento, raisins, thrown silk, calf and kid skins untanned, deer and kid skins undressed, rum, brandy, Geneva, timber masts, &c., teak, unmanufactured tobacco, and bees' wax. Of wines of all sorts there were also imported 85,951 gallons from India, and 4801 from China; but these were chiefly the produce of Madeira, Spain, Portugal, France, the Canary Islands, the Cape, and Germany.

The following is a similar table of the principal exports from this country to India and China:—

		Exports to India and China.	Total Exports.
FOREIGN PRODUCE—			
Cochineal	lbs.	39,413	168,329
Cocoa Nuts	do.	11,255	1,531,131
Copper, unwrought	cwts.	1,256	1,550
Cottons, printed	sq. yds.	9,961	133,068
Iron, in bars	tons	1,426	4,255
Pig Lead	do.	106	1,234
Quicksilver	lbs.	253,227	848,108
Spelter	cwts.	51,609	62,684
Rum	proof gals.	12,030	2,376,527
Brandy	do.	89,993	504,172
Geneva	do.	14,151	207,072
Wines of all sorts	gals.	187,051	1,014,946
HOME PRODUCE—			
Declared Value—			
Of Apparel, Slops, and Haberdashery		£ 44,600	£ 798,293
— Arms and Ammunition		12,310	562,755
— Bacon and Hams		4,097	22,689
— Beer and Ale		54,624	161,768
— Printed Books		29,706	101,110
— Brass and Copper Manufactures		348,054	893,124
— Cordage		4,348	81,996

Home Produce— Declared Value—	Exports to India and China.	Total Exports.
Of Cotton Manufactures .	£1,196,546	13,282,185
— Cotton Twist and Yarn .	467,861	3,975,919
— Earthenware . .	14,837	461,090
— Glass	90,714	429,621
— Hardwares and Cutlery .	53,334	1,622,429
— Beaver and Felt Hats .	7,820	170,188
— Iron and Steel . .	110,383	1,123,372
— Lead and Shot . .	38,452	96,333
— Plate, Plated Ware, Jewellery, and Watches . .	89,019	188,144
— Stationery . . .	45,832	179,216
— Woollen Manufactures .	645,582	5,232,013

There were also small quantities exported in 1831 of the following articles of foreign produce; pearl and potashes, cinnamon, cloves, wheat, barley, oats, pease, and beans, wheat-meal and flour, mace, nutmegs, pepper, pimento, rice, raw and waste silk, European manufactured silk, bandannoes, &c., taffaties, &c., sugar, tobacco, and snuff. Of coffee, there were exported 23,950 lbs., and of tea, 26,091 lbs. And of the following articles of home produce, in addition to those we have enumerated, there were exported inconsiderable quantities, namely, beef and pork, butter and cheese, coals, culm and cinders, herrings, leather, wrought and unwrought, saddlery and harness, linen manufactures, machinery, and mill work, painters' colours, salt, silk manufactures, soap, candles, sugar, tin and pewter wares, woollen and worsted yarn, and sundry other articles the names of which are not given. The total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom having been 37,164,372*l.*, the value of the exports of that description to the East India Company's territories, Ceylon, and China, was 3,377,412*l.* The value of the home produce exported from this country to Russia the same year, was 1,191,565*l.*, to Brazil, 1,238,371*l.*, to the Netherlands, 2,082,536*l.*, to the British colonies in North America, 2,089,327*l.*, to Italy, 2,490,376*l.*, to the West Indies, 2,581,949*l.*, to Germany (exclusive of Prussia), 3,642,952*l.*, and to the United States of America, 9,053,583*l.*

These facts are sufficient to convey a general conception of the actual state of the trade carried on by this country with India and China. Let us next consider its prospects under the change of circumstances which has now taken place.

British subjects, it is to be observed, are permitted, by the new law, not only to trade to both India and China, but to take up their residence in these countries. It is needless to point out the vast importance of the latter of these privileges to the former. Even in the case of China, where the jealousy of the government interposes such formidable obstacles in the way of the attempts of foreigners to penetrate into the interior of the country, it is probable that a number of active agents residing at Macao, or Canton, and occasionally proceeding on excursions along the coast to the north, may have it in their power to be of material service, both in procuring at the cheapest rate supplies of Chinese produce for export to Europe, and in pushing the sale of English manufactured goods among the natives. It is in India, however, that we are to expect the greatest advantages to result from numbers of British subjects fixing their residence in the country. From the nature of the case, the colonization of India by Englishmen cannot take place at a rapid rate; nor is there, indeed, any reason to apprehend that the races by whom the country is at present inhabited will ever be displaced, or even disturbed in their occupation of the soil, by any influx of their European conquerors. From the low rate of wages in India, no considerable emigration thither of the labouring classes can ever take place. What India wants, and what England will send, is not labour, but capital, together with the skill and enterprise necessary for its effective application. The resources of the country, which have hitherto lain in great part dormant, will thus be called up into activity. The soil will be cultivated, and the people will be employed. The general wealth of the country, and its capacity of absorbing foreign commodities, may in this way be immensely increased, without any addition to the numbers of the people. What busy occupation for the spinning machines and the workshops of England might not be given by the hundred millions who inhabit India, if they were put in a condition to exert the full effect of their numbers! Or take it another way; suppose that, instead of depending upon England for manufactured articles, India should, as is not impossible, become herself to a great extent a manufacturing country, still, that state of things, if it shall ever come to pass, remains to be brought about by the capital and talent of Englishmen. In either case, a vast field, and one which promises to remunerate them richly, is opened to the enterprise of our countrymen. Undoubtedly, there is still much to be done before things shall be brought to a state perfectly favourable for any experiment of the kind to which we allude, on a grand scale; but the primary obstacle to its institution, at least, has been removed, and the foundation has been laid of those reforms in the government and laws of the country which may be necessary for its perfect success.

In the meantime, the mere distribution of a number of zealous mercantile agents throughout India may be expected to operate in the same manner as the exertions of the British residents at Canton, in extending the market for the manufactures of this country. It is also to be observed, that the private trader is now relieved from the competition of the Company, which is asserted to have sometimes, while acting in its commercial capacity, applied its extraordinary resources in such a way, as seriously to interfere with the efforts of individual enterprise. The profits of the tea trade alone, as carried on by the Company, are stated by themselves to have usually exceeded 800,000*l.* per annum. The rate of profit appears to have been really about 25 per cent. As this is a rate that could not be maintained under a system of free competition, it follows, that if individual traders shall be able to bring the article to market only at the same cost as the Company have been wont to do, its price to the consumer must be very considerably diminished. But the Company's manner of trading was, in truth, an extravagantly expensive one. The vessels which they fitted out were of a tonnage greatly exceeding that of those ever employed in any other commercial service; and the establishment of residents which they maintained in China, cost them annually not less than 100,000*l.* There can be no doubt that the private trade will be conducted upon a much more economical system.

But tea is not the only article which will now probably be brought from China. The Company themselves have been in the habit of importing from that country considerable quantities of raw silk and nankeen cloth; and the imports in what is called the privilege trade consist of a long list of articles, among which we find the following enumerated:—silk piece goods, aniseed, cambogium, canes, cassia lignea, cassia buds, China roots, cloves, dragon's blood, mace, mother-of-pearl shells, nutmegs, oil of cassia, oil of cinnamon, rhubarb, sago, sugar, tin, tortoiseshell, tutenague, turmeric, vermilion, and woods. Some of these articles may, no doubt, be brought home with advantage by the private trader. On the other hand, there are many articles which British ships may carry out to China either from the United Kingdom, from India, or from ports in other parts of the world at which they fit out or touch. The following descriptions of goods have been of late years exported from Great Britain to China by the Company:—broad cloth, long ells, camblets, stuffs, &c., lead, British iron, tin, British calicoes, cotton twist, factory stores, foreign cotton wool, foreign skins, and worsted yarn. The privilege export trade has comprehended a much longer list of articles, namely, apparel, drugs, beer, blue, boots and shoes, books and charts, candles, carriages, cloth cuttings, clocks and clock-work, coach-furniture, confectionery and compounds, cordage, copper, corks, cottons, cotton piece goods, cotton thread, cotton twist, cotton yarn, cudbear, cutlery, fire-engines, flints, fowling-pieces, glass and earthenware, gold and silver lace and thread, haberdashery, hats, hosiery, ironmongery and iron, jewellery, lead and lead shot, wrought leather, linen, looking-glasses, mathematical and optical instruments, millinery, musical instruments and music, oil-man's stores, painters' colours, perfumery, pewter, pictures, plate-glass, plate and plated ware, playing-cards, printing materials and apparatus, provisions, saddlery, ship-chandlery, skins, snuff, steel and spring-steel, stationery, statuary, tin ware and tin plates, tobacco-pipes, toys, turnery, upholstery and cabinet ware, watches, woollens, amber, bugles, cloves, cochineal, coral beads, coral and coral fragments, cotton wool, elephants' teeth, furs, ginseng, mace, manna, musical boxes, and cages, nutmegs, orsidue, pearls, printed cottons, quicksilver, coral seed and beads, smalts, spelter, spirits, stockfish, tar, wine ebony-wood, rose-wood,

and sandal-wood. Many of the articles in this list have been, no doubt, carried out exclusively for the use of the European residents at Canton; but these, it is to be remembered, will now form a larger community than ever. Others, however, have been sold to the Chinese themselves, among whom there can be no doubt that the consumption of some of them might be greatly extended. The private trade, which, by permission of the Company, has arisen since 1813 between China and India may, now that it will be perfectly free, be, in all probability, much increased in amount. The imports to China in this trade have hitherto consisted principally in cotton, of which there was imported in 1831-32 to the value of 4,929,775 dollars, and in opium, of which there were imported the same year 13,946 chests, valued at 11,304,918 dollars. The opium trade is entirely an illicit one, but still we log the extent to which it is carried on in spite of all the efforts of the Chinese authorities. So sensible, indeed, has the government become of its inability to prevent the introduction of the article into the country, that the propriety of legalizing the trade and subjecting it to a duty has been lately taken into consideration, and that plan, there can be little doubt, will ere long be adopted. The payment of the duty, unless it be of immoderate amount, (and if so, its purpose will be defeated,) will be an advantageous change to the importer, whom it will relieve from the hazards and expenses of smuggling. The Company have never taken any part in this illicit trade; but they grow the opium for the use of the importers, and derive the largest part of the profits on its consumption. Among other articles not already mentioned that enter into the imports from British India to China are pepper, spices, rattans, beetle-nuts, putchuck, shark's fins, fish-maws, and stockfish, black and red wood, saltpetre, ivory, cornelians, Indian piece goods, myrrh, olibanum, Prussian blue, cutch, camphor, sticklac, gum gogal, birds' nests, bêche de mer, teak, and rice. Of the whole trade between India and China in 1828-29, the share carried on by private individuals amounted (taking imports and exports together) to 3,795,966*l.*, while that carried on by the Company amounted only to 433,388*l.* In the preceding year, the exports and imports of the private trade made together 4,951,678*l.*

Cotton goods, as may be perceived from the table in p. 158, are those of which by far the largest quantities are exported from Great Britain to India. There are various other articles however, of which the export is also already very considerable, and the consumption of which may, no doubt, be greatly extended among the natives under the advantages of the new order of things. Among the principal of these is salt, both the sale and manufacture of which commodity in India has been hitherto monopolized by the government. Mr. Wilbraham, the member for Cheshire, in a speech which he made in the last session of parliament, showed, that while the very bad salt sold by the Company in India sometimes costs the natives 15*s.* or 16*s.* the bushel, the best salt from England might be sold in Calcutta for 1*s.* the bushel, exclusive of duty.

For the salt sent to India from England, a return might be obtained in the exportation to England of sugar from India. The sugar at present manufactured in the latter country is certainly inferior to that which is produced in the West Indies. But there is no reason to suppose that that grown in the east might not be made to rival in quality that grown in the west. The cultivation of the latter has hitherto been encouraged, and that of the former depressed, by the inequality of the rates of duty at which they are severally admitted to the home market; the produce of the West Indies paying at present a duty of only 27*s.* per cwt., while that of the East Indies pays 37*s.* The consequence has been, that the latter is almost excluded from this country. The total quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom in 1832 was 4,867,748 cwt., of which only 175,252 cwt. were the produce of the East Indies. An equalization of the duties would in no long time bring the imports from the two points nearer to the same level.

GENERAL EDUCATION.

It is not the least important amongst the proceedings of the first Reformed Parliament that a law has been passed, by which the education of the children of a very large body of the people is rendered compulsory. We believe that this is the first example of the interference of the British Government in a matter with which the best and most lasting interests of the country are connected; and we hail it as the commencement of a series of legislative enactments which, having for their foundation the great principle, that national security and happiness cannot co-exist with the ignorance of large masses of the population, will provide for the removal of that ignorance in no timid or sectarian spirit, but with a broad and liberal enforcement of the protective and remedial power of the state. The enactment to which we allude is contained in the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d sections of the "Act to regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom." We give the clauses at length:—

"20. And be it further enacted, that from and after the expiration of six months from the passing of this act, every child hereinbefore restricted to the performance of forty-eight hours of labour in any one week, shall, so long as such child shall be within the said restricted age (eleven, twelve, and thirteen), attend some school to be chosen by the parents or guardians of such child, or such school as may be appointed by any inspector, in case the parents or guardians of such child shall omit to appoint any school, or in case such child shall be without parents or guardians; and it shall and may be lawful, in such last-mentioned case, for any inspector to order the employer of any such child to make a deduction from the weekly wages of such child as the same shall become due, not exceeding the rate of one penny in every shilling, to pay for the schooling of such child: and such employer is hereby required to pay the sum so deducted, according to the order and direction of such inspector.

"21. And be it further enacted, that after the expiration of six months from the passing of this act, it shall not be lawful to employ, or continue to employ, in any factory or mill, any child restricted by this act to the performance of forty-eight hours of labour in any one week, unless such child shall, on Monday in every week next, after the commencement of such employment, and during every succeeding Monday or other day appointed for that purpose by an inspector, give to the factory-master or proprietor, or to his agent, a schoolmaster's ticket or voucher, certifying that such child has for two hours at least, for six out of seven days of the week next preceding, attended his school, excepting in cases of sickness, to be certified in such manner as such inspector may appoint: and in case of any holiday, and in case of absence, from any other cause allowed by such inspector, or by any justice of the peace in the absence of the inspector; and the said last-mentioned ticket shall be in such form as may be settled by any inspector.

"22. And be it further enacted, that wherever it shall appear to any inspector that a new or additional school is necessary or desirable, to enable the children employed in any factory to obtain the education required by this act, such inspector is hereby authorized to establish, or procure the establishment of, such school.

"23. And be it further enacted, that if, upon any examination or inquiry, any inspector shall be of opinion that any schoolmaster or schoolmistress is incompetent, or in any way unfit for the performance of the duties of that office, it shall and may be lawful for such inspector to disallow and withhold the order for any payment, or any salary to such schoolmaster or schoolmistress as hereinbefore provided."

This is, indeed, only a beginning in the recognition of the principle that the state is responsible for the education of its youth; but it is a most important beginning. The children who will come within the compass of this enactment are a very numerous body; and, perhaps, all circumstances considered, they are the most influential body, for good or for evil, in the country. A prudent, intelligent, and moral manufacturing population,—alive to their own interests, but just towards the interests of others,—impatient of oppression, but obedient to the laws,—these furnish the thews and sinews of our national strength: but with a rash, ignorant, and depraved manufacturing population—selfish and blind in their attempts to dictate to their employers—tumultuous and desperate at one time, crouching and sullen at another—it may be truly said that the nation "sleeps upon gunpowder." To call forth the real strength, which consists in the virtue and intelligence of these millions congregated in large towns, the education of their children must be general,—it must be well directed,—it must be subject to uniform regulations. The enactments which we have recited prescribe its general application, and they also make some provision against incompetent instructors. Upon this point, however, we fear that little can be done, until a system involving the nurture of the youth of the whole nation be called into action. The state of education in a particular district will vary as the diligence of the inspectors may differ, and according to the notions which each inspector may form of the sort of education which ought to be given. We have sufficient examples of these differences in the modes in

which education is carried on in parish workhouses. The Poor-Law Commissioners have just published some further extracts from their Reports, which wholly relate to the subject of education. These will furnish the examples to which we allude. Our limits will not allow us to quote them; but we refer to the evidence of the clerk of St. Clement's Danes, and that of the assistant overseer of St. Sepulchre's, as to the effects of a bad education. On the other hand, in the testimony of the assistant overseer of St. George's, Southwark, we have evidence of the effects of a good education upon workhouse children, as opposed to the effects of a bad education upon a similar class.

It is quite clear, as it appears to us, that what is imperatively required, is a plan of education comprehensive enough to embrace all the children of the country, and so well defined as to leave no doubt as to what is proper to be taught and what is not. It might seem that amongst a comparatively small number of children, such as the inmates of workhouses, there could be no difficulty in the enforcement of a scheme of education which should eradicate the horrible evils complained of in St. Clement's Danes and St. Sepulchre's;—but we see the contrary. We fear that it will be the same with the factory children: some will be well taught, others will learn worse than nothing.

With regard to that large portion of the population, the children of the agricultural labourers, there appears to us to be a greater necessity for the enforcement of a general plan of education amongst them, even than in the manufacturing districts. There is a general impression that the very lowest sort of instruction is quite sufficient to make a ploughman. It may be so; but that lowest sort of instruction, or complete ignorance, (and there is not much to choose between the two,) makes him also a rick-burner.

On the general subject of the education of the working classes upon a liberal and comprehensive plan, we have had great pleasure in referring to the interesting account given by Mr. Brougham (now the Lord Chancellor) of the establishment of Mr. Fellenberg, in his evidence before the Committee on Education, in 1818. Our space prevents us selecting more from this evidence than the description of Mr. Fellenberg's seminary for the poor. It is fifteen years since the narrative was given, and during that time the institution at Hofwyl has gone on prosperously. Beginning with a single pupil, Mr. Fellenberg has rescued several hundreds of wretched and depraved children from the circumstances which appeared to condemn them to hopeless misery, and has elevated them into useful and happy citizens:—

"The branch of this establishment," says Mr. Brougham, "which is more particularly deserving of attention, and with which all the others are more or less connected, is the seminary for the poor. Mr. F. having long remarked the extreme profligacy of the lowest orders in the Swiss towns, and the habits of ignorance and vice in which their children were brought up, formed many years ago the design of attempting their reformation, upon principles equally sound and benevolent. His leading doctrine was, that to make those poor people better, it was necessary to make them more comfortable; and that this end would be best attained by forming, in their earliest years habits of industry, which might contribute to their subsistence, and by joining with them a greater degree of intellectual cultivation than has ever yet been extended to the labouring classes of the community, or been imagined to be compatible with their humble pursuits. He began his experiments upon a small number of children, which he has now increased to between thirty and forty; and this may be reckoned the utmost limit upon a farm of so moderate an extent. Those children were taken from the very worst description of society—the most degraded of the mendicant poor in Berne and other Swiss towns. With hardly any exception, they were sunk in the vicious and idle habits of their parents, a class of dissolute vagrants, resembling the worst kind of gipsies. The complete change that has been effected in them all, is one of the most extraordinary and affecting sights that can be imagined. When I saw them, there were some who had been there for several years, and had grown up towards manhood; but the reformation in almost all took place in from one to two years, or a very little more, according as they were taken at an earlier or more advanced age. The remark which I make, is that which immediately strikes all who visit Hofwyl;—the appearance of the children alone, their countenance and manner, impress you with a conviction of their excellent dispositions. To describe all the steps of the process by which this reformation has been effected, would be impossible, as much depends on minute circumstances, and upon the great skill and judgment of Vehrli, a young man who has devoted his life, under Mr. Fellenberg, to the superintendence of this part of the establishment, and to whose extraordinary virtue and ability its success is principally owing. But I shall endeavour to give the committee some idea of the mode of treatment pursued.

"The first principle of the system is to show the children gentleness and kindness, so as to win their affections, and always to treat them as rational creatures, cultivating their reason, and appealing to it. It is equally essential to impress upon their minds the necessity of industrious and virtuous conduct to their happiness, and the inevitable effects of the opposite behaviour, in reducing them from the comfort in which they now live to the state of misery from which they were rescued. A constant and even minute superintendence at every instant of their lives, forms of course part of the system; and, as may easily be supposed, the elder boys, who have already profited by the care of the master, aid him in extending it to the new comers, who for this purpose are judiciously distributed among them. These are, I am aware, very general principles, and upon their judicious application to practice in each particular instance, according to the diversities of individual character, their whole virtue depends. To this everything else is made subordinate; but with this are judiciously connected a variety of intellectual pursuits. At their hours of relaxation, their amusements have an instructive tendency; certain hours are set apart for the purposes of learning; and while at work in the fields, the conversation, without interrupting for a moment the necessary business of their lives, is always directed towards those branches of knowledge in which they are improving themselves during the intervals of labour. Besides writing and ciphering (at which they are very expert), they apply themselves to geography and history, and to the different branches of natural history, particularly mineralogy and botany, in which they take singular delight, and are considerable proficients. The connexion of these with agriculture renders them most appropriate studies for those poor children; and as their daily labour brings them constantly into contact with the objects of those sciences, a double relish is thus afforded at once to the science and the labour. You may see one of them every now and then stepping aside from the furrow where several of them have been working, to deposit a specimen, or a plant, for his little *hortus siccus*, or cabinet; and Mr. Fellenberg rarely goes into the field where any of them are labouring, without being called upon to decide some controversy that has arisen upon matters relating to mineralogy or botany, or the parts of chemical science which have most immediate relation to agriculture. There is one other subject which is ever present to their minds; I mean a pure and rational theology. Mr. F. is deeply imbued himself with the sense of religion, and it enters into all his schemes for the improvement of society. Regarding the state of misery in which the poorest classes live, as rather calculated (if I may use his own expression) to make them believe in the agency of a devil than of a God, his first care, upon rescuing those children from that wretchedness, is to inspire them with the feelings of devotion which he himself warmly entertains, and which he regards as natural to the human heart, when misery has not chilled nor vice hardened it. Accordingly, the conversation as well as the habits of the poor at Hofwyl partake largely of religious influence. The evidences of design observable in the operations of nature, and the benevolent tendency of those operations in the great majority of instances, form constant topics of discourse in their studies, and during the labours of the day; and though no one has ever observed the slightest appearance of fanaticism or superstition, (against which, in truth, the course of instruction pursued is the surest safeguard,) yet ample testimony is borne by all travellers to the prevailing piety of the place. One of them has noted an affecting instance of it, when the harvest once required the labourers to work for an hour or two after nightfall and the full moon rose in extraordinary beauty over the magnificent mountains that surround the plain of Hofwyl. Suddenly, as if with one accord, the poor children began to chant a hymn, which they had learnt among many others, but in which the Supreme Being is adored as having 'lighted up the great lamp of the night, and projected it in the firmament.'"

We shall return to this subject, to which we attach the highest importance, in a future Number.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, Groombridge, *Panyer-alley*, *Paternoster-row*.

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Dorchester, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.

Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 11. NOVEMBER 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Affairs of Spain	161	Savings Banks Affinities	171
Slave Trade	164	Public Petitions	172
Tea Permits and Surveys	165	Abstracts of Parliamentary Returns	172
Proposed New House of Commons	168		

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

THE long anticipated event which took place on the 29th of September, the death of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, has turned anew the public attention of Europe to the state and prospects of that interesting country. In this article, however, we do not intend to indulge in much speculation respecting the future, for which, as yet, materials are almost entirely wanting; but rather to throw together a few notices in explanation of certain matters likely to be prominently brought forward, and frequently referred to, in the discussions to which Spanish affairs may now be expected to give rise.

The late king, as our readers are aware, although four times married, has left no issue, except two daughters by his last wife, the present queen-dowager, the eldest of whom, having been born on the 10th of October, 1830, is of course only a child of three years of age. The first question which will fall to be decided is that of the succession to the throne,—the question whether Ferdinand's heir is his daughter, or his brother, the Infant, Charles Maria Isidore, commonly called Don Carlos. The latter rests his claim to succeed, in preference to the young princess, upon what is commonly called the Salic law. As this is a subject with regard to which much misconception prevails, we will begin by explaining what the Salic law really is.

The rule of royal succession which goes by this name used to be peculiar to the kingdom of France. Nobody at this time of day will think of denying or attempting to dispute the force of the regulation or custom, which excludes females from the inheritance of the crown in that country. On whatever foundation this assumed principle of the monarchy may have formerly stood, or in whatever manner it may have been originally established, it has in recent times been repeatedly adopted and consecrated as the law of the country, with every form and solemnity necessary to give it validity. The constitution drawn up in 1791 by the National Assembly, the Senatus Consultum of 1804, by which the dignity of Emperor was conferred on Napoleon, and, finally, the settlement of 1830, transferring the crown to the house of Orleans, have all recognized in express terms the restriction of the royal succession to the male line. About what the law is on this head now, therefore, there can be no question. Indeed, the matter may be considered to have been decided from a much older date than the earliest of those to which we have just referred—from the year 1316, namely, when on the accession of Philip V., who was the brother of Louis X., the former king, the states of the kingdom met and passed a solemn decree, both excluding from the throne a daughter whom Louis had left, and declaring all females for ever incapable of reigning in France. The principle thus laid down, accordingly, was again acted upon when Philip, who left daughters, was himself succeeded, not by one of them, but by his brother Charles IV.; and again, when the latter, who also left daughters, was succeeded by his cousin, Philip of Valois. From this period, at least, whatever may have been the case before, the rule has been distinctly recognized as a fundamental law of the monarchy.

The origin of this rule, however, and the propriety of the name by which it is commonly referred to, admit of more doubt. Whatever may be the import of the term Salic, about which there has been much difference of opinion, the Salic Law, or Compact, is really a code or body of statutes, consisting of above seventy chapters, which, so far from relating in any part of it to the order of regal succession, was in all probability drawn up before ever the nation for whose use it was intended had passed under the government of a king. There is merely a single clause at the end of one of the chapters, (the 62d,) which provides that a certain description of inheritances, called Salic, shall not descend to females. These Salic inheritances appear to have been the military fiefs or freeholds, held in return for certain services rendered in war, and thus distinguished from the allodial estates, the possessors of which were exempted from, or, to speak more correctly, were not deemed worthy of, being called upon to perform such services. This difference of tenure sufficiently explains the difference between the laws of succession for these two kinds of property. It was natural enough that females should be excluded from an inheritance to which the duty of military service was attached as its especial distinction.

It is in the highest degree improbable, however, that this exclusion was originally established by the clause which has been so often quoted from the Salic code. That clause is attached to the end of a statute or chapter, which refers throughout, not to Salic, but to Allodial estates, and which is even expressly described in its title to be the law respecting the latter. This circumstance has been made matter of much perplexity: but it seems to admit of a very easy and natural explanation. The clause, introduced as it is, is evidently not to be considered as one of the positive enactments of the code; but simply, as set down to guard the previous provisions of the chapter to which it is appended, from being carried beyond their proper application, which was to allodial lands merely. The ancient, and well-understood law of the nation, with regard to landed tenures generally, appears to have been, for the reason just noticed, that they could only be held by males. In laying down, therefore, as is done in this chapter, a new principle to comprehend the case of the new kind of estates called allodial, (which were probably those left in possession of the original inhabitants, when the Franks conquered Gaul,) it was natural to conclude the statute by the restricting proviso, that, nevertheless, no part of any *Salic* inheritance should ever pass to any female, which are exactly the words used. We constantly find the same thing done in our own acts of Parliament, as when, for instance, it is added at the end of the enacting paragraphs, that none of them shall apply to Scotland or to Ireland, or, as the case may be, to any description of persons or things, except that to which the statute specially refers. So here we have merely the law for allodial inheritances expressly restricted to these, and the old law left to operate as before in regard to all others.

In course of time, however, in regard to estates of every description in France, this old law, excluding females from the succession, came to be entirely laid aside. All properties, by whatsoever tenure held, had, long before any controversy arose about the succession to the throne, come to be considered as descendible to heirs general, and many had been actually possessed by females, or by holders to whom the right had passed through female ancestors. In this circumstance, we have a curious illustration of the gradual relaxation, as the country became settled, of the ferocity of the military system under which it was at first managed. The change was brought about in the first instance by express permissions being granted in the case of individual Salic inheritances, that they should be held by females. When this was allowed, they were said, by an expression which no doubt in its original application conveyed a touch of the contemptuous, *tomber de lance en quenouille*,—to fall from the lance to the distaff.

But all this while the situation of the crown happened to be such, as quite to preserve it from being affected by the

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

process that was going on. Not only might there have been, for obvious reasons, a difficulty in obtaining in this peculiar case the special permission which was at first necessary in other cases. The crown itself in France appears to have been at first merely the chief military freehold, or Salic inheritance; and, accordingly, in the early ages of the monarchy, several cases occurred, in which the daughter of the deceased king was actually set aside in favour of his brother, or other more distant male relative. For nearly three centuries and a half, however, after the accession of Hugh Capel, the founder of the third dynasty, in 987, no opportunity had been afforded for this principle to come into play; every king down to the death of Louis X., in 1316, having left a son to succeed him. In this manner, the period during which the change of practice as to other inheritances was gradually taking place, passed away without having witnessed any breach of the ancient rule, in so far as the succession to the crown was concerned.

It still, accordingly, continued to be the general understanding, that no female could reign in France; and when Philip, the brother of Louis, assumed the sovereignty without regard to the daughter whom the deceased king had left, he was, as already mentioned, supported by the estates, or assembled nobility of the realm, the only authority which then existed besides the crown. But did he or they ever think of alleging the clause in the Salic law as the ground on which his right rested? That clause never was so much as referred to, either then or throughout the whole course of the subsequent dispute which arose between Philip VI. and our Edward III., and the wars protracted for more than a century which it occasioned. The official documents relating to the claims of the two rivals, and the contemporary historians merely speak of females being excluded from the succession to the crown by the common law or custom of the country. The code called the Salic Law or Compact, was never cited in reference to this matter till towards the close of the fifteenth century, a hundred and fifty years after the controversy had arisen.

And here we may stop to notice another common misapprehension connected with this subject. It is very generally conceived that, in the conflict of pretensions to which we have just alluded, while Philip stood upon the principle that females were excluded from the succession to the crown of France, the English king founded his claim upon the denial of that principle. But this is quite a mistake. The law, or custom excluding females, in fact, so far from being disputed either by Philip or by Edward, afforded the sole foundation for the claim of the one as well as for that of the other. Had it not been for this law, the daughters of any of the last three kings, all of whom had left female issue still alive, would obviously have come in before both. Neither accordingly was absurd enough ever to call that rule of succession in question—although many of the supporters of Edward's pretensions in later times have done so. The point in dispute was altogether different. The English king admitted that the constitution of France would have excluded his mother (through whom he claimed) from the crown of that kingdom, but he denied that it therefore excluded himself. It prevented a female from reigning, but it did not, he contended, destroy the right of her descendant to succeed, if he happened to be the nearest male relation of the deceased king. He, therefore, the nephew of Charles IV., had, he argued, a preferable right to that of Philip, who was only his cousin. It is true, that even on this showing, there was another claimant entitled to come in before both the present competitors, the young king of Navarre, who was, through his mother, the grandson of Louis X. The principle of succession, too, it may be added, which Edward wished to establish, besides being altogether new, and unheard of before in any part of Europe, was obviously fraught with the grossest absurdity and inconvenience. Had Edward, for instance, not been born till after the accession of Philip, would it be contended that as soon as he made his appearance in the world Philip ought to descend from the throne, and allow him, as the nearer heir, to mount it? or, at least, that after Philip's death, the succession should revert to him or his line, to the exclusion of any son or other male descendant whom Philip might leave? or, to avoid both these awkward results, was the rule to be that whenever the throne became vacant a regency should be appointed, to subsist as long as there was a possibility that any female, although excluded herself, might produce a male heir? The adoption of some one of these plans would seem to be the necessary consequence of the introduction of such a principle of succession as that which Edward proposed.

Some French writers have expressed themselves in a very extraordinary style as to the foundations of the custom by which females are in France excluded from the crown. Froissart tells us that on occasion of the dispute between Philip VI. and Edward III., the twelve peers and the barons of the kingdom having assembled at Paris, unanimously decided in favour of the claims of the former, on the ground, as they alleged, that the kingdom of France was of too great nobleness for the succession of it to pass to a female. In later times, Jerome Bignon, a most learned lawyer, has treated the prohibition which forbids females to wear a crown as almost a law of nature. In this spirit the Scotch reformer, John Knox, published two tracts against Queen Elizabeth, which he entitled the *First and Second Blasts of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women*. But the severest thing that ever was uttered against female sovereignty is the expression of Tacitus, when in mentioning one of the German tribes who lived under the government of a queen, he adds, *to such a degree have they degenerated, not only from liberty, but from slavery.*

But however repugnant to French and Roman ideas, this order of things has not seemed to the other nations of modern Europe to involve anything unsuitable. Up to the beginning of the last century, indeed, in no European country, except France, were females precluded from reigning. In Spain, as elsewhere, the crown might be worn by a king as well as by a queen; and females had actually at different times, inherited the throne in most, if not all, of the separate Gothic kingdoms into which that peninsula had formerly been divided. The foundation of the existing monarchy had been laid, in the fifteenth century, by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, with Isabella, Queen of Castile; and it was through their daughter Joanna, by whom they were succeeded, that the kingdom afterwards passed to her son, the celebrated Emperor Charles V., of the House of Austria. It remained with his descendants till the death of Charles II., in 1700, without issue, either male or female.

It was the will of the last-mentioned sovereign which transferred the crown of Spain to the founder of the present House, the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, who accordingly succeeded under the title of Philip V. If Philip had any claim independently of the will of his predecessor, he derived it from his mother, who had been the eldest sister of Charles II. Upon that relationship he would have inherited as of right, if he had not had an elder brother, and if his mother upon marrying the heir to the French crown had not renounced for herself and her posterity all pretensions to that of Spain. This renunciation, indeed, was held to be so conclusive an act that it was asserted to incapacitate the Duke of Anjou from inheriting in any circumstances; and the dispute gave rise to a European war, which, however, after lasting nearly a dozen years, was terminated by a general acquiescence in Philip's title. Here, then, we have an instance of a king of Spain appointing his successor by will; nor does it appear that Charles II., in exercising this power, was considered to have overstepped his prerogative. His nomination was objected to only because the person in whose favour it was made was alleged to have been by a previous constitutional decree, expressly debarred from, and rendered incapable of, reigning in Spain.

It was Philip V. who, in the year 1714, as soon as he found himself left by the cessation of hostilities in peaceable possession of his throne, abrogated the antient fundamental law of the Spanish monarchy, and substituted in place of it the law of royal succession, which prevailed in France. A more despotic act it is impossible to conceive. It went far beyond the testamentary disposition of Charles II.; for that only regulated one step of the succession, but this went to direct its course for ever after. It was accordingly exclaimed against at the time as unwarranted by the constitution of the country; and, indeed, if it was not, it is difficult to imagine what else could be; but the power of the king eventually prevailed, and the innovation was submitted to. The new law, however, has hitherto been practically inoperate. Philip V. was succeeded, in 1746, by his son Ferdinand VI., who, dying in 1759, left the throne to his brother, Charles III. The latter was succeeded, in 1788,

by his son, Charles IV., who was the father of the late king, Ferdinand VII.

Still, however, as this new law had been regularly enrolled and published, it would, no doubt, have been held to be binding if any case had occurred to which it was applicable, so long as it remained unrepealed: But it has, in fact, been repealed some time ago. In 1830, before the birth of his daughter, Ferdinand, by a royal ordinance, solemnly restored the antient law o. the monarchy which permitted females to inherit the throne. The force of Philip V.'s law, therefore, whatever it might have been for a time, is now entirely at an end. It has been abrogated by the same authority by which it was established.

Ferdinand had also further fortified the right of his daughter, by exercising in her behalf another royal prerogative, and naming her as his successor in his will. Standing upon this nomination alone, she would have a claim to the crown at least as good as that which was advanced by Philip V. himself. The disqualification under which Philip was alleged to labour cannot be urged against her.

Upon the whole, therefore, there would appear to be nothing in the pretensions of Don Carlos to the exclusion of his niece likely to excite throughout Spain any general feeling in his favour as the legitimate heir to the crown. He does not rest his claim upon the antient laws of the country, but upon the alleged abolition of these laws—an abolition of doubtful legality, brought about, if it really took place, by circumstances anything but naturally fitted to flatter the vanity of the nation, which never has been actually operative, even if it was legally effected, and which finally has been revoked and declared null and void at least with as much authority as can possibly be quoted in its favour. The mere legitimacy of Don Carlos, therefore, can hardly be expected to call up any large portion of the people of Spain in support of his cause.

Neither are the personal character and manners of this prince such as to make him a popular favourite. His wife, especially, a sister of Don Miguel of Portugal, is described as being a woman of harsh and overbearing temper, whose ambition of reigning is offensively conspicuous in her whole demeanour. There is nothing about either to enable them to compete with the interest naturally attaching to the infant princess, and with the general feeling of goodwill which her mother has acquired for herself by her affability and good humour. The advantages of which the queen-dowager and her daughter are thus in possession would probably, if the contest were to be decided by such considerations alone, far outweigh any which Don Carlos may have gained by his elaborate efforts to draw forth the plaudits of the mob—his punctilious observance, along with his duchess, of the antient national dress and mode of living,—his ostentatious display of his family of grown up sons, as if by way of contrasting them with the female child of his brother, or of exciting the public sympathy for himself and them as excluded from the throne on her account,—and the "grim smile," to use the expression of a late graphic painter of Spanish scenes and manners, which he is wont to dispense to the crowd as he drives along the public walks.*

But the new contest, to which the succession to the Spanish throne is probably about to give rise, promises to be mainly influenced and propelled by passions very little connected with any feelings of attachment to the individual claimants under whose names the contending parties may array themselves. The conflicting pretensions of Isabella and of Carlos will merely serve to muster and separate the combatants. If the quarrel involved nothing more than the claims of the uncle and the niece, there would be a chance of its being decided without the arbitration of the sword. An arrangement might be come to which, by allowing Carlos to mount the throne now and affiancing the young princess to his eldest son, her cousin, would satisfy and unite both parties. But the two rival competitors are looked upon by their partisans as being divided from, and opposed to, each other by something much more difficult to get over than a mere difference of personal interests. Even the former war of the succession, which commenced with the last century, and, all Europe being speedily involved in the flame, continued to rage till it was put an end to by the peace of Utrecht in 1713, was excited and kept alive by no such elements of discord as we might now expect to see at work should hostilities commence. That was in its commencement but a quarrel of rival families, and it never became more than a contest of nations. This would be from the first a contest of principles—a strife not to be settled by cessions of territory or any other arrangements partaking of the nature of a compromise, but only by the entire subjugation, for the time at least, of one or other of the two irreconcilably hostile forces between which it was carried on.

If a contest take place at all, no management, no profession or clever contrivance of either party, will prevent it from taking this form and character. There is nothing at all about which to fight, if the partisans of absolutism are not to be on the one side, and those of constitutionalism on the other. The Queen Regent may, if she can persuade the friends of things as they are that she is as great an enemy to any reform of the government as Don Carlos himself, prevent altogether any opposition, or any serious opposition, to her daughter's succession; but let a civil war have once fairly begun, and the two parties must take the ground of conflicting principles, and there fight out their battle. And it may be that that battle will not be confined to Spain; if any of the other great powers strike in, its fury may again sweep over and envelop all Europe. A sad and frightful possibility, but one from which, while we pray that it may never be realized, our eyes should not be altogether averted, if we would arm ourselves with the best security against danger, the foreknowledge of its existence.

Ever since the restoration of Ferdinand to his throne in 1814, Spain has been kept in almost constant agitation by what we may call the preparatory throes of the great struggle that seems to be now approaching. Indeed, the elements that now threaten to come into fierce collision, had begun to make their appearance long before that period. The French revolution could not fail by its first outbreak, to give a shock to the old order of things in a country where reform was so much needed—notwithstanding the extraordinary precautions which Charles IV. immediately adopted to prevent all communication between his subjects and those of France. The active hostilities in which that king soon after engaged, first against France, and then in concert with her, and finally, the French occupation of Spain, and the war of independence by which it was followed, by bringing the country and the people into the very midst of the vortex of European politics, and mixing them up in intercourse with foreign nations to an extent they had never before experienced, must have all tended to weaken old habits and prejudices, and to prepare the way for change. But the actual movement in that direction may be said to have begun with the assembling of the Cortes in 1810. From this date, down to the return of Ferdinand, the director of national affairs was the public voice, in as far as it could be heard amidst the din of arms, or could command obedience in a country, one-half of which was occupied by an enemy, and the other by the troops of a foreign ally. With Ferdinand's reappearance came the first meeting and actual encounter of the new power which had arisen with the old which it aimed at subduing. No sooner did he find himself again a king, than this weak and tyrannically inclined monarch dissolved the Cortes, and restored nearly every old abuse which it had abolished. Some years disquieted by a succession of conspiracies and insurrections followed, till in 1820 the constitution was again proclaimed, and the Cortes reassembled. Three years after, a French army under the Duke of Angoulême, marched into the Peninsula, by which that body, already weakened and detached from the affections and respect of the country by many acts of violence and folly, was once more overthrown. But neither this catastrophe, nor the sanguinary revenge by which Ferdinand signalized the restoration of the old despotism, and sought to strike terror into the subjugated party, sufficed to extirpate the new opinions. The former course of plots and disturbances has been repeated, only varied in its latter stages by some counter movements of the ultra-royal faction, to whose taste even the government of Ferdinand was too liberal.

There is no doubt that Don Carlos has been at the bottom of these last-mentioned attempts, or at least, that their authors have universally had him in their eye as the person whom they wished to place at the head of affairs, and eventually on the throne. Since the birth of Ferdinand's daughter especially, this feeling has been every day becoming more and more general among the partisans of

* See Inglis's "Spain in 1830,"—a work which gives a more complete insight into the state of society in that country than any other in our language.

the ancient form of government. The course which things were thus taking, had, for a considerable time before the death of Ferdinand, alienated him to a certain degree from that party, and inclined him towards a middle system, and some relaxation of the stern rule which he had hitherto maintained He was fond of his queen, and of his daughter, and in spite, therefore, of old connexion, habits, and prejudices, could not feel perfect satisfaction with the proceedings of those by whom their cause was looked upon with coldness or aversion. The queen, for the same reason, and perhaps moved also by a real conviction of the need and the desirableness of some change in the ancient despotism, was understood to be much more decidedly opposed than her husband to the politics of the absolute faction. In this manner has been working out for some time the disposition of parties which is now likely to be developed; the general rallying, namely, if there should be a contest, of the friends of political improvement in support of the cause of Queen Isabella II., and of the zealots of absolute principles around the standard of King Charles V.

The issue, of course, if Spain shall be left to itself, will mainly depend upon the inclination of the great body of the people. We fear that as yet, the Spanish people cannot be considered as generally desirous of better institutions Even from what has already taken place since the death of Ferdinand, it is evident that the population of the Biscay provinces is ready to go any lengths in support of what are called Carlist and apostolic principles. Biscay is, indeed, but a small portion of Spain: but it is important both from its frontier position, and from the resolution and hardihood which distinguish its inhabitants. Both the neighbouring frontier provinces of Navarre and Catalonia, and those of Old Castile and Estremadura, lying in the heart of the peninsula, are understood to be generally inclined in the same way with the Biscayans. The strength of the constitutional party lies chiefly on the opposite side of the kingdom, in the provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, Valentia, and the other districts that border on the Mediterranean.

The issue of a contest for the Spanish crown would now, however it might be decided, affect a much smaller portion of the globe than it would have done some centuries ago. When Philip II. came to the throne in 1555, his dominions comprehended, in addition to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, Milan, the Netherlands, the seven Provinces now forming the kingdom of Holland, Mexico, the greater portion of South America, and all the principal West Indian islands. By his marriage the preceding year with Queen Mary of England, he had also become, to a certain extent, master of that country. He lost his marital sceptre in 1558 by the death of his wife: but in 1580 he acquired what was then a much more splendid addition to his dominions, the kingdom of Portugal, together with its South American territories, and its vast Africo-Indian empire, comprehending nearly the whole line of coast from the Senegal to China. Scarcely a reign has passed since that of Philip in which some of these possessions have not dropped off. The treaty of Antwerp in 1609 deprived Philip III. of the seven Dutch provinces. In 1640, in the time of Philip IV., the Portuguese recovered their independence; and Brazil, together with all of their oriental empire that had not been previously conquered by the Dutch, was wrested from Spain. In 1652 Jamaica was captured by England. The next king, Charles II., ceded the half of St. Domingo to France, by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Philip V., his successor, lost Gibraltar to the English in 1704; and by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, he relinquished the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Milan. At the peace of Paris, in 1763, Charles III. was compelled to give up the Honduras to England, in return for the restoration of the Havannah, Trinidad and Manilla, which the latter had conquered in the preceding war. By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, the remaining half of St. Domingo was given up to France by Charles IV., and Louisiana was ceded by him to the same power in 1801. And since then Spain has lost all her West Indian possessions, except Cuba and Porto Rico, and has been driven from every foot of the vast extent of country of which she was formerly the mistress in the neighbouring continent of the New World.

Measured, however, by the extent of ground which it covers, Spain is still one of the greatest of the European kingdoms. It comprehends more than six-sevenths of the spacious peninsula which it shares with Portugal. Its surface, estimated at 230,000 square miles, is nearly one-sixth greater than that of France. France, however, is nearly three times as populous; the inhabitants of Spain being only about thirteen millions, while France contains, within its narrower limits, thirty-two millions. Portugal is even more populous than Spain, if, as is generally supposed, its inhabitants exceed three millions in number. In the case of both countries, however, the estimates are little more than conjectural, and can only be regarded as probable approximations to the truth.

SLAVE TRADE.

Two series of papers relating to the slave-trade were, during the late session, presented to both houses of parliament by his Majesty's command:—one marked A, containing the correspondence of the government on this subject with the British commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havannah, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, during the year 1832; the other, marked B, comprising the correspondence during the same period with foreign powers.

France.—The correspondence with France relates chiefly to the mode of carrying into effect the provisions of a convention concluded between that power and Great Britain on the 30th November, 1831, and the supplementary convention of March 22nd, 1832. The government of Great Britain had been led to consider that the clandestine traffic in slaves could only be effectually suppressed by the exercise of the right of mutual search by the different maritime nations, on the basis of considering a vessel to be engaged in the slave-trade, and condemned accordingly, which should be found fitted up as a slave-ship in such latitudes as vessels engaged in the slave-trade frequent, even though no slaves should be actually on board at the time of search. In concluding a convention with France to this effect, it was agreed that the other maritime powers should be invited to accede to it within as short a period as possible. In the account of the remaining correspondence, it will be seen how the invitation sent to Spain and Brazil was received.

The convention with France is embodied in a bill which was passed in the last session, for carrying its provisions into effect. It commences with defining the limits within which the right of mutual search shall be exercised, by a certain number of ships, of war only, whose commanders shall be commissioned captains, or lieutenants at least After describing the manner in which a search shall be conducted, it directs the captured vessels, with their crews, to be delivered over to the jurisdiction of the nation to which they belong, to be tried by its laws; and it is afterwards provided, that 65 per cent. of the proceeds arising from the sale of the condemned vessels shall be paid over to the government to which the captor belongs, to be distributed among the officers and crew of the capturing ship.

The sixth article of the Convention specifies the particulars which, if found in the outfit, equipment, or on board a vessel, shall expose her to be regarded as a slave-ship, unless proof to the contrary be given. Among the criminating particulars specified are the following:—having hatches fitted with open gratings, instead of close hatches, as usual, in merchant ships;—having on board spare planks, either actually fitted in that shape, or fit for readily laying a second or moveable deck, or slave-deck;—having on board shackles, bolts, or handcuffs;—having on board more water-casks, more copper boilers, more water, more provisions, unless as part of the cargo, than is sufficient for the consumption of the crew as a merchant vessel. The owners of a vessel in which any of these criminating circumstances shall be found will be entitled to no compensation for the seizure and detention, even should the vessel not be condemned: but where any illegal or vexatious visit or detention shall take place under the powers of this Convention, the Bill founded on it authorizes the Lords of the Treasury to award compensation. The limits within which the mutual right of search is to be exercised are:—1. Along the western coast of Africa, from Cape Verd to the distance of ten degrees to the south of the Equator, that is to say, from the tenth degree of south latitude to the fifteenth degree of north latitude, and as far as the thirtieth degree of west longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Paris; 2. All round the island of Madagascar to the extent of twenty leagues from that island; 3. To the same distance

from the coasts of the island of Cuba; 4. To the same distance from the island of Porto Rico; 5. To the same distance from the coasts of Brazil. Vessels suspected and chased within these limits, however, may be followed and captured beyond them.

Spain.—The correspondence with this power contains complaints from the British government that sufficient zeal and energy were not shown by Spain in the execution of existing treaties, and that the slave-trade continued to be largely carried on between Cuba and the coast of Africa under the Spanish flag.* The Spanish authorities express their disapproval of the traffic in general, and acknowledge themselves sensible of the evils to be apprehended from it; they state that the most energetic prohibitions against the recurrence of such practices as are asserted to have taken place have been sent to the governor of Cuba. No attention, however, is paid to the invitation to accede to the Convention between Great Britain and France; and in reply to an application for a list of the Spanish cruizers employed for the suppression of the slave-trade, it appears that none had been specially so employed; and the ships of war which are *supposed*, among their other objects, to have watched over the illicit trade, have met with no vessels employed in the traffic.

Portugal.—The correspondence with Portugal calls the attention of its government to the fact that, since the separation of Brazil from the mother-country, it had ceased to be lawful, under the subsisting engagements and declarations of Portugal, for Portuguese subjects to exercise the trade in slaves, and a declaration for its abolition is required. It having been found that vessels condemned for being engaged in the slave trade had been again employed in that illegal traffic, the concurrence of Portugal and of the other powers is sought to the entire destruction of condemned vessels, and the sale of their materials when broken up. The demands and inquiries of the British government remained unanswered at the conclusion of the year.

Netherlands.—The British government complains of assistance rendered to slave traders at the Dutch settlement of Elmina, on the African coast; and also that the negroes of the brig Snow, liberated by the mixed commission at Surinam, had not been well treated by the colonial government, the male negroes having been united to a corps forming part of the regular troops, and the females treated in every respect as the slaves of the colony. The Dutch government, in reply, expresses its ignorance of the proceedings complained of at Elmina, on which coast the slave-trade does not appear to be carried on to any considerable extent, but states that an explanation would be required of the commandant. In reply to the other complaint, a return is furnished to show that the forty-nine negroes emancipated in Surinam had met with good treatment, and were in no respect regarded as slaves. The return states the name, and situation or employment of each negro, with the dates at which some of the number had died. A list is also given of the vessels, thirty-four in number, which, since 1818, have been furnished with the instructions agreed upon for the execution of the treaties against the slave-trade.

Brazil.—The correspondence with this state is the most extensive in the document. Its government is exhibited as much interested in the suppression of the slave-trade, and two decrees are introduced, framed for the more effectual attainment of this object. But it appears that, notwithstanding such measures, the slave-trade continues to be carried on to a great extent with impunity. The slave-traders land the negroes in unfrequented bays and afterwards openly enter the harbours of Brazil, receive the necessary supplies, and again proceed on their nefarious voyages. The Brazilian government seems to decline the proposal to accede to the treaty with France, under the impression that its own recent laws were alone sufficient to put a stop to the traffic in slaves to Brazil. It also complains of seizures by British cruizers, and condemnation by the commission at Sierra Leone of Brazilian vessels, and strongly urges a right of appeal against the sentences of the commission.

* In the paper marked A, there is a list of twenty-nine slave-vessels which left the Port of Havannah during the year 1829, of which eighteen returned with cargoes of slaves, one without slaves, and two were captured on the coast of Africa:—the fate of the remaining eight was not known. There is a similar list of thirty-one vessels which left the same port in 1831, and another of thirty-six vessels, which, during the same year, returned from the coast of Africa.

A return is furnished of ten Brazilian vessels which, in the years 1831 and 1832, received instructions to prevent illicit slave-trade.

Denmark.—The short correspondence with this power relates to a charge made against the merchants of the Danish island of St. Thomas of being much connected with slave-trading, and as acting in conjunction with the slave-trading merchants of Nantes in carrying on their criminal proceedings. The Danish government, in reply, disclaims any connivance in such transactions, the existence of which is not denied; but, St. Thomas being a free port, the evil complained of is attributed to circumstances over which the government has no control.

Sweden.—The British government makes similar charges to the above, against the merchants of St. Bartholomew. The reply complains of the general nature of the accusations, and questions their justice; but the injunctions already issued against the slave trade, it is promised, shall be enforced in the most peremptory manner.

The following statement is drawn from the paper marked A. The number of vessels condemned at Sierra Leone during the year 1832 was nine; of which one was Portuguese, one Brazilian, and the rest Spanish. These vessels had on board 1849 slaves at the time of capture, of whom 1701 were emancipated, making the total number of the slaves emancipated at Sierra Leone since 1819 amount to 25,996.

TEA PERMITS AND SURVEYS.

There are, it is well known, certain articles of foreign production which not only pay a duty upon being imported into this country, or before they are sold by the importers, but are also subject to the superintendence and control of the Excise so long as they remain in the possession either of the wholesale or the retail dealers. The articles with regard to which this interference is now exercised in its most rigorous form are foreign spirits, wine, tobacco, and tea. Coffee, cocoa nuts, and pepper, which used to be included in the list, have been, to a great extent, exempted since 1829.

Some months ago a commission was appointed by his Majesty to inquire generally into the establishment of the department of Excise, and into the management and collection of the Excise revenue, in all its branches, throughout the United Kingdom. The first report of this commission (at the head of which is Sir Henry Parnell) is dated the 20th of July last, and has since been printed. It consists of an exposition and examination of so much of the system of the Excise as is connected with the superintendence of the trade in tea.

The Report, as might be expected from the Chairman, is drawn up with remarkable clearness, and with the evidence and documents annexed, affords a very complete view of the subject to which it relates.

The tea duty has hitherto been a rate levied upon the article, according to the price which it brought when put up for sale. It has, therefore, unlike the other taxes upon articles of foreign produce, been considered as an inland, and not a port duty, and has been collected, not by the department of the Customs, but by that of the Excise. In a minute, however, dated the 26th of December last, the Lords of the Treasury recommended that the collection of the tea duty should be transferred to the same department by which the duties on other imported commodities are managed. This determination was come to after the subject had been submitted to the consideration both of the Commissioners of Customs and the Commissioners of Excise, and reports had been received from the former body in favour of the innovation, and from the latter against it. The change has not yet been made, having been deferred till the opening of the tea trade, which will take place next April; and, accordingly, in the act passed last session, entitled "An Act to provide for the Collection and Management of the Duties on Tea," (the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 101) it is provided that the collection of the tea duties shall be, for the future, under the management of the Commissioners of Customs.

The Lords of the Treasury, when they recommended the change we have just explained, in the mode of collecting the revenue from tea, expressed themselves as "not prepared, without further consideration, to dispense with the jurisdiction and control at present exercised by the Board of

Excise over the stocks of the dealers in this extensive article." The present Report comes to supply the materials for a judgment upon the important point thus reserved.

The general nature of the Excise regulations at present in force, as they affect the dealers in the articles to which the survey and permit system applies, is thus described in the Report:

"They require, first, that every tradesman who deals in tea, wine, tobacco, or foreign spirits, shall make an entry in writing at the Office of Excise within the limits of which his warehouse, room, shop, or other place are situated, of every warehouse, &c., intended to be made use of for keeping such goods.

"Secondly, That he shall take out a license.

"Thirdly, That he shall enter all sales in books provided by the Excise.

"Fourthly, That none of these articles, except in small limited quantities, shall be moved from one place to another unless the person who has occasion to move them shall have first obtained a written authority, called a permit, which permit is to accompany these articles whilst in the act of being moved; and,

"Fifthly, That an account of the stock of every dealer in these articles shall be taken by the officers of the Excise at certain short intervals of time, generally twenty-eight days."

These regulations were first introduced by an act of parliament passed in 1721, by which, at the same time, the collection of the duty on tea was committed to the Commissioners of Inland Duties, and a drawback was allowed upon the exportation of the article. Under this system it is obvious that it might be necessary to resort to a much more minute and rigorous superintendence over dealers than is now required, when a simpler mode of collecting the duty has been established. So long indeed as the collecting of the duty on tea was in the hands of the Commissioners of Inland Duties, this incessant vigilance, in regard to the distribution of the article over the country, afforded the only means of preventing much of it from escaping taxation altogether. A permit may be considered as nothing more than a certificate that the article has paid duty; and while tea was allowed to enter the country, and to remain occasionally for some time in the hands of the dealers, without the duty having been paid, it would not have been possible to have permitted any quantity of it to be transferred from one person to another without that protection

For many years past, however, the duty upon all tea legally imported has been collected from it before passing out of the hands of the importers. Under the new system this will still be the case: the duty will be levied upon the entry of the article into the country. It is plain, therefore, that the superintendence that is now wanted is not a superintendence to prevent the illegal sale and circulation of tea which may have been legally imported. The necessity for this exceedingly difficult sort of superintendence has been put an end to. The only object that has now to be kept in view is the prevention of the introduction of the commodity into the country without paying the duty: in other words, the prevention of the smuggling of tea.

This consideration, besides simplifying the subject, may tend to reconcile those who, from undefined notions of the danger of relaxing old precautions, dread the consequences of abolishing anything which has long been in use, to the reform which the present report recommends.

After stating what the provisions of the law are, the next point to which the commissioners advert, is the manner in which the law relating to tea permits and surveys has been carried into execution by the Excise department. Upon this head they have collected a good deal of curious evidence. It turns out that the inspection of the Excise officers is a mere form, or farce,– a humbug, as one of the witnesses expressively calls it– in so far as its professed object is concerned. Thus Mr. James Cousins, one of the partners in the house of Cousins and Kemp, the extensive tea-dealers in Thames Street, says, "There are no stocks taken according to act of parliament, and no officer could do it unless he took three times the time now allowed him. On the days of survey, the officer comes to our warehouse and says, What teas have you received?—what have you sold?—and he goes and takes the amount of the quantities of tea we have on hand from the draughts and weights our warehouseman shows him, and he says, There appears a decrease so and so; and away he goes." "In some districts," says another witness, "the stocks of dealers are not weighed more than twice in a year; the Excise officers take the amount to be whatever may be written by the parties." Another dealer says his stock has not been taken for these three years: the Excise officers regularly visit him, "but as to weighing the stock we have on hand," he adds, "they do not attempt it." "I do not suppose that we have been weighed close," says Mr. Labrey of Manchester, "for the last twelve years;" and when asked, How long does the taking stock occupy your time? he answers, "Perhaps ten minutes, but it would take ten days to take it properly."

But besides being quite impracticable, the observance of the regulations would really be of no use. This appears to be well understood by all concerned, and is, in point of fact, what has led to the merely formal mode of going through the business which universally prevails. To render the permit system anything like a complete protection to the revenue, it would be necessary that every ounce, or half ounce of tea that is sold, should be accompanied by a permit: but as this is evidently not to be attempted, the legislature has been forced to content itself with looking after merely the more considerable quantities. Any quantity less than six pounds may be legally sold without a permit. We apprehend that by far the larger portion of the tea that is used in this country finds its way from the dealer to the consumer in quantities of less than six pounds. It is true, that the law requires the dealer to enter daily in a small book, an account of all the tea he sends out of his stock unaccompanied by a permit; but no means being provided for enforcing the observance of this regulation, it has necessarily, and by the consent of all parties, fallen completely into disuse. Here then is an opening provided, or at least left, by the law itself, of ample dimensions to admit and conceal any evasion of its enactments. The greater part of the tea which every shopkeeper sells over his counter, he is allowed to send away without any permit: he evidently may, therefore, for any check which the occasional taking of his stock in the most perfect and accurate manner by the officers of Excise would throw in the way of his operations, receive as much without a permit as he so sends away. But as the thing is managed, the protection is even less than we have here supposed: for permits are rarely taken by private purchasers with packages of tea, even when considerably exceeding the weight of six pounds.

The following are some of the statements of the witnesses examined by the commissioners, which tend to show the nearly complete uselessness of the present regulations, even were they to be executed to the letter. Mr. Sayell, who had been himself in the Excise for sixteen years, five of which he was a supervisor, being asked, From your conversation with the officers of Excise of different ranks, what would you say was the general opinion on the policy of continuing this system of surveying and permit in the tea trade? answers, "All that I have had an opportunity of hearing state their opinions, have expressed most decidedly, that they consider the surveying system of no use whatever." "I do not think," he says in reply to another question, "it is any check whatever if a person was inclined to smuggle, because the officer only has access to the rooms in the house which the traders choose to enter; and if a trader was inclined to smuggle tea, and could procure the article, he would of course keep it in a proper place, until he had opportunities of introducing it by decreasing his stock." Another witness, a dealer, is asked, Could any exact account of stock be kept by the officer? to which he answers, "Certainly not; I do not think it possible for any house, either in the wholesale, or the retail trade, to keep an exact account." The examination goes on: "How is the decrease arranged between you and the Excise officer?—It is thrown on one side. No notice is taken of it?—Not the slightest." The following is part of the examination of another dealer: "You are required by the Excise Laws, to enter in books your sales, and to have a permit for every quantity exceeding six pounds? Yes, but we never think of doing it: when we draw a permit, of course it is entered in our regular Excise books; but if a person were to come for seven pounds of tea, and to say, we do not want a permit with it, we give him the tea, and take no further notice of it. Is that the practice of the trade? Yes; the practice, I believe, is so general, that I will venture to say, if any retailer to any extent in London, or the country, has de-

creases to the extent of from 80 to 1500lbs. per week, that he never puts them down in his book at all, until the Excise officer comes, and says, what do you think you have sold?" Another witness says, "I consider it (the Excise system) serve rather as a protection to smuggling, than as a preventive to it. The dealer gets a permit for the quantity he purchases from a smuggler, and then the permit acts as a protection." This witness, who states that he was bred in the county of Kent, where much general smuggling is carried on, and that he knows well what smuggling is in every department, gives it in answer to other questions as his opinion, and the result of his experience, that if the smuggler succeeds in landing tea in defiance of the Customs officers, then the interference of the Excise is of no use, and that when the article was landed without interruption from the Customs, he had never found that the getting it into consumption was a matter of any difficulty whatever, notwithstanding all the Excise regulations. To the same purport is the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Fry, a wholesale dealer to a large extent: "I am most decidedly of opinion, from the experience I have had for nine years, during which I have given the subject very close attention, and it is the opinion of our house, that, when tea is once smuggled into the country, the permits facilitate the fraud of those parties who are engaged in the illicit trade. The Excise officers profess to take our stock, but as a proof of the inefficiency of the present system, I hold in my hand twenty-two permits, to the amount of 11,138lbs. of tea, that we have entered in our book to show to our Excise officer; consequently, because our stock was so egregiously wrong, we might have made use of those permits to take in *that* quantity for moving smuggled tea, if we had been so disposed.

A considerable trade, it would appear, is actually carried on in the sale of these permits. Mr. Fry's evidence explains how this is done. "Suppose," he says, "the stock of tea in a retail warehouse or shop, when taken by the officers, to be 250 lbs.: and suppose that up to the next period of his stock being again taken 200 lbs. has been permitted into that stock, making 450 lbs. On the other side, we will suppose this man to have sold in parcels of 6 lbs. and upwards, for which he is obliged to draw permits, 130 lbs. of tea. I may here observe that every dealer is furnished by the Excise with a book, in which ought to be entered the quantity sold each day, in parcels of less than 6 lbs., and upon these entries it is perfectly impossible for the Excise to have any check. And suppose this dealer to have entered in this retail book only 70 lbs., whereas he has in reality disposed of 90 lbs. Now, deducting the 70 lbs. entered, and the 130 lbs. drawn for, making 200 lbs. from the 450, it leaves 270 lbs., for which he has what is called credit, though having omitted in his retail book to put down 20 lbs., his actual stock is only 230 lbs.; consequently, he could receive 20 lbs. of smuggled tea: or he might turn it to advantage in another way, by drawing a permit for a similar quantity, and disposing of it to some other party, who may be desirous to take in smuggled tea, but whose *credit* would not allow him to do it. In large businesses these practices might be carried on to an enormous extent." Another dealer says, "If I chose to help smugglers, I could do so in an extensive point of view. I could sell, say 5000 lbs. of *credit* per month, at sixpence the pound; that is the common price of permits. The permits not only are sold, but always have been sold." Another says, "I could have made a considerable profit by the sale of permits, if I had wished it." The principal thing, indeed, which prevents this trade from being carried on to a very large extent is the extremely limited quantity of tea that is really smuggled. Nearly all the witnesses agree in admitting that the article is one which, in no circumstances, is likely to be illegally introduced into the country to a large extent. It is too bulky for the purposes of the smuggler, and too delicate and susceptible of injury from contact with the water, or being buried in the earth, or subjected to any of the other modes of concealment to which he is usually obliged to resort. Unless, too, it were to be brought from some depôt on the continent, the country from which it would have to be procured is too distant to suit the skulking habits of an illegal traffic. At present scarcely any tea, except of the finer sorts, is smuggled; and accordingly it is understood that these are the teas for which permits are principally sold.

It has been contended that the superintendence exercised by the Excise, if it is of no further use, is at least serviceable in preventing the adulteration of teas. But there seems to be as little ground for this commendation of the system as for any of the other notions of its admirers. For one thing, it does not appear that the officers of Excise are at all qualified to judge whether the tea they examine is adulterated or not. Most of the witnesses state their belief that there is now very little adulteration; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that, in 1830, there were only two seizures by the Excise of adulterated tea; in 1831, not one; and, in 1832, only one. The commissioners express their conviction, in which they are borne out by the evidence, "that the reason why this is the case is, not any dread of the Excise-laws, but because adulteration has proved unprofitable as a speculation." Consumers themselves very soon discover whether or no the person with whom they deal gives them a genuine article: and it is quite certain that, at any rate, no large trade in the sale of tea can be carried on, except on honest principles.

We have left ourselves but little room now for any statement of the positive evils of this system. Its inutility, indeed, is quite sufficient argument for its condemnation. It is also, however, productive of very considerable trouble and annoyance to all those engaged in the sale of tea. There is the necessity of sending to the Excise Office for permits when wanted, the distance in the country being often several miles; while even in town they frequently cannot be had at the moment, and the execution of an order is delayed for another day, or, it may be, a week. Then the loss of time occasioned to every dealer, by the visits of the Excise officer, and the actual labour imposed upon him, are very considerable, to say nothing of the tormentingly inquisitorial character of the superintendence to which he is subjected. Mr. Fry states that in his establishment, when they are tolerably busy, the time of one man or more is fully occupied nearly the whole day in procuring permits for the teas received from the East India Company's warehouses; while others are constantly employed in going to and from the Excise Office for such as are wanted to protect packages sent out to parties who deal with the house. When again the officers come to take stock, their best man is taken off for many hours to attend to them. The tea-dealer besides is made to feel, or at least cannot help feeling, that he is, to a certain degree, in the power of the excise-officer by whom he is visited. The penalties to which dealers are subject, "would oblige me," says Mr. Cousins, "to leave off business to-morrow if they were enforced." "The officer," says another witness, "has it in his power, if he is so disposed, to be exceedingly troublesome and vexatious, by making himself very busy by looking into this canister and that canister." He might, for example, seize any mixed teas, if he chose to exert his authority to the utmost; for anything of this kind it is, strictly speaking, illegal for a dealer to have upon his premises. But that enactment too shares the fate of the rest; it is so entirely disregarded that there is scarcely a retail shop in the metropolis where mixed tea is not found in considerable quantities. Could anything more discreditable be alleged against a law—anything more conclusively demonstrative of its unsuitableness, folly, and mischief, than such systematic evasion of all its provisions as we have here? We laugh at the Chinese authorities for their conduct in regard to the opium trade which we carry on with their country: they rigorously prohibit the importation of the article in ordinances and proclamations, and yet never attempt actually to prevent its introduction when it is going on before their eyes. But if that government were, by way of returning such a compliment as we lately paid them, to send a junk up our coasts with the view of having a peep at how we manage matters at home, we should, perhaps, afford them as much amusement by some of our empty legislative fulminations as they do us by theirs. They would, probably, think our tea surveys and permits quite as good a joke as we do their opium law.

The Excise surveyors and other officers belonging to that department maintain that the cost of this precious system is but a mere trifle. It is quite evident, however, that it must be very considerable. On this head, however, we can only afford to subjoin the general summary given in the Report:—

"First, *As to making entries of warehouses, &c.* There is the keeping of books in every Excise district, for entering all the warehouses, rooms, shops, or other places, intended to be made use of by 101,687 tea dealers.

"Secondly, *As to Permits.* There is the printing annually of more than 850,000 permits and a great number of books: the sending of these books every three months to every Excise district in the United Kingdom; the returning of these books every three months, containing the checked parts of the permits issued, and the blank permits not made use of. The keeping of a register-book in the Permit Office of each Excise district of the stock of every dealer in tea in the district; the writing on every permit the name of the person requesting it, the quantity of tea to be delivered by him, and the name of the person to whom it is to be delivered; and the comparing of the permits issued with the permits returned.

"Thirdly, *As to Surveys.* There is the surveying every twenty-eight days of the stocks of all dealers, and additional surveys every three months by the officer, and also by the supervisor. According to the number of dealers, the number of surveys cannot be less in a year than 2,137,424.

"Fourthly. There is the printing and transmitting of a supply of two descriptions of Excise-books, amounting to more than 300,000 annually, to every dealer, in one of which he has to enter his sales which consist of parcels exceeding six pounds in weight, and in the other his sales below that weight."

On the whole, we think, very little doubt can remain in the mind of any person who has perused the document of which we have given this very imperfect abstract, that it is high time for this needless and vexatious superintendence to be put an end to. As one of the witnesses examined by the Commissioners remarks, "The proper means to prevent smuggling is by an efficient coast-guard. If once tea is laid on shore and gets into the possession of parties, if they take any sort of precaution for concealment, there is very little chance or possibility of detection, unless it is by information, which would be just as available after the removing the system of permit and survey as now." We have only to add that it is probable government means to adopt the recommendation of the Report, from an enactment introduced into the Act already referred to, as passed last Session, for the collection and management of the duties on tea, giving authority to the Lords of the Treasury to discontinue the practice of requiring permits on the removal of the article, and in their stead to establish such other regulations as may appear to be necessary for the security of the revenue.

PROPOSED NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE metropolis of the British empire, unapproached as it is among the cities of the world in those things which make a truly wonderful town, is certainly as little of a *show* city as so vast a congregation of buildings well could be. We mean, that if one who had never seen it before were merely to drive through its principal streets, he would not carry away an impression of any thing very grand or imposing. There is little to catch the eye at a first glance. What of ordinary ornament and splendour there is, is spread over so large a surface, that its effect is nearly lost on a hasty inspection. But the character of London is, that, like that of everything else that is most great in nature or in art, its magnificence grows upon you so as almost to make you feel as if, in regard to it, you were becoming endowed with a new sense. The man who has seen certain other famous capitals, Byron has said, in a true and pointed couplet,

> "May not think much of London's first appearance,
> But ask him what he thinks of it a year hence."

But this is not all. At the end of the second year, it will seem to him something still more stupendous than it did at the end of the first; and every additional year he spends in contemplating and studying it will only make him think it the more wonderful. That which overpowers you is not any particular object, but the endlessness of everything,—the constant succession,—the boundless extent,—the inexhaustible variety, that meet you in whatever direction you turn, and baffle all your efforts to get to the bottom of the mystery.

There are few things, perhaps, that more surprise and disappoint a person, on first coming to London, than the appearance of those buildings in which the national legislature assembles, and especially the interior of the House of Commons. He makes his way to the gallery some evening while the House is sitting, expecting to see a display of magnificence corresponding to the ideas he has been accustomed to entertain of the noblest political arena in the world. When he gets there, he looks down from his narrow and uncomfortable nook upon a room that, in point both of dimensions and decoration, would be paltry for a country parish church. He has read of senate-houses and legislative halls; but this is neither a house nor a hall: it is a mere apartment, not much larger than many a private drawing-room. And as to its appearance apart from its size, the most that can be said for it is, that it is neatly enough fitted up; but assuredly it would be scarcely possible to have everything in a plainer style. This, we apprehend, is what every one feels at first, during the moments when the present reality has driven away everything, except its plain prosaic self. Afterwards it may be somewhat different. The imagination will probably rally its forces after a little time, and the past will, in its turn, drive away the present. Then, with the help of some material accessories, the reign of illusion will be, in part at least, restored. The blaze of the candles will fall on all around, taking the place of the languid dying daylight which at first had made everything look so doubly sombre, dingy, and almost dirty. The few disengaged living figures that here and there dotted the vacuity have become a compactly congregated throng, covering almost every inch of the internal surface of the little box from the floor to the ceiling. And for the unintelligible muttering, and incessant movement to and fro, which had filled up the first hour or more, while petitions were presenting, or other business of mere form going forward, "the grand debate" is now making head like a tide; the orator is pouring forth those words which are in a few hours to be carried abroad over the earth, as if "on the wings of all the winds," and to sway the destiny of nations: all around are held suspended by the eloquent voice; some sympathizing with every successive argument or sarcasm: others all eagerness to refute the one, and retort the other: the frequent cheer peals from side to side, the excitement is intense and absorbing; and no wonder that the whole scene is then glorified, that the very compass of the walls seems to expand, and that the vision is brought back again which the imagination had formerly cherished of the place where Fox, and Pitt, and Sheridan, and Burke, and Chatham, were wont to hurl round them their thunder and their lightning.

The real inconveniences of the building, however, are not to be removed by such a dream as this, and have of late forced themselves to such a degree upon the attention of honourable members and the public, that, within the last three years, the subject has been twice referred by the House to the consideration of a select committee. Both committees made reports, the first on the 6th of October, 1831, and the second on the 13th of May last. The latter came to the following resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this committee that the present House of Commons does not afford adequate accommodation for its members, and that no alterations or improvements could be made in the present House which would afford adequate accommodation, due regard being had to the health and general convenience of the members, to the dispatch of public business, and to the expense to be incurred; and the committee therefore recommend the erection of a new House of Commons; and they refer the House to the evidence which has been taken as to the plan and site, and the expense in such case to be incurred."

The apartment in which the Commons of England assemble, our readers are aware, was originally a chapel, dedicated to St. Stephen. It was originally founded by King Stephen, in 1141; but it was rebuilt in 1347 by Edward III., and it is the structure then erected which still subsists. The earliest parliament at which we have any certain account of representatives of the Commons having been present, is that which met in 1265, the 49th year of Henry III. For a considerable time the knights and burgesses formed one assembly with the barons or nobility; it was not till 1377 that there was a separate House of Commons. In that year the Commons met by themselves in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, a room which stands on the east side of the cloisters, and is now used as a repository for sundry ancient records. It is here that the venerable survey of England, called "Doomsday Book," which was drawn up in the time of the Conqueror, is preserved. When the parliament met in London, this appears to have been the place of sitting appropriated to the Commons, down to the year 1547, when Edward VI. gave them their present

House, which accordingly is described in a document dated a few years after, as "the upper buildings now called the Parliament House over the vault of the College Chapel of St. Stephen." The chapel, which had been made collegiate by Edward III., was within the royal palace of Westminster. The Commons, therefore, have now met here for 286 years.

The east end of St. Stephen's Chapel stands about 159 feet from the left bank of the Thames, which at this place flows nearly in a due north direction. The chapel stands exactly east and west, and therefore perpendicular to the course of the river. It is also in the same relative position to Westminster Hall and the House of Lords, which stand parallel to the river, about thirty feet to the west of the House of Commons, the Hall being to the north, and the House of Lords to the south. The space between the angles of these two buildings, and the west wall of the House of Commons, forms the lobby of the latter. To the north of St. Stephen's Chapel, and the east of Westminster Hall, stands the Speaker's House. Running along the east side of the House of Lords is the apartment called the Long Gallery. The south end of the House of Lords forms his Majesty's Robing Room; and running down from that, in a direction perpendicular to the river, and of course parallel to the House of Commons, is the Painted Chamber, in which conferences between the two houses are usually held, and which is said to have been the bed-chamber of Edward the Confessor. Along part of the north wall of this apartment, but extending nearer to the river, stands the lately erected library of the Commons; and, finally, occupying part of the space between that and St. Stephen's Chapel, is the residence of Mr. Ley, the Chief Clerk of the House of Commons.

This account will give the reader a clear idea of the disposition of the different parts of this extensive mass of building, which it is impossible to learn merely from viewing the exterior, and not very easy to come at even by exploring the tortuous passages that lead from one apartment to another. With the exception of the north end of Westminster Hall indeed, scarcely any portion at least of the under part of any of the rooms we have mentioned, is to be seen from the street. They are cased nearly all the way round with other erections—the several courts of justice—the committee rooms belonging to the two houses—and other apartments used for various purposes—which are what present themselves on the outside. On the east side, between the several buildings and the river, are Cotton Garden, and the garden of the Speaker. The different apartments that have been mentioned, we ought also to state, are not all on the same level. The floor of Westminster Hall, for instance, is on the ground; that of the House of Lords is perhaps at the height of ten or twelve feet; and that of the House of Commons is four or five feet higher. There are crypts or cellars under both the latter apartments, that under the House of Lords being classic ground, as the scene of Guy Fawx's famous plot.

The length of the House of Commons is only 61 feet, and its breadth not quite 33 feet. Its whole area is only about 2000 square feet, or scarcely more than a tenth part of that of Westminster Hall. Out of that room, in other words, might be cut ten such rooms as the House of Commons. The latter, although the contrary has been commonly stated, is even very considerably less than the House of Lords, which is between 30 and 40 feet broad, by upwards of 90 feet in length. It is only a portion of the area of the floor of the House of Commons, however, that is allotted to members; about 11 feet being cut off from the west end for the accommodation of those strangers who are admitted by orders from the Speaker. What properly constitutes the legislative hall, therefore, is only a space of about 50 feet by 32, giving an area of 1600 square feet. The portion of the floor that is left unoccupied by benches is 14 feet in width; but about the half of this at the east end is covered by the table, the seats of the clerks, the Speaker's chair, and several rows of benches behind it. The entire clear space on the floor does not much exceed 350 feet square.

The seats provided for the members consist of five rows of benches, carried round the north, east, and west walls. It was stated to the committee of 1831, that allowing 2 feet for each individual, these benches would only afford 342 seats. Allow only 22 inches for each, and you accommodate a twelfth part of that number more, or about 370 in all. But the number of members is 658, or 288 more than can thus find room upon the most liberal calculation. Those excluded can only take refuge in the members' gallery, which runs round three sides of the room; but it is not usual for any one sitting here to take part in the debate. And besides, the gallery, in which there are only two rows of seats, certainly could not contain many more than half the number in question. . .

Till the Union with Scotland, in 1707, it might have been possible for the whole body of the representatives of the Commons to have found accommodation in the present house, which accordingly, in an account of London, published the very last year in which the English members sat alone, we find described as "a commodious building, accommodated with several ranks of seats covered with green, and matted under foot, for 513 gentlemen, of which number this honorable, learned, and judicious assembly consists, the like in all those respects, perhaps, no where to be paralleled*." Whether the encomium bestowed by the courteous author in these last words is intended for the house or the members is not very clear: but it can hardly now, at any rate, be claimed by the former. The accession of the Scotch members made the number of persons to be accommodated 558; and we apprehend even that is considerably more than the body of the house and the gallery together could hold. But for the last thirty-three years, since the union with Ireland, the number of members has been 658, which is certainly very nearly 150 more than could, by any packing, be seated within the walls of the present house.

But even before the Union with Scotland, the inconvenience of the narrow dimensions of the House of Commons was the subject of complaint. In 1604, we find on the Journals the following warrant, ordered to be issued by the Speaker, to the surveyor of the king's works: —"Whereas the members of the Commons House of Parliament, by reason of more charters granted by his majesty, as also by their attendance in greater multitudes than heretofore hath been usual, do want convenient room to sit in the place accustomed for their meeting, and many are thereby forced to stand in the entrance and midst of the House, contrary to order; it is required on behalf of the said House, that the officers of his majesty's works do immediately give orders for the erecting and fitting such and so many rooms and seats as the whole House may *sit*, and attend the service with more ease and conveniency." It is probable that in consequence of this order some additional seats were erected; but the House itself was not enlarged. At the Union with Ireland, a few new seats were also placed in very inconvenient situations, in the two angles of the room, namely, behind the Speaker's chair. But all the benches which are not in front of the chair may be considered to exclude those who occupy them from taking any part in the debate, still more completely than a position in the gallery itself.

Such is the state of things which is conceived to create the necessity for a larger house than the present. Among the witnesses examined by the second Committee were Sir John Soane, Sir Robert Smirke, Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, Mr. Blore, Mr. Burton, and several others of the most eminent architects in the metropolis. In general, the opinions of these witnesses are decidedly in favour of an entirely new house, though most of them propose to attach the building to be erected to the present, so as that St. Stephen's chapel should still remain a part of the House of Commons. Mr. John Hopper is, we believe, the only person who conceives that the object in view may be most effectively secured by retaining the present site; but he is very strongly of opinion that that would be the better plan. His proposal, however, involves nearly the complete demolition of the present house. He would take down the two side walls of the chapel, and remove them so far back as to give a width of sixty-six feet, or rather more than double the present. The width of the room, indeed, upon this plan would exceed its length. Mr. Hopper states, that such an alteration could be effected at very much less expense than the building of an entirely new house. He would preserve the present roof as part of the new one, and even the floor, the Speaker's seat, and the front seats would remain as they are. There would merely be so many rows of new seats added behind the present. The committee do not seem to have been much impressed in favour of Mr. Hopper's ideas; but we think his plan deserves consideration.

* "New View of London," (supposed to be by Edward Hatton,) 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1708; vol. ii., p. 269.

The greater economy is something, though we are willing to allow that, in such a case as this, the expense is not the first thing to be minded. But confessing to a partiality for the spot which, of all others on the soil of this island, has been dignified by the most memorable scenes, and the most momentous events, we would, if it did not involve the sacrifice of any essential advantage, have the Commons of England still to assemble and deliberate on the arena consecrated by so many proud recollections. True, the building in which they met would be in the main a new one; but really we apprehend the identity of the outer walls is not what the imagination cares about, or thinks about, in thus clinging to an interesting locality. With architects indeed, it may be otherwise. Some of the eminent professional men examined by the committee are, we perceive, full of fancies about the restoration of the old ecclesiastical building, Edward III's chapel of St. Stephen's, and seem inclined to remove the Commons elsewhere, mainly because they are at present in the way of the execution of this project. But the public in general, we conceive, do not care a straw about the restoration of St. Stephen's as a chapel, and would stare at such a proposition. The building appears, no doubt, to have been a very magnificent one in its day—richly adorned with gilding, sculpture, and frescos, and also possessing much architectural beauty; but its moral history, which is what attaches the general mind, is a mere blank: we know nothing of it beyond its name. As a chapel, it has been as much forgotten for nearly the last three hundred years, as if during all that while not a stone of it had stood: and the notion of its restoration as such seems, therefore, almost as preposterous as would be a proposal to rebuild some temple of Apollo or Diana, which had once graced our island, but had not existed since the time of the Romans.

Mr. Hopper's plan would leave the *place*, though not exactly the *room*, in which the Commons assembled, the same which it now is, and during so many ages has been. Future champions of the popular liberties would still take their stand on the same "holy ground" on which the battles of the constitution had been fought of old. The spot would still remain, what it has so long been, the central heart, from which not only the chief impulse is given to all the movements of our own mighty political system, but more of power and influence is sent forth than from any other over the whole globe. Instead of Mr. Hopper's plan, however, which would go entirely to change the form of the house, we would propose an extension partly in a lateral, and partly in a longitudinal direction, so as to preserve as much as possible the same shape of room, though with enlarged dimensions. For this purpose, we would sacrifice so much as might be necessary of the present lobby, and build a new lobby at the opposite end of the apartment. This, to our taste, would be preferable to making the extension of the house in the latter direction, as it would allow the Speaker's chair and the benches to remain in their present position.

Some such plan as this appears to have occurred to Mr. Croker, who is one of the witnesses examined by the committee; but upon the whole, he is inclined to prefer an entirely new house, to be built to the north of the present, which might serve as its lobby. Nearly all the other plans suggest the erection of a new house to the east of the present, that is on the space between it and the river. Another of Mr. Croker's ideas is the removal of both houses of parliament to St. James's Palace: and somebody else suggests the building of a new House of Lords, and the conversion of the present into a House of Commons.

The following passage from Mr. Croker's evidence, besides some interesting facts, contains, we think, much good sense, and is well worthy of attention. "I must take the liberty of saying, if I may do so without presumption, that the committee appear to me to have calculated their new house upon too large a scale. The questions that have been read to me require accommodation for 600 members, at three feet four by two feet each; that appears to me too much, and it will be followed, if adopted, by disappointment and regret; this will be made apparent by a consideration of what experience shews us to have been practically requisite. Before the Irish union, it never happened but once, that 500 members were assembled, and that was in what has been called the 'Great Walpolean Battle, at the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, when, I think in the year 1742, 504 members voted. From the time of the Irish union to the first Reform Bill in 1830, for thirty years, there were but thirteen divisions which produced 500 members, and but one which produced 550; the Reform Bill produced 608. Every body knows that on such occasions the great pressure exists for only the few last hours of a debate: and it should also be recollected that the space and ventilation which would be required for 600 members in the month of July, would be found uncomfortable for an ordinary house of 200 or 300 members in the month of January; to say nothing of the disagreeable effect on the House itself; and, above all, on any persons speaking in it, of seeing a desert of unfurnished benches; it distracts the attention; and the members, moving about in a large and thinly-attended House, would become prominent objects, and very much disturb both the audience and the orator. It must also be recollected that the human voice has its limits; and that it may be said, pretty accurately, that the smaller the room in which your audience can be personally accommodated, the better that audience will hear. Upon the whole, therefore, I should take the liberty of saying that if you allow three feet by two for each sitting, I consider it an ample space; because, as you will, no doubt, have many and commodious gangways, and a corridor all round the House, there will be infinitely less occasion to cross members who are sitting than there is at present. You should, therefore, not compute, as seems to have been done, the dimensions of each seat, making full allowance for one member to sit and for another member to pass. With regard to the running measure of two feet for the sitting, I have nothing to say; but that in the last hour of a great debate members will find it not very inconvenient to sit much closer; and I am therefore of opinion, upon the whole, that if you make provision for the general business of the House in the House itself to the amount of 400 or 450, you ought to consider by what means the extraordinary concourse of members on extraordinary occasions can be provided for; and I believe that that would be best and most commodiously accomplished by a gallery, which, on ordinary occasions, does not offend you by its emptiness, and which at the moment of pressure affords seats for the additional number of members.

The correctness of these remarks is confirmed, to a considerable extent, in the remainder of the Right Honourable Gentleman's evidence by a reference to different legislative chambers, and halls for lecturing or public debate. "I remember," he says, "the Irish House of Commons, the Irish House of Commons was a circle of about fifty or fifty-five feet: round it went a corridor, over that corridor was a receding gallery for strangers. In the front of the gallery, on the perpendicular of the wall of the House, ran a circle of columns which supported a dome above. The number of members was 300, and as well as I recollect, the number of concentric seats were four or five. I was present at some of the great Union debates, and there seemed to me to be room enough: but, in the gallery at least, it was what I should call a very bad hearing House, as the Committee will easily conceive when they figure to themselves a high spherical dome, and a peripteral gallery running round the House." In this apartment the chair of the Speaker was in a line with the lower circle of seats, opposite the entrance gangway, and raised a few steps; so that several of the benches occupied by members were placed almost behind the Speaker, nearly as they are in our present House of Commons. In the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, which is a semicircular room, with both an advancing gallery for the more favoured class of strangers, and a receding gallery for the public, Mr. Croker states that he had found considerable difficulty in hearing, and that several members, upon his making inquiries of them, confirmed his opinion of its being a very bad hearing House. "It was owing, I thought, to a reverberation," he adds; "and that was produced probably by a concurrence of causes, the size and height of the room, and the form of the walls and ceiling, as well, I think, as to the want of something to act as a sounding-board behind or above the person speaking; for his voice appeared to me to ascend to the skylight, rather than come into the body of the House."

The American Hall of Representatives at Washington, which is of the same form with the French Chamber, is also, we may remark, well known to labour under the same greatest of all defects. It is a very splendid room, 96 feet across, and 40 feet in height. The gallery for the public extends around the entire circular part of the wall, and the

Speaker's chair is placed below, in the centre of the wall opposite; the seats of the members are ranged around in concentric rows, so that their faces are all to the Speaker, and their backs to the gallery. "This noble room, or more properly, amphitheatre," says Captain Hall, "is not well adapted for hearing. Were it actually a theatre, and the audience seated where the members are placed, while the actors addressed them from the corridor, or open space behind the Speaker's chair, along the diameter of the semicircle, I dare say it might do very well; because the Speaker, when addressing the House from the chair, was heard distinctly enough by the members. It was always difficult, however, for any member of the House to make himself heard. I spoke to one of them about this essential defect. He replied that, for once, in America, utility had been sacrificed to beauty; 'which,' said he, good-humouredly enough, 'you must do us the justice to say, is not often the fault of this country.'"

The circumstance that this form of room is, perhaps, better adapted than any other for lecturing in, or speaking from a platform, or other fixed station, seems to have too hastily led to the conclusion that it must answer equally well for that kind of debate which is carried on by persons speaking from all the different points in the apartment. It is found that, in the latter case, the semicircular form, instead of being the best, is one of the very worst suited for the purpose in view. The theatres of the London University, and of King's College, for instance, although both good lecturing-rooms would probably make, either of them, a very bad House of Commons. For a debating-room, too, a very lofty roof seems to be objectionable; and so, indeed, is any portion of empty space which can be avoided. With all its inconveniences, our present House of Commons possesses, at least, the quality of first-rate importance of being an excellent hearing-room. Even in the strangers' gallery, when there is no disturbance, every word spoken in the body of the House, in the ordinary tone of debate, is distinctly heard. Nor has the orator to strain his voice in order to make himself audible. The room, although small, and without many accommodations which are provided elsewhere, as well as having no pretensions to majesty of appearance, is, however, as Captain Hall well remarks, when contrasting it with the Hall at Washington, "of such convenient dimensions, that any member's voice may easily be heard when raised a little above the pitch of ordinary conversation; and, consequently, the loud oratorical tone, which is the bane of good debating, is entirely excluded, as unnecessary, and out of place." These advantages are so important, that we trust, if a new House is to be built, the old one will not be condemned, or disfurnished, until some experience has been had of their comparative good and evil qualities; so that, if the removal should not be found to answer expectation, the power of return to the forsaken benches may still exist.

An elongated room, either with or without the corners rounded, appears to be the most suitable for a legislative assembly. When the present House of Commons was undergoing a slight alteration for the accommodation of the additional members at the Union with Ireland, the House sat in the Painted Chamber, and that room, Mr. Croker states, was a remarkably good place for hearing. It is, as already stated, an oblong apartment, and is somewhat longer than the House of Commons, but not so wide. The magnificent hall at Madrid in which the Cortes used to meet before the overthrow of the Constitutional Government in Spain, was also, we believe, an excellent hearing room, and its form was that of an oblong, with circular ends. The throne and chair of the President were placed at one extremity, the benches on which the members sat were ranged parallel to the side walls, and at the other end of the Chamber were two spacious galleries, one above the other, for the accommodation of strangers. The House of Lords may also be mentioned as another example. It is an oblong apartment, and although there is a good deal of empty space, and the newly-erected gallery is complained of as being too far removed from the body of the House, a person speaking in it, when his voice is not a very bad one, appears to make himself perfectly audible to all present without any extraordinary exertion.

If it should, however, be determined to build a new House of Commons, there are various accessories which ought to form part of the plan, in addition to the legislative chamber. The inconveniences of the present house consist nearly as much perhaps in the awkward arrangement, and inadequate size and number of its committee-rooms and other offices, as in the confined dimensions of the House itself. This consideration, indeed, is urged by several of the witnesses as a strong argument in favour of building a new House, in a different situation, rather than retaining the present site; but we do not see why the suite of new offices, including the more spacious lobby, said to be so desirable, might not, instead of the House, be erected on the vacant ground towards the river. The House could then be left standing where it is, and merely receive enlargement in different directions in the way already suggested. The access to the house at present, whether for members or the public, is certainly anything but commodious; and the want of any proper ante-room to separate the place in which the members are assembled from any crowds that may gather around it, composed, it may be, of an infuriated mob, or the lowest rabble from the streets, has been frequently attended with unpleasant consequences. In 1780, the mob were with the utmost difficulty prevented from forcing their way into the House, out of which they were only kept by the intervention of the slight door upon which they kept pressing, and occasionally knocking, for hours. And the following extract from the Journals, under the date of the 14th of June, 1648, shows that matters had sometimes been nearly as bad in former times:—"Ordered, that the Commander-in-Chief, and the guard that do guard the House from time to time, do keep the clamorous women from coming up the stairs leading to the House of Commons' door, and from coming into and clamouring in Westminster Hall on the Speaker and members of the House."

There is one advantage in the present situation of the houses of parliament which it might be difficult to secure, to the same degree, if they were removed from that vicinity,—the absence of any annoyance or interruption from noise in the streets. It appears, however, that of old our ancestors, in their riotous merriment, used sometimes to disturb the members from another quarter,—from the river. The following entry occurs in the Journals of the Commons, under date of 31st May, 1610; "this day the Lord Mayor and the citizens, in the liveries of their several companies, went to Putney, in their way to Richmond, and waited upon Prince Henry, coming down to Whitehall; the Duke of Brunswick, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Mar, in the barge with him. At nine o'clock in the morning they went. The drums and fifes were so loud, and the company so small, as Mr. Speaker thought not fit, after nine o'clock, to proceed in any business, but to arise and depart."

SAVINGS BANK ANNUITIES.

The Act 3 Will. IV. c. 14 is a great boon to the industrious classes, for whose benefit it was intended, by enabling them, under the guarantee of government, to secure a small, but certain, provision for the time of old age and declining strength. From doing this, many such persons can only have been prevented by the want of a means so eligible and safe as that which this Act provides.

This Act enables a person to purchase an annuity of not less than 4*l*., or more than 20*l*. per annum, to commence at any age the purchaser may desire; and which may be either immediate or deferred, for life or term of years; but no annuity can be contracted for on the life of a person under the age of fifteen. The purchase may, at the option of the purchaser, be effected either by the payment of a certain sum in the first instance, or by weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly instalments. The amount of the money paid down, or of the yearly instalments, must necessarily depend on the age of the purchaser, and on the time when he wishes the annuity to commence. If he lives to that time, he becomes entitled to receive an annuity in value equivalent to all his payments, with the compound interest accumulated thereon: but if he dies before the annuity becomes payable, it is provided that all the money he had contributed shall be returned to his family or executors; and, in case of his death after the payment of the annuity has commenced, the executors become entitled to all the arrears due at the annuitant's demise, and also to one-fourth of the expired annuity in addition, if claim is made for it within two years of his decease. Still further to diminish the possibility of any disadvantageous result to the purchaser, it is provided that should he feel unable to continue the payment of his yearly

instalments, he may at any time receive back the whole of the money he has paid on giving three months' notice.

No annuity granted will be subject to any taxes, &c., nor is it transferable, but must continue to be the property of, or be received for, the benefit of the party by, or for, whom it was originally purchased. But in case the purchaser of an annuity becomes bankrupt or insolvent, the annuity is to be repurchased by the Commissioners, and the money paid over to the assignee for the benefit of the creditors.

The annuity is made payable half-yearly, namely, on the 5th of January and 5th of July, or the 5th of April and 10th of October; but if a person wishes to have his annuity paid quarterly, he has only to purchase one-half as payable in January and July, and the other in April and October, to effect his object.

These annuities are to be purchased through the medium of the local savings banks; but where none such exist, a parochial society may be formed for the special purpose, provided the rector, vicar, or minister, or a resident justice is one of the trustees. Provision is also made that the annual payments may be continued, and the annuity received, at any other society than the one at which the contract was originally formed. As the trustees and managers act as the agents of government, no unnecessary expenses are incurred in the management, which is wholly gratuitous; and for such expenses as are necessary, no other sums can be demanded from the party contracting than a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* on his application for the purchase of an annuity, and afterwards no sum exceeding 1*s.* yearly.

The foregoing are the provisions of the Act for carrying into effect this excellent plan of applying the savings of the provident and industrious. J. Tidd Pratt, Esq., who has indefatigably exerted himself in the promotion of everything connected with the establishment and well-being of savings banks, has also, on this occasion, issued a pamphlet containing rules proposed for the establishment and management of these societies. He is also preparing an abstract of the law relating to them, and a series of tables of the value of the annuities, all of which are highly useful.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

SINCE our September publication, the Committee for Reporting on Public Petitions have issued three Reports, numbered from forty to forty-two. In concluding the Reports for the session, the Committee take occasion to state, that many of the petitions are not written upon parchment, according to the usual practice of the House, but upon paper—that many of those on paper are transcripts from one common original—that many of the signatures to them are in one and the same hand-writing—and that it has been alleged, that parties interested in a petition, have contracted with other persons to carry it about and procure signatures thereto, at a fixed sum for a given number. They also complain, that members presenting petitions, are in the habit of neglecting to inscribe their names on them; and conclude with stating, that they had directed their clerk to prepare for the press an Index to the whole number of petitions presented.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
For vote by ballot	55	37,314
Ecclesiastical.		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	1,173	277,425
For removal of religious disabilities	135	25,860
For abolition of tithes in England	55	18,275
Against tithes' commutation bill	43	10,134
Against church patronage in Scotland	160	68,025
Against the composition act (*Ireland*)	6	509
For the tithes stay of suit's bill	23	2,827
Against bishops' holding seats in the House of Lords	2	462
Taxes.		
For the repeal of the malt tax	132	41,065
Against the assessed taxes	49	20,915
Against the tax on merchant seamen	12	4,069
Against the legacy and probate duties	3	2,033
Against various other taxes, none of which have been included in any former enumeration	7	317
Ireland.		
For the repeal of the Union	44	13,263
Against the disturbances bill	671	422,285
Against the new system of education	19	2,088
In favour of grand jury bill	17	5,351
For the introduction of poor laws	33	5,334
Miscellaneous.		
For the abolition of slavery	5,020	1,309,711
Against the slavery abolition bill	32	16,463
In favour of factories regulation bill	143	197,068
Against ditto	26	2,815
Against the retail beer act	228	31,559
Against the Bank of England charter bill	15	3,268
Against the bankrupt's (Scotland) bill	25	774
Against notaries-public bill	22	102
In favour of ditto	3	100
For regulations respecting linen weaving	8	7,115
In favour of local courts	5	1,109
For inquiry respecting the Cold Bath Fields' meeting	4	1,282
Complaining of abuses in corporations	133	70,455
Against imprisonment for debt	7	267
Ditto ditto bill	2	763
Against the metropolitan police	11	7,271
Against the vestry acts	6	22,013
Against highways' bill	51	3,451
For the protection of the shipping interest	18	1,648
For alteration in the registry of vessels bill	3	236
For encouragement to mechanics institutions	1	538
For a revision of the laws of Scotland	4	993
For uniformity of weights and measures	2	195
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the Companion to the Newspaper, No. IX.	17	5,713

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

QUANTITIES and declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported in the year 1831:

	Quantity.	Declared Value.
Apparel, Slops, and Haberdashery		£ 790,293
Arms and Ammunition		562,765
Bacon and Hams cwt.	7,564	22,689
Beef and Pork barrels	41,213	117,942
Beer and Ale tuns	8,844	161,768
Books Printed cwts.	4,112	101,110
Brass & Copper Manufactures do.	181,951	803,124
Butter and Cheese do.	63,260	251,024
Coals, Culm, and Cinders tons	530,831	199,760
Cordage cwts.	36,276	81,986
Cotton Manufactures (entered by the yard) yds.	421,385,303	12,163,513
Ditto Hosiery, Lace, and Small-wares		1,118,672
Cotton Twist and Yarn lbs.	63,821,140	3,975,019
Earthenware of all sorts pieces	57,058,897	461,090
Fish,—Herrings barrels	96,712	109,656
Glass (entered by weight) cwts.	177,935	420,044
at value		9,580
Hardwares and Cutlery do.	356,194	1,622,129
Hats, Beaver and Felt dozens	762,854	170,188
Iron and Steel (wrought and unwrought) tons	121,312	1,121,372
Lead and Shot do.	6,777	96,333
Leather (wrought and unwrought) lbs.	1,314,931	246,410
Saddlery and Harness		61,312
Linen Manufactures (entered by the yard) yds.	69,233,892	2,100,013
Thread, Tapes, and Small-wares		61,661
Machinery and Mill-work		105,491
Painters' colours		102,065
Plate, Plated Ware, Jewellery, and Watches		188,114
Salt bushels	9,932,214	165,437
Silk Manufactures		578,874
Soap and Candles lbs.	9,625,686	236,499
Stationery of all sorts		179,216
Sugar (refined) cwts.	581,836	1,238,919
Tin (unwrought) do.	21,763	77,718
Tin and Pewter Wares and Tin-plates		230,143
Wool, Sheep's and Lambs' lbs.	3,494,275	173,105
Woollen and Worsted Yarn lbs.	1,592,455	158,111
Woollen Manufactures (entered by the piece) pieces	1,997,348	4,580,902
by the yard yds.	5,797,516	500,956
Hosiery and Small-wares		150,155
All other Articles		1,363,874
Total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures, exported from the United Kingdom		37,164,372

STATEMENT of the PRICES of *British* Staple Articles; PRICES (exclusive of Duty) of *West India* and *Spanish Main* Produce; and PRICES (exclusive of Duty) of *East India* Produce; for Eight Years, from 1826 to 1833,

STATEMENT OF THE PRICES OF BRITISH STAPLE ARTICLES.

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January.		1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Alum	ton	15 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	15 15 0	15 0 0	13 10 0	10 0 0	9 10 0	36	
								No duty.			
Coals, Newcastle	chald.	2 2 6	1 10 3	1 12 9	1 12 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 9 9	17 3 p' ton or 21 6 p'ch.	50	
Sunderland	,,	2 4 0	1 11 6	1 14 0	1 13 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 11 3			
(Exclusive of duty of 6s.)											
Copper, in sheets	lb	0 1 2½	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 11½	0 0 11	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 0 11	24	
Copperas, green	cwt.	0 4 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	. . .	0 5 0	0 3 9	6	
Corn:—											
Wheat, Kent and Essex	qr	3 5 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	4 6 0	3 10 0	3 18 0	3 10 0	2 18 0	10	
Flour	sack	3 0 0	2 8 0	2 10 0	3 15 0	3 0 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	2 10 0	16	
Do. Inferior	,,	2 13 0	2 5 0	2 4 0	3 10 0	2 10 0	2 14 0	2 13 0	2 5 0	15	
Oats, feeding	qr.	1 7 0	1 12 0	1 5 0	1 8 0	1 4 0	1 7 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	22	
Barley	,,	1 15 0	1 18 0	1 13 0	2 2 0	1 15 0	1 18 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	8	
Beans, tick	,,	2 5 0	2 9 0	2 4 0	1 19 0	1 14 0	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	22	
Do. small	,,	2 10 0	2 13 0	2 11 0	2 3 0	2 2 0	2 3 0	2 2 0	1 17 0	26	
Peas, hog	,,	2 8 0	2 10 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	1 17 0	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 17 0	22	
Rye	,,	1 16 0	1 18 0	1 12 0	2 2 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	.	
Malt	,,	2 10 0	2 2 0	2 18 0	3 6 0	2 18 0	3 6 0	3 6 0	2 16 0	20	
Drugs:—											
Arsenic, white	cwt	3 2 0	3 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	1 14 0	19	
Aquafortis	lb	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	37	
Borax, refined	,,	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 1½	0 1 2	0 1 0½	0 0 11	0 0 10½	0 0 8½	46	
Camphor	,,	0 3 4	0 3 0	0 2 10	0 2 7	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 4 1	0 2 6	25	
Sal Ammoniac	cwt	4 17 0	4 12 0	4 13 0	4 5 0	3 15 0	3 12 0	3 3 0	3 1 0	37	
Epsom	,,	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	0 17 6	0 16 0	0 11 0	0 13 0	35	
Glauber	,,	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	33	
Saltpetre	,,	1 8 0	1 9 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	2 4 0	2 3 0	2 1 0	.	46
Soda	,,	1 8 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	0 19 6	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 15 0	0 12 6	55	
Verdigris	lb	0 2 3	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 3	44	
Vermilion	,,	0 4 2	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 2	0 2 10	32	
Vitriol, blue or Roman	cwt.	2 9 0	1 18 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 11 0	36	
Feathers, Irish grey	lb	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	7	
Do. fine white	,,	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	5	
Glue	cwt	3 8 0	3 0 0	2 14 0	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 6 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	47	
Hops, Sussex	pocket	11 11 0	4 10 0	3 10 0	3 3 0	5 16 0	7 10 0	5 6 0	7 7 0	50	
Do. Kent	,,	16 10 0	5 12 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	6 10 0	8 8 0	7 0 0	10 0 0	39	
Iron, in bars	ton	11 0 0	11 0 0	10 0 0	9 0 0	7 10 0	7 0 0	6 5 0	6 0 0	45	
Do. pigs	,,	10 0 0	8 10 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 0 0	4 15 0	52	
Do. hoops	,,	16 0 0	15 0 0	14 0 0	12 10 0	11 0 0	10 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	46	
Lead, pig, best	fod	27 10 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	18 0 0	16 10 0	14 10 0	13 10 0	13 0 0	52	
Do. milled sheet	ton	26 10 0	24 0 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	17 0 0	15 0 0	14 0 0	14 10 0	45	
Do. ore	,,	22 0 0	19 0 0	18 10 0	17 10 0	19 0 0	16 0 0	14 0 0	13 0 0	40	
Do. red	,,	26 0 0	25 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	. . .	17 0 0	16 0 0	15 10 0	40	
Do. dry white	,,	35 0 0	31 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	28 10 0	25 0 0	24 0 0	21 0 0	40	
Do. Litharge	,,	26 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	22 0 0	18 10 0	18 0 0	15 0 0	41	
Do. bars	,,	28 0 0	27 0 0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	14 0 0	50	
Do. ground white	ton	42 0 0	34 0 0	30 0 0	28 0 0	28 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	42	
Leather, calf skins	lb.	0 2 9	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 1	0 2 0	27	
Horse hides	,,	0 1 4	0 1 3	0 1 5	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 1 4½	.	3
Molasses	cwt.	1 10 0	1 5 6	1 5 6	1 2 6	0 18 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 4 6	18	
Oil of vitriol	lb.	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	25	
Oil-cake	ton	7 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 5 0	5 0 0	28	
Pitch	cwt.	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 6	.	8
Provisions:—											
Butter, Cork	,,	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	3 17 0	3 8 0	5 4 0	4 14 0	4 0 0	11	
Beef	tierce	7 0 0	6 10 0	7 15 0	6 0 0	6 2 6	5 10 0	5 12 6	7 12 6	.	17
Pork	,,	6 15 0	. . .	6 0 0	5 15 0	5 5 0	5 15 0	6 0 0	6 2 6	9	
Bacon, Waterford	,,	2 13 0	2 8 0	2 5 0	2 10 0	1 19 0	2 5 0	2 8 0	2 6 0	13	
Rosin, black	cwt	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 6 6	0 6 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	.	16
Do. yellow	,,	0 7 0	0 7 6	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 8 6	0 8 0	.	14
Salt, common	ton	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 12 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	60	
Seeds, caraway	cwt.	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 7 0	2 10 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 10 0	.	75
Do. Canary	qr.	5 5 0	5 10 0	3 15 0	2 14 0	2 16 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 15 0	28	
Do. linseed	,,	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	2 12 0	2 5 0	2 16 0	.	12
Soap, yellow	cwt.	2 18 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	3 4 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	.	6
Do. mottled	,,	3 6 0	3 8 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	3 8 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	3 8 0	.	3
Do. white curd	,,	3 10 0	3 12 0	3 14 0	3 12 0	3 12 0	3 14 0	3 12 0	3 12 0	.	2
Spermaceti, refined	lb.	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 3	0 1 2	0 1 2	41	
Spirits, British	gal.	(Exclusive of Duty) 0 4 0	0 3 4	0 3 9	0 3 9	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 8	33	
Do. Irish	,,		0 3 10	0 3 1	0 3 9	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 7	32	
Do. Scotch	,,		0 3 10	0 3 1	0 3 9	0 2 6	2 11 0	0 3 0	0 2 7	32	
Steel, blister	cwt.	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 16 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	.	13
Do. shear	,,	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	3 5 0	7	

(CONTINUED.)

STATEMENT OF BRITISH STAPLE ARTICLES.—(CONTINUED.)

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Sugar, refined—										
Fine double loaf . . cwt.	5 16 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 16 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 8 0	5 0 0	13	
Fine crushed, on board „	2 10 0	2 11 0	2 15 0	2 12 0	2 8 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	24	
Ordinary lumps . . „	4 1 0	3 19 6	4 2 0	3 14 0	3 10 6	3 2 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	25	
Do. on boards . . „	1 19 0	2 0 6	2 3 0	1 14 6	1 11 0	1 7 6	1 6 0	1 6 0	33	
Tallow, rough fat . . stone	0 2 7½	0 2 9½	0 2 6½	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 9½	0 2 9½	0 2 10½	.	9
Town . . . . cwt.	2 7 0	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 11 6	.	9
Melted Stuff . . „	1 13 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 13 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 18 0	.	15
Rough . . . „	1 2 0	1 3 0	1 2 0	1 3 0	1 0 0	. . .	1 2 0	1 4 0	.	9
(Exclusive of Duty.)										
Candles, Mould . . 12 lbs.	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 8 6	10	
Do. Store . . . „	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 7 6	0 7 6	0 7 0	12	
Tin, Blocks . . . cwt	4 9 0	4 1 0	3 16 0	3 14 0	3 13 0	3 17 9	3 12 6	3 12 6	18	
Do. Bars . . . „	4 11 6	4 3 6	3 18 6	3 16 6	3 15 6	3 19 6	3 14 6	3 14 6	18	
Do. Plates . . box	2 5 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	33	
Turpentine, Spirits, Town-drawn et	2 19 0	3 6 0	3 3 0	3 2 0	2 18 0	3 4 0	2 16 0	2 11 0	13	
Wax, Bees . . . „	13 10 0	13 0 0	13 0 0	11 0 0	. . .	7 10 0	7 10 0	8 5 0	38	
FROM REPORT ON BANK CHARTER.										
Cheese, Cheshire . .	3 5 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	. . .	38	
	3 8 0	3 18 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	. . .	.	2
Meat, Beef . . .	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 10	0 3 8	0 3 6	. . .	2	
	0 5 0	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 4 4	. . .	15	
Do. Mutton . . .	0 4 5	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	. . .	8	
	0 5 0	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 5 4	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 5 0	. . .	.	
FROM PRIVATE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.										
Cotton Twist, No. 20 .	0 0 11½	0 0 11	0 0 9	0 0 9½	0 0 10	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 9½	19	
Ditto 40 .	0 1 0½	0 1 0½	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0½	0 0 11½	0 1 0	0 1 0	4	
Ditto 60 .	0 1 10	0 1 5½	0 1 4½	0 1 6	0 1 7½	0 1 6	0 1 5½	0 1 6½	17	
Ditto 80 .	0 2 2	0 1 8½	0 1 7½	0 1 9	0 1 10	0 1 9	0 1 7½	0 1 8	23	
Oatmeal . . . ton	16 16 0	24 0 0	16 0 0	16 16 0	15 1 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	12 16 0	23	
Split Peas . . . bushel	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 8 6	0 7 6	0 7 6	24	
CHEMICAL PREPARATIONS.										
Tartaric Acid . . lb	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 2 10	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 2 0	50	
Citric . . . . „	0 16 0	0 15 0	0 12 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 8 6	46	
Oxalic . . . . „	0 2 9	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 3	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 3	18	
Muriatic . . . „	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	66	
Acetic . . . . „	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 1 0	14	
Carb. of Ammonia . . „	0 1 6	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 0 9½	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	45	
Carb. of Soda . . „	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	80	
Sugar of Lead . . „	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 0 7	30	
Prussiat of Potash . . „	0 1 0	0 3 6	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 9	0 2 9	0 2 9	31	
Sal Rochelle . . „	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 0 11	0 0 11	38	
Sulphate of Zinc . . cwt.	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	1 12 0	1 5 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	14	

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF WEST INDIA AND SPANISH MAIN PRODUCE.

Annatto, Flag . . lb.	0 2 4	0 2 3	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 7	0 0 6	78	
Brazilletto . . . ton	10 3 1	7 3 4	6 3 4	6 3 1	6 17 0	6 17 0	6 17 0	13 17 0		23
Cochineal, Black . . lb.	1 0 0	0 18 0	0 13 6	0 12 0	0 11 5	0 9 0	0 8 4	0 8 2	57	
Cocoa, West India . „	3 0 0	2 16 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 13 0	. . .	1 15 0	. . .	41	
Grenada, fine red . „	4 6 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	3 3 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	2 5 0	3 14 0	13	
Coffee, cwt.—										
Ordinary Dom, and St. Lucie	3 2 0	2 12 0	2 7 0	1 19 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 1 0	3 10 0	.	12
Good and fine middling	4 15 0	4 8 0	3 18 0	. . .	. . .	2 18 0	4 11 0	4 2 0	13	
Jamaica ordinary .	2 15 0	2 9 0	1 17 0	1 16 0	1 13 0	1 16 0	1 2 0	3 8 0	.	13
Good, fine, and middling	4 18 0	4 11 0	4 6 0	2 18 0	3 17 0	. . .	4 18 0	4 13 0	5	
Cotton, common W. I. . lb.	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	18	
Arrow Root . . „	0 1 11	0 1 11	0 2 5	0 2 3	0 1 9	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 3	34	
Cassia Fistula . . cwt.	. . .	. . .	6 6 8	5 6 8	5 6 8	2 11 8	1 16 8	1 1 8	83	
Fustic . . . . ton	10 17 0	9 4 6	10 15 6	10 5 6	8 15 6	9 4 6	7 16 6	9 0 6	17	
Sarsaparilla, Honduras . lb	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 3 0	0 2 3	0 1 3	0 1 9	0 2 0	0 1 8	.	11
Vera Cruz . „	. . .	. . .	0 2 0	. . .	0 0 9	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 8	66	
Tamarinds . . . cwt.	3 1 1	3 1 4	2 11 4	4 1 4	4 1 4	3 19 4	4 1 4	3 16 4	.	24
Ginger, cwt.—										
Jamaica, fine scraped .	14 8 6	7 8 6	7 8 6	9 8 6	7 13 6	9 8 6	9 8 6	11 2 6	2	
Barbadoes . . .	6 18 6	2 11 6	2 2 6	1 16 6	1 8 6	1 18 6	2 3 6	3 13 6	47	
Hides, Salted . . lb.	0 0 7½	0 0 4½	0 0 4¾	0 0 5¾	0 0 5¾	0 0 6	0 0 5¾	0 0 6¼	13	
Indigo, Caracco Flores . „	0 13 0	0 11 6	0 11 0	0 9 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 0	53	
Copper and low ordinary „	0 6 9	0 4 9	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 2 6	0 2 4	0 2 0	0 2 2	67	
Lignum Vitæ . . ton	11 8 8	9 10 0	9 10 0	6 10 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 16 0	6 0 0	58	
Logwood, Jamaica, picked „	7 5 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	7 0 0	6 5 0	6 10 0	6 5 0	6 2 0	15	

(CONTINUED.)

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF WEST INDIA AND SPANISH MAIN PRODUCE.—(Continued.)

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January,		1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
		£. s. d	£. s. d	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d	£. s. d	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Molasses	"	1 2 0	1 1 0	0 18 0	0 14 0	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 11 0	1 1 0	4	
Nicaragua Wood, ton.—											
Large and Solid		25 5 0	21 5 0	15 5 0	13 5 0	13 5 0	14 5 0	15 15 0	18 0 0	28	
Small		17 5 0	12 5 0	9 5 0	7 5 0	8 5 0	7 15 0	12 5 0	11 15 0	14	
Pimento	lb	0 0 9½	0 0 10	0 0 9	0 0 8½	0 0 0	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 5⅛	46	
Rum, per gallon (per Sykes's Hydrometer)—											
Jamaica 12 to 14 ct.		0 2 10	0 3 1	0 3 5	0 3 4	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 2 0	0 2 3	20	
ditto 15 to 18 "											
ditto 28 to 30 "		0 3 6	0 3 10	0 4 6	0 4 2	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 4	0 2 10	19	
Strongest Jamaica	cwt	0 3 8	0 4 3	0 4 9	0 4 6	0 3 8	0 3 8	0 3 2	0 3 4	9	
Demerara	"	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 9	8	
Tobacco, St Domingo Leaf	"	0 2 6	0 0 10	0 0 7½	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	0 0 8½	0 0 8½	0 1 0	60	
Sugar, B. P. Muscovado—											
Jamaica, fine	"	2 8 0	2 5 0	2 3 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	27	
Good brown	"	1 19 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 3 0	1 8 6	26	
Havannah, fine white	"	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 9 0	2 10 0	2 9 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	30	
ditto yellow	"	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 9 0	1 5 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	27	

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF EAST INDIA PRODUCE.

Arrack, Batavia	gal	0 1 6	0 7 6	. . .	. . .	0 5 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 3	5			
Coffee, Mocha	cwt	5 10 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	6 7 0	6 10 0	4 0 0	27			
Cotton, Surat	lb	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 5	0 0 5⅜	0 0 5	0 0 5⅜	10			
Do. Bourbon	"	0 1 1	0 0 10	0 0 11	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 9¼	0 0 9	0 0 10	22			
Aloes, Lepatica, dry	cwt	15 0 0	18 0 0	20 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	16 5 0	16 0 0	14 0 0	22			
Aniseeds, star	"	3 15 0	3 15 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	5 10 0	4 5 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	10			
Borax, refined		3 0 0	2 2 0	2 5 0	2 15 0	3 8 0	3 0 0	3 6 0	. . .	.	10		
Do. unrefined		2 15 0	1 15 0	2 5 0	. . .	4 4 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	. . .	.	9		
Camphire, China	"	9 0 0	9 0 0	5 0 0	7 5 0	5 10 0	4 14 0	15 0 0	6 0 0	33			
Cardamoms, Ceylon	lb	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 2	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 2	20			
Do. Malabar	"	0 1 6	0 6 3	0 16 0	0 9 6	0 6 8	0 5 6	0 4 6	0 3 2	20			
Castor Oil	"	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 2 0	0 1 3	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 1 4	.	14		
China root	cwt	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 6 0	0 15 6	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 6 0	1 10 0	.	20		
Cochineal	lb	0 3 6	0 3 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 8	52			
Cocculus Indicus	cwt	5 0 0	3 5 0	3 0 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	1 0 0	1 3 6	1 0 0	80			
Columbo root	"	9 0 0	5 0 0	8 0 0	8 0 0	12 0 0	5 15 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	63			
Cubebs	"	10 0 0	7 7 0	9 0 0	6 5 0	3 0 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	3 5 0	67			
Dragon's Blood	"	25 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	17 10 0	21 0 0	27 0 0	27 0 0	20 0 0	20			
Galls, blue	"	6 15 0	3 0 0	3 15 0	4 0 0	3 15 0	3 10 0	3 12 0	3 11 0	47			
Do. white	"	5 0 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 6 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	43			
Gum Ammoniac	"	12 0 0	12 0 0	10 0 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	41			
Do. Animi, half-scraped	"	5 6 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 6 0	.	26		
Do. do. clean	"	9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	12 10 0	12 5 0	12 0 0	10 10 0	.	16		
Do. Arabic, fine	"	4 5 0	3 0 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	2 18 0	3 0 0	24			
Do. do brown drop	"	2 10 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 18 0	. . .	. . .	21			
Do. Assafœtida	"	6 0 0	3 15 0	3 15 0	3 15 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	8 0 0	.	33		
Gum Benjamin, 2d.	"	1 10 0	1 19 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	.			
Gambogium, picked	"	16 10 0	20 0 0	26 0 0	28 0 0	22 0 0	24 0 0	19 0 0	16 10 0	.			
Kino	"	16 0 0	14 0 0	14 0 0	13 0 0	12 0 0	14 0 0	12 0 0	12 0 0	25			
Lac Lake	lb	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 3	0 1 0	50	*		
Dye D T	"	0 5 6	0 3 6	0 3 9	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 1	0 2 4	0 2 3	59			
Other fine sorts	"	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 1 5	0 1 3	75			
Seed	cwt	0 18 0	0 18 0	1 19 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	3 12 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	.	281		
Shell, dark	"	3 15 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	4 5 0	5 5 0	6 10 0	5 5 0	6 0 0	.	60		
orange	"	5 0 0	4 5 0	4 10 0	5 5 0	5 15 0	8 10 0	7 10 0	7 7 0		47		
Stick	"	3 5 0	3 5 6	4 4 0	4 4 0	4 4 0	4 0 0	2 15 0	2 13 0	18			
Myrrh	"	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	16 10 0	16 0 0	15 0 0	11 16 0	23			
Olibanum	"	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	5 10 0	4 10 0	2 16 6	5 0 0	3 12 0	10			
Orpiment	"	5 5 0	5 5 0	7 0 0	3 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	3 0 0	42			
Munjeet	"	1 10 0	0 5 0	1 0 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 15 0	1 1 6	1 6 0	13			
Musk, China	oz	0 15 0	0 15 0	1 6 0	1 15 0	2 5 0	2 10 0	3 15 0	1 10 0	.	100		
Nux Vomica	cwt	0 11 0	0 [illegible]	0 10 0	0 16 0	0 10 6	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 1 0	.	50		
Oil of Cassia	oz	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 9	.	16		
Do. Cajaputa	"	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 9	.	50		
Do. Cinnamon	"	0 8 6	0 10 6	0 10 0	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 11 0	0 16 0	0 8 0	5			
Do. Cloves	"	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 1 6	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 1 6	0 0 9	50			
Do. Mace, expressed	"	0 0 6	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2½	0 0 4	0 0 2½	58			
Do. Mace, expressed	"	0 3 2	0 3 2	0 2 9	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 1 4	57			
Do. Nutmegs	"	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 3 6	0 3 0	. . .	0 1 10	38			
Rhubarb, common	lb	0 5 6	. . .	0 5 6	0 5 6	0 4 6	0 4 0	. . .	0 3 4	39			
Dutch trimmed	"	0 5 6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.			
Safflower	cwt	9 0 0	8 0 0	8 10 0	8 10 0	6 0 0	9 0 0	10 10 0	9 10 0	.	5		
Sago, pearl	"	3 15 0	2 10 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	2 14 0	23			
Sal Ammoniac	"	3 15 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	2 18 0	3 5 0	3 10 0	. . .	3 3 0	16			
Senna	lb	0 2 6	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 2 0	0 1 8	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 1 11	23			

(Continued.)

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF EAST INDIA PRODUCE.—(Continued.)

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January.		1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826 to 1833	Rise from 1826 to 1833
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Terra Japonica	cwt.	2 15 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 5 0	2 0 0	1 8 0	2 0 0	27	
Turmeric, Bengal	"	1 15 0	1 0 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 14 0	0 15 0	57	
Do Java	"	2 5 0	1 10 0	1 13 0	1 8 0	1 3 0	1 3 0	0 18 0	0 19 0	57	
Do. China	"	4 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 8 0	1 2 0	72	
Vermilion	lb	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 2 11	0 3 2	0 3 3	0 3 2	0 3 3	13	
Indigo, purple	"	0 12 7	0 11 6	0 12 0	0 9 0	0 7 9	. . .	0 6 0	0 6 9	54	
Ord. and very low	"	0 5 6	0 5 6	0 5 0	0 4 3	0 3 3	0 2 9	0 2 3	0 2 9	50	
Mother of Pearl shells—											
China	cwt.	6 10 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 15 0	4 4 0	35	
Bengal	"	3 10 0	. . .	2 15 0	3 15 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 3 0	2 0 0	42	
Nankeen, yellow	piece	0 4 9	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 8	0 4 3	0 4 2	0 2 10	0 2 5	48	
Do white	"	0 3 6	0 3 10	0 3 10	. . .	0 2 10	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 3 6	.	
Rattans	100	0 5 0	. .	0 8 6	0 7 0	0 3 6	0 9 0	0 4 0	0 3 0	40	
Rice, Patna	cwt	1 7 0	1 1 0	1 0 0	1 5 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	11	
Do. Bengal, white	"	1 1 0	0 19 0	0 14 0	0 18 0	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 16 6	0 16 0	23	
Do. do. cargo	"	0 16 0	0 13 0	0 10 0	0 13 0	0 8 0	0 10 6	. . .	0 12 0	25	
Safflower, rough	"	1 3 6	1 3 6	1 5 0	1 4 6	1 6 0	2 0 0	1 19 0	1 17 0	.	57
Do. British refined	"	1 9 6	1 9 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	2 4 0	2 3 0	2 1 0	.	11
Silk, Bengal skein	"	0 14 0	1 9 8	1 0 0	1 3 11	0 17 4	0 18 0	0 16 3	. . .	.	16
Do. Organzine	"	1 9 0	0 5 6	0 5 0	1 6 0	1 1 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 19 0	34	
Spices, Cassia buds	"	12 0 0	9 5 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	4 4 0	4 6 0	4 8 0	3 15 0	68	
Cassia Lignea	"	6 10 0	6 6 0	5 6 0	4 12 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	4 18 0	3 18 0	40	
Cinnamon, 1st quality	"	0 7 8	0 7 11	0 6 9	0 7 5	0 8 6	0 10 0	0 9 6	0 8 10	.	15
Ordinary, Ceylon	"	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 3	0 3 0	0 3 10	0 4 9	0 5 6	0 1 6	.	80
Cloves, Bourbon	"	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 1 4	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 0 11	57	
Do Amboyna	"	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 2 9	0 2 7	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 0	0 1 7	51	
Ginger, Bengal	"	1 10 0	0 16 0	1 0 0	0 17 0	0 13 0	1 1 0	1 14 0	2 6 0	.	53
Do. Malabar	"	3 0 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	0 17 0	0 13 0	1 5 0	1 15 0	2 6 0	23	
Mace	lb.	0 5 2	0 6 0	0 5 7	0 6 5	0 5 6	0 6 0	0 5 8	0 6 4	.	22
Nutmegs, ungarbled Co.'s	"	0 3 6	0 4 1	0 3 8	0 3 5	0 3 4	3 10 0	0 3 3	0 4 3	.	21
Pepper, black heavy	"	0 0 5½	0 0 5	0 0 3½	0 0 3⅜	0 0 3⅜	0 0 4	0 0 1½	0 0 4½	26	
Do. do. light	"	0 0 5	0 0 4⅜	0 0 3⅛	0 0 4½	0 0 3½	0 0 3⅛	0 0 2⅞	0 0 3⅜	25	
Sugar :—											
Bengal, fine white	cwt.	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 9 0	1 10 0	21	
Low	"	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 9 0	1 6 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	13	
Mauritius	"	1 19 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	18	
China and Siam	"	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	. .	1 4 6	1 6 0	1 5 0	32	
Tea, Bohea	lb	0 2 3	0 1 7½	0 1 7¾	0 1 8	0 1 7	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	11	
Congou, common	"	0 2 6½	0 2 2½	0 2 2¼	0 2 3½	0 2 1½	0 2 1¾	0 2 2¼	0 2 1½	17	
Tin, Banca	cwt.	4 5 0	4 2 0	3 13 0	3 12 0	3 10 0	3 2 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	29	
Turtleshell	"	2 9 0	2 9 0	2 19 0	2 14 0	2 10 0	2 19 0	2 16 0	3 0 0	.	22
Wood, Sanders Red	ton	12 10 0	9 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	11 10 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	18 0 0	.	44
Ebony, black	"	23 0 0	21 0 0	. . .	17 0 0	9 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	7 0 0	69	
Sapan	"	24 0 0	24 0 0	. . .	12 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	11 0 0	22 0 0	8	
Wax, Bees	cwt.	. . .	8 0 0	6 0 0	8 10 0	6 5 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	31	

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the NUMBER and OCCUPATION of FAMILIES in *England, Wales*, and *Scotland*, in the Years 1811, 1821, and 1831, according to the POPULATION RETURNS of those Years respectively; also the Proportions expressed in Centesimal Parts.

	At the end of May in each year.	Total Families	Employed in Agriculture	Employed in Trade, Manufacture, &c.	All other Families.	EXPRESSED IN CENTESIMAL PARTS. Year	Total.	Agriculture	Trade, &c	Others.
England	1811	2,012,391	697,353	923,588	391,150	1811	100	34·7	45·9	19·4
	1821	2,346,717	773,732	1,118,295	454,690	1821	100	33·0	47·6	19·4
	1831	2,745,336	761,348	1,182,912	800,076	1831	100	27·7	43·1	29·2
Wales	1811	129,750	72,840	36,044	20,866	1811	100	56·2	27·7	16·1
	1821	146,706	74,225	41,680	30,801	1821	100	50·6	28·5	20·9
	1831	166,036	73,195	44,792	48,041	1831	100	43·9	26·9	29·2
Scotland	1811	402,060	125,769	109,417	106,852	1811	100	31·3	42·1	26·6
	1821	442,969	130,699	190,264	126,997	1821	100	29·2	42·5	28·3
	1831	502,391	126,591	207,259	168,451	1831	100	25·2	41·3	33·5

The two preceding Tables are extracted from the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.

London: published by Charles Knight, 22, Ludgate Street; and 13, Pall Mall East.

Printed by William Clowes, Duke Street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 12. DECEMBER 1, 1833. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Trades' Unions	177	Statistical Tables	190
A Table of the Prices of Imported Articles for the last Five Years	185	House of Commons' Offices and Fees	190
Electoral Franchise of England and Wales	186	Abstracts of Parliamentary Returns	192
Report on the Vaccine Board	189		

TRADES' UNIONS.

Up to the year 1824, the law of England made it a crime for workmen to combine even in the most peaceable manner for the purpose of obtaining a rise or preventing a fall of their wages. But in that year, this most unjust and oppressive restriction was done away with by parliament; and the law, finally settled by an act, passed the following year, the 6 Geo. IV. chap. 129., now throws no impediment in the way of the union of a body of workmen for the above-named purpose, any more than it does in the way of the association of persons of any other class, for objects not inconsistent with the rights of their neighbours.

The old law was not more barbarous and tyrannical in its spirit, than it was useless, and even positively mischievous in its operation. It did not, in point of fact, prevent the thing which it prohibited. Trades' unions were formed and maintained, if not in the face of its provisions, yet in spite of them. It had only the power to impress a dark and skulking character upon the proceedings of these combinations, not to break them up. And, certainly, they were not rendered less dangerous by being thus put under the ban of the law, and driven, to a certain extent, out of the way of public observation. It is difficult to say, whether an unjust law is the greater nuisance when it attains its object, or when it fails in attaining it. In the present case, the consequence was, that the unionists, having the mark of criminals set upon them, and exasperated by what they felt to be oppression, were only made more determined and reckless in their conduct, by the law which continually pursued them, without being able to hunt them down.

We do not, therefore, call for the re-enactment of the old combination laws. We want no new law against combinations. We are quite satisfied that the legislature cannot in fairness, or with any good effect, attempt to impose any restriction whatever upon the right of workmen to endeavour, whether individually or through the medium of associations, to obtain the highest price for their labour which they can. We will go farther. Although we think that there are many of the regulations of the unions which go far beyond the legitimate object of making a stand for a certain rate of wages, and amount to a most unwarrantable interference on the part of the workmen with matters, the arrangement of which belongs not to them, but to their employers, we would have no new legislative provision directed even against this evil. We do not hold that such a law would be unjust: but we hold that it would be inexpedient. If we could prevent bodies of workmen from combining to limit the number of apprentices which masters should be allowed to take, or to force them to exclude machinery from their manufactories, or to control them in any other way in the general management of their business or their capital, we certainly would do so, on the same principle on which we would put down any other association for purposes manifestly unfair, oppressive, or threatening danger to the public weal. But we believe that, in the present case, any such attempt would be worse than useless. The law might prevent any written or printed regulation which was opposed to its requirements; but it would not be able to reach a secret understanding among the members of the union, however objectionable. It might say, for instance, that no society of workmen should be allowed to exist, one of whose rules or articles of agreement went to resist the introduction of machinery into the trade to which they belonged; but, how could it prevent the men from striking in every instance in which machinery was introduced, if they did not commit themselves by giving any reason for the proceeding at all? The case is exactly parallel to another which has frequently, and of late more especially, given rise in the public mind to a great deal of honest, but, in some respects, not very wise indignation, that of the power which a landlord has to turn out a tenant at will, and its exercise by him for the punishment of those of his tenantry who may have voted at an election, or on any other occasion, in a way he did not like. How can a landlord be prevented from thus acting if he chooses? He may turn off his tenant without assigning any reason for so doing whatever, just as the tenant may throw up his house or his farm, without being obliged to account for his conduct to any body, whenever the terms of the bargain between them permit. The only way in which the law could interfere here, would be by saying that the tenant's vote *against* his landlord should operate in all cases as a positive bar upon the exercise of his rights by the latter, or, in other words, that simply by giving such a vote, a tenant should be entitled to retain his holding, in circumstances in which he would have had no such right if he had not so voted. And this certainly would be to provide a very short and effectual mode of enabling tenants to set their landlords at defiance in all circumstances whatever. It would, in fact, be neither more nor less than at once to transfer the whole property of the land from the latter to the former.

This right of landlords, in truth, is a right inherent in and inseparable from the right of property itself. The latter cannot exist if you extinguish the former. Just so is it with regard to the right of a body of workmen to make what is called a strike whenever they please, or for any reason, good or bad, upon which they may choose to act. This right cannot be touched or restricted in the least degree, without an infringement, or rather, indeed, the absolute destruction of their right of property in their labour itself. The one is really a part of the other.

All this we cordially admit, and we should oppose as warmly as the workmen themselves could do, any attempt of the masters to put down trades' unions by an extension of the powers of the law. The law does already as much as it ought to do, and we hope will never try to do more.

But it does not follow that, because we admit the right, we must in all cases approve the exercise of it. The right may be unquestionable, and its exercise may be as foolish or as unfair as any thing which it is possible to conceive. We are no admirers of the good feeling or the good sense of landlords who dispossess tenants otherwise unobjectionable, merely for voting conscientiously on a particular side in an election contest. We consider this conduct to be tyranny, and only would not cry out for a law to prevent it, because it is plain that no law could be framed to have that effect. But we would do our best to rouse a force of public opinion which should everywhere frown it down; which should make landlords shrink back from pursuing it through very shame, and the terror of the universal scorn of their countrymen. We would, also, endeavour to convince landlords themselves that, by such proceedings, they injured the very cause they intended to support.

In like manner, adverse as we are to the enactment of any new law for putting down trades' unions, we altogether deplore, not some of the proceedings merely, but the existence at all of such associations. We deplore their existence as pregnant with injury to the welfare of the country in general, with which, of course, their members are bound up as well as the rest of us, and on special and separate grounds, as most injurious to the true interests of that class of the population, among whom they prevail.

It is but fair to acknowledge, that we probably owe the commencement of combinations among labourers to combi-

[William Clowes, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

nations among their employers. According to what was anciently the law in most countries, and to what is still the law in some, the magistrates were empowered to fix the prices of all commodities, and, among the rest, the price of labour, that is, wages. The main object of this regulation, there can be no doubt, was the protection of purchasers, not of sellers. In the case of labour, for instance, the intention was to protect the purchaser, that is the employer, from what should be deemed an extravagant demand on the part of the disposers of the commodity, that is, of the workmen. That this was the object, may be inferred from the power of fixing the rate having been always placed in the hands of the purchasers of labour exclusively. It may also be inferred, from the fact, that the thing which was practically fixed by these assizes always was the maximum, or greatest amount of wages, and not the minimum, or least amount, that was allowed to be given. From the nature of the case, it is evident, that no law made by the consumers merely, could have any effect in establishing a minimum either of wages or of prices. Supposing the law were to say, that the price of the quartern loaf should be tenpence, it might enable a consumer to compel a dealer to let him have a loaf for that money; but, if the dealer, not being able to obtain so much, was willing to dispose of his loaf for less, how was the law to interfere to prevent him from doing so? In point of fact, it never did so interfere; and in this direction, at least, the assize was perfectly powerless. But there was a method by which something could be done to establish a minimum of prices and wages. It promised to be probably as effectual in doing this as the assize of the magistrates was in fixing a maximum. That method was the union of those who had any article to dispose of, and their agreement among themselves not to sell it under a certain rate. Among other classes of dealers, the workmen of any craft, who are dealers in a particular description of labour, might combine on this principle. In fact, they did so combine, and formed what we now call Trades' Unions. Nor will we say, that so long as they had to contend with a maximum of wages fixed by their employers, they were not in the right to meet the pressure thus brought to bear upon them, inefficient and irregular in its operation as it was, by the similar pressure in the opposite direction of a minimum fixed by themselves.

But this was altogether a most vicious state of things. To attempt to fix either prices or wages in any other way than by a free bargain between the purchaser and the seller, or the employer and the labourer, is nothing else than to fight against a law of nature. For some time the attempt may be attended with a degree of apparent success; but it must fail in the long run. And even while it seems to succeed, the success is obtained at the expense of much more than it is worth.

It is curious to observe the zig-zag course that popular ignorance has taken upon this subject. Formerly, the outcry used to be against the high prices exacted for their commodities by producers and dealers. We had riots to compel the farmers to sell their corn cheaper. Now, the working classes have got it into their heads that all their distress arises from prices being too low. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on manufactures, commerce, and shipping, which has just been printed, contains the evidence of several labouring men from different parts of the country, who all agree in inveighing against what they call the unnatural competition of the manufacturers and dealers in *underselling* each other. They wish this to be put a stop to by the legislature, when, they say, all would be well.

If the persons who hold either the former or the latter of these opinions, and, opposed as they are to each other, we dare say there are many persons who hold both, would consider for a moment the circumstances which manifestly occasion that which they complain of in either case, they would probably see at once the folly of calling for the interference of the law, to put down either high prices or low prices. It is always good to try to find out what an evil or inconvenience really arises from, before setting to work to remove it. If we did not do this, we might fall to legislating against the heat of the dog-days, or the cold of winter, as if these were evils which laws could cure. The reader, perhaps, deems this an extravagant illustration. But we believe, the keeping back of their goods by dealers at one time, and their underselling each other at another, are both brought about by causes which lie quite as far out of the reach of legislation, as either the burning suns of Midsummer, or the snows and frosts of January.

In fact, the real case and the case supposed are not only similar, but they are sometimes precisely the same. Can laws control the weather? Can they prevent unpropitious seasons? Yet thence come scanty harvests, scarcity, rising prices, and the withholding of corn from the markets. It is plain, that no laws can turn the scarcity into plenty. Would the attempt to keep the prices down by law, while the scarcity continued, be more practicable? These two links of the chain of consequences are as inseparable as the two preceding. It is the high prices alone that disarm the calamity, in so far as it can be disarmed. Were it not for the high prices, the dearth would be a famine. By means of these, the consumption of each individual in the community is in a certain degree reduced; and thus the diminished quantity of food is made to meet the undiminished number of mouths. Were the law, on the contrary, to step in and say, that the price should continue the same as usual, the effect would be, that many people would be left to starve. The distribution of the article, too, would be effected by a mere scramble, the largest quantities falling to the share of the luckiest and the strongest. Such a law, in fact, would be nothing less than a proclamation that all law was at an end, and that universal plunder might begin.

Even if self-interest were out of the question, dealers, in demanding the highest prices they could get for their commodities, would only be doing an act of duty, and a most important service to the community. The highest price which they can get, be it observed, is the highest price at which they can dispose of the whole quantity they have on hand. We say it is best for the general interest, as well as for their own, that they should refuse to sell at a lower price than this. If I have a bushel of flour to dispose of, and two men come to me, one of whom offers me twelve shillings for it, while the other will only give ten, who best *deserves* to have it? He, surely, who is willing to purchase it at the greatest sacrifice. Suppose that they are both poor men, who, in a time of scarcity, want this food to give to their hungry children. It is plain that the man who offers twelve shillings is willing either to give more of his labour than the other, or to deny himself more of some other necessary or enjoyment, in order to obtain this sustenance for his family. Of the two, therefore, he may be fairly presumed to need it the most. Would it be either justice or charity, any more than it would be an act of common sense, to let the other have the flour, and to send him away to starve? Yet this is really what those persons may be considered to demand, who clamour at such seasons against the holding out of dealers for higher prices, and would have them to be compelled by law to bring their stores to market whether they would or no.

What is true of corn or flour is true of all other commodities. Whenever there is a deficiency in the supply as compared with the demand, the other consequences enumerated above, flow from this by a succession which is perfectly inevitable. In this way cloth, or shoes, or hats, or any other article, may rise in price, and frequently have done so, by a tendency which no human law could control, any more than it could control the principle of gravitation itself.

Now, as rising prices are produced by a deficiency in the supply as compared with the demand, so falling prices, and what is complained of as the competition of dealers or manufacturers to undersell each other, are occasioned by the opposite state of things. But in this case, as in the former, the holder of any commodity still demands the highest price that he can get. Indeed, it is quite plain, that no man would ever take a low price for his goods if he could get a high one. The witnesses before the late committee speak as if they conceived the manufacturers to undersell each other out of mere sport or malice, and even to their own hurt. No wonder that they should call such a competition unnatural. But it must be evident to them upon the least reflection, that this notion cannot be well founded. The underseller, they may be assured, only accepts of the low price for his goods, because he finds that he cannot dispose of them for a higher. For what other reason should he possibly accept of it?

James Orr, a silk-gauze weaver from Paisley, who was examined before the Committee, gives an account of an attempt which appears to have been lately made in that

town and Glasgow, to establish a fixed rate of wages in his department of industry. "The silk-gauze weavers," he says, "with the concurrence of their employers, made out a scale of wages that only came into operation on the 1st of July last; now we have only thirteen silk-gauze manufacturers in Glasgow and Paisley, nine in Paisley, four in Glasgow, and they all thought it worth while to abide by these prices, and they were ready to agree." Well, what was the issue of this wise project, this conspiracy on the part of the weavers and their masters against the public? "But," continues the witness, "one instance in Glasgow is likely to defeat the efforts of the weavers, and interfere with the other manufacturers, who have said that they will not agree, unless that warehouse which I allude to will pay their prices, which are about 17 per cent., I believe, above the scale of that house."

James Orr and his friends would have the law to interfere here, and to compel this dissenting manufacturer to pay the same wages as the others. But, unless the law were also to compel him to remain in business, and to continue to employ his present number of hands, which would be rather hard, it is plain that it would be of no service to the general body of the weavers of Glasgow and Paisley. If he really can find men to work for him at the rate of wages which he pays, this is a demonstration that, but for his manufactory, all those weavers whom he employs would have had no employment at all. The rest might have had their high wages as long as the compact among the men and the masters lasted, but these would have been left to starve. The compact, however, could not have been adhered to in such circumstances; and it would have been the grossest injustice to have adhered to it. The case would have been this. With employment, we will say, for only 1200 weavers, there would have been a body of 1300, 1200 of whom demanded a certain rate of wages, while the remaining 100 were willing to work for about four-fifths of the same sum. What conduct would reason and justice recommend to the manufacturers in deciding between these conflicting claims? Most undoubtedly to give employment to the 100, whose willingness to work for the lower rate shows that their necessities are the more pinching, and to discharge an equivalent number of the others. To continue the compact would be as unfair as it would be absurd.

It is not really the thirteenth manufacturer who brings down wages in this case, but it is the excess of workmen beyond the number that can find employment at the higher rate. This is a state of things which no law can cure, nor any compact between masters and men, nor any combination of either. None of these expedients can compel the public to purchase the quantity of goods which all these workmen would make in a year at such a price as to afford them the higher rate of wages. This is the radical difficulty, which there is no overcoming. That the whole quantity of goods may be taken off by the public, they must be offered at a reduction of price. This was, no doubt, what the manufacturer did, or proposed to do, who in the present case refused to become a party to the agreement entered into by the others. Had it not been because he was doing this, it would not have mattered to the others what wages he paid his men.

But the advocates of this scheme of a regulated rate of wages, want the legislature to give the charge and direction of the matter to a board or committee, who should vary the rate from time to time according to the change of circumstances, and whose decision should be binding upon all the masters in the trade. Every trade, we presume, would require to have its separate committee. It is proposed that these tribunals should be composed of equal numbers of masters and of operatives. But what purpose would be answered by such a contrivance as this? It might do much mischief: it could do no good whatever. The committee might fix the price at which the masters should be allowed to sell; but they could not compel the public to buy at that price. Yet, unless they could do this, as we have just shown, they could do absolutely nothing to remedy the evil.

Can those combinations of the workmen called trades' unions do more? The object which these associations propose to themselves is, apparently, to keep up wages by limiting the supply. Let us consider how this plan is likely to answer.

The wages of the men who produce any particular article must, of course, be paid out of the price obtained for the article in the market. Part of this price goes to defray the cost of the raw material, the wear and tear of machinery, and the interest of capital; a second part forms the profit of the manufacturer; and a third part goes for wages. Of course, we are not here speaking of equal parts. It is obvious, that neither the amount of the first, nor that of the second of these parts into which the price is divided, can be either made smaller or greater by any thing which the union has it in its power to do. The first is simply the repayment of something which the manufacturer has given out before he has set his men to work at all. The second is regulated by the general rate of profit in other branches of trade, and cannot, for any considerable time, remain either below that or above it. From these two parts, the men can get nothing in any circumstances, or by any management whatever; for, if they were not to go wholly to the masters, the article would not be produced at all. There remains, then, the last of the three parts only to be raised in amount by the operations of the union.

Now, there is no doubt that the price of *a certain quantity* of almost any article whatever may be raised by limiting the supply of it in the market. If, for instance, under a system of free competition the price of shoes is eight shillings the pair, it might probably be raised to twelve shillings by such a combination among the makers as should prevent more than half the present quantity of the article from being offered for sale. But how would the general body of shoemakers be benefited by this? The change would at once throw one-half of those now employed out of work. This is a part of the effect which the unionists are apt to overlook; but it is very material when we are considering the operation of a plan which is proposed as a remedy for low wages, resulting from the only cause that can produce permanently low wages—the excessive numbers of the workmen. The object aimed at by the unions, even if they should succeed in completely attaining it, would only make the excess in the numbers of the workmen greater than ever. It is plain that if that object be to raise prices by diminishing the amount of production, it must have this effect.

But let us examine the mode of proceeding adopted by the combinations a little more closely.

The common plan is for the members of the union to enter into a mutual agreement that no one of them shall work at a lower rate of wages than that fixed by the vote of a majority of the whole body. A labourer's weapon of self-protection, and defence against oppression, is his right to refuse to give his labour for less than what he conceives to be his value. It is his duty to endeavour to obtain for it the highest price which it will bring. For this purpose he may sometimes find it expedient to withdraw himself for a time from the labour-market altogether, and rather to remain without employment than to work for what he considers to be inadequate wages. The savings of a time of prosperity cannot be put to a better use than to enable him to make a stand in this manner against the downfall of wages in a season of depression. Nor can there be any objection to workmen contributing to form a common fund for the support in such seasons of those of their body who may be individually willing thus to retire and to relieve the market. Here the deranged balance between the supply of labour and the demand for it is naturally readjusted, or rather may be said to readjust itself, by means of something which follows as the direct consequence of the derangement. The demand for a certain article diminishes, and the inevitable effect is that fewer labourers come to be employed in the manufacture of it. Or, a mode is discovered of producing it with less labour, and the same result takes place. Or, there is a temporary glut of the commodity in the market, and the manufacturers contract their operations till it has been removed. In each case the disease may be said to work its own cure. The cause cannot take place without producing the effect, nor can the effect take place without the existence of the cause. It is the same thing in the case in which the labourer rather chooses to live for a time upon his savings than to carry his labour to a market, where temporary causes have occasioned a great depression in the price of that most important commodity. If the causes of the depression be temporary merely, this is the very plan pointed out by nature for hastening their disappearance. We call it the plan pointed out by nature, because it is a plan which never can be resorted to except in circumstances which demand and justify, and indeed we may almost say force, its adoption.

It is important, however, to observe that it is only when the causes of the depression are really temporary that such an expedient will be of any avail. If the falling off in the demand for the produce of any particular trade or manufacture be permanent and incurable, there is no other resource for the workmen any more than for their employers, except the transference of themselves to a new branch of industry.

But the artificial system of the Trades Unions is something of altogether a different character from the natural process that has just been described. Under the operation of this system there is no adjustment of the deranged balance of the supply and the demand. The descending scale is not made to mount to the level of the other by having the requisite part of its weight taken out of it, but it is emptied at once. The balance is not restored, but more completely deranged than ever. Again, the mechanism is not self-acting, as in the other case, and in that way restricted from ever operating with more powerful effect than is justified by the circumstances. Its movements are quite independent of the circumstances by which they ought to be regulated, and may be of the most violent description when no proper cause exists for any movement at all. Here, in other words, we have not the withdrawal of a certain quantity of labour from the market merely when a pressure takes place, and of a quantity always proportional to the pressure, followed by the natural relief; but we have the supply of labour suddenly suspended altogether, without any reference to the state of the demand, and when there is no security that it will produce any relief whatever.

All experience goes to show that, instead of relief, the effect of these strikes, where they have produced any permanent effect, has only been to injure, sometimes to ruin the trade in which they have taken place. For a good many years past no place has been more agitated by combinations and strikes among the different descriptions of workmen than the town of Sheffield. Since 1810 the artisans in every branch of the cutlery trade carried on in that town have been either permanently or occasionally in a state of combination for the purpose of raising or upholding wages. Since 1824 these confederacies have enjoyed the utmost freedom in conducting their operations, and all the advantages from the toleration of the law which their warmest promoters could claim. Sometimes the workmen have had the concurrence of their masters, and even of the general body of their fellow-townsmen, in their schemes to better their condition by this expedient. Yet what has been the result of all their efforts? It appears that at this moment, although the wages of those men who are employed are not remarkably low, they are in almost every branch very far below what they have been, and what the unions have tried to raise them to, and that great numbers of the men can find no employment. This at least was the case a few months ago. Mr. Milner, one of the witnesses examined before the committee on manufactures, describes the general condition of the labouring population of that town as then distressing in the extreme. This witness appeared as a delegate from the committee of one of the associations in Sheffield, called the Freemen's Society, consisting of about 300 members, principally journeymen, and had himself repeatedly taken an active part in organizing combinations, and directing their proceedings; but he distinctly declares it to be his opinion that the rate of wages in the different trades has upon the whole been precisely the same as if there had been no combinations at all, "with the exception of just the times when those combinations existed." He enters into a statement of facts which proves this to be the case. In 1810 certain rates of wages were agreed upon by both the men and their employers. These wages were kept up till 1814, and after that they even rose; till in 1818, the speculation which had been going on for some time experienced a sudden stop, and then they came down to a point below what they had ever been at before. This crisis showed the true power, that is, the utter powerlessness, of either a combination among the men, or an agreement between them and their employers. The same thing was still more decisively demonstrated two years later. In 1820 an attempt was again made by both parties to support the prices of 1810. The authorities and the people of most influence in the town even took the matter up, and a public meeting was held in promotion of the object. Well, the wages of 1810 were again paid. But for how long did they continue to be paid? For three or four months only; after which, with the exception of a partial revival in 1829, they continued to fall lower and lower till the end of 1831, when, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the combinations, which had been for some time renewed, they had reached a point of depression beyond the farthest to which they had ever before descended.

If the combinations had any effect at all here it was doubtless to accelerate that declension which it was the aim of their members to prevent. The partial loss of the foreign market, to which it has in part been owing, could not, it is evident, have been prevented by the operations of the unionists, while it may very possibly have been thereby hastened. An ill-advised strike of the English workmen in any particular branch may, without at all benefiting themselves, have in some cases given a powerful impetus to the exertions of their rivals in other countries. "I remember," says Mr. Jackson, another witness from Sheffield, who was examined by the committee on manufactures, "after a journey to the Continent in 1826, I had obtained considerable orders for what are called the billet webs (a particular description of saw); we could at that time compete both with the German and the French manufacturers; but on arriving at home, business was good, and the workmen refused to manufacture these articles excepting by a certain process, which being more expensive rendered us altogether unable to supply the French market with that article. Since that the French manufacturers have so much improved, that competition is out of the question." In point of fact, the hardware manufactures both of France, of Prussia, and of Belgium are at this moment fast advancing, at least in respect to some descriptions of articles, upon our own. Mr. Jackson, who had paid several visits to these countries between 1825 and 1830, states that he found their manufactures gradually improving, and competing more and more with those of England, every journey. And we are actually already in part supplied with some of the finer articles of cutlery by France.

But it is not only in foreign countries that the workmen of Sheffield have called up a formidable rivalry against themselves by these combinations. They are driving certain branches of the hardware trade from that town to other parts of England. The trade in plated goods, for example, has already in great part migrated to Birmingham, where the wages are not much more than one-half what a combination among the workmen compels the Sheffield masters to pay. In this instance the combination has indeed kept up the rate of wages; but it has done so only in the way we have indicated above as that in which alone such a result is attainable; half the hands are not employed at all.

Something similar to what is taking place with regard to the plated-goods trade of Sheffield, had very nearly happened a few years ago with the great carpet manufacture of Kidderminster. The history of the strike in 1828 by the workmen in this trade reads an instructive lesson on the subject of combinations. The prices of carpets having been reduced in the market by the competition of the manufacturers in Scotland and Yorkshire, where the wages were about one-sixth lower than in Kidderminster, it became necessary for the manufacturers of the latter place to bring down the wages of their workmen to the same point. An announcement to that effect was accordingly made. Upon this, acting under the direction of the committee of their union, the weavers to the number of about 2000, men and boys, all struck and left their work. The strike took place on the 25th of March. We have before us four copies of answers to some queries respecting the history of the affair, the first two received from two of the manufacturers, the third from a clerk in one of the establishments, and the fourth from a workman, an elderly and very respectable man, of superior steadiness and intelligence. These different statements perfectly agree in all the main facts. The object of one of the questions is to ascertain what were the opinions of the men as to the cause that had occasioned the reduction of wages. The answer of the workman to this question is, that the opinion of the greater part of the men was, that the masters wished to get excessive profits, but the sensible part thought the masters were obliged to lower the wages from the depression in the markets. Those who took the latter view, however, were compelled, we see, to give way to the majority opposed to them. To the question, What was the conduct of the men during the turn-out? the answer of their fellow-workman is, that they behaved exceedingly well. In so far as respects abstinence from all actual violence, they appear

to have deserved this praise. The clerk states that they were peaceable, but that they showed angry feelings. Misled as they were, their sufferings and those of their families were enough to have excused a great deal more than this; and it must be allowed to be infinitely to their credit that they conducted themselves as they did. They were obliged, says the set of answers we have received from one of themselves, to sell their furniture and expend their savings, and the suffering was extreme after a short time. Even with all their sacrifices they were not able to hold out on their own resources alone. They were supported, it is stated, by subscriptions from different parts of the country, which were distributed by the committee of the union,—the allowance to a man with a family of three or four children being eighteen pence a week. We add the following particulars from the answers of the workman. A general meeting of the men was held weekly, at which the committee laid before them the state of their affairs. Discipline was enforced by strict orders issued by the committee, which sat constantly, and by a watchful superintendence both on their part and on that of other individuals. It is acknowledged that those who were inclined to work at the reduced wages were certainly not allowed by the others to do so; and for this purpose intimidation seems to have been employed in such a manner as to be perfectly effectual. A great deal of pains was taken to exasperate the men against the masters by a person whose station ought to have taught him better, named Price, who was constantly publishing inflammatory and libellous hand-bills and pamphlets. This interference, it is stated, was not approved of by the more reflecting of the men, who considered that it only served to widen the breach. Price was at last indicted for one of these effusions, and punished for it by a year's imprisonment. It is thought that had it not been for the scandalous exertions of this individual, the turn-out would not have lasted half so long as it did.

The men, however, were at last obliged to give in. They returned to their work about the middle of August, having been twenty-one weeks idle. To the question, what induced them ultimately to return? the answer from one of their own number is, absolute want and starvation, joined to the resolution of a few men who went to work in spite of the general feeling against them, as they found holding out any longer hopeless. The only concession obtained from the masters was an allowance of twenty shillings to every single man, and thirty shillings to every man with a family—a poor compensation for the five months' wages they had lost.

Let us now turn to the consequences left behind it by this useless struggle. As to the masters, one of the two whose answers we have, merely states, that they made no profits during the continuance of the strike. The other says that they lost considerably. They must, of course, have been put to a good deal of expense from having been obliged to keep up part of their establishments all the while. But both they and the weavers, and the inhabitants of Kidderminster generally, have sustained the greatest loss in the partial transference of the trade to other places, which took place during its suspension. The clerk, indeed, in his answers says, that it is presumed the trade has been preserved to the town; and one of the manufacturers gives it as his opinion that it has not seriously suffered. The other, however, affirms that the effect upon the trade has been very bad; and such is also the account of the workman, who adds that employment has never since been so regular as it was before. Upon the habits and interests of the men themselves all the accounts agree, that the effects of their five months of idleness have been exceedingly detrimental. Their demoralization, says their fellow-workman, has been very great, particularly that of the youth; the carefulness of all of them has been much lessened. Many of the retailers in the town, he also says, were ruined at the time, and they have all of them suffered since, because the men have not now so much money as they used to have to spend. Substantially the same statement is given in the other three sets of answers.

In the case of the ship-building trade of Dublin, the combination of the workmen has been attended with still more disastrous consequences. There are also some other features in this case, which materially distinguish it from the last. About seven years ago the ship-carpenters of the port of Dublin formed one combination, and the sawyers another. The professed object of these unions was to uphold a high rate of wages, not only by what may be called the direct method of striking when a reduction was attempted, but also indirectly by limiting the number of the workmen. With this latter view, masters were to be prevented from taking more apprentices than were calculated to be merely necessary to keep up the existing number of hands. If the managers of this project could have also compelled the masters to give them work, they might as individuals have benefited themselves by their tyrannical proceedings, though it is perfectly obvious that the monopoly they would have established went directly to injure, not only the public generally, but the labouring classes in particular. It was an attempt by this small number of persons to confine to themselves advantages, the right to share in which fairly belonged to the whole community. Their scheme, however, has been as unsuccessful as it was in spirit dishonest and oppressive. One of the witnesses examined before the late committee on manufactures states, that although there was at one time a good deal of ship-building carried on at Dublin, and although no place is better adapted for that branch of trade, the combinations among the workmen have now driven it almost wholly away to other ports. At present, he states, there is no ship-building whatever at Dublin. It is impossible that the result should have been different. The wages for which the sawyers of Dublin stand out are at the rate of 4*s.* 2*d.* for the same work which is done at Liverpool for 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* But they will not make much by continuing to demand this rate, if they can get no person to give it.

We have said that the operations of these Dublin unions have been distinguished by various characteristics not generally exhibited elsewhere. The following passage from the examination of Mr. Astle, the witness to whom we have just alluded, will further explain what we mean: "If you had a ship to repair, and were to bring the whole number of men that you wanted to repair that ship, how would they be able to prevent it?—No person would do it unless they had military protection; when one ship-carpenter endeavoured to break through the combination by taking an extra number of apprentices, one of them was murdered at noon-day, and although 1000*l.* reward was offered, we never discovered one tittle of evidence of the perpetrator of the murder. When did that happen?—About seven years ago, at the last sawyers' combination. I was one of the parties that took it up at considerable personal risk to bring them to justice, and it cost us 1000*l.*, and I believe it cost the government 1500*l.*: it is attended with considerable personal risk, and very few people are inclined to embark in it; they would rather carry their business elsewhere. So that, in fact, the ship-building trade has left Dublin in consequence of the combination?—In consequence of the high rate of wages, which is owing to the combination, and not only the high rate of wages, but the bad value of what you get compared with the rate paid; they always turn out when a ship is in a state not to be removed." At the present moment it appears, by the newspapers, that the lightermen of the port of Waterford are imitating this worthy example. It has been found necessary, it appears, within these few weeks, to station a government six-gun steamer off the quay of that city, for the protection of the ship-trade there against the violence of this body of unionists.

This is a part of the question relating to combinations, upon which we hold it necessary to say very little. Persons who imagine that in any state of society, in which either law or liberty exists, they can be permitted to prevent their fellow-workmen by force from disposing of their labour at any rate they themselves choose, must be far beyond the reach of reasoning. It is but fair to allow that in this part of the kingdom the trades-unions have not in many cases been guilty of any such gross interference with the rights of others as this. They have resorted to intimidation, and that certainly liberally enough, as well as with sufficient success; but they have for the most part refrained from actual violence. In Scotland, however, as well as in Ireland, many very frightful excesses were committed by the united workmen on the first repeal of the combination laws in 1824. Strange as such a delusion must appear to people of any sense or reflection, the notion actually seems to have been taken up by these misguided men, that the legislature, by removing the prohibition against their peaceable combination, had left them free from all restrictions whatever, and at liberty to do any thing they chose. "In the evidence of the police-officer of Dublin," says the Report of a Com-

mittee of the House of Commons which sat upon this subject in 1825, "it is stated that within the last few months, not less than sixty or seventy cases have occurred of violence committed in the streets—that thirty or forty persons have had their skulls fractured, a great number have been assaulted and beaten, and two persons have died of the wounds inflicted upon them." The circumstances attending these outrages are affirmed to have proved them almost beyond question to have been connected with the combinations. In Scotland, the combined colliers and cotton-spinners conducted themselves with equal disregard of all law. "Warnings, threats, assaults, and the infliction of the most cruel injuries, by throwing vitriol, deeply concerted attempts to assassinate, and, as far as intention went, the perpetration of actual assassination, for which conviction has been obtained," are enumerated by the committee as having been among the means employed to effect their objects by these misled and reckless men. "The degree," it is added, "to which this system has been carried cannot be more forcibly conveyed by your committee than by mentioning the fact, that they have been deterred in some instances from pressing inquiries, lest they should lead to some suspicion of the quarters from whence information had been derived, and place in jeopardy the lives of the individuals on whom the suspicion of having given it might fall."

We refer to these facts at present, chiefly by way of warning to those who, with the best intentions, enter into such combinations, of the serious lengths to which they may be imperceptibly led. They may begin with the most determined resolution to respect the laws, but there is great danger that, if the turn-out last long, their growing privations and sufferings may at last drive them to excesses the farthest possible from their original contemplation. It is impossible, indeed, for large bodies of men to remain for a considerable time in idleness without disorders ensuing. We derive the following information from a most intelligent gentleman, now a large manufacturer, but who was formerly a workman:—"On the 1st of January, 1829, a turn-out of power-loom weavers and spinners took place at Stockport, by which twenty-two mills, and about 10,000 workmen were thrown idle for six months. In April, 1829, 1000 fine mule-spinners in Manchester turned out, rejecting rates of wages, by which each man had it in his power to earn from thirty shillings to thirty-five shillings per week, clear of all deductions, and throwing twenty-one mills and 10,000 persons idle for six months. In December, 1830, about 3000 coarse-spinners at Ashton and Stayley Bridge turned out, when receiving wages by which each man could earn from twenty-eight shillings to thirty shillings clear per week, and threw fifty-two mills and 30,000 persons idle for six weeks. *On all of these occasions the men utterly failed in attaining their objects.* Much misery and distress were brought upon thousands of industrious people, who were willing to work, but durst not, for moderate wages, and great outrages on persons and property were committed. On the last-mentioned occasion, it was found necessary to bring a body of 1000 troops to the place to preserve order. And these are only a few of the many examples that might be given of similar disturbances, in which some of the work-people have gone on from less to more, setting the law at defiance, till they have become guilty of flagrant crimes. Some years ago, at the conclusion of a turn-out in Yorkshire, fourteen persons were hanged on two succeeding days at York Castle, all of them for crimes connected with the turn-out. And yet these very men at the outset, so far from considering their measures blameable, probably deemed their conduct in a high degree meritorious, and looked upon the sufferings to which it exposed them as honourable."

To the list of perfectly unsuccessful combinations, we have now to add that of the working builders in Liverpool and Manchester. When the strike took place some months ago, this seemed to be a very formidable confederacy. "As far as I understand it," says Mr. Steward, architect and surveyor, in Liverpool, in his evidence before the committee on manufactures, "they have issued certain manifestoes, avowing that they have united all over England, Ireland, and Scotland, and they have attempted to state, that no person should work by contract without submitting that contract to their associations, called unions, and that you shall not discharge any man without their consent and authority, under certain circumstances." At the time when this strike took place, the witness states, wages were as high as they had been at any period within his recollection, except for a short time in 1825, while the price of provisions and all other expenses had greatly fallen since the war. "In our own concern at this moment," he adds, "we have nearly 20,000*l.* worth of building ready to put men to, that the men have never operated upon beyond the mere excavation of one of the foundations, and if they had waited a little, we should have been in the midst of the work; but now, having declared themselves, our friends say, we will wait your pleasure; let it stand." The men at this time had been off nearly a fortnight, but not an individual of them had made any overtures, "and they signify to us," says Mr. Steward, "that we must send to the union a written compliance with their terms, that we must enter into such engagements as they shall point out, and must pay to every man that has been off work four shillings for every day that he has been idle." "As we were in this situation," continues the witness, "not wishing to upset a decent set of men in the town, we have endeavoured to get only a few others at present; and we have a respectable clerk in the office, and he said that he was sure that men might be got from Edinburgh, and he has written to me a letter, in which he says, 'I received a letter this morning from Edinburgh, and I find my friends have had to contend with what I certainly did not anticipate; it appears that the whole of our proceedings, as regards the men, are known to the workmen there, and I have no doubt but that every town of importance has been written to with a view to prevent men from coming here: so that, from an apprehension of being molested, many that otherwise would be glad to be employed by us are prevented doing so; there are, however, four on their passage, who I expect will be here to-morrow evening.

Yet this extensive organization has been quite as ineffectual to attain the end aimed at, as if the union had been confined to a single locality. Within these few days, we observe it stated in the newspapers, that in Manchester the men have returned to their work at the old wages: and there can be no doubt that, if the same result has not already taken place in Liverpool, it cannot possibly be much longer deferred.

Indeed, if all the workmen, without exception, in any particular business throughout the kingdom, were to enter into the closest compact which it is possible to frame, not to work under a certain rate of wages, and if they were all to hold firm to their agreement, not for a few weeks or months, but for years, they would only at last drive that particular branch of industry from this to some other country. This would be a calamity which we should all feel; but the largest part of it would fall to the share of the operatives themselves, by whom it had been occasioned. Nor let it be imagined that there is any one, even of our greatest and apparently most firmly-established trades or manufactures of which we are in such complete possession, that there is no danger of our being deprived of it by the enterprise of rival nations. On the contrary, of those which now give their sole employment to many hundreds of thousands of our labouring population, there are some which it will evidently require our very greatest efforts to retain. We have already mentioned the growing competition which our hardware manufacture has for some time past experienced in the foreign market, from the rising establishments of the continent. It appears, that the wages of labour in England are generally three times higher than those paid throughout the continent, and it is distinctly stated, that at the great cutlery establishment of Molsheim, near Strasburg, the wages of the operative saw-manufacturers are actually less than one-twelfth of those of the same description of workmen in Sheffield. Work, which in Sheffield costs fifteen shillings, or sometimes even twenty shillings, is done at Molsheim for one shilling and twopence. Again, we have seen what has been the fate of the shipbuilding business in those ports where combinations among the workmen exist. This is another trade, which at this moment we should find no inconsiderable difficulty in keeping, even were these combinations not to come in aid of other causes which are already driving it abroad. The expenses both of building, equipping, and of navigating ships, are considerably greater in England than either in Sweden, in Denmark, in Norway, or in Prussia; and, in point of fact, a good many British ships have of late gone to foreign ports for repair. There is no reason why our capitalists in that business should not have their vessels also built abroad; and they will do so, we may be assured, if the charges at home are kept up

greatly above the level of those elsewhere, either by combinations or in any other way. One of the most intelligent witnesses examined by the late committee on manufactures, and one who is far from being disposed to admit the inferiority of England in other departments, allows that, in shipbuilding, the Americans are at present fully twenty years before us. In what was anciently the greatest manufacture of this country, that of woollens, foreign nations are in like manner beginning to supplant us. The woollen manufacture of the Netherlands, in particular, is already a formidable rival to our own, and is competing with us most successfully in certain foreign markets. In the Grecian Archipelago, for instance, according to the evidence of an extensive wool-broker examined before the late committee, "the whole of the trade is at present getting into the hands of the Netherlands manufacturers." The manufacture of the coarser descriptions of goods is also rapidly on the advance in Prussia, Saxony, and Russia. But it is in the cotton trade, now by far the greatest carried on in this country, that we are at this moment most seriously pressed upon from all sides by foreign competition. The Americans especially, who grow the raw material in their own country, and whose machinery is almost all driven by the cheap power of water, have advantages over us in this manufacture, against which it will require our most strenuous exertions to enable us to bear up. The people of the United States are already on a par with us, if not a-head of us, in all that part of the business which belongs to mechanical ingenuity and dexterity. They cannot make the machinery so cheaply as it can be made here, but they make it quite as well. "Of all the improvements of great importance that have been made for the last two years," says Mr. Kirkman Finlay, in his evidence before the Committee on Manufactures, "the invention has been in America." Another witness admits, that in all the coarser descriptions of cotton goods for their own domestic consumption, the American manufacturers, even without the protection of the tariff, can now perfectly well bear the competition of England. They even export these coarse goods, which go by the name of domestics, and which one witness describes as adapted "for every purpose that almost any body can require," in large quantities to various foreign countries. They are sold extensively in Turkey, in South America, and even in British India, where they compete with those of English manufacture in Calcutta itself. They are also in demand in the West Indies. Nay, it is doubtful whether they have not of late found their way to England. Mr. Bates, of the house of Baring and Brothers, says in his evidence, that although he has not as yet heard of these American goods having been actually sold in London, such a circumstance has been spoken of as very likely to happen. All this prosperity, and, indeed, the cotton manufacture of America altogether, may be said to have sprung up within the last twenty years. But the Americans are not our only rivals. At the conclusion of the war in 1814, there was no considerable cotton manufacture any where except in this country. Now, as is stated by Mr. Finlay in his evidence, there is scarcely any part of the Continent in which a great manufacture of cotton is not carried on. The French now export cotton goods of a particular description in considerable quantities to various distant parts of the world; and especially to Brazil and other countries in South America. We used formerly to supply cotton goods to Switzerland for re-exportation to France; if Switzerland still carries on that trade with France, she now manufactures what she sends thither herself. In Austria, in Prussia, in Saxony, in Hungary, in the Tyrol, and even in Russia, the manufacture has also taken root and is extending itself. Mr. Milne, cotton-spinner of Crompton, near Oldham, states in his evidence before the late committee, that very good cotton-yarn is now spun at the mills of the Pacha in Egypt; and that it has of late met that sent from this country in the market of Bombay. And the skill and enterprise with which many of the foreign establishments are conducted are placed in a strong light in the following passages from the evidence of Mr. W. R. Greg. Speaking of the manufactories of Austria and Hungary, many of which he had recently visited and minutely inspected, that gentleman says, "They had all the newest inventions. Even in the remotest parts of Germany, they obtain them as soon as we do in England. In one of the largest establishments on the continent, on the frontiers of Hungary and Austria, belonging to different Austrian noblemen, among others the Prince Esterhazy, and managed by an individual who learned the spinning trade in England, and commenced business at the same time with some of our largest and wealthiest manufacturers; they had 50,000 spindles. * * With respect to the new machinery, I can state a remarkable fact; that a new machine lately came from America, known by the name of Darnforth's Throstle, which, when I left England, was only just beginning to be known; and I do not suppose twenty of them had been put up in England; and when I saw the mill of Baron Bouton, almost forty miles from Vienna, there was that machine actually going there, and I brought home some of the yarn which it made, which was nearly equal to our own; and he made it, not from having seen the machine, but from having heard of the principle. This shows that they are not men to be despised in the race of competition."

The trade thus circumstanced, the operatives of Scotland are at this moment doing their utmost still further to embarrass and endanger. Mr. William Graham, cotton-spinner, Glasgow, in his evidence before the committee on manufactures, states, that in that city the spinners only used to combine; but that, lately, the dressers have followed their example, and still more recently, the female workers have, under the direction of the men, formed themselves into unions for the purpose of raising their wages to an equality with those of the men. The wages which all these classes of operatives are receiving, are considerably higher than those paid in Lancashire; the same work which in that county is done for three shillings and sixpence costing the manufacturer, it is affirmed, four shillings and elevenpence in Glasgow. The gains of the men in the latter place are stated to run from thirty-five shillings to forty-two shillings a week. In these circumstances, Mr. Graham and his partners had been driven, much against their inclination, to introduce self-acting mules into their manufactory, by which they had been enabled to dismiss all their spinners. The piecers, two of whom were under each spinner, give all the attention which the mules require for a trifling addition to their weekly wages. "If we can," says Mr. Graham, "we will turn out even the women, to introduce those mules." He considers, and apparently with ample reason, that he has been forced upon the adoption of this expedient by circumstances which left him no choice. "Before adopting the self-acting mule," he says, "I had the plans drawn, and I called a deputation of the men in, and explained it to them, and I said, 'You drive us either to take machines, or you drive us to bankruptcy, or to stop our works: here is an order going off to Manchester for self acting mules; we do not wish to introduce them, and we will be the last house to introduce them, if you will take the same wages that they have in Lancashire;' and they said, 'It is of no use, we are determined not to reduce our wages.'" The witness is asked, have the spinners taken any steps to prevent you using them? To which he answers. "No. I think the precaution I took of warning them, and the offer I made, have prevented them taking any steps, or expressing any disapprobation. I said to one of them one day, 'You see what you have brought upon yourselves:' he said, 'I am sorry for it; but you are rather hurrying us: you are coming too fast upon us; it is hard to do it so rapidly.'" We are sorry to find from other passages in Mr. Graham's evidence, that these Scotch unionists have not yet altogether abandoned their old habit of resorting to actual violence in order to compel their fellow-workmen to leave their employment, when their threats fail to have that effect. They are described as setting a watch upon the streets to prevent men entering the obnoxious manufactory; and they "will abuse any body that comes," says Mr. Graham, "in the most shocking manner, even to taking their lives if it were necessary." "Within a week before I left Glasgow," he adds, "they beat a person, and he came back to the work frightened and alarmed, and he was obliged to go out." One of these Glasgow spinners went over some time ago to America, with the object of introducing unions among the workmen of that country: but he came back without having met with any success in his mission. The works were so scattered, that he found it impossible, he said, to bring the men together.

This wild scheme, however, of a union among the labouring classes all over the world, is understood to be at present seriously entertained by some of the popular leaders. Its impracticability, at least on the principle contemplated,

sufficiently evident. The failure of the attempt made by the Glasgow emissary in America, may serve for an example of the difficulties which stand in the way of extension of such a combination even to countries where the government, the laws, and the state of society would seem to offer the greatest facilities to the attainment of that object. But this is not all. A union of the workmen of all countries, even if it could be accomplished, would not answer the end for which it is proposed, unless it were to be the means of bringing wages everywhere to the same level. But does any person, who considers for a moment the different circumstances in which different countries are placed, believe this to be possible? Could any combination raise the wages of the sawmakers of Molsheim, for instance, to the level of those of Sheffield? The difference of prices generally in the two countries would forbid this ever being done. And this difference of prices depends, in part at least, upon peculiarities, not only in the social state of the two countries, but even in their geographical position, their climate, their natural productions, and those other physical points which are altogether independent of human control. In fact, to say that prices shall be the same over all the world, (and without that wages cannot be the same,) is just as absurd, as it would be to say, that in any particular country bad land should let as high as good land, and land ever so distant from the markets as high as that in their immediate neighbourhood. The existing inequalities here are what no advance in civilization will probably ever be able altogether to destroy.

The only case in which a combination of workmen can succeed for any considerable time in maintaining a high standard of wages, is when they have both established a complete monopoly in their own hands of a particular business, and when their number is so limited, that the public demand for the article which they produce gives them all full employment. It is in this way, that the operatives belonging to the saw-trade in Sheffield have continued to secure their high rate of wages. From peculiar circumstances connected with their trade, they have been enabled, for some years past, to preserve a close monopoly of it to a certain limited number of hands. This trade employs only between 600 and 700 individuals, and is entirely confined to Sheffield. New hands, therefore, in case of a strike cannot be obtained from other places; nor could they be easily or soon provided elsewhere, as before any person can work at the trade, he must have served an apprenticeship, and he cannot become a good workman till after many years' practice. In all these respects, the trade presents a complete contrast to most others, in which combinations have been attempted—and especially to the several branches of the cotton manufacture. The saw-makers of Sheffield, with the view of preventing any increase of their numbers, have availed themselves of the advantages of their position to exclude all, except the sons of journeymen, from entering the trade; but they are not so powerful, it would appear, as to be always able to enforce the observance of this regulation. In the evidence reported by the Committee on Manufactures, Mr. Jackson is asked, If any employer were to try to break through this rule, would he on that account be deprived of the services of all his workmen? to which he replies, "In the beginning of last year, and also of this year, our workmen in the saw-trade turned out for nearly one month at each period, in consequence of our taking an apprentice that was not the son of a journeyman. In consequence of having many orders on hand at that time, we at last conformed to the dictation of the workmen, but subsequently there being a falling off in trade, we took the apprentice, and still have him in our manufactory."

This practice, we would remark by the by, adopted by the workmen belonging to a particular trade, of excluding all other persons from entering it, appears to us to be one which the general body of the labouring population will hardly encourage by their approval, if they take the view they ought to do either of their interests or their rights. In a free country, the advantages of every different branch of industry ought to be open to all; and these attempts, by certain classes, to appropriate to themselves particular tracts of the common domain, would seem to be nothing else than wrongs and insults offered to the rest of the community. They are attempts which the independent spirit of the people may fairly be expected to discountenance and put down, as soon as attention shall have been properly awakened to their true character and tendency. They have already begun to operate with great severity in some directions. By far the most distressed class of our operatives for some time past have been the hand-loom weavers, both in the cotton, the silk, and the linen manufactures. The natural resource of every description of artizans, when the trade to which they have been bred happens to be depressed, is to transfer themselves to some other of easy acquirement, which is more fortunately circumstanced. The transition from one branch of mechanical industry to another is often a mere step, and the change might be made with the greatest ease, were there no restrictive laws or customs to bar the way. It is confessed that these hand-loom weavers would make the best of all power-loom weavers and dressers, from the experience and knowledge they have acquired in their original occupation, and the manufacturers say they would prefer them to all others. But the unions, in many cases, will not permit them to be introduced into the mills. In other trades, these unions will not allow even their children to be employed. The evidence of the hand-loom weavers who were examined by the Committee on Manufactures contains many complaints on this head.—Thus, Richard Needham, hand-loom weaver, from Great Bolton, after having given a deplorable account of the situation of himself and his fellow-workmen, is asked, "Are the fathers of families bringing up their children to hand-loom weaving?" to which his reply is, "They are obliged to do so; all the other trades combine together to prevent weavers' children coming into their trade, and if a master was to take a weaver's child an apprentice, they would turn out against him." What is this but persecution, and cruel persecution, in spirit and in effect?

The circumstances we have mentioned might probably enable the operative saw-makers of Sheffield to retain their monopoly for some time to come, were it not for the risk it runs of being broken up by competition from abroad. But if the wages of workmen in this trade are so much lower in Alsace, there would seem to be no reason why we should not import our saws from that country instead of having them manufactured at home. Even if the Sheffield monopoly, however, should remain undisturbed, it may be questionable whether the gains of the workmen are really greater than they would be were the trade perfectly open. Their union is stated to have cost them a great deal of money. The expense which trades are put to in this way, including what they lose when they make a strike, forms, in all cases, a serious deduction from any temporary profits which their combination may occasionally bring them. "The workmen," observes Mr. Jackson, in his evidence before the late committee, "does not benefit, strictly speaking, by combination; though he gets high wages, he has sometimes to pay 20 per cent. out of his wages for keeping up the combination, besides an occasional levy of one pound: and besides, to obtain this advantage, it frequently happens that they are out of employment for several months: so that I have frequently said to the workmen that I defy them to prove that any steady, industrious man ever benefited by it; that is to say, that the cost of obtaining this advance is greater than the advantage ultimately realized." And again, being asked, "Have the combinations you have mentioned had the tendency of raising the price of the article generally?" the same witness replies; "My opinion is, that they have a tendency ultimately to reduce it: an augmentation of wages has taken place; if trade has been remarkably brisk, and the demand made by the workmen has mostly been for an exorbitant price, the price has generally been maintained for a very short time, for a month perhaps, to execute the orders on hand, but the price of goods was in consequence so far augmented as to stop the demand in our foreign markets, and, a subsequent reaction taking place, it has been ascertained that after a turn out of workmen and a consequent augmentation in the price of goods, every third season or every third half-year (as the American orders come usually twice a year) the price has fallen much below the previous level, and when workmen have attempted to gain exorbitant wages for their labour, it has ended in the sequel by bringing the rate of their labour to a less standard than that from which they previously started."

We believe that these observations will be completely borne out by experience; and we earnestly commend them to the consideration of the working classes. Another of the witnesses examined by the committee, who, though now a manufacturer, had been himself for many years a workman, says, speaking of combinations, "I believe if the workmen

were better informed on these subjects, much good might result from it. I have frequently thought that it would be very useful if some cheap method were resorted to of disseminating information on this subject among the workmen." We have endeavoured to supply this desideratum, and both by a statement of general principles and an induction of facts to furnish the materials for a right judgment on a question, the wrong side of which is by no means without its plausibilities, though we do not think they are such as after full consideration ought to deceive any mind of ordinary intelligence or acuteness. Let one very simple and incontrovertible truth be kept in view, and the whole matter is clear. *No operations of the unions can increase consumption.* In other words, they cannot give more employment to the body of workmen than they had before. On the contrary, if they raise the nominal rate of wages, they will infallibly diminish consumption. They will reduce the quantity of employment. They can never therefore remedy a state of things in which the distress of the workmen is occasioned by the want of sufficient employment for their whole number. They can never weaken, though they may strengthen, the source and cause of this evil, which, as we have said before, is always the excessive numbers of the workmen, as compared with the public demand for their services.

The amount at which wages naturally settle down, is always that at which the greatest possible quantity of employment is given to the general body of the workmen. Any thing the effect of which is permanently to disturb this level (except indeed it be a monopoly secured to a certain limited number of producers) cannot benefit, but must injure the interests of the general body of workmen. The aggregate sum going to them in the shape of wages will be less than it would otherwise be. The gains of those who are employed may be greater for the time: but either these persons will have less constant employment than they otherwise would have, or the number will be greater than it otherwise would be of those who have no employment at all.

If the wages of all classes of workmen were to be thus raised above their natural level, the advantage would be counterbalanced also in another way. Every thing would be only so much the dearer. The higher wages of the mason would raise the rent of houses; those of the cabinet-maker would raise the price of furniture; those of the journeyman baker would raise the price of bread; those of the cotton-spinner, the wool-comber, and the other descriptions of artisans employed in the fabrication of clothing would render that in a corresponding degree more expensive; and so with every other article. The rise of wages would be merely nominal.

In short, and to conclude, there is no possible way of permanently raising the price of unskilled labour except by a diminution of the number of that portion of the general population which consists of unskilled labourers. And this will be brought about only by the increase of Capital and the Diffusion of Knowledge. The more capitalists and the more educated persons, the smaller will be the number of those having little more but the strength of their sinews whereby to gain their subsistence. The working classes therefore have an interest in the increase of capital and the diffusion of knowledge, even apart from each man's chance of acquiring a portion of the one or other of these possessions himself. By means of the growth and spread of capital and knowledge in the community generally, the pressure arising from their own excessive numbers will be relieved. By the emigration, as it were, of some of them to the wealthy and educated classes, the rest who remain in the class of workmen will fare the better. And as for machinery, against which so many prejudices exist, it is not only the instrument by which the growth of capital is mainly facilitated and quickened, but it is in all probability that by which the final and complete emancipation of the working classes is to be wrought. When machinery is brought into use to the utmost extent, there will be no unskilled labourers, and all the social evils now experienced from the existence of a large part of the population in that condition—evils which we fear are in some degree inseparable from that state of things—will be done away.

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF IMPORTED ARTICLES.

The following Table, extracted from the Report of the Committee on Manufactures, presents the Prices of some of the most considerable Imported articles for the last Five Years, about the 1st of May in each Year.

	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.
Tea, Bohea, common and middling, per lb. *b.	1/5¼ a' 1/9	1/6½ a' 1 10	1/8 a' 1/8½	2/ a' 2/0½	1/9½ a' 1/10
—— Congou, ditto, per lb. b	2/2 a' 2 9	2 2½ a' 2/10	1/10 a' 2 7	2/1 a' 2 7	2/ a' 2/7
Coffee, Jamaica, middling, per cwt. b.	52/ a' 64/	47/ a' 61/	58/ a' 62/	86/ a' 91/	91/ a' 93/
——St. Domingo, ditto b	35/ a' 38/	31/ a' 33/	40/ a' 42/	56/ a' 59/	55/ a' 57/
Cocoa, West India, common, ditto b.	28/ a' 40/	25/ a' 34/	26/ a' 34/	28/ a' 35/	50/ a' 56/
Rum, Leewards, proof, per imperial gallon b.	2 1 a' 2 2	1/10 a' 1/11	1/8 a' 1/9	1/7 a' 1/8	1/9 a' 1/8½
Cassia Lignea, per cwt. b.	84/ a' 95/	62/ a' 70/	62/ a' 76/	95/ a' 100/	70/ a' 72/
Cloves, Bourbon, per lb. b.	1/1 a' 1/3	9d. a' 11	9 a' 11	/10 a' /11	/11 a' 1/3
Nutmegs, unsorted, per lb. b.	3/2 a' 3/4	3/ a' 3/9	3/8 a' 4/2	3/ a' 3/2	4/10 a' 5/
Mace, seconds, per lb. b.	4/ a' 4/6	4/3 a' /5	4/4 a' 4/6	4/3 a' 4/10	5/4 a' 5/9
Pepper, per lb. b.	3½ a' 3¾	3¼ a' 3¾	/3⅛ a' /3⅜	/3½ a' /4½	/3⅝ a' /4
Ginger, East India, per cwt. b.	15/6 a' 16/	20/	26/	36/	37/
Tobacco, per lb. b.	/5 a' /5½	/4⅞ a' /5	/4½ a' /4⅞	/4½ a' /4⅞	/5½ a' /6
Cotton, Surat, per lb. d. p	/3⅝ a' /4⅛	/4⅝ a' /5	/4 a' /4⅜	/4½ a' /4½	/4⅞ a' /5
—— Bowed, ditto d. p.	/5¼ a' /6	/6¾ a' /6⅞	/5⅜ a' /6⅛	/5⅝ a' /6½	/6⅛ a' /6½
Tallow, Russian, per cwt. d. p.	38/3 a' 38/6	34/3 a' 34/6	43/6	43/	44/.
Wool, German, the lowest sorts of Silesia and Saxony flocks, and good Australia flocks, per lb. d. p.	1/8	1/10	1/11	2/1	2/6
—— Middling sorts, per lb. d. p.	2/	2/4	2/4	2/7	3/
Silk, Italian, Bergam, and Milan 4/5 Cocoons, per lb. b	17/ a' 19/	17/ a' 18/	17/ a' /18	16/ a' 18/	18/ a' 20/
—— Persian, per lb. b.	8/	9 6	10/	10/	9/9
—— Tatler China, ditto b.	18/6	16/	16/	14/6	15/
—— Taysaam China, ditto b.	14/6	13/6	13/	12/3	13/6
Flax, per ton d. p.	38/.	40/.	50/.	42/.	42/.
Saltpetre, per cwt. b.	23/ a' 25/	33/ a' 37/	36/ a' 41/	30/ a' 35/	30/ a' 37/
Indigo, consuming qualities, per lb. b.	4/6 a' 6/6	3/3 a' 5/	3/3 a' 4/6	3/ a' 4/	3/6 a' 4/6
Barilla, Teneriffe, per ton d. p.	6/. 5s.	6/. 15s.	7/. 15s.	7/.	9/.
—— Sicily, ditto d. p.	8/	8/.	12/.	10/. 12s. 6d.	10/. 10s.
—— Spanish, ditto d. p.	12/. 10s.	8/. 15s.	11/.	9/.	11/. 10s.
Brimstone, ditto b.	4/. 10s. a' 6/.	4/. 5s. a' 5/. 5s.	5/. 10s. a' 8/.	8/. a' 9/.	14/.
Madder Roots, Turkey, per cwt. d. p.	40/ a' 46/	50/ a' 90/	49/ a' 55/	50/ a' 62/	60/
Olive Oil, per ton d. p.	47/. a' 54/.	47/. a' 55/.	49/. a' 56/.	48/. a' 54/.	58/.
Palm Oil, per cwt. d. p.	27/6	25/	28/	33/	33/
Opium, per lb. b.	17/ a' 17/6	13/9 a' 14/	15/6 a' 16	14/ a' 15/	15/ a' 15 6

* *b.* Means quoted in Bond. *d. p.* Duty Paid.

ELECTORAL FRANCHISE OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

In the following Tables is given some curious information relating to the electoral franchise, and its exercise. The first contains a list of all the cities and boroughs in England and Wales, sending members to parliament, with their total population, the total number of ten-pound houses, and the number of those registered; the number of registered freemen; the number of persons polled wherever there was a contest; and the expenses, in every instance, of the returning officer. The second contains a list of counties, their total population, and the population exclusive of that of the represented towns, with the number of registered voters, and the number polled wherever the election was contested.

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Abingdon	5,259	451	300	. .	201	no charges
Andover	4,966	322	229	17	no contest	
Arundel *	2,805	254	351	. .	. .	£10 10 0
Ashburton *	4,165	342	146	52	. .	5 0 0
Ashton-under-Lyne	33,597	610	433	. .	383	72 17 6
Aylesbury	4,907	314*	1,654	. .	1,269	143 8 7
Banbury *	5,906	365	329	. .	. .	109 10 6
Barnstaple	6,840	607	459	261	681	100 4 0
Bath	50,802 *	7,314	2,853	. .	2,329	248 8 6
Beaumaris, &c.	2,946	. .	329	. .	. .	
Bedford	6,959	493	975	597	961	249 8 10
Berwick	8,920	582	269	436	653	172 4 7
Beverley	8,302	507	146	865	972	50 10 0
Bewdley *	4,132	484	312	25	. .	
Birmingham *	146,986	6,532	4,309	. .	. .	46 16 0
Blackburn	27,091	623	626	. .	607	127 2 10
Bodmin	5,228	311	222	30	222	10 6 0
Bolton-le-Moors	43,396	1,612	1,040	. .	. .	210 15 6
Boston	12,818	1,000	885	372	788	103 7 0
Bradford	43,537	1,083	1,139	. .	967	65 9 6
Brecon	5,026	350	242	. .	224	116 13 0
Bridgnorth *	6,284	339	746	. .	. .	11 19 0
Bridgewater *	7,087	611	484	. .	. .	no charges
Bridport	4,242	342	111	322‡	400	43 2 0
Brighton	41,994	2,763	1,649	. .	1,434	426 4 3
Bristol	103,886	9,785	5,000†	5,309	6,333	874 16 9
Buckingham	7,418	367	300	. .	270	30 19 8
Bury	19,140	765	535	. .	459	126 13 6
Bury St. Edmunds	11,436	719	550	30	521	8 3 0
Calne *	4,876	519	176	15	. .	
Cambridge	20,917	1,160	1,420	79	1,247	134 7 6
Canterbury	15,314	667	302	1,209	. .	82 7 6
Cardiff, &c.	6,187	827	687	. .	533	104 16 2
Cardigan, &c.	2,795	672	466	564	none	none
Carlisle	20,006	893	571	406	649	41 15 0
Carmarthen, &c.	9,995	936	404	280	597	78 8 0
Carnarvon, &c.	7,642	774	544	311	773	
Chatham	24,670	1,174	677	. .	572	76 10 1
Cheltenham *	22,942	2,100	919	. .	. .	27 18 0
Chester	21,363	1,800	649	1,379	1,574	87 5 0
Chichester	8,270	680	503	3495	771	32 15 0
Chippenham	5,270	312	112	96	183	34 2 0
Christchurch *	6,077	363	206	. .	. .	23 11 10
Cirencester *	5,420	329	604	. .	. .	64 11 6
Clithero	8,915	359	288	18	281	28 10 0
Cockermouth	6,022	356	305	. .	255	30 5 11
Colchester	16,167	500	623	476	991	77 16 0
Coventry	27,070	1,500	529	2,756	1,989	189 9 4
Cricklade *	1,642	. .	1,534	. .	. .	51 3 0
Dartmouth	4,597	422	221	22	. .	none
Denbigh, &c.	3,786	743	350	781	. .	none
Derby	23,607	1,684	1,012	372	1,136	66 6 0
Devizes	4,562	409	292	23	276	116 9 0
Devonport	44,454	2,500	1,777	. .	1,477	344 0 0
Dorchester	3,033	333	322	. .	no contest	
Dover	11,924	1,743	367	1,284	1,396	156 11 8
Droitwich	6,493	311	236	7	. .	none
Dudley	23,043	800	670	. .	540	61 12 10
Durham	10,125	448	314	492	768	70 11 9
Evesham	3,991	330	195	164	332	67 16 0
Exeter	28,201	3,016	2,366	586	2,092	232 0 0
Eye	7,015	330	200	53	. .	37 4 0
Finsbury	22,086	23,266	10,309	. .	7,344	463 15 11
Flint, &c.	2,216	709	303	976	. .	7 3 10
Frome	12,240	450	322	. .	263	64 10 0
Gateshead	20,601	750	454	. .	. .	12 19 4½
Gloucester	11,933	760	802	725	1,197	48 12 0
Grantham	7,448	475	202	496	650	24 4 7
Greenwich	64,336	6,142	2,714	. .	2,391	215 0 0
Great Grimsby	6,836	338	303	353	455	4 4 0
Guilford	3,813	431	269	73	303	25 18 8½
Halifax	34,437	1,300	531	. .	492	105 0 0
Harwich	4,297	202	188	16	186	41 12 0
Hastings	10,097	1,125	554	20	473	93 11 11
Haverfordwest, &c.	3,915	584	539	184	. .	none
Helston	10,845	225	281	60	. .	none
Hereford	10,280	617	459	461	. .	126 18 2
Hertford	5,247	273	700‖	. .	671¶	140 9 0
Honiton	3,509	318	511¶	. .	503	47 8 0
Horsham	5,105	365	257	. .	188	26 1 0
Huddersfield	19,035	140	608	. .	415	39 17 5

* Towns only. † Including freeholders. ‡ Scot and Lot. § Including Scot and Lot voter ‖ Freemen not distinguished
¶ Scot and Lot, 31; Potwallopers, 480.

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Hull	54,110	3,133	2,350	1,513	3,305	327 4 2
Huntingdon	5,413	200	384	. .	287	30 16 3
Hythe	8,919	537	418	51	424	37 1 3
Ipswich	20,454	1,800	875	344	953	78 16 0
Kendal	11,577	682	327	. .	. .	none
Kidderminster	20,865	500	390	. .	332	39 3 6
Knaresborough	6,894	369	278	. .	260	50 0 0
Lambeth	160,613	16,405	4,768	. .	3,220	227 13 11
Lancaster	12,613	658	261	848	. .	none
Launceston	5,414	327	241	. .	223	
Leeds	123,393	6,683	above 4000	. .	. .	161 14 0
Leicester	39,433	1,900	1,200	1,569	2,795	147 0 0
Leominster	5,249	195	756	23	no contest	14 3 6
Lewes	8,592	832	188	690*	. .	65 9 0
Lichfield	6,499	420	563*	298	563	136 17 6
Lincoln	12,634	652	461	582	878	64 4 6
Liskeard	4,042	315	211	7	no contest	13 6 6
Liverpool	165,175	17,427	7,655	3,628	8,551	358 4 0
London (City)	132,803	14,568	9,057	9,527	11,500	522 1 7
Ludlow	5,253	514	300	59	339	none
Lyme Regis	3,345	300	212	. .	183	20 2 0
Lymington	5,472	. .	219	. .	219	112 7 2
Lynn Regis	13,370	660	583	253	no contest	none
Macclesfield	23,129	1,000	718	. .	588	53 16 6
Maidstone	15,387	1,417	652	456	873	29 4 0
Maldon	4,895	. .	716†	. .	671‡	75 5 9
Malmesbury	6,136	351	278	13	no contest	20 5 0
Malton	6,802	397	375	292*	no contest	none
Manchester	187,002	12,723	6,726	. .	. .	729 2 6
Marlborough	4,186	299	no return	. .	. .	
Marlow	6,175	319	95	362*	. .	39 13 2
Marylebone	210,294	21,630	8,961	. .	6,076	338 1 2
Merthyr Tidvil	22,088	830	502	. .	no contest	
Midhurst	3,819	339	252	. .	no contest	none
Monmouth, &c.	4,916	1,140	. .	. .	. .	102 13 0
Montgomery, &c.		740	657	66	656	216 0 2
Morpeth	6,856	446	190	131	no contest	
Newark	9,557	510	1,575	. .	1,518	95 8 6
Newcastle-under-Lyne	8,192	360	973§	. .	941	84 17 7
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	53,613	2,916	2,286	1,619	2,850	422 3 10
Newport	3,385	415	405	15	365	75 13 8
Northallerton	4,839	294	232	. .	209	29 12 8
Northampton	15,351	1,087	2,497‖	. .	2,406	325 0 4
Norwich	61,110	2,316	1,043	3,195*	3,817	734 5 2
Nottingham	50,680	2,950	2,187	3,033	3,322	152 16 0
Oldham	50,513	1,128	1,131	. .	848	165 9 0
Oxford	20,434	2,389	904	1,408	2,139	not settled
Pembroke, &c.	6,511	682	341	967	no contest	none
Penryn and Falmouth	3,521	796	875‖	. .	717	72 12 0
Peterborough	5,553	396	285	488¶	no contest	none
Petersfield	5,892	305	214	. .	205	7 5 0
Plymouth	31,080	2,271	1,976	115	no contest	none ††
Pontefract	9,305	519	418	538¶	no contest	41 18 6
Poole	8,216	298	301	111	360	75 9 8
Portsmouth	50,389	463	1,280	15	983	88 13 7
Preston	33,871	1,277	826	5,526**	5,538	444 12 8
Radnor, &c.	. .	155	253	276	no contest	
Reading	15,595	1,050	1,001	. .	. .	
Reigate	3,397	276	152	. .	101	8 17 0
Retford	2,491	. .	2,174	138	1,980	150 0 8
Richmond	7,243	301	273	. .	no contest	none
Ripon	5,735	403	299	42	330	145 11 1
Rochdale	41,808	1,014	687	. .	632	72 19 8
Rochester	12,791	1,121	550	423	650	100 10 6
Rye and Winchelsea	8,538	328	382	40	290	38 8 6
Salford	50,810	1,244	1,497	. .	1,220	158 16 6
Salisbury	9,876	627	539	37	531	133 3 6
Sandwich	12,183	796	487	429	817	54 4 0
Scarborough	8,760	508	429	3	385	65 7 1
Shaftesbury	8,698	145	296	338‖‖	328	62 15 2
Sheffield	91,692	4,383	3,508	. .	3,056	273 3 10½
Shoreham	1,503	. .	1,925‡‡	. .	1,154	173 9 7
Shrewsbury	21,227	1,651	823	891	1,314	37 16 0
Southampton	19,324	1,284	1,103¶¶	. .	1,046	83 18 3
South Shields	18,756	1,400	475	. .	419	55 14 7
Southwark	134,117	9,923	4,775	. .	2,810	441 9 10
Stafford	6,998	468	193	983	1,049	9 6 0
St. Albans	4,772	286	264	{118 / 275‖‖}	637	109 2 4
St. Ives	7,115	302	130	454‖‖	509	16 16 0
Stamford	7,062	460	851	. .	766	206 14 0
Stockport	29,456	842§§	1,012	. .	935	229 0 9
Stoke-upon-Trent	52,090	1,430	1,349	. .	1,245	160 5 9
Straud	41,719	1,600	1,247	. .	1,156	148 2 6
	4,677	301	59	450	474	52 12 0

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Sunderland	40,735	2,500	1,378	. .	1,132	248 8 0
Swansea, &c.	13,256	1,200	826	481	no contest	
Tamworth	3,917	528	162	421*	no contest	
Tavistock	5,602	380	247	. .	193	31 1 10
Taunton	11,139	848	588	361†	no contest	31 6 0
Tewksbury	5,780	262	295	91	364	51 4 0
Thetford	3,462	203	124	22	no contest	none
Thirsk	4,558	315	254	. .	no contest	11 12 6
Tiverton	9,766	643	443	19	. .	58 16 6
Totness	3,442	316	175	42	179	11 4 2
Tower Hamlets	367,861	23,187	9,906	. .	7,320	617 7 4
Truro	11,417	237	388	17	286	209 18 6
Tynemouth and North Shields	23,206	1,150	760.	. .	590	170 3 0
Wakefield	24,538	1,001	722	. .	no contest	15 12 6
Wallingford	5,931	278†	287	166*	367	43 3 0
Walsall	15,066	300	597	. .	535	75 13 0
Wareham	5,207	. .	218	152* 17‖	315	39 2 2
Warrington	18,184	973	456	. .	379	39 14 6
Warwick	9,109	500	1,310§	. .	1,248	106 13 0
Wells	6,649	383	195	163	318	10 10 0
Wenlock	3,481	450	489	202	635	54 2 10
Westbury	7,324	318	185	. .	no contest	none
Westminster	202,891	17,681	11,576§	. .	. .	362 5 0
Weymouth	7,655	490	368	20 43‖	. .	34 19 10
Whitby	10,399	443	422	. .	356	107 0 7
Whitehaven	15,716	863	458	. .	384	31 8 4
Wigan	20,774	900	423	60	341	25 0 0
Wilton	9,758	299	197	17	no contest	41 9 6
Winchester	9,212	807	465	66	. .	36 6 6
Windsor	5,650	778	507	. .	461	4 15 0
Wolverhampton	67,514	2,405	1,700	. .	1,463	155 19 0
Woodstock	7,026	373	241	76	no contest	none
Worcester	18,610	2,000	854	1,512	. .	42 5 8
Wycombe, Chipping	6,299	446	270	28	264	164 8 0
Yarmouth	21,115	1,113	643	1,040	1,555	198 11 0
York	25,359	2,141	531	2,342	2,655	555 13 4

In addition to the charges made by the returning officer, the town-clerk has also, in numerous instances, sent in an account which, in the majority of cases, has been properly disallowed; in others, unwisely paid.

Counties.	Population.	Population exclusive of the population of unrepresented towns.	Registered.	Polled.
Bedford	95,383	88,424	3,966	3,484
Berks	145,289	112,854	5,582	4,863
Bucks	146,529	121,730	5,306	4,189
Cambridge	143,955	123,038	. .	5,923
Chester, N.	334,410	118,420	5,103	. .
,, S.		120,990	5,130	. .
Cornwall, E.	302,440	114,919	4,462	. .
,, W.		147,255	3,353	. .
Cumberland, W.	169,681	70,337	3,848	3,266
,, E.		55,535	4,035	. .
Derby, S.	237,170	115,743	5,541	4,789
,, N.		103,804	4,370	3,677
Devon, S.	494,168	187,205	7,453	6,660
,, N.		157,901	5,368	. .
Dorset	159,252	118,856	5,632	. .
Durham, N.	253,827	77,114	4,267	3,841
,, S.		78,506	4,336	3,994
Essex, N.	317,233	146,747	5,163	4,513
,, S.		145,131	4,488	3,592
Gloucestershire, E.	386,904	86,164	6,437	5,752
,, W.		152,822	6,521	5,940
Hants, N.	314,813	96,623	2,424	1,810
,, S.		82,462	3,143	2,746
Hereford	110,976	95,447	. .	. .
Hertford	143,341	133,322	4,245	3,845
Huntingdon	53,149	47,736	. .	. .
Kent, W.	479,155	313,631	6,678	5,562
,, E.			7,026	6,144
Lancaster, N.	1,336,854	624,465	6,593	. .
,, S.			10,039	8,453
Leicester, N.	197,003	157,570	3,658	3,063
,, S.			4,125	. .
Lincoln	317,244	270,446	9,134¶	8,338
			7,956**	. .
Middlesex	1,358,541	188,603	6,939	5,132
Monmouth	98,130	93,214	3,738	. .
Norfolk, E.	390,054	290,997	7,041	6,229
W.			4,396	. .
Northampton, N.	179,276	158,372	3,363	3,063
S.			4,425	. .
Northumberland, N.	222,912	130,317	2,322	. .
S.			5,192	4,606
Notts (Nottingham, N.	225,320	162,592	2,889	2,548
,, S.			3,170	. .
Oxford	151,726	118,360	4,721	. .
Rutland	19,385	19,385	1,296	. .
Salop, N.	222,503	186,258	4,682	4,297
,, S.			2,791	661
Somerset, E.	403,908	315,271	8,996	7,694
,, W.			7,884	5,812
Stafford, N.	410,485	118,931	8,756	7,886
,, S.		129,745 ‡	3,107	. .
Suffolk, E.	296,304	138,637	4,265	3,326
,, W.		112,211	3,326	2,920
Surrey, E.	486,326	107,472	3,150	2,211
,, W.		81,229	2,912	2,527
Sussex, E.	272,328	107,703	3,437	2,757
,, W.		51,454	2,365	. .
Warwick, N.	336,988	83,194	3,740	. .
,, S.		71,994	2,550	. .
Westmorland	55,041	43,464	4,392	3,584
Wight, Isle of	. .	. .	1,167	824
Wilts, N.	239,181	185,551	3,614	. .
,, S.			2,540	. .
Worcester, W.	211,356	134,222	8,122	††2,647
,, E.			5,161	4,349
York, N. Riding	226,235	160,796	9,539	8,487
,, E. Riding	168,646	106,234	5,559	. .
,, W. Riding	976,415	607,048	18,056	. .
Wales.				
Anglesey	48,325	45,379	1,187	. .
Brecon	48,325	43,299	1,668	. .
Cardigan	64,780	61,985	1,184	. .
Carmarthen	100,655	90,660	3,887	3,503
Carnarvon	65,753	58,111	1,688	. .
Denbigh	83,167	79,381	3,401	3,050
Flint	60,012	57,796	1,271	. .
Glamorgan	126,612	85,086	3,680	. .
Merioneth	35,609	35,609	580	. .
Montgomery	66,485	65,297	2,523	. .
Pembroke	81,424	70,998	3,700	. .
Radnor	24,651	24,179	1,046	. .

* Town voters, † Potwallopers. ‡ Town only. § Scot and Lot voters included. ‖ Freeholders. ¶ Lindsey. ** Kesteven and Holland. †† Second election.

REPORT ON THE VACCINE BOARD.

THE practice of vaccination was introduced about the commencement of the present century; but it was not till 1808 that the maintenance and diffusion of its benefits was taken up as a matter of public concern. In that year, the National Vaccine Institution, now in Percy Street, was established by parliament, and placed under the management of a board, consisting of the president and four censors of the College of Physicians, and the master and two governors of the College of Surgeons. The objects were, that the practice of vaccination should be carried on in London under the immediate superintendence of this board; and that the vaccine lymph should also be distributed under their direction to every part of the empire.

The establishment, having been supported by annual parliamentary grants, has subsisted to the present time, though the constitution of the board has undergone some modification, the number of its members having been reduced in 1826 to five: and in 1832 to three, who are the president and senior censor of the College of Physicians, and the president of the College of Surgeons. The annual grant, also, which was originally 3000*l.*, is now only 2200*l.* Of late, the expediency of continuing the institution at all has begun to be questioned, on the ground that vaccination is now so completely established in this country, and the public mind so entirely made up as to the value of the discovery, that the provision of the means necessary for securing and spreading its benefits may be safely left to the exertions of individuals. In these circumstances, a select committee was last session appointed by the House of Commons to examine the subject. Their report, accompanied with minutes of evidence, has been lately printed, and is interesting as presenting the most authentic view that has been laid before the public of the present state of the practice of vaccination, and of the facts that have been ascertained with regard to its protective value.

The present objects of the board are stated by the committee to be, "to observe the effects of vaccination in preventing the recurrence and spread of small-pox; to investigate cases of reputed small-pox recurring after reputed vaccination, and of cow-pox when attended with inflammation, or any eruptive disorder, or when, in any other respect, anomalous in character; to preserve, by immediately superintending the practice of vaccination in London, an authentic form of the vaccine disease, on a scale commensurate to the demands for lymph; to furnish a supply of lymph instantly on application; to inquire into the circumstances under which lymph has been obtained in cases of its failing to produce the cow-pox; to establish among medical practitioners an approved mode of vaccinating, and generally to discountenance the practice of variolous inoculation, and to encourage the practice of vaccination."

The only permanent officers appointed by the board are a registrar and an inspector, each receiving a salary of 200*l.* a year. The members of the board have salaries of 100*l.* a year each. There are twelve vaccinators stationed in different parts of the metropolis, two of whom receive salaries of 150*l.*, two of 100*l.*, and eight of 50*l.* a year.

But besides the national establishment, there are in London two private institutions for promoting vaccination; the Small-Pox Hospital at King's Cross, St. Pancras, and the London Vaccine Institution, or Jennerian Society. The income of the former is about 1100*l.* a year, three-fourths of which are derived from dividends on invested capital, and the remainder from the contributions of the public. The income of the latter is about 900*l.* per ann. derived entirely from contributions.

In 1832, the number of persons vaccinated by the national establishment was 14,190; by the hospital at King's Cross, 3701; and by the London Vaccine Institution, 5641: making 23,532 in all. "To the total number vaccinated at these institutions," says the report, "must be added the number privately vaccinated, to obtain the total vaccinated in London. The number of registered births in the metropolitan parishes, on the average of the years 1830, 1831, and 1832, was about 35,000. If from this number we deduct the number of infants who die within a few months after birth, the remainder will probably afford a result not very far exceeding the sum of those who at the vaccine institutions and in private undergo vaccination." In other words, nearly all the children born in London, and who survive for more than a few months, are probably vaccinated.

The next point to which the report adverts, is the question as to the real amount of the protective power of vaccination. The doctrine that vaccination is an absolutely infallible preventive of small-pox is now abandoned; cases, it is admitted, do occasionally occur, in which it is followed by small-pox; and the latter disease, though generally of a greatly mitigated character in these circumstances, is still sometimes fatal. For a long time it was attempted to be made out, that, in all these cases, the reputed vaccination must, either from bad lymph, or the imperfect performance of the operation, have been no vaccination at all. But this notion is now generally given up. It is allowed that, from causes which cannot be detected, the operation sometimes fails to produce its usual effect, even when performed with good lymph, and with, at least, the ordinary skill and care. The facts, however, which are here stated, show that, although the proportion of these failures has not yet been exactly ascertained, it must be extremely inconsiderable.

In London and its vicinity, comprehending a district the population of which, in 1831, was 1,180,075, it appears that the proportion of deaths from small-pox in every 1000 deaths was from 1770 to 1780, on an average, every year 102; from 1780 to 1790, 88; from 1790 to 1800, 92; from 1800 to 1810, 73; from 1810 to 1820, 43; from 1820 to 1830, 35; and from 1830 to 1832, inclusive, only 26. That is to say, "that the proportionate mortality from small-pox, which before 1800, when vaccination began, was about one in every ten deaths, is now reduced to about three in every 100 deaths, and is therefore only between one-third and one-fourth of what it was prior to the introduction of vaccination." Judging by the London bills of mortality, we should be led to conclude that no diminution whatever in the number of deaths from small-pox was effected by the practice of inoculation. The average proportion in 1000 deaths, of deaths by small-pox from 1710 to 1720, the period when inoculation was introduced, was 89 annually; and from 1750 to 1760, it was 94. Indeed, on comparing more distant periods, it would seem that the mortality of the disease had greatly increased, though it is not to be presumed that the increase was actually occasioned by the practice of inoculation: for in the nine years from 1701 to 1710, the annual proportion was only 49 deaths from small-pox in the whole number of 1000 deaths: and we have seen above that in the period from 1770 to 1780 it had risen to 102, or more than double.

There are not of course the same means of ascertaining the proportion either of persons having undergone vaccination, who are afterwards attacked by small-pox, or of those to whom in these circumstances the disease proves fatal. In returns from the vaccinators, founded on their own experience, the number of patients vaccinated who were subsequently affected by modified small-pox, is stated variously at from 7 to 70 in the 10,000. "Considering," the committee remark, "how many cases of small-pox after vaccination must escape the notice of the vaccinator, it is probable that the real proportion of such cases is greater than the greatest proportion stated in any one of the returns in question." At the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, where the boys and girls usually remain till they are fourteen years of age, the proportion is 100 in 10,000, or one in 100. The proportion of deaths, however, is much smaller, small-pox after vaccination being usually a comparatively very mild disease. While of 1166 patients admitted into the Small-Pox Hospital, who had not undergone vaccination, 494 died, or forty-two in the 100; of 619 cases treated there in which the disease had occurred after reputed vaccination, only forty proved fatal, or no more than six in the 100. "The mortality of six per cent.," observe the committee, "must far exceed the average mortality in small-pox after vaccination, since it is only in the worst cases of the disease, and not in the mild and modified form in which it usually appears after vaccination, that the patient would be thought to require hospital assistance. Were it assumed as a basis on which to calculate, that out of every 100 persons vaccinated one is attacked by small-pox, and that out of every 100 such cases five were fatal, it would follow that out of every 10,000 persons vaccinated, five only, or out of every 2,000 persons vaccinated, one only, would die of small-pox; but the real proportion is probably much less than this." It appears that out of 83,647 vaccinations, by the stationary vaccinators of the national establishment, only two cases came under their notice in which small-pox afterwards occurred attended with a fatal result; and in one of these it was doubtful whether the disease was really small-pox.

These statements must be considered as very highly satisfactory, placing as they do the efficacy of vaccination as a preservative in nearly all cases beyond controversy or doubt. The committee, upon the whole, are of opinion that it would not be advisable to discontinue the national establishment, the services of which they consider particularly valuable and important as maintaining a constant supply of lymph. But they recommend that, the number of members remaining as at present, all physicians and surgeons should be eligible as such—that those appointed should give their services gratuitously—that some of the present regulations should undergo revision—and that it should be considered whether the number and locality of the vaccinators' stations might not advantageously admit of some alteration. The reforms which they propose would reduce the annual expense of the establishment to about 1605*l.* It is also recommended that the hospital at King's Cross and the London Vaccine Institution should, as well as the National Institution, be allowed the privilege of receiving letters applying for lymph, and of transmitting lymph, post-free.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

ANOTHER volume, or part, of the Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c., of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, compiled by the Board of Trade, has just appeared. It contains the accounts belonging to the year 1832, and is the first of those collections of the statistics of each year, which will henceforth be regularly published, and to which the former volume, embracing the period from 1820 to 1831 inclusive, may be considered as introductory. The present volume contains 147 tables, comprehending the subjects of finance, exports and imports, taxes, the post-office, shipping, crime, emigration, population, poor's-rates, friendly societies, savings-banks, prices, wages, colonial statistics, and a great variety of others.

Such a body of information with regard to the existing state of the empire has not only never before been presented in a single volume, but could not till now have been obtained from any sources which were accessible to the public. In fact, much of the information that is here given did not exist at all before. Even the immense and unwieldly mass of the parliamentary papers of each session never afforded anything like so complete a view of the actual condition of all our most important public interests as we have here. Many of the tables contained in the present volume have been compiled from returns prepared expressly for the work; and a good deal of information has also been obtained from private sources, which none of the public departments could have supplied.

We hope we may anticipate, from the following strong recommendation of the editor in his preface, that it is the intention of government to institute still more effectual means for collecting the details that are necessary to make these annual expositions as complete as they ought to be:—

"There are many subjects which it will be necessary to include in these volumes, before they can be considered complete as a collection of statistics. As to some of these subjects, it will be hardly possible to embrace them without the assistance of Parliament in creating the necessary machinery. This remark applies with peculiar force to the subject of population. The several inquiries made on this important question have hitherto been set on foot at the considerable interval of ten years, a circumstance alone sufficient to cause discrepancies and errors, since the inquiries must in many, it might be said in most, cases be conducted each time by a different set of functionaries, who will be without experience to guide them in a matter which peculiarly calls for a systematic method of proceeding. The arrangement of the returns made under the Population Acts has, it is true, been confided to a gentleman, whose talents and tastes eminently qualify him for the execution of the task; but it must be manifestly impossible for any intelligence to remedy errors and incongruities which have been allowed to accompany any subject from its inception, and a course very different from that hitherto pursued will be necessary before the perfecting of this leading branch of statistical research can be satisfactorily accomplished.

"The Commissioners appointed for inquiring into the administration and operation of the poor-laws have set on foot many inquiries that bear upon the moral and physical condition of the people, and so soon as the answers to those inquiries shall have been collected together and arranged, the information they contain will be made available to our purpose. A like expectation may be entertained with reference to the labours of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of children employed in [illegible] a body of information having been obtained by those [illegible], which will throw much light upon the general circumstances of a numerous class of our fellow-subjects.

"It appears highly desirable, and even necessary, to the proper understanding of the common interests and condition of the country, that its government should be possessed of accurate information as to the actual and comparative produce of the soil, together with many other points of rural economy scarcely less important; and a great deal of anxious consideration has been given in order to arrange some plan for systematically acquiring that information. The difficulties which stand in the way of accomplishing this most desirable object have, however, been found so great, that no progress has hitherto been made with regard to it. There exists no class of public functionaries in this country qualified to institute such an inquiry, and it can hardly be hoped that private individuals will be found in every part of the kingdom willing to undergo the labour necessary for its satisfactory performance. It is of so much consequence, however, to acquire information upon this class of subjects, that the most strenuous efforts should be made for the purpose, and no exertions which I can give shall be wanting to that end; but further experience has confirmed me in the opinion which I formerly took occasion to offer to your lordships, that such a work requires a considerable time for its accomplishment, and that it is necessary to awaken the public mind to a just appreciation of the advantages of possessing accurate and extensive statistical knowledge, in order to our obtaining the co-operation of men of experience and intelligence, without which it is vain to expect any considerable portion of success.

"It is gratifying to know that this effect, which was only expected to follow the publication of several of our compilations, has already commenced; that the volume presented to Parliament during the last session has excited a very great degree of interest, particularly among commercial men; and that associations are in the course of being formed, the labours of which will come importantly in aid of the exertions of this department."

HOUSE OF COMMONS' OFFICES AND FEES.

A SELECT committee was last session appointed by the House of Commons to take into consideration the fees, salaries, and emoluments received by the officers and public servants of the House; and their Report has been lately printed with the minutes of the evidence taken before them. In proceeding to give an abstract of this document, we shall in the first place collect from it the particulars of the actual establishment of the House.

THE SPEAKER.—The present amount of the salary of the Speaker was fixed in 1790, and is 6000*l.* This includes compensation for all former fees and allowances. The Speaker has also an official residence, together with coals and candles; the cost of which amounts to about 500*l.* a-year. And on every new election, he receives 1000*l.* by way of outfit, and 1,500*l.* to purchase plate.

THE SPEAKER'S SECRETARY.—The total emoluments of this officer, including 250*l.* as salary of the office, which he also holds, of Secretary to the commissioners for regulating the offices of the House of Commons, and 200*l.* in lieu of an official house, amounted, in 1832, to 993*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

THE CHAPLAIN TO THE SPEAKER.—The chaplain receives no salary or fees while he serves; but after a service of three years he is generally preferred by the crown, on an address of the House, to a prebendal stall either at Westminster, Canterbury, Windsor, or Christchurch.

THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—This officer, whose proper designation is the Under Clerk of the Parliaments, and who holds his office by patent from the crown, had formerly very large emoluments, derived principally from fees. The office was regulated in 1800, for nine years preceding which the emoluments had amounted on an average to 8250*l.* annually. In 1792 they amounted to 10,912*l.* The new arrangement did not take effect till the expiration of Mr. Hatsell's patent in 1820; up to which time, it is stated in a return appended to the report, that that gentleman and his deputy, who did the whole business, had at least 10,000*l.* a-year to be divided between them, and the deputy clerk had consequently a salary of at least 5000*l.* a-year. At present the annual emoluments of the chief-clerk amount to 3,500*l.*; and he has also a house which he states to be worth at least 500*l.* more. The chief-clerk has the appointment of the other two clerks who officiate at the table, and of all the clerks in the different offices, as well as of the Librarian and the Short-hand writer.

THE CLERKS ASSISTANT.—The first of the two clerks assistant has a salary of 2,500*l.* a-year, and an official residence. The second has a salary of 2000*l.*, without a house.

THE CLERK OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES has a salary of 100*l.*; and as clerk of elections, he received fees in 1832 to the amount of 155*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*

The Clerk of the Fees, who is also agent to the treasury for the management of revenue and other public bills, derives from both appointments emoluments to the annual amount of 1,388*l.* 5*s.* He has also four clerks, who receive, first clerk, 732*l.* 2*s.*; second clerk, 447*l.* 18*s.*; third clerk, 268*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; and fourth clerk, 263*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*

The Clerk of the Journals and Papers.—The present emoluments of this officer are 1,662*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; those of his first clerk, 1,081*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*; of his second clerk, 1,070*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; of his third clerk, 1,006*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*; of his fourth clerk, 490*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; of his fifth clerk, 442*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; of his sixth clerk, 113*l.* 2*s.*; and of an extra clerk, 154*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

Committee Clerks.—There are at present three principal committee clerks, whose offices are sinecures, and a fourth office of the same kind is vacant. Of these principal committee clerks, the emoluments of one, who is also engrossing clerk, were last year 1196*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; of another, 1044*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*; and of the third, 1168*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* There appears also to be eight acting clerks, whose emoluments, omitting shillings and pence, are as follows: of the first, 984*l.*; of the second, 1007*l.*, including 200*l.* for receiving and abstracting poor returns; of the third, 990*l.*; of the fourth, 726*l.*; of the fifth, 209*l.*; of the sixth, 227*l.*; of the seventh, 253*l.*: and of the eighth, 166*l.* It is stated in the report, that in this office, and also in that of the engrossing clerks, a system of charging gratuities in addition to the fees prescribed by the table of fees, and without any authority, has long been practised. We do not know whether or not the sums mentioned above include the extra emoluments thus obtained.

Clerks of the Private Bill Office.—Of these there are a principal clerk receiving 791*l.* a-year; a second clerk receiving 397*l.*; a third clerk receiving 311*l.*; and an extra clerk receiving 204*l.* The emoluments of all these officers are derived from fees.

Clerks of the Engrossing Office.—Of these there are a first clerk with 800*l.* a-year: a second clerk with 500*l.*; and an extra clerk with 150*l.* The gratuities are particularly mentioned as included in these sums.

The Librarian has a salary of 500*l.* a-year; and the sub-librarian a salary of 150*l.*

The Short-hand Writer.—The payments to the short-hand writer, it is stated, are not only for his personal labour and that of his establishment, but a large proportion of the amount received by him goes to his numerous deputies, whose services are required in consequence of the number of committees sitting at the same time. His emoluments are derived from various sources, and the items vary greatly in amount in different years. For attendance in the House, in committees of the whole House, and in public committees, in the session of 1829, he received 574*l.* 14*s.*; in that of 1830, 1987*l.* 19*s.*; in that of 1830-1, 533*l.* 1*s.*; in that of 1831, 1082*l.* 8*s.*; and in that of 1831-2, 511*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* These sums are paid by the Treasury. From individuals he also received in the session of 1831-2, for attendance in committees on private bills and on election petitions, and for reporting speeches in these committees, about 1465*l.* Some of the items making up the last sum, however, had been much greater in former years. For instance, while the receipts for attendance in committees on election petitions, and reporting speeches in the same, were in 1831-2 only 76*l.* 19*s.*, they were in the session of 1830-1, 1961*l.* 14*s.*

The remaining offices form what is called the establishment of the Sergeant-at-Arms, by whom all the appointments are made, and who is himself appointed by letters patent under the great seal, for life. He has a salary of 2000*l.* a-year, and 300*l.* more as an allowance for a house. The deputy sergeant has a salary of 800*l.*, and 200*l.* as allowance for a house.

The Deliverer of Votes and Printed Papers has annual emoluments to the amount of 1824*l.* 14*s.*, chiefly derived from fees; and his deputy has a salary of 600*l.* a-year. There are also in the Vote Office three clerks and ten office porters, to whom there appears to be paid the sum of 1094*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, including a retired allowance to a late assistant.

The Deputy Housekeeper's emoluments amount to 641*l.* 19*s.*, out of which he pays to an assistant and to other persons employed in the care of the House 212*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; leaving 429*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

The Door-Keepers.—Of these there are two, the first receiving 892*l.* 14*s.*, of which last year 631*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* was derived from gratuities; and the second, 808*l.* 4*s.*, including last year gratuities to the amount of 584*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* There is also a lower door-keeper, whose emoluments were 558*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, including 360*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* of gratuities.

The Messengers.—The emoluments of two of the four messengers were last year 587*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, and of the other two 585*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* each. Each derived 350*l.* of his income from gratuities. There are also two supernumerary messengers, having each 111*l.* 11*s.*

The other attendants with their respective emoluments are, a messenger to the library at 151*l.* 11*s.*; an extra door-keeper at 101*l.* 11*s.*; a person having the care of the ventilators and stove at 105*l.*; two night watchmen, and two day porters, each at 37*l.* 10*s.*; a fire-lighter at 50*l.*; and an assistant fire-lighter at 45*l.* The total amount of emoluments in the department of the sergeant-at arms is stated at 13,202*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

Besides what they receive in money, a great many of the officers both in the department of the chief clerk, and in that of the sergeant-at-arms, are entitled to stationary, sets of the journals, votes, and printed papers, &c. The first door-keeper has, besides, fifty copies of the private acts.

Many of these officers appear to the committee to be too highly paid, and they propose that when existing interests shall have expired, the emoluments of those who are so circumstanced shall be subjected to a greater or less reduction.

The salary of the speaker they recommend should be reduced to 5,000*l.*, together with the official residence free from taxes; and without any other allowance than 1,000*l.* by way of outfit on his first election only. They propose that in lieu of the present allowance for plate, a sum not exceeding 6,000*l.* should be expended in the purchase of a service of plate for the use of the speaker for the time being, which shall remain the property of the public, and be attached to his official residence. The speaker's secretary they propose should be paid by a salary of 500*l.* a-year, and his chaplain by a sum of 200*l.* for every session.

Under the arrangement recommended, if adopted, the chief clerk will have 2,000*l.* a-year with a house; the clerk assistant, 1,500*l.*; and the second clerk assistant, 1,000*l.* a-year. Reductions will also be made in the emoluments of most of the other clerks. The sergeant-at-arms will have a salary of 1,500*l.*, without a house. On the whole, the reductions which it is proposed to make will produce, it is calculated, an annual saving of about 18,500*l.* The annual expense will be brought down from near 50,000*l.* to not much more than 30,000*l.*

From a paper which is printed in the Appendix to the Report, it appears that, in the session of 1832, the fees paid on private bills to the different officers of the House of Commons, amounted in all to 14,516*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* The number of bills on which this sum was paid, was 153. The committee propose to reduce most of these fees very considerably; but we cannot here detail the particular heads into which these deductions are distributed.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

Diplomatic Charges.—The charges of the several diplomatic missions, during the year ending 5th of January, 1832, were as follows:—France, 11,878*l.*; Russia, 9,818*l.*; Austria, 11,285*l.*; Netherlands, 5,847*l.*; Ottoman Porte, 5,893*l.*; Spain, 7,300*l.*; Prussia, 7,484*l.*; Portugal, 2,000*l.*; Brazil, 4,497*l.*; Two Sicilies, 7,501*l.*; United States, 4,658*l.*; Sweden, 4,500*l.*; Denmark, 4,500*l.*; Bavaria, 4,689*l.*; Sardinia, 4,725*l.*; Tuscany, 3,096*l.*; Wurtemburg, 2,700*l.*; Saxony, 2,191*l.*; Frankfort, 3,500*l.*; Swiss Cantons, 3,397*l.*; Greece, 2,660*l.*; Belgium, 500*l.*; Columbia, 4,900*l.*; Mexico, 2,654*l.*; Buenos Ayres, 3,218*l.*; Albania, 1,000*l.*—Total, 126,394*l.* In 1830 the total was 152,952*l.*; and 134,056*l.* in 1831. But this amount is more nearly trebled than doubled by the following additional heads of charge, which, however, include the consular establishments, the details of which we have given separately.

Extraordinary and incidental expenses of every kind	£13,041
Outfit and equipage	16,570
Dragomans attached to the Embassy at the Porte, (formerly paid by the Levant Company)	3,100
Special Missions	15,668
Commissions under treaties with foreign powers	21,619
Consular establishment	86,763
Pensions to retired ministers	51,852
Superannuation allowances to consuls	6,639
Grand total of diplomatic and consular charges	£345,646

In 1830, the amount was 361,454*l.*, and 325,618*l.* in 1831.

The following table exhibits—1. the number of British consuls and vice-consuls in foreign countries;—2. the amount received by them in salaries and fees;—3. the number of vessels, under the British flag, which arrived and departed in the year 1832, so far as reported;—and 4. the number of the vice-consuls appointed by the consuls, and not paid by his Majesty's government.

Countries.	Consuls.	Salaries, &c.	Vessels.	Vice-Consuls.
Russia	7	£2,914	1,409	5
Sweden	2	554	39	14
Norway	2	361	52	12
Denmark	2	800	3,330	6
Prussia	4	618	315	1
Germany	6	2,858	930	6
Holland	2	1,018	1,056	5
Belgium	2	1,034	536	3
France	12	4,792	660	29
Spain	12	4,646	143	54
Portugal, &c.	9	3,240	573	20
Italy	16	5,409	713	37
Greece	4	2,595	20	13
Turkey	10	5,227	185	7
Syria	5	1,330	..	..
Egypt	4	2,091	..	5
United States	10	6,075	1,079	15
Mexico	4	2,727	37	..
Hayti	3	1,987	70	1
Guatemala	1	1,202	..	..
Colombia	6	5,410	75	2
Brazil	6	3,964	425	4
Monte Video	1	1,000	30	..
Buenos Ayres	1	800	47	..
Chili	4	4,284	51	..
Peru	3	3,721	..	..
Sandwich Islands	1	200	27	..

The salaries of the consuls at several ports are not exhibited in the returns; and at some the number of vessels is not reported. But another paper states the expense of the consular establishment to have been 98,957*l.* in 1830: 92,221*l.* in 1831: and 80,763*l.* in 1832, exclusive of 6,639*l.* in superannuation allowances to retired consuls. Of the consuls appointed and paid by government all except twenty-four are known to be British subjects; and forty-two are not allowed to trade. Of the vice-consuls, appointed by the consuls, only fifty-six are British subjects.

The number of officers promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel unattached, from the year 1815 to July 1st, 1833, has been—with purchase 192, without purchase 72, total 264. The same in the corps of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineers;—with purchase, cavalry 33, infantry 88; without purchase, cavalry 18, infantry 91, artillery 77, engineers 18, total 3421. The same in the several corps of foot-guards;—with purchase 54; without purchase 20, total 74. Grand total 680.

The total cost of the Coast Guard Service and Revenue Cruisers in the year 1832, is thus stated. ENGLAND:—Coast Guard 246,980*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 120,412*l.*, total 367,392*l.* IRELAND:—Coast Guard 116,047*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 9860*l.*, total 125,907*l.* SCOTLAND:—Coast Guard 19,467*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 15,622*l.*, total 35,087*l.* Grand total 528,387*l.*

The amount of the droits of the crown and perquisites of Admiralty, received from the commencement of the present reign to May, 1833, has been 1024*l.* Expenditure 867*l.* Balance available on this account 157*l.*

The number of commissions of lunacy issued in 1830 was 39; in 1831, 46; in 1832, 29; in 1833, (six months,) 19. The amount received in fees by the Secretary of Lunatics to the Lord Chancellor in the several years, was 2141*l.* in 1830; 2321*l.* in 1831; 2066*l.* in 1832; and 1482*l.* in the first six months of 1833. Of these sums, about 1023*l.* has been annually disbursed in the expenses of the office, and the remainder has formed the net income of the secretary.

The official value of goods warehoused, in the port of London, in the years 1831 and 1832, was 19,974,531*l.* in 1831, and 18,588,211*l.* in 1832.

The following statement exhibits the number of gallons of foreign wines and spirits brought into the stocks of the dealers and retailers in England, distinguishing London from the country, in the year 1832.

WINES:—

	French.	Not French.	Cape.
Country	36,235	1,744,508	143,098
London	119,851	1,903,896	153,331
Totals	156,086	3,647,604	296,429

SPIRITS:—

	Brandy.	Rum.	Geneva.	Shrub, Arrack, &c.
Country	857,986	1,817,557	6164	1847
London	547,572	946,566	6140	7286
Totals	1,405,558	2,764,123	12,304	9133

The stocks on hand of the dealers and retailers, on January 5th, 1833, were as under:—

WINES:—

	French.	Not French.	Cape.
Country	118,059	2,885,111	184,490
London	246,545	2,079,366	84,062
Totals	364,604	4,964,477	268,552

SPIRITS:—

	Brandy.	Rum.	Geneva.	Shrub, Arrack, &c.
Country	356,024	906,998	14,323	59,384
London	128,610	272,104	6283	30,201
Totals	484,634	1,179,102	20,602	90,035

The quantity of wheat and other corn, and of wheat-flour, imported into the United Kingdom from the North American Colonies, in the year 1832, amounted to 104,515 qrs.: of this quantity 89,748 qrs. was in wheat, and 13,951 qrs. in wheat, meal, and flour. This amount is greater than in any preceding year since 1813, except in 1831, when it amounted to 226,386 qrs.

The amount paid, during the last session, on account of the under-mentioned select committees of the House of Commons, was 5550*l.* The number of witnesses 367, and the average expense of each witness 15*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The following was the expense of each committee, with the number of witnesses called by each. Committee on the Borough of Hertford 21*l.*, witnesses 3. On the Borough of Stafford 480*l.*, witnesses 34. On the Borough of Warwick 775*l.*, witnesses 85. On the Borough of Carrickfergus 1057*l.*, witnesses 34. On the Borough of Liverpool 1099*l.*, witnesses 52. On Municipal Corporations 562*l.*, witnesses 38. On Beer Shops 114*l.*, witnesses 17. On agriculture 534*l.*, witnesses 27. On British Channel fisheries 117*l.*, witnesses 15. On the Cinque Port pilots 99*l.*, witnesses 22. On manufactures, commerce, and shipping 409*l.*, witnesses 27. On the Dublin and Kingston Canal 311*l.*, witnesses 13.

The total value of the gold coined at the Mint in the year 1830, was 2,387,881*l.*, of which 2,209,038*l.* was for private persons, and 178,842*l.* for the Bank of England. In 1831, 598,547*l.*, of which 453,525*l.* was for the Bank, and 145,021*l.* for private persons. In 1832, 3,737,065*l.*, of which 3,727,357*l.* was for the Bank of England, and 12,708*l.* for the Bank of Ireland.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, GROOMBRIDGE, *Panyer-alley*, *Paternoster-row*.
Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.
Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 13. JANUARY 1, 1834. Price 6d.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR 1833.

*** For Table of Contents see Page 234.

I. GREAT BRITAIN.

Introduction.

With the year 1833 commences a new era in the history of the British empire. It may be stated as a truth now admitted by all parties, that it had become impossible much longer to maintain the precise institutions and form of government established in 1688. If these institutions were suitable then, they were not suitable now. The relative positions and circumstances of the different classes composing the nation had been materially changed. Each of the two great constituent elements of political power—property and intelligence—had come to be quite otherwise distributed. Formerly, property in large masses existed only in the hands of the lords of the soil. These, therefore, whether belonging to the peerage, or to the class of minor nobility called country gentlemen, naturally formed alone the ruling caste. Even political education, and the knowledge of public affairs at all, extended but a very little way beyond this comparatively small body of persons. The rest of the population left to these the management of the state, scarcely ever casting a regard upon a game which they did not understand, except upon extraordinary occasions when their passions were appealed to by the noise of unusually high words, or some other irregular outbreak among the players.

It would detain us too long to trace minutely the operation of the successive causes before which this state of things gradually passed away. Whatever elevated the condition of the mass of the people helped to break up the foundations on which it rested. The diffusion of education and of books, the growth of manufactures and commerce, the rise and increase of great towns, the formation of roads and bridges and canals, were all circumstances working with constant effect in the creation of new stores of wealth to counterbalance that of the landed aristocracy, and in otherwise accumulating power in the hands of those classes whose influence had heretofore been accounted almost nothing, at least in the ordinary and regular action of the political machine. But again and again, also, great victories were gained by the advancing principle of popular ascendency, and important positions made good from which the onward struggle was renewed with new advantages. It is a hundred and forty-four years since the Revolution, and that period is divided into two exactly equal parts by the commencement of the reign of George III. The former was the season of the development and preparation of the democratic principle; the trophies of its prowess and the positive acquisitions to which we allude have all been won in the latter. In 1769 the Letters of Junius both gave the first example of perfectly free and fearless animadversion upon the conduct of public affairs; and, what is still more memorable, drew every man to read politics who read at all. In 1771 the debates in the Houses of Lords and Commons began to be published in the daily newspapers (as they have ever since been—the greatest Reform of Parliament, perhaps, that has been even yet achieved. Then came, opportunely, the insurrection of the Americans to animate the discussions to which the whole public were thus admitted with a bolder spirit than had probably ever breathed in them before, at least since the great social eruption in the early part of the preceding century. And scarcely had the triumph of the colonists established the principles for which they and their advocates had contended by a demonstration better than that of either oratory or logic, when there burst forth the conflagration of the French Revolution, shaking the old system of things in every country of Europe, and illuminating with its lurid glare many a secret passage and deep recess in the political fabric of each, into which, till then, no light had ever entered.

All this the reign of George III. witnessed. What a different power must public opinion have been in England at the close from what it was at the commencement of that period of sixty years! The generation which in half that space had sprung up from infancy to manhood had not undergone a greater metamorphosis. Yet the old institutions of the country remained apparently entire. It was, and must of necessity have been, a mere outside show of stability which they retained. None of the pillars of the building had fallen down, nor any of the joints actually given way; but the general loosening and decay that had taken place was evidenced nevertheless by many signs. Various causes, however, during the latter half of this period, and especially the war with France,—the intense interest which it excited, as well as the occupation which it gave to all the resources of the country, during its progress, and the temporary support which it lent to the conservative principle by its successful issue,—contributed to prevent the hand of innovation from yet beginning its work. Besides, there is more than there would appear to be at first sight in the peculiar character of each reign; the accession of a new king has usually in this country, when certain changes had been long desired, or contemplated, opened a clearer and nearer prospect of their accomplishment. The ten years forming the reign of George IV. may be described as the period of transition from the old constitution to the new. In the course of this reign, the ancient system first visibly gave way in some of its parts, which were accordingly removed. Its integrity was abandoned as a principle, and whatever strength and support it had hitherto possessed in the natural veneration of men for that which has stood for ages unviolated and unchanged, was gone. It was now chiefly upheld by the accidental circumstances of the moment. Its stability rested, in great part, on the lives of individuals. The death of the Duke of York in the beginning of 1827, and the consequently altered prospect of the succession to the throne, materially loosened and weakened it. The removal of the Earl of Liverpool from the head of affairs a few weeks after, gave it another shock. Had a general election taken place at any time after this, the coming catastrophe might probably have arrived even sooner than it did. As it was, the Unitarian Marriage Bill, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and Catholic Emancipation, were all forced by public opinion through both Houses. The events of 1830—the death of George IV., the revolutions of Paris and Brussels, and the general election, then no longer to be deferred—brought matters to a crisis. The waters had rushed at the same time from many heights into one channel, and stood in a swelling heap behind the ancient flood-gate, making it creak and rive beneath their pressure. There wanted but the first wave to burst it.

That was supplied by the memorable declaration of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, on the 2nd of November, the first day of the meeting of the new parliament, that, while he remained in power, there should be no reform. Within three weeks after, Lord Grey was minister, and reform of parliament was announced as a cabinet measure. The first Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1831; and was read a second time by a majority of one on the 22nd of the same month. On the 20th of April, General Gas-

[Westley Chapman, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

coigne carried his amendment on the clause of the ministerial proposition reducing the numbers of the House, by a majority of eight. Two days after, the parliament was dissolved in a speech delivered by his majesty, in which he stated, that the appeal about to be made to the people had been resolved upon, expressly with the view of ascertaining their sense as to the proposed alteration in the representation. The general election took place in May, and the new parliament met on the 14th of June. On the 24th, the second Reform Bill was introduced; and on the 4th of July, after a debate of three nights, the second reading was carried by a majority of 136, the motion having been supported by 367 members, and opposed by 231. At half-past six on the morning of the 8th of October, after a debate of five nights, this bill was thrown out on the second reading in the House of Lords, by a majority of 199 to 158. On the 20th, parliament was prorogued, and was not again called together till the 6th of December. The year, however, which had already been so busy and eventful, did not close till the great measure, in the discussion of which so much of it had been spent, was once more before the legislature.

The third Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, and read a second time by a majority of exactly two to one, on the 17th. Having, however, been detained nearly two months in committee, it did not leave the Commons till the 19th of March, 1832, when the third reading was carried by a majority of 355 to 239. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th of April, after a debate of four days, it was read a second time in the House of Lords, by a majority of 9, the numbers being 184 in its favour, and 175 against it. On the 7th of May, however, the day on which Parliament re-assembled after the Easter recess, the motion proposed by Lord Lyndhurst —to postpone the consideration of the disfranchising clauses of the Bill till the enfranchising clauses had been discussed—was carried against ministers, by a majority of 151 to 116. On the 9th, Lord Grey announced in the Lords, and Lord Althorp in the Commons, that ministers had resigned. The week of agitation that followed must be fresh in the recollection of all our readers. On the 17th, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst communicated to the House of Lords the failure of the attempt to form a new ministry; and, on the following day, it was intimated that Lord Grey and his colleagues were again in office. Little opposition was made to the bill after this by the peers; and, on the 4th of June, it was read a third time, and passed by a majority of 106 to 22. On the 7th, it received the royal assent. The Scotch and Irish Bills and the Boundaries Bill were, in like manner, soon after enacted into laws. On the 16th of August the Parliament was prorogued, and did not again meet. It was dissolved on the 3rd of December; and the remainder of that month was occupied in the first general election under the new system of representation.

The general nature and amount of the change of which we have thus rapidly traced the progress and completion, may here be permitted to detain us for a few sentences. In its extent and importance, it would deserve to be called a revolution, if that term were not usually and properly restricted to alterations in the government of a country effected otherwise than through the ordinary forms of the constitution. It amounted to nothing less than the destruction of the principle by which the political machine had been hitherto chiefly moved and regulated, and the substitution in its place of an entirely new power. Under the system of nomination, of close corporations, and of the limited and peculiar distribution, which formerly prevailed, of the elective franchise in counties, a comparatively small body of individuals, and those belonging nearly all to one class, appointed a majority of the members of the House of Commons. As the same class was also supreme in the House of Lords, they had thus a secure preponderance in the legislature generally. This interest, accordingly, formed the grand regulator of the state. The power which the ruling body thus exercised, however, it is important to observe, was neither a dictatorship, nor a close domination. The system of representation provided effectually for the presence, in the House of Commons, of a minority of members exclusively elected by the people; and there always was such a minority. These members possessed, in all respects, the same rights and privileges with those who represented the ruling interest. The popular sentiment, therefore, always had a voice in the House. In so far as the effect upon public opinion was concerned, that voice, carried abroad over the country and the world by the publication of the debates in the newspapers, was certain to be at least as potent as the other to which it was opposed. The popular representatives, also, though fewer in number than their opponents, had, of course, the opportunity of making what advantage they could of any superior activity or address of which they might be possessed. It is not to be denied that the minority, in this way, and by the aid of the support out-of-doors by which they were backed, carried, from time to time, many points against the oligarchic faction. They formed, besides, a constant weight and pressure of resistance bearing upon the movements of what we have called the regulating power, and most materially restraining its action. Add to these considerations, that the oligarchy did not consist exclusively of certain families, or a certain fixed number of persons, but was open to all who, by the exertion of the ordinary means of rising in society, could lift themselves up to the necessary elevation; and that, in point of fact, it was constantly receiving accessions of new members from the middle, and even from the lower classes, not only through the church, the bar, and the other professional avenues, but also by the various roads of successful enterprise in trade and manufactures. The individuals of whom it was composed, too, it is to be remembered, were largely interested in the general prosperity of the country whose affairs were under their control; and, in the case of any sacrifice of, or injury sustained by, the common weal, would themselves have been the greatest sufferers.

For this constitution, the reform of the representation has substituted another altogether different. The power of government and legislation is now entirely in the hands of the general body of the people. The principle, that it should be so, at least, has been formally recognised and adopted; and if there be any respect in which the rule has not yet been practically enforced, the exception is to be considered as merely one of temporary expediency, which will inevitably be remedied and set to rights ere long. If, for instance, there be a county or a borough, the return for which is still mainly in the hands of an individual, measures will, no doubt, be taken, in proper time, to place the representation here on the same broad basis on which it stands everywhere else. The necessity of giving the representation this perfectly popular character, in any scheme of reform which might have been proposed, can hardly be doubted by any one who admits that reform was necessary at all. If the nomination system had possessed all other recommendations, it laboured, at least, under the one fatal disadvantage of being utterly opposed to the public sentiment. This circumstance made its extinction unavoidable.

1. *Commencement of the Year, and Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Address.*

RELIEVED from the absorbing excitement of the elections, the minds of all men were turned at the beginning of the year with eager expectation to the near opening of the first reformed parliament. In some quarters, no doubt, that event was looked forward to with real apprehension and despondency; and great pains were taken by party writers to represent it to their readers as nothing else than the sure beginning of a headlong and bloody revolution: but the general feeling was in violent contrast to these gloomy views. The hopes of the multitude, indeed, were as extravagant as the fears and evil prognostications to which we have just alluded. Upon the more reflecting classes, the manner in which the elections had passed off, and their general result, had produced a decidedly tranquillizing effect. The new machinery for taking the votes had, by the confession of all, worked better than could have been anticipated on a first trial; and nobody pretended to deny that it was a mighty improvement upon the old system. The description of persons returned, also, vindicated to most candid and dispassionate minds the scheme of a purely popular constituency from much of what had made them heretofore regard it with alarm or aversion. Among the new members there were very few mere adventurers, not a large proportion even of persons holding ultra-democratic opinions, and not many who had not a fair claim, from their station in the country, or the space they occupied in the public eye, to a seat in the legislature.

The numerical strength of the different parties in the new House was commonly calculated to stand nearly thus:—

Ministerial members, above 400; Tories or Conservatives, about 150; and the various descriptions composing what in the French Chambers would be called the Côté Gauche, including Radicals, Ultra-Liberals, Independents, Irish Repealers, &c., under 100. Of the whole number, about 280 had not sat in the last parliament, and few of them before at all. Of the 380 members, likewise, or thereby, who, having been in the last parliament had been also returned to this, a good many sat for new places.

We may here also take the opportunity of stating, that the ministry was at this time composed as follows:—*Lord President*, the Marquis of Lansdowne; *Lord Chancellor*, Lord Brougham; *Lord Privy Seal*, Lord Durham; *First Lord of the Treasury and Premier*, Earl Grey; *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Viscount Althorp; *Secretary of State for the Home Department*, Viscount Melbourne; *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*, Viscount Palmerston; *Secretary of State for the Colonies*, Viscount Goderich; *President of the Board of Control*, Mr. Charles Grant; *Postmaster-General*, the Duke of Richmond; *First Lord of the Admiralty*, Sir James Graham; *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Lord Holland; *Paymaster General*, Lord John Russell; *Secretary for Ireland*, Mr. Stanley. The Earl of Carlisle also had a seat in the Cabinet, without an office. The Marquis of Anglesey was *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*: Lord Hill, *Commander of the Forces;* and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, *Secretary-at-War*.. Sir William Horne was *Attorney General*, and Sir John Campbell, *Solicitor-General*.

With the exception of some meetings at which resolutions were passed in favour of the vote by ballot and the repeal of the assessed taxes, no event of public importance occurred before the arrival of the day fixed for the assembling of Parliament, Tuesday the 29th of January. On that day; immediately after the Parliament had been opened in form by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Lord Auckland, acting as his majesty's commissioners, the Commons retired to their own House, and proceeded to the election of their Speaker. The business was commenced by a speech of considerable length from Mr. Hume, in which the honourable member urged the propriety of the majority of the House nominating a Speaker from their own party, and concluded by moving that Edward John Littleton, Esq., member for South Staffordshire, should be placed in the chair. This motion having been seconded by Mr. O'Connell, Lord Morpeth rose, and after passing a high eulogium upon the late Speaker, the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton, and pointing out the importance of securing the advantage of his long practice and tried ability to preside over the deliberations of the House in its altered state, proposed that he should be re-elected to his former office. The motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, after whom Mr. Littleton addressed the House, and having explained that he stood in the situation of an unwilling candidate for the honour which it had been proposed to confer upon him, requested Mr. Hume to concur in what was evidently the almost unanimous feeling of the House, and to allow the election of Mr. Sutton to take place without a division. The debate, however, was continued for a considerable time longer, by speeches from Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Warburton, in support of Mr. Hume's motion, and from Lord Ebrington, Mr. Tennyson, and Lord Althorp, in favour of that of Lord Morpeth. Mr. O'Connell denounced with great bitterness and vehemence the policy which he asserted to be pursued by ministers, of appointing their political opponents to offices of power and emolument, to the exclusion of their friends, and contended, that both candidates being equal in point of fitness, a reformed House of Commons should choose the Reformer for Speaker. Lord Althorp said*, "I am perfectly ready to admit, and I agree with those gentlemen who say, that if I found placed before me two gentlemen equally qualified to take the chair, with one of whom I agreed in opinion generally, and from the other of whom I differed—I should most assuredly give the preference to the former. But when I found that the right honourable gentleman, the member for the University of Cambridge, was again returned as a member of this House, I felt—as I am sure every honourable gentleman must feel—the great advantages which would result from our possessing the benefit of his experience; and knowing, as we do, how he has always performed the duties of Speaker, I think we cannot but admit that his qualifications are pre-eminent, and that he is infinitely better fitted for that high situation than any other member of the House can possibly be. I am perfectly ready to say, that looking on my honourable friend, the member for Staffordshire, as an untried man, I have every reason to believe that he is perfectly qualified for the office; but it would be impossible, for that reason, that I should compare my honourable friend, who has no experience in the office, with the right honourable gentleman, whose long experience has made him so eminently acquainted with all the duties pertaining to it; and under such circumstances, I conceive that I should have been guilty of the grossest dereliction of my duty, if I had allowed any party considerations to influence me, or to induce me to give my vote against a gentleman whose experience thus fully qualifies him to fill the situation of Speaker of the House. Certainly, therefore, I avow that I did write to the right honourable gentleman to ask whether, if he were elected Speaker, he would undertake the office; telling him that, if he would do so, he should have my support." His lordship afterwards corrected a mistake into which Mr. O'Connell had fallen, in asserting that Mr. Sutton had already received, or at least become entitled to, two quarters of the pension of 4000*l.* a-year, which by an act of the last parliament had been made payable to him from the date of his retirement from the office of Speaker. He had ceased to be Speaker, his lordship stated, not at the prorogation of parliament on the 16th of August, as Mr. O'Connell seemed to suppose, but only at its dissolution on the 3d of December. A division then took place, when Lord Morpeth's motion was carried by a majority of 241 to 31. On the motion that the right honourable gentleman should take the chair, the debate on the subject of his retiring pension was resumed; Mr. Warburton and other members contending, that the vote of such a pension to a Speaker before his final retirement was dangerous and unconstitutional. To the proposition, however, of bringing in a bill to repeal the act of the last Parliament, it was objected by Sir Francis Burdett that that act could not be undone unless with the consent of the right honourable gentleman himself, and that the pension was granted to him for what he had already done, and not in contemplation of future services. A curious discussion followed, occasioned by a remark of the Solicitor-General, who stated that the Speaker did not altogether lose his office even on the dissolution of Parliament, but for some purposes, at least, continued to hold it till the appointment of his successor. The question was then agreed to, and Mr. Sutton having been conducted to the chair, returned thanks; after which the House, on the motion of Lord Althorp, adjourned.

The king's speech was delivered on the 5th by his majesty in person. It was as follows:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The period being now arrived at which the business of parliament is usually resumed, I have called you together for the discharge of the important duties with which you are intrusted.

"Never, at any time, did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for your attention.

"I have still to lament the continuance of the civil war in Portugal, which has for some months existed between the princes of the house of Braganza. From the commencement of this contest I have abstained from all interference, except such as was required for the protection of British subjects resident in Portugal; but you may be assured that I shall not fail to avail myself of any opportunity that may be afforded me to assist in restoring peace to a country with which the interests of my dominions are so intimately connected.

"I have also to regret that my anxious endeavours to effect a definite arrangement between Holland and Belgium have hitherto been unsuccessful. I found myself at length compelled, in conjunction with the King of the French, to take measures for the execution of the treaty of the 15th of November, 1831.

"The capture of the citadel of Antwerp has, in part, accomplished that object, but the Dutch government still refusing to evacuate the rest of the territories assigned to Belgium by that treaty, the embargo which I had directed to be imposed on the Dutch commerce has been continued. Negotiations are again commenced, and you may rely on their being conducted on my part, as they have uniformly been, with the single view of ensuring to Holland and

* We quote from the *Mirror of Parliament*, and shall do so whenever we have occasion in the sequel to give the exact words employed by any member of either House.

Belgium a separate existence, on principles of mutual security and independence. The good faith and honour with which the French government has acted in these transactions, and the assurances which I continue to receive from the chief powers of Europe of their friendly disposition, give me confidence in the success of my endeavours to preserve the general peace. I have given directions that the various papers which are necessary for your information on the affairs of Holland and Belgium should be laid before you.

"The approaching termination of the charters of the Bank of England and of the East India Company will require a revision of these establishments; and I rely on your wisdom for making such provisions for the important interest connected with them as may appear, from experience and full consideration, to be best calculated to secure public credit, to improve and extend our commerce, and to promote the general prosperity and power of the British empire.

"Your attention will also be directed to the state of the church, more particularly as regards its temporalities and the maintenance of the clergy. The complaints which have arisen from the collection of tithes appear to require a change of system, which, without diminishing the means of maintaining the established clergy in respectability and usefulness, may prevent the collision of interests, and the consequent disagreements and dissatisfaction which have too frequently prevailed between the ministers of the church and their parishioners.

"It may also be necessary for you to consider what remedies may be applied for the correction of acknowledged abuses, and whether the revenues of the church may not admit of a more equitable and judicious distribution.

"In your deliberations on these important subjects, it cannot be necessary for me to impress upon you the duty of carefully attending to the security of the church established by law in these realms, and to the true interests of religion.

"In relation to Ireland, with a view of removing the causes of complaint which had been so generally felt, and which had been attended with such unfortunate consequences, an act was passed during the last session of parliament for carrying into effect a general composition for tithes. To complete that salutary work, I recommend to you, in conjunction with such other amendments of the law as may be found applicable to that part of my dominions, the adoption of a measure by which, upon the principle of a just commutation, the possessors of land may be enabled to free themselves from the burden of an annual payment.

"In the further reforms that may be necessary, you will probably find that, although the established church of Ireland is, by law, permanently united with that of England, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a separate consideration. There are other subjects hardly less important to the general peace and welfare of Ireland, as affecting the administration of justice, and the local taxation of that country, to which your attention will be also required.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have directed the estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you. They will be framed with the most anxious attention to all useful economy. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the estimates of the last year, I am happy to inform you, that all the extraordinary services which the exigencies of the times required have been amply provided for. The state of the revenue, as compared with the public expenditure, has hitherto fully realized the expectations that were formed at the close of the last session.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"In this part of the United Kingdom, with very few exceptions, the public peace has been preserved; and it will be your anxious but grateful duty to promote, by all practicable means, habits of industry and good order amongst the labouring classes of the community.

"On my part, I shall be ready to co-operate to the utmost of my power in obviating all just causes of complaint, and in promoting all well-considered measures of improvement. But it is my painful duty to observe, that the disturbances in Ireland, to which I adverted at the close of the last session, have greatly increased. A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually suppressed.

"I feel confident, that to your loyalty and patriotism I shall not resort in vain for assistance in these afflicting circumstances, and that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to intrust to me such additional powers, as may be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries, which, with your support, and under the blessings of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain, by all the measures in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of my people."

In the Lords the Address in answer to the Speech, and as usual echoing its terms, was moved by the Marquis of Conyngham, and seconded by Lord Kinnaird. A debate ensued, which turned principally upon the foreign policy of the administration, the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington condemning in strong terms the conduct that had been pursued both towards the King of Holland and the existing government of Portugal. To the charges thus brought forward, Earl Grey replied at great length, contending that in both cases the course of policy which had been adopted had been the only course open in the circumstances. As to Holland, "we were told, indeed," said his lordship, "on our accession to office, that we could not prevent war for two months; but by the gracious interposition of Providence, we have now prevented it for two years." With respect to the non-acknowledgment of Don Miguel as sovereign of Portugal, also, for which blame had been thrown upon the present ministry, he showed that that state of things had arisen through no fault of theirs. "Let me ask," he said, "what the situation of that country was when my noble colleagues and myself came into office? Don Miguel was on the throne, indeed, of Portugal, but by what means had he attained it? By a violation of all the obligations of moral duty, of his oath, and of his solemn engagements with other parties. These violations placed him on the throne in the character of a usurper, whom it was impossible for any established government to acknowledge, and with whom all diplomatic relations,—those, even, of Spain not excepted,—had ceased." When the preceding ministry, he added, to which Lord Aberdeen himself belonged, went out of office, no recognition of Don Miguel had taken place by this country. After some remarks by the Earl of Roden on the expressions in the king's Speech with reference to the church of Ireland, the Address was agreed to.

In the House of Commons the question was not so speedily settled. The Address was moved by the Earl of Ormelie, and seconded by Mr. John Marshall; but it is impossible for us within our narrow limits to attempt to follow the course of a debate, the full report of which in the *Mirror of Parliament* occupies between 150 and 160 long and closely-printed columns, and in which upwards of fifty members took part during the four sittings over which it extended. It is necessary, nevertheless, that we should notice, however briefly, the leading speeches that were made upon both sides, both in this and some of the other more remarkable contests of the session, for the sake of the illustration which they afford of the composition of the House, and of the views, the temper, and the weight of each of the parties into which it was divided.

On the present occasion, with very few exceptions, the speakers confined themselves almost entirely to the passage in the king's Speech, in which reference was made to the disturbed state of Ireland, and the intention intimated of applying to parliament for such additional powers as might be found necessary to support the course of order and the laws in that country. On the first night, immediately after Mr. Marshall had sat down, Mr. O'Connell rose, and having commenced by denouncing the Address as brutal and bloody, and as nothing else than a declaration of war against Ireland, proceeded at great length, and with extraordinary warmth, to defend and enforce that sentiment. He concluded by moving that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the Address to his Majesty. He was replied to by Mr. Stanley, who began by saying, "I am convinced that the House will bear with me whilst I trespass upon their attention for as short a time as is possible, under the circumstances of the case; and that they will feel, in the performance of the duty which

I owe to the government of which I am a member, it is impossible that I can remain silent under the eloquent (for such I must allow it to be) and forcible invective—argument I cannot call it—of the honourable and learned member for Dublin." Alluding, then, to certain speeches delivered out-of-doors by the honourable and learned member, he was proceeding to describe him as having represented the repeal of the Union between the two countries to be the one and only mode of redressing the grievances of Ireland, as having promised the people of Ireland that before June twelvemonths there should be a parliament sitting in Dublin, and as having pledged himself that that alone could relieve them from the yoke of the Sassenach, when Mr. O'Connell interrupted him with an exclamation of No! "No!" replied Mr. Stanley, "surely the honourable and learned gentleman will not deny that every word, every syllable which he has spoken, every inflammatory harangue by which he has stirred up the passions of a too easily-excited people, whilst he fallaciously allowed the words conciliation and peace to drop from his lips, has tended to create in the people of Ireland this feeling—that as long as they are subjected to the foreign yoke there is no hope of remedy for their grievances—no alleviation of what he is pleased to call their state of slavery—no amelioration of what he designates their degraded condition—and that in repeal alone, and in the throwing off of the bonds of the Saxons, any improvement of the condition of Ireland can be hoped for." Addressing himself, then, directly to Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Stanley, with great force of manner, went on,—"We now tell him, before the representatives of the united people of Great Britain and Ireland, that his panacea is one which, with all the power of government, and with the cordial assent of the people,—without which government can do nothing,—will be resisted to the death. We tell him that, as we consider the adoption of his panacea would be the death-blow of the empire; we, who desire to see the consolidation of its strength by means of united councils and united enterprise, should be traitors to the kingdom, and to the duties which we are called upon to exercise, if, with all the means in our power, with all the resources which the empire places at our disposal, we do not oppose the proposed separation to the utmost. We call upon the honourable and learned member to meet us fairly. We affirm our proposition, and challenge him to negative it. But what does the honourable and learned member do? He rises and makes a speech, which, I must be permitted to say, was addressed less to those within, than to those without the walls of this House, containing the usual declamation relative to the indifference with which the affairs of Ireland are treated by the House, which, however, never received a more convincing refutation than by the patience with which the House has listened to the whole of the honourable and learned member's observations. The honourable and learned member has accused the government of injustice towards Ireland, has charged them with indifference to the sufferings of the people of that country, has stated a long catalogue of grievances, some of which ministers have already announced their intention of remedying; but with the question of the dissolution of the Union, with respect to which an opportunity offered of obtaining the test of public opinion by means of the representatives of England,—ay, and of the representatives of Ireland—with that question he has not ventured to grapple in the legislature of the United Kingdom, although he told the people of Ireland that they should have a parliament in College Green by next June."

Mr. Stanley next examined the principal charges which Mr. O'Connell had brought against the present government on account of their treatment of Ireland. His speech, which made a great impression on the House, certainly did not contribute to allay the heated feeling which prevailed among a portion of the members. On the following evening, the 6th, Mr. Tennyson intimated his intention of moving that the passage in the Address relating to Ireland should be amended by the omission of certain words which went to bind the House to the grant of additional powers, and to the maintenance of the Union in all circumstances; and by the substitution of others intimating a determination to investigate the causes of discontent in Ireland, with a view to the application of prompt and effectual remedies, and only promising to aid his Majesty in defending the Union against all lawless attempts to defeat it. The principal speakers this evening were Mr. Sheil and Mr. D. W. Harvey, in opposition to the original motion, and Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Charles Grant, in its support. Sir Robert Inglis, also, declared his intention of voting with the ministers, although he complained of various omissions in the royal Speech, and protested against being considered to be pledged by his present vote to support the precise measures which might afterwards be grounded upon the Address.

On the 7th the debate was resumed by Mr. Hume, who, in a very long speech, supported Mr. Tennyson's amendment. Mr. Cobbett, also, who had made his *début* in the debate on the nomination of the Speaker, again occupied the attention of the House for some time this evening with one of his characteristic addresses. It consisted principally of a diatribe against the Irish church establishment, which the speaker denounced as the cause of all the miseries of that country. "I am," he said, "for totally and entirely abrogating, annulling, rendering prostrate, and of no effect, the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland." "Nobody," he added, "can misunderstand me, I trust." He also contended that the Irish had a much better right to rebel than Washington and the Americans had, whose resistance, however, he intimated that he did not approve of. "I never," said he, "went so far as that. I have been called Republican, Radical, Jacobin, Leveller; in the regular way of promotion I have gone through every stage; but never in my life did any man hear me praise Washington for that act of rebellion against his king." The debate was concluded for the evening by a speech from Sir Robert Peel, in which he avowed his intention of supporting the government in their measures for the suppression of disturbance in Ireland, but reprobated the foreign policy of the ministers as exemplified in the course they had pursued in regard both to Portugal and Holland. The war in the former country, he maintained, never could have existed without their sanction; and to Holland he expressed it as his conviction that England had acted the part of an enemy, while it was both her interest and duty to have stood the friend and supporter of that state.

On the following evening, the 8th, Dr. Lushington, after shortly advocating the necessity of the coercive measures proposed to be taken in regard to Ireland, replied to these observations of Sir Robert Peel, and contended that, according to the law of nations as laid down by the highest authorities, the embargo which had been lately laid on the ships of Holland in the ports of this country was perfectly justifiable. He likewise denied that Don Miguel had any better claim to be recognised as sovereign of Portugal now, than he had when the right honourable baronet himself and his friends were in office. The Irish question was also this night largely and eagerly debated by Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. O'Dwyer, Mr. Maurice O'Connell, and Mr. Feargus O'Connor in opposition to the ministers, and by Mr. F. Shaw and others in their support. At length the House divided on Mr. O'Connell's amendment, when there appeared to be for it 40, and against it 428. A second division then took place on the amendment proposed by Mr. Tennyson, which was also lost by a large majority; the numbers being 60 for it, and 393 against it. It will be observed that even the largest of these minorities is less than, according to the calculations we have given of the numbers of the different parties in the House, would have resulted from the union of all the members of what, for the sake of brevity, we shall call the Radical party against ministers, and of all the rest of the House in their support. Counting the Radicals at 100 in all, they ought (deducting the tellers) to have mustered, on the first division, nearly to the number of 70, and on the second to that of 67. In point of fact, it is known that some members, generally considered to belong to this party, voted with ministers on both occasions. They had also the support of those calling themselves the Conservative party, it is believed without any exception. Many of the members, however, of opposite opinions, who voted with the government on these divisions, were by no means to be relied upon as constant or regular supporters.

But this protracted discussion was not yet over. The bringing up of the report of the Address, on the 11th, produced another long and animated oration from Mr. O'Connell, the most remarkable part of which was that in which he at last ventured to touch upon the question of the Union. He did not, however, go very far into the argument. "The repeal of this act," he said, "may be called the dismemberment of the empire; but I deny the fact;

and though some philosophical gentlemen may tell us that two parliaments cannot exist together, there is no proposition better founded than this,—that what once has been may be again." He denied that the Irish Parliament had ever been corrupted or overawed by England; from which declaration we may presume, that Mr. O'Connell is not one of those who attribute the carrying of this very measure of the Union in that legislature to the influence of English gold. He then proceeded to vindicate himself from the imputation of having only taken up the repeal of the Union *after* Catholic emancipation had been gained. His agitation for the repeal, he said, commenced on the 1st of January, 1801. He had, all along, declared that he would never be satisfied with emancipation without repeal. As for not having brought forward the question last year, it was then, for the first time, that, reform of parliament being about to be granted, he had thought that a local legislature might not be necessary for Ireland. But, he continued, "you gave an extensive reform to England and Scotland, whilst you flung a jejune, paltry, and insulting mockery of reform to Ireland." He then determined to recommence agitation. Still, deeply impressed by arguments on the subject which were addressed to him by some of his friends who differed from the views he took, he had come to England with his list of grievances, determined to give the reformed parliament a trial. "When I heard," he exclaimed, "the atrocious speech from the throne,—I will not say that it took away my breath (as an honourable member, I recollect, stated that the propounding of the Reform Bill did his),—but it actually deprived me of my intellect—of my power of thinking and reasoning calmly. Still, however, I was not to be driven from my purpose. I stated my list of evils, none of which have been denied—none have been attempted to be disproved, and not one proposed to be redressed." If he had paused before he had commenced the discussion of the repeal of the Union, it was not because he had no arguments wherewith to support his proposition. Of these arguments, however, the honourable and learned gentleman only produced one. There was nothing, he said, more atrocious in the history of mankind than the motives which led to the Union; and he quoted some passages from speeches delivered at the time by Mr. Saurin and Lord Plunket, in which it was affirmed, that the Irish legislature had no right to consent to the measure: and that, if the act were passed, it would not be binding. He then very briefly noticed the objection drawn from what happened in 1788, on the question as to the appointment of a regent. "What weight," he said, "is there in this objection? Was not the regency question a new one? It is possible that the Irish parliament might have taken a different view of the question from the English parliament; but what great embarrassment and danger would have arisen from this? The king *de facto* of England would necessarily be the king of Ireland." This is certainly a strange way of disposing of the argument. Are we to set up the *imperium in imperio*, merely that the Irish legislature may, whenever a difference breaks out, knock under to the English? and is this the manner in which the inconveniences of the arrangement are to be obviated? The honourable and learned gentleman, however, seemed to think that his reply had been a most victorious one. "I have merely alluded to this point," he added, "in order to show the miserable grounds on which it is attempted to obtain a triumph over me."

We cannot go through the able speech delivered in answer to Mr. O'Connell by Mr. Spring Rice. It embodied a number of financial statements, some of which were very curious—one especially, which shewed the amount of taxes borne by Great Britain since 1801, from which Ireland had been exempted. It had, it appeared, considerably exceeded three hundred and thirty-three millions sterling: more than half the amount of the national debt. Here was the evidence in proof of the assertion that Ireland had not had fair play from the imperial parliament. In the conclusion of his address, Mr. Spring Rice again attacked Mr. O'Connell on his conduct as to the repeal question. "It is some years back," he said, "since I endeavoured to force the honourable and learned member for Dublin into a discussion of the question of repeal. The honourable and learned gentleman must recollect that I told him, if he were sincere in his declarations, that it would be far more manly, as well as far more becoming, in him as a legislator, to discuss the question calmly, on its real merits, on the floor of this House, rather than vaguely to declaim about it among the hurlers of Kilkenny. I told the honourable and learned gentleman, what I now emphatically repeat,—namely, that the question of the repeal of the Union is the question of separation between England and Ireland; that the question of separation involves the destruction of the British monarchy, and the setting up in its stead, in Ireland, a ferocious republic of the worst kind, of which its founders would be the very first victims."

No vote was taken upon the question that the report should be brought up; but when it was about to be read a second time, Mr. Cobbett proposed an amendment, to leave out the whole after the words "Most gracious sovereign," and to substitute another Address, which he read. It expressed regret that his majesty had not been advised to suggest to his parliament to consider of the means of lightening the burdens of the industrious classes; and in relation to the affairs of Ireland, it assured his majesty that parliament would not suffer the people of that country to be treated with injustice and cruelty, but would proceed immediately to the consideration of means for redressing the manifold grievances under which they had so long been suffering, firmly convinced that these were the real cause of the present unhappy disturbances. The honourable member threatened to speak for two hours in expounding his reasons for proposing this Address; and in spite of much interruption, he proceeded through a strange variety of topics for a considerable time. The motion was seconded by his colleague, Mr. Fielden; but on a division, only 23 members voted in its favour, while 325 voted against it. Other amendments proposed by Mr. Thomas Attwood were then negatived without a division; and the original Address was agreed to.

We may here notice, as one of the novel circumstances which marked the opening of the present parliament, the admission, for the first time, of a Quaker member, Mr. Joseph Pease, returned for the southern division of the county of Durham on his affirmation instead of the usual oath. We have given an abstract of the Report of the Select Committee, which was appointed to search the Journals for precedents bearing upon his claim, in the *Companion*, at p. 16. A bill was afterwards brought in, which passed into a law (3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 49) allowing Quakers and Moravians to make affirmation in all cases where an oath is or shall be required. By another act (3 & 4 Will IV. c. 82), the same privilege was extended to the people called Separatists.

On the 20th of February, the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Althorp, agreed to meet every day, except Saturday, at twelve o'clock, for private business and petitions, and to sit till three, unless the business should be sooner disposed of. At this early meeting it was resolved that twenty members should form a House: and a quarter past five o'clock instead of four, as heretofore, was fixed as the hour for the House assembling in the evening. It was also resolved that a Select Committee should be appointed in future, at the commencement of each session, to classify all petitions presented to the House, and to order the printing of such of them at length, or in abstract, as appeared to them to require it. These arrangements were adhered to throughout the session.—(See *Companion*, pp. 9, 27, 60, 78, 93, 127, 138, and 172.)

2.—*Irish Affairs—Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances—Bill for the Trial of Offences—Church Reform Bill—Tithes—Grand Juries Bill—Juries Bill.*

THE first subject which parliament took up on proceeding to actual business, was the case of Ireland. The removal of the political disabilities of the Catholics had not tranquillized that unhappy country. The Emancipation Act was passed in April 1829; and before the close of the following year, not only had agitation for the extinction of tithes and the repeal of the Union become nearly as loud as that had formerly been which the recent concession had appeased, but the outrages of the peasantry and their systematic defiance of the law had again risen to such a height in various districts, as to have brought all security of life and property to an end. On the change of ministry in England in November that year, the Marquis of Anglesey, formerly the idol of the nation, had replaced the Duke of Northumberland in the vice-royalty; but his arrival produced no effect either in allaying disturbances, or in mi-

tigating the violence and virulence of faction. The excesses to which the agitators proceeded, speedily compelled him to avail himself of the powers with which the law had armed him to put down these associations; and the year 1831 commenced with a contest between the two parties, one of the incidents of which was the apprehension, on the 18th of January, of Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, Steele, Barrett, and others, on the charge of holding meetings which had been denounced as illegal by the government under the temporary statute, called the Proclamation Act, passed in March, 1829. Before this Mr. Sheil had declared, at a public meeting, that, if the Union was not repealed within two years, he was determined that he would pay neither rent, tithes, nor taxes. As the year advanced, the reign of lawless violence continued to extend its range, and to grow more terrible every day. At length, in the beginning of May, the whole of the county of Clare, and parts of certain other counties, were declared, by proclamation, subject to the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act; and a special commission was sent down to try offenders in these districts. These measures, aided by the presence of a considerably larger military force than had ever before been maintained in Ireland, had the effect of restoring for a time the supremacy of the law in those parts to which they were applied; but no general or permanent recovery of the country from its distracted state took place. In the beginning of the following February, certain parts of the county of Tipperary were again proclaimed; and soon after nearly the whole of Kilkenny and Queen's County. A special commission for the trial of criminals was also sent down to the latter; but the expedient did not succeed so well on this occasion, as it had done the preceding year in the case of the county of Clare. The inefficiency of the existing laws to preserve the peace of the country, now began to be strongly pressed upon the government from all quarters; but the utmost indisposition was still manifested by the latter to acquiesce in these representations. Meanwhile the new Tithe Act, passed in the beginning of June, by which the right of collecting that impost was transferred to the government, experienced as determined a resistance on the part of the peasantry as had been offered to the exaction when it was made by the clergy; and its application, so long as it was persevered in, occasioned a cost to the public considerably exceeding the amount of money recovered. The agitation for the repeal of the Union, too, now that the Proclamation Act had expired by the rising of parliament (for it had been limited to that date) had been renewed with increased zeal and activity; and, urged in all the forms of popular excitement, was rapidly making head against the utmost efforts of the government to discourage it and put it down.

In this state of things ministers at last felt that recourse to extraordinary measures could be no long delayed. On the 15th of February, in conformity with the intimation that had been given in his Majesty's Speech, Earl Grey laid before the House of Lords a "Bill for the more effectual Suppression of Local Disturbances and Dangerous Associations in Ireland." (See the *Companion*, p. 7, for an account of the general features of this measure, and a notice of the preceding acts upon which it was founded.) Admitting the unconstitutional character of the powers which he sought, his lordship prefaced his motion by a speech, in which he drew a striking picture of the political and social disorganization for which so strong a remedy was proposed. He began by noticing the most recent association into which the advocates of the repeal of the Union had formed themselves,—that of the Volunteers of Ireland. "Look," he said, "at the principle and organization of this society of Irish Volunteers, which is formed after the pattern of the Volunteers of 1782. My lords, the name, the period referred to, the circumstances of the association which it has assumed as its model, sufficiently indicate the designs of this new society. This organization is to extend over the whole country: there is a central association in Dublin, and there are to be sent to every parish in Ireland three 'pacificators,' whose object it shall be to enlist and enrol the neighbouring population, farmers, and labourers, in local associations, which will be under the direction, guidance, and control of the central association. That the Volunteers are ultimately to be armed, though at present unarmed, is acknowledged; but, we are told, they are not to assume arms till the law of the land shall permit them to do so; and when will that be? When, by the influence of moral and physical force, the association shall have become superior in power to the government of the country itself. Such an association cannot be permitted to continue to exist, and diffuse itself throughout so many and such large ramifications, without a total abandonment of the security, the safety, and the power, on the maintenance of which the existence of the government depends"*. He then referred to other associations that had been longer in existence. "Large bodies of men," he said, "are collected and arrayed by signals—by the ringing of chapel-bells—by the blowing of horns—by lighting of fires—all evidently directed by a system of organization and operation in which many are connected, and conducted in such a manner as, up to the present time, to have defied all the powers of government and of the law." The state of things that prevailed in consequence, in many parts of the kingdom, he described to be little short of actual rebellion. He mentioned the whole of the province of Leinster, the counties of Cork and Tipperary in Munster, Mayo and other parts in Connaught, and even much of Ulster, as more or less disturbed. In Mayo, he stated, at the late election, "no voter who supported the candidates friendly to the Union could come safely to the poll without the protection of a large police or military force." The lawless bands who kept the country in terror did not, he affirmed, direct their aims only to public purposes—merely, for example, to the getting rid of tithes. Their object was, in many cases, the gratification of private vengeance. "They dictate," said his lordship, "what persons shall be employed and by whom; forbidding labourers to work for obnoxious masters, and preventing masters from employing such individuals as are not obedient to their orders. They enforce their commands by acts of cruelty and outrage—by spoliation—by murder—by attacks on houses in the dead of night—by dragging the inmates out of their beds—by beating them, sometimes, to such an extent that death ensues—or by inflicting on them the lesser evil of immediate death." He then adverted to the intimidation practised upon prosecutors, witnesses, jurors, and magistrates, and to various instances in which persons who had been instrumental in bringing criminals to justice, had afterwards been murdered by these associated miscreants. It had, in consequence, become impossible, in many parts of the country, to administer justice by the ordinary forms. The police were massacred if they dared to interfere to put down illegal violence, or to seize a criminal. Jurors and witnesses absented themselves from the assizes, so that trials could not proceed. His lordship quoted a letter from the Attorney-General of Ireland, dated the 24th of January, in which it was said:—"Looking at the cases that have recently come under my notice, they give decided proof of a state of complete demoralization. Of 150 cases that I have examined, there was not one in which either tithes or the property of gentlemen were concerned. It appears that the lowest and most defenceless classes of society are the objects of persecution." "The letter states," continued Earl Grey, "that the criminals on the home circuit alone, are now equal in number to what they were in the whole country two years ago; and that their crimes are not of an ordinary but of an atrocious description. It further appears, from the same communication, that assassination is the order of the day. An account is given of the number of crimes committed during the past year, and I almost fear to read to your lordships the frightful catalogue. Between the 1st of January and the end of December, 1832, the number of homicides was 242; of robberies, 1179; of burglaries, 401; of burnings, 568; of houghing cattle, 290; of serious assaults, 161; of riots, 203; of illegal rescues, 353; of illegal notices, 2094; of illegal meetings, 427; of injuries to property, 796; of attacks on houses, 723; of firing with intent to kill, 328; of robbery of arms, 117; of administering unlawful oaths, 163; of resistance to legal process, 8; of turning up land, 20; of resistance to tithes, 50; of taking forcible possession, 2; making altogether a total of 9002 crimes committed in one year; and all of these crimes of a description connected with, and growing out of, the disturbed state of the country." The amount of crime, also, he added, appeared to be on the increase. In the province of Leinster alone, during the

* To save room, we have omitted some sentences in the report of the speech, and shall take that liberty whenever we can do so without injury to the meaning of the passage.

three months of July, August, and September last, 1279 cases had occurred; but in the following three months of October, November, and December, the number had swelled to 1646.

The legislative measure which Earl Grey proposed, in order to meet this alarming state of things, and which we shall presently describe in the form in which it passed into a law, encountered scarcely any opposition in the House of Lords. It was read a second time on the 18th, and was committed the day following. In the committee some alterations were made on the original draught of the bill, the principal of which were two amendments suggested by the Duke of Wellington, providing that no court-martial, to be held under the act, should be presided over by any officer below the rank of a field-officer, and that the judgment of the court-martial should in no case be executed till it had been approved by the lord-lieutenant. The bill was read a third time on the 22nd; the only peer by whom any opposition to it was expressed being Lord Teynham, who did not, however, divide the House.

In the Commons it met, from a part of the House, with a very different reception. When it was brought up on the same evening on which it had passed the Lords, the Chancellor of the Exchequer merely moved that it should be printed; and even this proposition led to a warm conversation. Mr. O'Connell, who, in the early part of 1831, at a public meeting in Dublin, had declared that the Proclamation Act should never be renewed—that O'Gorman Mahon and himself would alone be able to prevent its renewal—and that they two would keep the House adjourned for twelve months together before it should again become a law—rose, he said, to apologise to his constituents for permitting the present despotic bill (in which the provisions of the Proclamation Act were embodied) to be in the House one night without discussing it. The first reading was moved by Lord Althorp on the 27th, when, Mr. Tennyson having moved that the bill should be read that day fortnight, a stormy debate commenced, which, after having been protracted by adjournments to five sittings, was terminated on the morning of the 6th of March, by a division of 89 members in favour of the amendment, and 466 against it. In the course of this discussion an extraordinary impression was made upon the House by the speeches delivered in support of the bill, by Mr. Stanley and Sir Robert Peel. The second reading was moved on the 8th, and gave rise to another debate, which was adjourned till the 11th. On that evening, or rather at an early hour on the following morning, the House divided on an amendment proposed by Mr. Hume, the effect of which would have been to defeat the measure; when there appeared, for the amendment 84, and against it 363. The longest and toughest battle, however, was fought in the committee, into which the House resolved itself on the 13th, after Lord Althorp had intimated, that, in consequence of the representations of many honourable members, his majesty's ministers had consented to make certain alterations in the bill—restricting the composition and the powers of the courts-martial, and also prohibiting the police, in their domiciliary visits, from entering any house, the inmates of which should appear, and answer, upon their names being called over. The bill was debated in the committee for six nights, in the course of which, many animated discussions took place, and repeated divisions, in all of which the opponents of the measure were defeated by large majorities. On one of these evenings, the 18th, Mr. Lambert, member for the county of Wexford, who had supported the general principle of the bill, moved an amendment on one of the clauses, to the effect, that it should not be lawful to apply the powers of the act to any district merely because tithes should not have been paid therein,—which, having been acquiesced in by the ministry, was carried against the Conservative party by a majority of 284 to 81*. A clause was afterwards introduced by Mr. Stanley, exempting from the operation of the act, any meeting called by the high sheriff or lieutenant of the county, or the sheriff or other chief magistrate of the county of the city or town; and another, taking cases of libel and certain other offences out of the jurisdiction of the courts-martial, which it was afterwards agreed should be open courts. The bill was, at last, read a third time on the 29th, after another warm debate—the numbers, on the division, being 345 for, and 86 against it. On the 1st of April another debate took place in the Lords, on the amendments made by the Commons, which ended in the bill being passed in the state in which it had been brought up.

This act, which it is declared shall continue in force till the 1st of August 1834, empowers the lord-lieutenant to prohibit any meeting which he shall deem dangerous or inconsistent with the due administration of the law; and also, by proclamation, to declare any district in a state of disturbance, upon which all the inhabitants shall be required to remain in their houses between sunset and sunrise, and martial law shall supersede the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. Domiciliary visits, by justices of the peace, are authorized in the proclaimed districts; and the making of signals by beacons, bonfires, blowing of horns, ringing of bells, &c., is prohibited. Finally, persons apprehended cannot demand to be bailed or to be brought up by writ of *habeas corpus;* but they must be released unless brought to trial within three months. The act, which consists of forty-one clauses, contains numerous provisions, explaining and modifying these, its leading enactments, in a variety of ways.

The new powers with which the Irish government was thus invested did not remain long unused. The bill received the royal assent on the 2nd of April; and on the 6th a proclamation by Lord Anglesey appeared in the *Dublin Gazette*, declaring the county of Kilkenny, the county of the city of Kilkenny, the city of Kilkenny, and the liberties of the said city, to be in such a state of disturbance and insubordination as to require the application of the provisions of the act, and warning the inhabitants to abstain from all seditious and other unlawful assemblages, processions, confederacies, meetings, and associations, and to be and remain in their respective habitations at all hours between sunset and sunrise from and after the 10th instant. In a few days after (on the 10th), another proclamation was issued prohibiting and suppressing the association called the Irish Volunteers, and every and any adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meeting of the said association, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, shift, or device whatsoever.

Another bill, entitled "A Bill to provide for the more impartial Trial of Offences in certain Cases in Ireland," was presented to the House of Lords by Earl Grey, on the 21st of February, and read, for the third time, in the House of Commons on the 21st of August, by a majority of 61 to 15. Its object was, to give to the Court of King's Bench the power, when it should think fit, of ordering trials to take place in any adjoining county or in Dublin, instead of in the county where the offence was committed. The duration of this act is limited to the same date with that of the other.

But these measures of coercion towards Ireland, devised to meet the pressing exigencies of the moment, and, therefore, made only temporary in their operation, were accompanied by another of reform, directed to remove for ever some at least of the abuses and grievances which were alleged to be at the root of the dissatisfaction and disquiet of that portion of the empire. On the 12th of February, some days before the bill for the suppression of disturbances was brought forward in the Lords, Lord Althorp introduced into the House of Commons the plan proposed by the government for the reform of the Irish church. We have already explained the different parts of this plan, as it was originally announced. (See *The Companion*, p. 6.) The debate which followed Lord Althorp's speech, elicited an ex-

* The words thus added were afterwards generally admitted to be entirely superfluous, inasmuch as there was nothing in the act which could possibly be construed as allowing its application to a district merely because tithes were not paid therein, "I cannot possibly," observed the Lord Chancellor, when the bill was returned to the Lords, "discover anything to be said in praise of this amendment. I should not wish to have taken upon myself the responsibility of propounding it, or of being its originator; for the sake of a character of consistency and good sense, if I had been a member of the assembly in which it was propounded, I should have felt an almost invincible reluctance to give my assent to it. It is utterly inconsistent with the clause itself. Why say 'tithes' only? Why not go a great deal further? Why not say a district shall not be proclaimed on account of a man's withholding, in a peaceable manner, his rent? Why not say on account of a man's not paying his tradesman's bills or the king's taxes? Nay, why not enumerate every one act, other than disturbance and insubordination, which a man can engage in, and then warn the lord-lieutenant not to take peaceable for hostile conduct—a non-disturbed and subordinate for a disturbed and insubordinate district?" But a pledge was given by the government, that the Suppression Act should not be employed in or for the collection of tithes.

pression of their opinions upon the subject from each subdivision, both of the Conservative and of the Reforming party. Sir Robert Inglis, speaking the sentiments of what we may call the extreme right, said, "I will give this measure my heartfelt, earnest, and persevering resistance. It is hopeless, I believe; but I have been too long accustomed to vote in minorities, and to lift up my voice in this House without success, not to be prepared for such a result; but, with the indulgence of the House, I will, as long as God gives me life, health, and strength, oppose the measure now brought forward." Sir Robert Peel, at the head of the more moderate section of the same side of the House, admitted that the time was now come, when the whole state of the Irish church must undergo an enlarged and comprehensive consideration; and although he did not much approve of some parts of the ministerial scheme, was prepared to acquiesce in other parts of it, and to give the whole his best consideration. Mr. Ruthven, again, conceived that Lord Althorp's propositions did not go nearly far enough, and moved an amendment, having for its object the institution of an inquiry into the church establishment, with the view of ultimately dividing its revenues among all the different religious sects in the country. Although no division took place, however, the great majority of the House was evidently with the ministers.

The bill was brought in and read a first time on the 11th of March; but, in consequence of an objection taken by Mr. Wynn on the 14th to the introduction of a bill imposing a tax—as this, in one of its clauses, did—except in a committee of the whole House, the order for the second reading, which stood for that day, was discharged; and the measure was proposed anew in such a committee on the 1st of April, in the form of a series of resolutions. These being agreed to, the second reading of the new bill, founded upon them, was carried on the 6th by a majority of 317 to 78. In this vote the two divisions of the Conservative party, with very few individual exceptions, were united against the ministry, who were backed, however, by the combined force, both of their own adherents and of the ultra liberals, so that their position was precisely the reverse of that in which they had stood while carrying through the Suspension Bill, and on occasion of the votes on the Address.

The bill was committed on the 13th, and it remained in committee till the 5th of July. Of numerous discussions which took place in the interim, the most remarkable was that occasioned on the 21st of June by Mr. Stanley's proposal to leave out the clause (the 147th), by which it was enacted, that a sum of money expected to accrue from the new arrangement respecting the bishops' lands, should be applied in any manner that parliament might judge best. Some even of the members of the House of Commons, who had supported the other parts of the scheme, were opposed, it was understood, to this particular clause, on the ground of its appearing to sanction the principle of the right of the state to direct the property of the church to other than ecclesiastical uses. Without either admitting or denying this right, ministers maintained that the interpretation put upon the clause in question was unwarranted, inasmuch as the money which it gave parliament the power of applying to the general purposes of the state was not the property of the church at all, but was wholly the creation of an act of the legislature. This explanation, however, the more especially as it was controverted by many of the most ardent friends of the bill, proved insufficient to satisfy the scruples of the objectors; and it is believed that a distinct intimation was given to the ministry by a considerable number of the members of the House of Lords, that they certainly should oppose the bill if the clause were retained. At this time its passage through the Upper House was extremely doubtful in any circumstances; and as the ministers had announced their intention of standing or falling by the fate of the measure, its reception by that branch of the legislature was looked forward to with great interest and anxiety. Mr. Stanley's amendment met with the warm opposition of a party in the House, who regarded the clause which it was proposed to omit as the best recommendation of the bill; and a good many members of less extreme politics could not be brought to vote against what they had formerly supported, merely to gratify the Lords; but the motion was nevertheless carried by a majority of 280 to 148. Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, and others of the same party, considered the bill to be so much injured by this alteration, that they afterwards voted against it altogether. It was read for the third time, however, on the 8th, and passed by a majority of 274 to 94.

On the following day it was read for the first time in the House of Lords. On the 17th, Lord Grey moved the second reading, when, the Earl of Roden having moved that it should be read that day six months, a debate arose, which was continued during the two following evenings. On the division with which it terminated, the numbers were, 157 in favour of the bill, and 98 against it. The Duke of Wellington and Earl Harrowby, although far from approving all the details of the measure, both voted in the majority. The bill made its way through the committee without having undergone any material alteration, although the Archbishop of Canterbury carried one amendment against ministers by a majority of 84 to 82; and on the 30th it was read for the third time, and passed, 135 peers voting in its favour, and 81 against it. It was perfectly well understood, however, that, as in the case of the bill for the Reform of Parliament, to which this branch of the legislature had submitted about a year before, other considerations had a greater share in bringing about the present decision than any cordial approval of this new reform which was entertained by the majority of their lordships. The Conservative party certainly might have thrown out the bill, if they had chosen to bring up their strength against it. But the great majorities with which it had been carried through all its stages in the other House, and the manner in which there was no doubt that its rejection would be received by the public, made them feel that it would be an act of madness to hazard that experiment. Some peers also voted for the bill on the avowed ground that, although it was not such as they approved of, the circumstances of the Irish church demanded that something should be done, and even to pass this bill was preferable to letting matters alone. On this plea the Duke of Wellington, who, on the third reading, again formed one of the majority, justified his vote. Some of his Grace's former supporters, however, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester for one, went over on this occasion to the opposite side. Others, among the rest the Earl of Haddington, withdrew, declining to vote at all.

During the latter part of the passage of this measure through the two Houses, the public anxiety was raised to an extraordinary degree of intensity, not with regard to the fate of the measure itself, but by the prospect of a change in the government which it seemed at one time to open. The ministers, as we have mentioned, had declared that if the bill was lost they would immediately resign. From about the middle of June, when it had passed the second reading in the Commons, and speculation began to be directed to its probable reception in the other House, rumours of the intention of the Lords to throw it out arose, and assumed gradually a more distinct shape. There can be little doubt that at one time this intention had been formed by the Conservative party. Nor is it believed to have been abandoned even after they had been propitiated by the extraction from the bill, as above related, of its one peculiarly-offensive clause. On the 9th of July, the very day on which the bill was brought up from the Commons, they gave ominous evidence both of their disposition and of their power, by throwing out the Local Courts Bill on the third reading. This was on Tuesday, and during the remainder of that week it was fully believed that a crisis was at hand. On Friday, the 12th, Sir John Wrottesley, in the House of Commons, gave notice of his intention on Monday to move a call of the House for Thursday, the day following that on which the second reading of the Irish Church Bill was to take place elsewhere. When Mr. Wynn observed that he should like to hear some reason assigned for this motion, Sir John Wrottesley replied, that he would state his reason on Monday. Ere that day, however, the aspect of things had undergone a change. It is believed that it was not till Sunday night, or the following morning, that the clouds in the political sky began to shew signs of dispersion even to those who were most favourably placed for observing what was going forward. On Monday evening Sir John Wrottesley made his promised motion for a call of the House, and in the speech with which he prefaced it, stated distinctly, that his reason was the perilous position in which the bill for the reform of the Irish church stood in the House of Lords. It was

not only, he added, the principle of the Church Bill which was in danger, but the great principle of reform generally. He conceived that in these circumstances honourable members ought to have an opportunity of doing their duty to their constituents in the event of a crisis arising. "I, therefore," he concluded, "shall press my motion for a full attendance on Thursday, as a warning to honourable members to be prepared at their posts to do the duty which the country expects from them, either by receiving the wishes or commands of the king; or by tendering his majesty their humble advice, according to their views of the public exigencies." Ministers abstained from presenting themselves until other members from different sides of the House had expressed their opinions. Sir Robert Peel rose first, and deprecated, not only the motion, but all discussion of it. The debate, however, was continued by Mr. O'Connell, Colonel Evans, Mr. Denison, Lord Ebrington, and other speakers, till at length Lord Althorp came forward. He said it was certainly true that, upon the passing of the measure now in the other House, Ministers had pledged, and still did pledge, their continuance in office. But from the appearance which the motion would necessarily have of a menace, he feared that, if carried, it would only increase the difficulties of himself and his colleagues, who, in the present position of affairs, certainly had not a very easy course to pursue. "I have no doubt," he continued, "if the event contemplated should occur, we should have a full attendance without a call of the House; and therefore, certainly, on a general view of the whole case, and after consulting with my colleagues round about me, I am induced to think that it would relieve us from a situation of considerable embarrassment, if my honourable friend would consent not to press his motion." He afterwards said, in reply to some remarks of Major Beauclerk, "What does the honourable and gallant gentleman mean by saying that the storm has blown over? The honourable gentleman takes it for granted that it is blown over. The honourable and gallant gentleman may have better information on the subject than I possess, but I certainly am not aware that it is." Mr. Stanley also earnestly requested that the motion might be withdrawn. He stated that in the judgment of himself and his colleagues, and speaking on their responsibility, the withdrawal of the motion would be the most likely mode to attain, and the pressing it the most likely mode to defeat, the object in view. With these recommendations Sir John Wrottesley intimated his disposition to comply; but Mr O'Connell insisted that the question should be put. The House accordingly divided, when there appeared for the motion 125, and against it 160. The next day, as has been already stated, the second reading of the bill was carried. Ministers, it is understood, were aware that this much would be conceded: in stating that the storm had not blown over, they referred to the strong probability which there was still thought to be that the bill might be strangled in the committee. To this danger Lord John Russell, in particular, alluded very pointedly in the above debate. "Sir," he said, "I am of opinion that the storm has not blown over. I see no reason to believe that the storm is past; and my opinion is, that if the bill which was sent up to the other House of Parliament is not to be destroyed at one blow, the probability is, that the bill will be deprived of its most valuable provisions." The public apprehension, accordingly, was by no means altogether allayed until the bill was, at last, read for the third time at the close of the month.

The act thus passed (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 371) is entitled "An Act to alter and amend the Laws relating to the Temporalities of the Church in Ireland;" and consists of 154 clauses. Its leading provisions, however, may be shortly stated. The number of bishops is reduced from twenty-two to twelve, by the union of sees, as the present incumbents die off. After the death of the present incumbents, also, the income of the archbishopric of Armagh is to be reduced from its present amount of 14,500*l.* to 10,000*l.*, and that of all the other sees which may be worth more than 4000*l.* a year, to that sum, with the exception of the bishopric of Derry, the value of which is at present about 12,000*l.*, and which is to be reduced immediately to 8000*l.*, and eventually to 6000*l.* The leases of the bishops' lands are to be converted into perpetuities, by which it is supposed that a sum of about 1,000,000*l.* sterling (it was originally calculated at three times that amount) will be realized. The exaction of vestry cess is abolished. So is also that of first-fruits, in the stead of which there is to be imposed upon all livings above the actual yearly value of 300*l.*, an annual tax, varying in its rate according to the value of the living. The money arising from these different sources is to be paid to a board of commissioners, consisting of the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, and four of the other bishops, together with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, when the latter is a member of the established church; and is, under their direction, to be applied to the augmentation of small benefices, the building of churches and glebe-houses, the meeting of those expenses which have hitherto been defrayed by the vestry cess, and other purely ecclesiastical objects. It is calculated that when the scheme shall have taken full effect, the fund thus created will yield a yearly income of about 135,000*l.* The board is also to have the power of suspending the appointment of ministers to parishes in the gift of the king, or of any ecclesiastical corporation, in which no service has been performed for the space of three years.

Another act passed this session in reference to the Irish church (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 100), entitled "An Act for the Relief of Owners of Tithes in Ireland," empowered the government to make advances, to the amount of one million in all, to such of the clergy as had not been able to recover the tithes due to them, to be repaid by five annual instalments. Such of the clergy as accepted this aid were to give up their claim to all unpaid tithes for 1830 and preceding years; and also to submit to a deduction of 25 per cent. on those of 1831 and 1832, and of 15 per cent. on those of 1833. By an act passed the preceding session (2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 119) it had already been enacted that, after the 1st of November, 1833, the tenants of land should no longer be liable to the payment of tithes, but that that burden should, in all cases, fall upon the landlord. Proceeding upon the principle of this very important and salutary change, the present act provided for the repayment of the advance to be now made to the clergy, by extending the liability of the landlords back to the year 1831, inclusive, and making them the parties from whom the five instalments were to be demanded. Of course they have, in turn, their remedy against the occupiers of the soil.

The effect of these different arrangements may be shortly described, as being, to place the church, in respect of its temporalities, altogether out of the way of collision with the mass of the population. By the abolition of the vestry-cess, and the commutation of the tithes into a land-tax, it is relieved from being dependent for any part of its support upon payments exacted from the people, but exists, like any other corporation, upon its own funds and rents. It no longer takes anything out of the pockets of any man in Ireland, whether poor or rich. It may possibly be still subject to objection, as being a useless institution, or as being kept up at too great an expense for the good it does: but it cannot now be rationally said to be in any especial sense an Irish grievance. Its existence does not cost the people of Ireland anything.

The only other legislative measures of the session relating to Ireland, which we shall notice, are the two acts which were passed on the subjects of grand juries and petty juries in that country. The first was introduced by Mr. Stanley into the House of Commons on the 19th of February. The grand jury of an Irish county, the members of which are nominated by the high sheriff of the county, is a tribunal essentially different in its powers from that which is called by the same name in England. The grand juries form, it may almost be said, so many provincial parliaments, not only, like the quarter-sessions in England, regulating the expenditure of the county funds, but, with an authority only exercised on this side of the water by the legislature itself, taxing the community at their pleasure for the payment of salaries, the support of hospitals, lunatic asylums, and other such institutions, the making and repairing of roads and bridges, and the various other objects of which they assume the superintendence. The annual revenue, of which they have thus the raising and the disposal, amounts to nearly a million sterling. The new act does not deprive grand juries of the functions which they have thus been accustomed to exercise; but it introduces into the system various alterations, which cannot fail greatly to check the mal-administration which has hitherto been so loudly complained of. The high sheriff, in the first place, is to be obliged to put upon the panel of the grand jury some one individual from each of the baronies in the county. Whenever a public work is to be executed, a

certain number of the highest rate-payers of the district are to be called upon to sit with the magistrates, and to join with them in the preliminary discussion of, and decision upon, the bills preferred. Besides these sessions for each barony or half barony, there is to be twice in the year a special sessions of all the magistrates of the county, without distinction, at which all propositions to be afterwards submitted to the grand jury are to be publicly discussed; and those of them that are negatived here, are to be considered as finally disposed of. To put an end to the jobbing that has heretofore gone on, all works are to be executed by contract; and the offer of the person who gives in the lowest tender is to be accepted. A public surveyor is to be appointed for each county; and no money is to be paid without a certificate from this scientific and responsible officer, that the work has been properly performed. The bill for consolidating and amending the laws relating to petty juries was brought into the House of Lords by Lord Plunket on the 21st of March. Its object is to take from the sheriffs the arbitrary power of selecting jurors, by establishing certain qualifications, the possession of which shall entitle persons to have their names enrolled in a jury-book, from which, in future, the juries must be struck. The qualifications are nearly the same with those established for England by Sir Robert Peel's Act, passed in 1825.

3. *Abolition of Colonial Slavery.—New Act for the Government of India.*

Ever since 1823, the House of Commons may be considered to have been pledged to the eventual abolition of slavery. In that year a series of resolutions was proposed by Mr. Canning, and agreed to by the House, one of which recognised the expediency of, as speedily as it could be done with safety, elevating the negroes to "the enjoyment of those franchises to which the rest of his Majesty's subjects are entitled." In 1826, the same resolutions were laid before the House of Lords, and obtained also the unanimous concurrence of that assembly. Since these declarations, however, no step had been taken by parliament to carry into effect the determination which it had thus expressed. And the colonial legislatures, in whose hands government professed an anxiety that the matter should be left, whatever partial ameliorations of the system of slavery some of them may have introduced, had certainly made no advance whatever towards its extinction.

But, in the meanwhile, in this country the exertions of the friends of abolition out-of-doors, so far from having been brought to a pause, or slackened by the state in which the question stood, had been plied with constantly-increasing energy. The consequence was, the creation of an extent and earnestness of public opinion in favour of the measure, which would most certainly have made it quite impossible for any government to have continued very much longer to let the question sleep. Both at the general election in 1830, and at that in 1831, strong evidence was given of the powerful hold which it had taken of the public mind. But it was during the election at which the present parliament was returned, that the most general and successful efforts were made to arouse and organize the popular sentiment upon this subject, and to bring its whole force to bear upon the legislature. The crisis was one eminently favourable to such an attempt. The great battle of Parliamentary Reform had been fought and won, and the time of the legislature could now be devoted to those measures of practical policy of which this was one of the greatest. The new constitution of the House of Commons had rendered it only necessary that the people should make their voice distinctly heard, in order to have it obeyed. The existing administration, too, although the abolition of slavery was not one of the express pledges which they gave upon accepting office, might be, nevertheless, considered to be bound, from the whole tenor of their previous conduct and professions, to the furtherance of that object. Accordingly, all available means were set in motion with the view of taking advantage of so auspicious an opportunity. In many cases the disposition of a candidate in reference to this single question was made the criterion by which he was accepted or rejected. Some representatives were required by their constituents to give a distinct promise that they would vote upon it in the manner that was desired. Others were mainly indebted for their election to the circumstance of their opinions being well known, or warmly proclaimed to be on the same side. On the whole, a very large majority of the members returned were undoubtedly committed, more or less, to the views of the abolitionists; and it was evident that the first session of the new parliament could not pass without some plan being adopted for the definitive settlement of this long-agitated question. As an additional aid to the cause, petitions in favour of abolition were obtained, and poured into both Houses of Parliament from all parts of the country. In the course of the session, above 5000 such petitions were presented in the House of Commons alone, the signatures attached to which exceeded 1,300,000.

The subject, however, was one surrounded with difficulties, and those of two distinct kinds. There were, in the first place, those which belonged to it inherently, and simply as involving the problem of how a numerous population, hitherto retained in a state of slavery, could be most safely released from the restrictions to which they had been accustomed, and raised to a state of freedom. This part of the question, even if it had stood by itself, would have required much consideration, and there actually existed with regard to it great diversity and opposition of opinion. But, in the second place, there was that further embarrassment arising from the other interests besides those of the negro which were to be affected by the proposed change, and the necessity of protecting which, in any plan that might be brought forward, was enforced by the strongest considerations both of justice and expediency. The members of the House of Commons were themselves divided into a variety of conflicting parties in regard to both of these points. The party, it is true, which had heretofore been powerful enough to oppose for so many years an effectual resistance to any further interference of the legislature, was completely subjugated in the country, and almost annihilated in the House. Even in the House of Lords it was found impossible now to make any fight upon this ground. The West India proprietors, however, although no longer standing out against emancipation, still presented a formidable front, out-of-doors, if not in parliament, in the new position which they had taken up as claimants of an extravagant compensation for the loss they were to sustain from that measure. In the House of Commons ministers acknowledged that this interest was now but in a small degree represented*; but even this circumstance was urged as a reason for looking at their claims, not in a confined and niggardly, but in a liberal and comprehensive point of view. On the other hand, there was one party of abolitionists who denied that the planters had a right to any compensation whatever. Some maintained this doctrine on certain abstract principles touching what they called the rights of man; others, on the more humble ground that the substitution of free labour for slave labour in the colonies would bring upon the planters no loss to be compensated for. At the same time the majority, probably, of both these classes, were disposed, for the sake of a more easy and speedy adjustment, to come to a compromise with the claimants, and to give them something merely by way of buying off their opposition. There was, however, as was natural, a general reluctance on the part of the holders of such opinions to give any large sum; and there were possibly some individuals who were opposed to giving anything at all. Different members were very much influenced in the length to which they showed themselves disposed to go as to this point by the various degrees in which they were anxious for the attainment of the great object contemplated by the measure, or were convinced that its attainment would be hazarded by a refusal to treat with the planters upon liberal terms. Mr. Buxton, for instance, who had long been the chief advocate of abolition in parliament, and who did not recognise the right to compensation, gave offence to many of the persons with whom he had usually acted, by the readiness with which he acquiesced in the proposal of voting a very large sum of money to the planters. Mr. Baring, on the other hand, who had never been an ardent abolitionist, and who acknowledged the right of the planters to compensation, or, at least, did not deny it, protested, in very strong terms, against the amount of compensation which it was proposed to grant. In this way the shades of opinion which were to be reconciled be-

* See speech by Mr. Stanley, on the 10th of June,—*Mirror of Parliament*, p. 2202.

came exceedingly numerous. And their number and diversity were rendered still greater by the opposite views which were entertained on the other branch of the question. The abolitionists were divided into two sects,—the advocates of immediate, and the advocates of gradual, emancipation. The persons who, of late years, had taken the greatest interest in the question, and had chiefly conducted the popular agitation of it, were for the most part in favour of the former of these two plans, and they certainly carried along with them a powerful force of popular feeling. But of the professed abolitionists in the House of Commons, a large majority were disposed to make the experiment on what they deemed a more cautious plan. Such, also, were the views of the government. And, for obvious reasons, all who were either adverse to or indifferent about emancipation altogether, might be counted upon as supporters of the proposal to make it gradual rather than immediate. Among the several classes of persons, however, whose views agreed in regard to this general principle, there were great differences of opinion, not only as to the length of time that ought to be allowed to elapse before the slave should have the last link of his fetters struck off, but also as to the whole mode and character of the preparatory process through which he was to be conducted from bondage to freedom.

In these circumstances, on the 14th of May, Mr. Stanley laid before the House of Commons, in the form of a series of resolutions, the general features of the plan which his majesty's ministers had prepared, and made up their minds to recommend. We have already (see *Companion*, p. 69) detailed and explained these propositions as they were originally announced; and we shall now notice the principal alterations which they underwent before they were finally embodied into a law. The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider the resolutions, they were debated in order on that evening, on the 30th and 31st of May, and on the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of June. As the discussion proceeded, various amendments were proposed by those adverse to the ministerial plan, all of which were rejected. On the other hand, it was modified by its authors in some important respects. On the 30th of May, Mr. Stanley intimated that it had been resolved to abandon the arrangement originally contemplated by which the loan granted to the planters was to be repaid, in part at least, by the slaves, and to allow the latter to retain for their own use the entire amount of the wages they were to receive for their labour during the fourth of the day which they were to have at their own disposal. No direct repayment of the money would be demanded from the planters; but the burden would be discharged by the imposition of a small additional duty upon sugar*. On the 10th of June, the proposition with regard to this grant was further remodelled by the amount being raised from fifteen to twenty millions,—a sum, it was stated, which there was reason to hope would ensure to the whole plan the cordial co-operation of the planters and the several colonial legislatures. On this evening, Mr. O'Connell moved an amendment, recognizing the right of the negro to remuneration from the present moment for the whole of his labour; but it was negatived on a division by a majority of 324 to 42. On the 11th, several other divisions took place; the first, on a motion by Mr. Buxton, that the payment of one-half of the grant to the planters should be deferred till after the apprenticeship to which the slave was to be subjected should have expired, which was negatived by a majority of 277 to 142; the second, on a plan proposed by Mr. Rigby Wason, leaving out all mention of compensation, which 383 members opposed, and only 21 supported with their votes; the third, on an amendment of a similar character, proposed by Colonel Evans, which was also rejected by a majority of 346 to 22; and the fourth, on a proposition by Mr. Briscoe to reduce the 20,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.*, on which the Ayes were 56, and the Noes 304. The reading of the first four resolutions was then carried by a majority of 286 to 77. The remaining resolution—by which parliament engaged to enable his majesty to defray any expense that might be incurred in establishing a magistracy in the colonies, and in providing for the religious and moral education of the negroes—was afterwards agreed to without a division, after the words "on liberal and comprehensive principles" had been added to the clause, on the suggestion of Mr. Buxton. On the 25th, the resolutions were also agreed to without a division, but not without much opposition having been expressed to them in debate, by the House of Lords.

A bill for effecting the purposes to which the legislature had thus pledged itself, having been brought into the House of Commons, was read a second time on the 22nd of July, and on the 24th was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House, in which it was also debated on the 25th, the 29th, the 30th, the 31st, and on the 5th of August. On the first of these days, however, previous to the speaker leaving the chair, Mr. Buxton moved that it should be an instruction to the committee, that they should endeavour to shorten the period of apprenticeship, and the motion was lost only by a majority of 7, the numbers being 158 against it, and 151 in its favour. In consequence of this vote, Mr. Stanley intimated, on the following evening, that government would consent to reduce the term of twelve years, originally proposed, to six years in the case of agricultural, and four in that of domestic, slaves. It was eventually arranged that the operation of this and all the other parts of the plan should commence from the 1st of August, 1834; so that the emancipation would be complete by that day of the year 1840. The corporal punishment of females it was likewise announced would be abolished from the commencement of the period of apprenticeship; and an important clause, proposed by Dr. Lushington, was acquiesced in, by which it was enacted, that all slaves who had ever with the consent of their masters been brought to any part of the United Kingdom, should be forthwith set at liberty. As the law stood, negroes having acquired their freedom by coming to this country were considered to revert to the condition of slaves if they returned to the West Indies; and there were a good many cases of persons actually suffering under the operation of this cruel principle. Various attempts were afterwards made by the friends of immediate emancipation, and by those of emancipation without compensation, to carry their objects, but they were all successfully resisted by the government. The bill was read a third time and passed on the 7th of August. It was then sent up to the House of Lords, where it was read a second time on the 12th, without a division. On its passage through the committee, however, numerous amendments were proposed by the Duke of Wellington and other noble lords of the same party, with the view of more effectually protecting the interests of the planters; and on several of them divisions took place; but they all shared the same fate with those that had been directed against the ministerial plan from the opposite quarter in the other house. On the 28th, the bill was read for the third time, and passed, without a division.

The West India question derived its interest from the high moral considerations it involved, the long and anxious struggle by which it had been brought to its present position, and the fundamental character of the change to which the condition of the negro was about to be subjected. Measured merely by the numbers to be legislated for in each case, it would have had no claim to be compared in importance with the East India question, which Parliament was next called upon to consider. The negro population of the West Indies was 800,000; the population of our oriental empire was 100,000,000. In this respect the subject was the vastest that a legislative assembly had ever had to discuss. Various circumstances, however, contributed to prevent it from being regarded, either by Parliament or the public, with an interest in any degree proportioned to its real magnitude. With settlements and colonies in every quarter of the globe, the people of this country have never generally occupied themselves much about their foreign possessions. If, as has been asserted, it be the necessary destiny of Great Britain, in right of her peculiar geographical position, to be the mother of empires, it certainly is not her nature to give herself a great deal of maternal anxiety about her rising offspring. Our sovereignty of the seas, which we have gained and hold as islanders, has scattered us over every clime, and so extended and complicated our commercial and political relations as to have forced us into collision with almost every other nation on earth; but we are yet, more perhaps than any other people, a people of home affections. It is only what goes on within the circuit of these islands, or what, taking place abroad, threatens to influence

* This additional duty has not been imposed; and it is understood that the intention of imposing it has been given up.

what is done here, in which, even as politicians, we take any deep interest. Of foreign politics, those of France and of America are alone habitually watched by us with any degree of eager attention. Between the movements of the former state and those of this country, there has, from the first co-existence of the two kingdoms, been always evinced the strongest and quickest sympathy—and never more so than when we were at war with each other. The succession of mighty political experiments of which France has in these later days been the theatre, have kept fixed upon her the observation of all the civilized world; and the free institutions, so closely resembling our own, which she has now acquired, have riveted upon her the attention of the people of this country more closely than ever. For a similar reason, we are all awake to what takes place in the republic of the United States. We see there the working of a system in many respects the same with our own; and if, in some material points, different from, or opposed to, ours, only the more interesting and the more instructive on that account. About any other country we care comparatively little. Be it even a possession of our own, it occupies the thoughts merely of individuals among us, or small classes of persons, having a peculiar connexion with it. Thus, before the war which terminated in the independence of America, what was generally known of our transatlantic colonies beyond the simple fact of their existence? The concerns of the flourishing community (for it was even then most flourishing) which occupied that great territory, excited as little attention as the affairs of Canada or Nova Scotia do now. With the exception of a few critical periods of short duration, when perhaps the fate of our dominion was believed to hang on the chances of a campaign or a battle, the case has been nearly the same even with India, the most magnificent of all our distant dependencies. Great wars have been carried on, and kingdoms conquered by our arms, in that peninsula, without the public here scarcely thinking it worth their while to read the announcement of the events. Mr. Macaulay's remark in one of his speeches last session in the House of Commons was as true as it was striking. "A broken head in Coldbath-fields excites more attention and greater interest in this House than three pitched battles in Hindostan."

Another reason for the comparative indifference with which so really great a question as the settlement of a new government for India was regarded, when it lately came before the legislature, both by the public and by Parliament, arose from the slight nature of the changes which it was proposed to make, in so far at least as political institutions were concerned. The continuance of the government in the same hands which had heretofore exercised it, was made the basis of the new arrangement. That this had been determined upon was known from the date of the publication of the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control about the end of March.

We gave an account of the ministerial plan as disclosed in this correspondence at the conclusion of the third Number of the *Companion*, which was devoted to a history of the company, an exposition from official documents of the present political state and commercial relations of India, and an examination of the leading points connected with the question of the renewal of the company's charter. In a subsequent number (see *Companion*, p. 156) we also gave a full recital of those provisions of the new charter by which the old commercial monopoly of the company is put an end to, accompanied with a variety of statements illustrative of the important effects that might be expected to flow from that change. To these articles we refer the reader; and shall do little more here than notice, very briefly, the history of the passage of the new measure through the two Houses of Parliament.

The subject was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of June by Mr. Charles Grant, in a long and able speech, which he concluded by proposing three resolutions founded upon the terms previously submitted to the company. The first declared that the Chinese trade should be thrown open; the second, that on the company transferring to the Crown all its assets and claims, the latter should be empowered to take upon itself the company's obligations, and to pay it a certain sum annually from the Indian revenue; and the third, that the government of India should, under certain regulations, be again entrusted to the company. A debate ensued, in the course of which the last-mentioned part of the ministerial plan was warmly opposed by Mr. Buckingham; but the resolutions were finally agreed to without a division. On the 5th of July their adoption was moved in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Here they were met by a vehement dissent on the part of Lord Ellenborough, on grounds for the most part directly the opposite of those on which they had been impugned in the Commons. The resolutions, however, were agreed to in the end by their Lordships also without a division. A bill founded upon them was then introduced into the House of Commons, and was read a second time on the 10th. In the committee some attempts were made to modify certain of its provisions; but they were all unsuccessful. The most strenuous opposition was made to the clause by which the archdeacons of Bombay and Madras were converted into bishops. The motion to throw it out, however, was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 85 to 47. On the 26th, the bill was read for the third time, and passed. The second reading of the bill in the Lords took place on the 2d of August; and after it had been carried through the committee, it was read for the third time on the 16th, and passed on the 19th. Various amendments were proposed in its progress through the House by Lord Ellenborough, the Duke of Wellington, and one or two other peers; but none of them were pressed to a division. The debates upon this measure in both Houses were very thinly attended.—Other acts which were passed to regulate the trade to China and India, and to provide for the collection and management of the duties on tea, were scarcely debated at all.

The following extract from the speech delivered by Mr. Grant, on the 14th of May, enumerates the leading points of the arrangement thus made with the East India Company:—"The plan," said the right honourable gentleman, "is this: that the East India Company shall surrender all their rights, privileges, and property, in the territory of India, to the government; that their commercial privileges shall be in a state of abeyance for a certain fixed period; that they shall make over all their property in this country and in India to the government; and that, in lieu of all this, they shall receive an annuity of a given amount—which annuity is to be charged upon the territory of India. It is calculated that the resources of India will be sufficient to supply this annuity, which it is proposed should be 630,000*l.* a-year, being the amount of the dividends which the proprietors at present receive; and it is further proposed that this should be redeemable at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. It is proposed that the guarantee fund shall amount to 2,000,000*l.* for securing the payment of the annuity, as well as for paying off finally the capital stock of the company; and it is also proposed that the annuity in question shall be paid for a term of forty years, at the close of which period it shall be at the option of Parliament, giving three years' notice, to redeem it at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. It is proposed that the East India Company should retain the political administration of India for a period of twenty years, at the end of which period they may, if deprived of the government of India, demand the payment of their capital; but if at that period they do not demand it, then the payment of the annuity, I have already stated, is to be continued for a term of forty years." The principal changes made in the frame of the internal government of the country consist in the institution of a fourth presidency for the upper western provinces, now included in that of Bengal, and in the conferring upon the governor-general a more efficient control than he now has over the subordinate governments. For the regulations as to the residence of Europeans in India, and their right of holding lands, see the *Companion*, p. 156.

4. *New Charter to the Bank.*

The question as to the renewal of the charter of the other great incorporation of the country, the Bank of England, came also this session before parliament. After a correspondence with the directors, which commenced about the beginning of April, Lord Althorp, on the 31st of May, introduced the subject in the House of Commons, by submitting eight resolutions, in which were comprised the principles of the arrangement that had been agreed upon between these gentlemen and the government. We may here notice that the state of the currency had already been discussed at great length in consequence of a motion made on the 22nd of April, by Mr. M. Attwood, the member for Whitehaven, to the effect that a select committee should be

appointed to inquire how far the distress of the country had been occasioned by the operation of our present monetary system. As this motion and the speeches by which it was supported evidently pointed to a large issue of paper as the proper remedy for the state of things which was asserted to exist, Lord Althorp met it by the amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House that any alteration in the monetary system of this country, which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous." The debate lasted during that and the two following nights. By Mr. Attwood himself, and most of the speakers on his side, a great aversion was shown to admit distinctly that a depreciation of the currency was what they really aimed at, or that those who should vote for the motion would be necessarily committed to that expedient. One or two, however, spoke out plainly enough. On the third night the House divided, when the numbers were, 139 in favour of the motion, and 331 against it. Another division then took place on a second motion by Mr. Attwood, proposing simply the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the general distress, which was also lost—the Ayes being 154, and the Noes 271. Finally, the House divided on Lord Althorp's amendment, which was carried by 304 against 49.

The wild and pernicious scheme of unsettling the very foundations of the national wealth having been thus disposed of, Parliament was in a condition to enter upon the consideration of the Bank question with probably less hazard of its deliberations being embarrassed by the clamour of the currency enthusiasts, than there might otherwise have been. This party gave very little more trouble during the session. The debate on Lord Althorp's resolutions having been adjourned on the 31st of May, was not resumed till the 28th of June,—the interval having been allowed that the public might have time to examine and express their opinion respecting the plan proposed. On the latter evening, the motion, "That the first resolution should be agreed to," was met by Colonel Torrens with an amendment, proposing to postpone the subject altogether till the next session. On a division, however, the amendment was lost; the numbers being 83 for, and 316 against it. The resolution was then adopted. The other resolutions were debated on the 1st, 3rd, and 4th of July, and were eventually all adopted, with the exception of two relating to a new constitution for country banks, which were withdrawn by ministers, the session being thought to be too far advanced for carrying through that part of the plan. The bill, embodying the resolutions, was then brought in, and read a second time, without a division, though not till after a long debate, on the 2nd of August. On the 9th and 10th, it was again fully discussed in committee; and also on the 12th, when it was moved that the report should be brought up. The third reading of the bill took place on the 19th, after a motion by Mr. Cobbett, to throw it out, had been negatived by a majority of 95 to 23. In the House of Lords it underwent a good deal of discussion in committee, and on the third reading; but although the House divided on some of the clauses, the measure eventually passed (on the 26th) without any of its provisions having been altered by their lordships.

For an account of the origin of banking, and a history of the Bank of England in particular, with an analysis of the more material parts of the evidence given before the committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to inquire into the expediency of renewing the charter in the session before last, we refer the reader to the *Companion*, pp. 49-54, and 72-76. We will now state the terms on which the charter has been renewed by the late act.

The fundamental principle of the arrangement submitted to Parliament was, that the Bank should be continued in the enjoyment of its exclusive privileges as the only body entitled to issue notes payable on demand in London, and within a circle of sixty-five miles round it. Even this proposition was strongly opposed by different members, some of whom advocated the scheme of a national bank, to be managed by the government, and the profits of which should go to the public, while others were against any monopoly at all, and would have had the trade of issuing notes to be left perfectly free, like any other branch of business. But the objections that were raised to both these plans were considered conclusive by the great majority of the House; and it was determined to renew the charter of the existing establishment till the 1st of August, 1855, with this reservation, however, that it might be put an end to, should Parliament choose, in August, 1845, by a year's previous notice being given.

The only one of the exclusive privileges of the Bank, of which it was proposed to deprive it, was that by which country banks were prohibited from drawing bills on London for any sum less than 50*l*. No opposition was made to the removal of this restriction; and accordingly it is now provided, that banks beyond the limit of sixty-five miles may make and issue bills and notes, payable on demand or otherwise, by an agent or agents in London, as well as at any other place, for any sum for which such notes may be issued; that is, for any sum not under 5*l*. But the notes must not be re-issued in London, or within the circle of sixty-five miles.

There was besides this, however, another supposed privilege of the Bank, which is declared in the present bill to be one which it neither shall possess for the future, nor ever did possess. It was generally understood that no banking company, having more than six partners, except the Bank of England, could do business in London, or within sixty-five miles of it, even as a bank of deposit. It appears that doubts had been entertained in some quarters as to the existence of this restriction, and it is even said that there have actually been, of late years, private banking companies in London having seven or eight partners. But there can be no question that the common belief was, that such a partnership would be illegal. The law advisers of the crown, however, after considering the point, came to the unhesitating conclusion, that this common notion was quite unfounded; and upon this as the basis of the agreement with the Bank had been, that only the same exclusive privileges which it had enjoyed under the old charter should be secured to it by the new—government refused to grant it this particular monopoly, which it thus appeared it never had before possessed. A clause was accordingly introduced into the bill, and passed as part of it, expressly authorizing the establishment of banks of deposit, with any number of partners, in the metropolis and its vicinity, as well as in any other part of the kingdom.

For this proceeding the most violent outcry was raised against the government, and in particular against Lord Althorp, as having been the manager of the negotiation with the Bank, and the individual by whom the bill was taken charge of in the House of Commons. His lordship was first assailed by the remonstrances of the Directors, in a correspondence which was afterwards published. The privilege in question could not be refused to the Bank, it was here submitted, without a positive infraction of the bargain on which the bill was founded. At a meeting of proprietors, held on the 13th of August, this charge was reiterated by various speakers, in terms of extraordinary emphasis and passion; and resolutions were passed, stating that the court felt itself bound to protest against the treatment it had experienced at the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had, in the opinion of the court, most improperly and unjustly departed from the terms of his own proposition; and that this course of procedure, and the violation of the contract, would have fully justified the Bank in rejecting the arrangement *in toto*. In Parliament, also, the circumstance formed the theme of a good deal of angry remark, especially in the House of Lords, where Lord Wynford, in a long argument, attempted to controvert the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and divided the House on a motion that the twelve judges should be called in to settle the question.

As to the point of law, we shall merely say, that the law officers of the crown appear to us to be clearly in the right. We think no ordinarily intelligent and impartial person could come to any other conclusion from a perusal of Lord Wynford's own speech. But however this may be, the facts, when fairly stated, leave the Bank, in our judgment, very little reason to complain. Some of these facts seem to have been strangely overlooked in the course of the debates that took place in both Houses of Parliament. It appears to have been assumed without examination on all sides, that the original stipulation between the government and the Bank expressly recognized the disputed privilege as one of the advantages to be allowed to the Bank under the new charter. Now, this is not the case. It is true, that in the first plan submitted by Lord Althorp to the Directors, in his letter of the 1st of April, he proposes, among other things, in general terms, that no bank, consisting of more than six partners, shall be established in the metropolis or its vici-

nity. But even if the language here used should be interpreted strictly as meaning no bank of deposit, as well as no bank of issue, it would go for nothing; for these propositions are expressly rejected by the Directors, in their answer of the 12th of the same month. The [illegible]al articles of agreement between the two parties are to be found in the subsequent conditions suggested by the Directors, in their letter of the 15th, as those which they would feel justified in submitting to the proprietors; and still more distinctly in the proposals made to them in return by Lord Althorp, in his letter of the 2nd of May, upon the actual acceptance of which, by the court of proprietors, his Lordship afterwards moved his resolutions in the House of Commons. Now, in what terms is the disputed article expressed in both these papers? Why, in the proposition of the Directors themselves, the words are, "That no joint-stock bank* be chartered† *for issuing paper money* within sixty-five miles of the metropolis." And in that of Lord Althorp, the stipulation in like manner runs, "That no banking company, consisting of more than six partners, *shall issue notes payable on demand*, within the metropolis, or within sixty-five miles from the metropolis." How can it be said, after this, that the prohibition in London, of joint-stock banks of *deposit*, was a part of the original agreement?

But we ask further, is it not the fact, that in the speech in which he first submitted his resolutions to the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, Lord Althorp expressly declared it to be a part of the plan, that banks of deposit, although not of issue, having any number of partners, should be allowed in London? The following is an extract from the report of that speech as given in the *Mirror of Parliament*:—"Sir, I propose that the definition of a joint-stock company shall remain as it is at present: that is to say, that every banking company, consisting of more than six partners, shall be considered a joint-stock bank. In considering this question, the House must recollect that there are two distinct classes of joint stock banks—one of which issues its own notes, and the other of which does not—but which transacts its business in notes of the Bank of England. *Now, I propose that no joint-stock bank of issue shall be established within a less distance than sixty-five miles of London.* But at present country banks are prevented from drawing bills on London, or from issuing notes payable in London, of less value than 50*l*. These two restrictions I would remove. *Joint-stock banks issuing the paper of the Bank of England, too, of course may exist within the sixty-five miles.*" The statement, as given in the report in the *Times*, is, if possible, still more distinct: "*In the plan he proposed, joint-stock banks might exist within the sixty-five miles, if they used the paper of the Bank of England.*' And to confirm the correctness of this version, we find his lordship again, on the 28th of June, nearly a month later, making, according to the *Mirror of Parliament*, the following statement, in answer to a question of Mr. M. Attwood,—"The privilege which the Bank of England now possesses, and which it is intended to continue to it, is that of being the only bank *having the power of issuing notes* in the metropolis, and within sixty-five miles round, during the period of its charter. That is the only privilege which is continued to the bank." The report of this speech is also precisely to the same effect in the *Times*.

All this, unaccountably enough, seems to have escaped the recollection of everybody in the course of the subsequent contentions, both in parliament and out of doors, to which the matter gave rise. But whether the forgetfulness was, in some quarters, designed or involuntary, the facts we have stated completely vindicate Lord Althorp, we think, from the imputation thrown upon him by the Bank directors and their friends. The directors really do not appear ever to have taken up the ground on which they afterwards affected to make so indignant a stand till the 6th of July, when the terms of the bargain had been already five weeks before parliament and the public. At least, that is the date of the earliest printed document (it is a letter to Lord Althorp) in which we find any notice from them of their alleged grievance.

Of course, even if the case had been as it was generally stated, and ministers had seen good reason to abandon one of their original propositions before the conclusion of the arrangement, the Bank proprietors would have had no actual wrong to complain of, inasmuch as there was no attempt to compel them to close with the altered terms unless they chose. Their ultimate acceptance of the charter without the provision in question, proves that they thought the bargain a good one, after all.

Such being the privileges which the Bank is to enjoy, the following are the other stipulations of the new agreement. The sum at present paid to the Bank for the management of the public debt being somewhat above 250,000*l* a-year (see *Companion*, p. 54), of which 180,000*l*. is admitted to be profit, the Bank is to pay back 120,000*l*. of this every year to the public; or, in other words, is to submit to a deduction to that amount from the legal allowance. The debt, also, at present due by the public to the Bank being about 14,500,000*l*., on which the public pay interest at the rate of 3 per cent., one-fourth part of that sum is to be repaid, so that the amount shall be reduced to about 11,000,000*l*. The repayment is to take place in October next, and the money is to be divided among the Bank proprietors, at the rate of 25*l*. for every 100*l*. of stock which each may hold. It will of course be for the Bank to determine whether they will reduce their capital to this extent by actually distributing the money, or, as they seem to propose doing, continue to trade upon it, by investing it in some other way. The directors say that they sustain a loss of 1 per cent. on the returns from this portion of their capital, by its being invested in the government funds. At the same time, the offer of repayment comes from the government; and a proposition for the repayment of a much larger sum, originally pressed upon them, was resisted by the directors. The government will easily be able, at the present rate of interest, to raise the money by a loan, on terms at least as favourable as those on which they now hold it from the Bank.

Finally, there are the three following very important enactments:—First, Bank paper is made a legal tender for all sums above 5*l*., except by the Bank itself or its branches; that is to say, a bank-note will be as good as gold if offered in acquittance of a debt or other obligation, amounting to more than 5*l*., by any parties except the Bank proprietors themselves at their principal or branch establishments*. This regulation is to be in force "from and after the 1st day of August, 1834, unless and until parliament shall otherwise direct." It may, therefore, be annulled by parliament before the expiration of the charter. While it exists, however, although it may be regarded as, to a certain extent, a protection to the Bank, it is evidently not to be confounded with the complete exemption from the liability to pay in cash which the Bank formerly enjoyed. Any holder of a bank-note, of whatever value, will still be entitled to gold for it from the party, that is, the Bank itself, by whom it was originally issued. Secondly, there is to be in future a periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank. A statement of the amount of the assets belonging to the Company, and also of the notes which they have in circulation, is to be transmitted weekly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and from these weekly reports, an average state of the accounts for the preceding three months is to be published every month in the *London Gazette*. Thirdly, all bills for not more than three months are to be exempted from the operation of the usury laws, or, in other words, may be drawn so as to bear any rate of interest the parties may agree upon. This enactment may be expected greatly to facilitate all mercantile transactions in seasons when money is scarce; and it is, besides, valuable as the first relaxation of a principle which has been till now vigorously maintained in opposition to the clearest rights of commerce.

Upon the whole, the general feeling undoubtedly is, that the Bank has been very liberally treated by parliament in this new arrangement. The plan, too, proposed for the regulation of country banks, when carried into effect, will still further promote its interests. Those who, considering that, after all, any of the public who choose may participate in

* That is, as elsewhere explained, a bank having more than six partners.

† It was at this time the understanding, that all banks were to be obliged to have a charter—a part of the ministerial plan afterwards deferred till another session.

* A difference of opinion, we ought to notice, was expressed in the course of the debates as to the import of this enactment. Ministers stated that, if a man, for instance, owed seven pounds, a five-pound Bank of England note and two sovereigns would be a legal tender in payment of the debt; but it was contended on the other side, that the debtor could in no case compel his creditor to take a bank-note the value of which did not exceed five pounds.

the advantages thus conferred, have no desire that the Bank should be other than a flourishing and powerful establishment, will not, perhaps, grudge it anything which it may have thus gained; but, on the other hand, it certainly has no reason to complain.

5. *Other Measures of the Session—The Factories Bill—Bills dropped or defeated—Party Contests—Motions for Reduction—Ministerial Changes—Agitation for Repeal of the House and Window Taxes—Stamp Duties.*

THE great measures of which we have given an account in the preceding pages, would, in so far, at least, as the proceedings of the legislature are concerned, nearly make up the history of the country for the past year, if under that name were to be included only transactions and events of permanent importance. Our sketch of the parliamentary session, however, would be incomplete without some notice, however slight, of a number of minor matters which also engaged the deliberations of the legislature, and of certain remarkable debates which, although unproductive of any actual results, excited great interest at the time. These things, if not properly history, are, at least, contributions to history, and, as such, have their fitting place in a record like the present, in which we may be considered as collecting and indexing the materials for enabling a future age, which alone can, to produce a true picture of this. In our limits, however, and without converting our general retrospective view into a minute and elaborate chronicle, we can only afford a passing glance at some of the most prominent among the occurrences to which we refer.

In an article in one of our preceding Numbers, (see *Companion*, p. 129,) we have already taken a rapid review of the legislation of the year; and in other articles we have given separate accounts, more or less ample, of most of the important measures which were brought before either House of Parliament in the course of the session. Among the bills thus noticed which were eventually passed into laws, we may enumerate those for the creation of savings banks annuities (p. 171); the amendment of the laws of dramatic literary property (p. 70); the amendment in various particulars of the law of real property (p. 54); reduction of the assessed taxes (p. 132); the more complete suppression of the slave trade (p. 164); the reform of the Scotch burghs (p. 113); the abolition of offices in the Court of Chancery (p. 137). Other subjects of moment which were taken into consideration, and respecting which new laws were passed, were commissions of lunacy, the care and treatment of insane persons, the administration of justice by the Privy Council, the alteration of the system of pleading in the courts of common law, and various other legal matters, the regulations made with regard to which we cannot here enter upon. The administration of justice in the police offices of the metropolis, the establishment of a general system of police in the Scotch burghs, the lighting and watching of parishes in England and Wales, and the laws relating to sewers in London and its vicinity, were also all provided for or remodelled in acts which passed through both Houses with little opposition or observation.

The only measure of the session not already adverted to which occupied much of the time of Parliament, and was largely debated, was the act to regulate the labour of children in factories. In the former Parliament, Mr. Sadler, the late member for Aldborough, had brought in a bill on this subject, which, however, was not carried through; but a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons to examine evidence, and report on the facts of the case. A strong sensation was excited in the country by many of the statements made to this committee, whose report was not published till a considerable time after the close of the session. Soon after the meeting of the new Parliament (to which Mr. Salder had not been returned), Lord Ashley, one of the members for Dorsetshire, obtained leave to bring in a bill of the same description with that which Mr. Sadler had proposed, its leading provision being that no person under the age of eighteen should be allowed to work in a factory longer than ten hours a day. It was thence known by the name of the Ten Hour Bill; and as such it obtained the very general assent and support of the working classes in the manufacturing districts. So general and intense, indeed, was the feeling that had been produced in favour of placing a limit to the time which children, not themselves free agents, should be compelled to labour, by others having the control over them for that was the true state of the question), that it was evident something must be done to satisfy the public cry. The master-manufacturers, however, complained with much apparent reason that they had yet had no opportunity of stating their case, the only evidence taken by Mr. Sadler's committee being that of witnesses brought forward by the supporters of his bill; and there were also many persons friendly to the general principle of the proposed restriction who objected strongly to various parts of the measure actually before Parliament, and especially to the advanced age up to which it carried the prohibition against working beyond the ten hours. In these circumstances, on the 3rd of April, Mr. Patten, member for North Lancashire, moved that the House should address his Majesty to appoint a Commission to collect information on the subject in the manufacturing district. After a long debate, the motion was carried by the narrow majority of 74 to 72. We have already (see *Companion*, p. 116) noticed the two voluminous reports made by this Commission, and given an abstract of the general conclusions and recommendations which they contain. These documents, although, from their great bulk, and the want of an index, they have probably not been much looked into, are, independently of their bearing upon the present question, perhaps the most valuable contributions ever made to the statistics of the labouring population of this country. Meanwhile, Lord Ashley proceeded with his bill; and the second reading having taken place without opposition, it was proposed on the 5th of July, only a few days after the first report of the commissioners had appeared, to consider it in committee, when Lord Althorp moved that it should, instead, be referred to a select committee, in which it would probably be more expeditiously, as well as more conveniently, discussed, than by the whole House. The proposition, however, was exclaimed against as merely tending to delay the measure; and on a division, the motion that the Speaker should leave the chair was carried by a majority of 164 to 141. But on the 18th, in committee, when the clause was moved, specifying the age of eighteen as that till which the restriction against labouring more than ten hours should operate, Lord Althorp moved his amendment, substituting *thirteen* years for *eighteen*, and *eight* hours for *ten* hours, which was carried by a majority of 238 to 93. On this defeat Lord Ashley declined having anything further to do with the bill, and left ministers to carry it forward, or allow it to drop, as they chose. Lord Althorp afterwards took it up; and, although some of the remaining clauses met with considerable opposition in the Committee, and one, throwing the expense of watching over the execution of the new regulations upon the mill-owners, was successfully resisted, it eventually, passed into a law. We have given in the *Companion* (p. 159) the most important provision of this act, that by which attendance at a school is made compulsory upon all children employed in factories. This part of the plan was not in Lord Ashley's bill. The protection also given to the children against excessive labour in the measure as it has passed is in some respects greater and more complete than that originally proposed. Children under nine years of age are not to be employed at all. When the act shall take full effect, that is, in thirty months from August last, those under thirteen are not to be kept at work more than forty-eight hours in any one week, or nine hours in any one day. Persons under eighteen are not to work more than twelve hours a day, nor more than sixty-nine hours in the week. None under this age, besides, are to work at all during the night. Christmas-day and Good Friday, with eight half days besides, in each year, are to be allowed as holidays. Four inspectors have been appointed for the different quarters of the kingdom to see that the act be everywhere duly carried into execution.

During the last, as in every former session, a good deal of the time of Parliament was, we will not say lost, for we are far from thinking that nothing is gained by such attempts, but expended without any immediate result, in the consideration of measures which were either defeated, or for the present abandoned before being matured into laws. We have explained the nature of most of these propositions in the order in which they came before the public; and therefore we shall now merely note the stage to which each was carried, with a reference to the page of the *Companion* where an account of it will be found. The Lord Chancellor's bill, for the establishment of Local Courts (pp. 55 and 88), after having passed through the committee in the

House of Lords, and having been repeatedly discussed in regard to both its principle and its details, was, on the 9th of July, after another long debate, thrown out by their lordships, a division having taken place on a motion to that effect by Lord Wharncliffe, when the numbers were 122 in favour of the third reading, and 134 against it. On this occasion the number of noble lords present, 81, was the same on both sides; the difference was made by the proxies. The bill brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Robert Grant for the removal of the disabilities affecting the Jews (p. 71), after the second reading had been carried in that House on the 22nd of May, by a majority of 189 to 52, and the third by exactly the same majority on the 22nd of July, was, on the 1st of August, lost on the second reading in the Lords, after a long debate, the numbers being, contents 54, not-contents 104. On the following day their lordships threw out the dramatic performances bill (p. 70), which had also been sent up from the other House, by a majority of 19 to 15. Some days after, Mr. Godson's patent bill (p. 61), was, on the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor, deferred till another session. The prisoners' counsel bill (p. 80), after having been read a second time in the Commons, was, by consent, referred to a select committee, with the view of its being brought forward again next session, when there would be more time for the consideration of some of its clauses. The imprisonment for debt bill (p. 91), after having passed through the committee, was also withdrawn by the Solicitor-General, towards the close of the session, with the intimation that it would be again brought forward. The *rival* bill, introduced by Sir Francis Vincent (p. 86), was allowed to drop after the first reading. The bill for the repeal of the apothecaries' act (pp. 119 and 137), was also withdrawn for the present, on the recommendation of a select committee, to whom it had been referred, after having been read a second time. The beer bill (p. 152), was likewise carried no further than the second reading, which took place on the 20th of August, ministers finding it impossible to carry it through Parliament at that late period of the session, and in the face of the opposition with which it was met by some members.* A bill for the establishment of a general register of deeds, which was brought in by Mr. William Brougham, was, on the 12th of June, defeated on the second reading by a majority of 82 to 69. This important measure (see *The Companion*, p. 55), had been introduced in the preceding session by the Solicitor-General, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the law of real property. On the 6th of August, after a short debate, leave was obtained by Mr. John Murray, to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the motion having been seconded by Captain Elliot, the Secretary for the Admiralty, and the bill went through its several stages in the House of Commons without opposition; but not having arrived at the second reading in the House of Lords till the 23rd, and some peers expressing their intention to resist its further progress, it was withdrawn, on the recommendation of Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor—the former of whom intimated that it might, possibly, next session, be taken up by the government. Another subject which was frequently discussed by the House of Commons in the course of the session, but in which nothing was done, was the better observance of the Sabbath. Great numbers of petitions were presented, calling for some enactment to effect this object, and the task of preparing the required measure was undertaken by Sir Andrew Agnew; but he produced so overdone a proposition, that it clearly appeared it never could pass into a law, whatever else it was intended for. The second reading of this bill was moved on the 16th of May, when many members, from respect to the object professed in the title, expressed themselves disposed to allow it to pass that stage, in the hope that something might be made of it in the committee. It was thrown out, however, on the division, by a majority of 79 to 73; on which, Sir Andrew Agnew immediately announced that he would bring the subject forward again on the first day of the next session. Some time after, the same honourable member introduced a second bill to provide for the better observance of the Sabbath in Scotland; and a third for England was submitted by Mr. W. Peter; but neither measure was pressed beyond a first reading.

* It was stated by mistake in *The Companion* for October, that this bill had passed.

We will now notice, very briefly, some of those motions and debates which exhibited, in a more remarkable manner, the opposition and comparative strength of parties and opinions in the House, or are to be reckoned on any other account among the memorable events of the session.

First, there was Mr. Hume's motion on the 14th of February, to do away with all naval and military sinecures. It was met by Lord Althorp with the previous question, and a long and interesting debate ensued. Nobody attempted to defend the giving away of the public money to persons who had not earned it by their services; and it was admitted that the offices in question were sometimes improperly bestowed. But as they really afforded the only means the crown had of rewarding meritorious officers, and no plan was suggested by which that object could be secured in what was thought a better mode, a majority of the House voted against Mr. Hume's resolutions. The numbers were—Ayes 138, Noes 232. This vote, being fiercely denounced as the declaration of the House against all economy, occasioned a great outcry among the newspapers; and lists of the majority were published, in which they were represented, in round terms, as the defenders and upholders of military and naval sinecures, simply because they had not agreed with Mr. Hume, as to the time and manner of getting rid of that unpopular system. Mr. Hume made repeated attempts afterwards to get his principle affirmed by the House. On the 25th of March, in the Committee of Supply, he moved to reduce the vote for wages to seamen by 691*l.*, being the amount of the pay of such naval officers as held sinecure appointments in the marines, when he was outvoted by a majority of 223 to 83. On the 18th of April he moved two other resolutions against future appointments to sinecures in the civil and colonial service, which were assented to. And on the 15th of August, he moved that an inquiry should be instituted with the view of abolishing all sinecures not earned by public services; but on Lord Althorp moving, as an amendment, that a return should be laid before the House at the commencement of next session, explaining the nature, tenure, and emoluments of all sinecure offices in the United Kingdom, he declined dividing the House, and the amendment was agreed to.

Various attempts to effect reductions or changes in the system of taxation were also made by other members. On the 7th of March, Mr. Hume proposed a general reduction of all salaries, allowances, and pensions; but his motion was negatived without a division. On the 26th of the same month, Mr. George Robinson moved for a select committee to effect the repeal of taxes pressing on productive industry, and the substitution of a tax on property; but, after a long debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of 221 to 155. On the 2nd of June the question of a tax on property and income was again submitted, in a different form, by Mr. Buckingham, by whom it was proposed as part of a scheme for the conversion of the national debt into terminable annuities; but his motion also failed, 38 members voting for it and 57 against it. On the 16th of July, however, Mr. Ruthven, somewhat unexpectedly, carried against ministers a resolution stating, among other things, that "all sinecure places, not merited by public services, should be abolished throughout the empire;" in which he distinctly declared that he meant to include existing sinecures and pensions. The proposition was carried against the previous question, moved by Mr. Spring Rice, by a majority of 88 to 79: and among the minority it was said that there were nine members who had left the House with the intention of not voting at all, but had been, against their wish, brought back by the tellers. It was in the course of this debate that Mr. Spring Rice delivered the speech, afterwards sent to the press, in which he took a review of the entire reductions, in salaries and expenditure generally, that had been made by the present Administration since they came into office. It ought to be stated that in the debate, mentioned above, about a month afterwards, on Mr. Hume's motion, ministers expressed themselves as if they did not consider the House to have bound itself, by its adoption of Mr. Ruthven's resolution, to interfere with any existing interests. A different interpretation, however, was put upon the vote by members on the other side of the House. Another effort to pledge the House to the enforcement of economy, was made on the 30th of July by Mr. Charles Buller; but the resolution which he proposed in favour of extensive reductions in the public expenditure was met by Lord Althorp with an amendment, couched in terms considerably

less emphatic, which was adopted by the House. A good deal of time was lost in discussing these several abstract propositions, which, as we have seen, even when they were carried, were not followed by any results. Some of them would seem to have been better suited for a debating society than an assembly like the House of Commons, constituted for business and action.

There were, however, some particular taxes against which a more distinct and formidable opposition was directed. The agitation for the repeal of the house and window taxes began in the metropolis before Parliament assembled, and was continued throughout the Session by means of public meetings, associations, deputations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other similar modes of working upon the popular mind and driving the Government to compliance. The clamour that was raised was, indeed, almost confined to London, where alone the pressure of the taxes in question was very generally or very severely felt; but the large body of representatives now returned from that district, and principally by the class most interested on the present occasion,—the retail shopkeepers,—enabled the authors of the demand to address themselves to Ministers and to Parliament with unusual weight. With two or three exceptions, at most, all the members connected with the metropolis, either stood expressly pledged to vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, or had before their election declared themselves favourable to that change, having promised at the same time to resign their seats if they should ever, for the course they took in regard to this or any other point, be called upon to do so by a majority of their constituents. Here, then, was a formidable force at once. Sir John Key, then one of the members for the City, was the person selected to lead the Parliamentary battle. He received his commission at a very noisy meeting held in the Guildhall on the 21st of January. Sir John, however, who had been induced repeatedly to defer making the motion with which he was intrusted, was very unfortunate in the circumstances in which he at last brought it on. On the 26th of April, after a resolution proposed by the Marquess of Chandos, "That in any reduction of taxation which may be considered expedient, it is necessary that the interests of the agricultural portion of the community should be duly considered," had been rejected by a majority of 118 to 90, Sir William Ingilby moved that the tax on malt should be reduced from the present amount, of 20*s.* 8*d.*, to 10*s.* per quarter; and the motion, very unexpectedly, was carried by a majority of 162 to 152. The blow thus given would have swept away two millions and a half of revenue; and, indeed, as everybody agreed that, if half the duty was repealed, it would be better to give it up altogether, it might be considered that a hole had really been made in the budget to the extent of five millions. Of those by whom this gap had been effected very few seem to have considered, while giving their votes, in what way it was to be filled up; some, indeed, professed to think the malt-tax so bad that anything else would be preferable, and others were in favour of supplying the deficiency by a property-tax; but a good many supported Sir William Ingilby's proposition merely because it was a motion for reduction, and some expressly stated that they were opposed to the substitution of any other tax for that which was to be taken off. It was when things were in this state that, a few days after (on the 30th), Sir John Key brought forward his motion. It was seconded by Alderman Wood; after whom Lord Althorp rose, and, as he had previously intimated his intention of doing, moved the following amendment:—"That the deficiency in the revenue which would be occasioned by a reduction of the tax on malt to 10*s.* the quarter, and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property and income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient." This was placing the question in its full dimensions before the House, and putting such honourable members as might have been inclined to legislate upon a mere fragment of the case, a little out of their reckoning. The debate that followed was very long, and characterized by considerable heat. At length a division took place at nearly four o'clock in the morning, when there appeared for Sir John Key's motion 157, and against it 355. The House then divided a second time, on an amendment to Lord Althorp's resolution, proposed by Sir William Ingilby, which went to strike out the words about the reduction of the malt duty; and on this question the numbers were 285 for the resolution, and 131 for the amendment. After this, Sir William moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to the resolution to which the House had come on the 26th, but was again defeated, the ayes being 76, the noes 238.

These proceedings led to some changes, which we may take this opportunity of mentioning. Since the meeting of Parliament, two elections had already taken place in London; one in the City, in the beginning of March, occasioned by the death of Alderman Waithman, in whose place Mr. Lyall, who came forward on the Tory interest, was returned, in opposition to Alderman Venables, whose politics were nearly those of the existing administration; and the other, about three weeks later, in Marylebone, where, on the opening made by the retirement of Mr. Portman, owing to the infirm state of his health, both the ministerial and the conservative candidates were defeated, and the choice of the electors fell on Sir Samuel Whalley, who was understood to profess a sort of radicalism, or at least a mixed faith, which admitted of being passed off as such. Meanwhile, about the middle of the month, Lord Durham, whose health had been for some time giving way, determined upon retiring from office, which left the place of Lord Privy Seal, and a seat in the cabinet, vacant. The new arrangements rendered necessary by his lordship's resignation were not completed till about the beginning of April, when Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon) being made Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Stanley was removed to the Secretaryship for the Colonies, and Sir John Hobhouse succeeded him as Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Edward Ellice was soon after appointed Secretary-at-War. On his acceptance of his new office, Sir John Hobhouse was, of course, obliged to resign his seat for Westminster, and to appear again before his constituents. He was again opposed by Colonel Evans, who had been his opponent at the general election: but, a poll having taken place, Sir John was returned by a large majority. He did not, however, long retain his seat. Having promised his constituents that he would vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, but, in the circumstances in which Sir John Key's motion was brought on, finding himself unable to give it his support, he felt it to be his duty at once to resign a trust the conditions of which he could not fulfil. In the early part of the same evening on which that motion was made, Sir Francis Burdett moved for a new writ for Westminster. Sir John Hobhouse also resigned into his Majesty's hands his appointment as Secretary for Ireland. In all this, he certainly could not, with any fairness or reason, be accused of pursuing any other than a high-minded course: but, in the excitement of the moment, the one fact, that his vote had not been given for the repeal of the unpopular taxes, seemed to blind the public mind to all the other points of the case. He was induced by his friends to allow himself to be again put in nomination for the city he had so long and creditably represented; but the tide of popular opinion ran too strong against him, and his twice-beaten opponent, Colonel Evans, at the close of the contest, on the 10th of May, found himself at the head of the poll. After this, the office of Secretary for Ireland remained vacant for nearly a month, till it was at length filled by the appointment of Mr. Littleton. In September the Irish government underwent a further change, by the return of the Marquess of Anglesey, and the substitution of the Marquess of Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant.

The opposition to the house and window taxes was by no means put an end to by the vote to which Parliament had come. On the contrary, the outcry upon the subject grew more violent than ever; and a disposition was shown, by certain classes of the people, to resort to still more decided measures in order to effect their object. The question was again brought before the House of Commons, on the 21st of May, by Sir Samuel Whalley, who moved "That it is the opinion of this House that all taxes on houses and windows should cease on the 5th of October, 1833." On a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 273 to 124. On the 7th of August, also, Mr. Hume proposed that the House should "resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the Assessed Taxes Acts, with a view to repeal the whole of the inhabited house tax;" but the motion was negatived without a division. Out-of-doors, however, the haranguers at parish meetings, and the other assemblies at which the agitation of the subject was carried on, had ere now roundly proposed to their auditors and disciples to take the business of extinguishing

the obnoxious taxes into their own hands. The plan of operation which they recommended, was the new contrivance called "passive resistance." The people were to refuse to pay the tax-gatherer's demand in money; but were to allow their goods to be seized, in the expectation that when they should be afterwards put up for sale by the government, nobody would dare to buy them. All this sounded very well in theory; but, like many other fine theories, it was found to answer but indifferently in practice. When it came to the push, the heroes of passive resistance were found to be neither very numerous nor very courageous. Towards the end of October, some of the ringleaders in this affair were peremptorily called upon by the authorities to pay up assessments which had been for some time due; and two or three individuals certainly did stand out upon the principle that had been laid down, and allowed the officers to take their goods. But when it appeared that the country was in no humour to rise in rebellion, under the inspiration of this example, nay, that the metropolis itself remained perfectly quiescent, the others deemed it most prudent to give up their patriotic resolves for the present. Some permitted their wives to pay the money, and others put their hands in their pockets and brought it forth themselves. The only actual demonstration that was made on the side of the resistance, was by a rabble of boys, headed by a woman, who fell on a party of two or three officers, the first day, and took possession of a cart-load of furniture, which they were conveying away. But when a proper force was sent to see the law executed, nobody attempted to interfere; the taxes due were quietly paid by all from whom they were demanded; and from that time no more was heard of resistance, either active or passive.

Another class of taxes, of which it was attempted, in the course of the session, to effect a reduction, was that of the stamp duties. On the 3d of May, Mr. Cobbett, having previously submitted a similar motion on the 18th of February, which he withdrew, proposed a series of resolutions upon this subject; but, on a division, they were found to be supported only by 26 members out of 276.

6. *The Budget—Motions on Reforms in the Representation—The Established Church—National Education—The Corn Laws—Impressment—Flogging—Breach of Privilege—Sir Robert Peel—Foreign Affairs—Distress—Close of the Session—His Majesty's Speech—Cold Bath Fields Meeting—The Influenza—The Cholera—Corporation Inquiry—Reform of Scotch Burghs.*

After having thus noticed the parts in the system of the national taxation and expenditure against which the attacks of the economical reformers in the House were chiefly directed, we shall introduce the only account for which we can find room in so brief a sketch as this, of the financial arrangements which were actually made for the year. The budget was not brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer till the 19th of April. The following enumeration of the reductions, which were eventually made, was read in the House of Commons, by Mr. Spring Rice, on the 7th of August:—"Tax on printed cottons, repealed; on coals and slates, repealed; on candles, repealed; on hemp, reduced; on drugs, reduced; on tiles, repealed; on marine insurances, reduced; advertisement duty, reduced one-half; fire-insurance on farming stock, repealed; small receipt stamps, repealed; land-tax on personal estates, repealed; soap duty, reduced one-half; cotton-wool, reduced; the duty on pamphlets, repealed; house-tax on shops, reduced one-half; travellers or riders, repealed; clerks, book-keepers, and office-men, repealed; overseers and managers, repealed; shopmen, warehousemen, and cellarmen, repealed; taxed carts, repealed; market-gardeners, repealed; house-tax payable by licensed-victuallers, reduced one-half; houses of 10*l.* value, tax reduced one-third; and in houses from 10*l.* to 18*l.* value, a progressive reduction *." These reductions were estimated to amount, in all, to somewhat above a million and a half.

The navy estimates were brought forward by Sir James Graham, on the 25th of March; when the number of men voted for the service of the year was 27,000, including 9000 marines. Two days after, Sir John Hobhouse brought forward the army estimates, the principal management of which, however, on their way through the House, fell to the share of his successor, Mr. Ellice. The number of soldiers voted, including 17,289 for India, was 95,79. in all, being 59 under the number of the preceding year. The ordnance estimates were moved by Colonel Maberly on the 29th of April, and the miscellaneous by Mr. Spring Rice, on the 14th of August; but into any detail upon these heads it is impossible for us here to enter.

Among other questions discussed during the session, were some touching still further reforms in the system of the representation. Mr. Grote's motion for the introduction of the vote by ballot, which he submitted in a very able speech on the 25th of April, gave rise to a debate of considerable length, but was negatived on the division by a majority of nearly two to one, the numbers being 106 for, and 211 against it. A motion made on the 23rd of July by Mr. Tennyson for the repeal of the Septennial Act was also lost, although the numbers were considerably nearer, the Ayes being on this occasion 164, and the Noes 213. We may here also notice the motion made by Mr. Tooke, on the 22nd of May, for a select committee to consider what amendments might be made in the late Reform Act, which, after having been, on the suggestion of Mr. Warburton, limited to a proposal for settling the points on which there had been conflicting decisions of the assistant-barristers, was rejected by a majority of 94 to 68. On the 18th of June, also, Colonel Evans moved the repeal of the clause in the Reform Act, making the payment of poor-rates and assessed taxes necessary to entitle electors to the exercise of their franchise; but the motion was lost by a majority of 84 to 24. Earlier in the session (on the 21st of February), Mr. Harvey's motion for a new mode of taking the divisions in the House, and for the publication of the names of the members who voted on each side, was supported by 94 members, but opposed by 142. The objection generally taken was the impracticability of all the plans that had been proposed to effect the object.

On the 16th of April, Mr. Faithfull, the member for Brighton, after edifying the House with a speech which might have made not a bad sermon or lecture on divinity, coolly proposed the abolition of the established church, and the appropriation of its revenues to the relief of the nation. When he had concluded, Mr. O'Dwyer, feeling himself, as he said, in a somewhat embarrassed position, and apparently alarmed, lest the whole establishment was going, and all its wealth on the point of being swallowed up in the gulf of the national debt, moved, by way of amendment, that the revenues of the church of England should be appropriated to the purposes of their original institution. To this, however, Mr. Harvey declared that he, as a Protestant, could not assent. Mr. O'Dwyer afterwards withdrew his amendment; but Mr. Faithfull insisted upon taking the decision of the House on his proposal. The Speaker accordingly put the question from the chair, and after Noes had been heard from all sides of the House, there was a pause of expectation for the Ayes. But not an Aye was uttered. The scene was immediately closed, by the announcement of the Speaker, in his usual sonorous and equable tone, "The Noes have it."

Another subject of first-rate importance that was brought forward during this busy session, with no immediate effect, but it is to be hoped with a far better chance of ultimate success than can be augured for Mr. Faithfull's sweeping speculation, was that of a system of national education. A resolution, pledging the House to take up this subject early in the next session, was moved by Mr. Roebuck, on the 30th of July, in a speech of great ability. The motion gave rise to a short debate, and was eventually withdrawn, on members in general appearing to feel that it would be better to defer entering upon the consideration of the question until it could be brought forward in a more definite shape. But there is no greater object to which a member of the legislature can apply his exertions, nor any by giving himself up to which he might effect more good, or earn a more honourable fame. We have much gratification in adding, that a beginning in this work, although on a small scale, was made in the course of the session by the government, in moving (on the 16th of August) for a grant of 30,000*l.* "to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school-houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes."

The subject of the corn-laws was discussed in the course of the session in both Houses. In the Lords, Earl Fitzwilliam, on the 14th of May, submitted a series of resolutions in favour of a fixed, instead of the present fluc-

* * See more particular statmeents in *The Companion*, pp. 131 and 132.

tuating duty, which were negatived without a division. On the 17th of the same month, Mr. Whitmore, member for Wolverhampton, proposed an alteration of the present system on the same principle, in the House of Commons; but the motion, being met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the previous question, was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one; the numbers being 106 for, and 305 against it. And, on the 18th of June, the subject was again brought forward by Mr. Whitmore's colleague, Mr. Fryer, who moved for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which he explained would be to admit all colonial corn free. But the previous question was also carried on this occasion, by a majority of 72 to 47.

One of the debates of the session which excited considerable interest, was that which took place on the 15th of August, on Mr. Buckingham's motion against impressment. Having been met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the previous question, it was only lost by a majority of 59 to 54. On the 2nd of April, also, Mr. Hume very nearly carried a motion against flogging in the army, except for the offences of mutiny, or of being drunk when on guard, or of theft; the numbers were, 140 in its favour, and 151 against it. An order was some time after issued from the Horse-Guards, prohibiting this punishment, except for certain specified descriptions of misconduct.

We can merely notice in such a rapid summary as this the singular contest between Mr. O'Connell and the newspaper reporters, with which the former chose to occupy several nights of the time of the House of Commons in the last week of July, and which ended, like the tale of "Rasselas," in a conclusion in which nothing was concluded. Nor can we give the narrative of Mr. Cobbett's attempt, on the 16th of May, to oust Sir Robert Peel from his majesty's privy council, for his share in bringing back the country to a metallic currency, by the act of 1819. The strangest part of this affair was, that the motion of the honourable member for Oldham should have actually had four supporters. The Noes were 298.

Of the discussions during the session on matters of foreign policy, the most important were those that took place in both houses in the beginning of June, on the affairs of Portugal,—which derived their interest, however, not from the subject to which they referred, but from their bearing as party struggles upon the then doubtful position of the ministry, and the domestic prospects of the country. It is in this point of view only that it is necessary for us to notice these debates here. On the 3rd, the Duke of Wellington, in the Lords, after a speech in which he strongly reprobated the countenance which he asserted to have been given by government to the expedition of Don Pedro, moved, "That an address should be presented to his majesty, entreating that he would be pleased to give the necessary directions to enforce the observance, by his subjects, of his majesty's declared neutrality in the contest now going on in Portugal." After a long debate, this motion, which could only be considered as a direct censure upon the conduct of the government, was carried by a majority of 79 to 69. The triumph, however, which was thus obtained by the opposition was of short duration. On the 6th, Colonel Davies rose in the House of Commons, and calling upon that assembly to express its opinion also on the subject as to which the Lords had come to a decision in their recent vote, concluded by moving an address to his majesty, expressive of grateful acknowledgment for the judicious policy that had been pursued with reference to Portuguese affairs: and a division having taken place on this motion, after a long debate, there appeared 361 members for, and only 98 against it. Meanwhile, that same evening, his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Peers was announced to their lordships; it was in the following terms:—"I have already taken all such measures as appeared to me to be necessary for maintaining the neutrality which I had determined to observe in the contest now carrying on in Portugal." Some time after this, (on the 30th of July), this ground was again ventured upon by the Marquess of Londonderry, who moved another address to his majesty, for papers connected with the recent notification from the Foreign Office, of Don Pedro's blockade of Lisbon and other Portuguese ports; but the motion, after having given rise to a short conversation, was withdrawn. We may here also mention, that on the 10th of May, the subject of the embargo which had some months before been laid on the vessels of the King of Holland, was introduced in the House of Commons by Alderman Thompson, in a speech in which he attacked the conduct pursued by his majesty's ministers in reference to that power. The motion for papers, with which he concluded, gave rise to an animated debate; but the production of the papers not having been resisted, no division took place. The only other great debate of the session on foreign affairs, was that occasioned on the 9th of July, by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's motion for an address to his majesty, praying that he would not recognize the present political state and condition of Poland, brought about, as it had been, in violation of the treaty of Vienna, to which this country was a party. Among other speakers on this occasion, Mr. Attwood, of Birmingham, delivered an oration characterized by an extraordinary degree of martial ardour; and members on both sides of the House were unanimous in expressing their indignation at the treatment which Poland had experienced. The previous question, however, moved by Lord Althorp, was carried by a majority of 177 to 95. Of this vote, it may be remarked, that it was perhaps the least of a party vote that was come to during the session—members of the most opposite opinions on general politics being found mixed together on both sides. We find, for instance, Mr. Hume and Sir R. Inglis voting together in favour of the motion, and Sir R. Peel and Mr. Warburton against it.

The only other debate of the session which it is necessary to notice, is that which arose on Mr. Thomas Attwood's motion, made on the 21st of March, for a select committee "To inquire into the causes of the general distress existing among the industrious classes of the United Kingdom, and into the most effectual means of its relief." This motion was resisted by ministers; but the indisposition naturally felt to give a vote which might be so easily misconstrued or misrepresented, no doubt, prevented many members, who little agreed with the views of the mover, from negativing his proposition: and it was only lost by a majority of 39—the numbers being 153 for, and 192 against it. Some weeks after, in compliance, as Lord Althorp stated, with the wishes of several gentlemen who had applied to him on the subject, the government consented to the appointment of two select committees of the House of Commons to inquire—the one into the state of agriculture, the other into the state of trade, manufactures, and shipping. These committees, accordingly, both proceeded immediately to the examination of witnesses; and each, previous to the rising of Parliament, had collected a voluminous body of evidence, which was soon after printed. We have already had occasion to refer to the labours of the committee on manufactures *, and there are many things in both reports to which we shall probably take an early opportunity of directing the attention of our readers.

The session—the longest and most laborious in the history of Parliament—was at length brought to a close on the 29th of August. "It appears," Sir Robert Inglis remarked, in bringing up, that morning, the forty-seventh report of the public petitions' committee, "from a very able statement, which has been prepared with great care, that the House, during the present session, has sat more than twice the number of days, and nearly three times the number of hours, that were occupied in the session of 1826- during which the House of Commons sat 64 days, or 457 hours. Even in the great reform session of 1831, we sat only 98 days, or 918 hours; whilst, during the present session, the House has, up to yesterday, sat 142 days, or 1270 hours. It appears that the session of 1806 occupied 125 days, or 645 hours, being, on the average, five hours each day; that of 1807 occupied 86 days, or 434 hours, giving also an average of five hours per day. In the year 1811, the Parliament sat 135 days, or 588 hours, which gave an average of only four hours and a half per day; and, in 1814, the session occupied 127 days, or 476 hours, which was not equal to four hours per day. It will appear, that, during the whole of this session, the House has been occupied nine hours a day on an average, and for much the larger portion of the session—namely, since Easter—more than twelve hours each day." Yet, all this time would seem to have been insufficient to enable the House to get over its work. We have seen how many bills, after having been carried forward a certain length, had to be abandoned, from the press of business; and, from the last number of the Votes, it appears that notices of motions for the next session stand in the names of different members, to the really alarming number of a hundred and thirty-four! Here is a session, of tolerable dimensions, all bespoke already.

* See Article on Trades' Unions in *Companion* No. 12.

The Speech, on proroguing the two Houses, was delivered by his majesty in person. It was of considerable length; but was chiefly occupied by a recapitulation of the great measures of the session, with all of which his majesty expressed his satisfaction. The intimations made with regard to foreign affairs were, that his majesty's allies, and all foreign powers, continued to give assurances of their friendly disposition,—that, although no definitive arrangement had yet taken place between Holland and Belgium, the convention concluded in May last by this country and France with the king of the Netherlands had prevented the renewal of hostilities; that in consequence of recent events a minister had been accredited by his majesty to the court of the queen of Portugal; and that the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey had been terminated. On this last head his majesty added, "You may be assured that my attention will be carefully directed to any events which may affect the present state or the future independence of that empire." The prorogation was, in the first instance, to the 31st of October; but on that day Parliament was further prorogued to the 4th of February, 1831, when it will meet for the despatch of business.

Having thus brought our parliamentary review to a close, we have little more to add. The history of this country, in its domestic progress and relations, is mainly the history of its legislature. We have interwoven in our narrative of the proceedings of parliament notices of most of the few events of any public importance which occurred during the earlier part of the year. We have still, however, to mention the meeting in Coldbath Fields, on Monday, the 13th of May, which, for a short time, so much engaged public attention. It was called together by placards posted, during the preceding week, in many parts of the metropolis, inviting the members of the different political unions to assemble, in order to make arrangements for the holding of a National Convention. These advertisements, which were printed, were signed by a person of the name of Russell, who appears to have been the secretary of one of the unions. How the speculation of Mr. Russell and his confederates might have turned out if left alone, is doubtful. In such cases the authorities intrusted with the preservation of the public peace have a difficult duty to perform: their interference for the very purpose of preventing disorder sometimes serving to occasion it. At the same time they cannot safely allow manifest preparations to be made for the defiance of the law, without, at least, assuming a position which will enable them promptly to interfere, if necessary. We should say that they ought to stand on the watch, but very cautiously to avoid giving the first provocation. Soon after Russell's invitation appeared, a proclamation was issued from the Home-Office, and posted over the walls, we believe much more extensively than the other, denouncing the intended meeting as illegal, and warning all persons from attending it. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that a distinct intimation was not given, that if the meeting took place it would be at once dispersed by force. This was what was actually done. A large body of police was collected around the spot, and communications were also kept up with a detachment of the Life-Guards, who were under arms, and ready to be marched at a moment's notice. When the hour which had been announced for the commencement of proceedings arrived, two personages, of the names of Lee and Mee, took their places upon a cart, and were about to proceed to address the multitude, which by this time amounted to some thousands. The man to whom the cart belonged, however, deemed it prudent to drive away, and the orators were obliged to mount and sustain themselves in the best way they could upon a paling. A body of persons now gathered around them, bearing tricoloured flags, caps of liberty, and banners having skulls and cross-bones painted on them, with the words "Liberty and Death," and other similar mottoes; and Mee began his harangue. He had not spoken more than three or four sentences, when a body of police marched up, and forcing their way through the crowd, made directly for the point where the orators and banner-bearers were collected. The banners were soon captured, and the orators put to flight; but in the confusion and momentary struggle some ruffian found an opportunity of plunging a dagger into the heart of Robert Culley, one of the policemen, who almost instantly fell down dead; and two other policemen were also wounded. It was said that the persons who inflicted these stabs were some of those by whom the banners were carried, and that they were received by the policemen while wresting these ensigns from their holders. Of course, there were several other casualties, a good many of the people having been struck or knocked down by the batons of the police, in the rush forward that was made by the latter to get at the ringleaders. Some of the police, on the other hand, were hit with brickbats, and otherwise severely injured. But, fortunately, poor Culley's was the only life lost. This affair, which, even if it had ended here, would have excited a considerable sensation, was invested with its chief interest by the proceedings of the coroner's jury who were called together to inquire into the circumstances of Culley's death, and who, after an investigation continued during four days, returned the memorable verdict of justifiable homicide. We have already commented at considerable length upon this judgment *, and shall only here add, that a few days after it was delivered, the inquisition, on the application of the Solicitor-General, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench. A man named Furzey, who had been apprehended at the meeting, was afterwards tried on the charge of having been the person who stabbed Culley; but was acquitted. Meanwhile, the persons who had composed the coroner's jury had their reward, not only in plentiful notoriety and mob applause, but in promises, at least, of more lasting and more substantial honours. A subscription was set on foot to erect a monument to them; but the monument, after a time, dwindled down to a cream-jug; and that, again, to a half-crown medal for each of the patriots. It turned out, however, in the end, that there were no funds to carry into effect even this last economical project, the little that had been contributed having afterwards, it seems, slipped through the fingers of the collectors in a way which nobody pretended to be able exactly to explain.

In the end of April and the beginning of May, the country was visited with an epidemic, the widest in its spread, and the most indiscriminating in its attacks, that had been known for many years. Very few persons escaped without being affected by it, more or less severely. In general, the illness which it occasioned was slight, and lasted only for a few days; but there were many cases of great and protracted suffering, and not a few also, especially among old people, in which the attack terminated fatally. The influenza (so this distemper was called) was followed, in August, by another visitation of the cholera, which continued to prevail for some weeks in the metropolis; and also sprung up in many parts of the country. Although, however, it was probably in London quite as destructive as it had been the preceding year, it nowhere occasioned the dreadful mortality with which it had been formerly attended in some other parts of the kingdom; and comparative familiarity with the evil had also divested it of a considerable portion of its original terrors. It was thought proper, nevertheless, to renew the Act for its prevention which had been passed in the former Parliament; and that statute will remain, accordingly, in force till the end of the next session.

Since the rising of Parliament the principal subject of domestic politics to which public attention has been directed is the inquiry into corporations. It had been originally intended to bring in a bill to amend the constitution of these bodies, but, instead of this, a committee of the House of Commons was, early in the session, appointed to examine, in the first instance, into their existing state. In a former number (See "Companion," p. 87) we gave an abstract of the report made by this committee, which recommended that the further investigation of the subject should be carried on by means of a commission, which might proceed from place to place, and collect the necessary information with regard to each corporation on the spot. In the beginning of July, accordingly, an address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, praying the appointment of such a commission. The commission having been in consequence appointed under the sign manual, soon after commenced its labours, visiting one corporation after another, and hearing evidence in public respecting each. As the inquiry, however, has not yet been nearly brought to a close, it will fall more properly to be noticed in our next Retrospect, although it is probable that we shall be able long before the close of another year to submit an account of its results.

It may be recollected that, a short time before Parliament

* See *Companion*, p. 76.

rose, a bill was brought in by the Lord Chancellor for giving municipal constitutions to the new boroughs created by the Reform Act, but was not pressed beyond the first reading*. That measure, though perhaps with some modifications, will be again introduced early in the next session. In connexion with this subject we may mention that the election of councillors in all the Scotch burghs, under the act passed last session†, took place on the 5th of November, and excited extraordinary interest throughout the northern part of the island. The effect has been, in almost every instance, the complete overthrow and ejection of the party that has hitherto been in power, and, along with the triumph of popular principles, the substitution of the men of the people.

FRANCE.

THE history of France during the past year has been comparatively unmarked by great events, although it has abounded in indications which might, perhaps, make a fruitful text for speculation as to the future. Upon that field, however, we shall not enter.

The close parallelism that has been maintained by the recent history of France, with that of our own country during the seventeenth century, has been often remarked. The convocation of the legislature forced upon the crown, after government without parliaments had become, to all appearance, the settled constitution of the kingdom,—the immediate assumption of supremacy by the representatives of the people,—the extinction of the aristocracy,—the abolition of the church,—the trial and execution of the king,—the establishment of a republic,—the subjugation of the state to the power of the sword,—the sway of a great military chief,—and, after all, the restoration of the former order of things, and the old line of monarchs—had formed the cycle of changes through which both countries had passed, up to the point of the return of the Bourbons in 1814. But the coincidence was not to end here. The story of Louis XVIII. and his brother Charles X., is even in much of its earlier course the story of our Charles II. and his brother James II., over again. And in both cases we have the same catastrophe—the expulsion from the throne of the reigning family, but still a compromise made with the principle of hereditary succession, in the substitution of the nearest collateral branch which circumstances would allow to be selected. In this respect, the Duke of Orleans served very well for a Prince of Orange to France.

With all this imitative character in the main results, nevertheless, the progress of France has exhibited also much that is new and distinctive, at least in the modes and agencies by which it has been carried from one stage to another. The last change in particular, was very remarkable for this peculiarity and contrast with its English prototype, in the manner in which it was brought about. We had nothing in our revolution like "the three glorious days." The throne of William of Nassau was not like that of Louis Philip—a throne of the barricades. A still greater difference between the one crisis and the other, is occasioned by another circumstance—that is, that the nineteenth century is not the seventeenth. France is not now, what England was in 1688. General civilization has commenced a new era. Public opinion, formerly weak, and with little or no influence on affairs, has started up, and become the greatest of all powers. We cannot, therefore, here argue, very confidently, what is to be, from what has been. The settlement made at our revolution was supported by a powerful aristocracy, and the people were nothing;—in France there is now no aristocracy, and the people are everything.

Confining our view, however, to what has actually taken place since the convulsion in July, 1830, we should say that the new order of things appears to be gradually consolidating. This effect first began to be sensible after the accession of the Perier ministry, in March, 1831. There were, subsequently to this, repeated tumults in Paris; but none in which the law and the government threw themselves in the dirt before the triumphant rioters, as in the preceding February, under the vacillating and feeble administration of M. Lafitte. The death of Perier, in May, 1832, would have been a still greater loss to France, if, during the brief period that he was permitted to preside over the state, he had not established and put in action a system of government, which he left as a legacy to his successors. The course which has since been pursued by Louis Philip and his ministers, is essentially that which was begun by this great statesman.

Its principle is, avoidance of, and hostility to, extremes. In France, since politics first began to agitate the country, there have always been a bigoted royalist party, an equally bigoted republican party, and a variety of parties occupying different stations in the intermediate ground. The latter have been more or less divided and multiplied by shades of opinion, according to the circumstances of the time. Generally, however, it may be said that they have formed two great bodies, united in the main, but still having a greater leaning—the one towards monarchical, the other towards republican politics. In the Chamber of Deputies, accordingly, they have been recognised as one force, under the name of the Centre; but have also been distinguished into the Right Centre, and the Left Centre. If the imperfect coherence or tendency to disunion in this party could be completely overcome, it might certainly sway the destinies of France. It is quite evident, that neither of the two extreme parties is numerically strong. Everything indicates that the adherents of each are a mere handful in the country. The mass of the population is neither royalist nor revolutionary, but constitutional. In this undeniable fact alone, then, (for we apprehend the statement cannot be contested,) is there, we think, reason sufficient why the government should also be *juste milieu*. A cry is raised against the political system so designated, which has the advantage—no small one for a mere clamour—of being heartily joined in by two classes of persons of the most opposite opinions. The bawlers of both the extreme schools labour to represent this intermediate doctrine, as meaning neither one thing nor another—a mere mixture of opposites which contradict and neutralize each other; and there are persons simple enough to be persuaded that it must necessarily be of this character, occupying the position it does. But there is no reason why it should not be quite as definite and positive as either of the other two doctrines; and we believe that it is. It is possible to walk due north, and also to walk due east; but may not he likewise proceed in a direct path who walks towards the north-east? Is the diagonal of the parallelogram not as much a straight line as either the perpendicular or the base? Why, then, may not a *juste milieu* government hold as distinct and independent a course as either what we should call in this country a high Tory or a low Radical government?

Everything that has taken place in France since this system was first acted upon under the new settlement, has gone to show that it is the only system having a natural foundation in the prevailing opinions of the people. Both Royalism and Republicanism have been proved to be without strength in the country. The partisans of both have been zealous, active, unscrupulous; they have shown no want of talent any more than of ardour; they have tried every different method and weapon of contest; the pen, the tongue, the sword—from mobbing up to rebellion—from reasoning and eloquence down to pasquinades and lies—have all been plied in their turn, or at once; and what has been the result? Uniform failure, and total and humiliating defeat, in every attempt to overthrow the existing government, or to get the direction of affairs into their own hands. The respectable and influential classes of the people have shown no sympathy with them. At the same moment, in the beginning of June, 1832, only a few weeks after the ministry had lost its head, and while it was still almost in a state of disorganization, the throne of Louis Philip was attacked by a royalist insurrection in La Vendée, and by a furious tumult of the populace in the streets of Paris. It triumphed over both,—and triumphed by the support and cordially-rendered aid of the country. In La Vendée, the inspiration of old recollections, the presence of the Duchess of Berri, and all her exertions, and those of her partisans, could get up nothing beyond a sort of Whitefoot and Terry outbreak—a war of ambuscades and petty depredations, the putting down of which was rather to be considered as the restoration of order than the extinction of a rebellion.

* See *Companion*, p. 138.
† See *Companion*, p. 113.

In Paris, the national guards, composed of the middle classes, and comprehending nearly the whole of that portion of the population, turned out with alacrity in defence of the government, and did not retire from their sanguinary conflict with the armed multitude, till they had completely beaten them, and driven them from the streets; and on every other occasion the result has been the same. Without by any means approving of all the separate acts of the government, the body of the people of France have shown over and over again, and whenever an opportunity was given to them of testifying their preference, that the present system, in its spirit and general principles, was the only system under which they felt that the country could go on. The boys of the schools—Young France as they call themselves—may be for the *movement*, and many of the old men, and all the old women, for the *resistance;* the vastly-preponderating majority of the rest of the nation evidently understood that neither resistance nor movement, but guidance, is the proper attribute and office of a government.

After the death of Perier, the ministry remained in a provisional state for some months. During this interval, there was scarcely a recognised head of the cabinet, unless the king himself was to be considered as occupying that place. It was not till the beginning of October, that a regular and settled form was given to the government by the assignment of the presidency of the council and the premiership to Soult, who also, however, it was arranged, should continue to hold his office of Minister of War. The following substitutions of new men were also made: the Duke de Broglie, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the room of Sebastiani; M. Humann, Finance Minister, in room of Baron Louis; and M. Thiers, Minister of Public Instruction, in the room of M. Girod de l'Ain. The following members of the cabinet, as it had been composed at the time of Perier's death, retained their places: M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, or, what we should call the Home Office; M. Barthe, Keeper of the Seals; Admiral Rigny, Minister of Marine; and M. D'Argout, Minister of Commerce and Public Works. M. Thiers was soon after removed to the Interior, when M. Guizot became Minister of Public Instruction; and, finally, about the commencement of 1833, M. Thiers and M. D'Argout exchanged places, the former going to the Department of Commerce, and the latter becoming Home Secretary.

The year began in peace abroad, and tranquillity at home. All chance of the revival of the troubles in La Vendee had been extinguished by the capture of the Duchess of Berri at Nantes, in the beginning of the preceding November, and her incarceration in the Castle of Blaye. The troops that had been sent to Antwerp having, by a series of brilliant operations, compelled the surrender of that citadel, were already on their march back to France.

The Chambers had been re-opened on the 19th of November; and, although the opposition was violent and persevering, and the discussions had often been very stormy, the ministers had been supported by great majorities on all the important divisions. Their nominee, M. Dupin, had gained his election as President of the Chamber of Deputies, against his competitor, M. Lafitte, by a majority of 234 votes to 136, although little more than a year before (in June, 1831), Lafitte, on the same occasion, had had only four votes less than the ministerial candidate, notwithstanding that the ministry had distinctly intimated that they would go out if the decision should be against them. The Address, in like manner, though warmly debated, was carried by a majority of 233 to 119.

The only extreme which the Chamber now contained, it is proper to remark, was the Extreme Left. Of this, the above minorities had been composed. The monarchical party, which had formerly constituted the Extreme Right, was all but annihilated in this branch of the legislature. M. Berryer was almost its only representative. The Centre, however, still continued to be divided into two sections—the Right and the Left Centre, the former of which alone properly constituted the party of the ministers, although they generally also received the support of the latter, whose chief was M. Dupin. In this new state of things, a new nomenclature of parties came to be adopted; and the Dupinists were designated as the *tiers parti*, or third party, the other two being the regular ministerialists, and the regular opposition.

The *tiers parti*, from its position, necessarily possessed great power, the vote, in fact, depending entirely upon which of the other two parties it chose to join. It generally, as we have just observed, sided with the ministry; but on one occasion, in the beginning of March, it gave a remarkable demonstration of its importance as one of the regulating forces of the political machine. Having suddenly thrown its weight on a particular vote into the scale of the opposition, it very nearly overset the government, and might, certainly, have done so entirely, if it had chosen to abide by its new alliance. But although strong enough to break up the existing cabinet, M. Dupin and his friends knew very well that they could not, as yet, form another that would stand, composed of members of their own body.

Immediately after the government had sustained this shock, it had to meet, or rather it exposed itself to, another danger, in the trial of two young men, named Bergeron and Benoist, who had been taken up on the charge of being concerned in the attack that had been made upon the life of the king on the day of the opening of the Chambers, when a pistol was said to have been fired at him as he rode along the street. This trial lasted for above a week, during which great apprehensions were entertained of disturbances on the part of the populace, and the most formidable preparations were made to prevent the violation of the public peace, although no tumult actually occurred. The process, however, ended in the acquittal of the accused, and in what the Royalist and Republican newspapers called the defeat of the government. It is strange that the French government should persevere in these contests with its opponents on the floors of the courts of law. In the course of this, as during the preceding year, they continued to attack the opposition newspapers by prosecution after prosecution, for articles which appeared in their pages, and almost uniformly with the same result, the escape and triumph of the defendant, and their own discomfiture and disgrace. They place themselves in every way at a disadvantage in these attempts. The judicial system which they are obliged to use as their instrument is so bad, that the very exhibition of its defects and absurdities cannot but go a great way to secure a verdict, both from public opinion and from the jury themselves, in favour of those whom it is made use of to crush. Besides, the Paris juries have evidently adopted the principle, that attacks upon a government merely by words or writing are no proper subjects of punishment, however decided or violent; and, perhaps, they are in the right. It is clear, at any rate, that they are determined to act upon the opinion; and, that being the case, it seems to be unaccountable impolicy and folly for the government to be constantly giving them new opportunities of doing so. If they are in the wrong, they would be much more likely to be set right by the publications, alleged to be dangerous, being allowed to work a little of the mischief with which they are supposed to be fraught, and thus to prove, by the evidence of facts, that it was not safe to tolerate them.

Almost the only conviction which was obtained in the course of this foolish war against the press, was in the case of M. Lionne, the editor of the "Tribune," who was charged with having published a libel on the Chamber of Deputies. And this was not a verdict of any court of law, but of the Chamber itself, before which the accused was brought to take his trial, in conformity with a law which had been passed in the time of the Bourbons, but which had only been applied on another occasion before the present. The sentence passed by an immense majority was, imprisonment for three years, and a fine of 500*l*. The oppressive character of this proceeding, and the severity of the punishment, could hardly fail to damage the reputation of the government, as much as an opposite verdict would have done pronounced by another tribunal.

This trial took place in the middle of April. Immediately before, the ministers had met with so much opposition in the Chamber to one of their propositions, that for the erection of a system of forts around the capital, that they had been at length compelled to withdraw it. Their opponents asserted that the purpose of these forts was not to defend but to command the city; and they probably might have admitted of being turned to either use.

All these blunders, however, only proved the strength of the government which maintained its existence in spite of them. Soon after this an event happened, which, doubtless, did not a little to steady the throne of Louis Philip. This was the production of a daughter by the Duchess of Berri on the 10th of May, in her prison at Blaye. The force of the blow given by this catastrophe to the Royalist party, may

be conceived by the extravagant conduct they displayed on the occasion. For a long while nothing would convince them that it was possible the intelligence could be true. Even the declaration of the duchess herself, authenticated by all the securities against falsification which could be asked or devised, was treated by them with incredulity and contempt. The duchess, on her delivery, declared herself the wife of a Count Hector Luchesi Palli, gentleman of the chamber to her brother the King of Naples, and then residing as envoy from that court at the Hague. But her partisans in Paris scouted this solution of the matter, and would believe the story of the husband as little as that of the child. Indeed, to pass over everything else, it must be confessed that even a clandestine marriage was a considerable imprudence for her royal highness to commit in the circumstances. The part she had acted, however, though it had in a manner demolished the cause at the head of which she had placed herself, brought her the personal advantage of a restoration to liberty. About a month after her confinement she was allowed to take her departure along with her daughter for Palermo, it being considered that she had now made herself quite harmless as a political incendiary.

Meanwhile, on the 25th of April, the session of the legislative chambers had been brought to a close by a prorogation, by which, however, they were appointed to meet again to commence a new session the next day. The object of this proceeding was to enable the budget for each year to be voted in future during the currency of the year, or rather as near its commencement as possible, instead of, as heretofore, not till after its close. The supplies for 1832, for instance, had not been voted till the spring of 1833, after the expenses they were to meet had all been actually incurred; and what ready money the government required had been granted in the mean time by what were called *douzièmes provisoires*, or votes of provisional credit. The Chamber, however, was prohibited by law from voting more than one budget in the same session; and hence the necessity of commencing a new session before the budget of 1833 could be brought forward. This occasioned no such interruption to the progress of business as it would have done in the English parliament, the rule in the French Chambers (and it seems a very reasonable one) being, that measures introduced and advanced to a certain stage in one session, are taken up again at that point in the next. With us a prorogation makes it necessary to begin everything *de novo*.

The second session was continued till the 26th of June. Of several acts which were passed, one was of the very greatest importance, the act by which a system of national education was established throughout France. This measure had been introduced on the 2nd of January, by M. Guizot, in a speech of remarkable ability, and abounding with the most profound and enlightened views. The law establishes three descriptions of schools; Elementary schools, of which every commune or parish is bound to maintain one, except when two or more small communes join to maintain the same school; Middle schools, for the higher branches of education, of which there is to be one in every departmental town, and in every parish having more than 6000 inhabitants; and Normal schools, for the training of teachers, of which there is also to be one for each department. The elementary education, which is to be given to every person born in the country, is to consist of reading, writing, French grammar, and arithmetic, together with moral and religious instruction. The masters in all these schools are to have small salaries, paid by the parish or department; but are to derive the chief part of their emoluments from fees. Each parish school is to be under the immediate management of a communal committee, of which the *curé* of the parish is to be *ex officio* a member, and which is also to contain one minister of each of the other religious persuasions that may exist in the commune. The whole system is placed under the direction of the member of the cabinet known in France as the minister of public instruction. The plan, not only in its leading principles, but in almost all its details, is borrowed from that which has been for some years in operation in Prussia, to which country M. Cousin was some time ago sent by the government to examine and report on it.

Few events of public importance have occurred since the Chambers were dismissed. On the 29th of September, the town of Bougeiah, on the coast of Africa, was taken by an expedition sent against it, after a fierce contest with the inhabitants, which lasted nearly the whole day. This acquisition, it is expected, will add greatly to the security and value of the Algerine territory, which France seems now to have resolved to retain and colonise. By the latest accounts, that former nest of barbarism and piracy is fast becoming transformed into a scene of European civilization.

Within the last few days, the government has sustained another of those discomfitures with which it is now so familiar, in the acquittal of twenty-seven individuals whom it had brought to trial on the charge of having been engaged in a conspiracy which was to have broken out during the celebration of the anniversary of the three days in July last. The trial has been a most extraordinary one, exhibiting all the absurdities of the French judicial system in their most exaggerated form. Whether or not the government anticipated that they would obtain a conviction, is hard to say; but certainly nobody else conceived that they had the least chance of success.

This last exhibition has been so timed by the ministers, as to come just on the eve of the re-assembling of the legislature. The two Chambers met again on the 23rd of December, when the session was opened by a speech from the throne. If we may judge from the first votes, the ministerial majority in the Chamber of Deputies promises to be still more commanding than it was before the prorogation. M. Dupin has been again elected president, by 220 votes out of 299. Lafitte, this time, had only 11 votes; and General Lafayette, who came nearest to the successful candidate, no more than 29. The three vice-presidents have, also, all been chosen from the constitutional party.

SPAIN.

THE Salic law, and the rights of succession to the throne of this country, as set forward by the rival parties of Don Carlos and the late King's daughter, having been discussed in a former number, (see *Companion*, p. 161), we need not dwell further on those subjects in describing the great historical events of the year.

When the recently-deceased king, Ferdinand VII., was restored to his throne in 1814, by the downfall of Buonaparte, Spain was not altogether the ultra-loyal and submissive country it had been for some ages. During the war, the Cortes, or National Assembly, had again met, and for some years directed the affairs of the nation—not indeed with unvarying wisdom, or with universal respect and obedience on the part of the Spanish people, but still in such a way as to revive the recollection that the country had not always acknowledged an absolute monarchy, and to suggest the hope that it might again be rendered happy by an improved constitutional form, which might limit the authority of the king (whenever he should be restored to them), without destroying it. Such were certainly the feelings of a numerous class of the Spaniards; but a still more numerous and influential class, headed by the high clergy and part of the nobility, were violently opposed to all change in the monarchical government; while a third class, infinitely less numerous, but as violent as the second, were intent on driving liberal notions to extremes. Such was the state of parties when Ferdinand was restored; and these parties, under different names, and at times slightly subdivided, have continued ever since to agitate Spain. We may simply call them Moderates, Absolutists, and Democrats. The second, of course, was that with which the king immediately came in contact, and from which he took his notions of the condition and wants of the country. These men, by holding up to view the extreme views of the ultra-liberal party *alone*, and by artfully confounding the intentions of the moderate party with them, begat a dread and detestation of all constitutional forms of government in the mind of Ferdinand, who was naturally, by education and habit, inclined to despotism.

If the moderate party had first obtained the ear of the Sovereign, or if they had been fairly represented to him, despite the despotic inclinations of Ferdinand, things might have taken a somewhat different turn; but, though moderation may triumph in time, it is a consequence of its very nature, that it should long be crushed and concealed by prominent and opposite extremes. The king could only see absolutists and democrats—and, in truth, in the san-

guinary struggles which have ensued, these two classes have had the field almost entirely to themselves.

The dissolution of the Cortes, as we have said, was followed by a succession of conspiracies and insurrections, one of the most remarkable of which was that headed by the unfortunate Porlier in 1815. They were local and wildly planned, nor was any sensible blow inflicted on the absolutists till 1820, when Riego and Quiroga, at the head of the army of Leon, which was assembled at the Isle of St. Leon, near Cadiz, to be embarked for South America, where they were to fight for the re-establishment of Ferdinand's authority, suddenly revolted and proclaimed a constitution.

This constitution was entirely in the sense of the democratic party, who, in a country where the clergy was exceedingly powerful, and the high nobility very influential, most unwisely betrayed a jealousy and hatred of priests, monks, and grandees. It obtained, however, the adhesion of many of the moderates, who hoped what they considered defective in it might be rectified by time and experience. The King was obliged to swear to it, and the Cortes were re-assembled. This experiment, however, was not destined to be a fair test of the advantages of constitutional government. The voice of the moderates was drowned in the assembly by the ultra-liberals, who had lost none of their violence; whilst, out of doors, the absolutists were as fierce as ever in the opposite extreme. The vice of these two parties made the fabric totter from its first erection, and ended by bringing it to the ground. The democrats were as much the enemies of a rational and feasible scheme of liberty as the absolutists.

The court was not, and could not be expected to be, very sincere in its professions of attachment to the new order of things; but decency and sound policy ought to have induced the party of the Cortes to treat it with respect, and not to insult it, as they soon did, with scurrilous songs, lampoons, caricatures, and vexatious and petty interferences. Such things were quite new to the Spanish *people*, the mass of which, taking in all and every part of the kingdom, had undeniably *rather* more loyalty than constitutionalism. At first they looked on with astonishment, but this soon became indignation. By degrees, insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom against the government of the Cortes, in the suppression of which the liberals proved that the practice of cruelty was by no means confined to the absolutists. A sort of civil war, accompanied by horrors on both sides, raged for three years. Success, however, seemed to incline to the part of the Cortes, when the French army interfered, and settled the question in favour of King Ferdinand and the absolutists. A violent re-action followed. Some of the Cortes were executed in a peculiarly barbarous manner, and innumerable Spanish exiles, beggared, and in utter destitution, were scattered over Europe. These measures could not, however, prevent further plots and conspiracies within, and descents on the coasts from without. These were all badly planned, and ended in the destruction of the imprudent men engaged in them. The most important of the descents was that made on Tarifa, in the straits of Gibraltar, in 1821, and that under General Torrijos in 1831, when recent political events in France gave fresh hopes to the constitutionalists. Meanwhile, the French army that supported Ferdinand had been entirely withdrawn; and the King, who had hitherto been without children, and had left the succession to the throne open to his brother, Don Carlos, had become the father of a daughter*, by his fourth and last wife, Donna Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies, whom he had espoused on the 11th of December, 1829. This event exercised a great and immediate influence on Spanish politics. Ferdinand, in his natural anxiety to be succeeded by his own progeny, abolished the existing Salic law, which prevented females from ascending the throne of Spain. This was in 1830.

This decree incensed his brother, Don Carlos, who has rather a numerous family of sons, and has always counted, both as a right and a certainty, that the crown would devolve to him. The health of the King was precarious, and Ferdinand foresaw that his decease would leave his daughter exposed to the attacks of a formidable faction; for that infant's uncle, the said Don Carlos, had identified himself with the absolutists, and now was known to look to them for the support of his claims to the throne, while they, on their side, relied on him for the maintenance of their favourite system of government. That party being pre-engaged and intractable, it therefore became incumbent on the King to look after the other parties, and expedient to secure the good will of the moderates, and, if possible, that of the democrats, who might rally round the widow Queen and the young infanta Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, as the absolutists were prepared to do round Don Carlos. This was to make, at once, any contention that might take place not a war of succession, but a war of political principle; and the question, whether Ferdinand's brother or daughter shall ascend the throne, now simply resolves itself into this—whether absolute or liberal principles shall obtain. To forward his views for the succession of his child, Ferdinand, as much as his disposition and habits would permit, adopted a milder plan of government. He also, on the 15th of October, 1832, eight months after the birth of his second daughter, granted an amnesty in favour of all individuals exiled or otherwise punished or pursued for political offences, excepting only such individuals as had voted in Cortes the entire subversion of the throne, or had been at the head of armed bodies against him. A few days after this (on October 25th), being obliged, by his infirmities, to renounce for a while the cares of government, he appointed the young Queen Regent. A complete change was instantly made in the ministry, and a still more liberal course of politics adopted. Meanwhile, the party of Don Carlos, or the absolutists, contrived several underplots, and even procured from the King a counter decree, annulling that published in 1830, which abolished the Salic law, and excluded his brother from the throne. Ferdinand, however, having partially renewed his health, on the 31st of December, 1832, put forth an autograph declaration, importing that this last decree, in favour of Don Carlos, had been *extorted* from him during his illness—that he hereby annulled it, and confirmed the decree of 1830, which regulated the new order of succession in favour of his daughter.

On the 4th of January, 1833, Ferdinand resumed the reins of government, thanking his queen for her management of affairs during his illness. Her majesty, however, continued to be associated with the king in the exercise of sovereign authority. A few days previously to Ferdinand's re-appearance on the theatre of government, 15,000 absolutists made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the city of Toledo.

These proceedings, with others we have not room to detail, induced Ferdinand to promulgate two documents—one ordering his subjects to take a general oath of allegiance to his elder daughter, and the other summoning the Cortes to meet on the 20th of June. Don Carlos, who had retired with his family into Portugal in the middle of March, and was enjoying for a time the protection of Don Miguel, published on the 29th of April a declaration, stating, that with the conviction in which he remained, that he was the legitimate successor to the throne of Spain, in case the king should die without heirs male, neither his conscience nor his honour permitted him to take the oath of allegiance to the young princess.

To this declaration Ferdinand, on the 7th of May, replied, that important political reasons, law, and even the repose of the infant Don Carlos himself, interdicted his return into Spain. He was, therefore, authorized to repair with his family to Rome, or any part of the Papal states. The king also insisted that no foreign power had a right to interfere in the internal administration of Spain, or to take any note of the protest of Carlos. Eleven days after this reply, another protest, which will be noticed more particularly under the head of Italy, was made by the reigning king of the Two Sicilies, against Ferdinand's alteration of the order of succession.

In spite, however, of protests and declarations, the deputies of the provinces and cities of the kingdom of Spain met on the day appointed (the 20th of June), and in the church of Saint Jerome, at Madrid, swore, with all due formality, to be faithful to the Infanta Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, princess of Asturias, as lawful heiress of the crown. Having taken this oath, the Cortes broke up, for it had been previously provided that they should meet for this sole purpose. Don Francisco de Paulo, and the other princes of the blood, swore to the king in person. Before the swearing began, the ambassador of the king of the Two Sicilies protested against it on behalf of his master.

According to report, Ferdinand's health continued to im-

* Ferdinand's second child, also a daughter, was born on the 0th of January, 1832.

prove—in September we were assured that he was perfectly recovefed,—and a few days after, certain intelligence of his death reached England. He expired on the 29th of September, within a few days of his fiftieth year. His life, almost from its very commencement, had been one of great vicissitude and constant trouble; and there are probably few among the millions of his subjects who have endured more sufferings than Ferdinand VII., King of Spain. By his last will he confirmed the decree of 1830, which abolished the Salic law, and named the queen dowager regent during the minority of his daughter. His death was not officially announced for some time, as the regent was apprehensive that the Carlists might take immediate advantage of the event. She was led to believe that Don Carlos, in person, was at the moment close to the frontier, and that, on receiving intelligence of his brother's death, he would enter Spain in arms. The situation of this princess, herself a young woman, with the mortal remains of her husband on one hand, and her helpless infant daughters on the other, must move our commiseration. In the agony of her grief and fear she addressed herself to Freire, the captain-general of Madrid, to Quesada, commander of the foot-guards, and to some others who were in the palace at the time, and asked if she could rely upon them. They gave her satisfactory assurances, and honourably kept their word. The troops which garrisoned Madrid (about 8000 strong) were placed under arms, and consigned to their respective quarters. The king's decease was then announced, but it did not disturb the peace of the capital. On the following day (September 30th) the queen, assuming the title of "Reina Gobernadora," issued three decrees, one of which confirmed the ministers in their several departments for the present.

Though her authority was recognized and maintained at Madrid, Carlist movements immediately took place in various parts of the kingdom. The great strength of this party, as was expected, proved to be in Navarre and the Biscayan provinces. The Marquis de Valdespina, a man well known for his bigotry and devotion to the pretender, entered Bilboa, at the head of a considerable body of the priesthood and peasantry, and, after massacring many of the inhabitants, proclaimed Don Carlos as king. Pampeluna showed a disposition to rise, but was kept quiet by the presence of a strong body of troops who were faithful to the queen regent. Vittoria declared for absolutism, and expelled the moderate and liberal portion of its citizens. The cry of the absolute party was, "Long live Don Carlos and the Inquisition!" Wherever they had the superiority, they stopped the diligences, forcibly extorted money from the inhabitants, and barbarously treated all who were known or suspected to be opposed to their projects. A proclamation addressed to the Spanish people, in the name of Don Carlos, calling upon them to rally round the altar and the throne, was printed and distributed in nearly every part of the kingdom. This was met by the queen regent's party, by the careful distribution of copies of her Majesty's manifesto, which explained the course of policy she intended to pursue. The altar was not to be attacked by her, but defended—the throne was not to be degraded, but maintained in its splendour—existing laws were to be respected, and no "*dangerous innovations*" admitted—the sceptre was to be transmitted by her to her daughter, for whom she held it, *without any diminution of its power*. Her object in governing would be to remedy abuses, to diminish taxes, to reconcile factions, to observe scrupulously all treaties with foreign nations, and to exact from them reciprocal fidelity.

It seems to us that there is little in this manifesto either to offend the absolutists or to please the liberals; but both parties look beyond a formal state paper. The queen, however, showed no fear of employing the constitutionalists in the contest, and even such of them as had but recently returned from exile. They were armed and united with the royal troops. They gathered in considerable strength at Tolosa and Saint Sebastian, and enthusiastically declared their adhesion to the cause of the regent and her infant daughter. At Barcelona the liberal party put down an insurrectionary movement, attempted in favour of Don Carlos by the monks, *whom they massacred in considerable numbers, and then plundered their convents*. Meanwhile, the regent was well assured of the fidelity of Saarsfield, the commander-in-chief of the army of observation on the Portuguese frontier; of Amarillas, the captain-general of Andalusia; of Murillo, the captain-general of Galicia; and of other men in high military command. In most parts of the kingdom the provincial militia seemed also devoted to her. In Navarre, General Santos Ladron, who had excited an insurrection in that province, was soon taken by the regent's troops. He was conveyed to Pampeluna on the 13th of October. The governor of the city wished to postpone his trial until the arrival of instructions from Madrid; but *he was compelled, by the murmurs of the garrison*, to assemble a court-martial forthwith, and Ladron was tried, condemned, and shot in one of the ditches of the citadel, on the morning of the 14th.

It was necessary, however, to dispossess the Carlists of their strongholds. To this end, General Saarsfield moved upon Vittoria and Bilboa. He defeated the monk Moreno, and others, at the head of Carlist bands, and reached Miranda on the 27th of October. Don Carlos himself, who was expected in that province, was nowhere heard of. His partisans, it would appear, were unprovided with money; they were seizing property, and giving the owners bonds for its payment in his name. After some alarm, occasioned by the retreat of Saarsfield upon Burgos, and other circumstances which caused delay, the Carlists were beaten in this, the most dangerous part of the kingdom. At the present moment, it appears that they are not in possession of a single city or fortress of importance, either in the Biscayan provinces or in Navarre. We regret to add, that the success of the queen's arms has been almost invariably accompanied by great cruelty. This is at once a crime and a mistake.

Another great measure to be accomplished on the part of the queen, was to disarm the royalist volunteers in the capital, as well as in Toledo and other cities, where the absolutists were known to be numerous. To this end, the well-affected provincial volunteers were set in motion. The regent ordered that those in Madrid should be disbanded on the 27th of October. Though these royalist volunteers did not muster in any great force, they resisted the order of government, and some fighting between them and the guards and provincial militia took place in the streets of Madrid, on the 28th of October. The obstinate royalists were, however, soon defeated and deprived of their arms. Besides those who fell in the unequal contest, many of them were afterwards massacred by the populace. At Toledo, and the other places where these royalist volunteers were stationed, they gave up their arms without resistance.

From the conflict of arms, and the horrors of civil war, we turn with delight to the symptoms of improvement shown by the queen-regent's government. One of the most crying evils, under the old order of things, was an all-pervading system of privileges and monopolies, which entirely checked freedom of trade. On the 22nd of October, the Madrid Gazette contained a decree which revoked the privileges of the royal manufactory of cut-glass. This was a beginning, and was hailed as a forerunner of more important things; the preamble to the decree setting forth that it was the anxious wish of government to relieve the national industry from the shackles which had been put upon it. At the same time, a determination was intimated to attend immediately to the means of internal communication,—for, to the present time, Spain has but few roads. Again, on the 30th of October, the Madrid Gazette contained two enlightened decrees, appointing two commissions to remedy evils, and prepare future ameliorations. One of these commissions was to revise the absurd old laws which prevent Spaniards from removing their establishments from one city or town to another; thus impeding all commercial enterprise. The other commission was to remodel the laws respecting the post-office, the censorship of the press, and public education. The preamble to this second decree contains the following passage:—

"The prosperity of states being always in proportion to their knowledge, in like manner as their misery is in proportion to their ignorance; and it being impossible that knowledge can increase rapidly, unless the publication and circulation of works of science, art, and literature, be set free from the obstacles which, till the present moment, have embarrassed them;—I, being desirous to remove the impediments which obstruct the increase of that prosperity which all Spaniards are entitled to expect under the reign of my beloved daughter, Donna Isabella II., command, in her name, that a commission shall be immediately appointed, which shall be charged with the revision of all

laws and regulations relative to the press, and also with the execution of my intentions on this subject. And I name, to compose the said commission, the members of my council and chamber; Don Josef de Heria y Noriega; Don Manuel Joseph Quintana, Secretary to the Department for the Interpretation of Foreign Languages; and Father F. Joseph de la Canal, of the order of Saint Austin."

Two of the individuals thus appointed are men of distinguished merit and talent, and already in the enjoyment of an European reputation. Quintana is a poet, and esteemed alike for his writings and the persecutions he has suffered from an ignorant and blind despotism. Canal, though a monk, has also obtained great literary reputation by the publication of many excellent works; and he, too, has been the constant advocate of a more liberal system of government.

Another decree was issued, in the name of the Regent, which considerably enlarged the limits of the amnesty for political offences, and permitted many exiles, before excluded from its benefits, to return to their homes.

From all this, and from other deeds and indications, we are inclined to hope that the present government, if not obstructed by either of the two ultra factions,—the Absolutists and the Democrats,—will do much to effect the regeneration of Spain.

By his will, which named his widow Regent, Ferdinand also appointed a *consejo de gobierno*, or privy council, by whose aid she was to govern; and prescribed substitutes in case of the absence or death of any of the members of the council. The most distinguished of these statesmen, who now direct the affairs of Spain, is Don F. de Zea Bermudez.

PORTUGAL.

We refer the reader to our eighth Number for a plain exposition of the rival claims of the princes of the house of Braganza, which have caused such a protracted, ignoble, and sanguinary warfare. The same paper gives some insight into the true character of Don Miguel, and states the main events of his political life. To connect the separate parts of the drama, so as to present a brief retrospect of the whole, we must now take up the thread of Don Pedro's adventures.

Don Pedro became "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil" in May, 1822. By the death of his father, John VI., in March, 1826, he, as elder son (according to the showing of his party), "did lawfully and actually succeed to the European dominions of the house of Braganza, and was recognized as king of Portugal and the Algarves, as well as emperor of Brazil, by the members of his family, and the different states of Europe and America." Don Pedro, however, could not govern both Brazil and Portugal himself; nor was he, indeed, permitted so to do by the compact which separated the two countries. He therefore retained Brazil for himself, and renounced the crown of Portugal (which his advocates insist he could lawfully do) in favour of Donna Maria, his eldest daughter, who, to prevent any conflicting pretensions on the part of her uncle, Don Miguel, was destined to be his wife. At the same time Don Pedro granted a constitutional charter to Portugal, according to the spirit of which, his daughter and brother, when they should ascend the throne, were to govern the nation: till then, the regency at Lisbon, under his sister Donna Maria Isabella, was to continue its functions. Having solemnly sworn to observe this constitution, Don Miguel, in October, 1826, was betrothed to his niece, by procuration, at Vienna—for Miguel was at the time an exile from his own country. Contemporaneously with these proceedings, the partisans of Don Miguel—for such they were, though he solemnly and repeatedly denied all connexion with them, and affected to consider their measures with horror—took up arms against the regency and the constitution in Portugal, and were then prevented from carrying their point, or the establishment of despotism, only by the presence of a British auxiliary force sent to Lisbon by Mr. Canning.

On the 24th of September, 1828, Donna Maria, then in the twelfth year of her age, arrived in England to claim the crown, which Don Miguel had in the mean time seized as his own, on the pretence of a separate, indefeisible right, wholly independent of his marriage with his niece, which marriage he now refused to contract. Supported by the strong party of the absolutists, he had seated himself on the throne as "absolute king;" and after a civil war, the constitutionalists or partisans of Donna Maria had been driven out of the kingdom, or thrown into dungeons. Many hundreds of these exiles, with the Marquis of Palmella at their head, welcomed her Majesty's arrival in Europe, but they were without money and other means necessary to renew the struggle in her behalf; whilst the British and other cabinets of the day, though they had not recognized Don Miguel's rights, and had grounds to be irritated at his tyrannical and duplex proceedings, showed an inclination to impede rather than promote any new expedition against him. Donna Maria was, however, received by our government with all the etiquette due to a sovereign princess, and was entertained by George IV. as queen of Portugal.

A few days after this flattering reception, one of our ships of war fired upon some vessels that had sailed from the English coast with 600 Portuguese constitutionalists, and prevented their landing at Terceira, one of the Azores, which island had been taken possession of and held in the name of the young queen.

Her Majesty's residence on this side of the Atlantic being, therefore, of no avail, she returned to her father, Don Pedro, in Brazil, in September, 1829. A revolution which deprived the father of an empire in America, allowed him to assert in person the rights of the daughter to a kingdom in Europe. The government of Don Pedro, though professedly constitutional, had not given satisfaction to the Brazilians, who, rising against his authority, induced him, on the 7th of April, 1831, to abdicate in favour of his son, Don Pedro II., and to embark with the rest of his family on board of a British ship of war. Leaving, therefore, this son, a child only five years old, to the doubtful fidelity of a regency appointed by the representatives of the Brazilian empire, the abdicator of two thrones came to Europe with Donna Maria. During the interval which had elapsed between Donna Maria's departure *from*, and her return *to*, these parts of the world, momentous events, and political changes much in her favour, had taken place. Among these we may mention the French revolution in July, 1830; the substitution of Earl Grey's ministry for that of the Duke of Wellington, in November of the same year; the birth of Ferdinand's daughter (the present queen of Spain), and consequent change in the disposition of the Spanish court; the humiliation Don Miguel had received from an English fleet in the Tagus, and the entire abandonment of Holy Alliance principles by a considerable portion of Europe.

Nor had the young queen's partisans been wholly idle or unsuccessful during her absence. The island of Terceira, the nucleus and pivot of future operations, had been kept by the brave Villa Flor, and a regency acting in her name, supported in that island. Many thousands of Portuguese—some in the Azores, some in exile, and some in dungeons, or kept down by Don Miguel's superior force in the Peninsula—were still attached to her cause. About a month after her father's abdication of the throne of Brazil, St. George, another island of the Azores, was captured by an expedition of the constitutionalists from Terceira. On the 26th of June, 1831, Don Pedro, now assuming the title of Duke of Braganza, arrived in London, and was received with every mark of respect by our king and ministers. In the course of the following month, Don Miguel was again humbled, and also severely chastised, by a French fleet in the Tagus, under Admiral Roussin. These and other circumstances exercised a moral influence unfavourable to the occupant of the Portuguese throne. In the month of August, however, when part of the troops in Lisbon rose against him, Miguel triumphed over them with ease, and killed (it is said) about 300 of the insurgents. About this time Don Pedro, having left England, met his daughter Donna Maria at Cherbourg, which French port had been selected as the rendezvous of an expedition to be formed forthwith.

On the 2nd of August, the ex-emperor with his daughter returned to London, in order to make several arrangements, and expedite a loan, which it appears could be procured only in England.

By order of our government, Donna Maria was received with the honours due to a crowned head. Having procured a small loan, and engaged the services of Captain Sartorius and Lieutenant Hodges—the one to command

the naval, and the other the military, forces of the expedition—Don Pedro and Donna Maria repaired to Paris.

Three ships were bought in London for Donna Maria,—namely, "The Congress," which had been built for the Colombian service, and pierced for 46 guns; "The Asia" (formerly the "Francis Drake"), a condemned British frigate, which had carried 42 guns; and "The Juno," a merchantman of 300 tons. These purchases were made in the name of a French merchant, and the vessels, when ready, were cleared out for a French port. At the same time houses were privately opened in London and its suburbs for the enlistment of British and Irish volunteers, to serve as sailors and soldiers in the projected expedition. Many delays ensued, in part financial, and in part caused by the necessity Don Pedro's agents and officers lay under, of deceiving the authorities of the British government, which could not countenance such an armament; but at the beginning of 1832, the ships, having on board several hundred men who had been concealed or embarked with much ingenuity, sailed for the French coast.

The place of rendezvous had been changed from Cherbourg to Belle Isle. To this spot numbers of Portuguese exiles of all classes immediately repaired, to join the "Liberating Army," which was further recruited by some French, Polish, and other adventurers. Fresh recruits also contrived to steal over from England. A steam-boat and some small armed vessels were added to the very weak squadron. Don Pedro, leaving his daughter at Paris, embarked early in February, 1832, and the expedition sailed for the Azores on the 10th of the same month. On the 22nd, Don Pedro arrived among that group of small islands, which, by this time, had all been reduced by the constitutionalists, and landed at St. Michael's. A few days after, he reached Terceira, the centre of operations, where, among other recruits, he found two hundred Portuguese, principally students from the University of Coimbra. Not long after, he was joined by five hundred Frenchmen, among whom were many old soldiers—some decorated with the cross of the legion of honour, and many more with that of the revolution of July. These men seem, at first, to have alarmed the ex-emperor, with their revolutionary songs and their strangely-mingled shouts of "Long live Don Pedro!" "Long live liberty!" "Long live Donna Maria!" "Long live fair France!" Other land forces and other ships arrived; and, on the 22nd of June, 1832, the whole, under the command of Don Pedro, sailed for the coast of Portugal. On the 8th of July, the expedition was off Villa de Conde, where it was hailed by the Portuguese inhabitants with execrations, and cries of "Long live Don Miguel, our absolute king!" Don Pedro, however, disembarked his curiously composed army between Villa de Conde and Leça, and was allowed to form it without opposition, although there was a Miguelite force of 6000 men, commanded by General Cardoza, at hand. But the sanguine hopes entertained by Don Pedro and his favourite advisers, that he had only to show himself in Portugal to gain over his brother's soldiery to his side, and to cause a general rising of the peasantry, were very soon seen to have been based on false conceptions. It is true, the Pedroites, at first, met with no resistance; but, says Mr. Hodges (at that time Colonel Hodges, and commanding the British brigade, which was the first to land and advance), every place through which we marched was utterly deserted—a bad omen, it must be acknowledged, for an army styling itself "Liberating*." The fact was, the old foes to Cortes and constitutions—the priests and friars—had carefully impressed upon the peasantry, that the invading army was entirely composed of foreign adventurers, who would pillage and burn their villages and their churches, commit all sorts of horrors, and then return to the Azores. On the morning of the 9th of July, when they were five leagues from Oporto, they learned that the Miguelites, under General Santa Martha, had abandoned that important city during the night. Don Pedro gave immediate orders to advance; and, on the afternoon of the same day, his little army, which did not exceed 6000 men, took possession of Oporto. Thus far, not a gun was fired on either side. Even in this city, which had always been considered a stronghold of constitutionalism, the reception of the "Liberating Army" was of an equivocal nature. Many of the lower orders of the inhabitants, particularly the women, assailed them with curses and terms of mockery. The prison, which contained all those charged with political offences by Don Miguel, was immediately forced open, and its inmates released. The first life sacrificed was that of the common hangman, who resided, for safety, within this political prison; he was killed at its door, while attempting to make his escape. The mob of Oporto, on their side, attemped to force, in like manner, the common gaol, where felons of every description were confined; but they were prevented, by the timely arrival of a body of Pedroites on the scene of action. An inconceivable inactivity of many days followed. This allowed Don Miguel's forces to recover from their first panic, and to procure accurate statements of the enemy's numbers, which had been greatly exaggerated. But the weak advisers of Pedro still persuaded him that he must give time, and whole regiments would desert, and whole provinces rise, for Donna Maria and the constitution.

A few deserters, chiefly militia, amounting, altogether, to 200 men, did come over, but there was not an officer among them. As to the provinces—and even the two in their rear, which were freed from the presence of Miguelite troops—they manifested no favourable inclination to the cause. It was with great difficulty that the Pedroites procured a few horses, mules, and draught oxen. They could obtain no intelligence of the enemy's movements, whereas the Miguelites were informed of everything they did or contemplated, by priests and enthusiastic women. At last they learned, that, instead of retreating, disbanding, or revolting against their master, the Miguelites had begun to threaten the offensive, had taken up a position a few miles from Oporto, and had moved a force on the Douro, with the intention of crossing, and menacing the rear of the Pedroites, and cutting off their supplies. On the 18th of July, when their tenure of Oporto seemed very uncertain, Captain (now Admiral) Sartorius was sent with nearly all his squadron to blockade the Tagus. Some of Pedro's counsellors felt confident, that, at the appearance of this naval force, the liberal party would rise in Lisbon, and presently place the capital under the banners of Donna Maria. As the Miguelites continued to gather round Oporto, it became necessary to do something—*reconnoissances* were made, enemies were met in the field, and blood began to flow. After some skirmishes of slight importance, an affair that merited the name of a battle took place, on the 23rd of July, at Vallongo. The British, French, and other foreigners in the service of Don Pedro, displayed great courage; but as far as the Portuguese were concerned, those in Miguel's ranks fought with the most spirit and determination. Whether regular troops, guerillas, or royalist volunteers, they all remained steady to the "Absolute" banner, while many of them fought with a most enthusiastic spirit. The combat was renewed at Ponte Ferreira, and, after considerable losses of human life on both sides, decided, by the valour of the foreigners, in favour of Pedro. No advantages, either military or political, were, however, secured by this bloodshed. The Pedroites could not move in advance; they returned to Oporto, where they were soon closely beleaguered by their enemies. The very night, indeed, after their victory, a proof was given, within that city, to what horrible extremes the Miguelite party would proceed. A convent, situated in the most populous part of the town, and which had been converted into barracks for a Pedroite regiment, who were then sleeping in it, worn out by the fatigues they had undergone, was discovered, in the dead of night, to be on fire. Flames issued simultaneously from three separate parts of the large building. There was scarcely time to give the alarm, and for the soldiers to escape, when the roof fell in with a tremendous crash. Three of the men, however, and the colours of the regiment, were buried or consumed. In the midst of the confusion, three monks were seen attempting to mingle with the crowd. One of these the furious soldiers instantly despatched; the other two were thrown into prison. It was asserted, on good grounds, during the following day, that a plot had been laid to fire *all* the convents occupied by the tired troops *at the same time*, and to assassinate the ex-emperor; but that it had miscarried through a want of an accurate combination of means on the part of the conspirators.

Don Pedro must have been blind, indeed, had he not perceived, by this time, that his brother's party was strong and desperate, and that the idea of his being able, by means of Donna Maria's name and the magical word "constitution," to make a triumphal march from Oporto to Lisbon, had

* Narrative of the Expedition to Portugal in 1832, &c. By G. Lloyd Hodges, Esq.

been a day-dream of the wildest nature. He was at length convinced that arms must decide the contest; but instead of attempting a bold attack, he put himself on the defensive, shut up his troops in Oporto, and employed them in digging trenches, erecting batteries, and otherwise fortifying that vast and irregular city. By this time, the slight deserting from the Miguelite camp ceased almost entirely, and whole picquets of Portuguese began to desert from Pedro to join that camp. This was leaving his cause more and more in the hands of foreigners, and it soon became evident that the Constitutionalists could not maintain themselves even at Oporto, without the valour and fidelity of the French and English troops.

On the 7th of August a sortie was made from Oporto. The Pedroites came upon the enemy near the village of Santo Redondo, and drove in their first and second positions with great gallantry. As they were advancing to attack the third position, a Portuguese regiment gave way in a panic, the troops in the rear caught the contagion, and the Pedroites made a disgraceful flight back to Oporto, being followed as far as the suburb of Villa Nova by the Miguelites.

Had the forces of Don Miguel made a bold attack on Oporto the following day, they would have taken it, so great was the discouragement and consternation that prevailed there; but though many cases of individual courage occurred on both sides, this unnatural war did not seem destined to be ennobled by any bold and grand Portuguese exploit on either side. It was to linger on in a detailed and fratricidal slaughter.

By this time, the French and English at Oporto were reduced to 700 men. The Marquis of Palmella was in London, endeavouring to raise reinforcements and another loan. On the 13th of August, the squadron of Don Miguel, which had put to sea, came very near to the bar of the Douro, and would have effectually blockaded Oporto and prevented all supplies by sea, had not Sartorius—with ships very inferior in number, size, and equipment, but commanded by British officers and in great part manned with British sailors—beaten it off with loss. The Miguelite army, that ought to have moved on the 8th of August, did not make an attack until the 8th of September. They then attempted to carry the Serra convent, situated on the left bank of the Douro, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Two days after they repeated their attack on the same position, and with the same ill success.

On the 12th of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Burrell, a British officer of distinction, arrived at Oporto with eighty-six English recruits. So confined were Don Pedro's resources, that even this was considered as a most valuable accession to them. Other parties of foreigners arrived from time to time during the contest there.

On Sunday, the 16th of September, the Pedroites made a sortie to take or destroy some works erected by the enemy. This effort was crowned with complete success; and advancing to open ground against the Miguelites, who were in very superior force, the sallying party attacked them at the point of the bayonet, and drove them back with great loss. The heroes on the Constitutional side were, as usual, the British, who paid somewhat dearly for their victory. Major Staunton, a brave and accomplished young man, was shot through the spine, and died in excruciating agonies; Lieutenant Jenkins was shot through the thigh; and the loss of killed and wounded among the privates was (also as usual) about three to one as compared with that of their Portuguese allies.

At this period Sir John Campbell, an English officer, was with the Miguelites, directing their movements, and other foreigners were preparing to join that party. In this manner a sort of foreign condottiero warfare might have been established in Portugal, like that which desolated and disgraced Italy in the middle ages.

We have neither space nor inclination to detail the attacks and the defences by land, and the skirmishes by sea, which were continued month after month, with great loss of life, and with no decisive result.

On the 22nd of November, Don Pedro despatched the Marquis of Palmella, who seems to have been almost the only man of business and real talent about him, to England, where he was to try his influence once more to obtain money and military supplies, and to entreat our government to interest themselves in the way of negotiation. A favorite notion of Don Pedro's now was, that Spain might be prevailed upon by France or England, or by both, to interfere in favour of Donna Maria.

It is understood that the British Cabinet replied to the Marquis that it would not interfere unless Don Pedro and his unwise and intemperate favourites would consent to withdraw from the contest, and consent to the formation of a regency, in the name of Donna Maria, to be presided over by Donna Isabella, her aunt, and formerly regent of Portugal,—that Palmella, in the full power delegated to him by Don Pedro, consented to this arrangement,—and that, chiefly to carry it into effect, and to procure the mediation of Spain, Sir Stratford Canning was despatched to the Court of Madrid,—the French Court fully concurring in all these measures. Whatever may have been the diplomatists' secrets, the subsequent evident facts were that Palmella was dismissed from Don Pedro's councils,—that his imbecile, democratic favourites were retained, though to them are attributable half of his miserable failures,—and that no mediation on the part of Spain, or any other Power, was obtained.

Left in this situation, the obstinate and sanguine Don Pedro thought he could still retrieve his fortunes by employing General Solignac, a French commander of known talent and experience, who accordingly arrived at Oporto, and was invested with the command of the "Liberating Army" on the 3rd of January, 1833. It was, however, beyond the talent of Solignac to do much with the means that were placed at his disposal, and he was constantly thwarted or hampered by the jealousy and intrigues of Don Pedro's conclave. At the same time, the ships' companies under Sartorius, who could obtain no pay, became mutinous, and dissensions broke out among the officers themselves; whilst on shore the inhabitants of Oporto (the only spot of ground in the power of the Constitutionalists) were groaning under the oppression of forced loans.

The only thing that saved them, in this state of anarchy, from destruction, was the circumstance that disorders of the same kind had arisen among the Miguelites, whose proceedings—now bombarding Oporto, and now remaining inactive for weeks—were equally unmilitary and absurd. By the inconceivable exertions of some parties interested, and by means which might be understood by a reference to our Stock Exchange, Oporto continued, however, to receive reinforcements of foreign soldiers, chiefly English and French. These men were badly fed and clothed, and worse paid; they were sometimes mutinous; yet they never failed to fight heroically whenever an attack was made by the Miguelites. Oporto must have fallen but for these mercenaries.

In April, 1833, counting troops of all arms and nations, there were about 14,000 men within the walls of the city, which was beleagured by a force of 20,000. The Miguelites were joined by Marshal Bourmont and some other French officers, anxious for a subsistence, or for the triumph of despotic principles.

In June, Solignac, who had scarcely ever been able to make Pedro and his advisers embrace his military views, threw up his command, and returned to France. About the same time, Sartorius, who had been for months quarrelling, and at times almost in a state of declared hostility with the ex-Emperor's wavering and dishonest Cabinet, resigned the command of Donna Maria's squadron. Solignac was replaced by the Portuguese General Saldanha, and Captain Charles Napier, R.N., succeeded Sartorius. It was now, at length, resolved to convert a war of barricades and skirmishes into larger and more decisive operations.

On the 21st of June, Captain (now Admiral) Napier took on board his ships at Oporto a force of 3500 men, who were very properly placed under the command of the brave Count Villa Flor and the Marquis of Palmella. On the 24th the expedition appeared before Villa Real, in the Algarves, where a garrison of 1200 Miguelites were presently dislodged by the fire from the ships. The Pedroite troops were then landed, and in the course of the day joined by 600 Portuguese, who declared for Donna Maria. As soon as these successes were known in the interior, coupled with the very important fact, that the Miguelite force in those parts was small, and their inclination to fight smaller, all the adjacent towns sent deputations to proclaim their adhesion to the young queen. The land troops of Donna Maria were then divided into two columns, and marched through the ancient kingdom of the Algarves, which offered no resistance. Admiral Napier then sailed along the coast,

destroying a few batteries and gun-boats, and put into Lagos bay, where he was joined by a considerable body of Don Miguel's troops and of provincial militia. On the 2nd of July he sailed from Lagos; and on the 3rd he saw the Miguelite fleet, which had ventured to put to sea, heaving in sight. With a very inferior force, Napier bore up to the attack. His great hope lay in being able to bring them to close quarters and to board; and this manœuvre was most fortunately favoured by a fresh breeze which sprang up, after the steam-vessels attached to his squadron had refused to expose themselves, by towing his ships into action*. The fight was begun by a Miguelite frigate of 48 guns: and the other ships of this fleet, which was drawn up in line, poured in their broadsides as the Pedroites advanced. Not a gun was fired by Napier until he brought his own ship (an old frigate) close alongside the "Nao Rainha," a Miguelite 74, with a crew of 750 men, which he boarded sword in hand (being dressed as a common sailor), and promptly followed by such officers and men as had been appointed to this perilous service. Almost at the same instant, his son, in another frigate, ran on the lee-quarter of the "Nao Rainha," and also boarded her. The conflict was terrific; but in less than ten minutes, in the midst of the cries of the wounded and the moans of the dying, the constitutional flag was hoisted over that of Don Miguel. The rest of the Miguelite fleet were confounded and panic struck. Only one other ship was defended with any bravery, and that was soon obliged to strike. Their admiral behaved like a coward or a traitor: he kept his huge seventy-four out of action as long as he could, and surrendered to Napier after receiving one broadside. The gallant British sailor carried the whole of Miguel's fleet (except some small craft which escaped) into Lagos bay.

In the meantime, two desperate attacks had been made by the Miguelites along the whole line of the forces at Oporto; but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. Events of importance now succeeded each other rapidly. Count Villa Flor, whom we left with the Pedroites in the Algarves, reached St. Ubes, in the neighbourhood of the Tagus, on the 22nd of August. It does not appear that he had been joined by very many Portuguese during his march; for on the following day, when he approached the southern bank of the Tagus, his force is said to have fallen short of two thousand men. With these, however, he attacked the Miguelites, who, to the number of about five thousand, had marched out from Lisbon to intercept his further progress, and beat them at every point. Telles Jordao, one of the bravest and most devoted of the Miguelite commanders, was killed in the action. The night after this defeat, the Miguelite governor of Lisbon evacuated that city, hastily retiring with about four thousand men. At the dawn of the following day, when Villa Flor's victorious troops were seen in the neighbourhood of the city, the constitutional party within rose *en masse*, broke open the prisons, and liberated five thousand persons confined in them for political offences. These men took up such arms as they could find, formed themselves into a national guard, and proclaimed Donna Maria. In the course of the same day (24th of July), Villa Flor crossed the Tagus, and entered Lisbon at the head of his little army. Donna Maria's flag was then hoisted, and afterwards the flag of England, which the Portuguese saluted with twenty-one guns. Admiral Parker's squadron in the Tagus returned the salute to her majesty's standard. The next day, Napier and his fleet, having the Marquis of Palmella on board the flag ship, came to anchor in the Tagus. Thus the capital of Portugal, twelve months after his landing on the coast, fell in to the power of Don Pedro. It was, however, constantly said by many at the time, that the brothers would only change places; that Don Miguel, who was supposed to be on the Douro, would drive Don Pedro from Oporto, and establish himself in that city. Such, indeed, was well nigh being the case. On the 25th of July, the day after Villa Flor had secured himself in Lisbon, the Miguelites,—directed, though not commanded, by Bourmont,—attempted to carry Oporto by storm. At one time a considerable body of them entered the place; but, after eight hours' hard fighting, their attempt failed, and they retreated with great loss. On the next day (the 26th of July), the news of the possession of Lisbon reached Oporto; and on the evening of that day, Don Pedro departed for the capital. On the 28th of July, the very day on which Don Pedro made his triumphal entrance into Lisbon, another attempt was made on Oporto; but it also failed.

On the 9th of August, by the advice of Marshal Bourmont, the long siege of Oporto was raised, and the Miguelites marched by Vallongo and Coimbra towards the Tagus. Their object was now to concentrate near Lisbon; to make a desperate effort for the recovery of that city, or to beleaguer it, as they had done Oporto. The Pedroites were too sanguine in concluding that the war was at an end. Bourmont soon appeared at the head of an army almost equal to their own; and, on the 5th of September, made a vigorous attack on Lisbon, which, though repulsed, caused them great loss. On the 9th the attack was repeated with fury, when the Miguelites pushed forward as far as the Ajuda palace, which they plundered and burned. On the night of the 14th of September, Bourmont made another assault; but the works the Constitutionalists had had time to erect, added to those which already existed, proved too much for him; he was repulsed with slaughter, and a few days after left by most of the French officers who had joined the Miguelite ranks.

The young Queen, Donna Maria—who, with her mother, the Duchess of Braganza, had been for some time residing in Paris, from whence they proceeded together on a short visit to the English court—arrived at Lisbon from Plymouth on the 22nd of September. That city, however, was not yet free from the horrors of war, and scenes of bloodshed were among the first she was to witness in her dominions. On the 10th of October, when the Miguelites had finished some redoubts before Lisbon, and were on the point of planting some formidable batteries against that city, a sally was made by four strong columns, which drove them from their positions. They rallied the next day; but were again repulsed with loss. They then retreated on Santarem, followed by the Pedroites. This retreat, in a military sense, was effected in a masterly manner; but a fact of more importance to the cause of the young queen is, that from the ample means of conveyance and provisions supplied by the country people, it is evident that Miguel and the priests have still a strong hold on the affections and prejudices of the Portuguese. Santarem, the town to which the Miguelites retired, is strongly situated on a lofty hill on the right of the Tagus, at the distance of only two days' march from Lisbon. The scattered bodies of that party have since concentrated at that point, which they have also fortified, and continue to hold in great force.

On the side of Oporto the Pedroites have gained some little ground, and a few places in the provinces have declared for Donna Maria; but, on the whole, it may be said, that Don Miguel is still master of the country, and the Constitutionalists only masters of the capital, Oporto, and a few other towns. Foreign reinforcements and recruits, however, are constantly being sent out to Don Pedro, who, by their means, may dislodge his brother's army from Santarem. The protracted struggle will then, in all probability, be renewed in the very defensible country about Abrantes and Alva, and we know not when to look for its termination. In the meantime, the conduct of Don Pedro has not been better or wiser at Lisbon than at Oporto; he has shown, indeed, in Portugal, as he had already done in Brazil, that he is entirely unfit for the higher functions of government. He is not accused of cruelty, but with the exception of that vice, there seems to be little to choose between him and his brother.

The queen, Donna Maria, has been recognised by England, France, Sweden, and (a most important advantage) by the present queen-regent of Spain.

* They would, it seems, have performed this service had Napier engaged to pay 2000*l.* each steamer.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

ALTHOUGH the past year has not seen the definitive arrangement of the long-existing differences between these two countries, it has had at least the minor advantage of witnessing the cessation of all hostilities, and the conclusion of a convention by which Holland cedes, for the time being, most of the important points at issue, and thus puts Belgium in possession of the means of a national existence. The most indispensable of such means, and without which the commerce of Belgium would be annihilated,

[illegible] or the Scheldt and the Meuse, and a [illegible] through the town of Maestricht, in Limbourg. The preliminary treaty between the king of Holland on the one side, and the kings of England and France on the other, was ratified on the 21st of May. Immediately after, the embargo was taken off Dutch vessels, the Dutch garrison of the fortress of Antwerp, which had surrendered to the French at the end of 1832, was set at liberty, and the Dutch king removed every obstacle to the navigation of the two rivers. The treaty provided that the armistice between Holland and Belgium should suffer no interruption until the definitive separation and frontiers of the two countries should be fixed.

On the 7th of June following, the Belgian chamber of deputies met at Brussels, when King Leopold, in person, announced the conclusion of the convention between France, England, and Holland, which would happily permit a diminution of expenses, a partial reduction of the army, and allow him and his government to give their whole attention to the improvement of the interior of the Belgian kingdom, to the promotion of industry, commerce, &c. He was continuing with perseverance a commercial negotiation with France, and had already made favourable stipulations with the United States of America. In conclusion, King Leopold recommended to the attention of the chamber the great project of forming, by means of additional canals, a more direct communication between the sea and the Scheldt and the Meuse.

Thus far, with the exception of the resort to arms by the French at Antwerp, and the presence of an English and French united fleet on the coast of Holland, the repose of Belgium had been secured by negotiation. It would be tedious and uninstructive to detail all the labours of diplomacy and long interchanges of protocols that were resorted to before so much as this was accomplished; but to those who complain of these delays we would represent, that protocols are better instruments for adjusting quarrels than bayonets—that a prolonged, though even at times a menaced, truce is better than the daily prosecution of hostilities that England and France had not the faculty or the right to settle everything in a summary manner—that the views of such great powers as Austria, Prussia, and Russia, however unwise or illiberal they may appear to some, are not to be treated with contempt, nor can, indeed, be so treated without endangering the peace of all Europe; and finally, that the feelings of the Dutch king and people (undeniably the party called upon to make the greatest sacrifices) are entitled to some respect and delicacy of management. In our humble opinion, those who have the least right to complain of all this are the Belgians themselves, whose success, had they been left to their own resources, would have been very doubtful, whilst the devastation of their country and incalculable injuries would have been inevitable. Belgium was in a state of complete disorganization—her army was every way inferior to that of her enemy—she had no fleet—and, at the same time, the King of Holland (not to mention other advantages) had still a strong party in his favour in the very heart of their country—at Ghent, and other large towns, whose manufactures had been established or re-created by his money, and were still supported by his capital. Even a year after the Belgians had effected their revolution, when their existence as a separate and independent nation had been recognized by the allies, and Leopold seated on their throne, they gave the most glaring proofs that they could not stand before an invading army; and French intervention alone prevented Brussels, their capital, and a great part of their country, from immediately falling into the hands of the Dutch. We therefore repeat, that the Belgians have the least right to complain, but in common with the rest of Europe, and in an infinitely greater degree, have grounds to be grateful for the long labours and exertions of the diplomatic conference established at London, even at the present incomplete stage of its operations.

It may be true that further delays have occurred since the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the 21st of May, and that the Dutch court may have shown some inclination to raise obstacles in the way of a final settlement; but the hopes of an armed support from Prussia, Austria, and Russia, (if that were ever entertained by the King of Holland,) have become almost nugatory, and the grounds of dispute between Belgium and Holland have been much narrowed. At this moment they are almost confined to the relative proportions to be paid by the two dissevered countries in discharge of the national debt contracted while they were under one government, and to the question whether Luxembourg shall remain to the King of Holland, or be ceded, for an equivalent, to the new kingdom of Belgium.

The first of these questions (the debt) may be easily settled; but it appears to us, that the second is involved in some unavoidable difficulties which may account for, and excuse a little delay.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, however much it may break the uniformity and destroy the frontiers of Belgium, belongs to the Dutch sovereign, or the house of Nassau, under an entirely separate title, with which the measure of the Congress at Vienna, that gave him Belgium, had nothing to do. Nor is the King of Holland the only party to be consulted in this cession, or partial cession:—Luxembourg, separated from Holland by the entire breadth of Belgium, forms part of the Germanic confederation, and thus renders indispensable the adhesion of that body to the measure of dismemberment and transfer now contemplated.

In the meantime, ambassadors from the courts of Austria and Prussia have taken up their residence at Brussels, and King Leopold (12th of November) has opened the session of the Belgian parliament in a satisfactory tone.

GERMANY.

This great country has not been the scene of any very remarkable events during the past year. Of the two influential states, Austria has been perfectly quiet, and Prussia firm and national. In the latter kingdom, the great and admirable system of national education has been further improved and consolidated; and efforts have been made to render the administration of government more economical. Except in her Rhenish provinces, the tranquillity of Prussia has not been disturbed; but in those particular provinces, as also in Wirtemberg, Bavaria, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and at Frankfort, popular commotions have prevailed, and caused some bloodshed and numerous arrests. The restlessness and discontent have been most declared in the Rhenish portion of the Bavarian kingdom. The causes of quarrel are common to all these states, and mainly relate to the liberty of the press and trial by jury. There are, however, other grounds of complaint, some of which are local, and others common to the whole German people. A sober desire for a gradual reform, except in the German states of the house of Austria, which seem scarcely to have any political feeling, is said to prevail very generally; but a party opposed to all change, and another party chiefly composed of hot-headed students, and dreaming, theoretical professors, who would change everything, and that instantly, will probably retard the march of improvement.

In the month of September, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, met at Munchengratz, in the circle of Breslaw, near the frontiers of Silesia. The chief object of this royal meeting was supposed to be, to concert measures to put a stop to the revolutionary spirit which had gained ground in some parts of Germany. No doubt the subjects discussed or contemplated by the sovereigns were numerous and important, but, as yet, no great political measure has resulted from the close congress of Munchengratz.

SWITZERLAND.

Ever since 1831, this usually peaceful and tranquil country has been in a state of ferment, not unfrequently accompanied by hostile collision, in which the hands of Swiss have been stained in Swiss blood. The most striking effect of these contests has been still further to parcel and subdivide an already too much divided country.

During the year 1833, violent disputes broke out in the small canton of Bâle, between the people of the town and the inhabitants of *Bâle-Campagne*, or the country attached to that city. The ground of these disputes here, as had been the case in other parts of Switzerland, was about the proportion of representatives the subjects of the town and those of the country should each send to the legislative council. The country people, on the principle of numerical representation, insisted on having a majority; but the people

of the town, who possess nearly all the capital, pay most of the taxes, and support the public establishments, did not think proper to put themselves at the mercy of the peasantry, by sinking into a minority in the council of the state. Hostile encounters took place; many lives were absurdly sacrificed; until, at last, the Federal Diet of Switzerland, interfering a second time, decided that the canton should be divided into two separate governments—"Bâle town" and "Bâle county:" when united, the population of this miniature state was somewhat less than 50,000! During hostilities, a number of Polish refugees took an active part, and fought on the side of the country people, whose military movements they directed. Something of the same sort, and attended with a similar division of territory, has also occurred in the small canton of Schwitz.

ITALY.

THE events of Italy, during the year, have been few and unimportant. We are almost disposed to rejoice at this, for whenever this beautiful but unhappily-divided country attracts public attention in any strong degree, it is only by the exhibition of miserable folly, of miscalculated means, and of the most humiliating reverses. Every attempt that the Italians have made to secure liberty, or a constitutional form of government, has plunged them deeper than ever in the abyss of despotism, and rendered them more and more the prey—and, at the same time, the derision—of the Austrians. But not for this are the Italians to be set down as cowards and willing slaves. Those who thus rate them ought to consider the difficulties of their situation. They have first to overcome their own vicious governments, and the very worst of these native despotisms have their partisans and some strength; and, after this undertaking of doubtful success, they have to make head against one of the greatest military powers in Europe, whose disciplined legions are in possession of a large portion of the peninsula, and ever ready to march upon any other point. The failures and folly of the liberal party in Italy are attributable to a miscalculation of ways and means, to mistakes in statistics, and to their over-sanguine temperament. This highly interesting people may, at no very distant period, be favoured with other circumstances, but until those favourable circumstances do arise, it must be the wish of their best friends that they remain quiet, and no longer risk their own personal prosperity, and the very respectability of the name of liberty, in petty, local insurrections.

A conspiracy was discovered in the States of the King of Sardinia, which cost the life of Lieutenant Tola, and some other officers, who were executed on the 11th of June 1833. Our readers may be reminded that the present King of Sardinia is the Prince Carignan, who played so double a part in the revolution at Turin in 1821. At that period he not only deceived the Piemontese, but persuaded the liberal party in Lombardy, with whom he maintained a secret correspondence, that he embraced, heart and soul, the cause of constitutional government. To this duplicity many Italians owe their wretched confinement in Austrian dungeons, or the confiscation of their property, and their present condition of destitute exiles. The plot formed against him, mainly by Lieutenant Tola, does not appear to have included any but military men, who were all in his own service. If we are to believe his majesty's party, it was of the darkest character, reckoning among its resources poison and arson; whilst its success would have exposed the country to the threefold scourge of revolution, civil war, and foreign invasion.

Another conspiracy, against the life of the young King of Naples, was discovered about the same time, at the other extremity of Italy. The heroes of it were for the most part mere youths, and it was at once childish and atrocious. Here, again, it was entirely military; the chief conspirators were officers in his majesty's guards.

On the 18th of May, this young sovereign, as King of the Two Sicilies, and Prince of the Spanish branch of the Bourbons, entered a protest against the abrogation of the order of succession to the throne of Spain, as it was established by Philip V., on the 10th of March, 1712, and against the new order of succession, as fixed by Ferdinand VII., on the 20th of March, 1830; which, by abolishing the Salic law, left the Spanish crown to the infant princess Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, in contempt of the established rights of the princes male of the dynasty. The persons the most immediately affected by this protest, are the King's own sister and niece! Maria Christina, the present Queen Regent of Spain, is full sister to Ferdinand II., the protesting sovereign of Naples.

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany has long been the best governed and the happiest state of all Italy; perhaps one of the happiest countries in Europe. The people are mild and sensible, and their present young sovereign, Leopold II., has trodden in the steps of his father and grandfather, and shewn his attention to the wants of his subjects, particularly in making roads, and generally improving the unhealthy districts called Maremme. Early in the year, however, the internal policy of the government assumed somewhat of a suspicious aspect. One of the first symptoms of this change was the suppression (in April) of the *Antologia*, a journal of literature and science which had been established at Florence for twelve years, and conducted with much talent and freedom. In September rumours were abroad of a conspiracy against the state, and several arrests took place, simultaneously and by night, at Florence, Pistoja, Sienna, Pisa, and Leghorn. The persons arrested were chiefly lawyers.

At the end of August some curious and unexpected occurrences took place in the Duchy of Lucca. Like all the other petty states in Italy, this had had its secret societies and its aspirants after liberty. About twenty individuals, who had made themselves objects of suspicion to the police, chose voluntary exile in preference to the risk of long imprisonment or death. Strict investigations were then made to discover such citizens as professed liberal doctrines; and the ministers determined, in full council, to erect an inquisitorial tribunal like that which formerly existed in Venice. It was even asserted that they had written to Rome for headsmen to execute the sentences of death this court was to pronounce. The reigning duke of this miniature state had hitherto made himself remarkable by his timidity, by a childishness of conduct that sometimes approached imbecility, and by his frequent and long absences from his duchy. He was, indeed, absent in Germany when the above-mentioned violent proceedings took place; but returning homewards, on reaching Milan the resolution of the Council of State was presented to him, and he was urged to give it his sanction, and to leave Italy again—as there was a conspiracy against his life. To the surprise of his ministers, and indeed of every one, instead of recrossing the Alps, he determined to throw himself among his subjects; and setting out that very night from Milan, he reached a country palace, not far from the city of Lucca, on the night of the 25th of August. On the following day, the authors of the decree for the erection of the political inquisition waited upon him, and again urged him to sanction it. The duke dismissed them with a look of scorn and indignation, and immediately after granted a general amnesty for political offenders. He then removed from his councils the more obnoxious of the ministers, and assured his subjects that he had resolved on a general reform in the administration.

In consequence of these unexpected changes, the greatest joy prevailed; the city and the villages round Lucca were illuminated; and when the duke came from his country-seat to the theatre, on the evening of the 31st of August, he was received with enthusiasm. During the performance, which was frequently interrupted by acclamations, a great number of sonnets, (those never-failing poetical tributes on all grand occasions of joy or grief in Italy,) were thrown from the boxes and galleries; and one of them, with two beautiful wreaths of flowers, was presented to the duke in his box by two ladies—the wife and near female relative of one of the now pardoned exiles.

An attempt has been made in the course of the year, to form a confederation of all the sovereign princes of Italy, and it is said that the Pope, who had long stood out, has at last consented to join it. The scheme will now, therefore, probably be carried into effect.

The French, who took possession of Ancona, in the Roman States, in the beginning of 1832, in consequence of the second appearance of the troops of Austria in the papal legations, still retain that important city, while the Austrians still occupy parts of the legations.

In the course of the year the Pope has contracted a second loan with Rothschild, and has taken into pay an additional number of Swiss troops. The whole of the Swiss

force now in the states of the church amounts to between four and five thousand. Native troops have also been organized to a considerable extent.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

It is now scarcely necessary to give these two countries a separate consideration, nor have we any marking events to relate of either of them. The great operations of Russia in 1833 were those connected with Sultan Mahmoud, and they have already been sketched under the head of "Turkey." With the exception of some trifling and unsuccessful conspiracies on the frontiers of Lithuania, Poland has been quiet, and paying the sad penalty of her unfortunate revolution of 1830.

At the beginning of 1831, an official article appeared in the *St Petersburgh Gazette*, contradicting the charges brought against the Russian government by the French and English journals relative to its treatment of Poland. It denied the transporting of the inhabitants of Wilna and adjacent provinces to the Ukraine, the sending of 40,000 Polish landowners to the Caucasus, &c.,—and generally insisted that the conduct of that government had not been cruel and tyrannical. One thing was clearly proved by this document, *i. e.*, that the Emperor Nicholas was smarting under the inflictions of the liberal press of Europe.

On the 12th of February, 1833, the emperor issued a manifesto, having for its object the publication of a code, to contain a complete collection of all the laws and regulations of the empire, from 1649 to December 31, 1831 (new style, 12th of January, 1832). This code, which is yet to be published, is to have the force of law, dating from the 1st (13th) of January, 1835.

In the course of the summer, the emperor published two other decrees. In one apparently having for its object, to circumscribe the use of the Polish language, the other, the placing all political offences subject to the jurisdiction of courts martial.

In another state document the emperor replied to those who accused him of violating the treaty of Vienna in regard to Poland. After implying that he had been released from the obligations of that treaty by the insurrection of the Poles, he went on to state, that, spite of that unfortunate event, he still recognised the separate existence of Poland as a nation, and quoted among others, the following arrangements which had been made in her favour.

The organic statute of the 26th of February, 1832 (Art. 1 and 16), establishes there a separate administration, and the act of congress promised the country a popular administration and national institutions—accordingly, Art. 1, 31, 47, 53 of the same organic statute, establish assemblies of the nobility, commercial assemblies, and provincial estates, with a deliberative voice on matters of general import, and the use of the national language in the public acts of the administration is retained. This statute also guarantees the right of private as well as commercial property (Art. 11); the national debt of the kingdom of Poland (Art. 17); individual liberty (Art. 8); the special administration of the Polish finances (Art. 16); the municipal constitutions of the towns and communes (Art. 1); the principle that every person, without exception or difference of rank or birth, is qualified for public offices; that it is left to the assemblies of the nobles and communes to choose the judges, and to make out the lists of candidates for other public offices (Art. 48); lastly, the endowment of the Catholic as well as of the Greek united clergy (Art. 6).

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the public proceedings of the Russian emperor, is his persisting to refuse receiving Sir Stratford Canning as British ambassador at his court. As a matter of courtesy, it is usual for one government to signify to another who is the personage selected to be its representative at the foreign court; but it is almost unprecedented for any refusal or objection to be made to the individual chosen by his own court. Indeed, between friendly powers, nothing but a notoriously flagitious moral character in the minister or ambassador appointed is considered sufficient ground for rejection. In spite, however, of this established and essentially necessary usage, the Emperor Nicholas peremptorily refuses to receive Sir Stratford, (who has now had the King of England's credentials in his portfolio for many months,) or to assign any motive for such an insulting and novel proceeding.

TURKEY.

The end of last year saw this once formidable power reduced to a lamentable state of weakness and degradation. The army of a rebel vassal, that had advanced from Egypt and Syria, had conquered the greater part of her Asiatic dominions, and was within a few days' march of her capital, where the greatest despondence prevailed. In a former number of the *Companion* (see p. 84) are recorded the taking of St. Jean d'Acre, on May 27th, 1832, by Ibrahim Pasha, and the subsequent victory obtained by the Egyptians over the forces of the Sultan in Syria, which was followed by the entire submission of that country to the Pasha of Egypt, and the rapid advance of Ibrahim into Asia Minor. In the same paper are offered some explanations as to the relative strength of the Sultan and the Pasha, and the causes that facilitated the success of the Egyptians. We may now bestow a few remarks on the history and character of Sultan Mahmoud, and the causes of his misfortunes. His life has been an extraordinary one. From the moment that he was drawn from beneath a bundle of mats and carpets (where an affectionate servant had concealed him from the fury of his brother, the Sultan Mustapha) to ascend the throne of the Ottoman empire (in 1808), down to his recent sacrifice of the little remaining dignity of that throne, his days have been spent in wars, turmoils, and plots. We cannot here examine his contests with Russia, or the results of the war of Greek independence, by which he was so much crippled. The great event of his reign has been the suppression, or, we might say, the destruction, of the Janissaries, which was prepared and effected with infinite craft. Judging of Mahmoud from this fact alone, people have been led to entertain an extraordinary idea of his talent and determination. Before this measure was effected he had disposed of the Ayans, or feudal lords of the empire; since, he has shown an inclination to interfere with the municipal system of the empire, and the *vakouf*, or fundamental law, by which property is secured when attached to the mosques, and placed under the protection of the oulemas, or doctors of law and religion. Each of these measures (to say nothing of many minor ones) raised against him hosts of declared or secret enemies—a fact that goes far to account for the state of helplessness in which he has been left. As compared with Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, Mahmoud began his reforms too late and hurried them on too rapidly, and that also with a people much less tractable than the Egyptians. Many persons well acquainted with the Ottoman empire foresaw nothing less than destruction in the attack upon it by the Pasha. From information, received on the 10th of October, 1832, that the Pasha of Egypt had opened negotiations with the Sultan, it was hoped, however, that the conquering army would forego the advantages they had obtained in Asia Minor, and that peace would be restored. The Sultan, on consideration, would not agree to the terms proposed by his vassal, and the Egyptian forces, under Ibrahim Pasha, having continued their advance, were met, on the 21st of December, in the neighbourhood of Konieh (the ancient Iconium) by the sultan's main army, commanded by the grand vezier, Reschid Pasha. A sanguinary engagement took place, which ended in the total defeat of the grand visier, who, moreover, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians. This victory of the Egyptians may be said to have laid at the feet of the conqueror the whole of Asia Minor, where there no longer remained any means of defence, and where the mass of even the Osmanly, or Turkish population, was indifferent to the contest or prepossessed in favour of Ibrahim Pasha. Smyrna, which is perhaps, in importance, the second city in the Ottoman empire, and Magnesia, a very considerable city, submitted at the summons of an Egyptian officer accompanied by a handful of men. Meanwhile, Ibrahim marched forward to Kutaiah, whence he threatened Brussa and Constantinople itself. At this crisis Sultan Mahmoud, in the extraordinary resolution of applying for [illegible] his recent and most dangerous enemy, [illegible] Russia. This prayer was joyfully granted, [illegible] Court, which sent orders that [illegible] tary force should be instantly [illegible] Some delays were occasioned [illegible] weather, and the faulty [illegible] arsenals; but, by the [illegible] anchored in the Bo[illegible]

above Constantinople. Previously to this arrival, the intentions of the sultan, and the dangerous alliance he contemplated, had become known to the other great European Powers, and France had despatched an ambassador to Constantinople, Admiral Roussin, who was to labour in order to prevent Mahmoud from throwing himself into the arms of the Emperor Nicholas, and to procure a peace with Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, without the intervention of Russian arms. Admiral Roussin proposed to the sultan, as an alternative, the immediate departure of the French embassy, or his (the sultan's) acceptance of the guarantee of France, that the Pasha of Egypt would be satisfied with reasonable terms of reconciliation to be offered him on the part of the Porte, and at the same time the renunciation of all Russian aid. The Sultan felt the weight of the arguments adduced, and his Reis Effendi, or Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to stop the advance of the Russian army. The Czar's squadron was, however, already bearing down the Black Sea, and three days after the arrival of the French admiral and ambassador, it took up its position near the Turkish capital. The Porte was thus placed in an awkward dilemma; but on the 21st of February, the day after the Russian ships had anchored, the Reis Effendi gave in a declaration to Admiral Roussin, formally signifying that the Porte accepted the mediation of France, and would renounce the alliance with Russia, on condition that the said mediation should bring the Pasha of Egypt to the terms proposed by the Sultan. This declaration was followed up, on the 23rd of February, by a note from the Reis Effendi to the Russian Legation at Constantinople, expressive of the Sultan's gratitude for the prompt assistance of the Czar by means of which the affairs of Egypt were on the point of being brought to a satisfactory conclusion through the medium of the ambassador of France, for whose satisfaction the Porte had announced that the Russian fleet would quit the Bosphorus at the first favourable wind! This note was returned on the following day by the Russian ambassador, who represented to the Reis Effendi, that, in whatever concerned the friendly relations between Russia and the Porte, no foreign influence could be admitted.

The Russian fleet remained; and as the terms offered by the Sultan through the medium of the French diplomatist, in conjunction with the ambassadors of England and Austria, did not include the cession of the districts of Tarsus and Adana, the point at which former negotiations for peace had miscarried, Ibraham Pasha refused to withdraw his army from Asia Minor, and on the 8th of March the Pasha of Egypt formally rejected the treaty as proposed by the French mediator, who, in his turn, was placed in an embarrassing position, as he had failed in what he had undertaken to accomplish.

The Sultan, whose infirmity of purpose in these difficult circumstances is but too apparent, now found a fresh pretext for demanding those auxiliary forces, which Russia was even more eager to grant than he was to implore. On the 16th of March a large body of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and advanced towards the Turkish frontier; and on the 5th of April a second Russian squadron, having on board 5000 land troops, cast anchor in the Bosphorus. Before the arrival of these ships, however, the Sultan had again changed his mind, and agreed to purchase peace by the cession of Tarsus and Adana to Egypt. Despatches to this effect had reached both Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim, and the Pasha and his successful general equally believed that peace was secured. Most unwisely elated by the presence of his auxiliaries, the wavering Mahmoud changed his purpose once more, and disavowed the proposals for giving up Adana. The arrival of a third Russian armament for awhile confirmed him in his last resolution, and the aspect of things seemed to indicate that the Emperor of Russia was to settle the affairs of the East in his own way,
d with his own bayonets. But again the Sultan wavered.
' plomacy of all Europe beset the Divan,— their united
ned him against his suspicious ally,—and at last,
May, he consented to cede all the territories
anded by the Pasha of Egypt. On the
might have obtained peace months
ging Russian fleets and armies to

nciliation was published on
Ibrahim Pasha evacuated
troops from As[illegible] Mi-
hemet Ali, the Pasha

of Egypt, has become incomparably a more powerful monarch than Sultan Mahmoud. He is now left in undisputed possession of Egypt, the fine island of Candia (Crete), the Holy Land, and all the country of the Levant, from the confines of Asia Minor to the mouths of the Nile; and by these means, not only secured in an admirable frontier easily defended against the Turks, but enriched by the accession of some of the finest sea-ports in the world. In some of the districts—and particularly in that of Adana, which was so long the stumbling-block in the path of negotiation—he has made himself sure of an invaluable supply of forest-timber, fit for the purposes of his growing navy.

Mehemet Ali has also shown a disposition for the immediate improvement of these territories—having employed several foreign engineers, among whom are two Englishmen, to survey the coasts and the interior of the country, with a view of facilitating communication by roads and canals, for the purposes of commerce. At the same time, he has begun to strengthen the important passes of Mount Taurus with a succession of forts.

The Russian forces collected round Constantinople, were not withdrawn so soon as some of the European Powers expected or desired. At first, it was said that their retirement would not be consistent with the interest of the Sultan, until Ibrahim Pasha's army should have recrossed Mount Taurus, but the Russians lingered after that event had taken place. Meanwhile, the naval forces of England and France, in the Mediterranean, combined and cruized off the Turkish coast. At last, on the 11th of July, the Russian fleet and army sailed from the Bosphorus.

A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Emperor Nicholas and Sultan Mahmoud, which, it is said, is to last eight years at the end of which it is to expire, unless renewed by mutual consent. The particulars of this treaty are not yet known, the established facts are, that Russia retains possession of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as securities for the payments of the debt owing by Turkey, that the Emperor has erected himself the "Protector" of the Sultan's Servian subjects, and that the Sultan has become almost subservient to Russian influence.

The proceedings of Mahmoud had excited the indignation of the Turks. Immediately after the departure of the Russian forces, a conspiracy against him was formed but discovered. Early in August, threatening notes were posted up in various parts of Constantinople, and unexpected. On August 30th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, it became evident that these threats had been carried into execution. A large wooden edifice called the Gun Manufactory, was observed to be in flames, and, as the wind blew freshly from the north, the fire spread with fearful rapidity. In the course of that day, and the following night, about one-fourth of the city was consumed. At the same time, great discontents prevailed in the Asiatic provinces, and in the European, the Bosniaks and a portion of the Albanians seemed again disposed for insurrection.

GREECE.

THE Greeks, who began their revolution to free themselves from Turkish oppression in 1820, were, unfortunately, too long left to themselves, and to the demoralizing effects of a sanguinary warfare, party intrigue, and want, that amounted in many instances to absolute starvation. It would be difficult to state the precise point at which the interference of the Christian nations of Europe would have been justifiable; but it seems to us to have been at the period previous to the Egyptian expedition to the Morea. At that time the Greeks had expelled the Turks, and were in actual possession of the best part of their country; and humanity might have interdicted the Sultan's making fresh efforts after so many had failed, or renewing a war of extermination. It is true the Greeks had already suffered prodigiously, and also shown much feckleness and insane dissensions among themselves, but anarchy had not yet become a confirmed habit, nor had the people been driven, by extremity of suffering, to piracy and frenzy.

But the intervention which would have been so opportune in 1823, was delayed till 1827. Ibrahim Pasha, who has so recently humbled his sovereign to the dust, was permitted to land his Arabs and Egyptians in Greece, and to prosecute the war for the Sultan, which he did with as much success as cruelty. His disciplined forces nearly everywhere

obtained advantages over the irregular troops of the Greeks; town after town, and district after district were reconquered; and, in 1827, when England, France, and Russia, *at last*, resolved to interfere actively, Ibrahim was master of the greater part of Greece, and the remnant of the Christian population, cooped up in islands and corners, without the means of subsistence, were impressed with the sad conviction, that there was no pity or aid for them—that Christian Europe had abandoned them, with their wives and their children, to the Mahometan yataghan, or to slavery in Egypt. In the interim, the most patriotic had been informed of the Greeks perished in battle, and numbers of the survivors had recourse to piracy. This they did at first through want and rage, at seeing ships of certain European powers covering, with their flags, not only Turkish property, but warlike stores, destined for Ibrahim Pasha; but the spirit of plunder is infectious, particularly among a semi-barbarous people, such as the Greeks undeniably are; and, by degrees, they plundered vessels of all nations indiscriminately, and pursued their depredations when they could no longer plead starvation in extenuation of theft. During the greater part of the years 1826 and 1827, no unarmed merchant vessel, unprotected by convoy, could pass up or down the Archipelago, without the certainty of being boarded by mystiotes or cruizers. Though these pirate crews were sometimes taken by European men-of-war, so many difficulties were involved in their trial, that they almost invariably escaped with impunity. These circumstances produced the very worst of effects on the character of the Greek people, who thus became *accustomed* to a lawless life, and their long duration greatly increased the after task of civilizing them, and reducing them to social order.

When the battle of Navarino was fought, in October, 1827, and when Ibrahim Pacha was constrained to abandon the soil of Greece, these acts of piracy, indeed, became less frequent, and soon ceased almost entirely; but the morals of the men who had been engaged in them were degraded, and the evil Greeks carried to shore the turbulent, restless, dissolute spirit they had contracted on the seas.

The best of the Greeks, as we have said, had perished. The Capitani, who remained with their fierce though diminished bands, could set no bounds to their claims or pretensions—the extravagance of which was, however, equalled by almost every Greek, who, whether in a civil or military capacity, had taken part in the work of the revolution. All wanted places of power, lands, money; and there was little of either of these to bestow.

The smell of the gunpowder of the allies which had rescued them from utter ruin, was scarcely dissipated from the bay of Navarino, ere these Greeks were ready to cut each other's throats; and a minutely-divided civil war, or a conflict of partisans with partisans, was only prevented by the arrival of Count Capo d'Istria, with a considerable sum of money, and the residence of a French army. But still the Greeks, naturally a volatile and wavering people, and with these vices of their disposition increased by recent events, were, unfortunately, and most imprudently, left in a state at which positively nothing was settled. Capo d'Istria was not to be their permanent ruler, and they could not respect an authority that might pass away with the morrow. Even the frontiers of the country they were to occupy were not decided for a long time; and when, in consequence of the death of Mr. Canning and subsequent changes in the British ministry, it was left to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen to settle that point, the line of demarcation they fixed was every way so faulty—leaving the new state open to Turkish inroad, and curtailing its fair proportions—that it filled the Greeks with astonishment and indignation.

Then, again, the splendid hopes that had rested on having Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg for their king, with his English alliances and his English wealth, of which they entertained the most extravagant notions, all fell to the ground; for that personage wisely refused to accept a kingdom cut down by the diplomatic scissors of Lord Aberdeen. This event was very fatal to the peace of the Greeks; who, soon after it was known, began to rebel against Capo d'Istria. We do not believe one half of the charges made against that president; yet we have grounds for asserting that his mode of governing was in many respects unwise, and ill suited to obtain that popularity of which he stood in need. The unfortunate count proceeded to suppress these parties with a strong hand; and, in so doing, he arrested and threw into prison the Maïnote chief, Mavromichaelis. Shortly after, on the 9th of October, 1831, while on his way to attend divine service, he was removed from the cares of life and government by the murderous hands of Mavromichaelis's son and brother. A civil war ensued, which was waged by two legislative assemblies, each pretending to supreme authority. This miserable effusion of blood was checked by the presence of some French troops, and the earnest representations of foreign consuls and envoys. Still, however, the frontiers, and the form of government to be prescribed, were undetermined. At times, the crown of Greece seemed to be sent begging through the courts of Europe for a prince to wear it; at others, a republic, or the division of the country into a multiplicity of republics, after the fashion of their ancestors, was talked of. Finally, one of these capital difficulties, which had caused so much strife and cost [illegible] was settled. His majesty's present Cabinet despatched Sir Stratford Canning to Constantinople, towards the end of 1831, and by June in the following year (the length of the time will astonish no one acquainted with the dogged obstinacy and dilatory proceedings of Turkish diplomacy), that able ambassador succeeded in procuring the Sultan's adhesion to extended limits and a proper frontier for Greece. It is painful to reflect, that Sir Stratford had insisted on precisely the same frontier, and had obtained the assent of the Porte to its being established, as far back as 1828. Lord Aberdeen, and his colleagues in office, chose to return to the Sultan what he was ready to resign.

By the successful mission of Sir Stratford Canning, the settlement of the business was greatly facilitated; the second capital difficulty being but a consequence of the first. The plan so long contemplated, and so absurdly retarded in execution, was now acted upon.

As the best mode of restoring order to this unhappy country, it was resolved by the great courts which took an interest in its fate, to erect Greece into an hereditary kingdom, and to place a prince of one of the royal houses of Europe on the throne. Their choice fell upon Otho, the second son of the King of Bavaria; and this meeting the approbation of the provisional government of the country, he was formally elected by the National Assembly, on the 8th of August, 1832, as King of Greece. Three Greek deputies were despatched to the Bavarian court, to notify his election, and to solicit that the prince might immediately repair to take possession of his kingdom. The necessity of some fixed and strong government was, indeed, becoming more and more evident. On the 21st of August, the soldiers of Chrysostis, one of the turbulent capitani, forcibly entered the hall of the National Assembly, and carried off nine of its members, to be kept as security for the payment of their arrears.

As Prince Otho was little more than seventeen years of age, having been born on the 1st of June 1815, it was agreed that, during his minority, the sovereign authority should be confided to a regency, composed of the Count of Armansperg and Messrs. Lewinde Maurer, Charles Heideck, and Charles Abel: the count was to act as president. It was further agreed, that a loan should be raised for the young king, and guaranteed by England and France. A formal treaty of alliance between the King of Bavaria, and his son, as King of Greece, was drawn up; and on the 6th of December, 1832, Otho took his departure from Munich. He arrived at Napoli di Romania on the 31st of January 1833, and was, to all appearance, received with great joy. An attempt was made at a sort of triumphant or solemn entrance; but the Greeks had not even a tolerably decent house in which to lodge their young sovereign.

A Greek ministry was formed. The well-known Trikoupi, a man of integrity and talent, was its president, and at the same time minister of foreign affairs and of the commerce, navy; Rizo, a man of considerable literary attainments and of some experience, had the direction of religion and public instruction; one of the Mavrocordatos was [illegible] with the finances; and the other departments [illegible] to Greeks of good reputation.

The first important step taken by [illegible] Otho, was to establish three courts [illegible] Napoli di Romania, the second [illegible] third at Thebes; each of [illegible] dent. The authority of the [illegible] of German soldiers, by [illegible] and by other natives [illegible] latter charges were

European tactics. Efforts were also made to put a few ships of war in a state of efficiency.

The aspect of affairs was, for some months, flatteringly tranquil; and at the beginning of August, the residue of the French forces, consisting of about twelve hundred men, and who alone had preserved the country from a state of perfect anarchy, during the period which elapsed between the assassination of Count Capo d'Istria and the arrival of Otho, embarked and sailed for France. Previously to this, the new regency and ministry had decided on the important measure, that the church government of free Greece should be entirely separated from that of the Greek church in the Sultan's dominions, and rendered independent of the patriarch who resides at Constantinople. The kingdom of Greece was to have a separate head of its own church, as is the case with her co-religionist, Russia. Though this measure has been made a ground of complaint by some of the caballing primates, it seems to have satisfied the majority of the Greek people, who saw the impropriety of maintaining a spiritual subordination to a subject of the Sultan, which the patriarch at the Turkish capital is, to all intents and purposes. Meanwhile, with the return of tranquillity, commerce had considerably revived; and the revenue derived from the customs had, in several of the ports (among which was that of Syra), increased nearly threefold. With the consequent increase of their comforts, the people had become more settled and easy to govern.

In the midst of these peaceful and promising circumstances, a formidable conspiracy, whose success would have instantly destroyed them, and thrown Greece into an infinitely worse state of anarchy than ever, was discovered in the month of October. At the head of this conspiracy was the fierce old chieftain, Colocotroni. Fifteen other individuals, among whom, it is said, was one of the three deputies who went to Munich to invite Otho to Greece, were implicated. The plot was fortunately discovered in time. The conspirators were arrested, and secured in the citadel of Napoli di Romania, where, from their own depositions, Colocotroni and Violopolis were convicted of high treason. Other turbulent capitani and intriguing primates in the Morea were suspected; but throughout the country the people remained perfectly quiet, making no attempt to release or assist their chiefs. The young king, almost immediately after, set out on a tour through his dominions, to give his subjects a proof of his confidence in them. About the same time, the regency decreed the opening of roads in several parts of the kingdom, which has been for many centuries lamentably deficient in such means of communication. Those were to be commenced first which established a direct communication between the interior and the ports and harbours of the country.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

IN a former Number (see *Companion*, p. 11) will be found a general statement of the grounds of the dispute respecting the tariff, which agitated the United States at the beginning of this year. The tariff, imposing heavy duties upon various articles of foreign manufacture, was first enacted by Congress in 1825; and it has ever since formed a source of contention and embittered feeling between the two great divisions of the Republic. The Northern States, where a good deal of capital has of late been invested in attempts to establish domestic manufactures, have, of course, done their utmost to maintain the system of protection; while the Southern States, which are wholly agricultural, and the inhabitants of which are the buyers, and not the producers, of manufactured goods, have not unnaturally exclaimed against a law, the tendency of which is, both to force them to make their purchases in the dearest market, and, at the same time, to deprive them of the most profitable market in which to make their sales. For there can be no doubt
the same degree in which the tariff prevented them
articles of foreign manufacture, it went to
agricultural produce from foreign countries.
Congress in December, 1831, President
the legislature the reconsideration of
bject was accordingly referred, by
s, to a select committee. The
ny alteration of the duties;
replied to by another,
s from fifteen of the
following year, a
slight relaxation of the tariff was conceded to the determined and growing opposition with which it was assailed; but the relief was too insignificant to have any effect in allaying the dissatisfaction. Nothing more, however, could be obtained from Congress before its adjournment in the end of July.

In these circumstances the most violent opponents of the tariff determined to assume a new attitude in advancing to the next parliamentary campaign. In the beginning of November, a convention was held at Columbia, consisting of delegates from all parts of South Carolina; and by this assembly an ordinance was forthwith issued, in which the tariff was boldly declared to be, in so far as regarded that state, null and void; and intimation was given, that from and after the 1st of February ensuing, all persons holding office in the state should be required to take an oath that they would support this declaration. So decided a step could only have been taken in a perfect assurance on the part of its authors that the public feeling was with them. Before the end of the same month, accordingly, the legislature of the state had formally sanctioned and legalized the ordinance of the nullifiers. An act was also passed for the organization of a military force to carry it into effect.

Matters were in this state when Congress re-assembled on the 4th of December. General Jackson, who, after the expiration of his first term of four years, had been a second time elected to the presidency, again adverted, in his message, to the subject of the tariff, the unhappy cause of all this dissension, and pressed upon the legislature, at great length, the adoption of a more liberal policy. A few days after, he addressed a long proclamation to the people of South Carolina, in which he pointed out to them the destructive tendency of the course they had entered upon, and did not affect to disguise the necessity under which he would be laid, should they actually proceed to resist the laws, of compelling their obedience by all the means at the command of the union. In a second message to Congress, on the 5th of January, 1833, he combated the arguments in a manifesto, which had been a short time before issued in defence of their proceedings by the South Carolinian legislature, and pointed, still more distinctly than he had done in his proclamation, to the necessity that might arise of a resort to arms.

At this stage the affair certainly wore an aspect not a little alarming; and there was reason to apprehend that a crisis was fast approaching by much the most perilous that the Republic had yet experienced. To judge by the heat and violence displayed by both parties—by the Carolinians on the one side, and the people of the different northern states at their public meetings on the other—the two parts of the country seemed to be ready for a civil war.

The government, meanwhile, took its measures in the spirit of the president's messages, and introduced into the legislature two bills, one having for its object to remedy, as far as possible, what was acknowledged to be a just cause of complaint, and the other to provide the necessary means of vindicating the authority of the law, and putting down the resistance with which it was threatened. By the former of these two bills very considerable immediate reductions were made in the protecting duties, and it was provided that they should be gradually still further reduced until they should be brought down to the amount fairly exigible for purposes of revenue. This proposal at once obtained the assent of the representatives of South Carolina and the other southern states; but the bill was vigorously opposed, at every stage of its passage through the two Houses, by those from the other division of the union. The measure of coercion, on the other hand, was as obstinately resisted from the opposite quarter. In this way it was near the end of March before either bill was finally disposed of. However, they both passed, and even by majorities that were not inconsiderable, though very differently composed in the two cases. From a statement which was given in the public papers, it appears that in the division on the bill for the reduction of the tariff, the representatives of the New England and the Middle States (reckoning those of both Houses together) stood Ayes 48, and Noes 86; while those of the Southern and Western States stood Ayes 104, Noes 14. From the Southern States alone, indeed, there were 67 votes for, and only 1 against the bill: it passed by a majority of 152 to 100. In the case of the Enforcing Bill, as it was called, on the contrary, the New England and Middle States' representatives were 107 to 8

for it; while 33 of those from the Southern, and 7 of those from the Western States, voted against it. Sixty-five members of these two latter classes, however, voted, in its favour; and the numbers in all, therefore, were 172 for, and 48 against it.

In this way the difference was composed, at least for the present. The South Carolina convention, which, as having taken the lead in the business, naturally considered itself entitled to the honour of concluding it, immediately published an ordinance, declaring their former act of nullification, and all the other acts passed in pursuance thereof, to be henceforth of no force or effect. They had every reason, certainly, to congratulate themselves on a great victory. On the other side, of course, the satisfaction could not be quite so complete; but still there is not much reason to apprehend that the defeated party will be able at any future time to regain the ground they have been driven from on this occasion, or that the subject will give rise to any further danger or disturbance.

Another curious transaction has a little ruffled the usual smooth current of public affairs, and produced a considerable sensation throughout the union, within the last few months—we allude to the extraordinary procedure of President Jackson in removing the government deposits from the bank of the United States. The quarrel of the president with this establishment is of some standing. The bank was first chartered in 1816, and has ever since been considered—as much as the Bank of England is in this country—a national establishment. When the proprietors, however, applied in the beginning of the year 1832 for a renewal of their charter, which had been granted only for a period of twenty years, although a bill for the renewal passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives, the president refused to give it his assent. The principal reason which he alleged in justification of this exercise of his prerogative, appears to have been, that the bank had, by bribing editors of newspapers and other persons, and by exerting its influence in a variety of ways, laid a scheme for defeating him at the approaching election. Having gained his election, he would seem not to have abandoned his resentment. About the middle of September last, he took the step we have mentioned above, on his own responsibility, and even in opposition to the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, who wished him at least to wait till the meeting of Congress, in the beginning of December. He soon after published a long exposition of his reasons for acting as he had done; but he does not state what is generally believed to have been his true motive. The deposits which have been withdrawn from the national bank have been distributed among the different state banks; and General Jackson, on the occasion of his late re-election to the presidency, is said to have been as actively supported by the latter establishments as he was opposed by the former.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In the year 1810, when Spain was engaged in what appeared to many a hopeless war with Buonaparte, her immense colonies in the American continent resolved to avail themselves of that season of calamity and weakness, and make themselves independent of the mother-country. Their grounds of complaint were very numerous; but when we say that they were virtually governed by the council of the Indies which resided in Spain, and disposed of all places of honour or emolument; that they were forbidden to cultivate on their soil any such productions as were natural to Spain, and could be furnished by her; that they were allowed no trade with any nation except Spain; and that, the same time (in 1810), when it was still attempted to ...etuate these onerous and degrading obligations, their ...ulation *doubled* that of Spain,—we shall sufficiently ex...n the causes of the quarrel, and of the ultimate success ...ose colonies.

...uenos Ayres was the first to declare itself; and its ...mple was soon followed in various and very distant parts ...panish America. Long years of violence and blood, ...ever, intervened between the first movement of the ...ots and their final success. The cause of Spain was ...orted in a manner altogether astonishing, when we re...on the crippled resources of that kingdom. For six... years did her armies and partisans in America prolong ... struggle, during which the most atrocious cruelties and wholesale massacres were committed both by royalists and republicans. Finally, in 1826, the fall of Callao, which had been for some time the last hold the Spaniards had on South America, terminated the contest; and the colonies, though Spain would not recognise their *independence*, became, to all intents and purposes, *independent* states. The new governments were then thus divided:—

	Population.
1. The Republic of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata	600,000
2. Republic of Chili	1,200,000
3. Republic of Peru	1,736,920
4. Dictatorship of Paraguay	500,000
5. Republic of Bolivia, or Upper Peru	1,200,000
6. Republic of Colombia	2,711,296
7. Republic of Mexico	8,000,000
8. Republic of Central America	1,700,000

Though the South Americans had not even waited for the conclusion of the war against their common enemy, the Spaniards, to show their mutual jealousies and proneness to quarrel with one another; and though, during that war, they had frequently betrayed an utter want of political wisdom and of moderation, it was fondly hoped that, with the termination of hostilities, they would settle down into an harmonious union like the states of North America, and gradually learn the art of governing themselves. Unfortunately, however, this has not been the case—on the contrary, by the ambition of military chiefs, the wild schemes of theorists who would subtilize on political matters, among a people who have yet to learn the very rudiments of representative government,—and by the turbulent, warlike spirit, rendered strong and general by sixteen years of fighting, these South American states have ever since been kept in almost constant anarchy. Conspiracies and revolutions within each government, and quarrels and hostilities with its neighbours without, have succeeded one another with such rapidity, that the memory of the European public seems to refuse to take further cognizance of them, and readers turn from a column of South American news with a feeling of tedium or disgust.

One of the most obvious results of this course of things has been, the subdivision and splitting up of the states as originally formed. Colombia, alone, has been formed into three separate states, whose boundaries and name have varied several times, and are not settled even now.

While all Spanish South America was revolutioniz... the Portuguese possessions in that continent remained co...paratively quiet, and, to appearance, attached to the mon...chical form of government. The princes of the House ...Braganza, driven from Portugal by French arms, found ...enviable refuge in Brazil; and when, at last, the peop... that country frightened the late King John VI. ba... Europe, it was only by evincing their desire to render... monarchy constitutional. In 1822, without any revolution...ary movement or violence, Brazil was entirely detache... from Portugal, ... Pedro proclaimed "Constitutiona... Emperor." There w..., ...d, no revolution until Apr... 1831, when the Brazilians deprived Pedro of his cro... but, still adhering to monarchy, they reserved the cr... for his son, Petro II., a child now only eight years ... whose name affairs are administered by a permar... vernment or regency, and according to constitutional fo... Among the complaints alleged against Don Pedro by Brazilians, were the following:—that he was led by fav...ites; that he preferred Portuguese to them; that he lav... their money on Constitutionalists who had been driven ... Portugal, and beggared by Don Miguel; that he ap... priated their funds, which they had set apart for the ... ment of the dividends on their acknowledged public d... England, to support the regency established at Ter... behalf of his daughter Donna Maria, as queen of Po... and that, when Donna Maria was recalled from E... 1829, he allotted her a palace, with a royal court a... pageantry of her own, all of which was paid for... Brazilian budget. There was the usual conclu... about the luxury and immorality of his own court at... tiers. So weak was Don Pedro's party in the countr... he was dispossessed of the throne almost without a st... In 1832, however, some conspiracies and risings, ... caused considerable bloodshed, were made with the o... sible object of restoring the dethroned king. During ... same year, the legislative assembly made a new cor... tion, and passed a meritorious act, for ever abolishi...

slave trade in Brazil. At the commencement of the year 1833, the accounts received from Mexico were of a nature to prove highly satisfactory to the lovers of order and peace. They imported, that the people began at length to feel the importance of union among themselves, and of friendship with their neighbours; that arrangements were making, by which government would be able to protect itself against the turbulent soldiery, and to diminish the standing army, which then amounted to 65,000 men;—that the Mexicans were ready to pay a pecuniary consideration to Spain, if that court would acknowledge the independence of their country:—and that it was confidently hoped that this recognition, the want of which had caused constant excitement and evils innumerable, would be obtained through the mediation of Great Britain. They also stated that a commercial treaty had been concluded between Mexico and Switzerland.

On the 15th of February, the Constitutional Congress was opened at Mexico; close alliances were formed, and General Santa-Anna was installed as president, not only of Mexico, but of the now United States of Central America.

One of the most memorable acts of this Congress was the passing of a grant of 30,000 dollars, annually, for the purchase of instructive books to be disseminated among the people. This measure seemed to prove that they were earnest in the pursuit of national happiness, and that they had hit upon the true means of obtaining it—the general intellectual improvement of the people. At the same time, treaties of amity and commerce, and plans to promote tranquillity, were discussed in the assembly, and all appeared, for awhile, to be willing to forget former injuries and jealousies.

This flattering state of affairs, however, did not last long. Many ambitious men were anxious to obtain the post and honours of the president Santa-Anna, who, only the year before, had seized them from the former president, Bustamente. Among these, the most powerful and decided, was General Arista, who succeeded in corrupting a body of troops employed to escort Santa-Anna, on a journey; and, on the 6th of June, made the president his prisoner. Seven days after, the president effected his escape, and fled to Puebla. Another fierce civil war ensued, and was only interrupted by the breaking out of the cholera in the ranks of both armies. Santa-Anna lost 2000 men in the course of a very short time, nor were the sufferings of the insurgent forces from this mysterious disease less heavy. According to the latest intelligence, however, Santa-Anna has disposed of the opposite faction for the present, and is again at the head of affairs.

In the state of Columbia a national academy was opened at Bogota on the 6th of January, 1833; and, on the 25th of the same month, the Constitutional Congress met, tranquilly, at Venezuela, under the presidency of General Paez. In the month of July, a conspiracy to overthrow the Columbian government was detected at Bogota. The night of the 23rd was fixed for making the attempt. The plot was discovered, and sixty-five out of seventy conspirators were arrested: on the 28th of July all was quiet. In Peru, the year was ushered in by plots and conspiracies. An attempt was made to assassinate Garnarra, the president, but the individual was arrested in time, and condemned to be shot. In the month of March, however, the president was deprived of his authority.

Brazil became again the scene of disorder and slaughter. On the 17th of April, the populace—joined by the blacks and half-castes—rose, and massacred the Portuguese residing at Para. This disgusting carnage is said to have lasted two days; and some accounts accused the President of having distributed arms to the assassins. An insurrection also broke out in one of the provinces of Brazil, and soon assumed a formidable aspect. The insurgents issued a very declamatory manifesto, declaring their grievances, and vituperating the existing government in the most violent manner. At Rio Janeiro, where the young emperor, Don Pedro's son, is residing, tranquillity appears to have been tolerably well maintained.

It would be vain to speculate on the probabilities that exist, of seeing these long-distracted countries thoroughly restored to order. We can only heartily wish for that happy event; and deplore, in the meantime, that, through insane dissensions, so many lives should be sacrificed in vast and fertile regions, whose sole physical want is an increase of population.

the
rele
imn
to g
Abo
road
many
muni
establ
the po

IN
geni
the t
of th
various
Cong
of cor
divisi
South
habita
of me
against
to make
same time
in which

CHRONICLE OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES OF THE YEAR 1833.

January 1. A destructive conflagration at Liverpool, in which fifteen to twenty warehouses were destroyed, with property to the value of 300,000*l.*

Insurrectionary movements at Madrid and Toledo, in favour of Don Carlos, in consequence of the royal decree of December, confirming the Pragmatic sanction,—a repeal of which had been extorted from the King during his illness.

5. The discussions concerning the disposal of the Duchess of Berri result in the determination to detain her in safe custody at Blaye.

6. The crown of France claimed by Joseph Bonaparte, the elder brother of the King of Spain, as having become the representative of the various royal dynasty, by the death of young Napoleon.

Death of Joshua Brookes, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., aged seventy-three. This celebrated anatomist, during the forty years in which he taught anatomy at his Theatre in Blenheim-street, educated a division of less than 7000 pupils, many of whom have attained great eminence in their profession. His Museum, which was only second in order to that of Hunter in the number and variety of specimens it contained, was, unhappily, in his declining years, dispersed by the hammer of the auctioneer. In concluding his Spring Lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital, Sir Astley Cooper made it a constant practice to say to his pupils—"Now, gentlemen, if you wish to study the anatomy, go to Joshua Brookes."

Died, within the rules of the King's Bench prison, Mr. Charles Dibdin, the dramatic author and popular song writer, in the fifty-fifth year.

The difference between the French Chambers of Peers and Deputies, in which, in consequence of the determination of the latter to reject the amendment to a bill they had passed, by which the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., as a day of national mourning, is abolished.

The Hungarian Diet opened by the Emperor in person. Among the earliest proceedings of this assembly was the adoption of a resolution recommending the publicity of discussion in the Diet, and the establishment of the liberty of the press.

11. Seven persons killed by the explosion of six powder-mills at Dartford in Kent.

Otho, the first King of Greece, arrived at Napoli, in his royal ally's ship Madagascar, and immediately issued a proclamation exhorting his new subjects to be united among themselves; and promising to maintain their liberties, and to administer impartial justice among them.

February 1. The police at Madrid obtained information of a conspiracy to dethrone the King and proclaim Don Carlos, who, after having been imprisoned in his palace, was ordered to leave Spain and reside in Italy.

2. The Porte claimed the assistance of Russia against Mehemet Ali.

4. Death of Mr. O'Keefe, near Southampton, in his eighty-sixth year. This popular dramatist was intended for an artist; but was diverted from the requisite studies by a passion for the stage and dramatic authorship. The prevailing object in his numerous compositions was to amuse, and in this he appears to have been very successful. Many of his farces, &c., still retain a place in the acting drama.

5. The previous days, since January 29th, having been occupied by the House of Commons in the usual business incident to a new election, such as the election of a Speaker (the Right Hon. C. M. Sutton), and the swearing of Members, &c., the Parliament was this day opened for the despatch of public business by the King in person. The Speech, after alluding to the state of affairs between Holland and Belgium, mentioned the principal subjects which would require the attention of Parliament during the session, as the Charters of the Bank of England, and of the East India Company; and the state of the Established Churches in England and Ireland—in alluding to which country, occasion was taken to lament the spirit of insubordination and violence which unhappily prevailed; and it announced, that it might be necessary to invest the Crown with additional powers for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries.

6. Death of Admiral Lord Exmouth, aged seventy-six. He was born, April 19th, 1757; and entered the navy before he had completed his fourteenth year. He was posted in 1782, and in 1793, was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, for the gallantry displayed in the capture of a French frigate. In 1814 he was raised to the baronetcy, for the personal humanity, bravery which he exhibited in saving the crew of an East Indiaman, which, in a heavy gale, had been driven upon the rocks near Plymouth citadel. We cannot recapitulate the long list of

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER;

AND

JOURNAL OF FACTS

IN

POLITICS, STATISTICS, AND PUBLIC ECONOMY.

1833.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EA

MDCCCXXXIV.

ADVERTISEMENT

The first Volume of the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER has been closed earlier than was originally arranged. The *Annual Retrospect and Chronicle of Events* which are now published, naturally determined the completion of the present Volume; and the arrangement allows a change in the plan of the Work, the expediency of which has been established by a sufficient experience. It is, for the future, intended *to discontinue the publication of Supplements*, which have been found inconvenient; and *to enlarge the size of the Monthly Publication*. The "Companion to the Newspaper" will, therefore, consist of 24 pages instead of 16; and the additional space thus gained will, for the most part, be devoted to a "JOURNAL OF FACTS," which will not only keep the most important *political events* more completely before the reader, and form a tolerably full record of the progress of *Statistics and Public Economy*, but be a Register also of such other circumstances as may appear to demand a place in a work calculated for future reference, as well as present information. The enlarged Number will be charged 4*d.* instead of 2*d.* so that the annual cost will be 4*s.* for 288 pages. This advance of price, beyond the advance arising out of the increase of size, is rendered necessary by these circumstances. The expense of conducting this work has been greater than originally estimated, and the sale, though large, reaching to 20,000, is not a remunerating sale at the original price. The nature of the subjects treated on, interesting and important as they are, preclude the expectation that the work would attain the extensive circulation of others of a more miscellaneous nature [illegible] same Publisher. To have lessened the literary expenses, would have been to produce a Journal of inferior quality. The small advance of price, founded upon the experiment which has been made, is the just and natural course; any one which [illegible] not be objected to by those who perceive that every literary undertaking must stand or fall in proportion as the demand makes a return for the capital and labour employed in its production. If the demand had been doubled, the price would have remained the same. The present demand, with the increased price, will enable the work to be continued without any sacrifice of the character which it has attained, and with new and strenuous attempts at higher excellence.

December 31*st*, 1833.

CONTENTS.

NUMBER 1.

Page.
Prospectus . . . 1
Constitution and Usages of Parliament . . . ib.
Parliamentary Terms . . . 4
Belgium . . . . . ib.
Bank of England 5
East India Company 6
Irish Church . . . . . ib.
Ireland 7
Revenue and Expenditure . 8
Parliamentary Petitions . . 9
Quaker's Affirmation . . . 10
Private Bills 11
Election Petitions . . . 12
South Carolina and the American Tariff . . . . ib.
Newspapers 14

NUMBER 2.

Parliamentary Reporting . . 17
Corporation Reform . . . 21
Office of King's Printer—Monopoly of Bibles . . . 23
Public Petitions 27
British Museum 28
Education in Ireland . . . ib.
Abstract of Parliamentary Returns 31
Notice 32

NUMBER 3 (SUPPLEMENT).

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.
Introductory Remarks, and History of the Company to the present time 33
Government of India . . . 36
Question regarding the propriety of permitting Europeans to reside in India 37
Effects of the recent partial opening of the Trade to India . 39
The Question as to the propriety of opening the Trade with C[illegible] 40
[illegible] claimed by Joseph King o[illegible] of separating the Por[illegible] repr[illegible] om the Commercial Cha[illegible] of the Company . . 46
[illegible] aught[illegible] specting the East India [illegible]ess[illegible]pany's Charter, issued [illegible]h 27, 1833 47

NUMBER 4.

[illegible] Banking system of Great [illegible] 49
[illegible] in the Law of Real Pro[illegible]rty 54
[illegible] of Local Jurisdiction . 55
[illegible] London 56
[illegible] Bill 60
[illegible] Petitions . . . . ib.
[illegible]tent Bills 61
[illegible]en Petitions 63
[illegible]act of Parliamentary Pa[illegible] . . . . . ib.

Page.
Post Office Arrangements with France 64
Notice . . . . . ib.

NUMBER 5.

Crime in London—No. II. . 65
West India Question . . . 69
Proposed New Laws, relating to Dramatic Literary Property and Theatrical Performances . 70
Bill for the relief of the Jews . 71
The Banking System of Great Britain—No. II. . . . 72
Inquest on Robert Culley . 76
Public Petitions 78
Election Petitions 79
Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers 79
Council to Prisoners . . . 80
Notice . . . . . ib.

NUMBER 6.

State of Crime in Great Britain and Ireland 81
Turkey and Egypt 83
Proposed Change in the Law of Libel 86
Corporation Reform . . . 87
Local Courts' Bill 88
Juvenile Vagrancy 89
Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt 91
Combinations 92
Public Petitions 93
Post-Office Arrangements with France . . . . . ib.
Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers 94

NUMBER 7 (SUPPLEMENT).

THE POOR-LAWS [illegible] been in[illegible]
Introduction [illegible]
Incidental Adv[illegible] Law 97
Provision[illegible]ntages of a Poor-La[illegible] 98
[illegible]s of the English Poor-[illegible] 100
Defects in the English Poor-Laws 101
Proper Mode of Relief . . 104
Necessity of an Improved and Uniform System in the Administration of the Poor-Laws . 106
Education 110
Tabular Accounts . . 111, 112

NUMBER 8.

Scotch Burgh Reform . . 113
Factories Inquiry 116
Amendment of the Apothecaries' Act 119
Warwick Borough Election . 121
Official Tables of Revenue, &c. 123
Portugal—Don Pedro and Don Miguel 124

Page.
Public Petitions 127
Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers 128

NUMBER 9.

The Session of Parliament . . 129
Reduction of Taxation . . 131
Repeal and Reduction of Assessed Taxes 132
Places of Recreation for the Inhabitants of Great Towns . . 133
Duties on Tea 136
Apothecaries' Act and Royal College of Surgeons . . . 137
Reforms in the Court of Chancery . . . . . ib.
New Municipal Corporations . 138
Public Petitions . . . . ib.
Abstract of Parliamentary Papers 139
Stamped and Unstamped Publications 143

NUMBER 10.

Last Year's Emigration to the Canadas 145
Public General Acts . . . 148
Private Bills of the Session of Parliament, 1833 . . . 150
The New Beer-Houses . . 152
Abolition of the Monopoly of the East India Company . . 156
General Education . . . 159

NUMBER 11.

Affairs of Spain . . . .
Slave Trade . . . .
Tea Permits and Surv[illegible]
[illegible] police at Madrid obtained in[illegible] . . 164
[illegible] dethrone the [illegible] g and [illegible]ers . . 165
Proposed New House of Commons 168
Savings Banks Annuities . 171
Public Petitions 172
Abstract of Parliamentary Returns . . . . . ib.

NUMBER 12.

Trades' Unions 177
A Table of the Prices of Imported Articles for the last Five years 185
Electoral Franchise of England and Wales 186
Report on the Vaccine Board . 189
Statistical Tables 190
House of Commons' Offices and Fees . . . . . ib.
Abstract of Parliamentary Returns 192

NUMBER 13.

Retrospect of the Politics and Public Events of 1833 . . 193
Chronicle of Occurrences of 1833 234
London Bill of Mortality . . 238

ERRATA.

P. 43, *for* Semarang, *read* Singapore.

P. 159. The duties on East and West Indian Sugar [illegible]ed, by mistake, at 37*s.* and 27*s.*, instead of 33*s.*

professional services for which he was, in 1814, raised to the peerage, with a pension of 2000*l.* per annum. In 1816, he concluded a treaty with the Algerines, being then the Admiral on the Mediterranean station; but the treaty being almost immediately after violated, the result was the celebrated bombardment of Algiers, in which the Admiral was slightly wounded, and his coat cut in pieces by grape and musket shot. For this action he was created a Viscount; the city of London presented him with a magnificent sword; and the Powers whose subjects (1200 Christians) he had liberated, severally sent him their orders of knighthood. After suffering long from severe illness, which produced a delirium, in which the idea of an action with the Dutch fleet predominated in his mind, he rallied, or, as he said, "I have lately been going to leeward; but now I think I am working to windward again:" but he soon relapsed, and died, surrounded by his family, at Teignmouth. The body was interred with the usual honours; the ensign, shot through in many places, which flew at the mast-head of the Royal Charlotte during the action at Algiers, being used as a pall.

7. A. Herman Waithman died in his seventieth year. He was born of humble parentage, at Wrexham in North Wales, and became an orphan at the early age of four years. After having been supported at school by an uncle, he came to London, and entered into the service of a linen-draper. When of age, he commenced business at the south end of Fleet-market, where his monument now stands. Some years after, he removed to the corner of Bridge-street, and, under the excitement produced by the French Revolution, became a politician, advocating, even at that early period, a reform in Parliament,—the accomplishment of which he just lived to see. After several previous attempts to enter Parliament, he succeeded, in 1818, in supplanting Sir W. Curtis in the representation of the City; and soon after made his maiden speech on the presentation of a petition for the revision of the criminal code. In 1820 Sir W. Curtis was again returned, and Mr. Waithman excluded; but in 1826, and every subsequent election, he prevailed without difficulty. He attained the Shrievalty in 1820, and in 1823 was chosen Lord Mayor.

15. Mr. Pease, the first Quaker Member, took his seat in the House of Commons.

20. A Russian squadron arrived in the Bosphorus, and anchored near Buyukderé.

22. The pregnancy of the Duchess of Berri having been discovered, she declared that she had been privately married in Italy. This statement was received by the Carlists as a forgery of the Government, and several duels were fought in consequence, chiefly between writers in newspapers of opposite principles.

23. The Reis Effendi expresses to the Russian Ambassador the acknowledgments of the Sultan for the ready assistance granted by the Emperor; but, at the same time, requests that the Russian fleet may be directed to leave the Bosphorus with the first fair wind, as the differences with Egypt were in the course of being satisfactorily adjusted through the mediation of France.

24. The Russian Ambassador, in reply to the Reis Effendi, declares that no foreign interference could be allowed in the friendly relations between Russia and the Porte.

[illegible]. General Andrew Jackson becomes a second time President of the United States.

[illegible] works of Oporto attacked by the Miguelites, who are repulsed with much loss.

[illegible] account of the disgust felt at the dismissal of M. Dubois and [illegible]uda from their situations, for having protested against the continuance of the pensions to the Chouans, a strong effort was made in the Chamber of Peers to unseat the French Ministry.

13. The Rev. Edward Irving [illegible]d, on a charge of heresy, before the Presbytery of Annan, and [illegible] sentence of deposition passed upon him.

18. Bergeron and Beriot, charged with being concerned in the attempt to shoot the King of the French in December, acquitted by the jury.

22. New York papers of this date announce the happy termination of the alarming differences between the General Government and South Carolina, in consequence of the passing of the new Tariff Bill, by which the present duties are to be gradually reduced till they reach 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

26. A dreadful conflagration at Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, by which 10,000 Carriboo huts were destroyed, leaving 30,000 Indians houseless, with the loss of fifty lives, and laying three miles of country waste.

29. The Bill for suppressing local disturbances in Ireland passed in the House of Commons.

— One hundred and fifty vessels, having been kept off the port by contrary winds, arrived in one day at Liverpool.

During this month, in consequence of Lord Durham's resignation of the Privy Seal, on account of illness, Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon) becomes Lord Privy Seal; Mr Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies; Sir John Hobhouse, Secretary for Ireland; and Mr. Ellice, Secretary-at-War.

29. Died, in his 68th year, Samuel Drew, M.A., a well-known Metaphysical writer. He was the son of a common labourer at St. Austell, in Cornwall, and at the early age of six he was taken [illegible] school and sent to work at a mill where tinners refined their [illegible] and earned twopence a day. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and in this situation acquired a taste [illegible]erature through a small publication circulated in the west-[illegible]unties, called the 'Weekly Entertainer.' Harsh treatment [illegible]d him to leave his master at the age of seventeen; but in [illegible]r 1785 he returned to St. Austell to take charge of the shoe-[illegible] business of a person who was also a bookbinder; and a metaphysical bias was subsequently given to his mind by some books which were brought to his employer to be bound. A few years after he commenced business on his own account, and while thus engaged, he prepared and published his celebrated 'Essay on the Human Soul,' which first brought him into public notice, and which, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, has gone through five editions in this country, four in America, and has been translated into French. His work on the 'Resurrection' was similarly produced; but in 1805 he relinquished trade for the pursuits of literature, and in 1820 published a work on the 'Being and Attributes of God,' which, with his former works, procured him the honour of M.A. from Aberdeen. In the beginning of 1819, Mr. Drew removed to Liverpool, and thence to London to edit the 'Imperial Magazine,' and to exercise a general superintendence over the works of the Caxton Press,—duties which he continued to discharge until the beginning of the month in which he died.

31. Died, at Copenhagen, Erasmus Rask, the learned philologist and grammarian. He was the author of an 'Icelandic Grammar and Lexicon,' an 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar,' editions of the 'Edda of Snorro and Sæmund,' 'Essays on the Northern Languages,' 'Treatises on the Phonics of India and the Literals of Europe,' and various contributions to chronological science.

April 3. A serious riot at Frankfort, in the course of which the people, headed by the students, took the guard-house, and liberated the persons confined for political offences. Several lives were lost, and many persons wounded, in the struggle between the students and the military.

6. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland places the county of Kilkenny, by proclamation, under the Act for the suppression of local disturbances in Ireland.

11. Died, in his 88th year, the Rev. Rowland Hill, the celebrated Minister of Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars-road. Mr. Hill was the sixth son of Sir Rowland Hill, and uncle to Lord Hill, the present Commander-in-Chief. He was brought up for the Church, in which he received deacon's orders; and although he afterwards separated from it, he was always tenacious of his clerical character as an episcopal minister, and wished rather to be considered as a Nonconformist than a Dissenter. His familiar anecdotical style of oratory was addressed to the common people, among whom he was an eminently popular preacher. As a writer he is chiefly known by the 'Village Dialogues,' a religious work characterized by the same qualities as his preaching, and which has been surpassed by few books in popularity and extent of circulation.

— Another proclamation issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, suppressing the Association of "Irish Volunteers."

15. The new Court House and Gaol at Tain, in the county of Ross, consumed by fire. Three persons, confined for debt, perished in the flames, but all the criminals were saved.

16. M. Lionne, the editor of the Republican paper 'The Tribune,' condemned by the Chamber of Deputies in France to the maximum punishment for libel of three years' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs, for having described the Chamber as *prostituted*.

18. General Santa-Anna becomes President of Mexico.

19. Died, Admiral Lord Gambier, in his 76th year, at Iver. He was the grandson of a French Protestant whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove from his country. He was born in the Bahamas, of which his father was Lieutenant-Governor, and entered the navy in very early life. In 1778 he was commander of the Thunder bomb, in which he was taken by the French fleet under the Count d'Etaing. He took a very active part in the famous battle of the 1st of June, 1794; and the same year was nominated Colonel of Marines, Rear Admiral, and a Lord of the Admiralty. The last situation he frequently afterwards filled at intervals; and while in office, among other services, he compiled a code of signals, which superseded those introduced by James II. when Duke of York. In 1807 Admiral Gambier was sent to demand possession of the Danish fleet, for the successful accomplishment of which service he was raised to the Peerage, and was offered a pension of 2000*l.*, which he declined. In 1809 he was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, a detachment of which attacked and destroyed part of the French squadron in Aix Roads. A difference of opinion between him and Lord Cochrane, on this occasion, induced him to demand a trial before a court-martial, by which he was most honourably acquitted, and received, besides, the thanks of Parliament. Lord Gambier, in his latter years, was much occupied in the affairs of the various religious societies over which he presided, and to which he was a most liberal patron.

23. The fleet of Don Pedro, being in a state of mutiny for want of pay, and on account of the dismissal of Admiral Sartorius for demanding it, Sir J. M. Doyle and Captain Crosbie were despatched on board the 'Rainha,' the former to arrest Sartorius, and the latter to supersede him. But Sir John was himself arrested and detained, and Captain Crosbie threatened with a court-martial. The differences were afterwards adjusted by a partial compliance with the demands of the fleet and the continuance of Sartorius in the command.

25. The French Chambers prorogued by the King in person. The speech described the state and prospects of the country as very cheering, as well as the state of its foreign relations, and expressed a belief that the Belgic question and the affairs of the East would be speedily and amicably settled.

26. In the House of Commons a resolution for the reduction of the malt duty carried against Ministers by a majority of ten.

29. Don Carlos issues a declaration asserting his right to the

Spanish throne, in case the King dies without male issue, and declining, therefore, to take the required oath of allegiance to the young Princess of the Asturias.

29. On the motion for the repeal of the house and window taxes in the Commons, Lord Althorp moved a counter-resolution, declaring its inexpediency, as also that of the reduction of the duty on malt, asserting that it would become necessary to supply the deficiency in the revenue by an income tax, which was carried.

— Sir John Hobhouse resigns his office, and his seat for Westminster, in consequence of being unwilling to embarrass the ministry by voting for the repeal of the assessed taxes, to which he had pledged himself to his constituents.

— Died, aged 76, Dr. Babington, the father of the London physicians, and who formed the connecting link between the departed and living philosophers of the last fifty years.

May 6. Peace concluded between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt. The latter and his son Ibrahim are confirmed in their former dignities and territories, with the addition of Syria and the district of Adana.

9. Forty-nine persons killed by an explosion in Springwell coal-mine, five miles from Newcastle.

10. Colonel De Lacy Evans elected Member for Westminster, after a stormy contest, by a majority of 166 over Sir John Hobhouse, who had represented the city for fifteen years.

— The Duchess of Berri, on being delivered of a female child, declares herself the wife of Count Hector Luchesi Palli. When sufficiently recovered she was liberated and sent to Palermo.

13. A public meeting held in Coldbath-fields, in order to take measures for calling together a National Convention, at which about 1000 persons attended with banners, &c.; in dispersing whom, by the police, much violence was committed on both sides, and one policeman, named Robert Culley, received a wound from a dagger, of which he died.

15. Died, Mr. Kean, the celebrated tragedian, in his 46th year. He was the son of a tailor; and, after struggling through great difficulties and distresses in the early part of his career, he made his *début* on the London boards in 1814 in the character of *Shylock*, his performance of which immediately established him in that rank as an actor which he ever after maintained. His great success supplied him with the means of vicious indulgence, which he had not fortitude to decline, and by which his faculties were impaired, his health ruined, and his property dissipated. He is said to have received since 1814, in England and America, 176,000*l.*, averaging 9000*l.* a-year.

16. Mr. O'Connell was entertained at dinner by the working classes of the metropolis, who on this occasion presented him a piece of plate worth 200*l.*

20. The coroner's inquest find a verdict of 'wilful murder' against all the parties concerned in a duel fought at Exeter on the 10th, between Sir John W. Jeffcott, Chief Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, and Dr. Hennis, when the latter received a wound, of which he died on the 18th.

— A great popular assembly held at Birmingham in the open air, called and presided over by Mr. T. Attwood, and addressed, among others, by Mr. O'Connell, who characterized his Majesty's Ministers as 'bloody and brutal;' and a petition to the King, for their dismissal, was agreed upon.

— Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Holland

E.

T... Question as to the prop... treaty effecting at least a temporary settlement of opening the Trade ... pute between Holland and Belgium.

... Inquest on Robert Culley, the policeman sign a preliminary ... return a verdict of 'justifiable ... of the points in dispute sanction,—... the Court of King's ... Provisio...

— The coroner's inquiry into the illne... , after four days' investigation, ... the d... of the Prisoner for 'Manslaughter,' which was quashed, on the 30th, in October in safe ... 's Bench, on the application of the Solicitor-General.

— Mr. Littleton appointed Secretary ... Bond, in the room of Sir John Hobhouse, resigned.

— An affray between the soldiery and the inhabitants of Neustadt, in Rhenish Bavaria, while attempting to celebrate, a second time, the "festival of Hambach." Upwards of 100 persons killed; and one cavalry regiment refused to fire on the people.

31. Death of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., K.L.S., F.R.S. This distinguished soldier, statesman, and author, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, May the 2nd, 1769. He was scarcely fourteen when he was sent out to India, and rapidly made those acquirements which formed the basis of his future distinction. Having highly distinguished himself at the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, and on other occasions, he was appointed by Lord Wellesley ambassador to Persia, which had never been visited by an English ambassador since the time of Queen Elizabeth. This and his subsequent missions to that country, which were chiefly designed to counteract French influence, he discharged with ability and success. On the occasion of his last mission, the King of Persia founded the order of the Lion and Sun, on purpose to do him honour, and created him a khan and sephadar of the empire. He was knighted on his return to England in 1812; and again proceeded to India in 1816. For his conduct at the battle of Mehidpoor, he received the thanks of the East India Company, and having become a major-general, was nominated G.C.B. in 1821. The following year he returned to England, and received from the Company a grant of 1000*l.* per annum; and a vase worth 1500*l.* was presented him from those who had served under him in the war of 1818-19. In 1827, he was prevailed upon to accept the government of Bombay, and after effecting very important services, finally returned to this country in 1831. He was soon after returned to parliament for Launceston, but not succeeding in acquiring a seat after the dissolution, he withdrew altogether from public life. Mr. Canning spoke of Sir John Malcolm as "an officer whose name would be remembered in India so long as the British flag was hoisted in that country." He was the author of several works of great interest, particularly the "History of Persia;" "Memoir of Central India;" a work on the administration of British India; and the versatility of his talents are exhibited by a book of a more lively character, entitled, "Sketches of Persia." To a subscription for a monument to his memory, the Pasha of Egypt subsequently contributed 100*l.*

June 1. The King of Greece founds the "Saviour" order of knighthood.

— Died at Paris, in his fifty-ninth year, Savary, Duke of Rovigo, one of the ministers of France under Napoleon. He entered the army early; but, unlike the other military chiefs formed by the revolution, did not rise rapidly. He was aide-de-camp to Desaix in Egypt, and returned home with him; and when that brave soldier was killed, Napoleon himself adopted the care of his fortunes. He was soon appointed to preside over the private police, an office which even abler or more scrupulous men than Savary could not have filled without odium. He was necessarily implicated in the affair of the Duc d'Enghein; and it was his persuasions which induced the Prince of Asturias to cross the Pyrenees to meet Napoleon at Bayonne. For his services on this occasion he was created a duke. He was subsequently employed in a mission to Petersburg; he served with distinction in the campaign of 1809; and on the disgrace of Fouché in 1810, the portfolio of general police was intrusted to him. After the fall of Napoleon, he was not well received by Louis XVIII., and was deeply implicated in the plot for return of Bonaparte, whom, after his second fall, ... accompanied to St. Helena, but was not permi... return to France, where a council of war had co... death, he wandered about till 1819, and then be... Paris, and the day of vengeance being past, h... reversed, and he was allowed to live in retirem... remained until the ascendency of the House of ... him to the public service as governor of Algiers.

3. The Duke of Wellington's motion for an addi... king to enforce the neutrality of this country ... Portugal, carried by a majority of 79 to 69, th... ministers as a vote of censure on their conduct. e...

4. Died, in his fifty-eighth year, Peter, Lor... tained much notice in Parliament as the regula... Episcopal Bench, on all questions relating to ... the church. He was the author of several w... of most important is a 'Life of John Locke, wit... Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place ...

6. In answer to the Address of the Lords, the ... he *had already* taken such measures as seemed ... sary for maintaining the neutrality with Por...

11. Several military men in the Sardinia... and a Lieutenant Tola executed, for par... establish a republic.

12. Fifty-eight houses destroyed by ... Lympstone, near Exeter.

20. The Cortes assembled at Madrid ... giance to the young Princess of Asturias ... throne. ... & Permits and Surv...

21. ... ortes, and to ... them.

... the recorder of London resigned his office on account of the feeling excited by the narrow escape of a criminal named Cox from being hanged, through his inadvertence.

24. Algarve and part of Alemtejo acquired for the Queen of Portugal, with little difficulty or loss of life, by an expedition, under the orders of Admiral Napier and Count Villa Flor, which embarked this day at the mouth of the Guadiana.

25. The foundation laid, at the end of Farringdon-street, of a granite obelisk to the memory of Alderman Waithman. The column was completed by the next morning.

July 2. A battle off Cape St. Vincent, between the fleet of the Queen of Portugal (278 guns, and 2500 men) commanded by Admiral Napier, and that of Don Miguel (360 guns, and 3250 men), when the whole of the latter was captured, with the exception of a corvette and two brigs.

8. A treaty of alliance negotiated at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte. Russia engages to furnish Turkey with such forces as her exigencies may at any time require; and the Porte engages, at the demand of Russia, to close the Dardanelles against the entrance of any foreign vessels whatever.

23. Lisbon evacuated by the Miguelite garrison on the approach of Villa Flor, by whom the Miguelite general, Telles Jordao, had been defeated on the 21st. The citizens immediately liberated the persons confined for political offences, and proclaimed the queen.

— This day had been fixed on for an attempt to overthrow the Columbian government; but the plot having been discovered, sixty-five of the seventy conspirators were apprehended.

27. A smart shock of an earthquake felt in the neighbourhood of Washington, the capital of the United States.

29. Death of William Wilberforce, Esq., aged seventy-three. This distinguished opponent of slavery was the son of a merchant of Hull, and was born in that town Aug. 24th, 1759. He had only just become of age when he was returned to Parliament for Hull, in 1780; and in 1784, he was returned both for the same place and the county of York, and sat for the latter. Having become interested in the question of slavery, through the representations of Mr. Clarkson, he promised to bring the matter before the House of Commons; and soon after the assembling of Parliament, in 1787, he gave notice of his intention. He was,

however, prevented for the time by illness; and, in consequence of the number of petitions on the subject, Mr. Pitt himself brought forward a motion in his name; but nothing was done till about a year after, when Mr. Wilberforce's first motion regarding the trade in slaves was carried without a division. In 1791, his motion against the further importation of slaves into the colonies, was negatived by a majority of 75; but, in the year following, his motion, for the gradual abolition of the trade, was carried, only 85 voting against it; and in 1807, an Act, which he had been mainly instrumental in obtaining, passed for the total abolition of the trade; and he lived to see a Bill brought into Parliament by the Government, for the entire abolition of slavery itself, and which, a few weeks after his death, became a law. Mr. Wilberforce, in 1790, 1796, 1802, and 1806, was elected, without opposition, for the county of York; but in 1807 he had to encounter the opposition of the families of Fitzwilliam and Lascelles, which are each said to have expended 100,000*l.* in the contest. But Mr. Wilberforce was supported by a public subscription throughout the county; and at the termination of this unparalleled contest, stood at the head of the poll. In 1812, he was chosen for the county of York, and sat for Bramber till 1825, when he retired from public life altogether, after having sat in Parliament twenty-five years. When his death was known, the most distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament requested that his remains might be interred in Westminster Abbey, and that they might be allowed to attend the funeral. Accordingly, on the 3rd of August, 30 Peers and 130 Commoners testified their respect for the deceased, by attending the body to the tomb.

30. The Irish Church Reform Bill passed in the Lords, by a majority of 135 to 81.

— Sir John Key, one of the City members, resigns his seat in parliament in consequence of the excitement occasioned by the discovery, that he was interested in a government contract; and that his son had been appointed to a place in the Stationery Office under a false report of his age.

August 1. Mr. R. Grant's bill, for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, lost in the Lords by a majority of 104 to 54.

5. The punishment of death for burglary abolished.

9. Part of the Dublin Custom-house warehouses destroyed by fire, with property to the value of 400,000*l.*

15. The English government, and those of France and Sweden shortly after, formally recognise Donna Maria da Gloria as Queen of Portugal.

20. The Slavery Abolition Bill passed in the Lords.

26. The Bank Charter Bill passed in the Lords.

29. Parliament prorogued by the King in person. After briefly alluding to the state of foreign affairs, and recapitulating the principal labours of the session, the speech announces that it had only been necessary to make a very limited application of the powers granted to the crown for suppressing local disturbances in Ireland, the spirit of insubordination and violence having been, in a great degree, subdued in that country, the legislative Union with which it expressed a determination to preserve inviolate.

30. A dreadful conflagration at Constantinople, attributed to incendiaries, actuated by political discontent, by which upwards of 2000 houses were consumed.

31. In the heavy gale which commenced on the 29th, the ship *Amphitrite*, conveying convicts to New South Wales, and having on board thirteen females and twelve children, with a crew of sixteen persons, was driven on the Boulogne sands; and all on board, except three of the crew, perished on the return of the tide. This melancholy result appears to have been produced by the doubts of the captain and surgeon, as to their authority to allow the convicts to land, and partly by the sanatory precautions of the French authorities.

— The *Earl of Wemyss* smack, trading between Leith and London, beached off Brancaster. Eleven persons, ladies and children, were drowned in the cabin, while those who were on the deck escaped.

— A regular daily mail (Sundays excepted) established between England and France.

September 1. The queen and the charter proclaimed, and the Miguelite authorities expelled, at Bona Vista, and subsequently at the other Cape Verde Islands.

. An unsuccessful attack on Lisbon by the Miguelites in full force, under Marshal Bourmont.

. Died, aged 88, Mrs. Hannah More. This distinguished lady was one of five daughters of the schoolmaster of a charity-school, afterwards of a private school, at Bristol. When her talents became known, a subscription was raised to enable her and her sisters to establish a school of their own. Her first public productions were of a dramatic cast, of which the 'Search after Happiness' and the 'Sacred Dramas' remain in circulation. The tone of these works was written at the age of eighteen, and the character after her opinions had undergone that change which gave a religious tone to all her subsequent works. Some of the cheap Repository tracts were written by her, to stem the influence of the principles resulting from the French Revolution, and are said to have had an extensively useful effect. Mrs. More's works are very numerous, and established for her a very considerable literary reputation; while the circumstance that she had numbered Garrick, Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, &c., among her friends and correspondents, attached a powerful interest to her person. It was at one time contemplated to intrust her with the education of the Princess Charlotte; but, as she would not accept a limited control, the design was abandoned. She is said to have realized 30,000*l.* by her writings; and by her will 10,000*l.* is distributed among various religious and charitable institutions.

8. The Queen of Portugal, with the Duchess of Braganza, arrived at Portsmouth from Havre, on their way to Lisbon. They re-embarked on the 18th, having in the meantime visited their majesties at Windsor.

10. The Emperors of Russia and Austria and the Crown Prince of Prussia had an interview at Munchen Gratz, in Bohemia. Rumour attributed various objects to this congress; but none was distinctly known.

11. At this date, 20,000 persons had perished from cholera in the city of Mexico, since the 5th of August.

18. In the spring of the year 1832, the president of the United States opposed his veto to a bill by which both houses, 2 vols. 9*s.* had authorized the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank; and he now directed the government deposits to be withdrawn from that establishment.

19. The coroner's inquest found a verdict of manslaughter against twenty workmen in the Magpie mine, at Sheffield, Derbyshire, as principals, and against two other persons, as accessories before the fact, for having raised certain cuts, 1 vol. 4*s.* 6*d.* in the mine, by which three men, in the adjoining mine, were suffocated.

22. The Queen of Portugal arrived at Lisbon, and was well received by the people.

24. The corporation of Leicester refuse to authorize the town clerk to deliver up certain accounts and documents required by the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of Municipal Corporations, and decline to submit to a personal examination before them. This example was afterwards followed by the corporations of Norwich and Maidstone, and by the Merchant Tailors' Company in London.

26. The Marquis Wellesley having been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Marquis of Anglesea, who had resigned on account of declining health, makes his public entry into Dublin.

27. Died, at Stapylton Grove, near Bristol, the Rajah Rammohun Roy. He was a Brahmin, born in the district of Bordouan. After studying at Benares, and travelling in Persia, he accepted employment under the East India Company, in which he attained the highest rank open to a native—that of a dewan, or revenue collector, at Bungpoor. Having made considerable attainments in language and literature, he was led to renounce and write against the religious system of India, while in his own person he maintained the simple manners of a Brahmin. He arrived in this country as a sort of ambassador from the King of Delhi; and his information is said to have materially influenced some of the provisions of the East India Company's Charter Bill.

29. Death of the King of Spain in his 45th year. The Queen Dowager assumes the regency under the will of the late King, by which she is appointed, assisted by a council, to act as regent, until the young Queen Isabella II. attains the age of eighteen.

— The Duke of Bourdeaux completed his thirteenth year, and, as the Kings of France attain their majority at this age, several Carlists of distinction resorted to Prague to tender him their homage.

October 2. After a severe conflict of three days with a tribe of barbarians, the French took the town of Boujeiah, which is said to possess the finest anchorage on the African coast.

3. The King of Holland accused of endeavouring to procrastinate the final settlement of the questions between him and Belgium, by neglecting to apply for the consent of the Germanic confederation to the territorial arrangement concerning Luxemburg.

10. The garrison of Lisbon commence offensive operations, which result in clearing the immediate neighbourhood of the Miguelite forces, who retreat upon and occupy Santarem.

15. The magistrates of Brancaster concluded their investigation of the circumstances attending the loss of the *Earl of Wemyss* smack on the 31st of August. Although culpable neglect seemed imputable to the captain, nothing transpired on which to found legal proceedings against him; but a Mr. Reeve was committed to prison on the charge of having feloniously taken and kept possession of property belonging to two of the ladies drowned. He was, however, subsequently admitted to bail by the Judges.

— The second and third bridges of the chain pier at Brighton gave way during a violent storm.

— The authority of the Queen Regent generally acknowledged in Spain, though some insurrectionary movements were made in the northern provinces in favour of Don Carlos, whose effects were confiscated in the *Madrid Gazette* of this day. The French government station 60,000 men along the Pyrenees to interfere, if needful, in behalf of the Queen.

17. Sir John Key declines to comply with a call to resign his gown as alderman of Langbourne Ward.

18. Captain Ross reached Hull on his return from his arctic expedition, after an absence of four years.

19. A Paper issued from the Colonial Office, describing the various legislative measures which yet remained to be taken, by the Colonies themselves, to carry into effect the provisions of the Slavery Abolition Bill. Being intended for the guidance of the local legislatures and authorities, it reduced the provisions of the Bill to clear and classified instructions, under the following heads:—The judicial and ministerial agency to be employed—The procedure to be observed by the special magistrates in the exercise of their jurisdiction—The divisions of the apprenticed labourers into their respective classes—The maintenance of the apprenticed labourers—The duties they are to perform, and the penalties for non-performance—The offences they may commit against the

State, and the punishment of such offences—The dissolution of apprenticeship by contract or purchase—The removal of prædial apprenticed labourers from one plantation to another—The apprenticeship of children—The alienation by sale, inheritance, or will, of the services of apprenticed labourers.

23. The Earl of Durham, at a public dinner at Gateshead, avowed himself the author of the *first* Reform Bill; but had no ...re in the preparation of the *second*, which he considered a much ...or measure.

...veral decrees of a liberal tendency appear in the *Madrid* ...ttributed to the new Home Minister, M. Burgos. One ... a partial amnesty to the liberal exiles; another pre... ...stem of internal government resembling that which ...ance; and a third appoints a commission for revising

... meetings held about this time to petition for the ...e against the payment, of the assessed taxes. This ...ued the property of a Mr Savage of the Mechanics ..., which had been seized for arrears of taxes. ... proceeded in person to make a levy on the goods ... in Oxford-street and Lisson Grove who had ... the assessed taxes. It was only requisite to enforce ...izure in the case of one person, the others either paying the demand, or allowing others to pay for them.

27. The "Royalist Volunteers" disarmed, with some bloodshed, at Madrid and other places.

— A conspiracy having been discovered, organized under the direction of Colocotroni, to overthrow the government of King Otho, martial law is proclaimed throughout Greece.

November 2. The Miguelites attack and defeat the Queen's troops at Alcazar de Sal, and regain possession of the town which they had lost, October 25th.

— Some of the streets on the banks of the Thames were laid under water to the height of several feet, by an extraordinary rise of the tide in the river.

3. The city of Hamburgh sustained considerable damage from the inundation caused by the high tide in the Elbe.

6. General Castagnon, in the Queen of Spain's service, warmly attacked near Tolosa by a numerous body of insurgents, and obliged, with Colonel El Pastor, to take shelter in St. Sebastian.

11. New differences between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, in consequence of the backwardness of the latter in paying the stipulated tributes.

13. Shock of an earthquake at Chichester.

— Prosecutions commenced by the Earl of Durham against the *Durham Advertiser* for originating, and the *Standard* and *John Bull* newspapers for copying a libellous paragraph.

15. Dreadful irruption of water into a colliery at Workington; but of the twenty-three workmen then in the pit, all, except four, were ultimately saved.

16. Mr. T. Woolcombe of Devonport sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of 100*l*., for sending a challenge to Sir E. Codrington.

18 Sir John Herschell embarks for the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of making observations on the stars of the southern hemisphere.

20. The result of the late elections in France highly favourable to the existing government.

22. The *Gazette du Neckar*, the last liberal publication existing in Germany, suppressed by a decree of the Diet of Frankfort.

26. Information up to this date, announces the pacification of Mexico by the defeat of the insurgent generals, Duran and Arista, and the capture of the latter with many officers and men.

28. A furious hurricane at Liverpool by which much injury was done to the town, docks, and shipping; and several lives were lost by the wreck of vessels and boats on the adjacent coast. The city of Limerick was also severely visited by the same storm.

December 1. The Spanish General, Rodil, with a military force, entered Portugal, in pursuit of Don Carlos, who escaped from Miranda on his approach.

2. The Anatomy Schools at Cambridge fired by the mob, the windows broken, and some of the skeletons, models, and preparations destroyed, in consequence of the discovery that the body of a pauper, instead of being interred, had been removed to the Schools.

— Intelligence that, in consequence of the defeat by General Saarsfield of the insurgents, headed by the Curate Merino, the disturbed districts, in the northern provinces of Spain, were in the course of being brought under the authority of the Queen, accompanied with the committal of great severities by her generals.

3. The Queen-Regent of Spain offers to Don Miguel her mediation for the adjustment of the differences between him and his brother.

4 Information that the Legislature of Jamaica had received the Slavery Abolition Bill in a conciliatory spirit; declaring that they had never advocated slavery in the abstract, but as connected with their rights of property. Grenada, immediately on its reception, took the necessary measures for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill. But the Legislatures of Barbadoes, Antigua, Dominica, and St. Vincent, were much dissatisfied with the amount of the compensatory grant, and with the principle regulating its distribution; and the latter colony reserved the right of claiming further compensation than the act provides.

7. Attempted arrest, at Lisbon, of Count Taipa, the author of certain remonstratory letters to Don Pedro. He found refuge on board an English ship of war, and the peers took up his case as an infraction of their privileges.

15. Incendiary fires in various parts of the country, particularly in the eastern counties.

23. The French Chambers were opened by the king in person. The Speech commenced by a general view of the prosperity of the country. It alluded to a new law of Customs, and announced an improvement in the state of the public finances, with every promise that it would continue to follow the ascending movement of the national prosperity. In briefly alluding to foreign affairs, a hope is expressed that, through the intimate union with Great Britain, a settlement of the affairs of Holland and Belgium would be effected without compromising the tranquillity of Europe; and an assurance is given that the government will continue to watch over the preservation of peace in Turkey.

LONDON BILL OF MORTALITY FOR 1833.

The following is a general bill of the christenings and burials within the city of London and bills of mortality, from December 11, 1832, to December 10, 1833:—

	Christened.	Buried.
In the 97 parishes within the walls	835	1,336
In the 17 parishes without the walls	4,556	4,753
In the 24 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, including the district churches belonging to the same	17,740	16,172
In the 10 parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster	3,959	4,316

Of the number buried were—

Still-born			934	60 and under	70	years		2551
Under 2 years of age			6261	70	—	80	—	2043
2 and under 5 years			2805	80	—	90	—	802
5	—	10	— 1145	90	—	100	—	107
10	—	20	— 970	100				3
20	—	30	— 1700	101				1
30	—	40	— 2225	102				1
40	—	50	— 2615	103				1
50	—	60	— 2412	104				1

Decrease in the burials reported this year 2029.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. GREAT BRITAIN—Introduction	193
1. Commencement of the Year, and meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Address	194
2. Irish Affairs—Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances—Bill for the Trial of Offences—Church Reform Bill—Tithes—Grand Juries Bill—Juries Bill	198
3. Abolition of Colonial Slavery—New Act for the Government of India	203
4. New Charter to the Bank	205
5. Other Measures of the Session—the Factories Bill—Bills dropped or defeated—Party Contests—Motions for Reduction—Ministerial Changes—Agitation for Repeal of the House and Window Taxes—Stamp Duties	208
6. The Budget—Motions on Reforms in the Representation—the Established Church—National Education—the Corn Laws—Impressment—Flogging—Breach of Privilege — Sir Robert Peel—Foreign Affairs—Distress—Close of the Session—His Majesty's Speech—Cold Bath Fields Meeting—The Influenza—The Cholera—Corporation Inquiry—Reform of Scotch Burghs	211
France	214
Spain	216
Portugal	219
Holland and Belgium	222
Germany—Switzerland	223
Italy	224
Russia and Poland—Turkey	225
Greece	226
United States of America	228
South America	229
Chronicle of the principal Occurrences of the Year 1833	230
London Bill of Mortality	234

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:—

London, GROOMBRIDGE, *Panyer-alley*, ; *Paternoster-row*.

Bath, Simms.
Birmingham, Drake.
Bristol, Westley & Co.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lancaster.
Canterbury, Marten.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.
Devonport, Byers.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.
Exeter, Balle.
Falmouth, Philp.
Hull, Stevenson.
Jersey, Carre, jun.
Leeds, Baines & Newsome.
Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.
Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.
Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.
Lynn, Smith.
Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.
Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.
Nottingham, Wright.
Oxford, Slatter.
Plymouth, Nettleton.
Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Sheffield, Ridge.
Shrewsbury, Tibnam.
Southampton, Fletcher.
Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Worcester, Deighton.

Dublin, Wakeman.
Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Aberdeen, Smith.
New York, Jackson.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

WORKS

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

By CHARLES KNIGHT,

22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL MALL EAST.

On the 19th of November was published,
THE BRITISH ALMANAC.

THE BRITISH ALMANAC of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1834, contains the Calendar of Remarkable Days and Terms; list of Garden Plants in Flower, and Instructions for Gardening; Metereological Tables and Remarks; Astronomical Facts and Phenomena; Tables of the Sun, Moon, and Tides; with a Miscellaneous Register of Information connected with Government, Legislation, Commerce, and Education; and various useful Tables.

It contains Seventy-two closely-printed pages, embracing a great variety of information, adapted for all parts of the United Kingdom. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* in a Wrapper.

Also, just published, price 2*s.* 6*d.* sewed, or bound in cloth with the BRITISH ALMANAC, price 6*s.*,

The COMPANION to the ALMANAC, and YEAR-BOOK of GENERAL INFORMATION, for 1834. This work is not only a Supplement to the Society's Almanac, but a work of reference upon subjects arising out of the course of the Seasons, or the events of the Year. Its object is to illustrate the Almanac, and to condense into a small compass a great body of information essential to be known by every member of the community. The present is the seventh year of this work, and together they contain a mass of valuable information and interesting documents. Every three years they are formed into a Volume, with an Index. The first of these volumes may be had bound in cloth, price 8*s.*, and the second 8*s.* 6*d.* Each year (except 1832) may also be had, bound in cloth, with the Almanac of the same year, price 6*s.* The following are the contents of the COMPANION to the ALMANAC for 1834:—

PART I.—*Information connected with the Calendar and the Natural Phenomena of the Year; and with Natural History and Public Health.* On the Moon's Orbit—Jewish Calendar—Mahometan Calendar—Correspondence of Æras with 1831—Meetings of Scientific Bodies—Height of High Water at London Docks—Occultations of Fixed Stars—Bill of Mortality for London—Report of the Select Committee on the Vaccine Board.

PART II.—*General Information on subjects of Chronology, Geography, Statistics,* &c. Wages and Prices—Population of Ireland—Inhabited Houses, &c., of Great Britain—Bankruptcy Analysis—State of Crime in Great Britain and Ireland—Savings' Bank Annuity Tables—American Tariff—Poor Laws in America—Tables of Mortality.

PART III.—*The Legislation, Statistics, Public Improvements, and General Chronicle of* 1833. Abstracts of Important Public Acts of Parliament—Abstracts of Parliamentary Returns relating to the Finance, Commerce, Agriculture, Jurisprudence, &c. of the United Kingdom—Chronicle of Parliament for 1833—Private Bills of the Session—Notices of the Progress of Public Improvements in the Metropolis and Provinces—Chronicle of Events of the year 1833.

THE LIBRARY OF ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE.

Recently published, Part 44, *completing Vol. XXII.*—BRITISH MUSEUM.—ELGIN AND PHIGALEIAN MARBLES.

Since the commencement of this Series an important improvement has been made in the art of binding in cloth, by preparing linen so as to resemble morocco leather, and by stamping the title of the book upon the cover itself, in gold, instead of affixing a label. The publisher would be glad to avail himself of these inventions, which have rendered binding at once elegant and cheap; but the number of volumes of this Series already issued in plain cloth, with a label, prevents the immediate adoption of the improved mode, as far as regards those volumes which complete subjects already commenced. It is evident that a want of uniformity between the new and the old volumes of the same subject would be a material inconvenience. It is intended, therefore, to complete the *old* subjects in *plain* cloth, but to publish all *new* subjects in *fancy cloth*. The works, however, already finished being in constant demand, a *New Issue of Monthly Volumes* in fancy cloth has been commenced, so that the Entire Series may ultimately be procured in the improved style of binding. The New Issue is charged at the same price as the present, 4*s.* 6*d.* per volume.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

The following WORKS, forming part of the Series, are complete; and being handsomely bound in cloth, (lettered,) are well adapted for School Prizes and Presents:—

BRITISH MUSEUM & ELGIN MARBLES, with 211 wood-cuts, 2 vols. 9*s.*
POMPEII, with 293 wood-cuts and 8 steel-plates, 2 vols. 9*s.*
PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE UNDER DIFFICULTIES, with 7 steel-plates, 2 vols. 9*s.*
INSECTS, with 444 wood-cuts, 3 vols. 13*s.* 6*d.*
VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES, with 210 wood-cuts, 3 vols. 13*s.* 6*d.*
NEW ZEALANDERS, with 1 steel-plate and 46 wood-cuts, 1 vol. 4*s.* 6*d.*
PARIS AND ITS HISTORICAL SCENES, with 15 steel-plates and 26 wood-cuts, 2 vols. 9*s.*

The subjects above enumerated are those only which have been completed, but twenty-two volumes of the Series have now been issued, and may be had either in parts, sewed, price 2*s.* each, or in volumes bound in cloth at 4*s.* 6*d.* each. They are all illustrated with wood-engravings. The following is a complete list of the Series:—

Vol. of the Series.	Including Parts.			Subject
1	1	and	3	Menageries, Vol. I.
2	2	„	5	Vegetable Substances, Vol. I.
3	6	„	7	Insect Architecture.
4	4	„	8	Pursuit of Knowledge, Vol. I.
5	9	„	10	New Zealanders.
6	11	„	12	Insect Transformations.
7	13	„	22	Menageries, Vol. II.
8	14	„	15	Pursuit of Knowledge, Vol. II.
9	16	„	17	Architecture of Birds.
10	18	„	19	Paris, Vol. I.
11	20	„	21	Historical Parallels, Vol. I.
12	23	„	24	Insect Miscellanies.
13	25	„	26	Pompeii, Vol. I.
14	27	„	28	Paris, Vol II.
15	29	„	30	Vegetable Substances, Vol. II.
16	31	„	32	Criminal Trials, Vol. I.
17	33	„	34	British Museum—Egyptian Antiquities, Vol. I.
18	35	„	36	Pompeii, Vol. II.
19	37	„	38	Habits of Birds.
20	39	„	40	British Museum—Elgin Marbles, Vol. I.
21	41	„	42	Vegetable Substances, Vol. III.
22	43	„	44	British Museum—Elgin Marbles, Vol. II.

THE PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA

Of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

This work has now been published, with invariable regularity, since January, 1833, and the great circulation which it has attained is the best proof of the confidence of the public in the accuracy and completeness of its information. In the commencement of such an undertaking, the Editors, bearing in mind the difficulty of securing at once an efficient body of contributors, recommended to the Committee only to attempt the publication of Six Numbers in each month. Their present stock of materials, and their reliance upon their numerous coadjutors, founded upon ample experience, have induced them to desire that the work should proceed at a quicker rate. In this they feel satisfied that they only second the wishes of the great body of its purchasers.

The Committee have therefore to announce the following arrangements:—

1. That the *First Volume* of the Penny Cyclopædia, containing Eleven Parts, was concluded on the 30th of November; and published on that day, handsomely bound in cloth, lettered, at Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

2. That, commencing with December, *Two Numbers* of the work will be published *regularly every week, without Supplements*, so that sometimes Eight, and sometimes Ten Numbers will appear in each calendar month.

3. That on this day (1st of January, 1834), *Part XII.* will be published, price *Ninepence*, and the *Monthly Parts* regularly continued at that price.

4. That on September 1st, 1834, the *Second Volume*, containing Eight Ninepenny Parts, will be published, bound uniformly with Vol. I., at Seven Shillings and Sixpence;—and that the future Volumes will be completed every eight months.

PENNY MAGAZINE

Of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

IN order that the Volumes may in future contain the Numbers of an entire year, the FIRST VOLUME closed with the Supplement published December 31, and is now published, with a Title and Index, bound in cloth, price 6*s*. The SECOND VOLUME is this day published, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

GALLERY OF PORTRAITS.

The 'Gallery of Portraits' published by the Society, although similar in form, and not inferior in execution, to one or two series of Portraits now publishing, is in a great degree different from any other, in the selection of those illustrious persons whose likenesses it is thought desirable to make familiar to all.

Each Number published, Monthly, consists of THREE PORTRAITS, with accompanying Biographical Memoirs, occupying upon an average twenty-four pages of letter-press. The size of the Work is Imperial Octavo, corresponding with the small-paper copies of Lodge's Portraits. The price of each Number is HALF-A-CROWN.

Nineteen Numbers have been published, and Two Volumes, each containing Eight Numbers, [illegible] each, bound in fancy cloth, and lettered, price 1*l*. 1*s*. [illegible] with gilt tops.

THE [illegible] of the streets or [illegible] the tide [illegible]

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

This day is published, No. XIII., price 5s. sewed.

CONTENTS:—Schools at Menars—Education of Natives in India—English Boarding Schools—Physical Studies in Oxford—University of London—Public Instruction—Public Instruction in Great Britain—On the Study of Geography—National Instruction in the Canton of Zurich.—REVIEWS.—Miscellaneous; Foreign and Domestic.

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATION contains Essays on Education in general, and on the best modes of teaching particular branches of knowledge.

It also contains detailed accounts of Universities, Colleges, and Schools, with remarks on the changes that from time to time are made in the general plan of instruction and discipline in such institutions—remarks on any striking merits or defects in establishments for education, accompanying the description of their origin, constitution, and present state. Accounts of the general state of education in different countries, and the means adopted for the diffusion of instruction and the maintenance of establishments for that purpose, are also given.

Reviews of Books used in practical instruction form an important part of the Journal. The chief object of this department is to furnish teachers and learners with the means of choosing the best books for themselves and their pupils.

In order to render the Journal complete, a portion is reserved for a variety of short notices, which are not comprehended in the part already described.

Under the head of different countries, British and Foreign, are recorded short notices of the progress or foundation of Schools or Colleges, or Societies for the promotion of knowledge, and in general such intelligence as comes under the description of news of education, and is likely to interest and instruct all classes of readers.

The numbers are also published in half-yearly volumes, price 10*s*. 6*d*., bound in cloth.

THE PATENT LEAF-HOLDER.

THE principle of issuing useful information at the lowest possible price, and at short intervals, has led to a consideration of the best method of preserving, in a regular order, the separate copies of the Tracts so published. A common Portfolio will, undoubtedly, secure the numbers of such works as the "Penny Magazine" from injury; but the proper order is liable to be deranged, and they cannot in this form be read together as in a book. An ingenious mechanic has invented a little instrument to be attached to the back of a Portfolio, by which as few as two or three, or as many as forty or fifty sheets, may be held tightly together as if they were bound, the volume thus secured opening with as much ease as a sewed book. The compression can be immediately withdrawn, and a number or numbers added or subtracted without the slightest difficulty. The principle is, of course, equally applicable to music, prints, and manuscript. A patent has been taken out for this invention; and the Portfolios, with leather backs and cloth sides, may now be had of the following sizes, and at the affixed *retail* prices:—

	Iron holder.	*Brass holder.*
	s. d.	*s. d.*
DEMY OCTAVO, for the Mirror, and similar Publications, Pamphlets, &c.	3 6	
POST QUARTO, for Letters		4 6
DITTO (black), for Sermon Cases		5 0
POT FOLIO, for Penny Magazine and Cyclopædia, Saturday Magazine, &c.	4 6	
FOOLSCAP FOLIO, for Parliamentary Papers, Invoices, &c.	5 6	
CROWN FOLIO, for Music		7 6
DOUBLE FOOLSCAP, for the Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Prints, &c.	8 0	9 0

Preparing for Publication,

THE MUSICAL LIBRARY,

To appear in Weekly Nos., price 4d.; and Monthly Parts, price 2s.

THE principle which has been so extensively applied in Literature and the Graphic Art, of producing works at the lowest possible point of cheapness without any abandonment of the qualities by which the popular knowledge and taste may be advanced, has yet a wide field for its employment in the department of MUSIC.

The design of the "Musical Library" is to afford the same advantage to amateurs in music, that the lovers of literature are deriving from the cheap publications for the advancement of real knowledge, that are now distributed through every part of the Empire, and are within the reach of persons of every condition. It is proposed to publish a Collection of Music, both vocal and for the pianoforte by the best masters, ancient and modern: the ancient in a state adapted to the improved condition of our musical instruments; and the modern the best, and only the best, that the continent of Europe and our own country can supply. We shall revive and put into an inviting form the compositions of the older classical masters, now only known to a few connoisseurs, keeping in mind the saying of a famous French *modiste*,—"Nothing so new as that which is forgotten;" and thus endeavour to spread widely a taste for what is excellent in the various departments of the art, and available to the purposes of private society. At the same time it will be our further object to naturalize the confessedly good productions of the newest foreign composers, especially of the German masters, by the republication, sometimes with English words, of their best vocal compositions; and also by publishing movements, or extracts complete in themselves, from such of their instrumental works as are of a length unsuited to the "Musical Library." It is also our design, occasionally, to engage composers of the first eminence to supply us with new compositions; and we shall never neglect an opportunity of giving currency to such productions of real genius as may be offered to us by those who have no means of securing extensive circulation to them, and who might be deterred from publishing them on their own account.

In the prosecution of these objects, which we may not unjustly consider likely to advance our national enjoyments, we propose to issue a NUMBER once every week, of eight music-folio Pages, to contain generally one Vocal and one Pianoforte piece at least in each, but depending on the length of the composition. The Price of each Number will be Fourpence.

A PART, containing four or five Numbers of Music, according to the number of Saturdays, will be published monthly. To these numbers will be added a *Monthly Supplement* of letter-press, comprising musical news, foreign and domestic; notices of new music; critical accounts of the more important public musical performances; with memoirs of the lives, and remarks upon the works, of eminent composers, and especially of the authors whose productions are published in the "Musical Library." The price of each Monthly Part, consisting of forty-eight folio pages, will be Two Shillings.

It may be necessary to add, that the proprietors of the "Musical Library" have secured the exclusive use of a process for printing Music which has not yet been introduced into this country; and which, for distinctness and elegance, is equal, if not superior, to the best specimens that can be produced from engraved Plates.

Orders are received by all Booksellers, and Wholesale by the Agents of "The Penny Magazine."

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate Street, and 13, Pall-Mall East.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 14. FEBRUARY 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Corporation Commission and the Municipal Companies of London	1	Parochial Registration	16
The Shipping Interest	4	The Revenue	17
Marshall's Statistical Tables	12	French and English Courage	17
The Approaching Session of Parliament	13	Statistics of France	18
		American Statistics	18
		Political Retrospect for January	19
		Chronicle of Occurrences	24

THE CORPORATION COMMISSION AND THE MUNICIPAL COMPANIES OF LONDON.

An inquiry into the state of municipal corporations is a proceeding of vast importance, on its own account: it is still more important, as pronouncing the truth of a great principle, and as naturally leading the way to more comprehensive measures. Individual citizens who meet as individuals, meet upon equal terms; and every reasonable legislature is properly scrupulous in interfering either with their property or their conduct. Mankind seems to have been well aware, in all stages of civilization, that the principal advantages of society depend upon this forbearance. The case is quite otherwise when we come to deal with the members of artificial corporations, claiming in their corporate, not in their individual capacity, holding their property not as private property, but by a totally different, even by a perpetual tenure,—bound to duties, and insisting on rights and immunities, which have no connexion with the ordinary relations of private life. Bodies of this description are by their nature public bodies. Publicity, therefore, is their first duty. A contrary practice, however, has been so long and so suspiciously persevered in, that nothing can now be done, or even predicated, concerning them in detail, till we have a knowledge of the necessary facts; of their charters and endowments, statutes and bye-laws, trusts and privileges. The prejudice in favour of concealment had become so well established, that it was a curious but frequent complaint with Lord Eldon, that the corporation of Newcastle, in consequence of producing certain title deeds in a court of justice, once lost an estate, which was thus discovered to be none of theirs.

The distinction between corporations and individuals is too plain in itself, and too fertile in its consequences, to be misunderstood or disregarded, after it has been once brought clearly under discussion. Words and vehemence may do much; but the times are past when the people of England can be either so perplexed by casuistry, or so terrified by declamation, as to waive their right to a complete history of every foundation in the kingdom. What may be the conclusion to be drawn from the facts, will be a matter for further consideration: it is one on which an honest, and perhaps an intelligent, difference of opinion must be expected. There are at this moment immense corporate funds, and a complicated diversity of trusts and interests irregularly scattered over the country, for the purposes of municipal government, of the administration of justice, of religious instruction, of general education, and of every kind of charity. We do not say that the existing funds or objects are, in each of these cases, fully equal to the wants of the community. We are far from saying that these means are always ill directed, much less that they are always wasted, even under their present management. But there can be no manner of doubt whatever, that they do not minister to the general welfare in a fair proportion to their magnitude; nor produce a fiftieth part of the specific benefits which they were meant to produce, and which they are capable of producing, when they are systematically and judiciously applied.

The measure actually in course of execution is one of investigation only; and of investigation by consent. That being the case, the learned as well as the clamorous objections, taken at this preliminary stage, appear to be silly or fraudulent in the extreme. Christian charity would only stultify itself by affecting to believe, that a constitutional jealousy of the form of the present Commission has been felt in any quarter. What was wanted at first was a temporary pretext for frivolous and vexatious scruples on the part of political faction or conscious guilt. The temporary pretext could be only hoped to be turned to permanent account by making it the ground of some absurd prejudice; out of which, a chance might be laid hold of for more successfully renewing the cry, so lately raised in vain, against the Reform Bill. The parliament-din of corporation robbery is scarcely out of our ears, when the principle of corporate is again attempted to be confused with that of private rights. The outcry may generate and foster crude speculations concerning the title and stability of private property; but it will never divert a single reformer of corporate institutions from his onward course. In proportion as the latter assume to be of a permanent character, no sane commonwealth will countenance a general demurrer to its authority over them. The aldermen of Norwich are advertising for a concerted opposition. We can assure them that it is the most foolish policy which the direct advocates of institutions of this description can possibly pursue. A manly admission, and liberal exercise of this authority, are, according to all experience, the best security that can be afforded to corporate bodies for long life and honour. If their members were wise beyond their generation, instead of repelling the approach of inquiry and of reform, they would invite it. Thus only can the present possessors co-operate with, and carry into effect, the generous and far-sighted ambition of our politic and pious ancestors. In this manner, and in this alone, can we preserve many yet famous English institutions from adding, in the nineteenth century, another volume to the folio histories of extinct orders and obsolete foundations, once believed to be as deeply rooted, and some of them as distinguished as our own. Personally, we have a reverent sense of the services which such institutions may confer. When we read of the Wykehamist officer keeping the hands of Cromwell's troopers off the College at Winchester, we respect and we share his feelings: but there is many an institution besides, for which, with as deep feelings, and on more solemn motives, we can honestly exclaim, from the ground of our hearts, *Esto perpetua!* The thing, however, is only rational and practicable on certain terms. Unless the condition of successive adaptations is cheerfully and prudently received, the very mention of perpetuity, in connexion with man and with the works or policy of man, is a ridiculous contradiction.

The opinions of recorders, and town-clerks, and ex-crown lawyers, have been flying about the country. The oracles of the law have been indulging in more than the privileged mysteriousness of the profession, if these opinions are not to be construed into certificates against the legality of the Commission. The objection, as taken, is on the form. It might, however, have been not at all the less valid and imperative on that account; for the forms of things sometimes adhere so closely to the substance, that they are incapable of being separated with safety. But what is the amount of the offence imputed in the present instance? and is there a shadow of pretence for the imputation? A committee of the House of Commons was appointed during the last session to examine into the state of corporations. It was at first conceived that a remedial measure could be grounded upon an inquiry into a few corporations—four or five of each class. This, as the matter proceeded, was found to be impracticable. It soon appeared that complete and satisfac-

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth]

tory information could be collected by no other means than by a general examination of the system, to be conducted in every instance on the spot. Accordingly, the committee (of which Sir Robert Peel and other persons of the same political sentiments were members) recommended,—and the House of Commons in consequence voted,—an address to the Crown, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint a Commission, to carry on the investigation. Under these circumstances the suggestion of any constitutional uneasiness is ludicrous. The notion of a technical illegality has been plainly the mere after-thought of counsel;—a colourable pretence, in order to gain a little time for their bewildered clients. For, in what does this notable illegality consist? Verily, in the discovery, that the authority on which the commissioners proceed is not that which it was never stated to be, and which it was never meant that it should be in the first instance,—an act of parliament. The Lords, it is alleged, were not made parties to the address. This is the amount of the charge. If it is seriously stated, it rests either upon a total misapprehension of the nature of the Commission, or upon an ignorance and misrepresentation of the usage on similar occasions; probably both. Commissions may be issued by the Crown in three ways: which of them is selected will depend on the subject, and on the probability of resistance. The first proceeds under the sanction of parliament, and has alone a general compulsory power; since it alone is derived from and represents the entire legislature. The second is issued in compliance with an address from either house of parliament; and of course, it can derive no power from the address, as against those who would be entitled to resist it if it had proceeded from the king alone. It follows that the ordinary courts of justice will redress any injury suffered under it by any of the king's subjects. But, in this case, the constitution can have suffered no injury, for which the ministers, as advisers of the Commission, are answerable to the public on impeachment. Either the Commons would not impeach, or the Lords would not condemn, the ministers who had merely been complying with their address. The last form of Commission is issued by the Crown on its own responsibility, in certain cases within its prerogative. If the supposed prerogative exists, it will be a protection to the commissioners following its authority, in a court of justice. But on this supposition, the Commons might impeach, and the Lords condemn, a minister for an improper exercise of even a lawful prerogative.

Now to apply these distinctions. Government never pretended that the control and revision of corporations was a subject lying within the discretion of the ordinary prerogative. It is agreed on all hands that parliament alone can sanction a compulsory visitation. But the advisers of the actual Commission, confident in the merits of the measure, were simple enough not to contemplate the necessity of a contentious jurisdiction. They left it, therefore, to depend for its effect, for the present, on the candour and acquiescence of those to whom it was addressed. There can be no illegality in sending messages and asking questions on these conditions. Do they constitute an impeachable offence? Supposing that ministers had taken the responsibility of issuing so guarded a commission entirely upon themselves, the formidable usurpation would scarcely have warranted an impeachment. But they have not exposed either themselves, or the sanctity of the royal name, or the credulous loyalty of the people, to whatever unknown hazards of artful encroachment and needless interference may lurk within these limits. The act of the executive, though seeking answers from those only who choose to answer voluntarily, was bottomed on the previous recommendation of a popular House of Commons. If these formalities constitute an insufficient guarantee for so limited a purpose, it is difficult to imagine the supplemental cautions against an invidious prying into his official habits, or against all causeless interruption of his repose, which the most fastidious and nervous alderman could require. This being the true nature and object of the present commission, let us see what, in point of fact, has been the usage on similar occasions. So far from it having been supposed to be illegal or unconstitutional for a government to obtain information except by act of parliament, former administrations have issued commissions of this description at their discretion; nor was the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction at any time expressed upon this account, on either side of the House, or by any portion of the public. Mr. Spring Rice lately explained this attempt at captious and equivocating mystification to his constituents at Cambridge. He instanced the commission, issued under the authority of Lord Liverpool, to investigate the practices of courts of justice. As a precedent, it is conclusive on the point. The judges of the land were summoned before that commission; among them was Lord Eldon. If the assumed jurisdiction was, in any proper sense of the word, illegal or unconstitutional, Lord Eldon made himself an accomplice, by appearing and taking part in its proceedings. The sheriffs of Dublin, however, refused to answer. A commission to inquire into courts of law was no more within the ordinary prerogative than a commission to inquire into corporations. What then? Did the government allow itself to be baffled? The only consequence was, that Mr. Goulburn was obliged to come with the case to the House of Commons. Parliament instantly turned the voluntary into a compulsory tribunal, and armed the commission with the power of overruling a resistance, the stupidity of which it would have been scarcely decent to presume. The sensible part of the clergy have been, for some time, very desirous that a precise return of the amount of their revenues should be laid before the public, for the purpose of disabusing the public of the exaggerations which have been so studiously and wilfully circulated on the subject. Nothing could be more reasonable. A commission issued accordingly. By a strange coincidence, as connected with the present question, the Lord Guilford of to day is found among the one or two reverend recusants. He stumbled upon this precious notion—that the commission was illegal; and stands out upon his technical right to withhold his portion of the information, which it is so much the wish and the interest of both church and people that everybody should give. A few insolent and suspected corporations have taken up this idle objection: and are struggling to make the most of an opportunity for further consultation over their chest of muniments, and for a contumacious defiance of the government of a reforming sovereign. Tidings of Lord Liverpool's precedent have by this time reached them in their divans: they must make speed, whether for the concealment or for the reparation of their errors; there will be but a brief interval allowed them to repent over the disgraceful alternative which they have brought upon themselves.

The speculative traders in the prejudices of their countrymen have been labouring another point. The influence of a name and of historical recollections is very great, especially with a people tenacious of constitutional traditions; but to raise the cry of corporation robbery, and to fulminate anew on the invasion of charters by the Stuart brothers, is attributing a great deal too much to our present capabilities for delusion. The inquiry instituted by William IV., at the request of the House of Commons, is directed to the ascertaining—in the first place, what are the principal trusts, originally or successively impressed upon corporations:—in the second, how far they have been faithfully complied with. If the result of such an inquiry should terminate in the exposure of abuses, and in the crimination of delinquents, or should force upon the public the conviction, that either the object or the mechanism of these institutions can be improved,—is that a ground, not of thankfulness and rejoicing, but of apprehension and reproach? Never was there a measure of which the scope was more emphatically and comprehensively the public good. No party triumph can be aided by it, but indirectly and consequentially; that, too, on one supposition only—the supposition, that it is the Tories alone, and not the Whigs, who are implicated and interested in the corruptions, which public opinion has so repeatedly denounced, and will so soon speedily destroy. This cannot be the case: the contrary is unfortunately and notoriously true. A faulty and corrupt system had been too long predominant; and is, in its nature, too contagious to entitle the Whigs to so great a compliment. The claim that the present ministers have acquired on the public confidence is this:—Originally more aristocratical in their habits, but always more popular in their opinions than their opponents, they have advanced with the times; have seen its signs, and imbibed its character. By the Reform Bill, they made it impossible that they can ever fall back upon the old track of party politics. That measure necessarily threw them into and identified them with the public cause. To this extent, it may be truly said that, in comparison with the Tories, they have acquired a new and greater interest in bringing back all our institu-

tions to purer and more public principles. If it continues to be an interest, from the benefit of which the Tories remain excluded, it will be the Tories' fault.

It requires all the self-assurance of Tory patriotism to discover a resemblance between the nature of the present Commission and that of the celebrated proceedings against corporations by the Stuarts. Day and night are not more different. It was the contrast of those proceedings to the present, and not their analogy, which made them a crisis in the history of the country. The composition of juries, and of householder constituencies, as already settled by law, will not be touched, whatever course our future legislation on corporations may happen to pursue. Yet the ambition of new modelling corporations would never have occurred to the Stuarts but on this account. They cared nothing about mayors and aldermen, tolls and charities; but a great deal about juries and parliaments—the only hope then and ever, of individuals and of the public, the last asylums for civil and religious freedom. They sought to obtain a friendly sheriff, that they might control the justice of the kingdom by means of a packed and devoted jury on political trials. They sought to transfer the offices and revenues of every borough to political partizans, in order to secure the return of the court candidate at all elections. Whether the grand jury was to find a bill against Lord Shaftesbury, or to throw it out—whether Lord Russell was to be acquitted or to be condemned,—depended on the politics of the Sheriff of London. The coincidence is not very striking between the researches in which Sir F. Palgrave and his colleagues are now engaged, aided by the zealous concurrence of the queen of corporations, the metropolis of England, and the hostile quo warranto of C. J. Saunders. Roger North divides the transactions on charters between 1682 and 1688 into three classes. 1. Quo warrantos; 2. Surrenders; 3. Regulations which partition, he says, may be marked—1. Good; 2. Indifferent; 3. Bad. There can be no more unexceptionable witness to the policy of this disgraceful era than himself. No person, also, was more interested in defending the legal proceedings comprised in his first division, since his brothers Lord Keeper Guilford (whose parts, according to Burnet, were all turned to craft) and Sir Dudley North were implicated in the advice and management of them. The account is contained in two works, called the Examen, and the Life of Lord Keeper Guilford. His notice of the case of London on the quo warranto makes it unnecessary to examine his blustering statement concerning the rest. "This great city was among the earliest that were questioned at law for forfeiture, and I shall venture to say with more of reason than any other in England." On his own shewing London, therefore, was the worst. The commonest reader of English history has it in his power to become thoroughly acquainted with the specific offences which it had committed, and the height which its enormities had reached. Two offences only are stated in the pleadings. The first was a petition to the king from the common council, complaining that the public justice of the kingdom had received interruption by the prorogation of parliament: the second was a bye-law, by which the common council levied a toll on persons coming to their market. The substantial offence which constituted the provocation to the court was none of these. R. North himself grounds the justification of the quo warranto on a single fact. The fact was neither more nor less than this,—that the grand jury had thrown out an indictment for treason against Lord Shaftesbury. "What, in the name of justice, (he exclaims,) had the government to do when Ignoramus was mounted in Cathedra, and there was a declared stop put to all state criminal law; to say nothing of the ordinary and civil course, and how factiously partial it was carried on in London and Middlesex?" It would have been more to the purpose if he had invoked the name of law than that of justice, when the real reasons of the prosecution were different (and were known to every citizen in London to be different) from those on which the prosecution nominally proceeded, and on which judgment was obtained. The regulations, on which, after judgment had been obtained upon the quo warranto, the king proposed to renew the charter, gave the crown a veto, and more than a veto, on the election of the most important city officers. R. North states, unreservedly, that the regulations were expressly intended to "obviate the recrudescence of those ignoramus abuses for the future that had been so scandalous before." The success of this experiment met the utmost wishes of the court. If a charter could be forfeited for the most trifling illegality, as by an unauthorised rate, it was extremely improbable but that a flaw of some kind or other might be found in the title of every corporation throughout the kingdom.

Quo warrantos were evidently only meant to be introductions to surrenders. This latter intrigue looked precisely the same way. The following entry in Narcissus Luttrell's "Brief Historical Relation" (July, 1684) is just what we should have expected of the principality of Durham—the see which, according to the saying of the northern circuit, the Reformation never reached. "The mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of Durham have surrendered their charter into the hands of the Bishop of Durham, who has reserved to himself and his successors in that see, the power of approving and confirming the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of the city. *O tempora!*" On recapitulating the inducements under which charters were surrendered, Roger North exhibits another celebrated character as a principal performer. "When Lord C. J. Jeffries went the northern circuit, he had taken upon him, and accordingly valued himself to the king for doing great matters towards bringing in of charters, as it was called; and, by his own contrivance (as I have very good reason to guess), to procure for himself as great an authority in the northern circuit (which he was appointed for) as was possible, the king was persuaded to present him with a ring, publicly taken from his own finger, in token of his majesty's acceptance of his most eminent services. And this by way of precursor; which being blazoned in the Gazette, his lordship went down into the country as, from the king, *Legatus a Latere*, esteemed a mighty favourite: which, together with his lofty airs, made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him: and he returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns; which, with certain other performances in that voyage, not a subject here, advanced his pretensions to favour at court." The extent to which this dabbling in corporations had been carried, and the extent to which the Tory party was committed in it, is evident from the observations made by this partial biographer upon a clause offered in the House of Commons after the revolution. It was proposed to disable all those persons who had been concerned in the surrenders and renewals of charters, from voting in elections of members to serve in parliament. On this it is stated that the humour had been so general, that the "few of any account in the nation, who were desirous to be owned for royalists, whether for real opinion, or following the example of others, or out of a gaiety of behaviour on the government side, but would all, being the greater and much more valuable part of the nation have been swept at once out of their right of election."

When the walls of Jericho (as he calls them) had fallen down, the remaining step was an easy one. It was only to enter and take possession. Whatever the advocate of the earlier policy may affect to believe, this was its direct object, and inevitable consequence. "Then this trade of charters ran to excess, and turned to an avowed practice of garbling corporations in order to carry elections to the parliament; and a committee of council was appointed to manage the regulations, as they were called; and there was an itinerant crew of the worst of men, that wrought in the towns to be regulated, under direction of the committee. These were termed regulators: and, according to their characters and designations, mayors, aldermen, recorders, common councils, and freemen, were modified and established. The Lord Chief Justice Jeffries was capitally concerned in the first of these exorbitancies, and pushes matters, through all the degrees, into those excesses I mentioned. At first it was his way of making court, but, at last, it was his shield and defence. For he and his clan, one Sir N. Butler and (I should have first said) the Lord Sunderland, were, by these practices, become so obnoxious in the reign of King James II., that, knowing they could not stand the fury of any parliament, they laboured, by manifest provocations of the people, carried on affectedly by them, at length to come to that height, as to be able to shew the king that all parliaments were impracticable, and to prevail upon him to live without any at all. And, by that means, they might continue great, and be secure; otherwise, that is, if ever there was a parliament, they must certainly fall a sacrifice to the fury of the commons. But these extremes aspersed the whole subject-matter, as well what was just as unjust, reasonable as unreasonable, all alike sufferted under the

obloquy; and none ever concerned themselves to distinguish more than if there had been no difference at all from the first to the last. And the very law itself, that is, the known legal, and (sometimes) necessary process of quo warranto came well nigh to be entirely abolished. For so men run from one extreme to another, and, as the English mode is, reform, not by restoring, or mending, but by kicking down, all at once, whatever is abused, though, in itself, never so good." By the examination of Roger North before a committee of the House of Lords, in 1689, it seems that 242 new charters were granted from the years 1682 to 1688, both inclusive. (9 State Trials, 995.)

The result of this shameful plot is no secret in English history. Tory writers acknowledge it; Tory gentlemen disdained and deplored it. Evelyn had the feelings of a cavalier. But he observes, in 1685, with evident disgust on the effect of the new charters in changing the electors; and adds, that mean persons set up gentlemen's servants, who were said to have been recommended by the court. Lord Bath alone was reported to have taken with him into Cornwall no fewer than fifteen charters: "so some call him Prince Elector."

This is the evil precedent, with the danger of whose recurrence it is sought to alarm the honest prejudices indulged in by the English people in favour of old things, and of ancient courses. Trinity College and Dr. Wordsworth might as well take fright on remembering the mandate which was served by James II. on Magdalen College and Dr. Hough. In matter and in manner, in form, in principle, and in object, what can be more unlike? The public will soon be in possession of the evidence taken by the municipal commission. For the measures which that evidence may make it necessary to propose, ministers will be answerable to God and to their country. The particular measures demand a cautious and a comprehensive consideration. But no municipal reform can be worthy of the name, unless it effectually protects the public against the wasteful appropriation of corporation property which has occurred at Cambridge; as well as against those contaminating practices by which the municipal and parliamentary elections of Leicester, Liverpool, and Norwich have been equally disgraced.

THE SHIPPING INTEREST.

WITHIN these few weeks the General Ship-Owners' Society, a powerful body composed of persons connected with the shipping interest in all the principal ports of the kingdom, have published a Report drawn up by their Committee for the past year, in which the following passage occurs in reference to the evidence respecting this branch of the national industry published in the late Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping:—

"The limits of a report will not admit of any detailed analysis of this remarkable testimony, nor of any elaborate reasoning on the conclusions to which it irresistibly leads; but it may safely be averred, that never were opinions more triumphantly vindicated—never were assertions more unanswerably established, than are the opinions and assertions which have been from time to time advanced on the part of the recognized organs for conveying the sentiments of British ship-owners, by the concurrent spirit and bearing of the evidence. Many of those important questions which have been most vehemently contested, must now be considered as finally set at rest. The long-continued, and still existing depression of the shipping interest—the partial production and great aggravation of distress caused by continual changes in our navigation system—the utter impossibility of the successful maintenance of an unrestricted competition with foreign navigation—the gross injustice of the imposition of peculiar and exclusive burdens on maritime commerce, for purposes purely national, while exposed to that competition—the declining quality and estimation of British tonnage—the embarrassment, decay, and ruin of the British ship-owner—may now be viewed as incontrovertible positions. Nor is the light less valuable which has been thrown on those facts, which, appearing difficult to reconcile, have heretofore been insidiously perverted to the detriment of the cause of the ship-owner, and artfully adduced to invalidate the truth of his statements. The increasing stake of an individual in shipping can no longer be advanced as conclusive evidence that the capital already embarked is profitably invested. Tenacity of pursuit of maritime commerce is shown to be perfectly compatible with long-continued loss, and to afford no proof of any present prosperity or approaching improvement. Even the production of new ships is proved, from the peculiarity of many of the circumstances by which it is induced, to be by no means inconsistent with the same apparently interminable depression. To these inferences from the recorded testimony solemnly given before a Parliamentary tribunal, your committee are especially induced to advert, because, if generally known and forcibly urged, they can scarcely fail to exercise a powerful influence on public opinion and on future measures affecting the shipping interest. That interest, it must now be perfectly obvious, is in such a condition that, while it will be the part of ship-owners to use every endeavour to adapt themselves to the altered state of the times, and of the relations of the country, foreign and domestic, it must no less plainly be the duty of the legislature and the government to afford to British navigation every relief from burden and restriction that may be compatible with the general interests of the nation, and every protection and encouragement that may not be inconsistent with national faith. British maritime commerce will not bear the hazard of further experiments; by which, not merely will its success now be compromised, but its very existence endangered. And after the publication of the mass of evidence now referred to, your committee can scarcely doubt the universal admission of the justice of that alternative for which they have long contended, though under opposition, misrepresentation, and obloquy,—either that those peculiar burdens and restrictions to which, for objects of national policy and in which he has no separate or exclusive interest, the ship-owner is exposed, should be removed; or that protection should be extended and continued to him equivalent to the disqualification created by those burdens."

From the strong and confident language here employed, we have been induced to go over, very carefully, the whole of the evidence referred to, which extends to above 250 folio pages, and consists of answers to nearly 4000 questions; and although we cannot say that we have been rewarded by an amount of information at all corresponding to the quantity of letter-press through which we have had to wade (for even when the witnesses confine themselves to matters of fact, it is wonderful how much repetition, how much contradiction, and how much uncertainty or ignorance encumber their statements); we do not regret the time and trouble we have bestowed, seeing that the investigation has left us in no sort of doubt whatever as to any of the points about which we wished to make up our minds when we entered upon it. We perfectly agree with the Ship-Owners' Society, when they say, that "many of those important questions which have been most vehemently contested must now be considered as finally set at rest." We must, however, explain ourselves. We are far from intending to characterize this evidence as affording a complete view of the subject to which it relates, or as at all calculated by itself to bring the state of the shipping interest fully or fairly before the public. That is not its value. Its value lies in its being the *case* of the opponents of our present system of commercial policy, in so far as the shipping interest is concerned. It places before us the sum of what facts and reasonings those parties have to allege in support of the clamour they have so long kept up, and of the bold assertions in which they have been in the habit of dealing. It enables us to understand the true character of all that noise. We have here the rat-tattoo with which our ears have so long been stormed, resolved, as it were, into its component elements, and can tell how much of it is due to the weight of the stroke, and how much to the emptiness of the drum.

It was natural and almost unavoidable that the evidence collected by the Committee should present only a one-sided exposition of the shipping question. Owing to causes which we shall notice presently, it is unquestionable not only that ship-owners have not for some time past been making the large profits to which they were formerly accustomed, but that, at present, their business is generally in a somewhat depressed state. In these circumstances there is of course no want of persons ready and eager to come forward with complaints of declining trade and bad times. On the other hand, there is little or no inducement for those differently circumstanced, or holding opposite opinions, to obtrude themselves upon the public attention. They have no object to attain by pressing their views. The parties who find themselves not prospering under the existing state of things, or who think that they would prosper more under another system, have, or, which is the same thing, imagine they have, a strong interest in endeavouring to bring about a change. The appointment of the Committee was the very opportunity which they panted for. It might be said to have been appointed exclusively for them. When did it happen that the croakers of the hour did not flock up in troops whenever such a funnel was opened to them through which they might

vent their melodious murmurings into the public ear? Those who wanted no change had no motive for putting themselves to the same trouble and expense. It was not more natural for the others to offer themselves to the Committee than it was for them to stay at home. They had nothing to urge and nothing to demand.

But more than this. Even if the existence of the present system had been threatened, none of the ship-owners, as such, had any interest in defending it. The utmost that can be looked for from the most reasonable among this body of persons is, that they should not be hostile to the relaxation of the old Navigation law that has taken place, and that they should see that that relaxation was unavoidable. We can hardly expect that many of them should be ardent and fondly attached partizans of the change, or particularly eager to break a lance in defence of the new arrangements whenever they may be assailed. If the whole question were, which were best for the ship-owners, perhaps the old system would deserve to be preferred to the new. At any rate, if the public interest were to be altogether thrown out of view, there are some obvious considerations which, especially with large houses already established in the trade, might naturally enough go far to recommend a return to the former exclusive arrangements. To the parties in whose favour it is maintained, a monopoly is frequently (though not always) better than an open trade. The advantages, at least, are more conspicuous and more alluring. They obtrude themselves more distinctly upon the observation, and they look something more certain and substantial than the prospects of a business to be pursued amidst the struggles of general competition. The system of a monopoly is that to which the dealer, we may say, instinctively or constitutionally clings. There his heart and its affections naturally are. And no doubt if the present body of British ship-owners could secure to themselves the same amount of carriage to and from this country which they now divide with their foreign rivals, that would be a good thing for them, whatever it might be for the rest of us. We do not believe that by any alteration of the present law this benefit could be obtained for them, even at any sacrifice on the part of the nation generally; but we are not prepared to say that, every thing but their interest being disregarded, it might not be possible, by reverting to a system of protection, to make their profits larger than they at present are. Some of the witnesses propose that bounties should be granted on the import and export of goods in British vessels. We cannot expect that British ship-owners should very violently oppose such a project as this. On the contrary, we should think it somewhat surprising, that, if there was any chance of getting a law to that effect passed, they should not almost to a man be in favour of it. We need not therefore wonder that of the witnesses who presented themselves to be examined by the Committee, nearly all were the advocates of a change in the law. Out of twenty-five only two were not opposed to the continuance of the present system. And even these two gentlemen probably would not stand out very obstinately against a return to the old restrictive system, if the legislature should attempt to force it back upon them.

But the Ship-Owners' Society are greatly mistaken if they suppose that the public will accept of this single fact, of the unanimity, or all but unanimity, of these witnesses, as proving all the strange things (and some of them are not a little strange) which they have put into their Report. It proves, in fact, nothing at all. Nobody doubted, before this evidence was published, that there were a great many more than twenty three ship-owners who held the opinions here expressed, although few probably were aware how little the said believers had to allege in favour of their creed that could recommend it to public patronage. We suppose, however, that when the opinions in question are said to be "triumphantly vindicated" by the evidence, we must understand the phrase to mean merely that they were maintained by the greater number of the persons examined; for in any other sense the boast is really too absurd to be gravely uttered.

What the evidence does prove in this direction is of very insignificant amount. It proves that freights are much lower than they have been,—that a good many ships have not proved profitable speculations,—that the same ship is not now worth the same sum in money which it was worth a few years ago,—and that in some few ports the tonnage, and also the ship-building business, have declined. Beyond these simple facts, no one of which is either new to the public, or in any respect alarming or extraordinary, we are at a loss to refer to a single fragment of information contained in this evidence which has even the semblance of helping to bear out the doctrines or assertions of the Society's Report.

It is the favourite theory of the class of reasoners to which the members of the Society belong, to attribute the changed circumstances of the shipping interest to the operation of the treaties concluded some years ago with various foreign powers, under the act of parliament known as the Reciprocity of Duties Act. This act was passed in 1823; and in the beginning of the following year, arrangements were made in conformity with its provisions, either by treaty or by an order in council, with Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the Hanse Towns. Russia, France, the South American States, and Austria, afterwards agreed to place their intercourse with this country on a similar footing.

The ancient national policy of England seems to have afforded no protection, by means of exclusive privileges, to the shipping of the country. It is true that, in the year 1381, (the 5th of Richard II.) an act of parliament was passed, ordering, in substance, "that for increasing the shipping of England, of late much diminished, none of the king's subjects shall hereafter ship any kind of merchandize, either outward or homeward, but only in ships of the king's subjects, on forfeiture of ships and merchandize, in which ships also, the greater part of the crews shall be the king's subjects*." But this regulation does not seem to have been long observed. Indeed, the very next year we find the important modification introduced, that, where no English ships were to be had, merchants might export or import in foreign ships. A few years after (1390) it was found necessary to repeat the enactment in a new statute (the 15th Richard II. ch. 6.), by which all English merchants are bound to freight only in English ships, and not in those of foreigners; *provided the owners of English ships take reasonable gains for the freight of the same*†. It is evident that a law of this loose description could have very little effect. Accordingly, Lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII., in noticing a law passed in the first year of that king (1485), prohibiting the importation of Gascon or Guienne wine, except by English, Irish, or Welshmen, and in their own shipping, remarks that "almost all the ancient statutes recite, by all means, to bring in all sorts of commodities, having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power." But even this act of Henry VII., brought in by him from his "care," Bacon tells us, "to make his realm potent at sea as well as by land," did not go the length of prohibiting the employment of foreign shipping in all circumstances. The "stranger's ship" was only to be rejected if the merchant "might have sufficient freight in the same port in a denizen's ship."

From this act we may date the commencement of the policy which went to confine both the export and import of merchandize, except in certain peculiar circumstances, to English ships, or, in other words, to give to them exclusively nearly the whole carrying-trade of the country. This system, however, although established by the law, appears to have been found too oppressive to be practically adhered to. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century it had come to pass, we are told, that the conveyance of goods into the country took place chiefly in Dutch vessels. "It had been observed with concern," says Anderson, "that the merchants of England, for several years past, had usually freighted the Hollander's shipping for bringing home their own merchandize, because their freight was at a lower rate than that of English ships. The Dutch shipping were, therefore, made use of even for importing our own American products, whilst our own shipping lay rotting in our harbours; our mariners also, for want of employment at home, went into the service of the Hollanders." It was under these circumstances, and at the impulse of national resentment, as well as on considerations of policy, that the first Navigation Act was passed by the Long Parliament in 1651. "The said Rump Parliament of England," writes the author we have just quoted, in his strange style, in which the historic and the gossiping often contend so amusingly with each other, "now made another most excellent and memorable law for the advancement of our ship-

* See Anderson's "Origin of Commerce," i. 373. (Edit. of 1787.)

† Ibid. p. 384.

ping, navigation, and plantations." This is the famous statute, which, as afterwards confirmed (in 1660) by the 12th Charles II. ch. 18., is commonly known by the name of the Navigation Act. It provided generally, that no merchandize, either of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into England in any but English-built ships, navigated by an English commander, and manned to the extent of three-fourths of the crew by Englishmen; and that no European merchandize should be imported in foreign ships, except such as should be brought directly from the original place of its growth or manufacture.

We shall not stop to consider whether or not this system, at the time it was introduced, came recommended by its tendency to promote certain great national objects, which were sufficient to compensate for its manifest public disadvantages in a commercial point of view. It is alleged by its admirers, that by the encouragement which it gave to the extension of maritime enterprise, it had the effect of placing the naval power of the country on a far broader and firmer basis than it ever could otherwise have attained. Sir Josiah Child, writing in 1668, declares it as his opinion that, but for the Navigation Act, the English would not have been owners of one-half of the shipping or trade, nor have employed one-half of the seamen they then had. It certainly, at any rate, accomplished its more immediate object, that of dealing a heavy blow at the maritime prosperity of Holland. It does not follow, however, that it benefited the English to the same extent to which it injured their rivals. Its inconvenience, in occasioning scarcity and dearness of foreign commodities, was very soon severely felt. "The novelty of this Navigation Act," says Anderson, who treats with very lofty contempt any doubt as to the good policy of the measure, "and the ignorance of some traders, occasioned at first loud complaints, that, although our own people had not shipping enough to import from all parts whatever they wanted, they were, nevertheless, by this law, debarred receiving due supplies of merchandize from other nations, who only could, and till then did, import them." We are told in Roger Coke's Discourse of Trade, published in 1670, that in two years after the passing of the Act of 1651, the building of ships in England became one-third dearer than before; "at which," remarks Anderson, with great scorn, "none but such a head as his would have wondered." Coke goes on to state, that at the same time seamen's wages rose so high, that the Muscovy and Greenland trades were wholly lost in consequence.

The system thus established, however, continued to be steadily acted upon down to our own day. But, besides the exclusive right of import and export, thus to a great extent granted to British shipping, the end aimed at was further attempted to be secured by a system of discriminating duties, according to which, even the commodities that were allowed to be imported in foreign vessels, were more highly taxed, when so imported, than when they were brought in those of this country. From a notion, also, that some descriptions of foreign commerce were as much to be dreaded and shunned, from their tendency to diminish private and public wealth, as others were to be sought after on the opposite account, the duties upon the importation of the same commodities were made to vary according to the country from which the commodities came, in such a manner as to have, in many instances, the effect of a complete prohibition upon the introduction of the produce of certain countries. If this had been done upon considerations having reference to the national power or safety, the proceeding, although probably grounded in all cases upon mistaken views, might have been more intelligible. We could understand, for instance, though we might not approve, a line of public policy founded upon the principle of restricting, as much as possible, the general intercourse of the people of this kingdom with those of France, one of the foreign countries with regard to which this commercial jealousy was always most strongly evidenced. But the most curious part of the absurdity was, that the objection was taken simply to the interchange of commodities between the two countries. The commerce with France, it was actually believed, could only entail a large annual pecuniary loss upon this kingdom. On the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, it was proposed that a commercial treaty should be concluded between France and England, the leading provision of which was, that as to all duties, impositions, or customs whatsoever, concerning persons, goods, merchandize, ships, freights, seamen, navigation, and commerce, each country should be placed by the other on the footing of the most favoured foreign nation; that is to say, that the duties imposed by each upon the productions of the other, should not exceed those imposed upon the same productions imported from any other country. But when the bill for carrying this treaty into effect was introduced in the House of Commons, it threw the whole country into an uproar. The motion for bringing it in, on the 14th of May, was only carried after a debate which lasted till ten o'clock the next morning. The opposition, however, on this occasion, although fierce and obstinate, was not numerically strong. But the excitement that raged out of doors eventually succeeded in drawing over so many members to the popular side, that after the bill had been carried forward several stages, it was eventually, on the 18th of June, thrown out by a majority of 194 to 185. The chief public organ by which the opposition to the measure was carried on, was a paper which appeared weekly, under the title of "The British Merchant, or Commerce Preserved." It was understood to be the production of an association of merchants; and it advocated the principles of the existing system to their utmost extent. Its authors attempted to make out that, in such a commerce between this country and France as the treaty proposed, England would incur an annual loss not much short of a million and a half sterling. This draining of our resources was to arise, to use the words of Anderson, who thinks the calculation a very able and conclusive one, "not only from the vast consumption of their alluring wines and brandies, but of numberless other articles in the manufactures of silk, lace, linen, needlework, and paper, besides fruits," &c. A writer, in his views on many other subjects, as well as on this, far a-head of his age, the celebrated Daniel Defoe, attempted to meet the mischievous nonsense of the "British Merchant," by a counter weekly publication, which he entitled "Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved." But the torrent was too furious to be stemmed by the efforts of sober reason. Anderson designates Defoe, one of the ablest and honestest political writers this country ever produced, as a tool whom the ministers found to justify their rash and wild conduct. "It was so apparent," he goes on to say, "that our trade to France had ever been a ruinous one: and that, if the British Parliament should consent to reduce the high duties and take off the prohibitions, so prudently laid on French commodities, it would effectually ruin the very best branches of our commerce, and would thereby deprive many hundred thousand manufacturers of their subsistence (which was also supported by petitions from many parts of the kingdom); that, although a great majority of that House of Commons was, in other respects, closely attached to the ministry, the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices, after the most eminent merchants had been heard at the bar of that House, to the great joy of the whole trading part of the nation, and of all other impartial people."

The restrictive and prohibitory policy, thus successfully supported in 1713, subsisted in full vigour for more than a century longer. The first great deviation from the system was effected by the treaty concluded in 1815 with the United States of America, which, soon after the establishment of their independence, had followed our example by enacting a navigation law copied from that of the mother-country. By the treaty with America, a great deal more was conceded than had been proposed by the arrangement with France at the peace of Utrecht; for it was stipulated that, in the intercourse between the two countries, the ships of each should enjoy precisely equal privileges. It has been common to speak of Mr. (now Lord Wallace), and the late Mr. Huskisson, as having led the way in the abandonment of the old Navigation Law; but the treaty with America was concluded in the time of Lord Bexley (then Mr. Vansittart). It seems to have produced no injurious consequences which were complained of from any quarter. Nor is it even now the fashion to denounce this particular measure as having done any mischief. We do not recollect that, in the course of the evidence before us, any one of the ship-owners refer to it as having had anything to do with the alleged depression of his branch of trade. It is, as if by common consent, omitted or forgotten in his list of grievances by each.

Meanwhile, the progress both of opinions and of events was forcing on further relaxations of the old exclusive system. On the 5th of May, 1820, Mr. Baring laid before the House of Commons the memorable petition from all

the leading mercantile houses in the metropolis, in which the principles, that "freedom from restraint is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, and the best direction to the capital and industry of the country;" and that "the maxim of buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation," were avowed and urged upon the legislature. In the course of the following year steps were taken to carry these doctrines into partial application by a reduction of the duties on Baltic timber, and also by the mitigation to a large extent of the provisions of the Old Navigation Law. The latter object was effected by means of five bills, introduced by Mr. Wallace, which were passed in the course of the following session. These measures gave rise to no complaints of ruin or injury to trade, any more than the treaty with America had done some years before.

But circumstances now arose which compelled a still further advance in the same direction. Up to this time, foreign countries had in general submitted to the heavy duties which we had long imposed upon the entrance of their vessels into our ports, for the protection of our own shipping, without retaliating by the adoption of a similar policy towards us. The state of Europe for a long period, during which our naval supremacy had thrown into our hands the carrying-trade of the world upon our own terms, had of course put it out of the question for other nations to make any such attempt for many years past. But, whatever may have been the reasons for the forbearance we had experienced, it now clearly appeared that it was to be continued no longer. In 1823, Prussia not only gave us notice that, if we did not change our system, she would meet it in the way that has been mentioned; but proceeded to carry her threat into execution by the actual imposition of heavy discriminating duties upon the entry of our tonnage into her harbours. These are the facts, never to be forgotten in considering this question, which made the abandonment of the whole principle of the Navigation Act a matter of absolute necessity on the part of this country. That innovation was not the voluntary experiment of Mr. Huskisson. It was a movement which we were compelled to make, unless we intended to lose our foreign trade altogether. No doubt whatever can be entertained that, if we had not taken the new position we did, the example of Prussia would have been quickly followed by every other state with which we had any commercial intercourse. What would our ship-owners have said to this state of things? What course did they take on the mere apprehension that it might possibly arrive? Why, they joined the other interests connected with the foreign trade of the country, in urging the government to avert it by the very measures against which they now cry out as having brought them to ruin. They gave Mr. Huskisson no rest until he had effected the removal of the duties imposed upon British ships on entering the ports of Prussia, by an arrangement with that power on the principle of reciprocity. And they were very well pleased that a convention upon the same principle should be concluded with every other state that would agree to the terms.

It is a curious fact, that on a former occasion, when this country had attempted the establishment of a system similar to that introduced by the Navigation Act, we were driven from the ground we had taken up precisely in the same manner as we lately were. An act of parliament passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1558), repealing the laws which then prohibited the importation and exportation of merchandize in any but English ships, proceeds upon the following recital:—"That since the making of the said statutes, other sovereign princes, finding themselves aggrieved with the said Acts, as thinking that the same were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, *have made like penal laws against such as should ship out of their countries, in any other vessels than of their several countries and dominions; by reason whereof there hath not only grown great displeasure betwixt the foreign princes and kings of this realm, but also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged.*"

But we need not go so far back for an example of the disposition of the persons interested in our trade and shipping to prefer an intercourse with other countries upon equal terms to one clogged with discriminating duties in the foreign port. Extraordinary as it may seem, the Ship-Owners' Society themselves, in their Report for 1833, now before us, have given a prominent place among their subjects of complaint to the state of the export trade from this country to Spain, "in which," they say, "an advantage approaching to monopoly is enjoyed by Spanish shipping, in consequence of the heavy discriminating duties imposed on importations into Spain in British ships." "They have not yet," they continue, "been enabled to procure a redress of the grievance, but cannot believe that the British government will much longer permit so injurious a system to continue without recourse to those measures of protective retaliation which are provided for by the Reciprocity of Duties Act; of the alleged advantages of which act the Spanish government has hitherto refused to avail itself." What stronger testimony to the value of the Reciprocity of Duties Act can we desire than this? But if a treaty, founded upon that act with Spain would be advantageous, how is it possible that the shipping interest can have been ruined by the Reciprocity Treaties with Denmark, and Sweden, and the Netherlands, and Prussia?

Let us now, however, proceed to the facts or allegations by which this ruin is attempted to be made out. The evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons exhibits various accounts of ships and shipping concerns which appear to have been unsuccessful speculations. Without contesting the correctness of these statements, or even entering into any examination of their items, we have merely to remark that they cannot be considered as proving anything. Nobody doubts that such cases of bad luck may easily be found, and that they have occurred in much greater numbers than would appear from the show of them got up before the Committee. They happen in all businesses; but the shipping business, exposed as it is to uncertainties which give it more the nature of a lottery than of an ordinary investment of capital, may be expected to be peculiarly rich in great losses as well as in great gains. Some of the very accounts to which we refer, display this unsteady and fluctuating character of maritime adventure, in a manner sufficiently striking. Take, for instance, the account of the annual profits from 1816 to 1831 inclusive, on the ship Percival, of South Shields, given in by Mr. Anderson (Report, p. 452). We find the following sums (neglecting fractional parts of a pound) set against different years: 1817, 736*l.*: 1818, 1233*l.*: 1819, 558*l.*: 1820, 304*l.*: 1821, 117*l.*; 1822, 164*l.*; 1823, 664*l.*: 1828, 63*l.*; 1831, 420*l.* Numerous examples of returns equally irregular in amount might be quoted. What can be looked for in such a business except many instances both of fortunes made and fortunes lost, and, in the case of almost every house engaged in it, books violently variegated with bright and gloomy entries. "If you wished," the Committee asked Mr. Aiken of Liverpool, "to give either a flattering account of the shipping, or the reverse, you would find it very easy to put in an account showing either one or the other?" "Precisely," replied the witness; "I should only have to turn to my ledger to furnish either, or both."

It is true that many of the witnesses have no scruple in affirming that the accounts of particular ships which they hand in are only fair samples of the state of things which universally prevails. But as to that matter we must take leave to say that we have much better evidence than either the cases or the assertions of any individuals. We have facts not picked up by prejudice or passion, or to serve a purpose, from a little neighbourhood, but impartially collected from the whole kingdom, and exhibiting a representation of the entire subject, in which there is as little room for error as if it had been taken off by a process like that of the printing-press. We will enumerate a few of these general facts, properly so called, as we find them extracted from official documents in the two admirable volumes of tabular statistics lately published by the Board of Trade.

The following is an account of the number and tonnage of vessels that have been built and registered every year from 1820 to 1832 inclusive, in the British empire:—

Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1820.. 883..	84,582	1827..1440..	163,946
1821.. 872..	74,847	1828..1321..	140,913
1822.. 780..	67,144	1829..1150..	116,872
1823.. 817..	86,028	1830..1117..	110,130
1824..1179..	113,741	1831..1136..	119,997
1825..1539..	204,924	1832.. 980..	118,385*
1826..1719..	205,648		

* In the Table (see *Tables of Revenue, &c.* Part II., p. 49.) the numbers are 759 ships and 92,915 tons; but the ships built in the plantations have been omitted, by mistake, in the account.

This account certainly does not indicate anything like the universal ruin of the shipping interest. More especially it does not indicate that any such ruin commenced from the date of the Reciprocity Treaties. Since that change of policy the building of new ships in this country, if it has not been going on literally faster and faster every year, has at least taken place annually to a much greater extent than it ever had done before. In comparing, for instance, 1822 with 1832, we find the amount of new tonnage in the latter year not much short of double its amount in the former.

The Society, indeed, affirm that the production of new ships is proved by the evidence to be by no means inconsistent with an apparently interminable depression of the shipping trade. This is one of those facts which they well describe as "appearing difficult to reconcile;" but we cannot agree with them that it is one upon which any "valuable light," or any light at all, has been thrown by the witnesses. The truth is, that if we were to go upon the personal experience of those of the witnesses who complain of the depressed state of the trade, we should conclude that the building of ships was not going on. With two or three exceptions, all of them state that they have not themselves built or purchased any vessels lately; but, on the contrary, have been diminishing their tonnage. In the few cases in which it has been otherwise, the anomaly has taken place under circumstances which the individual is anxious to explain were peculiar and transitory. Now, this is a most important fact. It proves that the persons, whose lamentations were poured out in such abundance before the committee, do not afford in their own cases a fair representation of the general condition of the trade. The houses to which many of them belong, may be both opulent and of the highest respectability; but, from one cause or another, it is evident that their transactions do not in general exhibit the average activity with which the business of ship-building is prosecuted throughout the country. Some of them may be principally connected with branches of the business that are at present carried on with the least success, or with ports which it has partially left for other places;—some may have made their fortunes, and are gradually contracting their operations in the intention to retire. But, whatever may be the circumstances from which it may have arisen, the fact is, that *they* have in general been diminishing their tonnage; while, it is impossible to deny that, by the ship-owners of the kingdom taken as a body, new vessels have been built, and continue to be built in great numbers. The inference is inevitable, that their particular cases and the general case do not correspond.

A great depreciation has, no doubt, taken place in the value of ships. The same description of vessel is not now worth the same money which it was worth some years ago. It is impossible that this effect should not have taken place: but it has not been produced by the Reciprocity Treaties. Ships can now be built much cheaper than formerly; and that is a sufficient reason why they should be bought cheaper. The materials of which they are constructed have all fallen in price. Wood is cheaper, iron is much cheaper, so is copper, and hemp has fallen to much less than half the price it bore a few years ago. In these circumstances, the money value of all shipping property has necessarily suffered a corresponding decline. The shipping interest, while benefiting to a large extent by this fall of prices in the building and purchase of new vessels, must, of course, have sustained some loss on their previously invested capital. An individual possessed of an amount of tonnage which, in 1815, would have sold for 20,000*l.*, may find now that he cannot get more than 15,000*l.* for it. This depreciation of property must, no doubt, have produced a good deal of distress; but it is not imputable either to the Reciprocity Treaties, or to any other causes over which legislative arrangements could have exercised any control*. The same thing has taken place in regard to various other descriptions of property which nobody has ever thought of describing as having been affected by laws or treaties. An estate in land is not of the same value now that it was some years ago; estates in houses have fallen immensely in value. Holders of these descriptions of property have probably quite as much reason to complain of changed times as the ship-owners; unless a house that floats and a house that stands are not subject to the same laws of political economy, by which the market value of all capital is regulated.

We believe that this circumstance, and, perhaps, some overtrading in 1824 and 1825, will sufficiently account for any real depression under which the shipping interest may be at present suffering. There is no doubt that freights have fallen, as they could not but do when the cost of ship-building fell. They have fallen as rents have fallen. A ship is now not only more cheaply built and fitted out for sea than she was some years ago, but she is also navigated at less expense. The wages of the seamen are reduced; the price of provisions is reduced. Another circumstance very materially affecting freights is, that more voyages are made in the same time. It would also appear from the statements of some of the witnesses, that in navigation, as in other arts, improvements have taken place which have enabled the old work to be done with fewer hands than formerly. It is impossible, with all this, that freights should not have come down. The work can be done with less expenditure of labour, capital, and time, and the charge for it is reduced.

Beyond the grumbling of individuals, we find no evidence in the Report, that freights, although lower than they have been, are not such as to yield a fair profit. Many of the witnesses assert, indeed, that their returns are inadequate; but it is impossible, with the facts that are before our eyes, to believe that this is generally the case. We may appeal to the admissions of many of these complaining parties themselves. One of them, Mr. R. A. Gray, of the house of Melhuish, Gray, and Co., merchants and ship-owners, when asked, "Upon the whole, should you say that you are getting a tolerable living profit upon the shipping you are employing?" replies, "Certainly: individually, we are deriving a profit from our property embarked in ships; but, it must be understood, that we lay ourselves out to employ our vessels, by engaging occasionally in speculations for the purpose; and, although the freights may be remunerative, yet sometimes we experience a loss in our speculations to give employment to our ships: but, upon the whole, we have nothing to complain of ourselves." This is a reluctant admission, but it is not on that account the less valuable. The following are some other answers from persons holding similar opinions, which go indirectly to prove the same thing. Examination of Mr. H. Turner, ship-owner, Sunderland. "(6648.) Has there been much ship-building going on in Sunderland lately?—A great deal. (6649.) Within the last five or six years has ship-building in Sunderland increased a good deal?—It has; there are very few built upon contract; they are mostly built for the market upon speculation. (6651.) But they find purchasers when they are built?—They endeavour to do so; many of them lay a good while before they are sold; and many of them are sold under very disadvantageous circumstances, from necessity. (6652.) But still they go on building them?—Yes; to a great extent. (6653.) And of course they are bought at last?—They are, certainly; we, perhaps, have vessels lying six months after they are launched before they are sold. (6654.) Do you think that people would go on building them if they were constantly losing by them?—I would not do it myself. (6655.) Have you known instances of it?—I have known many instances of it; it was the occasion of a very heavy failure with us six months ago; a gentleman goes on building and building till at last he can go on no longer, and he fails, and he pays 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. (6656.) And somebody else comes and takes his place?—Somebody else steps into his shoes. (6747.) Has not ship-building been going on increasing every year since the peace?—It has. (6717.) Since the peace have there not been many new ship-building establishments?—A great many." Examination of Mr. J. Young, of the house of Cuthbert, Young, and Sons, ship-owners and ship-builders, South Shields. (" 7782.) Have you engaged in shipping more largely yourself the last few years?—Yes. (7784.

* The reduction in the price of hemp, indeed, has been partly occasioned by a repeal of duties to which the article was formerly subject. But it cannot be pretended, for all that, and it never has been pretended, that this repeal of duties was not a boon to the shipping interest. The effect which it has had in bringing down the value of shipping property, is of the same nature with the effect which would be produced by the removal of the tax on paper, for instance, on the value of not only of the stocks of the dealers in that commodity, but of the property of all persons, such as printers and publishers, having large quantities of it in their possession. This effect makes the repeal, even of an objectionable tax, in many cases a thing not to be attempted without much circumspection. It ought always to be thought of when a new tax is imposed.

What increase may you have made within the last five or six years?—I should think we have added five or six sail of ships. (7785.) Is it your opinion that the business is a tolerably profitable one?—I am sorry to say it is not at present. I have made a good deal of money with shipping, but it is very difficult to make it now. (7808.) You say that you are obliged to carry on the business of ship building because you have engaged in it; what sacrifice would you be obliged to make to get out of it?—The premises, twenty years ago, cost 20,000*l.*, and we bought the greatest portion of them at the rate of 14,000*l.*, and we could not dispose of them at the present time; there are so many docks in the river that cannot be let: these are at present one-half unoccupied. (7809.) Have they not paid you over and over again?—I decline answering that question.' Examination of Mr. T. Brown ship-owner and ship-builder, on the Tyne. ("8550.) Have many people engaged in shipping in the last five or six years at Newcastle?—There has been an increase in parties engaging in ships. (8551.) Has there been any indisposition to embark fresh capital in shipping?—I think not, on the whole. (8552.) Have you observed that fresh parties have been inclined to follow that business?—I have observed that a great many parties have entered into shipping that were not before at all connected with it, within the last four or five years. (8553.) Do you think they have had reason to repent of it?—I consider they have not had reason to repent of it, if their shipping property had not suffered a depreciation beyond the fair depreciation of wear and tear; for instance, this year we get ships built cheaper than we did last year, and, therefore, ships are so much more reduced in value generally. (8555.) With the exception of that depreciation, you think they have no reason to complain?—I think it has paid a moderate rate of interest within the period of four or five years. (8579.) Have not you had many ships built in the Tyne by parties that have failed? There is only one house, to my knowledge, that failed, and who built, perhaps, half a dozen: but they were not very long in the business. In fact, the principal partner was formerly my clerk, and, his being without capital, other people advanced the money for him to build the ships for them, but, in consequence, obtained them at reduced prices."

But above all, there is the remarkable fact, acknowledged by nearly every witness who is examined as to the point, that the entire amount of the shipping of the country is in full employment. This fact, we submit, is of itself a sufficient answer to all the clamour that has been raised. "It appears to me," says Mr. R. Carter, ship-broker, speaking of the Baltic and Canadian trades (5829), "that the shipping is generally employed." Mr. John Nichols, of the firm of Nichols, Son, and Green, ship owners and brokers, is asked (5960), "Notwithstanding you get low freights, is not the shipping as fully employed now as at any period you have known it in the Mediterranean trade?" to which he answers, "We can load ships as frequently backwards and forwards; we have not so much in the port of London as we used to have, because a great deal of it has gone to Liverpool; but, taking the whole kingdom, the ships go backwards and forwards as frequently." Mr. J. Astle, ship-owner and ship broker, of Dublin, says (6862), "We do not complain of want of employment. There is no surplus quantity of shipping as far as regards ourselves, but it is a want of profit. (6863.) As far as regards Ireland (in the coasting trade) the sailing tonnage has increased, notwithstanding the steam. (6921.) There has not for the last four or five years, except in some very large ships, been a want of employment." Mr. E. Gibson, ship-owner and ship builder at Hull, on being asked by the Committee (7552), "Is it your opinion that there is an excess of tonnage in the British market beyond the actual capability of employment of that tonnage?" replies, "No, they all find employment."

It is perfectly plain, then, that the low rate of freights cannot be the effect of the foreign competition introduced by the Reciprocity Treaties. The rate of freight is what it is, simply because the persons who invest their capital in ships are contented that it should be no higher. Were foreign competition altogether excluded, and if it were possible in these circumstances (which it certainly is not) that the export and import of commodities should continue as busy as it now is, the only effect would be that domestic competition would supply the deficiency. It appears that the present number of ships is necessary; and it would, therefore, be kept up. In other words, the demand and the supply would continue the same as they now are. But, that being the case, the rate of freight would most certainly continue the same too, whatever the Ship Owners' Society may suppose. These are the two factors; this is the result. To maintain another opinion is to take up the notion of the person, who, when asked how much eleven times twelve made, replied, after a pause of consideration, that it depended upon circumstances.

But let us see if there be even any *apparent* reason in the unquestioned facts of the case for attributing the fall of freights, as the Ship Owners' Society do, to the foreign competition created by the Reciprocity Treaties. This competition, be it remembered in the first place, is only partial. The Society, and the witnesses examined before the Committee, complain that, under the present state of the law, the ship-owner receives no compensation for certain burthens and restrictions to which he is subjected, with a view to objects of national policy in which he has no exclusive interest. He is prohibited, they say, from building his ship abroad, or navigating it with a crew of foreigners. But this is altogether a mis-statement. There is nothing to prevent any person from building a ship wherever he pleases, and manning it with the natives of any country under heaven. The law merely says that, in that case, it shall not be accounted a British ship. If British ships, as the Society and their witnesses would have us believe, had no peculiar privileges attached to them, this non acknowledgment would be of no consequence. But, the fact is, that they are invested with most important privileges: and these constitute the compensation, and the sufficient compensation, for the restrictions under which they are laid. British ships have the exclusive enjoyment of all the coasting trade, and of all the trade between the mother-country and the colonies. These extensive monopolies remain untouched by any of the Reciprocity Treaties. Nay, they have of late been rendered much more valuable than ever by the addition within the last twenty years, and still more completely within the last few months, of the trade with India, from which the general body of the ship owners used formerly to be entirely excluded. The Society profess to be anxious for a system perfectly free and unartificial throughout. "If," says Mr. Powles, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, "you will let the British shipbuilder go over to Norway, take with him a few of his best workmen, and build his ships in that country, employing the people of that country, getting the timber of the country, and living upon their cheap provisions, and be exempt from the burthens which press upon him here: and if you will let the British ship owner navigate that ship with foreign seamen then you will hear no complaints of the want of protection on the part of the British ship owner." Very well: all this Mr. Powles is at perfect liberty to do now. His ship will only in that case be accounted, what it will in reality be, a foreign, and not a British ship. If it is to be admitted to a share in the trade between the different ports of this empire, so must all other foreign vessels. We, the public, will then see who will serve us cheapest in conveying commodities, not only to and from the Baltic, but to and from the Mediterranean as well, and between this island and both the East and the West Indies: nay, between London and Newcastle, between Liverpool and Dublin; in short, wherever there is occasion to traverse the sea. If there is to be no restriction, and no protection, the British ship-owner must be put on the same footing with the British stage-coach owner: the water must be as free to all as the land. Is this what the ship-owners would have? We cannot tell from the evidence before us: for we do not find that the "light" which it throws on certain subjects is by any means so "valuable" as it has appeared to the Society. But Mr. Thomas Young being asked, after a reference to this project of the removal of all restrictions, "Must not the ship-owner in this case give up all the protection he possesses in the coasting and colonial trade?" replies, "*I decline answering that question.*" Another witness, we recollect, on the admission of foreigners to share in these trades being mentioned, expresses himself as if he conceived the thing to be an unheard of absurdity—a practice that never had been and never could be tolerated by any nation. But we have already seen that, down to the passing of the Navigation Act, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Dutch ships were wont to be employed in preference to English in the trade between this country and its North American

colonies. And, what may seem still more extraordinary, foreign ships were freely employed in the coal trade, and in the inland and coasting trade generally, for a considerable time after this. It was not till the year 1685, the first of James II., that a discriminating duty was laid upon foreign tonnage thus employed, with the object of protecting our own ship-owners.

One of the witnesses, Mr. H. Tanner, of Sunderland, having indulged in some reasoning on the operation of the Reciprocity Treaties, in which he speaks of them as having thrown a number of British ships, that used to be engaged in the trade to Memel and the Baltic, out of employment, is asked by the Committee, (6628), "Do you mean to say there are fewer British ships employed in the Prussian trade than there were?" He answers, "No question of it." Now, what is the fact? The following is a statement, extracted from the tables published by the Board of Trade, of the number and tonnage of the British shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and Prussia in each year from 1820 to 1832 inclusive:—

	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships	Tonnage	Ships.	Tonnage.
1820	526	87,451	231	33,971
1821	452	79,590	195	31,847
1822	539	102,847	228	41,247
1823	413	81,202	138	26,427
1824	483	94,664	251	50,143
1825	981	189,214	453	89,555
1826	653	119,060	306	57,334
1827	819	150,718	431	80,322
1828	782	133,753	389	66,738
1829	741	125,918	426	74,639
1830	666	102,758	341	50,931
1831	487	83,908	303	50,792
1832	401	62,079	265	41,027

It appears from this statement that, with the exception of 1831 and 1832, there is not one of the nine years during which the Reciprocity Treaty with Prussia has been in force, in which a much larger quantity of British shipping has not been engaged in the trade with that country than is recorded to have been so engaged in the busiest year of the former system. Whatever may be the causes of the falling off during the last two years, to attribute it to the treaty would be beyond even the famous hypothesis of the fall of Tenterden steeple having occasioned the Goodwin Sands. Not only during the greater part of the time that the alleged cause is present, the effect does not follow, but its very opposite takes place.

Without examining what the cause might really be, other facts go to show that it was not one having any peculiar or exclusive bearing upon British shipping. The foreign tonnage employed in this trade suffered at the same time a still greater diminution than the British. In 1830 the foreign shipping employed in the trade inwards and outwards, between this country and Prussia, amounted to 212,779 tons. In 1831, it had fallen to 139,263 tons; and in 1832, it was still only 159,439 tons. It is manifest, therefore, that we have here the operation of some circumstances, whatever they might be, affecting the trade generally. The uneasy political state of a great part of Europe after the Revolution in Paris, and the partial suspension of commercial speculation in this country during the agitation of the Reform question, will sufficiently account for the temporary decline that appears to have taken place.

But let now take a more general view of the trade with those countries, with which our intercourse is usually said to have been most affected by the Reciprocity Treaties. The following is an account of the number of British ships that have passed the Sound each year from 1820 to 1832 inclusive:—

1820	3,597	1827	5,103
1821	2,819	1828	4,431
1822	3,099	1829	4,805
1823	3,016	1830	4,274
1824	3,502	1831	4,772
1825	5,156	1832	3,330
1826	3,739		

Here, again, it will be observed that the annual numbers since 1824, with the exception only of that for 1832, are uniformly higher than the highest of previous years. And even in 1832 the number was higher than for any year before 1824, except 1820. Upon the number of ships of all countries which have passed the Sound, there has been a falling off ever since 1829; the numbers having been 13,486 in that year, 13,212 in 1830, 12,946 in 1831, and 12,202 in 1832.

The following is an account of the number and tonnage of the British shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and all parts of the world, from 1820 to 1832 inclusive:—

	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons	Ships	Tons.
1820	11,754	1,667,930*	10,102	1,519,508
1821	10,810	1,599,274	9,797	1,488,644
1822	11,087	1,664,486	10,023	1,539,260
1823	11,271	1,740,859	9,666	1,546,976
1824	11,733	1,797,320	10,157	1,657,533
1825	13,516	2,144,598	10,848	1,793,994
1826	12,473	1,950,630	10,844	1,737,125
1827	13,133	2,087,898	11,481	1,887,502
1828	13,435	2,094,257†	12,245	2,006,133
1829	13,659	2,184,585	12,636	2,063,179
1830	13,548	2,180,042	12,747	2,102,147
1831	14,488	2,367,322	13,791	2,300,731
1832	13,372	2,185,980	13,292	2,229,269

Now, after glancing over this table, what is any one to think—what it it possible that we should think—of the outcry raised by the ship-owners as to the ruin of their business, brought about by the system of reciprocity? Why, take the year of most busy and flourishing trade before the system came into operation, which is the year 1823, and the whole amount of tonnage, inwards and outwards, is little more than three millions and a quarter; in 1831, the eighth year of the system, it is not much less than four millions and three quarters. The actual increase is about 42 per cent. As to the very insignificant falling off in 1832, let it have been occasioned how it may, it is at least perfectly clear that it is not to be attributed to the competition of foreigners. The whole foreign shipping employed in the trade with the United Kingdom fell that year, as compared with the preceding year, from 1,770,656 tons to 1,291,202. This was a fall of above 27 per cent.; while that which took place on the British shipping employed was little more than 5 per cent.

This table, by the by, we may here remark, puts beyond question another fact, admitted by most of the witnesses, but denied by one or two of them, namely, that each ship now makes a greater number of voyages than it used to do. The entire quantity of our shipping has not increased within the period included in the account, and yet we see how much more work is now done by it. In other words, it is better employed than it used to be, and, if the freights are lower, there are more of them. This, at least, is the case in so far as all that range of trade is concerned with which the Reciprocity Treaties have anything to do. There has, no doubt, been a diminution of the British carrying-trade between foreign ports, to a great extent since the war, and also to some extent within the last few years. But the Reciprocity Treaties cannot be blamed for this. It is the consequence of the passage of the sea being now equally free to the ships of all nations, and of the natural growth of the marine of different foreign states in a time of peace. One thing which has cut us out of a good deal of the carrying-trade between the Mediterranean and foreign ports, which we were wont to monopolize, is the recent extirpation of the Algerines. So long as these barbarians existed, British ships were the only vessels that could navigate that sea in safety; so that the pirates might really be considered as guardians of our monopoly.

After the vapouring, in the Society's Report, about the triumphant style in which the evidence vindicates the opinions of those who have been in the habit of denouncing the reciprocity system as having been the ruin of British shipping, it is somewhat disappointing to recur to the actual examinations of the witnesses. In the first place, many of them, upon being pressed, are obliged to admit that, after all, the state of things of which they complain cannot be wholly attributed to the one cause which has been so commonly assigned. "I would not desire to be understood," says Mr. Powles (6469), "as stating that the whole of the

* These numbers are given in another place (*Tables*, part I. p. 54) 11,285 and 1,608,060. The statement given in the text is extracted from the more detailed account in pp. 53—64.

† At p. 54, these numbers are given 13,436 and 2,094,357.

depression is to be charged on the Reciprocity Acts, because it was clear to all persons acquainted with shipping, that the transition from war to peace would subject the shipping interest to a very severe trial." "To what," Mr. Astle is asked (6861), "do you attribute that, (the depression) in those trades in which we have not the competition with foreigners, which you have described to exist in the Baltic trade?" To which he answers, "I account for it partly by the introduction of steam navigation; the system of towing ships in and out of port has created stronger competition among ourselves; and then the overplus of tonnage created by making two voyages instead of one." This last allegation we do not understand. Mr. Astle afterwards adds, "I mean to say, that our ships, in consequence of the reduced rate of profit, are compelled to make two voyages instead of one." But how this can create an overplus of tonnage puzzles us. Besides, we should think that, *pro tanto*, it was anything rather than a hardship upon the ship-owner that his vessel should now make two trips where she used to make but one. Is not this precisely the same case with that of any other dealer having now two transactions where he formerly had only one? The trouble may be a little greater; but that is not usually so violently complained of. If there be any profit at all, the double voyage must be an advantage. If the business is carried on at a loss, indeed, as many of the witnesses say, the less sailing the better. But there is nothing, we suppose, to compel Mr. Astle to make the two voyages unless he pleases.

The same depression which is complained of at the present moment was also alleged to exist both in 1816 and in 1822. Some of the witnesses, before they are set right, are very much inclined to attribute the low freights of these two former periods also to the Reciprocity Treaties. When they have been obliged to assign a different cause for what took place before the Reciprocity Act passed, they still will not admit that any other than that act can have occasioned what is taking place now. Thus, Mr. H. Nelson is asked (6553), "Seeing that three distinct depressions have taken place in the shipping interest since the peace, and knowing that the Reciprocity Acts only came into operation in 1824, is it not probable that those three depressions have been connected with other circumstances foreign to the influence of the Reciprocity Acts?" His answer is, "Those before, certainly." He is further asked, "Do not you conceive it possible that there is some general cause, over-riding all other causes, which has been in operation at those three distinct periods?" To which he replies, "I think it might be over-trading *in the preceding years*." Some of the witnesses hold that the restoration of the discriminating duties would be insufficient to bring back the former prosperity; others are of opinion that it would have that effect. Among the latter is Mr. Barry, of Whitby. This gentleman is asked by the Committee, "You stated that you think the shipping interest would be re-established by a system of discriminating duties upon foreign ships in favour of British shipping. Supposing the foreign nations were to adopt a system of equivalent discriminating duties upon their side, to the disadvantage of British shipping, should we then derive the advantage you suppose?" He answers, "Yes, I think so." But when further asked, "Will you state how?" "I beg," says the witness, "to decline answering that question."

Hitherto our object has been to convict the opponents of the Reciprocity Treaties out of their own mouths, and we have therefore quoted none of the evidence except what comes from themselves. But we would strongly recommend to attention the examinations of the only two witnesses on the other side who came before the Committee—Mr. J. Aiken, of Liverpool, and Mr. T. Hedley, of Newcastle. Their statements furnish a complete refutation of many of the notions entertained by the other witnesses. Mr. Aiken says, "I have found my vessels doing well of late, and I expect soon that they will do better. In one instance the losses upon my ship amounted to a total loss; in other instances I have made at the rate of as much as 30 and 40 per cent. per annum upon my ship. We have extensive capitalists in Liverpool that have been ship-builders all their lives, and who continue to build as much as ever; and I am satisfied, from the character of the parties, that they would not do it if they did not find it answer." He also states, that although the freights in the Brazil trade are lower of late, even here British vessels of the first class are preferred, and, in general, compete successfully with foreign shipping; that he has found shipping a tolerably fair business upon the whole, or he would not have followed it up; that although in many instances his ships have not yielded him 20 per cent. per annum, yet, generally speaking, they have; and that his profits upon the whole have been such as to induce him to go on increasing his tonnage by purchase as well as by building. The following are a few of the most material passages in Mr. Hedley's evidence: "Do you consider that there has been a less inclination to engage in shipping of late than formerly? Not at all; quite the reverse; as soon as one ship is lost, another of more value is bought or built by the owner. A great number of men in other businesses have engaged in shipping at Newcastle, Shields, Sunderland, Blythe, and the neighbouring ports, and many have given all their time to it, and in the event of losing a ship, they do not return back to the trade they carried on before, but they increase the extent of their shipping.—Have you heard great complaints of the unprosperous nature of the shipping business? Not more than I have for these thirty years past. —Persons are in the habit of complaining, are they? Generally so with us.—Have you reason to believe that it has been of late a more unprosperous business than formerly? With ships of great value, perhaps, it has, but with ships that have been built the last few years, that has not been the case.—In your business, as a broker, have you lately found ships pressing greatly for freight upon the market? Certainly not, quite the contrary, we have had a difficulty in getting ships the whole of this spring, and the freights have lately been as good as formerly, taking into consideration the value of ships: 45*s.* was considered (by liberal-minded ship-owners) a remunerating freight to Quebec a few years ago, and we are now giving 37*s.* to 38*s.* between Quebec and Newcastle: and, therefore, taking into consideration the difference in the cost of the ships, I consider it a better remuneration than 45*s.* four or five years ago. My opinion is, that money cannot be employed better than in shipping. A great many of the ship-owners were formerly captains of ships, who retired from their ships soon after the war; they have never returned, and they expect the ships to support them by sending captains on board; now, if they were to go themselves, they would be amply repaid. I know there are some instances in which accounts have been made out showing considerable losses at North and South Shields; they have charged the ships with the captain's wages, but at the same time his family, as well as the owner's, have been supported out of that ship." Mr. Hedley also shows that the necessity of purchasing provisions in England for the outward voyage to the Baltic or Canada really does not impose any additional expense upon the British ship-owner which is worth considering; and he is decidedly of opinion, from reasons and calculations which he submits, that foreign ships can neither be built nor navigated cheaper than British. He says, that if he had the means of doing so, he would invest capital in shipping directly and extensively. We have no doubt he would take Mr. Cooper of Hull's ship, the Perseverance, off the hands of that gentleman, who declares (7704) that he thinks he would give her away if he could find any one to take her.

The only official document relating to the shipping trade which the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons contains, is a table presenting an account of the number and tonnage of the ships built at each of the principal ports of the North of England in each year, from 1820 to 1832 inclusive. From this statement it appears that there has been a decrease of building at Whitby, but only since 1830, the new tonnage put afloat there in 1829 having been of greater amount than in any preceding year on the list, with the exception of the years 1824 and 1826;—that at Scarborough there has been a considerable decrease since 1828;—that at Hull there has also been a decrease since the same date, although the amount built in 1832 still considerably exceeded that built in 1822, and the number of ships was 35 in the former year, having been only 25 in the latter;—that at Stockton there was little variation;—that at Liverpool, Whitehaven, and Yarmouth, there has been an increase;—that at Sunderland and Newcastle, (including North and South Shields,) at which two towns there is now built considerably more than twice the quantity of tonnage built at all the other eight ports together, there has been a large increase; and finally, that in 1832, twenty-four ships, amounting to 1,767 tons, were built at Goole, which was only established as a port in 1828. Excepting, therefore, only at Whitby, Scarborough, and Hull, the ship-building business may be considered to be in a flourishing state at

every one of these ports, and, at the most important, in a state of great and rapidly growing prosperity.

We shall conclude by a short comparative statement of the export and import trade of different ports in the kingdom, in so far as the tonnage employed is concerned, collected from accounts in the Tables published by the Board of Trade. It is a common notion that the trade with other parts of the world has been for some time past leaving London for Liverpool. This is in one sense true, inasmuch as the trade of Liverpool is certainly increasing at a more rapid rate than the trade of London. But it is not the case that the trade of London, as many people suppose, is falling off. It has been increasing too, though more slowly than that of Liverpool. The following table exhibits the amount of tonnage, British and Foreign, that has entered each port annually, since 1820:—

	London.		Liverpool.	
	British.	Foreign.	British	Foreign.
1820	655,239	122,619	228,235	166,821
1821	585,994	89,073	242,322	149,151
1822	603,167	106,099	261,137	174,607
1823	611,451	161,705	296,710	199,866
1824	607,106	264,098	327,198	174,593
1825	785,565	302,122	315,115	222,187
1826	675,026	215,254	299,037	181,907
1827	769,102	221,008	306,369	231,863
1828	767,212	195,929	340,644	179,514
1829	781,070	215,605	326,311	210,713
1830	741,229	207,500	368,268	272,463
1831	780,988	269,159	413,928	265,037
1832	639,840	154,142	397,933	227,087

The decrease here, on 1832, it will be observed, is, as usual, much greater in proportion on the Foreign than on the British tonnage. To show this fact still more strikingly we shall exhibit these two years together for ten of the other principal ports in England, Scotland, and Ireland:—

	1831.		1832.	
	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign
Bristol	76,807	12,387	46,871	4,352
Hull	189,388	73,547	148,701	43,960
Newcastle	68,975	33,102	80,285	31,804
Plymouth	43,286	6,824	32,183	2,910
Leith	43,216	17,156	36,279	9,919
Glasgow	8,702	1,637	8,123	51
Greenock	63,826	5,219	66,171	3,906
Cork	24,615	4,088	29,271	2,603
Belfast	22,519	5,425	26,947	2,537
Dublin	35,804	7,221	38,202	2,823

Here, in every instance, there is a falling off, and in several instances, a very large falling off, in the Foreign tonnage; there is no instance in which that diminution is not much greater than the diminution of British tonnage; and in several instances it is very great, while on the British tonnage there has been a considerable increase.

The only other ports of the trade of which we have accounts in the Official Tables from 1820, are Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, Sunderland, and Newcastle. At all of them the trade has increased since that year, but at different rates. We shall give the amount of tonnage, British and Foreign, that entered each for the two years 1820 and 1830, from which some notion may be formed of their comparative prosperity:—

	1820.		1830.	
	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign.
Bristol	53,919	5,652	66,479	7,818
Hull	122,488	15,747	166,263	51,015
Glasgow	1,751	——	9,000	710
Sunderland	23,917	1,651	52,579	4,572
Newcastle	54,588	11,276	58,764	35,346

For 1831, as may be seen in the preceding table, the numbers were for the most part considerably higher than for 1830. This was also the case at Sunderland (not given in that table), where, in 1831, there entered 77,252 tons of British, and 7,600 of Foreign shipping. No Foreign ships appear to have entered the port of Glasgow in 1820; but in 1821, there entered 4 vessels measuring 655 tons, and after that, down to 1827 inclusive, from 10 to 18 annually, amounting to from about 1500 to about 3000 tons in all.

MARSHALL'S STATISTICAL TABLES.

"Digest of all the Accounts relating to the Population, Productions, Revenues, Financial Operations, Manufactures, Shipping, Commerce, &c. of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, diffused through more than six hundred volumes of Journals, Reports, and Papers, presented to Parliament during the last thirty-five years. In two Parts. Arranged by J. Marshall."

We shall always hail with satisfaction every addition to the store of our statistical knowledge, both because the acquisition of each new fact is of value in itself, and because, by its means, the worth of all our former similar acquisitions is enhanced. We cannot, therefore, be otherwise than gratified by the appearance of Mr. Marshall's laborious work, which must have occupied years of patient industry, under which he could be supported only by a sense of the usefulness of his employment. The public are deeply indebted to Mr. Marshall for thus devoting his time and mind to their service. It abates nothing from his merit that a Committee of the House of Commons, struck with the usefulness of his labours, did, after their performance, recommend the purchase of certain copies of this volume for the use of the members of the legislature. All the labour and a great part of the expense must have been incurred before the House, acting upon the recommendation of its Committee, was led to sanction that purchase, and thereby, we hope, to relieve Mr. Marshall from pecuniary loss.

The contents of Mr. Marshall's volume may, in part, be learned from its title. The matter is divided into two sections, the first of which is occupied with details of the population of the British dominions, as ascertained under the acts for its enumeration, and with summaries of the population, revenues, &c., of various states and countries in both the old and new world. The tables in which the enumeration of the inhabitants of this country is given, are classed according to the prevailing occupations of the different districts, and comparisons are drawn between the numbers at different periods in a very useful and interesting manner; the whole being presented under various aspects, so as to throw light upon several important questions of public economy. Perhaps the least useful part of this section of his work is that wherein Mr. Marshall has given statements of the number of baptisms as compared with the number of deaths. It is well known how deficient are our registers of baptisms, and, indeed, how large a portion of children born within the kingdom are never subjected to that rite. It is to be hoped that the approaching session of parliament will not be allowed to close without the passing of an act compelling the registration of the *birth* of children, not indeed as a *religious* rite, for that would in many cases be to interfere in a matter of conscience—a proceeding quite at variance with the spirit of the times;—but as a *civil* regulation. In this respect we are greatly behind our continental neighbours, who have for many years been in the use of a system of registration, forming part of the celebrated Code Napoleon, which is attended with neither hardship nor difficulty to either the parents or the registering officers, and which is found perfectly to answer the important ends for which it was designed.

The second section of the volume is occupied with tables exhibiting the financial and commercial condition of the United Kingdom. The statements are for the most part taken up from the commencement of the war in 1792. Some accounts are carried back even to an earlier period, while others, owing probably to the imperfectness of the materials, are made to commence more recently. To the same reason—the imperfect nature of the parliamentary records—it is probably owing that the commercial details in Mr. Marshall's volume are less complete than the Tables recently compiled under the authority of the Board of Trade, the appearance of which we have already noticed in our first volume (pp. 122 and 190). The printed returns, to which alone Mr. Marshall could have access, have too frequently been compiled without regard to system and without any attempt at continuity, a fact which must incalculably have increased the labour of the present compilation. In this branch of the subject—the commercial—the peculiar usefulness of Mr. Marshall's tables will be found in the returns which he gives of a date prior to 1820, the first year embraced by the Government Tables.

We take it for granted that Mr. Marshall's data are *all* drawn—so far at least as concerns these kingdoms—from parliamentary documents, but it would have been satisfactory to those who have access to these documents had he more frequently stated the particular papers from which

his different tables are respectively compiled. It is often necessary, to a right appreciation of their contents, that the person by whom they are consulted, and who would draw inferences from the facts which they disclose, should be acquainted with the date when they were compiled, in order to form some judgment of the peculiar circumstances under which they were called for by parliament. Our own experience in such matters occasions us to know, that many separate parliamentary papers must necessarily have been brought together by Mr. Marshall for the formation of single tables, which papers, having been called for at various times, to suit the passing occasion, or to support the particular views of individual members of parliament, contain points of disagreement with each other which, although apparently slight, take away in great part from the authority of the whole as data for comparison. This is an evil which, however serious, is probably beyond remedy, and which certainly neither Mr. Marshall nor any other individual could hope to overcome. We mention it, not with the view of lessening the merit of this compilation, but simply as a warning to persons who might otherwise draw inferences and deductions from it which would possibly not be borne out by facts.

Mr. Marshall supplies an important omission in the Government Tables by giving the detailed charges of collecting various branches of the public revenue. Too watchful an eye can hardly be kept upon this item of expenditure, which yet it has, for the most part, been customary to keep out of view, by bringing forward in the financial accounts only the net amount of each branch of income. We think it would be difficult to assign a good reason why any portion of the taxes should be intercepted in their way to the Exchequer. The simple, and, as it appears to us, the only correct system whereby a proper control could be maintained over the public expenditure in all its branches, would be to pay to the public accountant every penny that is collected, drawing out again from his hands the sums necessary to pay the expenses of the collection in the same manner as moneys are drawn for every other branch of the public service. It is understood that some measure is about to be introduced into parliament for the regulation of the Exchequer, and for abolishing the barbarous system which has been so long perpetuated. Let us hope that the alteration will be effectual, and that we shall no longer witness the absurdity of using, in our national account books, numerals which it is impossible to add together in columns, and a language which none but the initiated can read or understand. It is a disgrace to us that our public accounts in this department, which should form an efficient check over the financial operations of every other branch of the government, are kept in a manner of which any private merchant or trader would be ashamed.

Awarding great praise to Mr. Marshall for the patient industry which he has shown in the performance of what we must consider a useful work, we may yet take occasion to point out in what respects that work might, in our opinion, have been rendered still more useful. In the first place, a more perfect classification and arrangement of the various matters might have been easily made, and by that means the facility of reference would have been much increased. In the first section this want of arrangement is shown by placing various "statistical displays" of different foreign countries in the midst of matters applying to the United Kingdom. The same remark applies to the second section, where also we find financial and commercial statements intermixed without any seeming order. It might have been well, too, had the compiler omitted from the tables certain deductions which are the fruit of his own peculiar conceptions, and about which there is room for much controversy, while sometimes these deductions are given in a manner which might lead a cursory reader to imagine that they form part of the documents whence the tables are compiled. For instance, the table (pp. 62, 63) of the official value of goods exported in each of the eighteen years, 1814—1831, professes also to show the "excess of value exported over and above the value imported," and calculations are given whereby this excess is made to appear to amount during the eighteen years to more than 330 millions of money. No one who is conversant with the manner in which our Custom-House statements have usually been rendered to parliament would perhaps be deceived by these calculations. It has appeared advisable to the legislature to adopt certain fixed or *official* rates of value for every description of merchandize without reference to the fluctuations of markets, or to the decreasing cost of production through the adoption of improved methods of manufacture; and hence the statements thus compiled must always be at variance with the truth. The only merit indeed which is attributed to this method of computation (erroneously as we think) is, that it affords means for comparing the quantities of goods exported at different periods. Given, however, as the statement referred to is by Mr. Marshall, without any explanation whatever, as exhibiting an actual "excess of exports over imports" to so enormous an amount, it has a tendency grossly to mislead persons who are not sufficiently informed upon the subject, and who do not reflect on the little probability there is that our merchants would go on year after year making such splendid gifts to foreigners, if even the capabilities of the country would have proved adequate to supply so constant and so enormous a drain. So long as Mr. Marshall confines the expression of his peculiar doctrines and opinions to notes, we have not so great an objection to their insertion, however much we may disagree with him in his reasoning, but it is altogether a different matter when calculations are superadded to the body of the tables in a manner which makes it difficult, even for one practised in the study, to separate from the facts that part which is only assumption.

In some cases Mr. Marshall has brought together, so as to exhibit at one view, various matters which have, or are supposed to have, an influence upon each other, a plan which when pursued with judgment and a knowledge of the subject, must be useful in a very high degree. We cannot say, however, that in the volume before us the requisite degree of judgment and knowledge appear to have been always manifested in these compilations. There is at page 122, what appears to us a notable instance of this want of judgment. The statement there inserted shows for each year, from 1798 to 1832, the amount of taxation in the United Kingdom—the official and the declared value of British produce and manufactures exported—the mean value respectively of gold, wheat, and manufactures,—that is, the relative proportion between the official and the declared value—"the equivalent of taxes in ounces of gold, quarters of wheat and official value of manufactures"—the amount of parochial assessments—the average price of wheat—and the equivalent of parochial assessments in quarters of wheat. This table has been compiled with the avowed object of showing "the inordinate pressure of taxation in 1832 as compared with 1798," which effect is shown not by any reference to the amount of population and the evidences of wealth throughout the country, but by an exhibition of what is called "the equivalent of taxes in official value of manufactures," and this "equivalent" is obtained by a mystical calculation which we may defy all the pseudo-statists in Christendom to show has any solid foundation. The whole affair is a piece of mystification, which may confound, but can never convince, and which we should have deemed really too absurd for comment, but that the table has been thought deserving of praise and of insertion in a respectable daily paper, the chief merit of which does not, it is true, consist in its enlightened views on subjects of public economy.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Marshall has not availed himself of the various sources of information which were open to him for procuring statistical facts of later dates than those he has inserted regarding different countries in Europe. The public accounts of France are made up very promptly and with great precision, and might easily have been obtained for as recent a period as 1832, whereas the statement of the revenue of that country is given only for 1824. We have nothing inserted of a later date than 1826 regarding Holland and Belgium, two kingdoms in which the science of statistics is cultivated with assiduity, and where every kind of information of that kind is to be procured, carefully brought down to the most recent period. In both those countries there are public functionaries charged with the collection and arrangement of statistical facts, and every year volumes are printed and circulated by them under the sanction of their respective governments.

APPROACHING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

The "Notices of motions which now stand in the order book of the House of Commons, for the next session," amount

in number to a hundred and thirty-four, and fill nine folio pages in the Votes. They stand in the names of eighty-one members, one of whom, Mr. Buckingham, has eight notices; two others, Mr. O'Connell and Colonel Evans, six each; three others, Mr. Pryme, Mr. Ewart, and Mr. Wallace of Greenock, four each: six others, Mr. Wilks, Sir William Ingilby, Mr. Barron, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Faithful, and Mr. J. Murray, three each; fifteen others, Sir A. Agnew, Mr. Cayley, Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Finn, Mr. Shiel, Mr. G. F. Young, Mr. Pease, Mr. E. Ruthven, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Tooke, Colonel Williams, Mr. Bish, and Mr. Rotch, two each; and the remaining fifty-four one each.

Supposing the session to last for seven months, if all these motions shall be brought on separately, there will, after allowing for the Easter recess and a few lost days, be a trifle more than one sitting for the discussion of each. As, however, there is a great deal of business, strictly belonging to the year, that must be dispatched, such as the budget, the estimates, and other matters indispensable to the regular movement of the government, and as, moreover, the list certainly does not comprise even all the measures of general policy that are likely to be introduced, either in the one house or the other, we fear many of the honourable members, who have thus bespoke a hearing for their projects and speculations, will have to be contented with a much shorter allowance. It appears to us that it would be convenient for all parties, and especially for the public, if an arrangement could be come to, founded, as far as possible, upon the principle of dividing the hundred and thirty-four threatened motions into bundles, according to their nature and objects, and then disposing of them by a dozen or half a dozen at a time. There are, at least, seventy or eighty of them which might, we think, be very commodiously assorted in this way into about a tenth of that number of packages; and they include most of those which would probably occasion the greatest trouble, if they were to be encountered singly. The others could, many of them, be made over to the morning sitting, and got through along with the petitions and the private business. We shall, in the following observations, offer a rude outline of the mode in which this marshalling of the undisciplined throng might be attempted, and shall also take occasion to intersperse a few remarks touching the principles involved in some of the more remarkable among the propositions of innovation and change with which we are about to be assailed.

If all the motions announced were to be carried, we should have change not a little. The public reforms for the year range from the constitution of parliament down to that of parish vestries. The conditions of the elective franchise are to be altered—the Septennial Act is to be repealed—the bishops are to be turned out of the House of Lords—Ireland is to have a legislature of her own sitting in College Green—a new disposition is to be made of the property of the English church according to the summary process of Mr. Faithful—the present system of patronage of livings in the Church of Scotland is to be abolished. Now we would ask, in the first place, is not all this rather too much to be properly gone about in one session? "When the hurly-burly's done," will it be well done? Supposing even that all these schemes were the wisest possible, would not their patriotic authors act with more good sense, and give themselves a better chance of speedy success, if they would not crowd and jostle one another so, but would march with some sort of order and array?

There are some of the proposed reforms, however, which, let them be brought forward as they may, must, before they are adopted, undergo a very different kind of discussion from any they have yet received. Such, in particular, are those having in view either the abolition or the degradation of the church. The partizans of this class of projects may be assured that they will not carry their point by assailing the establishment from the narrow ground on which alone they have heretofore erected their batteries. They seem to think that they shall be able to puff down the church with a little wind of doctrine. They discharge sermons at it and theological arguments. But really the question is not a theological one at all. If the theological tenets at present maintained by the church were to be abandoned to-morrow by all the world, the political foundations on which the institution really stands would remain the same as ever.

There are, we believe, seven of the announced motions of which the rights of the church, or the alteration of the law with regard to the political state of its members, are the subject. One, coming from Colonel Williams, is in very comprehensive terms. It is entitled, a "motion for the reform of the United Church of England and Ireland, as by law established; for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose; and for the appointment of a commission for its execution." Another, by Mr. Faithful, is for a "bill to regulate and render more equal the incomes of the bishops and clergy." There are no fewer than three others having for their common object the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords. They proceed from Sir William Ingilby, Mr. Gillon, and Mr. Rippon. It is to aid in effecting the same end, we presume, that Mr. Pryme proposes to bring in a bill to allow the clergy to sit in the House of Commons. And finally, there is Mr. Divett's motion for a "bill to abolish all compulsory levies of church rates and mortuaries in England and Wales."

We would propose that the authors of all these six last-mentioned motions should get Colonel Williams (which we dare say they might easily do) to introduce their several propositions into his bill of general reform, so that the whole subject might be taken up at once. But we must protest against the debate being carried on as if the matter to be settled were a point in divinity. We have, we believe, as much respect for the New Testament as any of those public writers who labour this argument with the most persevering expenditure of chapter and verse knowledge; but we cannot go to the epistles of St. Paul for an exposition of the English constitution. The lords spiritual, certainly, do not bear any remarkable resemblance to the apostles: we admit this without insisting that it should be proved by a series of elaborate dissertations. But it does not seem necessarily to follow, from the establishment of this point, that we ought to have no such order of men in the state as bishops. Expedient or the reverse, the admission of such an order of men to seats in the legislature, is not defended upon any pretence that the apostles enjoyed that distinction. The purpose can only be rationally considered as a purely political one. Those who object altogether to a House of Lords, may, rationally enough perhaps, dislike lords spiritual as much as lords temporal. If they can succeed in putting down the one, they may think it will be the easier afterwards to put down the other; and, as the cry of the hour happens to be especially directed against the bishops, they are very well pleased to voice it for a while in concert with many a simple enthusiast, with whose general spirit and objects they would not care to be considered as having much sympathy. But we confess we should like to see from any quarter a plain, straightforward, and cordial defence of a house of hereditary legislators, and of a hereditary monarchy, including anything like a consistent argument for ejecting the spiritual peers.

We can conceive only one principle upon which such a demonstration could be erected—the principle that birth and descent are everything, and that all the higher places in the commonwealth should be reserved for these alone. If this doctrine were admitted, there would certainly be a good reason why the bishops should not sit in the House of Peers. And there would be an equally good reason why the general body of the people should be deprived of all those other means and chances by which at present we every day see some of their number lifted to an equality with the realm's proudest hereditary nobles. If, having an order of hereditary nobility, we wish that they should form an impregnably close and over-riding aristocracy, an iron feudalism worse than that of the middle ages, then we shall call out for cutting off all those avenues of communication by which low-born men in this kingdom are wont to mount to high estate, and the institution of the church and its parliamentary prelates among the rest. But, retaining our other fundamental institutions, our hereditary monarchy, our hereditary peerage, and our laws of primogeniture,—all tending to concentrate the powers of the state in the hands of an insulated oligarchy,—should we, the people, be gainers either by the abolition of the church, or by the diminution of its property, its dignity, or its authority? Is not this peculiarly our part in the commonwealth—the estate to an interest in which the poorest man is born—the public fund which alone can never be absorbed by particular individuals or particular families? We hear much vehement declamation against the union of church and state; but the bad names which are given to this alliance, as far as we have observed, seem to have been all suggested by aversion to

the present theology of the Church of England. But the essence of the question really does not lie in a quarrel about creeds. The consideration to be looked to is this; that if we do away with the church, as one of the powers in the state, leaving everything else standing as it is, we materially change the existing balance of forces and interests; and in what direction shall we thereby weaken and in what strengthen the action of the political machine? As for the theology of the church, if it be objectionable, let it be amended; if it be too narrow, let it be liberalized; all this has been done before, and the church, as a political establishment, has remained what it was. We are, however, far from saying that even in the details of the political constitution of the church there may not be much demanding alteration and reform. A comprehensive measure of church reform is expected from his Majesty's ministers; but it will not, we imagine, be based upon the scheme of reverting to the state of things in the apostolic age. It will provide remedies for abuses that dishonour and weaken the church; and its main object, we have no doubt, will be to strengthen the institution, not to undermine it or pull it down. It will not be a measure either of destruction or of plunder, but of conservation and justice.

In connection with these menaced attacks upon the English church, we may notice Mr. Sinclair's intended motion for referring the petitions presented on the subject of lay patronage in Scotland during the last session to a select committee. The object of the Hon. Member is, we believe, to have the clergy in Scotland elected by popular suffrage. We hope the Government will not be weak enough to give any countenance to this precious project. It would, truly, operate with striking effect in mitigating sectarian animosities, in promoting the peace of parishes, and, above all, in elevating the character of the clergy! Why is it not proposed to make the clergyman altogether dependent upon his congregation—to give them the power of dismissal as well as of nomination? Both rights were originally contended for, and long exercised, among the dissenters, whose policy Mr. Sinclair appears to have taken for his model; but their directors have found it necessary of late years to do everything in their power to protect the minister once chosen against the risk of being turned off by his constituents. It is, we believe, the fact, that for a considerable time past the church courts among the Burghers (the only considerable body of dissenters there) have made it a rule in no case to give their sanction to the appointment of a clergyman without exacting from the congregation a legal bond for the payment of his stipend. The consequence is, that, although they should even go off in a swarm to another meeting-house, they do not rid themselves of the burthen of supporting their minister. We have never heard it alleged that the introduction of this practice has been productive of any bad effects on the character or usefulness of the Burgher clergy; indeed, it is universally acknowledged to have improved both their comfort and their respectability. Here then we have, to a certain extent, a recognition of the principle that the clergyman should be independent of his flock, founded upon experience of the operation of the opposite principle. We know that Mr. Sinclair is a warm friend of the established church; but he cannot fail to be aware that its overthrow is the avowed object of many of the most active agitators in favour of his proposed plan. He will see, when he brings it forward in the House of Commons, whether it will not be supported by all those Honourable Members who are known to be opposed to establishments altogether.

The most important motion in the list going directly to effect the constitution of parliament is that which stands in the name of Mr. O'Connell, who has at last given notice of a bill to accomplish the object about which he has been so long vapouring in newspapers and declaiming at public meetings,—"the re-establishment of a domestic legislature in Ireland." The motion, and another by which it is to be preceded, embodying a resolution declaratory of the means by which the destitution (?) of the parliament of Ireland was effected, &c., stand the fourth and fifth on the list of notices, so that the subject may be expected to be brought forward early in the session. There is also a counter proposition to be submitted by Mr. Bish, who is "to move an address to his Majesty, praying him to hold his Court and Parliament occasionally in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland." We shall be curious to see whether the repeal or the itinerating scheme will have most votes. Within the limits of legislation of a more common-place description, we find several notices for an alteration of the present period during which members of the House of Commons may hold their seats. Mr. Tennyson announces in general terms a "bill for shortening the duration of parliaments." The Right Honourable Gentleman will be enabled in this way, when he brings on his motion, to take what course circumstances may seem to render most expedient, and to come forward as the advocate of either quinquennial, triennial, or annual parliaments, as he may, upon consideration, see good. Mr. Wilks, with perhaps less policy, gives notice of a "bill to prevent the duration of parliaments longer than three years;" and Colonel Evans is also to move to the same effect. On the other hand, Mr. Chichester proposes "to repeal the Septennial Act, and to limit the duration of parliaments to five years." The question of a duration of seven, five, or three years, is one as to which a difference of opinion may be expected to exist among reasonable politicians. There is one argument in favour of a long, rather than a very short, term, which we do not recollect to have seen stated. As the members of the House of Lords retain their seats for life, it would seem to be worth consideration whether there might not be danger of too much weakening the power of the representatives of the people in the state by greatly abridging the period for which they are elected. It is one of the reasons urged against the septennial law that it has tended to make the House of Commons too powerful, as against the people; but it is to be recollected that, especially since the late Reform, which has so much diminished the influence of the aristocracy in elections, the same long tenure of their seats must also have the effect of strengthening the Commons as against the Lords. The object ought to be to keep our representatives both responsible individually, and powerful as a body. We should say, for instance, that the above consideration, although there were no other reasons, was decisive against annual parliaments, which might, indeed, by an effort of convulsive energy, throw off a House of Peers altogether, but would, we think, in ordinary times, and in the steady and regular march of government, act under great disadvantages in association with that permanent body. It is worth while to consider in how far the same objection might apply to triennial parliaments.

There are a variety of other notices proposing amendments of clauses in the Reform Act—bills for preventing bribery, and expenditure of any kind, at elections—improvements in the constitution of election committees—the disfranchisement of certain boroughs, &c., which we must pass over. Mr. O'Connell announces another attempt to reform the system of reporting, by a motion "to rescind the rules of this House against the publication of the debates, and to declare that any partial or unfair report of the debates of this House be a breach of its privileges." He is also to move that the House shall in future meet at a quarter before ten in the morning, and rise at eight o'clock in the afternoon. It is kind in the Honourable Member to give himself so much trouble in setting matters to right in an assembly from which he proposes so soon to withdraw himself. A select committee to consider and revise the whole of the standing orders is also to be proposed by Mr. Buckingham. The entire number of the notices bearing upon the constitution or procedure of parliament is, we think, twenty-five.

The annual campaign against taxes and sinecures promises to be vigourously urged. Mr. Ruthven will make an effort to prevent the resolution which he carried last session from remaining a dead letter by moving for a "select committee, to inquire into the state of all sinecure places, with a view to the immediate abolition thereof, in all cases where such sinecures are not held in consequence of having been merited by public services; and also for the purpose of inquiring into the cases of any sinecurists who might be subjected to distress and difficulty by their removal from such offices; so that a reasonable relief might be afforded to them, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of each individual." Mr. Methuen has a notice nearly to the same effect, embracing "all pensions, allowances, or payments, which constitute a charge upon the public purse;" and Mr. Harvey also proposes to move for a "select committee on the pension list." On the subject of taxation we have a resolution for a commutation of taxes, standing in the name of Mr. Robinson—another, in the name of Lord Chandos, declaring the necessity of granting a reduction of taxation to the agricultural inter-

£ 361,168

seven resolutions from General Palmer in favour of the substitution for all other taxes of a "tax on realized property." To these general propositions may be added, Mr. Buckingham's resolution "for the gradual redemption of the national debt, without any increase of the present burthens of the country." We do not understand the plan as it is announced. The only motions for the repeal of particular taxes are those by Mr. Pease for the repeal of the duties upon coals exported, and upon bricks—by Sir William Ingilby for the total repeal of the tax on malt—by Mr. E. L. Bulwer for the repeal, at the earliest possible period, of the stamp-duty on newspapers—and by Sir S. Whalley for the repeal of the taxes on houses and windows by the 5th of April next. Colonel Evans also gives notice of a motion for an inquiry into the alleged inequalities, fraud, and partiality practised in assessments of the house-duty, with the object of ascertaining what amount of arrears might be recovered under the circumstances.

The only member who has announced an attack upon the corn-laws—our heaviest tax—is Mr. Fryer, who intimates his intention to bring in a bill for their repeal. Mr. Vernon has a notice of a "bill to regulate the sale of corn by weight instead of quantity." The most important motion announced on the subject of the commercial policy of the country is that which is to be made by Mr. G. F. Young for a "bill to repeal the Act 4 Geo. IV., c. 77, commonly termed the Reciprocity of Duties Act." We have discussed this subject at length in another article; and we shall only say here that Mr. Young's motion, as the honourable gentleman must himself know very well, has no chance whatever of being carried, while the statements and arguments of its supporters, if it shall really be brought forward, are most certain to receive a demolishing confutation. We confess, therefore, that we shall not be surprised if the session shall pass without the threatened discussion being brought on after all. The opponents of the Reciprocity of Duties Act had better keep their speeches for meetings at the London Tavern, or elsewhere, where all present are of their own opinion. If it is determined, however, that the motion shall be made, it would be most appropriately debated immediately after Mr. O'Connell's proposal for the Repeal of the Union. Mr. Young has a notice of another motion of a much more reasonable description, and in which he is more likely to be successful—that for a "bill to alter and amend the Act for the Registry of British Vessels." There is certainly room for reform here. Mr. Lyall also proposes to bring in a bill to repeal, among other old enactments, so much of the Act of 7 and 8 Wm. III. c. 21, as prescribes the deduction of sixpence per month from the wages of merchant seamen, for the support of Greenwich Hospital—a relief to which we admit that the shipping interest is fairly entitled. The only other important measure of commercial policy announced is, a bill to be brought forward by Mr. Ewart, "for the equalization of the duties on East and West India produce." This reform, however, to have any chance of success, ought to proceed from the Government.

In the department of general law reform, the Solicitor-General will renew his bill to take away "the Punishment of Imprisonment for Debt," which we trust will pass into a law before the termination of another session. A bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt in Scotland for sums below 10*l.* will also be introduced by Mr. Ewing. From the dissimilar state of the existing law in the two parts of the kingdom, we should suppose this measure must be founded upon somewhat different principles from that proposed by the Solicitor-General. Four notices respecting other alterations of the law of Scotland stand in the name of Mr. Wallace of Greenock. Mr. Ewart will also again introduce the bill which he brought forward last session, for enabling prisoners to make their defence by counsel or attorney. Upon the desirableness of this change in the law we have already expressed our opinion.

We have mentioned under other heads some of the most remarkable among the Irish notices—of which there are fifteen on the list—a small proportion, we fear, of the applications from the sister island that are in reserve for the session. Among the number is a notice by Mr. Barron of a motion for a select committee to inquire into how far tithes [illegible] Ireland might be restored to what the Honourable Member [illegible]tution is pleased to call their original uses—"the support of the [illegible] There are the education of the people, and the support of the [illegible]ich the [illegible]. The object of another, by Mr. Finn, is to get the [illegible] to declare its opinion, "that a tax ought to be imposed upon Irish absentee property, the produce to be expended in Ireland upon works of public utility." This is a piece of folly which we may be certain parliament will not commit.

Of the great Government departments, the Post-Office seems to have attracted the greatest share of attention from the reformers of abuses. Mr. Wallace gives notice of a "select committee, to inquire into the whole system and management of the Post-Offices of Great Britain and Ireland;" and Lord Lowther is also to propose certain resolutions, drawn up in conformity with the recommendations of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry, and having especially in view, we are glad to perceive, the important object of the transmission of Newspapers beyond seas. Colonel Leith Hay is to move for an inquiry into the state of the Excise Laws; and Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer, for a "select committee, to inquire into the state of our diplomacy, with a view to see whether it may not be rendered more generally efficient."

Of the other intimations in the list, we can only enumerate a few of those that are most important or curious. Under one or other description we may class Mr. Buckingham's intended motions—for "the education of all the children of the country out of the funds of the respective religious bodies to which their parents may belong"—for the prevention of duelling—for remedying the increasing prevalence of intemperance and immorality in the principal sea-ports and large manufacturing towns—for abolishing impressment—and for repealing the usury laws. Mr. James Kennedy has also a notice on the subject of "the laws relating to contracts for the loan of money"—and Mr. Harvey another of a motion for a "select committee, to inquire into the nature and extent of the various descriptions of property which are or might be applied to the education of the people;"—so that there is a prospect of the Honourable Member for Sheffield not being left to sustain quite alone the fatigues of the somewhat extensive and varied field of legislation he has chalked out for himself. We ought also to mention here that the business of the session is to be opened by Sir Andrew Agnew, this time doubly armed, with one Sabbath-day bill, namely, for England, and another for Scotland. The abolition of military flogging, the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Bill, and that of the Royal Marriage Act, are to be severally moved by Major Fancourt, Mr. John Murray, and Colonel Williams. Finally, Mr. Buckingham is to move for the abrogation or repeal of any law, custom, or usage, by which copies of all new publications are claimed by the Universities.

How much of all this embryo legislation may be destined to add to the bulk of our already enormous statute book, time only can tell. A large majority of the Honourable Members will, we fear, take nothing by their motions. It is tolerably clear, however, that we shall have talk enough in the coming session, however the work may get on; and after all, of the two evils, bad speeches are preferable to bad laws.

PAROCHIAL REGISTRATION.

A REPORT has appeared from a select committee, appointed last session by the House of Commons, to consider this important subject, of which it was our intention to have given a somewhat full abstract; but the length to which our article on the shipping interest has extended, in our anxiety to present a complete exposition of a question which great pains have been taken to place in a false light, which engages much of the public attention, and which it is understood is about to be brought before parliament early in the approaching session, has made it impossible to find room in our present Number for anything beyond a notice of the general conclusion at which the committee have arrived.

The report, after a detail of the previous attempts that have been made to effect the object to which it refers, recommends "that a national civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths, should be established; that such registration should equally include all ranks of society, and religionists of every class; that in the forms such improvements should be made, as, avoiding perplexity and needless multiplication of statements, might direct inquirers to the parents or last ancestor of each person recorded, and assist medical and statistical inquirers in useful research; that a parochial arrangement should be continued; that a duplicate of each register should always be kept; that such duplicate should be periodically transmitted to the metropolis, where

a general national office should be formed, a superintending authority should exist, and alphabetical and accurate indexes and abstracts should be prepared; that the parochial charges should be defrayed by moderate salaries or small fees, payable by respectable inhabitants, and out of the rates for persons in more indigent circumstances, or receiving relief; while the metropolitan office would be supported by payments on searches, and an allowance of 1*d.* on every entry which each parish should send." Three propositions are submitted as to who should be the registrar in each parish: the first, that a new civil officer should be appointed to act as such; the second, that the clergyman should perform the duty; the third, that a registrar should be annually or triennially elected by the inhabitants. As to which of these suggestions should be adopted, they decline to decide. Upon another important point they express themselves as follows:—"Your committee are convinced that a register of deaths (and even if the malady and cause of mortality be inserted) will be easily attained by prohibiting interment without entry; and that even the labouring and most illiterate among the people will perceive the benefits of the design, and will, as in France, and Geneva, and Belgium, and on the Continent, cheerfully help, rather than obstruct the improvement, and especially if information be required from midwives, and parochial assistance be withheld for children whose birth shall not be inscribed."

THE REVENUE.

I.—An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain in the Years ended 5th of January, 1833, and 5th of January, 1834, showing the Increase or Decrease on each head thereof.

	Year ended January 5, 1833.	Year ended January 5, 1834.
	£	£
Customs	15,559,882	14,946,988
Excise	14,657,221	14,840,962
Stamps	6,515,344	6,498,686
Taxes	4,943,885	4,892,058
Post Office	1,323,000	1,386,000
Miscellaneous	59,853	57,133
Total Ordinary Revenue	43,059,185	42,621,827
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	320,154	315,018
Total Income	43,379,339	42,936,845
The Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund	27,231,875	27,843,959
Ditto to pay off Exchequer Bills charged on Sugar Duty	2,619,199	3,410,022
Ditto as part of the Ways and Means of the year	13,528,265	11,682,864
Total	43,379,339	42,936,845
Decrease on the Year	£442,494	

II.—Income and Charge of the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended the 5th of January, 1833 and 1834.

INCOME.	Qrs. ended January 5, 1833.	Qrs. ended January 5, 1834.
	£	£
Customs—Consolidated Duties	2,775,507	2,664,469
Sugar applicable to the Consolidated Fund	. .	501,692
Total Customs	2,775,507	3,166,161
Excise	3,966,488	4,264,493
Stamps	1,575,955	1,575,112
Taxes	1,902,823	1,808,701
Post Office	338,000	324,000
Miscellaneous	49,133	56,973
	10,607,906	11,195,440
To Cash brought to this Account to replace the like sum issued, or to be issued, out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland, for Supply and other Services	236,144	376,578
	10,844,050	11,572,018

CHARGE.	Qrs. ended January 5, 1833.	Qrs. ended January 5, 1834.
	£	£
Permanent Debt	7,829,249	7,814,839
Terminable Annuities	428,833	482,605
Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the charge on the Consolidated Fund	6,965	9,358
Sinking Fund	116,848	259,483
The Civil List	127,500	127,500
Other charges on the Consolidated Fund, including Civil Government Services formerly paid out of the Civil List, or the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown	324,333	336,224
Total Charge	8,833,728	9,030,000
The Surplus	2,010,322	2,542,018
	10,844,050	11,572,018
The Amount of Exchequer Bills issued to meet the charge on the Consolidated Fund for the Quarter ended and paid off out of the growing produce of that Fund for the Quarter ended October 10, 1833	.. ..	4,497,059
The Amount issued in the Quarter ended January 5, 1834, in part of the sums granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund for Supply Services	2,887,941	—
The Surplus of the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended January 5, 1834	2,542,018	345,923
The probable amount of Exchequer Bills required to meet the charge on the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended January 5, 1834	.. ..	4,842,982

FRENCH AND ENGLISH COINAGE.

Money Coined in France according to the Decimal System, to the 31st of December, 1832.

	Gold, denominative value.	Silver, denominative value
COINED.	Francs.	Francs.
To the 31st Dec., 1831	1,020,285,620	2,365,015,234
During the year 1832	2,011,000	142,117,038
Totals	1,022,296,620	2,507,132,272
IMPRESS.		
Napoléon Bonaparte	528,024,440	887,830,055
Louis XVIII.	389,333,060	614,830,109
Charles X.	52,918,920	632,511,320
Louis Philippe	52,020,200	371,960,787
Similar Totals	1,022,296,620	2,507,132,272

Total denominative value of the gold and silver coined to the 31st December, 1832 . 3,529,428,892f.

Note relative to the copper and billon in circulation from 1726 to 1794.

		Francs.
There had been coined in billon		300,075
In copper		10,244,394
In bell-metal		19,232,543
Law of the 15th August, 1795, in copper		4,385,411
——— 24th October, 1796, ditto		9,927,371
——— 17th February, 1799, ditto		9,324,918
——— 15th September, 1807, billion	3,286,226	
Blockade of Strasburg	175,133	
		3,461,359
	Total	56,876,071

The following is the state of the English coinage during the period which we have had under consideration:—

From 1805 to 1814 there was coined at the English Mint in gold		£2,279,386
In silver		871
		2,280,257
From 1814 to 1832, both inclusive, there was coined in gold	£50,961,995	
In silver, from 1814 to 1829, both inclusive	9,118,906	
		60,080,911
		£62,361,168

And therefore during the period from 1805 to 1814 the French coinage exceeded the English in the sum of 53,882,158*l.*; and during the period from 1814 to 1832 the French coinage exceeded the English in the sum of 23,758,094*l.*

The total of the French coinage from 1805 to 1814 being		£56,162,415
And the total of the English coinage during the same period being		2,280,257
		58,442,672
And the total of the French coinage from 1814 to 1832 being	£83,839,005	
And the total of the English coinage during the same period being	60,080,911	
		143,919,916
This gives a grand total of for the coinage of France and Great Britain from 1805 to 1832, both inclusive.—"Times."		£202,362,588

STATISTICS OF FRANCE.

From the Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes.

In 1831, there were throughout France 246,238 marriages; there were born 986,709 children; and the deaths amounted to 802,761; showing an increase in the population of 183,948. During the fifteen years from 1817 to 1831 inclusive, there were 14,532,178 births: of which 7,041,247 were of females, and 7,490,931 of males.

Of Paris, the return is for the year 1832. In that year there were celebrated 6,767 marriages; of which 5,315 were between bachelors and spinsters, 894 between widowers and spinsters, 347 between bachelors and widows, and 211 between widowers and widows.

The births amounted to 26,823; of which 13,494 were of males, and 12,789 of females. In 1831, the number of births had been considerably greater, having reached in that year the number of 29,530. In 1832, the legitimate children born in private houses were 8515 males and 8029 females, and the illegitimate were 2420 males and 2291 females. The legitimate children born in hospitals were 258 males and 244 females, and the illegitimate 2301 males and 2225 females. The number of acknowledged natural children was 2157, and of those abandoned 7080.

In consequence of the prevalence of the cholera, the number of deaths greatly exceeded the usual average. In 1831, they were 25,996; in 1832, they amounted in the whole to 44,463; of which 18,602 were attributed to the above-mentioned cause. Deaths from the effects of small-pox had, however, decreased; this year there being only 386, while in 1831 there were 482.

The consumption of the principal articles is considerably less than in the preceding year, most probably arising from the prevailing sickness and increased mortality of the season. The quantities of the different articles are stated as follows:—oxen, 68,408; cows, 15,290; calves, 60,237: sheep, 306,227; hogs, 67,241. The produce of poultry and game sold amounted to 6,660,590 francs; of fresh-water fish, 399,967 francs; of oysters, 731,590 francs; of butter, 9,196,274 francs; of eggs, 4,053,959 francs. The consumption of wine amounted to 595,585 hectolitres; of brandy, to 27,794 hectolitres; of beer, to 78,948 hectolitres; and of grapes, to 1,356,318 lbs. The consumption of hay amounted to 7,755,592 trusses; of straw to 11,511,976 trusses; and of oats to 893,873 hectolitres.

AMERICAN STATISTICS.

THE United States of America are at this moment in the enviable and most unusual condition of being able to liquidate every farthing of their public debt. By standing in this favourable position, they are enabled to adopt a system of custom-house duties without regard to its effect upon the public revenue, and hence it becomes exceedingly interesting to watch the progress of their foreign commerce. It were greatly to be wished that the advantages of their present financial situation could have been pushed to the extent of which they are susceptible, by the abolition of all custom-house duties and regulations; and that no particular interests should have been fostered under which it is now thought incumbent upon the States to support, by placing restrictions upon various objects of foreign productions, which might otherwise be brought ruinously into competition with their domestic manufactures.

This subject has already occasioned a very serious disagreement between those states which profit by the restrictions, and those others which feel aggrieved by them, and although the question has for a time been disposed of by a compromise between the opposite interests, it does not seem probable that the present tariff will be long acquiesced in by the southern or agricultural states of the Union, but that a series of alterations will be introduced from time to time which will have the effect of disturbing the foreign commercial relations of the Union.

The following table exhibits the value of the imports and exports of each state and territory of the Union during the year, which ended on the 30th September, 1832, the public accounts of the United States being always made up to that day in every year:—

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	VALUE OF IMPORTS.			VALUE OF EXPORTS.		
	In American Vessels.	In Foreign Vessels	Total.	Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total Value of Exports.
Maine	988,043	135,283	1,123,326	907,286	74,157	981,443
New Hampshire	115,051	120	151,171	115,582	. . .	115,582
Vermont	214,672	. . .	214,672	349,820	. . .	349,820
Massachusetts	17,670,184	448,716	18,118,900	4,656,635	7,337,133	11,993,768
Rhode Island	657,629	340	657,969	377,656	156,803	534,459
Connecticut	432,664	5,051	437,715	430,466	. . .	430,466
New York	48,728,649	4,485,753	53,214,402	15,057,250	10,943,695	26,000,945
New Jersey	45,757	24,703	70,460	53,991	7,803	61,794
Pennsylvania	9,960,114	718,244	10,678,358	2,008,991	1,507,075	3,516,066
Delaware	17,119	6,534	23,653	16,242	. . .	16,242
Maryland	4,138,242	491,061	4,629,303	3,015,873	1,481,045	4,449,918
District of Columbia	172,517	15,530	188,047	1,146,066	8,408	1,154,474
Virginia	422,052	131,587	553,639	4,493,916	16,734	4,510,650
North Carolina	195,590	19,594	215,184	338,246	3,795	342,041
South Carolina	597,953	615,772	1,213,725	7,685,833	66,898	7,752,731
Georgia	138,697	114,720	253,417	5,514,681	1,202	5,515,883
Alabama	245,408	61,437	306,845	2,733,554	2,833	2,736,387
Louisiana	5,446,225	3,425,428	8,871,653	14,105,118	2,425,812	16,530,930
Ohio	11,224	1,168	12,392	58,394	. . .	58,394
Florida Territory	77,791	29,996	107,787	62,636	3,080	65,716
Michigan Territory	22,648	. . .	22,648	9,234	. . .	9,234
Total Value in Dollars	90,298,229	10,731,037	101,029,266	63,137,470	24,039,473	87,176,943

The Value of the Domestic Produce Exported is stated as follows:—

	Dollars.
Derived from the Sea	2,558,538
from the Forest	4,247,794
Product of Animals	3,179,822
From Agriculture—Vegetable Food, Flour, Wheat, Rice, Indian Corn, &c.	8,352,494
Cotton	31,764,682
Tobacco	5,999,769
Flax Seed, Hops, Brown Sugar, &c.	159,726
Manufactures	6,461,764
Articles not enumerated	353,181
Total	63,137,470

The trade with this kingdom and its dependencies, during the year above stated, amounted in round numbers to the following amounts:—

Value of Imports	43,500,000 dollars.
Value of Exports, domestic produce	33,750,000
foreign produce	3,500,000

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

According to five Enumerations, taken from the Official Revision.

STATES.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.
Maine	96,540	151,714	228,705	298,335	399,955
New Hampshire	141,899	183,762	214,360	244,161	269,328
Vermont	85,416	154,464	217,713	235,764	280,652
Massachusetts	378,717	423,245	472,040	523,287	610,408
Rhode Island	69,110	69,118	77,031	83,059	97,199
Connecticut	238,141	251,002	262,042	275,202	297,665
New York	340,120	586,756	959,949	1,372,812	1,918,608
New Jersey	184,139	211,943	249,555	277,575	320,823
Pennsylvania	434,373	602,365	810,001	1,049,458	1,348,233
Delaware	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748
Maryland	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040
Virginia	748,308	880,200	974,622	1,065,379	1,211,405
North Carolina	393,751	478,103	555,545	638,829	737,987
South Carolina	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185
Georgia	82,548	162,101	252,433	340,987	516,823
Alabama			20,845	127,901	309,527
Mississippi		8,850	40,552	75,448	136,621
Louisiana			76,556	153,407	215,739
Tennessee	35,791	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904
Kentucky	73,077	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917
Ohio		45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903
Indiana		4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031
Illinois			12,282	55,211	157,455
Missouri			20,845	66,586	140,445
District of Columbia		14,093	24,023	33,039	39,834
Florida Territory					34,730
Michigan Territory			4,762	8,896	31,639
Arkansas Territory				14,273	30,388
Total	3,929,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,638,131	12,866,020

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JANUARY, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Our domestic history for the past month, as is usual when parliament is not sitting, has been marked by few events of note.

The new year came heralded, not ominously, we trust, by alarms of war, for which the public mind had been little prepared by any preceding signs. In consequence of the new relations recently entered into by Turkey with her old enemy Russia, it is understood that both France and England had conceived themselves called upon to make ready for the defence of interests of their own, which appeared to be threatened by the attitude that Russia had assumed. Accordingly, the naval squadrons of both in the Mediterranean were reinforced; and for a short time considerable apprehension was entertained as to what might be the result. The cloud, however, has since passed away almost as suddenly as it arose. It is said that the interference of Austria was exerted with effect in inducing the Autocrat to give such explanations and assurances as satisfied the two powers that they might with propriety suspend their hostile demonstrations. We shall state in our notice of French affairs what took place on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies. The fleets of the two nations have, in the mean time, returned from the Archipelago—the English to Malta and the French to Toulon.

This rumour of approaching war in the East still subsisted, when the public journals came forth with an announcement that we were also likely to be immediately engaged in hostilities in the West of Europe. Pressing applications are said to have been made by the ministers of Donna Maria in Portugal for aid from this country against Don Miguel; and it is acknowledged that some difference of opinion prevailed in the Cabinet as to the course to be followed. For the present, however, it seems to be decided that we shall not interfere; and the report of the Portuguese war has gone down like the other. The funds were slightly depressed during the existence of these apprehensions.

As the meeting of parliament draws near, some movements begin to be made in regard to various subjects likely soon to come before the legislature. Associations to effect the repeal of the Corn Laws have been formed in different parts of the country; and the new power of cheap periodical

publication has also been set in action to diffuse and advocate the views of their members. Meetings have again been held in several of the London parishes, and deputations sent to Lord Althorpe and Lord Melbourne, with the object of forcing the removal of the house and window taxes. In the agricultural districts the question of the commutation of tithes has been taken up with great eagerness; and there is every reason to believe that a settlement of it will be forced upon the government in the course of the ensuing session. An arrangement for the extinction of this most objectionable impost will probably, indeed, occupy a conspicuous place in the general plan of church reform which ministers are pledged to bring forward.

A veil still hangs, to a considerable extent, over the state and operations of the trades' unions, and those other associations of the labouring classes in towns, which have for some time past given rise to a good deal both of inconvenience and uneasiness. The battle, however, which the operatives have been waging with their masters by means of *strikes* in particular trades has not of late been carried on with the spirit of determination which was manifested some months ago, and certainly not with any results calculated to inspire its promoters with new hopes of ultimate success. An event, in every view of the most gratifying character, has occured within the last few days, in the open rejection by a body of mechanics in Sheffield of overtures which had been pressed upon them to engage in a scheme having nothing less for its end than the upsetting of the whole fabric of society as at present constituted, that its ruins might be made use of to erect another upon certain new principles, full indeed of promise, but hitherto lamentably barren of performance in every case in which their application has been tried. The Sheffield mechanics, after an examination of this new system, have not only declined having anything to do with it, or with the means by which it appears that its establishment is now to be attempted, but have exposed the folly and shallowness of the whole project, in a letter addressed to Mr. Owen, which, both for the talent with which it is composed and the spirit it breathes, deserves to be written in characters of gold. It is from the pen of Mr. Ebenezer Elliot, the distinguished author of the "Corn Law Rhymes" and other literary productions, which, mechanic as he is, place him high among the writers and men of genius of his day. The excellent qualities both of heart and head which Mr. Owen possesses, and of which they had had ample experience, are admitted and dwelt upon by Mr. Elliot and his friends with just admiration; but their sense of his philanthropic intentions does not blind them to the fallacies by which the worthy enthusiast is so strangely misled, or to the dangerous character of the advice which, under the influence of his mistaken views, he has of late been urging upon the operatives. The visionary nature of his promised regeneration is laid bare in so effective a style by a few home thrusts of Mr. Elliot's sharp and searching pen, that the dullest or most mystified eye can hardly fail to see the cheat.

The inquiry into the state of municipal corporations has been actively prosecuted during the month both in England and Ireland. The most remarkable incident that has occurred in connexion with this subject, is the publication of a circular by one of the aldermen of Norwich, calling upon the other civic functionaries throughout the kingdom to unite with him in resisting the threatened reform. The contest with parliament is to be carried on, it seems, by means of a committee of representatives or delegates from the different corporations, which is to sit in London.

The renewal of incendiarism in the agricultural districts had excited considerable uneasiness for some time before the close of the year; and during the past month there have been several fires, not only in Northamptonshire, Norfolk, and other more distant districts, but also in some of the counties in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis. Some instances of the infamous practice have also occurred in Forfarshire in Scotland—being the first, we believe, which has been known in that end of the island. Upon the whole, however, the cases appear to be scattered and quite unconnected—so that there seems to be no reason for apprehending that the crime is about to assume any very serious form.

In Ireland agitation has been carried on with great activity through the instrumentality both of the press and of public meetings by the leaders of the repeal faction; while, in various parts of the country, what is called predial agitation has been distinguishing itself by its usual course of violence and blood. A good many barbarous outrages have also been committed in some places by members of the trades' unions on persons obnoxious to these combinations. The political proceedings which have excited the greatest attention have been those connected with the case of Mr. Barrett, the editor of the "Dublin Pilot" newspaper, who had been found guilty of publishing a libel in reprinting one of Mr. O'Connell's inflammatory effusions which had originally appeared in a London journal. The Attorney-General intimated to Mr. Barrett that he should not be called up for judgment if he would supply the crown with the means of prosecuting the author of the libel; but this offer was declined, and Mr. Barrett was sentenced to imprisonment for six months and a fine of 100*l.* A prosecution is also pending against the proprietor of another Dublin newspaper, the "Evening Mail," for the publication of the same matter.

Intelligence from the West Indies has been for some time looked for with much interest, from the anxiety felt as to the reception of the measure for the emancipation of the slaves by the legislatures of the different islands. The speech delivered by Lord Mulgrave, on proroguing the legislative assembly of Jamaica, on the 18th of December, has arrived within these few days, and from this we learn that the assembly had, after long debating, adopted the new law. It would, appear, however, that considerable doubts had been expressed by many of the members, and were generally entertained in the colony, as to how the scheme would work in practice—especially while the negroes were passing through their proposed intermediate state of apprenticed labourers. It is understood that in compliance with an address from the legislature of Antigua, permission has been given by his majesty, that in that colony the slaves shall all be finally emancipated on the 1st of August next. Should this experiment prove successful, it is far from improbable that the example may be followed generally in the other islands.

FRANCE.

In our retrospect of 1833, published on the 1st of January of this year, we mentioned that the two Chambers met on the 23rd of December last, when the session was opened by King Louis Philippe in person. Nothing has since occurred to make us change our opinion, already expressed, that the ministry is gaining strength, and that the principles of moderation and constitutional monarchy are likely to obtain in France. M. Berenger, who was the fourth Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies in the former session, has, indeed, been again elected to that office, to the exclusion of the *Procureur-Général*, M. Persil, the ministerial candidate; but this vote can only be taken as expressive of the unpopularity of M. Persil as an individual, or at most of those prosecutions of the press of which he is understood to have been the adviser, as he has always certainly been the zealous agent and defender. M. Berenger's politics are those of the ministry.

The speech from the throne was sufficiently vague and generalized. The tranquillity of France had not been disturbed, but as "insensate passions and culpable manœuvres *were* still at work to undermine the foundation of social order, (the Republicans are probably more alluded to than the Carlists,) an inceasing vigilance was still essential. Popular instruction had received a salutary impulse—the public revenue had continued to improve—new laws of customs had been established. In Portugal, Donna Maria, and in Spain, Isabella II. had been acknowledged.

In the general debate on the Address, the clause of the King's speech which excited most interest was that relating to Turkey. His Majesty had merely said, "The Ottoman empire has been threatened with great perils—I have been anxious to hasten a pacification at once called for by the interests of France and the stability of European order—I shall continue my efforts to secure its preservation." In the course of the discussion, Baron Bignon, the chairman, as we should express it, of the committee which had prepared the draft of the Address, made a remarkable speech. He reviewed the conduct of Russia towards Poland, and denounced it as subversive of the treaties to which Russia was pledged. Assuming the prophetic tone, he spoke of the future triumphs of the Poles over their oppressors. In his view the dangers of Turkey were the direct consequence of the annihilation of Poland. He boldly asserted (but we

may doubt the fact) that in 1808 the late Emperor Alexander proposed to give up Spain, Portugal, Italy, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Albania, the Morea, and the Grecian islands to France, provided Napoleon would consent to his seizing Constantinople and the Dardanelles. According to M. Bignon, Alexander said that the Turkish capital would be merely a country town to him, and the Dardanelles the key to his house. On the same showing, Napoleon, magnanimously or politically, always turned a deaf ear to the proposal.

M. Bignon, however, did not confine himself to Russia and Turkey; he referred to the conduct and aims of Austria in Italy, and to the designs of Prussia as to the German confederation, at whose head she had placed herself. He said that the Congress now assembling at Vienna would add new links to the chain of the policy of these powers, and that their success would be treachery against France. He urged the necessity of being prepared for a hostile struggle; spoke with little respect of the partitioning or apportioning treaties of 1815, and more than hinted at the necessity of coming to a re-adjustment of the European territory.

The Duke de Broglie thanked M. Bignon for his oration, the sentiments of which were those of the Duke himself, and of his colleagues in office. A few days, however, after this decided approbation, de Broglie, seeing that he had gone too far, explained away nearly all that he had said in relation to Bignon's speech. Having thus placed himself in a false position the Duke resigned, but was shortly after *prevailed upon* by the King to remain in office. As yet the operations against Russia have been confined to words—loud, indeed, and deep, but still only words!

On New-Year's-Day the Russian ambassador, Pozzo di Borgo, delivered an address to Louis Philippe; it was complimentary—breathing nothing but peace and amity, and so was the King's reply. From a variety of Parisian newspapers published since the commencement of the year, we gather that there exist in France one party anxious to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard, and another equally anxious to make it appear that France is duped by England, who aims at drawing her into a war for the exclusive benefit of English interests.

In the same journals there are some lengthy discussions on a ministerial project of law for modelling a peculiar council of state, which, it is said, is to have a judiciary as well as administrative faculty, and, among other things, the entire management of the Admiralty Court.

The Minister of Finance, M. Humann, has produced his budget for 1834, from which it appears that the estimated expenditure of the state is 41,200,000*l.*—the revenue 39,860,000*l.* Thus there is a deficit of 1,340,000*l.*, which deficit being added to certain arrears, renders necessary a loan of 3,000,000*l.*

M. Thiers, the Minister of Commerce who lately visited England, is prosecuting his plans for the enlargement of the liberty of trade. An event has just occurred which is well calculated to impress the French people with the necessity of at least a partial change in their custom-house duties. Government having determined that rail-roads should be made at once, and on a grand scale, engineers were appointed, who surveyed six great lines of road from Paris to the departments, and prepared the requisite estimates. Everything seems to have been satisfactorily arranged upon paper, when the masters of the iron-works and forges humbly represented that it was utterly out of their power to furnish the quantity of iron necessary, or anything like that quantity, unless they were allowed some years to prepare it. This may probably induce a reduction of the import duty on foreign iron; and great and striking incidents like this, which must necessarily occur as nations extend their enterprise and civilization, will no doubt forcibly impel governments into the right paths, and gradually unshackle commerce in every part of the world. France, moreover, must have foreign coals to work advantageously the iron, when she gets it, for her own coal-mines are deficient both in quantity and quality. At this moment, next to Russia and Turkey, iron and coals appear to be the subjects that occupy the greatest share of the attention of public writers in France.

SPAIN.

Since the end of last year the Carlist faction have gained no advantages by means of arms, although they have maintained, and still maintain, a desultory guerilla warfare in the Biscayan provinces and in Navarre. They are, for the present, evidently unable to make head against the queen's party and supporters; and it appears to us that Don Carlos has lost an opportunity which will not again occur, and has proved, by his skulking in Portugal instead of throwing himself among his partisans, that he is not a man capable of achieving a crown through dangers and difficulties. It is worthy of remark, that these partisans of a despot are, and have for many ages been, of all the Spaniards those who have enjoyed the greatest share of civil liberty. The municipal and other privileges of the Guipuscoans and their neighbours were guaranteed in treaties by the Spanish sovereigns, and have ever been maintained by a bold people exceedingly jealous of encroachments on their liberty. How then arises the anomaly that the free are for the tyrant? Simply from these two circumstances,—1st, that the Biscayan provinces have received pledges from the Carlists that the *statu quo* of things shall be observed, and that they shall be maintained in all their exclusive privileges and advantages; and 2dly, that the queen-regent's government acting on a system of centralization and uniformity of administration, seemed to threaten that it would reduce the said privileged provinces to the same political level as the rest of the Spanish kingdom. If, instead of reducing the free to the level of the hitherto oppressed provinces, government could raise the oppressed to the level of the free, still allowing the latter (what indeed they deserve by their spirited and constant struggle for their rights) the enjoyment of some honorary distinctions and of some local laws and usages, we believe that the hardy guerillas, now in the mountains for Don Carlos, would soon return to their homes and become the peaceful subjects of the young queen. From the change that has just taken place in the queen's cabinet, it is certain that something of this sort will be done. We only fear that the generalizing spirit of the liberals may induce them to withhold the particular, but trifling concessions that may flatter and secure the people of the Biscayan provinces and of Navarre.

On the 30th of December, Zavallo, a Carlist chief, attacked a body of the Queen's troops commanded by Valdez al Durango in Biscay; but the affair was of slight importance. About the same time the priest Merino, who was endeavouring to revolutionize Castile, was beaten up; several of his adherents were shot, and he himself escaped with difficulty into Portugal, where he joined Don Carlos.

At the commencement of the year, a royal decree, dated the 28th of December, 1833, was carefully distributed through the kingdom. This decree declared the Council of Regency, which was nominated by King Ferdinand, in his will, to be the first and highest in the kingdom, and it allotted to each of its members an annual salary of about 3000*l.* This irremoveable and irresponsible Council was thus conciliated. At the same time, Xavier de Burgos, Minister of the Interior, published a list of provincial governors, to be placed according to the new territorial division of the kingdom. The chief secretaries of these important functionaries were also named, and almost without an exception, from the classes that had severely suffered from their adherence to the constitution of 1820. These appointments were intended to show an increasing desire on the part of the Zea Bermudez ministry to conciliate the liberals. But all this, and more, would not do—the fall of that ministry was determined upon. The inhabitants of Barcelona, which has long been one of the most liberal cities in Spain, held a meeting in the first week of January, at which it was carried by acclamation, that they should ask for a change of ministry, a disavowal of the absolute manifesto promulgated after Ferdinand's death, and the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

Llander, the Captain-General of the province (Catalonia), forwarded a respectful, but energetic, demand in this sense to the Queen-Regent of Spain, in the name of the province, in his own name, and in that of 45,000 armed men at his disposal. The letter containing this demand having been returned unopened, was sent back to the Queen under another cover without any additional communication. It was stated that other Captain-Generals were prepared to follow the same impulse, and demand the dismissal of the existing ministry.

Indeed, almost simultaneously with this proceeding, Quesada made precisely the same demand in Old Castile.

Catalonia and other parts of the kingdom also intimated their resolution of paying no taxes until their desires were complied with. Consequently, on the 14th of January Zea Bermudez and three of the subordinate ministers who were supposed to be most firmly attached to his peculiar system of government, were dismissed, and Martinez de la Rosa, a literary character, a well-known liberal, and a sufferer from the overthrow of the Constitution of 1820, was raised to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, which was one of the offices held by Zea Bermudez.

Xavier de Burgos the liberally disposed Minister of the Interior, and Zarco del Valle, who is also considered as one disposed to act cordially with the new Cabinet, remain in office. Burgos, as the oldest member of the Cabinet, is for the time Premier. It is anticipated that the first great acts of this new ministry will be the convocation of the Cortes, and the issuing of an amnesty for all political offences, which shall include every Spaniard omitted in the preceding amnesties given by Ferdinand and the Queen-Regent.

The Marquis of Las Amarillas, one of the members of the Council of Regency appointed by Ferdinand, is said to have been the adviser of the young widow queen in these difficult circumstances, and it is also believed that he is disposed to forward the views of the men appointed to office by his recommendation. If all this be true, and if he have really recommended the new members of the Cabinet, we may consider this as a guarantee of future moderation and wisdom on the part of government.

Las Amarillas is considered by those who know him well, as a nobleman who unites more of the qualities necessary to conciliate parties and to rescue Spain from anarchy, than any other individual or any other score of individuals who have as yet appeared upon the political arena of that country. He is a grandee—one of the highest nobility—a circumstance which may seem unimportant to some, but which is of immense importance in a country like Spain; his estates are great; by his connexions and private friendships he can attach to the system he adopts a powerful body both of the nobility and clergy; at the same time, he entertains liberal views, is anxious for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, is a favourite with the middling classes, of an amiable, and popular, and at the same time of a firm, decided character.

PORTUGAL.

THE unnatural conflict which has reduced this country to a most wretched condition is still undecided. The royal brothers occupy the same positions in which we left them at the close of the year. Don Miguel's stronghold is still Santarem, and his partisans have gained some trifling advantages over the Pedroites near Oporto. In Lisbon, Don Pedro has added other proofs, which were not wanted, of his being unfit for government, and has got into a quarrel with some leading members of the Portuguese nobility. The Count of Taipa published a letter, in which he called upon Don Pedro to summon the Cortes and adopt a wiser policy. Seeing his first letter disregarded, he wrote and circulated a second, inveighing more especially against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commission established by Pedro for the suppression of monasteries, &c. The priest, a favourite of Don Pedro's, who was president of this commission, denounced the Count as an agent of Don Miguel, and obtained a summary order for his arrest—for even in such a mode are matters managed by the Constitutional ex-emperor! The Count Taipa was actually arrested, but on his way to prison he contrived to escape to the house of a nobleman, his friend, who threatened to shoot the officers of police that pursued him. From this opportune asylum the Count retreated to Admiral Parker's flag-ship, the Asia, which was in the Tagus; and nine of his brother peers protested against the insult offered and the breach of the privileges of the peerage. Don Pedro declared he knew nothing of the proceeding, and promised that proper satisfaction should be given to the parties injured. Instead, however, of giving this satisfaction, he added to the irritation of the nine noblemen and their numerous friends, by styling their protest a *petition*. These peers then went to the palace to remonstrate with him in person, but they were refused admittance. The Duke of Terceira, trembling for his imprudent master, insisted on having an audience, and presented in writing the sentiments of the peers on his violation of the Charter. The tardy answer of Don Pedro was, that when the Cortes met the whole affair should be investigated.

In the meantime Don Miguel has rejected an offer of mediation formally made to him by the Queen Regent of Spain, whose ambassador had an interview with him at Santarem. The Spanish General Rodil, countenanced by the Pedroites, has made two incursions into Portugal in search of Don Carlos,—in the second of these he penetrated as far as Braganza, and captured some of the pretender's junta. Naval preparations in England, to be placed under the command of Captain Elliot, who is to do for Don Miguel what Napier has done for Don Pedro, are said to be in progress, and by the last advices from Lisbon, it should appear that the Pedroite fleet was getting ready to sail for our coasts and intercept this new expedition at its first starting.

In the interior of Portugal Don Miguel has been successful in his endeavours to recruit his army, and his cause seems to be still dear to the priest and monk directed peasantry.

The official gazette of Don Pedro and his Lisbon ministry has put forth an amnesty for all such partisans of Don Miguel as choose to profess allegiance to Donna Maria; but, strange to say, this document has neither the name of Don Pedro, nor that of any one member of his government, attached to it. In affairs of such life and death importance, it is not reasonable to suppose that the Miguelites will overlook any official informality, or be *duped* by anything less than a regularly signed and sealed document—if indeed (as is suspected in many quarters) *treachery* is contemplated by Don Pedro.

For ourselves, we doubt the propriety of any foreign interference in this disgusting quarrel; but, most assuredly, if any interference be resorted to, the first thing to insist upon is, that Don Pedro be removed as far from Portugal as Don Miguel.

GERMANY.

THE most important event in relation to our own interests which we have to notice in this great but divided country, is the rapid extension of a fiscal and commercial confederacy amongst the different states which compose it. By this measure, which has long been in preparation, all duties for goods passing from one confederate state to another, are to be abolished. As far as this clause goes, the measure may be considered as one of unmixed advantage to the parties concerned, or such of the German States as have joined, or will join, this commercial league. But there is another great clause which imposes the adoption of a tariff fixed by Prussia, and an increased scale of duties on all goods of whatsoever kind, imported from countries which have not joined the confederacy. The policy of this second clause, even as regards the interest of such states as may adhere to the system, is very questionable, whilst, inasmuch as relates to the interests of England, it is held by mercantile men to be a measure of unmixed and absolute mischief.

The great German power that has originated and headed this confederacy is Prussia. She has pursued the project with great earnestness and perseverance, making use, it should appear, of threats as well as arguments with those minor states that have shown reluctance or tardiness to adopt the new system.

Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemburg, and a number of the small states, have already joined the confederacy; the accession of Mecklenburg is counted upon as certain, and it is expected ultimately that the rest of Germany, including Hamburgh and the other free cities, will be compelled to follow their example and adopt the onerous Prussian tariff.

The trade of Hamburgh is indeed already sadly circumscribed by the new regulations, having no open market left save Sweden, Baden, and Switzerland; at the same time, it is asserted on the authority of the agent of a Yorkshire woollen-house, resident in that city, that Prussia, seeing how she has closed the *débouches* of Hamburgh, and is reducing her to extremities, will not now admit her to the *advantages* of the confederacy unless she pay a sum nearly equivalent to 500,000*l.* The duties levied by the new tariff on foreign manufactures throughout the whole of the German commercial confederation, fall so heavily on most of our woollen and cotton goods as to amount to a prohibition. Our hardware goods are also seriously burdened.

It appears that manufactured woollens are to pay nearly 1*s.* per lb. weight, and manufactured cottons 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

weight. The high cotton yarns may still be exported from this country, but on the high or fine yarns the new duties will be prohibitory.

The reply of Prussia and her confederates to the complaints of the British manufacturer and merchant, is, that England persists in almost excluding their timber and their corn—the most important of their produce, by the enormous duties she lays upon both, and that she has, in fact, provoked and justified a retaliation.

Considerable agitation is still kept alive in several of the states of Northern Germany, by the overt desire on one part to extend the liberty of the press, and indeed liberty generally, and by the only partially revealed anxiety on the other part, to circumscribe the degree of freedom those states now possess. Great events may be in preparation, but as yet none have occurred, except the success and prospect of further progress of the Prussian trade confederacy. Some curious paragraphs have appeared in the Prussian and other German newspapers, importing that in former times, during the existence of the Polish nation, territories lawfully belonging to Prussia had been encroached upon and retained by the Poles—that these encroachments are now the subject of discussion between the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, and that it is confidently expected the justice of the Emperor Nicholas will restore to Prussia all that the injustice of the ancient Polish republic deprived her of.

The matter, as yet, is somewhat obscure; but are we to suspect that Russia is about to purchase the aid and close alliance of Prussia by another slice from the loaf of Poland?

The congress of Vienna held its first sitting on the 12th of January, but, as yet, we are entirely ignorant of its proceedings.

SWITZERLAND.

A Swiss commission to regulate commercial affairs has assembled at the manufacturing town of Zurich. Its proceedings have been characterised by good judgment. It has published a declaration that the Swiss will maintain, without change or limitation, the system of free-trade—that they will neither join the French line of customs, nor the Prussian customs confederacy, nor, indeed, any foreign line of customs whatever—that they will do all they can to bring about the application of the principles of free-trade—that they will negociate with such of the neighbouring states as may be so disposed, with the view and understanding of disposing of the products of the land, and of the cattle of Switzerland, under the fewest possible restrictions, and of obtaining, on their part, the free, unburdened purchase of corn, and of regulating the mutually advantageous traffic of the frontiers and markets.

The system established is unexceptionable, but we imagine the Swiss will find it rather difficult to work it out with good or large effect. They are hemmed in by countries that seem nearly all disposed to act on a different system; nor can Switzerland receive a bale of cotton, a hogshead of sugar, or export a cheese, or a yard of her manufactures, without its passing through some of these neighbouring states, who have the power to load imports and exports with heavy transit duties.

After a long and rather stormy debate, in which there was much said about the laws of hospitality and the generosity of the Swiss character, on the one side, and some exasperation (that arose from the fact of some of the Polish refugees having taken an active part on the popular side in the conflicts between Basle town and Basle country) shown on the other, the Diet determined, that all such Poles as could not prove that they had the means of supporting themselves, or that they had some friend or friends who would be answerable for the change of their support, should be obliged to leave the territories of Switzerland within a certain specified time.

UNITED STATES.

The congress was opened on the 3rd of December last. The President's message, as usual, commenced with congratulations on the great prosperity of the country. It then detailed the actual state of foreign relations, stated particularly that the question with Great Britain, about the north-eastern boundary, was likely to be settled speedily; and in mentioning the establishment by our government, of light-houses on the Bahamas, President Jackson took the opportunity of expressing his good-will to this country in the following terms:—

"These works, when completed, together with some which the United States have constructed on the western side of the Gulf of Florida, will contribute essentially to the safety of the navigation in that sea. This joint participation of establishments, interesting to humanity and beneficial to commerce, is worthy of two enlightened nations, and indicates feelings which cannot fail to have a happy influence upon their political relations. It is gratifying to the friends of both to perceive that the intercourse between the two people is becoming daily more extensive, and that sentiments of mutual good-will have grown up befitting their common origin, justifying the hope, that by wise councils on each side, not only unsettled questions may be satisfactorily terminated, but new causes of misunderstanding prevented."

The part of the message relating to France, who has delayed to discharge the first instalment of the amount settled by treaty as being due to citizens of the United States for injuries inflicted by France on their commerce, was in a less amiable tone. A minister-plenipotentiary had been sent to Paris to expedite this business; Spain and Portugal had pledged themselves to indemnify the American merchants for similar injuries, and the King of Naples had been earnestly applied to on the same grounds. A treaty of commerce, though not a very satisfactory one, had been concluded with Belgium. With the Emperor of Russia they were on very friendly terms, and a treaty of navigation and commerce had been ratified since the last meeting of congress. With regard to finances, the whole remaining debt of the United States would be reduced by the 1st of January 1834, to 4,760,082 dollars; and it was expected that the revenue of the current year, added to a balance already in the Treasury, would discharge this remnant of debt within the year. It must be remarked, however, that this applies only to the general government debt, and that the separate states of the union have all debts of their own, some of which are sufficiently heavy. President Jackson then alluded at great length to the United States Bank question, and explained and justified the conduct of government on that head.

The remaining topics of the message were—improvements in the army, navy, and Post-Office—the exertions to remove the wild Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi—the necessity of precautions against accidents in steam-boats—and the proposed change in the manner of electing the President and Vice-President. This change will render the election more direct and popular.

From American papers which have been received down to the 25th of December, it appears that the most important discussions in congress have been those relative to the national bank. For an exposition of the grounds of this dispute we refer to our last retrospect. The bank, made to congress a formal complaint, importing that its chartered rights had been violated: but, on a division, this memorial was rejected by a very large majority, and the business referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. This decision is supposed to indicate the strength of the parties in the House of Representatives, and to prove that the bank has little chance of succeeding against the government.

SOUTH AMERICA.

The only intelligence received from the turbulent states in this part of the world, is from Mexico. It is however important, as it informs us that Santa-Anna, who was President of the Republic last September, is still at the head of affairs, and that there has been no new attempt at revolution for several months. According to a North American paper, Santa-Anna had been successful in his endeavours to restore order. After beating his opponents in the field he had banished Bustamente, who had been president before him, and General Terran, together with a number of factious priests. His government had taken possession of the mass of church property (a measure, we should think, likely to lead to another revolution), and proposed to discharge with it their home and foreign debts. They also contemplated an entire change in the Mexican custom-house department—a sort of porto franco was to be established with spacious warehouses, wherein goods might

be deposited and taken out either for home use or for exportation. When exported, drawbacks were to be allowed upon them. The payment of duties in paper, had been already suspended. In consequence of these and other measures, and of the prospect there was of tranquillity being maintained, the government stocks had risen very considerably. The president Santa Anna, who seemed to be friendly to rational liberty, had retired to the country to recruit his health, which had suffered much during his arduous campaigns against Generals Terran and Arista.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

December 18. The Water-Witch, a very fine steam-vessel, recently built at an expense of 12,000*l.*, was lost this night in a fog off Ballyhale on the coast of Wexford. Through the exertions of the boatmen and the peasantry, in the midst of great peril and difficulty, the loss of life was confined to three females and a gentleman; and to three of the crew who, in the first instance, had endeavoured to escape in a boat.

21. The Haubetz Anker, a fine Norwegian ship, was dashed to pieces in a storm off the French coast near Boulogne. The crew all perished. They were seen for two hours clinging to the bowsprit by thousands of spectators, who could render them no assistance for want of a life-boat, which after the loss of the Amphitrite should have been immediately provided. The English Royal Humane Society, at the half-yearly meeting, held January 8th, 1834, announced its determination to establish a station at Boulogne.

29. The Duke of Braganza publicly pardoned, in the name of the Queen, 300 Miguelite soldiers who had been captured by the Constitutional troops.

30. Died in his 77th year, William Sotheby, Esq. the distinguished translator of Homer, and of Wieland's Oberon.

— The Dutch States-General begins to exhibit dissatisfaction at the enormous expense resulting from the King's determination to keep up the army on a war footing. At the latter end of December, the Budget was not adopted without long debates, and then only by a majority of four; and afterwards a Supplementary C[illegible] to defray the expenditure of 1833, was refused by a majority of 31 to 19.

The "Spectator" for Dece[illegible]rtance in a[illegible]grant, to cover [illegible] of taxes are great; by his [illegible] of a

ships he can attend, to [illegible]ember 28th, has a very curious tabular view of the number of times each Member of the House of Commons spoke during the last Session, and how many columns and lines in the "Mirror of Parliament" his speeches occupied. Upwards of 11,000 speeches were delivered, and the six most frequent speakers were:—

	Times.	Cols.	Lines.
Lord Althorp	1026	387	22
Mr. O'Connell	647	388	88
Mr. Hume	601	253	73
Mr. E. G. Stanley	292	192	2
Mr. Cobbett	261	151	88
Sir Robert Peel	106	132	26

Jan. 6. At the commencement of the sittings of the Chamber of Deputies in France, it appeared that the principal opposition speakers, although hostile to the present ministry, were friendly to the existing dynasty and institutions. This day M. d'Argenson and M. Audry de Puyraveau, when charged with having signed a manifesto of the republican "Society of the Rights of Man," took occasion to avow republican sentiments, and expressed their adhesion to the political system of Robespierre. A predilection for a Republic was also, less unequivocally, expressed by M. Garnier Pages and General Lafayette. These declarations appear to have been received by the Chamber with some agitation, but more amusement.

9. It is stated in the New York papers, received this day, that the Secretary of the Treasury had recently drawn upon the branch bank at Louisville for 30,000 dollars, but as the government had but 6,000 in deposit there, the draught was dishonoured and returned under protest.

12. Died in his 75th year, Lord Grenville, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Auditor of the Exchequer. This nobleman had successively filled some of the highest offices of state, having been Speaker of the House of Commons, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and First Lord of the Treasury in 1807.

22. Reports of a money panic, attended with several failures to a large amount in the United States; resulting from the struggle between the government and the bank.

23. The "Suabian Mercury" states that a great many Englishmen have made purchases of land in Greece, and among them Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who has bought a very fine estate in the environs of Athens. The Admiral also built a very large house, which he has since sold to king Otho for a considerable profit, and with the money has bought the seven islands called the Petales to the south-west of Eubœa. A number of Maltese have entered Greece as artisans and agriculturists, who are much wanted in that country.

Lord Howick has been appointed Under Secretary of the Home Department in the room of the late Mr. George Lamb.

The Treasury has directed the Stamp-office to deposit in the British Museum all the files of newspapers which it accumulates, taking care that none be lost.

There has probably been no quarter of the year within the memory of man in which the loss of shipping has been so great as in the last. For nearly three months we have had perpetual storms, and these not partial in their devastations, but felt all along the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as on both sides of the British Channel, and on the shores of the German Ocean. It is not possible to form any very correct estimate of the number of ships lost or of their value, and it is still more difficult to estimate the values of their cargoes. Many hundred thousands of pounds will, however, we fear, be necessary to cover the loss; and, whether it falls to the underwriters or to the owners, the destruction of property is frightful, though far less so than the loss of life with which it has been attended. (*Liverpool Times.*) Galignani's Messenger states, that at Boulogne alone no less than 300 children have lost their fathers since the commencement of the herring season.

Several Indiamen, and many other large vessels with passengers, have been detained at Portsmouth by contrary winds for the last two months. The innkeepers are reaping, to use the newspaper phrase, an abundant harvest. They will pray for a continuance of bad winds now, as they used to pray for war formerly. In the mean time the capital of the country is wasting; and if the innkeepers thrive, somebody else is suffering. This is not wholesome profit.

The "Kingston Herald" notices a most extraordinary fact which occurred during the late storm on Lake Erie. A channel was made through Long Point, 300 yards wide, and from 11 to 15 feet deep. It was in contemplation to cut a canal at this place, the expenses of which were estimated at 12,000*l.* The "York Courier" confirms this extraordinary intelligence, stating that the storm made a breach through the point near the main land, converted the peninsula into an island, and actually made a canal of 400 yards wide and 8 or 10 feet deep, almost at the very point where the proposed canal was to have been cut; and rendered nothing else now necessary in order to secure a safe channel for vessels and a good harbour on both sides, than the construction of a pier on the west side, to prevent the channel from being filled up with sand.

The "Protagateur" [illegible] states that during the last year [illegible] Calais [illegible] 24,000 persons embarked at Dover for the Continent, of whom 19,000 landed at Calais.

The number of emigrants to Canada, in the last three years, amounts to 133,970, and the markets for British manufactures have increased in a greater ratio than the population. During the last year, 1035 British vessels, amounting to 279,704 tons, navigated by 12,243 seamen, have entered the port of Quebec alone. This astonishing trade has increased from 69 vessels, navigated by 731 seamen, in the year 1805. A million and a half of value in British manufactures has paid duties of import.

The Polish refugees in Switzerland have received permission from the French Government to join their countrymen in France.

The sum of 125,000*l.* has been awarded to Admiral Napier's fleet as prize-money for the capture of the Miguelite fleet; to be paid in three instalments, in eighteen months.

At Evreux, lately, a surgeon, in bleeding a patient, having pricked an artery by which amputation was rendered necessary, the tribunal of the town condemned the unskilful operator to pay the sufferer 800 francs as damages, and to settle on him an annual pension of 100 francs.

A great many works of art continue to be discoverd at Pompeii. Some very fine paintings have recently been found. Vesuvius, which has not for several months past been completely tranquil, has begun to throw out a great quantity of lava.

On the 15th of February will be published, of an uniform size with the "Companion to the Newspaper," price 4*d.*, containing 24 folio pages, and to be continued on the Middle Saturday of each month,

THE PRINTING MACHINE;

A REVIEW FOR THE MANY.

"What the PRINTING PRESS did for the instruction of the masses in the fifteenth century, the PRINTING-MACHINE is doing in the nineteenth. Each represents an era in the diffusion of knowledge; and each may be taken as a *symbol* of the intellectual character of the age of its employment."—*Penny Magazine.*

Contents of No. I.

1. The Market of Literature: an Introductory Address to the Public and 'the Trade.'—2. Libraries for the Many.—3. Miss Martineau's Series of Illustrations on Political Economy.—4. Illustrated Edition of Rogers' Poems.—5. Diffusion of the Results of Scientific Knowledge.—6. Popular Statistics of Great Britain, France, and America.—7. The Literary Newspapers.—8. Cunningham's Edition of Burns' Poems.—9. Leigh Hunt's Indicator and Companion.—10. Colburn's Modern Novelists.—11. The British Museum: Elgin Marbles.—12. Wrewell's Elementary Treatise on Mechanics.—13. Duppa on the Education of the Peasantry.—14. Journal of Facts, in Art, Science, and Public Instruction.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate Street.

Sold by all Booksellers and Newsvenders; and Wholesale by the Agents of the 'Penny Magazine.'

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke Street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 15. MARCH 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Proposed Alterations in the French Tariff	25	Public Petitions	40
Credit, its Good and its Evil	27	Private Bills	40
State of Crime in France	31	Abstract of Parliamentary Papers	41
The Iron Trade	33	Statistics, Trade, &c.	42
The Glasgow Lottery	37	Political Retrospect for February	42
The Budget	39	Chronicle of Events	47

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE FRENCH TARIFF.

THE attention of men engaged in commercial pursuits and connected with manufacturing industry in this country, has for some time past been directed with anxiety towards the issue of certain negotiations which were understood to be on foot for the establishment of a commercial treaty between the governments of France and England. Such a treaty, based upon mutual concessions and established upon the obvious interests of both countries, would, more than any other circumstance, tend to draw closer together those ties of political harmony which now so happily, for the general peace and welfare of the world, unite the two powers. It was hoped that the clouds of national prejudice had been so far dispersed from both sides of the narrow channel that divides them, as to show not only that the notion in which the present generation was nurtured, of each country being the *natural enemy* of the other, was unworthy of our common nature, but that their geographical position, as well as the dissimilarity of their productions and pursuits, pointed each out to the other as its best and its most *natural customer*.

It was known that two gentlemen had been for some time accredited by our government, who had exerted themselves, during their protracted visits to the capital and provinces of France, in endeavouring to convince—not the French government, for it was hoped and believed that its members needed not to be convinced—but the thinking portion of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests in France, that it would be better to give us their superabundant wine, and silk, and oil, in exchange for our superabundant cottons, and woollens, and hardwares, than to go on producing the latter articles for themselves at a cost which, although it offered a powerful temptation to the contraband trador, and thus kept down the profits of the producers, yet caused the prices to be grievously severe to the great body of consumers throughout the country.

The hopes thus excited were considerably strengthened by the visit made during the last parliamentary recess to the capital of France, by that one among our ministers who is supposed to be most practically conversant with commercial questions, as well as by various semi-official hints which were allowed from time to time to drop from certain authorized organs of the French government, favourable to the accomplishment of the object so much desired.

These hopes are now—for a time at least—put to flight by the *projet de loi*, presented on the 3d of February to the Chamber of Deputies by the French minister of commerce and public works; as well as by the argumentative *Exposé des Motifs*, whereby the intended alterations are accompanied. We propose very briefly to state, in what the few and comparatively immaterial alterations projected consist, and the kind of reasoning by which the continuance of the exclusive system is sought to be justified by the French minister, limiting ourselves to the notice of those articles which appear likely to have an influence upon the commercial industry of the United Kingdom.

The most important relaxation of the French commercial system, which is now proposed by the minister for adoption, consists in the admission, at certain rates of duty, of a few articles, the importation of which has hitherto been strictly prohibited. The principal articles of this list which affect England are—

Cotton Twist and Yarn above a certain degree of fineness.
Iron Cables.
Rum.
White India Handkerchiefs, known to our merchants as Corahs.

The articles interesting to us, as to which it is proposed to *diminish* the duty, are—

Wool, combed and uncombed.
Iron in bars.
Tin, unwrought.

On the other hand, a list is given of articles upon which it is intended to augment the duties. Among these, linen yarn is the only matter likely to affect British industry. We shall state as concisely as possible the nature and amount of the alterations above specified, and endeavour to point out in what manner and degree each of them is likely to affect the commercial relations of the two countries.

The importation of cotton twist and yarn, of all qualities, has hitherto been wholly prohibited by law in France. This prohibition it has been found altogether impossible practically to maintain, because the French spinners have been unable to produce the higher numbers—that is, the finer qualities—of the yarns necessary for the manufacture of muslins and bobbin-net. These articles have been also strictly prohibited by the French tariff, but they have been considered so necessary by the French people, that the government of that country has all along been obliged to act the demoralizing part, of being an accessary to crime by conniving—even to open toleration—at the trade of the smuggler. What says the *Exposé* of the minister—which is now before us—upon this subject? "The manufacture of tulle and of muslin has increased in France to a great degree. This branch of industry requires fine yarns, finer than those ordinarily made in France. The legal prohibition interdicting all cotton yarn without distinction, the manufacturers of tulle and of muslin procure what they require from the smuggler. The practice has become so notorious, that it is avowed and even tolerated. Is it proper, in order to protect the spinner, to deprive a flourishing branch of industry of its material, and to condemn it to exist only by means of an expensive and demoralizing fraud?"

This is not by any means a new grievance in France. It existed, in fact, before the return of the Bourbons; the advance on our prices necessary to defray the risk and expenses of the smuggler then amounting to between 60 and 70 per cent., and yet that enormous difference in price was found insufficient to stimulate the French spinners to a successful rivalry with the mills of Manchester. At the return of peace, the expenses of smuggling fell to from 18 to 25 per cent., the rate depending upon the value of the goods in proportion to their bulk, and at these rates it is possible to make a regular assurance of the value against the risk of seizure on the part of the revenue officers. As a proof of this fact, we may quote a passage from a masterly paper drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons, in answer to a series of questions addressed, in August last year, by the minister of commerce to that body in common with all the similar associations in France.

In replying to the question, What should be the conditions and the rate of duties imposed? the Chamber answers—

"Illicit trade, which holds the balance in its hand, is here the safest and the easiest guide to follow.

"Whenever a duty shall be such that it does not hinder

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

smuggling, whenever it can be asserted that, by the payment of a premium, persons may be found willing to undertake the fraudulent introduction of merchandise, the proper and reasonable rate of duty will have been passed.

"The best proof that can be offered that our present tariff is for the most part too high, and that its prohibitions are unreasonable, is this: that smuggling on a large scale, organized smuggling, is followed, like any other source of industry, without exciting that sentiment of reprobation which should attach to all illicit actions; that it has its regular counting-houses, that its prices are bargained for (*débattus*), and public. Everybody knows that the Cachemires of India may be introduced at the charge of 10 per cent.; watches and jewellery for 5 to 12 per cent.; cotton yarn for 18 to 25 per cent.; English tulle (bobbin net) for 15 to 18 per cent.; and that more bulky tissues may be insured for 15 to 25 per cent."

With these facts before its eyes, and acknowledged by the French government to exist, how does it propose to remedy the evil? By admitting the finer qualities of yarn and twist, beginning with No. 170, at duties of eight francs and ten francs per kilogramme respectively. These duties, calculated on the highest qualities, of which but little comparatively will be required, amount to about 12 or 13 per cent. on the present cost at Manchester; but on the lowest numbers, the importation of which it is proposed to legalize, and of which the bulk of the shipments will be composed, the duty will greatly exceed the smuggling charge, being from 35 to 40 per cent. on the value. Hitherto cotton yarns of foreign manufacture, being prohibited, were liable to seizure wherever they could be found within the kingdom, but hereafter the smuggler will have only to pass the frontier in order to complete his risk, and will consequently be enabled to carry on his business upon lower terms than at present. As if to aid the illicit trader in this course, the French government proposes that cotton yarns shall have a mark attached to them when passed by the custom house officers, the form and particulars of which mark shall be determined by a royal ordinance, and published, in order, we suppose, that it may be more successfully counterfeited!

The prohibition of iron cables, which is now removed, has hitherto been altogether nominal. It was permitted to place them in *entrepôt* at all the ports of the kingdom, and permission was never refused to a vessel to provide herself thence, with an article so essential to her safety, upon the payment of about the same rate of duty—50 francs per 100 kilogrammes—about 20*l.* per ton, which it is now proposed to levy on importation.

In a country where brandy is produced so abundantly, so good, and at so low a price as in France, rum is an article of pure luxury, and its consumption can never become an object of much importance. By the existing regulations, this, not being a production of European origin, cannot legally be imported into France from England, and the principal effect likely to follow from its admission at all, seems to be the facilitating of the operations of the contraband trader.

The same remark applies to the remaining article from which the prohibition to import has been removed, viz., plain India handkerchiefs. These are to be subjected to a duty of 16 francs per kilogramme; and as a piece of seven handkerchiefs, now worth 18*s.*, weighs about 14½ ounces, this duty is equivalent to 5*s.* 3*d.* per piece, or about 30 per cent.—also beyond the smuggler's charge. Taking into consideration these two facts, that the importation cannot legally be made from London, where a large quantity of these goods are always kept in *entrepôt*, and that the contraband trader will be able to undersell those who would pay the duty, we may fairly predict that but few pieces of these India handkerchiefs will pass through the French custom-houses.

To those who look upon commercial questions simply as matters of loss or gain, it may appear of little moment by what means the amount of the nation's trading is increased. We are not of this number, but hold that commerce cannot ally itself to crime without losing all its proper dignity, and without being converted from one of the chief blessings of civilization into a fertile source of moral degradation. Upon this subject it has been remarked that, "independently of the enormous expense attending establishments for the prevention of illicit trading, governments appear to be under a moral obligation to remove, as far as possible, all incentives to the commission of the crime of smuggling. The opinion that infractions of revenue laws are, at most, but venial offences, is one very generally held among the uneducated, and, judging from the encouragement afforded to smugglers the idea is not by any means confined to that class. If, however, crimes are to be estimated with reference to their probable influence upon the general well-being of society, the smuggler's calling can by no means be considered harmless; since, by familiarizing him with violations of the law in one of its codes or branches, it tends to break down the barriers which should restrain him in regard to moral observances generally, and in truth, a laxity of practice in this so esteemed venial fault is found to lead from one step to another, through various gradations of crime, until the mind and heart become, at length, wholly corrupt and brutalised, and murders the most cruel and atrocious, perpetrated in defending the objects of their criminal traffic, are too often the melancholy consequences." *

The articles interesting to English commerce already admissible into France, as to which it is proposed to lower the rates of duty, are next to be noticed. The first that we shall mention is wool.

It was for a very long time, and indeed until a recent period (1826), considered to be the true policy of this country to prohibit the exportation of wool of British growth, with the idea that, as this was of a peculiar quality admirably fitted for certain descriptions of manufacture, we should, by retaining the wool, secure the possession of the manufacture also. It was felt, however, that for this country, which is so peculiarly indebted to foreign lands for a large proportion of the raw materials of manufacture, to countenance a course so selfish, might be fraught with inconvenient if not dangerous consequences, and the prohibition is but little likely to be again enforced. For the same article (wool), but of a different quality, we are ourselves indeed dependent in a great degree upon foreign supply. In the year 1832, we imported, principally from Germany, upwards of twenty-eight millions of pounds, and exported of British wool, about four millions of pounds, almost all of which went to France and the Netherlands. In 1833 the importation of foreign wool, reached the unprecedented quantity of 38½ millions of pounds. We have at present no means of ascertaining the amount of British wool exported last year, any further than the statement of the declared value, which amounted, in 1832, to 219,650*l.*, and in 1833, to 334,678*l.* It must be borne in mind, however, that, owing to the great activity of our woollen manufactures all through the last year, and, to a short supply of home-grown wool, from natural causes, the price has advanced since 1832 most materially—indeed to almost double the former price, so that the increased value is no proof of there having been an increased quantity exported. We have mentioned these facts, having reason to believe that a good deal of misapprehension is afloat upon the subject. Foreign wool, when imported from any British possession, is admitted free of duty, and when brought from foreign countries to the United Kingdom, pays only the nominal rate of a half-penny per pound when under the value of one shilling, and of one penny per pound when above that value.

The duty hitherto chargeable upon the importation of wool into France has been, since 1822, fixed as high as 33 per cent. It is now proposed to abate one-third of that rate. It is very remarkable that while, in this country, the agricultural interest is protected against every other, for reasons which are not far to seek, but into which we shall not now enter, in France it is sought to remove the few commercial restrictions which have been imposed with the view of encouraging the occupiers of the soil. We learn from the '*Exposé*' of the minister of commerce, that 'the duty upon wool was conceived in 1822, not in order to encourage a production already sufficiently developed by previous circumstances, but to assure a monopoly price to the great producers. Futile attempt!' says the '*Exposé*;' 'a duty cannot be effective against the natural course of things, against internal competition. Prices have not ceased to fall, the intention of the duty has not been fulfilled, and dreadful effects have been produced by it. Shut out from the markets of France by this heavy impost, the wool of Spain has fallen, at rates cheaper than it would otherwise have done, into the hands of the English and Belgians, and our manufacturers of cloth have in consequence met with

* Treatise on the Silk Manufacture, Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," p. 85.

the most powerful competition in all the markets of the world.'

How far a reduction of the duty (which will still enhance the cost of the material more than one-fifth) will have the effect of restoring prosperity to the cloth manufacture of France, remains to be seen. We should not be sanguine as to the result.

The question of the admission of English iron into France is one that has of late been very greatly agitated in that country. It has been argued that a system which, in order to foster a branch of domestic industry, compels every man throughout the kingdom to pay double for every implement or article of convenience in the construction of which iron is used, is a system at once of folly and injustice. The French government avows a different belief, and insists upon the policy of continuing a protection in favour of one branch of industry at the expense of all the others, because some day or other, through the possible discovery of coal in the same district with their iron ore, or through the decreasing expense of transporting fuel, iron may be produced in France at a cost equally cheap with the price at which it can be imported. In the meanwhile, it is calculated that iron, the produce of France, can be sold at about 37 francs per 100 kilogrammes, while English iron can be imported for 15 francs, the duty on importation being 27·50 francs or upwards of 180 per cent, and it is thence conceded that the duty upon foreign wrought iron bars may be reduced five francs, 'but not all at once, and only in five years successively, beginning on the 1st of July 1835.' The only alteration affecting cast-iron is one of regulation. Hitherto that material could not be imported except in masses, the weight of which was at least 400 kilogrammes (about 8 cwt.) It is now intended to admit masses weighing as little as 2·5 kilogrammes or half a hundred weight.

It is proposed to reduce the duty on English unwrought tin to 2 francs per 100 kilogrammes, but as the rate chargeable on tin the produce of India is at the same time to be fixed as low as 50 centimes for the like quantity, it is not very probable that Cornwall will much benefit by the reduction.

A very great degree of interest has been excited in France upon the subject of the importation duty on coals, and a commission was appointed at the close of last year by the government to inquire into the matter. This commission has made its report in the form of a goodly quarto volume, and the result is the determination to leave the duty at its present exorbitant rate. The only concession that it is proposed to make in regard to coals, is in favour of one particular class of consumers. French steam-boats, whether the property of the government or of individuals, are to be allowed to take on board for use foreign coals from the *Entrepôt*, on payment of the duty chargeable on re exportation, the rate of which is merely nominal, being a small fraction beyond one penny per ton.

The French government does not dissemble the great importance of having cheap coals, but it considers of greater importance the encouragement of a branch of industry which, to bring a small and doubtful profit to a few, must be highly detrimental to the great bulk of the nation. The '*Exposé*' before us gives evidence of feelings of the greatest jealousy towards this country, on account of her superiority in machinery, and, above all, in steam machinery. What is it that has mainly contributed to the perfection of these machines, if it be not the low price at which coal is procurable for working them? At present every species of industry is starved in most parts of France for want of cheap fuel, a fact of which no one is better convinced than the minister who drew this '*Exposé*;' and there is something so unsatisfactory in the reasons given for maintaining so injurious a monopoly, that we cannot help imagining the existence of some other reason, which, although more potent, is of too exclusively selfish a character to be put forth in an official paper. It is well known that among the most powerful men at present in France, many are proprietors of forests and plantations which would be greatly reduced in value, if any cheaper combustible were brought generally within the reach of the people.

The French minister asserts that the high price of coal does not proceed from any scarcity of the article, nor from any peculiar difficulty in working the mines, nor from any insufficiency of skill and energy on the part of the miners, but solely from the insufficiency of the means of transport. If this plausible reason were the real motive that actuates the government in the matter, what would be the course of action which reason should prompt them to adopt? Would it not be to admit foreign coals and foreign iron at moderate duties, or even free of duty, until it shall have fulfilled one of the important ends of government, by providing good and sufficient rail-roads or canals for transporting the produce of the soil and of the mines? This, we are convinced, would be the course adopted, if some powerful, but sinister and selfish interest were not exerted to the contrary, and we have no hesitation in believing, that by the adoption of this course, the ultimate prosperity of the coal and iron mines of France would be more certainly and more promptly attained, than by persisting in the present system of exclusion.

It is amusing to find in a laboured argument, avowedly put forth as an apology for the continuance of the restrictive system, such a passage as the following, which is translated literally from the 19th and 20th pages of the '*Exposé*:' —'This, then, is one of the cases where it is worth while to avail ourselves of the aid of a tariff for the purpose of naturalizing among us a new branch of industry. That is true, it may be said, but is not the duty under the protection of which it is sought to foster the production of iron too high? Is it not distressing to agriculture, to navigation, to all the arts, to pay thirty and thirty-two francs for iron which the English, without our tariff, would give us for sixteen and even for thirteen francs? We allow it; and, to give to this reasoning all its force, we will not dissemble in regard to the low price at which England would supply us with iron.

'In the first place, we should reply to the oft-repeated complaint on the part of agriculture and navigation, that it is not just, for it may be said to agriculture, that all classes are, for its protection, made to pay dearer for wool and for cattle: to navigation, that it also is protected by high discriminating duties; that every kind of industry which in the same way is protected, is equally the cause, in its turn, of the dearness of our produce: that there is no one class to which the others may not address the same complaint; that this recriminating logic is not sound, because to be just it would require that every one should be relieved from duties imposed for the protection of the others. It would then remain to be asked, if, in the face of all other nations, it is proper to be without duties upon grain, upon cattle, upon cotton goods, on iron, on machinery, on coals; and if having thus obtained one of the necessary conditions of cheapness by having provisions, clothes, and the raw material of manufactures at the lowest price, we could nevertheless believe that we had obtained all the circumstances necessary for success; and if having neither the experience of the English, nor their capital, nor *their immense means of transport*, we could, notwithstanding, compete with them in the generality of manufactures. When every interest shall have acquiesced in the simultaneous repeal of all duties, and iron, for example, deprived of the duty by which it is protected, shall have no longer to bear on its part the burden of the duties which protect agriculture and navigation, then we may act, not only with a regard to the interest of a single branch of industry, but with a regard to all, without exception.'

'Unsatisfactory as is the very inconsiderable modification now proposed in the French system of foreign commerce, we nevertheless hail it as the commencement of a better order of things. In spite of the hollow and laboured reasoning whereby M. Thiers seeks to defend the continuance of the protective system, we cannot but hope that better things are in store against no very distant day; that if the Chambers are brought to yield this little now, they may yield a little more next year; and that when only good shall be seen to follow from these successive relaxations, some large and comprehensive measure may be brought about which will be—which *must* be—advantageous to both countries, if settled upon a basis of fairness and mutual concession. By late accounts, however, we observe that there is now little expectation that even the *projet de loi* we have been examining will be adopted in the present session.

CREDIT, ITS GOOD AND ITS EVIL.

The old superstition on the subject of money, which so long enthralled both commercial speculation and commercial practice, is far from being yet extinct. There is still among the multitude a disposition to regard that convenient instrument as an original and independent power. Until very

lately it was, we may say, the universal belief that money was the only wealth of nations. Absurd as the proposition sounds, when thus directly and simply stated, nothing is more certain than that to this full extent it was really held and acted upon. It was contended, or rather it was laid down, and nobody disputed it, that the commerce of the country upon the whole, or any branch of it in particular, was advantageous or the reverse, merely according as it took money out of, or brought money into, the country. The evidence of a profitable state of trade was deemed to be the excess of the exports over the imports, because, in that case, it was thought that the difference due to us from foreigners would have to be paid by them in money. Upon this principle the commerce with France, for instance, was denounced as publicly injurious, inasmuch as we took more commodities from the French than they took from us; and the legislature, hallooed on by the great majority of the nation, and especially of the mercantile classes, took all manner of pains to discourage that trade, and to diminish it as far as possible.

The notion lying at the foundation of this theory would appear to be, that, commercially speaking at least, money is the end for the attainment of which all other commodities are but the instruments. But the very opposite of this is the truth; for money is evidently of no use except as an instrument or means by which we are enabled to procure something else.

In a scientific view, money is merely a commodity of the same nature, and subject precisely to the same laws of production and distribution with all other commodities. It serves a certain purpose, just as corn does, or houses, or hats, or hobbyhorses. The use of corn is to serve as food; the use of money is to serve as an instrument of exchange. As we carry hats on our heads to protect us from the sun, so we carry money in our pockets to purchase hats, or whatever other article we may want. As in the case of other commodities, the demand for money will always correspond precisely to the existing extent of the need which it is fitted to supply. It never can be greater than this need. It is easy, indeed, to conceive a state of things in which there would be too little money in the country; but it is equally easy to conceive a state of things in which there would be too much. There is but a certain quantity requisite; and as long as things are left to their natural operation, this quantity can no more be permanently exceeded than it can be fallen short of. As there cannot long be an over-production of hats, or a glut of that article in the market, so there cannot long be more money in the country than is required by the single purpose to which money can be applied. We say, the single purpose; for although the popular notion is that money can do everything, it can, in fact, do only one thing. It can merely facilitate exchanges. Instead of being possessed of universal powers, it is the most limited in its use of all commodities whatsoever. A hat, for instance, would make a much better half-crown than a half-crown would make a hat.

Money is only one of the forms of wealth, as hats are another of the forms of wealth. We commonly speak of the price of a hat in money, but there is no reason in the nature of the thing why we should not speak as well of the price of money in hats. What is meant when we say that the price of any article is so much money, is merely that the article and the sum of money named have the same market value, or will, at the moment, command the same amount of labour or of anything which labour produces.

But there is another misconception connected with this subject which is also still entertained by many persons. It is imagined that Credit is a species of wealth. The sums of money due by the public to individuals, and by one set of individuals to another, have all been counted as forming so much of an addition to the property or capital of the nation. Our debts have been represented as our riches.

As in all other popular errors, so in this, there is a shadow of truth. It is certain that if every debt in the country should be converted into a promissory-note, or bill of exchange, and if these obligations could be made universally or very extensively negociable, the paper-money thus created and sent into circulation would perform the main function of any other kind of money. It might depend upon a variety of circumstances whether it would altogether displace a previously existing metallic currency, or would only reduce its amount, or would simply form an addition to it, the gold and silver and the paper circulating together. All that we can say generally is, that to the extent to which the amount of the currency would be raised, prices would rise also. There would be so much more money in the country than there was before. But that would be all. There would not be more wealth to the value of a single farthing. A hat might now sell for 20*s.* instead of for 15*s.*, but the 20*s.* of the new currency would not be of more value than 15*s.* of the old. It would not purchase a better article of any other kind, any more than it would a better hat. There might be other advantages in the enlarged currency, but it would not in itself make any addition to the national wealth.

For obvious reasons, however, the written obligations of one private individual to another could never be made to circulate as a common currency: and it is only a small proportion of such obligations that, in any circumstances, could obtain even a very limited circulation. Accordingly, of the vast number of debts that are contracted in such a country as this, but very few, comparatively, are ever reduced to the form of written obligations. What use could a grocer make of the promissory-note of any poor man who might have got into his books to the amount of some two or three pounds? Yet if an account were to be taken of all the debts now or usually outstanding throughout the kingdom, there can be no doubt that by far the greater part of the total amount would be found to consist, not perhaps of separate sums so small as this, but yet of claims that are just as entirely excluded from ever being made the basis of a paper currency, of even the most limited circulation. Such debts, so far from augmenting the real wealth of the country, have no direct and general operation even upon the value of money, or upon prices.

The partial and indirect action, however, of our extensive system of credit, apart from any effect that may be produced by the bills and other negociable paper which it sends into circulation, must be very great and various; and we shall now endeavour to point out how it chiefly makes itself felt.

Credit, as we have said, can add nothing to the real capital or property of the country: but it forms nevertheless a most important auxiliary in many of the operations by which both the usefulness and the growth of capital are promoted. It is not, like capital, the blood in the veins of the body politic: but it is often the stimulus that quickens the circulation of that vital element, or the invigorating influence that aids the processes by which it is fed. Capital might sometimes be frost-bound and stagnant, did not credit, as it were, lend the heat to thaw it, and set it flowing. Suppose the case of a country in which all credit was prohibited. Every capitalist there, if he invested his capital at all, must take the management of it into his own hands; but it does not follow that the possessor of capital should necessarily possess also the ability to manage it better than any one else could. He may be incapable of employing it successfully at all. If so, he will either not invest it, or, if he does, he will lose it. In either case, there is both private and public waste. Again, in that country, there may be much skill and capacity for the profitable management of capital in the hands of persons having no capital of their own. By the prohibition against credit, such persons are deprived of all opportunity of exercising the talent and activity with which they are endowed—at least in the manner in which they might be most efficiently exercised. In this way, also, are inflicted both private injury and public loss. On the other hand, under a law permitting and protecting credit, the capital in the community is brought into combination with the skill in the community, and the result is the most productive application of both.

This is the great benefit of credit. It also of course tends materially to facilitate transactions of exchange in general, by the temporary accommodation which it affords, or the provision which it makes for the negociation of such transactions without any immediate advance of money on the part of purchasers. The working of the system in this way can hardly, however, be considered as more than a convenience at best. It does no doubt stimulate trade; but a great part of the artificial activity which is thus produced is unhealthy and injurious. We fear that, upon the whole, and in the long run, the custom of selling on credit does more to waste capital than to increase it. We speak in reference to that description of credit-dealing which is conducted in the most regular manner, and upon principles so fixed that the value of the accommodation given in each transaction can be certainly calculated and allowed for. This is the system that prevails generally among persons in business;

and it is undoubtedly another sort of thing altogether from the utterly unregulated, we had almost said unprincipled, contest to get as much out of each other as they can by means of credit-dealing, which takes place in so many cases between a tradesman and his private customers. But even this better form of the practice is fraught with much evil. If it could be generally done away with, trade would be in a sounder state, and the public would be more cheaply served. The merchant or tradesman who purchases his goods from the manufacturer on credit, must of necessity pay for them at a higher rate than if he were to come into the market with money; and the difference must ultimately be paid by the public. He who purchases with ready money, pays nothing for temporary accommodation, and nothing for risk. He pays for the goods only. Had the other two ingredients entered into and enhanced the price, the quality of the goods would not have been in any degree improved, nor would they have been at all more valuable either to himself or to his customers; yet, owing to the practice that generally prevails, of dealers themselves purchasing on credit, and so paying for the risk and the accommodation, as well as for the goods, consumers also, to whom these two things are perfectly useless, are obliged to pay for them. If, by a shower of gold from heaven, or some other means, all dealers could be put in possession of a sufficiency of capital to enable them to make their purchases with ready money, who will deny that it would be better, both for them and for the public that that should become the general practice? Commodities would be generally cheaper, and much destruction of capital would be prevented. Enterprise and speculation would no doubt be somewhat checked, but we believe the public interest would, upon the whole, be decidedly a gainer.

The paper which passes between merchants in their dealings upon credit, even although it enjoys only a very limited circulation, must have some effect as a currency. It must either form an addition to the regular currency of the country, in which case it will have the effect of slightly elevating prices; or, more probably, it serves as a substitute for an equivalent amount of regular currency that would be wanted if this did not exist. In the latter case, supposing the displaced currency to be metallic, the substitution of the paper, which has no intrinsic value, must be considered as in so far an economical arrangement; but the saving thus occasioned to the country can be but very trifling. A similar saving, but to a much greater amount, on the quantity of coin necessary to be maintained in circulation, is probably occasioned by the vast number of credit transactions which take place in common life, although the obligations thereby incurred are never converted into the form of negociable paper. Buying and selling on credit must enable us to dispense with a great deal of specie which would have to be kept up, if every transaction were to be accompanied with a payment in ready money. If the practice of dealing on trust were to become universal, we might do without a currency altogether. The getting rid of the expense of so useful an instrument, however, would be a poor and any thing but a profitable piece of economy. We are strongly disposed to think that we lose much more than we gain, even by the partial degree in which we avoid the application of the instrument, and diminish the cost of upholding it, through the extent to which we actually do carry the practice of dealing on credit.

Attention has of late years been repeatedly called by writers on public economy, to the evils resulting from the growing prevalence of this practice in private life. A select committee of the House of Commons was even appointed some years ago, to take the subject into consideration; and a Report which they made was printed by order of the House. Various plans have also been proposed for the correction of the mischief. Among these, one that has attracted a good deal of notice, is that brought forward in a pamphlet by Mr. Archibald Rosser, solicitor, with the somewhat startling title of "Credit Pernicious," the first edition of which appeared in 1823, and the second since the beginning of the present year. Mr. Rosser's proposition is, "That in a great variety of cases, simple contract debts, between forty shillings and one hundred pounds, shall not be recoverable by any suit or process whatsoever."

The pamphlet contains an exposition, which is very just and striking in many respects, of the inconveniences and serious evils flowing from the prevailing state of things. The author then proceeds to point out the operation of the credit system in raising the price of commodities. It does this, in the great majority of cases, not only to those purchasers who avail themselves of the accommodation of the system, but also to a certain, if not to the same extent, to those who pay ready money. There can be no doubt, for instance, that even those tailors who have both a ready money and a credit price, raise the former as well as the latter beyond the due amount, in order to meet the bad debts to which the practice of selling on credit exposes them. The quality of some of the articles of ordinary consumption, Mr. Rosser shows, is also deteriorated generally by the operation of the same pernicious practice.

Some curious information in regard to the credit system, as it operates at present in many of our large manufacturing towns, is given in the evidence delivered by Mr. H. W. Sefton of Stockport, before the late committee of the House of Commons on manufactures, commerce, and shipping. The witness states that he should think that one-half of the commodities purchased by the labouring population of Stockport for domestic purposes of every kind, is purchased on credit—that the length of credit given by the retail shopkeepers in the town, who sell food, is generally from week to week, and that the difference in the price charged according as articles are bought on credit in this way, or with money in hand, is as much as from 2*s.* to 4*s.* in the pound. "But," he continues, "I estimate it in more ways than merely by the money paid. When a person begins with a huckster, he is generally more inclined to consume above his income than when he has to pay ready money; he generally gets bound to the huckster, and when it is so he cannot always insist upon having the weight, or an article of proper quality, and it is always higher in price besides." "With respect to the credit system," he afterwards says, "I will state how it is carried on as to clothing: the clothing is generally bought from Scotchmen who travel; they call upon the families once in three weeks, and I should think that one half of the population get their clothing in that way; there are some families that will deal with three, or four, or five of those men. I know one firm of this description in Manchester which employs five travellers: one traveller has in Stockport 360 customers, and in Manchester 1100, and I believe that the others are doing an equal amount of business; and, I believe there are in Manchester upwards of twenty such firms as those, besides others of a subordinate character, and the receipts average half-a-crown every three weeks from each family; they range from 2*s.* to 7*s.* or 8*s.*; and from this you will be able to form an idea of the magnitude of the credit system among the people. If I were to give a Scotchman an order when he called, he would upon the following Saturday send it to me, and the next day he calls. Afterwards I begin to pay from 2*s.* to 10*s.* at a time, according to the amount of the order." The people, the witness thinks, are better clothed than they were; but the price they pay to these itinerant dealers is very much higher than they could have the same articles for from the shops in the town. "I have it from undoubted authority," he says, "that the lowest per centage they put on is 50, and some of them go as high as 100. The shops would not practise it (the credit system). There are shops that will lay an article by when you begin to pay for it, but you have not the article till you have paid the whole. Again, the system of credit has called into existence a new class of men; they will undertake to take any other person to a ready money shop, where he shall purchase any article he thinks proper; the person who takes him will pass his word for the payment, and he pays the shopkeeper, and the regular run is 2*d.* per 1*s.* for his agency; but of course there is an understanding between him and the shopkeeper besides." If the purchase is to the amount of about 1*l.*, it will be expected to be paid at the rate of about 1*s.* or 2*s.* a week. Such loans are generally repaid. It often happens that lookers-over in factories will negotiate these purchases for their hands, in consequence of which, of course, they have them under their control. The practice altogether is rather of recent origin, and the witness considers it disadvantageous, and attributes it to anxiety on the part of the people to go beyond their means.

It is evident indeed that such a mode of purchasing as that last described must be destructive of all frugality and prudence. Persons are, in the first place, tempted to indulge in an expenditure beyond their means by the solicitations of the seller, who comes to them instead of waiting till they come to him, and by the delusive easiness of the rate

of repayment; and then they are kept ever after in enthralment and difficulties by a weekly tax, which is from half as much again to twice as much in amount as the sum, by saving which every week they might have obtained the same quantity of goods. Supposing the whole debt to be on an average discharged in ten weeks, they are in fact paying on whatever they purchase in this way from 250 to 500 per cent. per annum; for the accommodation which they receive. If, for instance, a family spends 5*l.* with the chapman in the year, the only advantage they have is that they obtain, as it were, the loan of that sum for ten weeks, and for this loan, instead of the highest legal interest, which is about 1*s.*, they pay from 25*s.* to 50*s.* If their dealings are more extensive, as they no doubt are in many cases, the sum which they every year throw away, or lose, is so much greater.

But for this part of the ruinous operation of the credit system, Mr. Rosser's plan would provide no remedy. By withdrawing the protection of the law only from debts amounting to more than forty shillings, he would leave the parties in by far the greater number of such transactions as those on which we have been commenting, in the same position in which they now stand. The creditor would still have his action against his debtor. We do not know whether it is from having overlooked this extensive portion of the domain of the credit system, or from holding that the operation of the system here is either not objectionable, or not capable of correction, that the author has confined his attention altogether to another division of the subject. The credit which he seems to be chiefly anxious to put down, is that which is received by quite another class of customers—the persons who run accounts with shopkeepers and tradesmen, not from one Saturday to the next, but for months, or even years. There can be no doubt that this practice is carried on to an immense extent, and also that it is a great social evil: nor does the blame of encouraging and upholding it lie with buyers more than with sellers. In many cases it would appear that the latter rely upon it as one of their regular sources of profit. They prefer the high, though more uncertain, returns of a credit business, to the moderate charges, and more strict punctuality as to the quality and quantity of the goods they supply, to which they are tied down when they sell for ready money. Mr. Rosser states, that he has heard that some retail tradesmen at the west end of the town, will not sell at all except upon credit; and every one must have experienced the occasional reluctance of dealers to be paid for every article as they send it in, and their preference for book accounts.

We think, however, that the exceptions with which Mr. Rosser has clogged his plan, in order to confine it to this particular description of credit transactions, would alone make its application impracticable. He admits (p. 37) that buyers and sellers would use their utmost endeavours to evade the proposed law, and that the greatest ingenuity would have to be exerted to word the clauses so plainly and fully, as that they should meet every possible case. A great book has been declared to be a great evil, but the worst of great books are big acts of parliament. Mr. Rosser's act, we fear, would be a goodly folio. To search it in regard to any particular case, would be a labour both of time and muscle. It would be such a popular directory for the guidance of individuals and families, on a single point of every day practice, as it would take them the whole day to consult whenever they wanted its assistance; and, after all, it would be as defective as it was cumbrous. Cases would be constantly arising in which its provisions would fail to vindicate and protect its principle. In the first place, we are to have the abolition of legal protection to debts, only "in a great variety of cases," within the specified limits as to amount. The variety of ways in which debts may be incurred is so great, indeed so infinite, that they wholly defy classification. But even (which would be the simplest mode) if it should be laid down as the general rule, that no debts of a certain amount should be recoverable, and the exceptions should be particularized, the latter would have to be very carefully guarded indeed to prevent them from affording shelter to many transactions they were never intended to include. This is the way in which a law is evaded. A prohibited act, which has, to a certain extent, a common character with another that is permitted, is in general, without much difficulty, so disguised by the concealment of the points of difference, or the apparent addition of the deficient points of resemblance, that it is impossible to prevent it from passing for that other. Thus the law says no higher interest than five per cent. shall be received for money lent, but money is nevertheless lent every day at much higher interest; and by various easy devices, the illegal is made to assume the appearance of the legal species of lending. Were the lending of money to be prohibited altogether, the one species at least would not have this opportunity of screening itself under the name of the other. All, or nearly all, laws are in some degree liable to be thus defeated, but some are much more so than others; and such a law as Mr. Rosser proposes, would, we think, be peculiarly exposed to be so violated and set at nought. The exception which he would make of debts below forty shillings, would of itself open boundless facilities of escaping from the general rule. Any debt above that amount, it is evident, might be easily chopped down into fragments, each within the legal dimensions; and how could it be clearly established, in many cases, that these were not really so many separate and independent claims? Of course the creditor would take care, throughout the whole recorded history of the transaction, to give them that appearance. With a very little management, he might so conduct his operations as to set the statute at defiance. But such laws are never merely inoperative. They are active nuisances, and for the most part as fruitful in evil, as they are powerless for good. We do not think the lawyers would suffer, as Mr. Rosser seems to apprehend, nor the common informers either, by the act of parliament which he would have passed. It would provide them both with business in abundance; and, what with the attempts of creditors to bring all the accounts on their books within the forty-shilling category, and the counter struggles of dishonest or desperate debtors to get a footing on some one of the "great variety of cases" protected from suit and process, would keep the country constantly ringing with litigation.

If we are to have any law of this description, it must be at least simple and precise. In this view we very much prefer to Mr. Rosser's proposition that which has been advanced by Mr. Macculloch, (see "Dictionary of Commerce," Article Credit,) namely, to take away all action for debts under a given sum, as 40*l.* or 50*l.*, with the single exception of claims for wages or for labour done under executory contracts. This would be at least a clear regulation, and one which would rarely admit of being evaded; for it is evident that although a large claim might be easily divided into a number of claims each under 40*s.*, a debt, the total of which was below a certain amount, could hardly be made to appear to exceed that amount. A debt of 10*l.*, for instance, might be made, with a little management, to take the appearance of five debts of 2*l.* each, but could not by any contrivance be swelled into the resemblance of a debt of 50*l.*

Notwithstanding the eminent authority, however, on which this innovation is recommended, we doubt its expediency. We admit, to the full extent, the evils that have been alleged to attach to the existing system of unrestricted credit. And we have no scruples about the right of society to refuse its recognition of debts under a certain amount, or of any other compacts between individuals, which shall be deemed to be in their general nature injurious. But we apprehend public opinion would scarcely tolerate certain of the results, outraging all sense of natural justice, which the working of the new law would produce. Let it be recollected what would be the relative situation of the two parties in every instance in which a debtor should, under such a law, resist the claim of his creditor. That protected debtor would be the basest of scoundrels. He would not only be a person who had broken faith, and who had received and used another man's property for which he refused to make any return, but he would be one of the parties—most probably the principal party—in a scheme for violating the law, who afterwards came forward to take advantage of his own wrong. If such cases were brought before juries, we are persuaded the plaintiff would often obtain a verdict in the very face of the law. It is difficult enough to prevent such verdicts being returned in some of those cases in which the law at present says that debts shall not be recovered—as for goods, not necessaries, supplied to a minor or to a married woman, without the knowledge of her husband. But the feeling of sympathy for the creditor would be infinitely stronger in such a case as that we are now supposing.

Further, we apprehend that instead of generally putting down the present practice of buying and selling on credit,

the proposed law would only aggravate its worst evils. The principle of such a law, it appears to us, would be very nearly the same with that of the law which refuses to recognise loans of money where the rate of interest is higher than 5 per cent. Has that law put down what is called usury? Everybody knows that it has not. But in the case of every loan for which usurious interest would have been demanded at any rate, it has occasioned an increase of the usury. The borrower must pay for the additional risk to which the law subjects the lender. So we conceive it would happen with a law making debts under 50*l.*, or any other sum irrecoverable by suit or process. Dealing on credit would certainly be thereby rendered a somewhat more hazardous trade than it is at present, but it is vain to think that it would be put a stop to. There would be only one risk more—and that not a very formidable one—added to those by which it is now attended. Every man who gives away his goods, except for ready money, necessarily runs a considerable chance of never receiving any return. Sudden misfortunes may put it out of the power of the most honest debtor to discharge his obligations. Death may remove him, and sweep away, at the same time, all the resources of those he leaves behind him; or he may turn out a rascal, and either run away, or, by some other trick, as by taking refuge in the Fleet, for instance, bid his creditor defiance. Are tradesmen not, even as the law now stands, sufficiently accustomed to irrecoverable debts? Does the chance of incurring such debts at all frighten them from giving credit? On the contrary, do they not count upon that chance as merely one of the natural risks of their business, and regulate their general charges so as to meet it? Why should it be supposed that they would not act in the same way if their present risks were to be, by a change of the law, somewhat increased? Is the law, as it now stands, really so available a protection that they would be left much more defenceless than they are if the proposed alteration were to take place? Sea voyages, we conceive, would still continue to be made, even although the dangers of shipwreck were to become considerably greater than they now are. The only difference would be that the charges for insurance would be higher. And so dealing on credit, we apprehend, would still be practised even in spite of some increase of the risks attending it. The effect would merely be, that the premium paid by the customer for the accommodation which he sought, would be raised. Improvident persons would not be kept out of tradesmen's books; they would only be better fleeced.

We believe that the only rational and safe remedy for the evils of the credit-system, which the law can apply, is to be afforded, not by altogether depriving the creditor of his right to recover his debt, but by restricting the exercise of that right to its legitimate object. Whatever reasons of general policy might be urged in favour of taking from persons who are prevailed upon to lend their goods or money to others all right of recovering the stipulated price from those who chose to refuse it, the common sense of mankind would revolt against the injustice perpetrated under such a system in each particular case. But a creditor would not be thought to be hardly used, if, in enforcing his claim, he were limited within certain reasonable and distinctly defined bounds. For instance, nobody in the present day would demand that a creditor should be allowed to take the life of his debtor, if there was not property enough to satisfy his claim. "If a debtor," said the Roman law of the Twelve Tables "refuses to pay his debt, and can find no security, his creditor may carry him home, and either tie him by the neck, or put irons upon his feet, provided the chain does not weigh above fifteen pounds; but it may be lighter, if he pleases. The creditor may keep his debtor prisoner for sixty days. If in this time the debtor does not find means to pay him, he that detains him shall bring him out before the people three market-days, and proclaim the sum of which he is defrauded. If the debtor be insolvent to several creditors, let his body be cut in pieces on the third market day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with impunity; or, if his creditors consent to it, let him be sold to foreigners beyond the Tiber."* The proposal of giving such a power as this to creditors would now be heard with universal horror. It would be felt to be the grossest absurdity to maintain that they acquired a right, in any circumstances, to touch the lives of their debtors, by having entrusted them with goods or money. Ought they to be considered to have any better right to touch the personal liberty of their debtors? Does that form any portion of the fund on which they can be fairly regarded as having placed their expectations of repayment when they trusted their property out of their own hands? On the principle alone that the law should do as much as it can to uphold the dignity of human nature, we would not suffer a man to sell himself into bondage to another by any contract whatever. We would therefore abolish altogether imprisonment for debt, and keep that infliction exclusively for its proper use—the punishment of crime. We would have no punishment whatever for a man's inability to pay his debts. That mere misfortune is no proper subject for punishment. We would consider the creditor as having no claim against the debtor himself, but only against his property. It was indisputably to that alone—believed to be either already realized, or likely eventually to be so—that the creditor trusted for payment when he parted with his goods. To that, therefore, let him be confined when he proceeds to exact what is due to him. Proceeding upon the same views, we would go a step further; and as we would not allow either the life or the liberty of the debtor to be violated, so we would protect likewise so much of his property as should be evidently necessary to enable him to obtain a subsistence for himself and his family. The tools of the workman's trade should certainly be exempt from seizure; and also, we think, the more indispensable articles of the furniture of his house—the beds on which he and his children sleep, the chairs and tables from which they take their meals, and the cooking utensils with which they prepare them. By these changes, and others in the same spirit, we would mitigate whatever is unnecessarily harsh in the provisions of the existing law; but we should look to other influences rather than to any that the law could exert, for the correction of such mere habits of improvidence as may prevail among any class of the people, and the protection of individuals from the inconveniences naturally consequent upon their own voluntary acts.

In the mean time, we are happy to observe that Sir John Campbell has already given notice of his intention again to bring forward in the House of Commons, during the present session, the important bill for the amendment of the law of debtor and creditor, which, owing to the press of business, was withdrawn last session, after it had passed the second reading. We have already given an account of the leading provisions of this measure, (see "Companion," vol. i. p. 91,) and pointed out the amount of the improvements which it will effect. It is proposed to take away from the creditor the right of arresting the person of his debtor either on mesne or final process, (that is, either before or after a judgment obtained,) and, in exchange, to give him the power, which he has not at present, of seizing his property. Arrest of the debtor is only to be permitted when the creditor shall make oath that he believes he is about to abscond; and any debtor who has been thus arrested may bring an action for damages, which the defendant can only meet by showing that he had probable cause for that belief. The passing of this act will be the greatest reform of the law that has been effected in modern times.

* As translated in "Hooke's Roman History," b. ii. c. 27.

STATE OF CRIME IN FRANCE.

Among all the inquiries of a statistical nature which can engage our attention, the actual and comparative state of the community in regard to crime is one of the most important, and is alike interesting to the legislator, the philosopher, and the philanthropist.

To the first of these three classes of persons, knowledge upon this subject would seem to be of the very highest degree of interest. Without such knowledge, how can it be possible to originate any enlightened system of legislation for the reformation of public morals; to apportion punishment to offences in a manner calculated for their prevention; or even to be assured that the very measures which are adopted for checking one description of offence, may not tend to promote the commission of others? The advantage which knowledge upon this subject is calculated to confer upon philosophers and men who study to promote the happiness of their species, will be found in the superior means with which it provides them for attaining their highest object, that of enlightening the world upon points of the very first importance to the

well-being and the progress of society, and of proposing checks of a description different from those which are within the immediate province of the legislature.

It is only of very recent date that our government has thought it desirable to collect and to put forth, with the stamp of its authority, general information upon matters of a statistical nature: but for many years past measures have been taken for obtaining returns from each county of England, and more recently of Ireland and Scotland, which partially show the situation of the community in regard to crime. Compared with the information procured upon many other points affecting the internal interests of the country, these returns have been entitled to commendation. So far as they have gone, the amount of information they contain has been given in a very lucid manner, and we have been enabled, by means of the annual and septennial statements laid before parliament, to judge with tolerable accuracy regarding the moral health of the entire body politic. To this point we must, however, restrict our praise of the criminal returns hitherto presented to parliament. The description we are about to give of a report made to the King of the French, by the Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice in France, will show in what respects our own returns upon the same subject are defective, and will serve the very important end of pointing out the course which should be adopted for supplying their deficiencies.

It is not our intention on this occasion to institute any very lengthened comparison between the state of crime in France and England, although we cannot forbear to notice some of the more prominent points of this part of the subject which have presented themselves to us in the course of our examination. In general, the different classification of crimes, the dissimilar constitution of the criminal tribunals, and the different manner in which the course of justice is pursued in the two countries, would render such a comparison not only difficult to make, but also of comparatively small value when presented.

In the report which is prefixed to the tables, and which serves as a commentary upon the facts disclosed by them, we learn that the proportion which the number of persons accused before the criminal tribunals in 1831 bore to the whole population of France was as 1 to 4,281 inhabitants, while in England and Wales during the same year the proportion was as high as 1 in 707 inhabitants. But among the latter the majority of cases are such as in France would have been brought before inferior tribunals, and if allowance is made for these cases, the disproportion will be very greatly altered. The total number of convictions in this country were in 1831 in the proportion of 1 to 1005 of the population; and if from these we take away those cases of petty delinquences which in France would have appeared before the correctional tribunals, and which were punished here by short terms of imprisonment, the proportion will be still further and most importantly reduced to 1 person in 3087. If the descriptions of offences which form the larger portion of crimes in England be taken into the account in estimating the proportion of delinquents in France, the proportion which the accused will bear to the whole population of the latter country is raised to 1 in 1280.

But there is another and a more important point as to which it may be useful to compare the two countries, and that is the nature of the crimes for which punishment was awarded. In England, the proportion of offences against the person, compared with those against property, of which prisoners were convicted, was in 1831 as 1 to 33, while in France that proportion was as 1 to 4½; and comparing the two countries in this respect we find the actual number of offences against the person to be as 37 in France to 20 in England; while of the graver crimes, such as murder, attempts to murder, parricide, infanticide, poisoning, and rape, the numbers are 532 in France, or 1 in 61,205 of the population; while in England the actual numbers are only 170, or 1 in 81,732 of the population. The convictions for murder under its different forms in France were 303; while in England they did not exceed 14; the proportion between the two countries being as 1 to 21.64; while the proportion between their respective populations is in the ratio of 1 to 2.34. It appears, therefore, that in France 1 out of every 107,463 was guilty of murder in the course of the year; while in England no more than 1 out of every 992,469 persons was convicted of that most serious offence.

It may be thought worthy of remark that upon a calculation of the number of women accused of crimes in the two countries, the proportion which they bear to the whole number accused in France is as 16$\frac{1}{16}$ to 100, and in England as 15½ to 100.

We shall now proceed to describe, as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit, the different heads of information given in the French tables, where it will be seen that every fact is brought to view which bears upon the question. The whole is, besides, stated with such minuteness of detail, as furnishes the means for inquiring into and solving questions connected with the public morals to a degree which cannot fail to be most importantly useful to the government of France, and which would, doubtless, be equally useful to every other country by whom the like details should be collected.

The tables in which all these particulars are given, are arranged under different classes and heads. In the first class we find every particular relating to accusations before the superior tribunals. The tables in the second class relate to persons accused before the correctional tribunals. The third class, which is extremely important, has reference to relapsed criminals—those who appear not for the first time at the bar of justice. The fourth class embraces cases of simple police; and the fifth class contains various minute details, which our limits will not allow us to notice, such as the particulars of unfounded accusations, the number of accidental deaths, of suicides, of duels, with their results, &c.

The first class presents us with sixty-four tables, in which we find the number of persons accused, acquitted, and convicted, with a statement of the nature of their crimes and the punishments awarded in each court of every department in the kingdom, crimes committed against the person being distinguished throughout from those committed against property. We have likewise tables which give the distinction of the sex of criminals, with every particular of the crimes for which they were condemned, their respective sentences, and the departments in which they were tried. Another distinction is made with regard to the ages of criminals, who are ranged in fourteen different classes, commencing with those under 16, and ending with those above 80 years of age. The bulk of delinquents in France appear to be persons between the ages of 16 and 35. Only 127 out of 7,606 who were brought before the superior tribunals in 1831 were under 16 years old, and 2,443 were *above* 35, leaving 5,036 persons of ages between those two periods. Placing out of view, for an obvious reason, those under 16 years of age, it does not appear from the table before us that the period of life has much, if any, influence as regards the proportions in which different descriptions of offences are committed. Of the 7,606 accusations just mentioned, 2046 were for crimes against the person, and 5,560 against property. Of the former kind, 1348 were charged against persons between 16 and 35; while 662 were against older, and 18 against younger, persons; the true proportion for the two larger classes would have been 1365 and 663. These tables we consider of very great importance, especially when taken in connexion with another, wherein those who were accused and either acquitted or convicted are classed according to the amount of education, if any, which had been imparted to them. In this last-mentioned table we find a statement of the numbers who could neither read nor write; of those who could read or write imperfectly; of those who could read and write well; and of those who had received a degree of instruction superior to mere reading and writing. At a period when "the schoolmaster is abroad," that must surely be a most interesting inquiry which enables us to ascertain the connexion between ignorance and depravity; and if, as we have no doubt it will prove when such inquiries shall have been made and followed up for some time in England, it should appear that instruction is, in some degree, and that not a slight degree, a preservative from crime, such a fact may doubtless be expected to quicken the efforts of individuals for the spread of knowledge among the people, while it will offer an additional and most cogent reason for the government to take up the cause of national education, as one of the greatest blessings which it can impart. Those who deny the advantages of education for the people, will not be able to draw any arguments to support their views from the tables under examination. Out of 7604 persons accused (the returns are incomplete as regards 2) 4600 were unable to read or to write, 2047 knew how to read or to write very imperfectly, while only 767 were able to read and write well, and not more than 190 had received a degree of instruction beyond

mere reading and writing, 53 of these being political offences, and hardly, therefore, strictly admissible into the catalogue of moral crimes. It is a remarkable fact, that while only 11 well educated persons were charged with the crime of forging commercial documents, exactly double that number were similarly accused who could write very imperfectly. Our limits will not permit us to go into details upon this interesting subject, but we cannot forbear further stating that of 4578 accusations of robbery, 3105 were against persons wholly without education, 1127 against persons who had received the lowest degree of instruction, no more than 314 against those who could read and write well, and only 32 against persons more perfectly educated. If we examine this table with reference to the number of convictions rather than of accusations, the result will be found still more triumphant in favour of imparting knowledge; the numbers in the respective classes being 2100, 735, 193, and 17.

The French tables further present us with the civil condition of persons accused, telling us, with reference to each description of offence, how many were unmarried, how many were married, and what proportion of the latter class had children. Other divisions of this table are not at all applicable to our own country; these relate to the birth-place and domicile of the persons accused, distinguishing those who were born in the department where they were tried, from those who were differently circumstanced. There are, however, columns in which are recorded the facts whether the accused persons were born out of wedlock, or whether they were themselves the parents of illegitimate children, and considering that this lapse from moral rectitude does not elsewhere find a place in the tables, it becomes valuable to know the particular crimes cognisable by the tribunals of which such persons were accused.

The proportion which the number of the accused bears to the entire population of the kingdom has already been stated. We have also a similar calculation with reference to each separate department, and a table comparing each department with the others in this important particular, a description of information which is calculated to lead to the happiest results, by inducing inquiry into the means whereby such different proportions may have been brought about.

The influence of the various seasons upon the moral habitudes of men, is a question which has sometimes been raised. It is perhaps more curious than useful, as it seems difficult to legislate for each month of the year; nor do the tables in the volume before us, which enter upon this inquiry, seem calculated to throw much light upon it. Of 1321 offences committed against the person during the year, the largest number (134) occurs in the month of August, and the smallest number (77) in the following month;—this great disparity occurring with reference to crimes connected with bodily violence. Of 4019 crimes against property, the largest number (351) occurs in January, and the smallest number (276) in July; but this difference can hardly be attributed to the influence of the season, since February produced only 277 accusations, while August produced 323. At any rate, we require to have statements extended over a much larger space than one year, ere we can hope to arrive at any facts connected with this part of the subject, that can have a beneficial effect upon our endeavours for the removal or lessening of crime.

Inquiry has been made by the authorities in France as to the causes which appear to have incited to the graver class of offences; and if our space would permit, we should go somewhat into particulars in examining the tables which furnish us with the result of the inquiry, and which, while they present an interesting index to the national character, seem most clearly to point out, in many cases, the course of legislation which would be best calculated to arrest or to check the progress of that class of offences.

With this all-important object in view, perhaps the most useful tables of the whole collection are those which relate to relapsed criminals (*accusés en récidive.*) In these tables we are presented not only with the numbers accused for the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh times, and of those who have undergone even a greater number of convictions, but we have likewise statements of the crimes for which their former punishments were awarded, as well as of the nature and degree of those punishments. There is also a table explaining the length of time which elapsed from the expiration of their former sentences before they again appeared before the tribunals, their ages at both periods, and the degree of instruction which had been imparted to them. To judge from these tables, we should conclude that women are less incorrigible than men, for while the proportion borne by the former sex to the whole number accused of crimes, is, as already stated, as 16$\frac{1}{6}$ to 100, the number of females prosecuted, after a former conviction, is not in a greater proportion to the whole than 12 in each hundred.

To obtain from them the full amount of advantage which such documents as those we have been examining are capable of yielding, it is necessary to be furnished with the means for comparing the records of one period with another, and to be made acquainted with such intermediate alterations of the laws as are calculated to operate upon the moral tendencies of the people. If, at some future period, we should be able to obtain such data with regard to France, we may be induced to return to the subject, with the hope of suggesting some practical good to society. In the meantime we have perhaps said enough to shew the vast, the paramount importance of the subject to every country; and if we should have succeeded in awakening attention towards it in any persons enabled, from their station or occupation, to assist in the production of a more complete body of criminal statistics as regards our own nation than we at present possess, we shall have been instrumental towards producing an incalculable blessing to our own and to future generations.

THE IRON TRADE.

The evidence taken by the late committee on manufactures furnishes us with some information on the present state of the iron trade, the principal heads of which, along with a few additional facts collected from other sources, we shall endeavour to arrange in the present paper.

The manufacture of iron is supposed to have been carried on in this island on a small scale in the time of the Romans; and some mines in the forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, are known to have been wrought when the Normans came over in the middle of the eleventh century. We have not much information, however, as to the progress of the manufacture until we arrive at a comparatively recent period. We had certainly begun to export iron before the middle of the fourteenth century. A statute forbidding its exportation was passed in 1351 (28 Edward III. chap. v). It prohibited all iron made in England, and also all iron imported, from being carried out of the realm, on pain of forfeiting double the value of the metal. In a later age, we find great apprehension beginning to be felt on account of the waste of wood occasioned by the consumption of the iron-works—a proof that the manufacture had become considerable, and was fast extending itself. In 1581 (the 23d of Elizabeth), it was enacted by parliament, that no new iron-work should be erected within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of the river Thames, nor in certain parts of Sussex; and that no wood within the limits described should be converted to coal (that is, charcoal) or other fuel for the making of iron. And in 1585, another act was passed, forbidding any new iron-works to be erected in any part of the counties of Surrey, Kent, or Sussex; or the employment for fuel to iron-works, of the bodies of any timber trees which measured one foot square at the stub.

The destruction of the woods of the country excited the greater alarm, in consequence of the formation of a powerful navy having now become so primary an object of the national policy. We are now much more indebted to our iron manufactures than to our woods, for the preservation of our naval ascendancy. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the important discovery was made by Edward, Lord Dudley, of the method of smelting iron by means of pit-coal; but this invention did not come into general use till many years after its introduction. We find complaints made in the reign of James I., that the iron trade was, in consequence of the scarcity of wood, falling into decay in certain parts of the country, where it had formerly been extensively carried on. Even so long as a century afterwards, although the manufacture appears to have greatly extended in the interim, it is spoken of as occasioning a vast destruction of timber. A tract published in 1719, quoted in Anderson's 'History of Commerce,' states, "that the iron manufacture of England, which is deemed the third of the kingdom, employs 200,000 persons; that the waste and destruction of the woods in the counties of

Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Gloucester, and Salop, by these iron-works, is not to be imagined; that within these sixty years, Ireland was better stocked with oak timber than we now are, but the iron-works since set up there, have, in a few years, swept away the wood to that degree, that they have not small stuff enough left to produce bark for their tanning, nor timber for common uses; insomuch, that at present they are forced to have bark from England, and building-timber from Norway, &c., and to suffer their large hides to be exported, untanned, to Holland, Germany, &c.' It is further stated by this writer, that England then imported about 20,000 tons of iron annually from foreign parts, the price of which, at 12*l.* per ton, amounted to 240,000*l.* The timber annually imported cost 200,000*l.* more. Twenty years later the same complaints are made. "It was computed," Anderson writes under the year 1737, "that England makes annually at home about 18,000 tons of bar iron; the quantity of which it was said we could not increase, by reason of our woods being so far exhausted as to have greatly enhanced the price of cord wood, used in the refining of iron-stone." At this time, the whole amount of the iron imported from abroad, was still estimated at about 20,000 tons annually, of which 15,000 tons were from Sweden, and the remainder from Russia. The price of the foreign metal, however, seems to have fallen, the 15,000 tons brought from Sweden being stated to cost only about 150,000*l.* The exports of wrought iron from this country then amounted to between 3000 and 3500 tons annually. Strong efforts had for a long time been made by the mercantile interest to induce parliament to grant permission for the erection of iron-works in the American colonies, where the metal was found in abundance, and the exportation of the produce thence to England; but the opposition of the proprietors of the iron-works and of the woodlands, succeeded in effectually resisting this reasonable proposal.

Not long after this time, however, Lord Dudley's invention came at last to be generally adopted*. This change seems very speedily to have given a great impulse to the manufacture; and it has ever since been almost constantly on the advance. It appears, from an account printed in the "Companion to the Almanac" for 1829, which is stated to be extracted from official documents, that while the whole iron (pig) made in England and Wales† in 1740, was only 17,000 tons annually, from 59 furnaces, the quantities manufactured in Great Britain, at the under-mentioned periods, were, in

	Tons.		Furnaces.
1788‡	68,000	from	85
1796	125,000	—	121
1806	250,000§	—	—
1820	400,000	—	—
1827	690,000	—	284

Of the 690,000 tons made in 1827, there were produced in

South Wales .	272,000	from	90
Staffordshire .	226,000	—	95
Shropshire . .	78,000	—	31
Yorkshire . .	63,000	—	24
Scotland . .	36,500	—	18
North Wales .	24,000	—	12
Derbyshire . .	20,500	—	14
	690,000		284

Of the entire quantity, it is stated that about 207,000 tons is used as cast-iron, and all consumed in Great Britain and Ireland, with the exception of about 17,000 tons exported to France and the West Indies. The remaining 483,000 tons are made into malleable or bar-iron, as it is called, taking the shape of bars, bolts, rods, sheets, &c.

We have seen, that down to 1737, our imports of foreign iron amounted to about 20,000 tons annually. In 1781, it is stated that above 50,000 tons were imported from Russia and Sweden; but that the yearly importation, on an average, of the twelve preceding years had not exceeded 26,000 tons from Russia, and 16,000 from Sweden, or 42,000 tons in all*. According to Mr. Macculloch, the quantity imported, on an average of the five years ending with 1805, was about 34,000 tons. Since 1822 (see "Official Tables," vol. i. p. 114), it has varied from about 14,000 to about 18,000 tons. In 1825, it was 23,657 tons. The foreign iron now brought into this country, is almost all from Sweden, and is principally manufactured into steel. It pays a duty of 30*s.* per ton, or of 2*s.* 6*d.* if brought from any British possession. Foreign pig iron pays a duty of 10*s.* per ton, but of that the quantity imported is very trifling.

Mr. Macculloch states that in 1767 the whole iron exported from Great Britain amounted only to 11,000 tons; and that on an average of the three years ending with 1806, the quantity had only risen to 28,000 tons. In 1829 it appears, by a parliamentary paper which he has printed, that it amounted to nearly 110,000 tons, or about ten times the quantity exported in 1767. "Supposing," adds the author, "the total quantity of pig iron at present produced in Great Britain to amount to 700,000 tons a year, and to be worth, at an average, 6*l.* a ton, its total value will be equal to 4,200,000*l.*, and the additional labour expended in forming the pig iron into bar iron—that is, into bars, bolts, rods, &c.—may probably add about 1,200,000*l.* more to its value; making it worth, in all, about 5,400,000*l.*"

These brief notices respecting the rise and progress of the trade will be sufficient to introduce the details which we shall now proceed to collect, chiefly from the evidence delivered before the late committee.

The persons connected with the iron manufacture, who were examined by the committee, were Mr. S. Walker, of Gospel Oak, in Staffordshire; Mr. W. Mathews, of Corbyn's Hill, in the parish of King's Swinford, near Dudley; Mr. A. Hill, of the Plymouth Works at Merthyr Tydvil; and Mr. W. H. Sparrow, of Bilston, in Staffordshire. We shall endeavour to digest the most material facts mentioned by these witnesses, under distinct heads; but it will be unnecessary to encumber the statement by a reference, in every instance, either to the name of the witness or to the number of the question.

I. The proportions of the different materials used in the production of iron, according to Mr. Hill, are of iron-stone (the ore) about 3½ tons, of coal about 2½ or 3 tons, and of limestone about 15 hundred weight. The coal is not now, at least in all cases, previously reduced to coke. About 3½ tons of coal, besides, are used for the engine, in the production, we presume, of the quantity of iron made from the above materials, which appears to be a ton. Mr. Walker states that the quantity of coals required varies with the time of the year, from 3¼ to 4 tons, exclusive of what is required for the engine. In Scotland he had heard that, five or six years ago, they were using about 6 or 7 tons. The price of ironstone, Mr. Mathews says, is from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a ton, according to the quality of the mine, and its particular situation. He thinks there is no appearance of a falling off in the supply of minerals for the iron-works in his part of the country, except in particular situations; and in other situations there is an appearance of a more abundant supply. In some parts the coal field has been discovered to be wider than it was supposed to be formerly. The price of limestone, according to Mr. Hill, is about 2*s.*, and that of coal about 3*s.* per ton. Mr. Mathews, however, states that the coal which he uses for his furnaces costs him from 4*s.* to 6*s.*; or at least that that is its value, and the price for which he sells it when he can get a sale for it.

II. In his part of the country Mr. Mathews says the iron-trade is generally carried on either by purchases of the mines, payable by instalments, or by mineral leases, running from twenty-one to forty-two years. A royalty, or rated duty, is paid to the proprietor of the mine by the tenant, upon each of the materials employed in the manufacture. In Staffordshire 2*s.* per ton is usually paid upon the coal, 1*s.* 6*d.* upon the ironstone, and 6*d.* upon the limestone. Mr. Mathews states that although the royalty varies considerably, according to the circumstances, situation, and

* Mr. Macculloch, on the authority of the Report of the committee of the House of Commons on Patents, in 1828, says about 1740. According, however, to the author of the article Iron-making, in the "Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica," it was not till 1750 that "pit-coal became a general and profitable substitute for charcoal and wood in the blast furnace."

† Erroneously stated to be in Great Britain. See the particular account in the "Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. v. p. 117.

‡ Mr. Macculloch gives 22,000 tons as the quantity made in Great Britain in 1750.

§ From 169 furnaces, according to Mr. Macculloch.

* Continuation of Anderson's History of Commerce, to 1789, vol. iv. p. 395.

quality of the estate, it may amount to from 9*s.* to 14*s.* upon every ton of pig iron manufactured. It appears that of late from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* is the common amount of the entire royalty upon the ton of bar iron in South Wales. In 1824 or 1825, the British Iron Company took some mines in that district, on a contract, to pay at the rate of 12*s.* on the ton of bar iron; but it is believed that they have since had the rate reduced to 8*s.* Sometimes the royalties are taken upon a proportion of the actual sales; but, generally, there is a fixed royalty, which the tenant is bound to pay whether he manufactures to the corresponding extent or not. The tenants of some mines, however, instead of royalties, pay a rent.

III. Of 12,000 tons of pig iron made annually by Mr. Walker with four blast furnaces, a considerable part is manufactured into wrought iron: another portion is used in the manufacture of tinned plates; and a further portion is made into castings of various kinds, including machinery and ordnance. The waste upon 20,000 tons of pig iron, in manufacturing it into wrought iron, may be from 2000 to 3000 tons. Mr. Walker sells a good deal of the iron he makes in his own immediate neighbourhood, to the manufacturers of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and other towns. He exports very little. Mr Mathews is of opinion that seven-eighths of all the English iron made is consumed by the manufactures and agriculture of this country. A great deal of economy has of late years been introduced into every part of the iron manufacture, and means have been found to obtain larger quantities of metal from the furnaces. Mr Hill states that, putting wages out of consideration, he thinks that iron may be now manufactured 10*s* a ton cheaper than in 1825. Of the improvements which have been made on the process of smelting, the most striking is the application of hot air, which enables coal to be used in the furnace without having been previously converted into coke. The saving from the substitution of coal for coke, Mr. Hill estimates at from 3*s.* to 3*s* 6*d.* on the ton of bar iron. Mr. Mathews, however, states that this improvement has been applied with greater effect in Scotland than in Staffordshire, and that its utility is confined to one particular species of iron, which forms only about a tenth part of the whole quantity manufactured. The effect, he says, has been to diminish the difference of price between the forge iron and foundry iron. The invention, though not applied to any considerable extent, has been introduced for some time in Staffordshire, but not always. Mr. Walker says, with the intention of using raw coal instead of coke. He believes the benefit to be still doubtful, dependent, as it is, in some degree, on the quality of the coal employed. The inventor has taken out a patent, and of course demands a rent for the use of his process.

IV. It has been sometimes asserted that the iron now made in England is of inferior quality to what it was some years ago: but Mr. Hill, when examined upon this point, declares his opinion to be distinctly that the quality is improved. In the quantity of iron produced there is no doubt that there has been a falling off in the course of the last five years; though it is impossible to ascertain exactly to what amount. Mr. Walker states the following to have been the quantities of iron produced throughout the United Kingdom in the undermentioned years, on the authority of different persons whose inquiries into the subject had been made with great care: —

	Tons.						
1823	441,000	price	£3	17	6	making	£1,708,875
1825	613,000	—	7	0	0	—	4,291,000
1828	702,000	—	4	4	0	—	2,948,000
1830	653,000	—	3	13	0	—	2,285,000
1831	590,000	—	3	6	0	—	1,943,000
1832	500,000	—	3	0	0	—	1,500,000

In Staffordshire alone, according to Mr. Mathews, there was made 133,590 tons in 1823; 171,735 in 1825; and 212,601 in 1830. In July 1831 production was going on at the rate of 203,580 tons annually; but by October it had fallen to the rate of 184,850 tons. In 1827, Mr. Hill says the quantity made throughout the kingdom fell off; but the greatest quantity ever made was in 1828. The following is a list extracted from the evidence of Mr. Mathews of the average prices of raw pig iron from 1801:—

	Per ton.				Per ton.	
1801	£6	15	0	1803	£6	0	0
1802	6	0	0	1804	5	16	6
1805	6	8	0	1819	6	2	6
1806	6	15	0	1820	4	10	0
1807	6	1	3	1821	4	0	0
1808	6	5	0	1822	3	15	0
1809	6	5	0	1823	4	0	0
1810	6	6	0	1824	5	0	0
1811	6	5	0	1825	7	10	0
1812	5	10	0	1826	5	0	0
1813	5	2	6	1827	4	10	0
1814	6	0	0	1828	6	0	0
1815	5	0	0	1829	3	12	6
1816	3	15	0	1830	3	8	9
1817	4	5	0	1831	3	1	10
1818	5	10	0	1832	3	0	0

By the end of July 1833, the price had risen to 3*l.* 15*s*, the advance having commenced about eight or nine months before. These prices, it will be observed, differ considerably from those quoted above for some of the years from the evidence of Mr. Walker That gentleman states the price in July last at 4*l.* per ton. The prices of bar iron from 1825 are given by Mr. Hill as follows: in 1825, 12*l.*: in 1826 it was for a short time as high as 14*l* a ton: in 1827, 10*l.*; in 1828, from 8*l* to 8*l.* 10*s.*: in 1829, 7*l* 10*s*: in 1830, 6*l.*, and afterwards 5*l.* 10*s.*: in 1831, 5*l.*, and afterwards 5*l* 5*s.*; and in 1832, 4*l.* 15*s.* This was the lowest price for which it was sold in that year. The price at the end of July 1833 was 6*l.* 5*s.* These were the six months' credit prices at Cardiff, the shipping port for all the iron made at Merthyr Tydvil, the expenses of conveying the metal thither and putting it on board ship being about 5*s.* per ton. These lists of prices may be compared with the following table of the highest and lowest prices of pig and bar iron in the London market in the months of January and July of every year from 1813 inclusive, which we have extracted from the Official Tables of the Board of Trade:—

	Pig iron							Bar iron.						
1813	£7	0	0	to	£9	0	0	£14	0	0	to	£15	0	0
1814	7	0	0	—	9	0	0	14	0	0	—	15	0	0
1815	7	0	0	—	9	0	0	11	0	0	—	15	0	0
1816	7	0	0	—	9	0	0	11	0	0	—	11	0	0
1817	6	10	0	—	8	0	0	9	0	0	—	11	0	0
1818	6	10	0	—	9	10	0	12	15	0	—	15	0	0
1819	8	0	0	—	9	10	0	12	10	0	—	14	0	0
1820	6	10	0	—	9	10	0	10	0	0	—	13	0	0
1821	6	10	0	—	7	10	0	9	9	0	—	10	10	0
1822	5	0	0	—	7	0	0	8	10	0	—	9	10	0
1823	6	0	0	—	6	10	0	8	10	0	—	9	0	0
1824	6	0	0	—	7	0	0	8	10	0	—	9	10	0
1825	10	10	0	—	11	0	0	13	0	0	—	15	0	0
1826	8	0	0	—	9	0	0	10	0	0	—	12	0	0
1827	6	0	0	—	8	10	0	9	10	0	—	11	0	0
1828	4	15	0	—	7	0	0	8	7	6	—	9	10	0
1829	4	0	0	—	5	0	0	7	5	0	—	8	10	0
1830	5	0	0	—	5	15	0	7	0	0	—	7	5	0
1831	4	15	0	—	5	0	0	6	5	0	—	7	0	0

The expenses of freight, wharfage, &c., from Staffordshire to either London, Liverpool, or Hull are reckoned at about 1*l.* per ton.

V. Mr. Mathews is asked by the Committee what would be the cost of erecting an iron work capable of manufacturing 300 tons of iron per week, and consisting of the requisite quantity of iron-stone and of coal mines opened, with a sufficient number of furnaces, materials for working them, refineries, forges, mills, and the necessary quantity of rooms and all other appendages. He answers that he thinks such an iron-work might, under favourable circumstances, be erected in Staffordshire for 150,000*l*: and there are many situations, he adds, in that country that would enable a man to erect an iron-work of the capacity stated, for less than the sum named. He had before said, indeed, that the thing might in some cases be done for 50,000*l*. The estimate includes, we suppose, the purchase of the mines. It is expressly stated to include the expense of opening them; but not the formation of railways, the numerous canals in Staffordshire rendering any considerable outlay upon that head unnecessary. The ordinary calculation, according to Mr. Hill, is that for an iron-work to produce 100 tons of manufactured iron (that is, bar iron) per week, it would require an outlay of capital of above 100,000*l.*; and he says that, according to his own experience, this estimate is not far from the truth. He speaks of both fixed and floating capital, including the stock and iron-stone, and other things

necessary to carry on the work. He afterwards states that he believes iron can be produced in South Wales from 5 to 10 per cent. cheaper than in Staffordshire.

VI. An account of the quantities of British iron exported in each year from 1820 inclusive, in the forms of pig iron, cast iron, bar iron, bolt and rod iron, iron ware, wrought iron (including anchors and grapnels, hoops, nails, and all other sorts except ordnance), old iron for re-manufacture, unwrought steel, hardwares and cutlery, may be found in the Official Tables of the Board of Trade. It is too long to be here extracted; but in order to convey a general notion of the foreign trade in iron, we shall state the entire quantities of the different descriptions that were exported in each of the years 1831 and 1832. Omitting fractions of tons, the account stands as under:—

	1831. Tons.	1832. Tons.
Pig iron	12,111	17,566
Cast iron	10,361	12,495
Bar iron	64,012	74,024
Bolt and rod iron	6,191	6,938
Iron wire	538	666
Wrought iron:—		
Anchors and grapnels	1,004	1,606
Hoops	8,229	9,417
Nails	4,361	4,317
All other sorts except ordnance	14,013	18,595
Old iron for re-manufacture	1,413	773
Unwrought steel	1,207	1,112

The following are the countries to which the principal descriptions were sent in 1832:—

	Pig iron.	Cast iron.	Bar iron.	Bolt and Rod iron
Russia	57	2	153	2
Sweden	—	41	11	2
Norway	—	1	39	26
Denmark	580	87	525	125
Prussia	75	7	117	137
Germany	477	198	4,252	816
Netherlands	1,986	196	6,291	338
France	2,759	316	1,556	99
Portugal, Azores, Madeira	20	63	1,518	1,119
Spain and Canaries	91	180	314	92
Gibraltar	—	33	593	27
Italy	420	94	9,174	1,659
Malta	126	85	477	—
Ionian Islands	—	19	133	—
Turkey & continental Greece	48	145	4,453	331
Morea and Greek Islands	—	—	596	—
Asia	322	594	18,159	1,167
Africa	1,691	506	2,492	6
British North America	1,167	2,099	4,601	330
British West Indies	55	807	444	55
Foreign West Indies	10	373	658	10
United States	8,195	5,837	14,871	403
Brazil	—	424	912	88
Rest of South America and Mexico	—	218	1,169	10
Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man	253	98	503	85

The duties imposed upon British iron in foreign countries are now almost universally such as would altogether exclude it, were it not that the article can be produced in this country probably at a cheaper rate than in any other part of the world. Mr. Hill states that he does not know any foreign country to which British iron can be sent without being subject to a duty of considerably more than 100 per cent., while in some instances the duty amounts to three or four times the cost of the article here. In the United States of America, the duty is 6*l.* 10*s.* per ton upon bar iron. In France, it varies from 10*l.* up to 20*l.*, or at least to 18*l.* Upon British pig iron, one of the witnesses states the French duty to be about 3*l.*, another about 4*l.* 10*s.* A higher duty is imposed in France upon what is there termed sea-borne iron (of course including British) than upon iron brought into the country by inland navigation. Both in France and America British iron is subject to much higher duties than the iron of either Sweden or Russia. The Americans vindicate this distinction on the ground that British iron is manufactured by rolling, and that of Sweden and Russia by hammering. The French ground their preference on the fact that British iron is made with coal, and Swedish and Russian iron with charcoal. There is much difference of opinion, we believe, as to whether iron of foreign manufacture derives any superiority from this latter circumstance. The King of Naples has also lately imposed an additional duty upon British iron; and it was understood that the government of Hanover proposed to lay a duty of about a rix-dollar on the hundred weight of iron brought from this country; that from Sweden being taxed only at the rate of 4*d.* on the hundred weight. No doubt can be entertained that if the new commercial arrangements which are believed to be contemplated for the different German states under the auspices of Prussia shall be carried into effect, the exclusion, as far as possible, of British iron from that market, will be one of the objects aimed at.

Some information respecting foreign iron and steel is to be found in the evidence of Mr. Jackson, a hardware manufacturer in Sheffield. He states that the French have of late made great progress in the manufacture of steel, but still that they are unable to compete with this country either in that or in the manufacture of iron. If it were not for their high protecting duties, the French steel-manufactories could not exist. The Swedish iron, and especially that from the Danemore mines, is the iron used in this country for making the best steel. The Danemore iron, however, is a monopoly, and its price consequently excessively high; (last year it was 41*l.* per ton) in consequence of which various other Swedish and Russian irons have been extensively substituted for it of late years, and for most of the purposes for which steel is employed are found to be sufficiently good. The marks of the Danemore iron have also been counterfeited. As to the manufacture of iron generally in Sweden, Mr. Jackson believes it to have considerably improved of late years. Swedish manufacturers have visited this country, and have adopted many of our processes. The steel manufacturers of the Duchy of De Berg in Prussia, have considerable iron mines in their own neighbourhood; but the quality is inferior to the iron in the neighbourhood of Siegen in Styria, and Ensdorf in Bavaria, which accordingly they purchase and mix with their own metal with great advantage. The steel they make is, in many respects, inferior to ours; in consequence of which we send to Germany considerable quantities of cast steel for the use of the manufacturers of edged tools; but for other purposes their steel possesses more toughness and flexibility than the English. A considerable part of the steel manufactured in France is from the iron of the country, though some is made from Swedish iron; but the French steel is not to be compared to that made in England. Some English steel is made by the admixture of English iron with a small portion of foreign iron. The process of steel-making has been improved of late years, so that with the same expense of fuel steel can now be produced both in greater quantity and of better quality than formerly. Oak is the best wood for making the charcoal. It is usually made from the smaller branches of trees, or of inferior wood which is unfit for other purposes.

VII. The workmen employed in iron-works, except the common labourers, are usually paid by the ton. The fall of wages from 1826 to the period of greatest depression in 1832, Mr. Hill estimates at from 30 to 40 per cent.; wages had since risen 10 or 12 per cent. Last summer the following were about the weekly earnings of the different descriptions of workmen at Merthyr Tydvil: a miner, 12*s.*; a collier, from 11*s.* to 12*s.*; filler, (employed at the furnace,) from 15*s.* to 16*s.*; refiner, 20*s.*; pudler, 20*s.*; pudler's assistant, 10*s.*; roller, from 18*s.* to 20*s.*; founder, 16*s.* or 17*s.*; mason, 16*s.*; carpenter, 16*s.* All the men are also found in coal, for which they pay 1*s.* a-week, receiving three or three and a half hundred weights. For their cottages, with which many of them are also provided, they pay a rent, at the highest, of about 5*s.* or 6*s.* a-month. Mr. Mathews, differing from the generality of his neighbours, pays his men by the day. To an able-bodied labourer he gives 13*s.* a-week; to the men employed in the iron-stone pits, 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day; to the colliers, 3*s.* 6*d.* and two quarts of beer; to the keeper, (a person employed about the furnace,) 30*s.* a-week; to a carpenter, 3*s.* or 4*s.* a-day; to a blacksmith, from 2*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; to a mason, from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; to a founder, or moulder, from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* Among 400 or 500 persons employed, about 50 are boys, from nine to fourteen or fifteen years of age, mostly the children of the workmen. They are employed in the pits and mines to deposit the iron-stone, and to attend to the fires and various light jobs about the furnaces, to fill the boxes, barrows, &c.,

for the men. They receive from 3*s.* to 7*s.* or 8*s.* a-week. "They work," says Mr. Mathews, "their own time; if they are tired they go home, and their fathers do their business; but generally they work six or seven hours, and sometimes eight or ten; they work and play pretty much as they like, subject to the control of their parents." The men receive about a ton of coal a-month, for which they pay 4*s.* or 5*s.* when a charge is made at all; but they often procure it for nothing, by stealing it. The colliers who work in the pits have an allowance of coal as a conventional right. For their cottages they pay from 2*s.* to 3*s.* a-week. The houses usually consist of a kitchen, two bed-rooms, and a brewhouse although the people seldom now brew their own beer. The colliers are commonly an orderly race of men, although of late years there have been some riots on account of wages. Those which took place about three years ago at Merthyr Tydvil were very serious: Mr. Hall says he has little doubt the lives lost must have been between twenty and thirty. He thinks, however, that the disturbances were occasioned rather by political excitement, the work of agitators from Wigan in Lancashire, and from Birmingham, than by any apprehensions about a reduction of wages. There had been no reduction for a year and a quarter before that time, nor was any then attempted. Very extensive trades unions, Mr. Mathews says, have for some years past been formed among the men. The colliers at Corbyn's Hill live pretty well, and are, from the severity of their work, obliged to do so. They have meat most days. A certain extent of work, which they do at a time, they call a stint, and most of them can accomplish this in eight hours, though there are some who can finish it in six, while it takes others nine or ten. There is not much drunkenness among the workpeople at iron-works. "All the workmen," says Mr. Mathews, "are a moral race of men; they are almost all sectarians; they attend chapel on the Sunday, and a great degree of order and regularity usually prevails among the men during Sunday." The district is full of schools, many of them national schools, and any poor workman may generally get his children educated free of expense. A great number of the grown up workmen, however, can neither read nor write; and there is not, generally, a very strong desire to have their children educated. The younger class of workmen can, for the most part, read pretty well: "they can read their Bibles; they are not very good scribes." Mr. Mathews pays his men once a fortnight; but they draw at the end of the week if they want it. Formerly it was very much the custom to pay the men their wages in truck; and the practice is still continued to a limited extent by means of various devices, notwithstanding the late Act of Parliament. Some establishments in which this used to be done, the witness says, were conducted with respectability, and he does not think that the condition of the men in such works was at all deteriorated by the truck system. He is of opinion that had it not been for that system the working classes would have suffered still more than they did.

VIII. The evidence offered to the committee as to the general condition and prospects of the iron trade was somewhat diffuse, but its tenor and amount may be stated in a single sentence. All the witnesses assert, that notwithstanding the exercise of unprecedented economy, and the advantages derived from improvements in various processes of the manufacture, the trade had, from 1828 till the beginning of last year, been in a state of great and constantly increasing depression, and that, at least during the year 1832, it had ceased to be carried on at any profit whatever. Yet no doubt can be entertained that the regular annual consumption of iron has been gradually increasing. Steam-engines and steam-boats, gas and water works, railroads, and machinery generally, have all formed constantly enlarging sources of demand. During the period that has elapsed since the termination of the war, the use of all articles made of iron has been extending; and we have seen that the export of the different descriptions of the metal is now four times as great as it was thirty years ago. In these circumstances it is impossible to believe that the price could have fallen as it has been doing till lately, if the increase of production had not more than kept pace with the increase of consumption. There must have been a good deal of what is properly called over-production. We do not say that the over production has taken place contemporaneously with the depression; but the one has preceded the other in the order of time, as the cause is wont to precede its effect. The over-production appears to have taken place in the interval from 1824 to the close of 1828; for these four years of extravagant trading, the manufacturers have since paid the natural penalty in the low prices which have ensued. The period of depression has certainly been a protracted one; but it has not lasted longer than the antecedent period of over-production. These facts, in substance, are not denied by the witnesses themselves, all of whom acknowledge that there was more iron manufactured in 1828 than there ever had been in any one year before. Up to this time, also, there can be no doubt that large sums were invested in the trade, and that iron-works continued to be purchased and taken on lease at constantly increasing prices or rents. The sums then invested could very probably, in few cases, if in any, have been recovered had the properties been brought to market in 1832. It is admitted, however, that although it might have been difficult to find a tenant for an iron-work during a considerable part of that year, such concerns were easily let in the beginning of the year following. "There is always," says Mr. Mathews, "a disposition to get out of business when it is unprofitable, and that disposition has been felt in Staffordshire; but when the trade seems looking up, that disposition ceases, and I apprehend that now there is no such disposition in Staffordshire." The iron manufacturers have not, like the shipowners, any reciprocity treaties to rail against; but it is a great comfort to people to trace their grievances to the government; and we find, accordingly, that this interest too has its theory constructed upon the common principle. It is, that the late distress in the trade has been all occasioned by the restoration of a metallic currency. This doctrine seems to be all but universally adopted by the trade. In a set of resolutions agreed upon at a meeting of the Staffordshire manufacturers in October 1831, as well as in the speculations of all the witnesses examined by the committee, the change in the currency is put forward as the great cause of the depression and distress so long experienced. It is difficult to understand this unanimity, unless we are to suppose there is some natural jealousy in iron of gold and silver. We imagine, however, that the three metals must now make up their minds to agree as well as they can; and we trust there is, at length, a fair prospect that they may for the future flourish together.

THE GLASGOW LOTTERY.

In the year 1808, a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine into the "Laws respecting Lotteries," concluded their Second Report with the following remarkable expressions:—

"Your committee find, that by the effects of the lottery, even under its present restrictions, idleness, dissipation, and poverty are increased, the most sacred and confidential trusts are betrayed, domestic comfort is destroyed, madness often created, crimes, subjecting the perpetrators of them to the punishment of death, are committed, and even suicide itself is produced, as will fully appear by the evidence submitted to the House. Such have been the constant and fatal attendants upon state lotteries, and such your committee have too good ground to fear will be their invariable attendants so long as they are suffered, under whatever checks or regulations, to exist.

"No mode of raising money appears to your committee so burdensome, so pernicious, and so unproductive; no species of adventure is known, where the chances are so great against the adventurer; none where the infatuation is more powerful, lasting, and destructive.

"In the lower classes of society the persons engaged, whether successful or unfortunate, are, generally speaking, either immediately or ultimately tempted to their ruin; and there is scarcely any condition of life so destitute and abandoned, that its distresses have not been aggravated by this allurement to gaming, held forth by the state.

"Your committee are conscious that they are far from having exhausted all the grounds upon which it might be urged, that the lottery ought not to be resorted to as a financial resource. The reasoning upon them appears to your committee to apply with peculiar force to the situation, the habits, and all the circumstances of a great manufacturing and commercial nation, in which it must be dangerous, in the highest degree, to diffuse a spirit of speculation, whereby the mind is misled from those habits of continued industry

which ensure the acquisition of comfort and independence, to delusive dreams of sudden and enormous wealth, which most generally end in abject poverty and complete ruin."

In the face of this just denunciation of the evils of lotteries the government persisted, for many years, in raising some quarter of a million annually by a species of taxation, whose contributions, to use the forcible words of M. Say, were in most cases taken "from the bread of misery, if not from the fruit of crime." At length Mr. Robinson, now Lord Ripon, had the honour of producing a budget without the item of a lottery in its ways and means; and the nuisance was destroyed by acclamation.

At the latter end of the year 1831, however, the people of this metropolis were astonished to witness the opening of lottery-offices in every quarter. From Regent-street to the Bank, shops re-appeared with red placards on their doors, and mystical bits of paper in their windows. As much capital had evidently rushed to this gainful trade, as would have built another Crockford's;—but instead of ottomans and mirrors it displayed itself in mahogany sashes and newspaper puffs. The demon was at work again, not to seduce the peer into a premature arrangement with the Jews, but to conduct the mechanic and the servant, by a shorter cut than the gin-shop, into the fangs of the pawnbroker. There was no concealment in the matter. The Glasgow Lottery paraded its impudent face in mid-day. Explanations were at length demanded in the House of Commons; and they ended in the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledging that the legislature, which had solemnly resolved that the state should no longer be permitted to raise money out of the crimes and follies of the people, had suffered itself to be *swindled* into the sanction of a lottery scheme, by a knot of obscure adventurers coming to parliament with their town motto on their lips—"Let Glasgow flourish!" and whispering in the same breath—"May fools be as plenty as blackberries!"

The act of parliament, which has again let loose upon the people of this country the evils of licensed and public gambling, is entitled "An Act to amend certain Acts passed in the reign of his late Majesty King George IV., for opening a street from the Cross of Glasgow to Monteith Row." (1st and 2d William IV. cap. 8.) This seems an innocent act enough; but as the people, and especially their legislators, ought to know what mischief may lurk in a private bill, we quote the section, by which authority is given by the law to call up from their long sleep the old ministers of the state lottery, the Bishes and Webbs, and other evil spirits ready to do the bidding of the tempter:—

"And be it further enacted, that the said commissioners for the time being shall be, and they are hereby authorized and empowered, from time to time, at any general or special general meeting assembled, to divide and *allot* the whole, or any part, of the said property, of and in the same street, or pertaining and belonging, or addebted and owing to them, the said commissioners, into as many separate and distinct portions, of such extent, amount, or value, either in property or money, and in such proportions as to such meeting or meetings shall seem fit; and thereafter, and as often as such division and *allotment* shall be made, it shall be in the power of the said commissioners, and of their committee of management, for the time being, to cause or procure the property or funds so *allotted* and divided, to be distributed among the shareholders, who at the date of such distribution shall be entitled to any share or shares, by LOT, in such manner as the said shareholders, for the time being, at a general meeting assembled, shall have approved of, and to convey to the party or parties so acquiring right, the portion or portions of such property, to be acquired as aforesaid; which conveyance or conveyances, being completed in the manner directed by the said recited acts, shall be good and effectual rights in favour of such party or parties."

Now, under this clause, a lottery has been established, very much more disadvantageous to the adventurers than the old state lottery, because there are no regulations to prevent those who swindled the parliament into a sanction of their project, from swindling the purchasers of their tickets in the drawing of the prizes. There is no guarantee, as we used to have under the old system, of a public drawing, before public commissioners, that the thing will be as fairly administered as a gambling transaction can be administered. We have no guarantee for the honesty of the parties, who have smuggled this bill through parliament, but the following *scheme*:—

"The third and last Glasgow Lottery, being the only lottery that is to be drawn by authority of parliament. Whereas by the act of 1st and 2d William IV. cap. 8, power and authority were given to the Commissioners of the Glasgow Improvement Company, incorporated by the 5th George IV. cap. 69, to divide and distribute the property, funds, and assets of the said company, among the shareholders thereof, by lot; and also to divide the shares, and to create, issue, and sell as many new shares as may be necessary to complete the engagements of the said company:—This is to give notice, that by virtue of the power vested in them by the said recited acts of parliament, the commissioners have apportioned all the remaining property and assets of the company, consisting of freehold lands and houses, into 2,036 lots of various estimated amounts of value, as set forth in the following scheme; and that they (the commissioners) will distribute the same by lot among the proprietors of the company, whose shares are numbered from 1 to 10,000, both inclusive, class A, according to the form and in the manner prescribed by the acts for regulating the drawing of the benefit lots in state lotteries, at Coopers'-hall, London, all in one day, 22d July, 1834.

"SCHEME.

No of Lots				Value of Lots. £
1	Nos 37, 97, 99, & 100, in the Company's sched.			16,000
1	Nos 90, 101, 104, & 105		ditto	10,000
1	Nos. 39, & 33		ditto	3,000
1	No. 98		ditto	2,000
1	No. 35		ditto	1,600
1	No. 31		ditto	1,500
1	No. 34		ditto	1,400
1	No 32		ditto	1,100
1	No 40		ditto	1,100
1	No. 24		ditto	800
1	No 53		ditto	500
1	No. 73		ditto	500
1	No 54		ditto	400
1	No 70		ditto	100
1	No. 71		ditto	300
1	No. 75		ditto	300
1	No. 72		ditto	200
1	No 76		ditto	200
1	No. 77		ditto	200
8	£100	money, being part of lot No 22	sold for	800
18	50	ditto No 23	ditto	900
70	20	ditto No 51	ditto	1,400
100	10	ditto No 21	ditto	1,000
300	5	ditto No. 36	ditto	1,500
300	5	ditto No. 38	ditto	1,500
200	5	ditto No. 52	ditto	1,000
100	5	ditto No 55	ditto	500
100	5	ditto No. 69	ditto	500
80	5	ditto No. 74	ditto	400
42	5	ditto No 78	ditto	210
698	5	ditto No 106 to 178	ditto	3,490
1	4 0 10	Balance of ditto		4 0 10
2,036 lots.				Value 55,004 0 10

"The shares of the above company, divided agreeably to the directions of the act, are now on sale; and the fortunate holders of any of the above lots, will have the option of taking the property or receiving the value in money, as set forth in the above scheme—subject only to a discount of 5 per cent. on the lots above 100*l*. By this guarantee, the public are assured of the intrinsic value of each lot in the scheme: and every inconvenience is obviated that might be expected to arise from the acquisition of distant property."

This, then, is the scheme: let us analyse it:—

Value as given in the Scheme	£55,004 0 10
Deduct 5 per cent. upon 41,800*l*., the amount of the Lots above 100*l*.	2,090 0 0
Value of the Prizes as set forth by the Schemers	£52,914 0 10

There are 10,000 tickets in each drawing; which tickets, on the 25th of February, were selling at 13*l*. 13*s*. The amount of 10,000, at 13*l*. 13*s*., is 136,500*l*.; but the price of one-sixteenth share is 19*s*. 6*d*., which gives a money payment of 15*l*. 12*s*. per ticket. The average may be taken, therefore, at 14*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*. per ticket, which gives an amount of 146,250*l*. to be paid by the public for property valued at 52,914*l*. 0*s*. 10*d*. The game is very nearly *three* to *one* against the *pigeon*. It has been estimated, in a sensible

exposure of this transaction, entitled "A Letter to Lord Althorp upon the Glasgow Lottery," that the amount cleared, or to be cleared, above the value of the property disposed of by lot, is 270,000*l.* Two lotteries of 10,000 tickets each have already been drawn; the third, of which we have given the scheme, remains to be drawn.

The Glasgow people, probably, got only the estimated value of their houses and cellars—gain enough for them. The surplus 270,000*l.* has gone into the pockets of the gentry who have opened lottery shops from Regent Street to the Bank. In whatever way the money has been spent by the public in this delusion, the national capital is just as much wasted in profitless expenditure as if it had been wasted in fires or wars. The capital employed unprofitably has been so much robbed from the capital that would have been employed profitably. The funds for the support of industry have become funds for the support of vice.

We wish the public had been deluded to ten times the amount of 270,000*l.* We wish the projectors and managers of this legal fraud had been impudent enough to show that the chances were ten to one against the adventurers, instead of three to one. The bubble would have been sooner at an end. On the contrary, the traders in human credulity are taking courage. Parliament has been weak enough to say, that because the bill for establishing the Glasgow lottery passed through the two houses without notice, the evil *must* go on. Parliament ought to have said, "Let us repeal the fraudulent bill in twenty-four hours, by suspending the standing orders; and let us make it penal to attempt any such imposture in future." Parliament has not said so; and, taking heart, the lottery-office keepers begin to trust that their old trade may be revived in all its glory. The member for Leominster, a most disinterested legislator on the subject of lotteries, has addressed the following letter to the "Dublin Evening Post," which letter has, by some lucky chance, contrived to find its way into many of our English papers:—

"*To the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post.*

"Sir,—Having been a constant reader of your journal since you were pleased to notice my proposed plan for the holding of 'occasional parliaments in Dublin,' an article on lotteries, which has recently appeared in it, has come under my observation. As this is a subject upon which *I may be presumed capable of affording some information*, I address you. In the article in question, you state that the Hamburgh lotteries are the cause of annually withdrawing from the country a large sum of money. This is certainly the case; but you do not mention the Guernsey lotteries, or it may be that you did not know, that in that island they are continually recurring, while sales of the tickets, to a *considerable extent*, are had in England. In addition to these and the Hamburgh lotteries, there are various minor lotteries, or, as they are called, 'little-goes,' drawn in London, the schemes of which permit the adventure of very small sums.

"When state lotteries formed a branch of our taxation, an officer was especially appointed by Government to prosecute all persons concerned in these little-goes; and, as you state, the importation of foreign tickets was strictly prohibited, as a measure of protection to the revenue. In the present condition of our finances, with the opinion prevailing that the minister proposes relinquishing some portion of the assessed taxes, it is not impossible but lotteries may be revived. But if this measure be not had recourse to in aid of the revenue, their use for *local purposes* might, as you suggest, be rendered highly beneficial, as there could be some hundreds of thousands annually obtained by VOLUNTARY TAXATION, which I should suggest ought to be placed under the control of the Government, to allow for the improvement of such parts of the United Kingdom as they might think proper.

"While upon the subject, permit me to observe, that the passing of the act for the Glasgow lottery was wholly unknown to myself, and those parties who have promoted the sale of the shares, until many months after it had received the sanction of the legislature; and that the Glasgow commissioners have been enabled, by its means, to repay to the treasury a large sum of money, borrowed for the improvement of their great commercial city. I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"T. BISH.

"No. 2, St. James's Square, London,
"January 25, 1834."

"*** Since writing the above, I have had a scheme and *tickets* of a French lottery sent me, which, no doubt, has been brought forward here, owing to the immense sale of the Hamburgh lottery; therefore, by discontinuing lotteries here, we are sending thousands out of the country to enrich foreigners, instead of aiding our own people."

We are glad that the nation has been enlightened upon this subject, by a gentleman "presumed capable of affording some information." We are glad to *know* that the Hamburgh, and the Guernsey, and the French lotteries sell their tickets largely in the United Kingdom, because we trust that not many weeks will pass, before the advertising and sale of such tickets here shall be deemed contrary to law, and heavy penalties be enforced, under a new statute, "as a measure of protection" to the morals of the people, as such penalties were formerly enforced as a "measure of protection to the revenue." "By discontinuing lotteries here," says the admirable political economist who represents Leominster, "we are sending thousands out of the country to enrich foreigners instead of aiding our own people." Those who buy Hamburgh and French lottery-tickets doubtless give some of our hard-wares and broad-cloths for the pleasure of being cheated; and those who cheat them are enriched to the extent of the folly amongst those who are fools enough to part with the useful products of their industry, to rely upon the miserable chances of a game, to which *rouge et noir* is honesty itself. Mr. Bish would put an end to this generosity towards foreigners upon a *small* scale, by establishing lotteries again, upon a *large* scale, "*for the aid of our own people.*" The *scheme* is a good scheme. "Our own people" will be prodigiously aided when they are taught, by their rulers, to expect from luck what a man can only win by talents and industry; to seek for their gains in the losses of others, (for in a lottery, as in all other gambling, one man's gain is another man's loss,) instead of relying upon their own honest labour. This is the real curse of lotteries—infinitely greater in its amount of evil, than the mere plunder of the adventurers either by the state or by individuals. Mr. Bish says, "In the present condition of our finances, with the opinion prevailing that the minister proposes relinquishing some portion of the assessed taxes, *it is not impossible but lotteries may be revived.*" Mr. Bish does not understand the temper of the English people any more than he does political economy. The minister who would dare again to propose a state lottery, would be *impeached*; the legislator who publicly advocates a state lottery deserves——to be sent to school. Let him learn that the only real support for the revenue of a state, is the *industry* of the people; and that their industry is represented, first, by their power of consuming those taxable commodities in which their comforts are concerned; and, secondly, by their power of accumulating capital for the support of future industry beyond their own consumption. The man who contributed to the state by the voluntary taxation of a lottery-ticket, spent the funds by which he would have contributed to the state and his own comfort in the purchase of soap, or candles, or glass, or paper. The man who wasted his capital in being cheated at a game where the chances were more than two to one against him, paralyzed that capacity for industry which gave the state its only lasting sinews of prosperity. His gambling contributions to the state conducted him, in many cases, to the workhouse or the prison. What the state gained by lotteries was spent, ten times over, upon the additional candidates for the tread-mill which lotteries created.

THE BUDGET.

On the 14th of February, exactly ten days after the opening of the session of parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made that description of statement to the House of Commons on the subject of the public finances, which is known under the quaint name prefixed to this article. The period chosen by him for making this exposition is peculiarly, and even unprecedentedly, early; but there are many reasons which render this promptness a measure of prudence and propriety on the part of the minister, apart even from the consideration that the country has a right to expect that information in many respects so important should not be kept back for a day longer than the public interest may require it to be withheld.

After giving a rapid sketch of our financial condition

during each of the last three years, upon which part of the subject it is not necessary for us now to enter, his lordship proceeded to describe our actual state, which must be considered in a high degree satisfactory, as proving the great and increasing resources of the country. Notwithstanding the repeal of taxes last year to an extent which relieved the people from the payment of 1,545,000*l.*, the actual surplus of income over expenditure in the year ended January 5, 1834, amounted to 1,513,083*l.* In congratulating the House upon this result, Lord Althorp took occasion to remark upon the fact that, notwithstanding the continued reduction of taxes, the improvement in the remaining branches of our revenue has constantly been such as not only to prevent deficiency in the public income, but to show a continued augmentation.

In addition to the surplus revenue of one million and a half just noticed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announces the gratifying fact of a reduction to the amount of half a million in the estimates for the present financial year, as compared with that about to expire. He also announces another source from which a considerable increase of revenue may be expected to arise during the present year, and that without imposing any fresh burden on the people. His lordship alludes to the alteration adopted in the system of taking the duty upon tea, at fixed rates for so much per pound, instead of levying it, as heretofore, by a per centage on the sale prices. The fixed rates now adopted appear to have been so calculated as to yield an equal amount of revenue with the former per centage duty, on the supposition that the same quantity of tea would be purchased by the public. It is, however, reasonably expected that, by destroying the monopoly of the East India Company in this article of necessary consumption, the price will be so far reduced as to cause an increased use for it on the part of the people, in which case, by fixing the rates at so much per pound, the revenue cannot fail, in the ordinary course of things, to be benefited. The quantity of tea upon which consumption duties are paid at present, exceeds thirty-one millions and a half of pounds annually, yielding a revenue of three millions and a half. It is supposed that this quantity will be so far increased by the probable reduction in price, that the Exchequer will benefit by that means to the amount of 600,000*l.*

Admitting that Lord Althorp's view is correct, this, together with the surplus income and diminished estimates, will give him a sum equal to 2,600,000*l.* beyond the financial wants of the year. Against this amount is placed the interest upon the sum to be paid as compensation to West India proprietors under the act of last session for abolishing slavery. This charge is taken at 800,000*l.* As certainly not more than one-half of the amount of this compensation will be called for during the present year, it argues great caution on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take the whole charge in respect of it at once into his calculations. This will reduce the actual estimated surplus to 1,800,000*l.*, a surplus which assuredly warrants the expectation of a further removal of the public burdens. This expectation it is proposed to realize by the remission of the tax on inhabited houses, amounting, after the partial reduction of last year, to 1,170,000*l.* per annum.

The bill for the repeal of the house duty is not to be introduced immediately. By waiting for that purpose until other questions for granting relief to the agricultural interest, and of which notices have been given by several members, shall be disposed of, his lordship may reckon upon assistance towards defeating those questions from many representatives whose constituents are more particularly interested in the repeal of the house-tax. If that repeal were once accomplished, there are many among this number whose constituents might rather urge them to a contrary course, which might be extremely embarrassing. It is already argued on the part of the country members, that this measure is unduly favourable to the inhabitants of towns; but as every man must occupy a house, it is difficult to see how this objection can be well founded, unless upon the supposition, that the towns have hitherto borne more than their fair share of the burden, which fact alone would afford a fair argument in favour of its removal. Unpopularity may be a valid argument against the propriety of any tax, but partiality in its operation is assuredly one much stronger.

Lord Althorp has left himself ample means, after the house-tax shall be abolished, for repealing some trifling duties which press upon the springs of industry with a weight out of all proportion greater than the amount they yield to the public coffers, and we have some reason to hope, from a passage in his speech, that he will avail himself of the present opportunity for doing so.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE Committee of the House of Commons for the classification of petitions, has issued two reports on the petitions presented up to February 14. The following abstract of their contents is prepared, and will be continued, on the same principle as those furnished by the "Companion to the Newspaper" in the course of the last session.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Ecclesiastical.		
Against lay patronage in Scotland	5	3,883
For relief of Protestant Dissenters	10	1,698
Against	1	60
Against the subversion of the Established Church	3	344
For reform in the Established Church	1	131
Against alteration of the Liturgy	1	915
For the better observance of the Sabbath	3	874
Against tithes in England	11	917
Against tithes in Ireland	2	325
Taxes.		
Against the house and window taxes	3	156
Against the malt tax	1	76
For poor-laws in Ireland	1	165
Miscellaneous.		
For repeal of the Union with Ireland	2	4,449
Against the present regulation of the China trade	1	52
For investigation and reform in the medical and surgical professions	1	43
Other miscellaneous petitions	16	349

PRIVATE BILLS.

ON Wednesday, Feb. 5, the House of Commons made the usual resolutions respecting the introduction of private bills. It was resolved: that the House would not receive any petition for private bills after Feb 21; that no private bill be read the first time after Monday, March 24; and that no report of such bills would be received after Monday, May 26.

The following is the list of petitions for private bills, and progress therein, Session 1834, Feb. 21:—

Petitions presented	192
Bills read first time	22
Bills read second time	9

Abstract of the above Bills.

I. AGRICULTURE—

23 Inclosure Bills; of which there are one for Bedfordshire, one for Berkshire, three for Cambridge, one for Derby, two for Dorsetshire, one for Durham, four for Gloucester, one for Hants, one for Northampton, one for Oxford, two for Somerset, one for Stafford, one for Tipperary, two for Wilts, one for York.

2 Drainage.

II. COMPANIES, &c—

1 British American Land.
1 British Iron.
1 Leicester Insurance.
1 London and Westminster Bank.
1 Marine Assurance.
1 Marine Insurance.
1 Marine Society.
1 Ocean Assurance.
1 St George's Hospital Incorporation.
1 Suffolk Insurance.
1 United Kingdom Life Assurance.

III. IMPROVEMENTS OF TOWNS AND DISTRICTS—

9 General Improvements.
31 Churches, Markets, Bridges, Gaols, Cemeteries, &c.
10 Local Water Works.
5 Local Gas Works.
12 Municipal Regulations,—Vestries, Police, &c.

IV. INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS—

47 Roads.
6 Canals.
17 Railways.

v. NAVIGATION—
15 Improvement of Harbours, &c.
2 Docks.
1 Pier.
1 General Steam Navigation.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

THE following is the Account of the National Income and Expenditure for the past year, drawn up at the Treasury, and printed by order of the House of Commons. The items, it will be observed, differ from those in the Statement published in our last Number; but the results nearly correspond.

Income:—	£.
Customs	16,208,940
Excise	16,543,711
Stamps	6,928,309
Taxes	4,692,058
Post office	1,513,800
Miscellaneous	83,779
Receipts not of the ordinary revenue	100,726
Total of income	46,271,326

Expenditure:—	£.
Charge of the funded deb	27,742,738
Interest on Exchequer bills	779,769
Civil list	510,000
Pensions	509,163
Courts of justice	377,966
Perpetual salaries, miscellaneous charges on the consolidated fund, mint, and hemp and flax bounties	566,342
Army	6,590,061
Navy	4,360,235
Ordnance	1,314,806
Miscellaneous, chargeable upon annual parliamentary grants	2,007,158
Total	44,758,242
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year	1,513,083

Produce of Customs Duties in the United Kingdom.—The following is the account of the gross and net produce of those duties in the year ending January 5, 1834, as compared with that of the preceding year:—

	1832. £.	1833. £.
Gross receipt of duties inwards	19,396,263	18,193,032
" outwards	122,922	136,290
Total gross receipt	19,519,185	18,329,322
Payments out of gross receipt for drawbacks and bounties on British refined sugar	954,941	504,797
Drawbacks and bounties on other articles	169,243	186,805
Allowances on quantities over entered, damages, &c.	63,407	59,716
Total payment out of gross receipts	1,187,591	751,318
Net receipt of Customs duties	18,331,594	17,578,004

Vessels entered Inwards and cleared Outwards in the Ports of the United Kingdom.

	ENTERED INWARDS.				CLEARED OUTWARDS.			
	1832.		1833.		1832.		1833.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom and its Dependencies	10,762	1,936,846	10,990	1,999,930	9,667	1,637,093	9,544	1,643,894
Russia	116	31,878	183	40,459	76	20,109	55	17,207
Sweden	103	13,371	122	15,075	67	8,535	77	9,232
Norway	619	97,222	717	116,297	121	15,279	116	16,973
Denmark	416	36,735	567	46,190	381	33,984	531	49,148
Prussia	413	87,177	536	111,842	271	56,188	335	69,403
Other German States	343	28,571	481	40,507	333	30,930	555	54,745
Holland	227	22,889	176	16,328	284	37,535	312	39,736
Belgium	146	13,774	219	20,381	331	39,819	324	38,186
France	904	44,785	928	41,031	563	35,067	507	28,104
Spain	33	3,583	56	5,813	22	2,897	50	5,591
Portugal	41	3,921	38	4,216	22	2,189	22	2,238
Italian States	20	3,481	29	5,674	20	3,472	17	3,546
Other European States	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	382
United States of America	453	179,582	451	184,562	480	179,676	467	187,927
Other States in America, Africa, or Asia	1	78	2	326	4	653	5	1,195
Total	14,627	2,497,893	15,480	2,610,841	12,642	2,003,426	12,982	2,167,797

Vessels employed in the Coasting Trade of the United Kingdom in the years ending 5th January, 1833 and 1834.

	ENTERED INWARDS.				CLEARED OUTWARDS.			
	1832.		1833.		1832.		1833.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Employed in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland	9,705	1,026,613	9,476	1,041,882	14,804	1,410,482	14,225	1,378,938
Other Coasting Vessels	11,779	8,637,555	109,623	8,611,255	116,391	8,823,694	116,481	8,923,562
Total	121,484	9,664,168	119,099	9,653,137	131,195	10,234,176	130,706	10,302,500

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

Trade of the Canadas in 1833.—We take the following particulars relating to this subject from the abstract given in the "Times" of the statements in Neilson's old "Quebec Gazette."

Exports. Flour: the average price had been, per barrel, 28*s.* 9*d.* for fine, and 30*s.* for superfine. The demand had been maintained throughout the season, and 12,000 barrels remained in store for home consumption. The demand for Indian meal had not realized expectation, and the price for the kiln-dried had never exceeded 18*s.* per barrel. The wheat crops in Lower Canada had been of poor quality, and in many parts there was a total failure. It sold for 5*s.* 9*d.* to 5*s.* 10*d.* per minot (about 60 lb.). In Upper Canada the harvest had been more abundant, and the prices averaged from 6*s.* to 6*s.* 3*d.* per minot. Ashes had been dull of sale, being 22*s.* to 22*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. for pots, and 25*s.* to 25*s.* 6*d.* for pearls. The quantity had only been 35,000 barrels, being nearly 11,000 less than in 1832: but the most important branch of Canadian export, timber, had been in a most flourishing condition, and the prospects highly satisfactory for the ensuing year. The arrivals during the year were 1007 vessels, measuring 271,147 tons, being far greater than in any preceding season. Fourteen square-rigged vessels are in progress of building; two of them are of 650 tons each, and supposed to be intended for the China trade.

Imports. The importation of tallow had been unusually small. The supply of coals exceeded that of any former year, keeping pace with the increased consumption of the country, in which it was rapidly superseding the use of wood in private houses. The prices were, for the best Newcastle coal, 18*s.* to 20*s.* per chaldron by the cargo; Smith's coal, 15*s.* to 17*s.*; and Scotch coal, from 18*s.* to 22*s.* 6*d.* The importation of coffee had been limited owing to the low price of inferior teas, which had been very abundant. Brandy and gin had been received in considerable quantities, and the latter had sold at from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s* 5*d.* per gallon. Rum (Jamaica) was selling at 5*s.* to 5*s* 3*d.* per gallon; and Leward and Demerara at 4*s.* to 4*s.* 3*d.* The quantity imported had been 2000 puncheons less than the average of the two preceding years, and the stock would be exhausted before the next opening of the navigation. The supply of sugar had been very moderate, and Muscovado had advanced to 50*s.* and 52*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. Business in broad cloths, &c, had not been done in its usual spirit. Herrings had been abundantly supplied, and sold at 18*s.* to 18*s.* 6*d.* per barrel. Madeira and port had met a ready sale; and sherry was in some demand at low prices.

The average consumption of rum in the Canadas is reported to be rather over than under 10,000 puncheons, fluctuating materially with a high or low price. Ten years ago the consumption of Muscovado sugar scarcely exceeded 12,000 hogsheads; but that of the last year is reported to be thrice that quantity, and the price had maintained itself.

The importation of molasses had been about 300 casks short of the consumption; but the stock on hand was sufficient to meet the deficiency. The consumption of brandy had greatly increased since 1831, previous to which year it amounted to 700 pipes annually. Brandy having been considered a safeguard against the cholera, there was a great demand for it in 1832, which produced in 1833 a heavy import of 2000 pipes, in consequence of which the price declined. Up to 1830, the consumption of gin was 550 pipes; it had not been more until 1833, in which year it was greater than ever previously known.

Population of Russia.—The return of the population of the Russian empire for the year 1832 (which includes only the inhabitants of the Greek religion) states the number of births to have been:—males, 992,663; females, 932,442; total, 1,925,105. Deaths, males, 615,956; females, 594,691; total, 1,210,647. Excess of births, 714,458. Marriages, 375,301.

Spanish Revenue.—The abstract of the Spanish revenue, for the year 1832, is officially stated as follows:—

	Reals.
Tithes	10,600,000
Rentas provinciales	130,000,000
Tobacco monopoly and Custom-house duties	90,000,000
Salt	60,000,000
Miscellaneous taxes, &c.	120,000,000
Stamps	20,000,000
Doors and windows	60,000,000
Branches of revenue specially adjudged to the sinking fund	80,000,000
Total	600,000,000

In the official statement of expenditure, the civil list and the foreign department, which form the first article, are combined. The account stands as follows:—

	Reals.
Casa real y estado	62,000,000
The marine	42,000,000
The finance department and the pension list	80,000,000
The war department	240,000,000
The department of grace and justice	18,000,000
The sinking fund, including the foreign debt	208,000,000
Total	650,000,000

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR FEBRUARY, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE domestic events of the month consist almost exclusively of the proceedings of parliament, which was opened on the 4th by a speech from the throne.

His Majesty began by expressing his reliance on the firmness of the members of both houses, in supporting on its ancient foundations, and in the just distribution of its powers, the established constitution of the state. He then congratulated them on the manner in which the colonies had received the great measure of the preceding session, the act for the abolition of slavery, and the progress already made in carrying it into execution by the legislature of Jamaica, which he said afforded just ground for anticipating the happiest results. In adverting to the subjects that awaited their consideration, he stated that he would order to be laid before them the reports from the commissions appointed to inquire into the state of the municipal corporations, into the administration and effect of the poor-laws, and into ecclesiastical revenues and patronage in England and Wales, by which they would be enabled to judge of the nature and extent of any existing defects and abuses, and in what manner the necessary corrections might, in due season, be safely and beneficially applied. His Majesty then expressed the confidence he had in the continued success of his endeavours to preserve the blessings of peace, much assisted as he had been in the maintenance of that policy by the good understanding subsisting between the government of this country and that of France. He regretted that no settlement had yet been effected between Holland and Belgium, and that the civil war in Portugal still continued; but should carefully watch for any opportunity of assisting in the establishment of peace and security in these countries. He had recognised the succession of the infant daughter of the late King of Spain. As to Turkey, his Majesty said, "It will be my object to prevent any change in the relations of that empire with other powers which might affect its future stability and independence." On the subject of the national finances, a confident belief was expressed that the state of the revenue, as compared with the expenditure, would be found satisfactory. The continuance of distress among the proprietors and occupiers of land was lamented; but both the internal tranquillity of the country, and the state of its commerce and manufactures, were described as affording the most encouraging prospects of future improvement. The early consideration of such a final adjustment of tithes in Ireland was recommended, as might extinguish all just causes of complaint, without injury to the rights and pro-

perty of any class, or to any institutions in church or state. The state of all parts of Ireland was stated to present a much more favourable appearance than at any period during the last year. "But I have seen," his Majesty continued, "with feelings of deep regret and just indignation, the continuance of attempts to excite the people of that country to demand a repeal of the Legislative Union. This bond of our national strength and safety I have already declared my fixed and unalterable resolution, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain inviolate by all the means in my power." Referring to the effects of the manner in which the popular feeling had been appealed to on that question, he said, in conclusion—"To none more than to the deluded instruments of the agitation thus perniciously excited, is the continuance of such a spirit productive of the most ruinous consequences; and the united and vigorous exertions of the loyal and well-affected, in aid of the government, are imperiously required to put an end to a system of excitement and violence which, while it continues, is destructive of the peace of society, and, if successful, must inevitably prove fatal to the power and safety of the United Kingdom."

On the same evening debates on the Address took place in both houses. In the House of Lords, after it had been moved by the Duke of Sutherland and seconded by Lord Howard of Effingham, the Duke of Wellington rose and attacked the conduct which the government had pursued in regard both to the dispute between Holland and Belgium, and to the civil war in Portugal. There was nothing new in any of his Grace's objections; and they were very completely repelled by Lord Grey, in a masterly speech, in which he showed that, in both the cases referred to, the present administration had merely adhered to, and followed up the policy which had been begun by their predecessors. The Address was then carried unanimously. In the Commons the Address was moved by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and seconded by Mr. Morrison, in speeches from which all irritating topics were excluded. This abstinence gave a tone to the rest of the debate. The opposition to the Address was led by Colonel Evans, who began by stating that until he had heard of the distress prevailing in the agricultural districts from the King's speech, he had not been aware of its existence, after which he proceeded to inveigh against the window-tax. Mr. Hume followed, and, having attacked the Address on somewhat different grounds, proposed an amendment on that part of it relating to the Established Church, which, on a division, was lost by a majority of 191 to 39. Another clause, proposed by the same honourable member, pledging the House to large reductions of expenditure, was negatived without a division; as was likewise one proposed by Mr. O'Connell for the extinction of tithes in Ireland, not only in name, but in substance, as a provision for the Established Church. Mr. O'Connell then moved the omission of the three last paragraphs of the Address, being the passage relating to the agitation for the repeal of the Irish Union, after a short and not very interesting debate, on which a division took place, when the numbers were 23 for the amendment and 189 against it. It appears from the votes, that on this, the first day of the meeting of the House, sixty-one notices of motions were given by different members.

Although the affairs of Ireland had of course occupied a portion of the debate on the Address, that country had scarcely formed the subject either of such exclusive or of such warm discussion on that occasion as had been generally expected. A matter connected with Ireland, however, well calculated to excite the public attention, was brought forward on the following evening. In replying to some observations of Mr. Littleton, Mr. O'Connell took the opportunity of referring to a speech delivered on the 22d of October, by Mr. Hill, to his constituents at Hull, in which the honourable gentleman had related a story of an Irish member who had spoken and voted against the Coercion Bill of last session, having nevertheless gone to ministers and pressed them to pass the measure. A report of Mr. Hill's speech had been given in a Hull paper immediately after its delivery; and the passage in question had been copied into most of the London and country journals within the next three weeks; but no notice was taken of it in Ireland till Mr. O'Connell's attention was called to the subject by a private letter addressed to him from Hull. To this he replied in a newspaper address to the electors of that borough, in which he declared the story to be an unfounded calumny, denounced Mr. Hill as its fabricator, and called upon the constituents of that gentleman to demand his resignation. Mr. Hill took no notice of this characteristic effusion, but intimated in the newspapers that if any Irish member of parliament would write to him on the subject, he should receive an answer, distinctly stating whether or no he was the individual who had been referred to in the speech. Many Irish members in consequence applied to Mr. Hill, and obtained his assurances that the charge had not been intended to apply to them. In this state the affair was when it was introduced into the House of Commons, as above stated, by Mr. O'Connell. The honourable and learned gentleman concluded his remarks by asking Lord Althorp whether such a communication as that spoken of by Mr. Hill had ever been made by an Irish member to his lordship or to any other member of the government. Lord Althorp's reply was, that certainly no such communication had ever been made to any cabinet minister, but that he had reason to believe that more than one Irish member, who voted against the Coercion Bill, had in private held very different language: and on being afterwards asked by Mr. Sheil if he was one of those members, his lordship answered that he was. This statement of course produced a great sensation. Mr. Sheil, in the most solemn manner, protested his innocence. Immediately afterwards Mr. O'Connell rose, and said, that if he had used any harsh expressions upon a former occasion to the honourable member for Hull, he now fully and perfectly retracted them. If more than that were required of him, he was willing to grant it. He tendered every satisfaction in his power both in that House and out of it. He now felt that the honourable member for Hull was perfectly justified in making the observation which he had made; at the same time he professed to place the most perfect confidence in Mr. Sheil's asseverations. The matter ended for this evening in, first, the committal of both Lord Althorp and Mr. Sheil to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and then their liberation, after each had promised that he would neither take any active steps himself, nor respond to any hostile message, if such should be resorted to in consequence of what had passed. The same pledge was required of, and given by, Mr. Hill.

It was the general understanding, however, that the imputation on Mr. Sheil demanded inquiry; and accordingly, on the following Monday (the 10th) Mr. O'Connell moved the appointment of a select committee for that purpose. In the course of his speech the honourable and learned gentleman took occasion to retract his retractation so earnestly offered to Mr. Hill a few evenings before, stating that he had been too hasty in making the admissions he had then done. In replying to this renewed attack, Mr. Hill showed by reference to a letter published by Mr. F. O'Connor, the member for the county of Cork, and to the report of a public meeting held at Clondalkin near Dublin, that the report implicating Mr. Sheil had been current before the close of the last session, and that Mr. O'Connell had been perfectly aware of this when he had accused him of having invented it and given the first utterance to it, towards the end of October, at Hull. To this Mr. O'Connell attempted no answer. The motion for the appointment of a committee was carried by a majority of 192 to 54. On the following Friday the committee gave in their report. They stated that they had examined two witnesses, and were about to examine others, when Mr. Hill, finding the testimony already heard very different from what he had expected, had intimated that he had come to the conviction that the charge which he had been led to make against Mr. Sheil had no foundation in fact; that he had made it on the persuasion that he had received it on undeniable evidence; but that he now expressed his sorrow for having ever contributed to give it circulation. The committee added, that neither of the witnesses who appeared before them deposed to any facts calculated to bear out the allegation against Mr. Sheil; nor did their testimony go to impeach his character and honour in any way or as to any matter whatever. They at the same time expressed their full confidence that Mr. Hill had acted under a sincere, though mistaken, persuasion. They derived, they said, this confidence as well from the tone of generous regret which characterized his communication at the close of their proceeding, as from the candid admissions, and the evident anxiety to avoid all exaggeration and mis-statement, which they had observed throughout his testimony, as delivered in their presence.

On the 13th, before the above affair had been thus dis-

posed of, another Irish question was brought before the House by Mr. O'Connell, in a motion for a select committee to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Baron Smith, in respect of his neglect of duty as a judge, and the introduction of political topics in his charges to grand juries, which, after a long and interesting debate, was carried by a majority of 167 to 74. There was, however, among the supporters of the motion very great difference of opinion as to certain important points which the House would have been called upon to decide if it had proceeded further in the business. Mr. Littleton, after having made up his mind to oppose the inquiry, and having intimated to the friends of Baron Smith, and to that judge himself, that such was the determination of the government, gave his consent to the motion on finding that the words with which the original notice had concluded, "with a view to his removal from the Bench," had been omitted; yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Solicitor-General both declared, that if Mr. O'Connell's charges should be proved, in their opinion removal ought to follow. Lord Althorp also intimated that he believed they would be proved, and that had he not thought so he would not have given his consent to the appointment of the committee. Mr. Stanley and Lord John Russell, again, argued that the charges, even if borne out, would not justify removal, although they nevertheless demanded inquiry. Sir James Graham dissented altogether from his colleagues and voted against the motion. For some days no further steps were taken by Mr. O'Connell; but at last, on being asked when he intended to name his committee, he appointed Monday, the 24th, for that purpose. In the mean time, however, the subject was again submitted to the House on the 21st by Sir Edward Knatchbull, who moved that the order for the committee should be discharged, and, after a long and warm debate, carried his motion by a majority of 161 to 155.

On the 14th, the House having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Lord Althorp delivered a general explanation of his financial plans for the year. We have given the particulars of this statement in another place. A short debate arose in reference to some of the points of the scheme; but as it was announced in the mean time merely for the consideration of the House, the objections to it did not assume the form of any distinct proposition.

The Navy Estimates were brought forward on the 17th by Sir James Graham. The entire number of hands proposed to be kept up is 18,500 seamen, 1000 boys, and 9000 marines, the boys being substituted for half their number of seamen reduced. The reduction of expenditure, as compared with the estimates of last year, is 181,000*l*. A reduction of the number of hands to 25,000 was proposed by Mr. Hume; but the amendment was negatived by 196 to 20. Another brought forward by Mr. Ruthven for abolishing two of the five Lords of the Admiralty, and reducing the salary of the first Lord, was also lost, there being only 29 votes in its favour, and 160 against it.

A very interesting discussion took place the following evening on a motion made by Mr. Harvey for "a select committee to inquire into the consideration of each grant in the pension list." This proposition was met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with an amendment declaratory of the successive reductions that had been made in the amount of the charge for pensions, and referring to several recent acts of the legislature legalizing the existing provisions for that object. It was also declared to be "the bounden duty of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend to his Majesty for grants of pensions on the civil list, only such persons as have just claims on the royal beneficence, or who by their personal services to the Crown, by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in science, and attainments in literature and the arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign, and the gratitude of their country." Mr. Harvey, however, very nearly carried his motion, the numbers on the division being 182 for, and 190 against it. The subject was one on which a strong popular feeling had been excited; and many of the names on the lately published list of pensions were well calculated to bring into general odium the corrupt, or at any rate the heedless, system which seems heretofore to have prevailed in the dispensation of the royal bounty. At the same time it does not clearly appear that any good would have been effected by such an inquiry as was proposed. Some of the supporters of the motion, indeed, talked of depriving of their pensions all such persons as should fail to establish any good claim to them on the score of public services or deserts; but it is not likely that for the sake of saving a few thousand pounds per annum the nation would, on reflection, have been brought to give its assent to a course of proceeding, running, to say the least of it, so very close upon an infringement of the great social principle which declares, that acts legally done by the recognised and competent authorities of the state must be held binding upon the community.

On Thursday, the 20th, Mr. Littleton brought forward the plan of the government for the extinction of the tithe system in Ireland. We shall take a future opportunity of detailing at length the particulars of this important measure. At present we shall only state that its object is to abolish tithe altogether as a permanent burden upon the land, by giving to the landlords the power of redeeming their properties from the impost by a single payment, the amount of which is to be regulated upon certain fixed principles of adjudication. The landlord, it is proposed, shall have the advantage of purchasing his exemption at somewhat less than its full value, the consequent diminution of returns being compensated to the clergy by the relief which they will have from the trouble and expense of collection, and from the other annoyances connected with the present system. The sums thus obtained are to be formed, in the first instance, into a common fund, from which stipends are to be paid to the clergy, corresponding to the amount of their present incomes; but eventually it is intended that the money shall be invested in land for each incumbent. The Irish clergy will, therefore, in future form a body of landlords, only having each a life-rent instead of a perpetual right of property in the soil. In the mean time it is proposed that composition for tithes in Ireland shall be abolished after the 1st day of November in the present year, in consideration of an annual land-tax to be granted to his Majesty, payable by the persons who would have been liable to such composition for tithes, and of equal amount. This was the motion with which Mr. Littleton concluded his speech. It was warmly opposed by Mr. O'Connell and other members; and after the debate had proceeded for some time, Mr. H. Grattan moved an amendment, the most material clause of which was, that the tax to be in future collected in lieu of tithes should be lighter in amount than that now raised. The motion, wrapping up in this delicate phraseology a proposition for permitting the Irish landlords to put a portion of the tithes into their own pockets, was not, however, much to the taste of the house. It was rejected on a division by a majority of 219 to 42. Another amendment, afterwards moved by Mr. O'Dwyer, was also lost, 66 voting for, and 190 against it.

The only other important discussion which we have to notice is that which took place on the 21st, when the Marquis of Chandos called the attention of the House to the distress of the agriculturists, and moved the following resolution;—"That in any reduction of the burdens of the country which it might be practicable to effect by the remission of taxes, a due regard be had to the distressed condition of the agricultural interest, as adverted to in his Majesty's speech." The debate which took place was rendered remarkable by a declaration from Mr. O'Connell, of his opinion that the interest of the national debt ought to be reduced one-sixth now, and if that should not be sufficient, as much more at the end of twelve months, and by the castigation which this frank avowal met with from Sir Robert Peel. "There would be a great cry," Mr. O'Connell had said, "among the fundholders, but the thing must be done, in spite of the cant of national faith." "The cant!" exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, turning round to the honourable and learned gentleman, "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." If Ireland, he continued, by the repeal of the Union, should obtain her own parliament, the House might now judge of the principles likely to prevail in an assembly where the influence of the honourable and learned gentleman would probably be predominant. The motion of Lord Chandos was only lost by a majority of 4, the numbers being 202 for, and 206 against it. Sir Edward Knatchbull's motion on the subject of the inquiry into the conduct of Baron Smith, which has been already noticed, occupied the House during the remainder of the evening.

In the House of Lords there has been no debate of any interest, since that on the first day of the session.

In the course of the month numerous meetings have taken place throughout the country, both among the dissenters

and among the adherents to the established church, with a view of eliciting expressions of public opinion on the matters likely to enter into the expected ministerial plan of ecclesiastical reform. Deputations have also been sent to the prime minister by both parties. The question of the repeal of the house and window taxes has been agitated at different meetings in the metropolis. In the beginning of the month a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, on the subject of the repeal of the corn-laws, when resolutions in favour of that object were carried unanimously. A few days ago an attempt was made to commence the agitation in this country of the Irish repeal question; but although some of the most notorious parliamentary and other advocates of the cause attended and spoke, the success they met with does not seem to have been very encouraging.

FRANCE.

Though there has been much violent discussion in the chambers, and some outrageous displays of party feeling in the courts of justice, few events of lasting importance have occurred in this country.

Judging from all recent occurrences, and the attitude of the government and people of France, we think it may be concluded that the system of moderation is triumphing alike over the ultra liberals and the ultra-royalists. The last, indeed, are now scarcely to be mentioned as a party. Much of this state of things, which in our opinion is the happiest state for France, has indisputably been brought about by the address, talents, and firmness of character of Louis Philippe. His government may be far short of perfection: but, without him, what would have been the condition of France and of all Europe? It is the very madness of party in those who deprecate the impracticable violence of the democratic spirit, to continue, as they do, in this country and elsewhere, to represent the King of the French as a caitiff that ought to be hurled from his throne. Can they not see that there is nothing between him and the horrors of a prolonged revolution?

At the opening of the chambers, Marshal Soult, as minister of war, proposed that the army should be raised to 370,000 men; but on the representations of a committee of the Chamber of Deputies, he deducted 60,000 from the number he before considered necessary. It appears that these 60,000 men would have burdened the budget with one million and a half sterling.

In the course of an altercation in the chambers, M. Dulong, an ultra liberal member, called General Bugeaud the *Duchess of Berry's gaoler*. A duel, in which M. Dulong fell, was the consequence. A public funeral and procession to the cemetery of *Père la Chaise* was attended by General Lafayette, and many other persons of strong political opinions. An insurrection, or, at least, an affray was expected; but the government took every necessary precaution to preserve order, which seems scarcely to have been interrupted.

No inconsiderable portion of the time of the chambers and of the government has been occupied by the subject of newspapers and the press. On the 1st of February, the "Tribune," the "Quotidienne," and the "Corsaire," were seized for their animadversions on an article in the "Journal des Débats," which designated Louis Philippe the most honest man in his dominions. The "National" was subjected to a ministerial prosecution; and it is complained, that by an infraction of an article regarding the liberty of the press, in the new charter of 1830, the proprietors of this paper were tried and condemned by the judges and not by a jury. The conductors of the "Quotidienne" were also brought to trial for having inserted in their paper a letter written by Count Kergorlay, refusing his (the Count's) allegiance to Louis Philippe, but enthusiastically professing it to the Duchess of Berry's son, as Henry V., and legitimate king of France. In this cause, M. Berryer, the partizan, counsellor, and somewhile companion of the Duchess of Berry in La Vendée, acted as counsel for the defendants, and displayed even more of the spirit of the Carlist party than was shown in the ridiculous article that led to the prosecution. Count Kergorlay was also tried; but, it is said, *because* both the Count and the paper were tried by jury, both were acquitted. But we have not yet done with newspaper warfare. A proposition was made in the Chamber of Deputies to prosecute M. Cabet, a member, for an article in the "Populaire," which journal is his own property, and chiefly written by himself. M. Cabet made a curious defence, and accused ministers of having taken into their pay another paper, of questionable morality, commonly styled "Figaro," but by M. C., in addition, "the infamous journal of an infamous government." A violent altercation, full of personalities, ensued. M. D'Argout, the minister of the interior, went so far in reply, that a duel was expected between him and the newspaper member, but very properly friends, and the house generally, interfered on this occasion. It was decided, however, by a considerable majority of votes, that M. Cabet should be prosecuted for his article.

The attention of the chambers was also called to the number of penny and halfpenny publications, many of which, exhibiting an infamous compound of obscenity and sedition, are constantly hawked about the streets of Paris, and exposed in every direction. Without much difficulty, ministers procured a law prohibiting the sale of papers or pamphlets in the streets by vendors not furnished with a government license. By withdrawing this license from such as shall sell any things offensive to morality, and contrary to public order, it is calculated that an end may be put to a dangerous and disgraceful practice which has too long obtained. The evil character of some of these low-priced sheets has not been, and, in fact, scarcely can be exaggerated; but we doubt whether it would be a measure of wisdom to impose a stamp-duty on *all* these cheap publications to check the sins of *part* of them. Would it not happen in France as it has happened in England? Would not the good destroy and outlive the bad? As it is, we believe the "Magasin Pittoresque," and other meritorious works of that nature, are widely circulated in the departments, whilst the seditious and immoral works are almost confined to Paris, Lyons, and one or two others of the great cities. Must, then, the great body of the people in the provinces, not procure innocent amusement and information for two *sous*, because a minority in the capital can purchase indecency, sedition, and blasphemy, for the same sum? We believe, however, that the clause relating to the general stamp duty here alluded to, has been struck out of the bill.

On the 13th of February, M. Thiers, the minister of commerce and public works, produced to the chambers his project of a law for the partial alteration of the French custom-house system. This was preceded by an exposition of the former systems, and of the one now proposed, after mature deliberation, as the best adapted to secure both the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. But we have already treated this subject at length, at p. 25 of our present Number.

SPAIN.

We mentioned in our last monthly retrospect, that it was expected that one of the first acts of the new ministry would be the convocation of the Cortes. This important measure has not yet taken place, but it is generally asserted that the government of the Queen Regent has been diligently employed in preparing the way for it. Neither the Cortes of 1812, nor that of 1820, was called together or constituted according to the old laws of Spain, and it is now assumed, that, by referring to, and scrupulously observing, those old laws and constitutional forms, the two estates—the nobility and church—may be reconciled and identified with the liberal system.

Ministers have, therefore, been seeking for precedents in old times for the mode of convocation; and this circumstance, added to the fact that the measures proposed must be submitted to the council of Castille, to the council of state, and to that of regency, may account for a little delay. It is better that this great step be taken wisely than hastily. As we expect, however, very soon to receive the intelligence of the Cortes being called to Madrid, with all the important details of their formation, we need merely say, at present, that there are to be two chambers, or an upper and a lower house.

In the meanwhile, the public press of Spain is acting with quite as much freedom as any existing European constitution tolerates. At Madrid, newspapers, reviews, and other periodical works have sprung up, and continue to flourish. We are induced to believe, what we warmly hope, that these productions will show more moderation, practicability, and political wisdom, than generally characterized those which inundated the Spanish capital in 1821, 1822, and 1823.

The insurrection in the northern provinces still continues, and though the Carlists have not gained possession of any considerable town or fortress, they seem to have lost little or no ground during the last month. They are said to be in such strength on the coast between St. Sebastian and Tolosa as to have established a regular custom-house line, where they impose duties on all goods passing thence into the interior. Don Carlos, however, for whom they are in arms, still skulks in Portugal, and Count Torreno has been sent by the Queen Regent from Madrid to Santarem, to require from Dom Miguel the immediate expulsion of the pretender. The queen could scarcely have expected this demand to be complied with. Indeed, there has been a talk at Madrid of effecting the expulsion of Don Carlos by sending two Spanish columns, of 6000 men each, across the Portuguese frontier. But the queen's troops have still work to do within her own territories, and the lamentable state of her finances prevents, for the moment, any considerable augmentation of the army. A correspondent of the "Times" describes her forces now in the field as very badly dressed and equipped, but of late years every Spanish corps would have had this appearance in the eyes of one only accustomed to see the armies of the north of Europe.

The few battles which have taken place in the Biscayan provinces and in Navarre, as they have led to no great result, would scarcely merit notice, but for the ferocity with which they have been fought. It appears to be resolved on both sides to give no quarter. The successes of the queen's arms have thus all cost very dear, and have been sullied by cruelty. But she has not been uniformly successful. Valdez and El Pastor, two of the most devoted of her commanders, were severely checked on different points at the beginning of February. At Madrid, a commission has been appointed to examine the terms on which all Spanish loans since 1823 have been contracted, the expected result of which is to recommend to the present government an attempt to compound with some of them on the ground that they were, *ab principio*, unfair and usurious. We believe, indeed, that the terms of some of these loans raised at Paris were such as astonished financiers; but, in spite of this, we doubt whether the shareholders will readily submit to a reduction of their claims. Are the Cortes loans to be acknowledged by the Spanish court, and to be settled by composition in the same manner?

An extensive change is taking place among the diplomatic and consular agents; all the ambassadors and others who have identified themselves with the old absolute system being recalled, and their places filled by men of more liberal notions. It is said that Labrador, while representing the Spanish court at Rome, has been intriguing in favour of Don Carlos, and this, from our previous knowledge of that diplomatist's character and tastes, we can easily credit.

It appears the government of the Queen Regent has granted a complete amnesty, with immediate permission to return to their homes, to all the ex-deputies of the Cortes, assembled by the revolution of 1820, who may now be in exile in consequence of opinions expressed by them in their capacity of deputies.

Among the new ambassadors appointed by the court of Madrid are Count Florida Blanca to England, and the Duke de Frias to France.

PORTUGAL.

IN Lisbon the preparations for the assembling of the national Cortes are in rapid progress. A convent has been fitted up for the peers, and a new wing is adding for the chamber of deputies.

The military operations, though still indecisive, appear to have been, on the whole, favourable to the Pedroites. Marshal Saldanha, who was detached from the main body of Donna Maria's army before Santarem with a corps of considerable force, has taken the town of Leiria from the Miguelites. Here, again, success has been accompanied by horrible cruelty. The garrison, consisting of about 1500 men, made so little resistance, that on the Pedroite side there was only one man wounded, and yet the greater part of the Miguelites were put to the sword.

After some skirmishing between detachments of the two armies, Saldanha entered Torres Novas in force, and here also, according to the general's own despatches, his troops slaughtered the fugitive Miguelites with savage fury. All chivalrous feeling, all magnanimity and mercy towards a fallen foe, are banished from this unnatural warfare. The taking of Leiria by Saldanha was expected to lead to the immediate fall of Coimbra, where the Miguelites are said to possess no good means of defence. Saldanha, indeed, calculated not only on this event, but on being soon able to drive Dom Miguel and his main army back upon Elvas, where they would be obliged to consume their resources, and would also be hard pressed by the Spaniards. As yet, however, Coimbra has not fallen, and Dom Miguel remains at his old position, Santarem, which is at the distance of only two days' march from Lisbon. Indeed, his partizans have since had the spirit to make two attacks on the Pedroites in one day. One of these was on Saldanha's forces, the other on the troops commanded by the Duke of Terceira. Meanwhile, it is said the Miguelites have suffered great privations, and that now they are almost reduced to despair *by the want of tobacco*. This last will not appear a trivial circumstance to those who are acquainted with the habits of the Portuguese or Spanish soldier. An epidemic disease and sickness have also prevailed at Santarem. The Infanta Donna Maria, the sister alike of Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel, has been among the victims. It is supposed by some that a letter sent from Santarem to the court at Lisbon, and which was returned by Dom Pedro unopened, merely contained an announcement of this death. On learning the melancholy event, the court put on mourning, and Dom Pedro appeared to be deeply affected; but Dom Miguel is said to have been seen a few days after the decease of his sister galloping on a white charger along the lines at Santarem in apparent unconcern.

Fresh protests have appeared against the government of Dom Pedro at Lisbon, and elsewhere. A certain Da Cunha declares, that during the ex emperor's stay at Oporto and at Lisbon, he has sacrificed more victims to arbitrary power than Dom Miguel has done during his whole reign. Much of this is, no doubt, the exaggeration of an enemy; but, from facts and the state of public feeling at Lisbon, we are inclined to believe that Dom Pedro has much to learn before he can obtain the character of a constitutional sovereign.

It is stated in recent letters from Lisbon, that the command of the Pedroite army before Santarem has been taken from the Duke of Terceira and given to Sir Thomas Stubbs.

GERMANY.

THE Congress assembled at Vienna proceeds in jealous mystery. We have scarcely heard even a conjecture as to the measures contemplated or the matters discussed, except that Prince Metternich's opening speech alluded entirely to the internal affairs of Germany.

A treaty has, however, appeared in the Vienna papers, signed by the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the three co-partitioners of Poland, by which these sovereigns engage that persons who commit *high treason* and crimes of the like nature in the Polish dominions appertaining to either of the three powers, shall be refused asylum or protection in the dominions belonging to the other two.

The Baron de Wessenburg, the Austrian minister to the conference for the settlement of the Dutch and Belgian question, has been recalled by his court, in consequence, it is said, of Lord Palmerston's having refused to reopen the discussion, or rather to go back and discuss over again matters already settled as the basis of the arrangement of those difficult affairs.

The Duchy of Baden has refused to join the German commercial league headed by Prussia, and the government of Nassau, by concluding a commercial treaty with France, has raised another impediment to the new continental system.

At Nuremberg in Bavaria, 2800 men have been raised for the service of King Otho, and of these 1700 have safely arrived in Greece.

SWITZERLAND.

WE regret to state that the tranquillity of a very interesting part of this country has been disturbed by turbulent men who had enjoyed its hospitality. A number of political

refugees, chiefly Poles and Italians, who were for some short time settled at Carouge, a village belonging to the very small canton of Geneva, and not a mile from the gates of that city, gave some uneasiness to the government, by allying themselves with a body of disaffected persons who wanted to imitate the example set them at Basle and other parts of Switzerland, and split the miniature state, which is not so large as an English parish, into two, Geneva Town and Geneva Country. This uneasiness on the part of the Genevese government was increased by intelligence received, that foreign refugees from other parts were arriving on the shores of the lake in great numbers, and with the intention of striking a blow. This blow, however, was not directed against Geneva, but to the opposite coasts of Savoy, and was intended to revolutionize the country on both sides the Alps, and hurl the present King of Sardinia from his throne. The numbers are differently stated, but it appears that about 400 men, Poles, Piedmontese, other Italians, and a few of them German and French, crossed the lake at different points and concentrated near Villegrande in Savoy. They were commanded by the Polish General Romarino, who expected two other generals of his own country to join him. The Savoyards, who are a poor, in some instances an oppressed, but a contented people, remarkably averse to revolution, instead of joining their standard, looked on in passive astonishment or fled. Romarino then recommended a retreat: some rushed back to their boats in the greatest confusion, and made their way across the lake; the rest were set upon by some of the King of Sardinia's dragoons and carbiniers, and with their General Romarino retreated with loss and difficulty to the Genevese territory, across the frontier of which the royalist troops, of course, did not follow them. Here, however, it became the imperative duty of the Genevese government to disarm them. To this end the *contingents* or militia of the little canton were drawn out. On the arrival of their partizans from Carouge, and some disaffected mechanics from Geneva, the refugees refused to lay down their arms, and breaking through the militia, marched on to Geneva, with the hope of an insurrection in that city. But Geneva remained perfectly quiet, and another portion of the militia under arms within the town, assumed an attitude that was not to be trifled with. With the assistance of some militia from the contiguous canton of Vaud, the Genevese have been enabled to dispose of these troublesome strangers for the present; but if these madmen persist in such conduct, where are they to expect a place of refuge? Now that their wild plan has failed, they talk of treachery, and, with their apologists, assume that they were blinded and led into it by the emissaries of the Holy Alliance, which wishes to establish a pretext by which the Polish, Italian, and other refugees may be expelled from *most* of the countries of Europe, and rendered objects of dislike and suspicion in *all!*

RUSSIA.

The emperor has been legislating for school masters: in this as in many other respects, he is a much less liberal sovereign than his friend Sultan Mahmoud. A law has been published which must inevitably have the effect of checking the progress of education in the country of Europe, which, next to Turkey, most requires education. No school is permitted to be opened, and no individual, under severe penalties, is to give private instruction without a formal license from government. All schools and places of education whatsoever are to be placed under the surveillance of what will, in fact, form a part of the Russian police.

We may expect that Nicholas, in another ukase, will prescribe the books that are to be read by the Muscovites of the rising generation, from the primer to the political catechism of passive obedience,—at which last point, we suppose, education is to stop.

Reports, which seem worthy of credit, state that a new treaty, between the Emperor and the Sultan, more favourable to Turkey than that of Adrianople, was signed at St. Petersburg on the 27th of January. By this new arrangement Russia is to lessen the debt already due by the Porte, to relinquish a portion of Moldavia and Wallachia immediately, and ultimately to restore the whole of those principalities.

TURKEY.

As far as his internal government is concerned, the Sultan seems just now to be acting wisely. He is freeing commerce from the nightmares that oppressed it in the shape of monopolies; that upon olive oil has been removed, and several others have been almost entirely abolished. He is founding some schools at Constantinople on the Lancasterian system, where instruction will be placed within the reach of the poorer orders. He has permitted his Christian subjects to build new churches.

On the other hand, the Pasha of Egypt is said to be oppressing his new subjects in Syria with excessive taxation, and he is carrying on a desolating war for the subjugation of the island of Candia, where the Turkish and the Greek population seem equally opposed to him. His admiral, Osman Noureddin Pasha, has fled from his service and arrived at Constantinople, where he has been received with distinction. Osman, who has had the advantage of a European education, enjoys the reputation of being a well-informed, clever man, of very polished manners.

SOUTH AMERICA.

At the moment when, from the changes in the politics of Spain, there is a prospect that that country will soon grant the long and most uselessly withheld recognition of the independence of the South American States, we doubly regret to see that part of the world again overclouded with discord and anarchy: but so it is. Since we last wrote, intelligence has been received that insurrection or civil war was again raging in Mexico, Chili, and Brazil. In the first of these states, the president Santa Anna has been recalled from the country, whither he had retired to recruit his health, which had been impaired in previous campaigns, to take the field again and command another army, with which his success seemed rather doubtful. We have no certain details in relation to the present parties or factions in either of these three restless states, but in Brazil it appears that the throne of Dom Pedro's infant son is in jeopardy.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS.

December 19.—The accounts from Persia, which announce the death of Abbas Meerza, the eldest son of the Shah, add, that the Shah himself was dangerously ill, and the news of his death daily looked for. But should that event happen no disturbance was anticipated, as every thing authorized the hope that the son of Abbas Meerza would succeed his grandfather without opposition.

January 12. The Captains-General of Catalonia and Castile, Llauder and Quesada have expressed their satisfaction with the change in the Spanish ministry, and have sent in their adhesion to the new order of things. In Navarre, General Valdez is said to have routed a considerable body of Carlist insurgents.

14. At this date the differences between Don Pedro and his peers had been made up. The Duke of Terceira had been despatched to take the command of the army before Santarem, while Saldanha had orders to clear the country of the Miguelites at the head of 5000 men.

15. Saldanha at the head of a strong detachment entered Leira.

20. At an interview between the deputation of the Nottingham meeting of Dissenters and Earl Grey, his lordship is stated to have declared the disposition of himself and colleagues to relieve the Dissenters from the disabilities connected with marriage, burial, registration, and such matters; but said that he would give his strenuous opposition to every attempt to remove the establishment; considering it the sacred duty of every government to maintain an establishment of religion.

21. A controversial meeting was held at the Burton Rooms, when the doctrines of St. Simonianism were advocated by Dr. Prati, and those of Mr. Robert Owen by himself. The latter, in his speech, took occasion to announce, that, although there was not yet one rational man on earth, the time of human regeneration would very speedily commence.

25. Lord Althorp declined to receive a deputation of the Westminster Central Committee for the repeal of the assessed taxes, stating that he had already received deputations on the subject from almost every quarter of the metropolis, and that ministers had already determined on the course to be pursued with regard to the taxes question.

25. About twenty minutes before 3 o'clock this morning, a slight and rather violent trembling of the earth was felt at Portsmouth.

effects were more apparent at Chichester, Emsworth, Havant, and Purbrook, where in many of the houses the convulsive motion shook the furniture, and appeared to threaten destruction to the premises. A shock of similar violence and duration was felt at Portsmouth about twenty years since.

26. "The Allgemeine Zeitung" states, that on account of the recent law upon the press in Greece, exacting heavy pecuniary security from the editors of journals, none have appeared in that country, information concerning which is therefore only obtainable from private sources.

27. The Chamber of Deputies awarded pensions to the widows of Generals Jourdan and Decaen, but refused them to those of Daumesnil and Gerard, alleging, that the latter officers had not rendered distinguished military services to their country.

29. The lower parts of Wapping, Shadwell, Limehouse, Lambeth, and the Strand, were flooded, about 4 o'clock this morning, by an overflow of the Thames. Much corn in the warehouses was damaged and carried away. Many poor families, whose dwellings were inundated, suffered severely. In some houses the inmates were awakened by the water coming into their beds. Watermen were employed to take the people from one street to another in Shadwell and Wapping. On Tower Wharf the water rose so high as to reach the cellars in the interior of the Tower where some Government stores were deposited. Many of the decayed stones of the piers of Blackfriars Bridge were carried away. This overflow seems to have been owing to the sudden change of the wind from the south-west to the north-east, and the addition of the land-waters occasioned by the late heavy and long continued rains.

— The Duke of Wellington was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the room of the late Lord Grenville. Sir Robert Peel had previously declined to be nominated. The ceremony of the installation took place at Apsley House on the 7th of February.

— The court of King's Bench sentenced a fishmonger to pay a fine of 50*l.* for selling unsound fish in July last. He had been twice let off for similar offences on the payment of costs. It was the first prosecution of the kind on record.

30. Information from Calcutta states, that a most destructive earthquake had occurred at Katmendoo and its vicinity, by which 10,000 houses and from 600 to 800 persons were destroyed in the several towns of the valley, and it was feared that the mischief would be extended far beyond its limits. The drought in various parts of India continued. In the Alwas country the heat was excessive; the cattle had died in great numbers, and the whole country was covered with decaying bones and carcases.

31. This day a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, "for the purpose of deciding on the most efficient means of obtaining a removal of the bread tax grievance;" when it was resolved to petition Parliament for "the removal of the existing duties on foreign corn, by such assigned gradations as to the wisdom of the legislature shall seem meet."

— A convention has been made between France and Belgium, whereby it is agreed that all fugitives, for crimes and offences not political, are to be reciprocally delivered up by each country.

Feb. 1. Captain Augustus Wathen, of the 15th or King's Hussars, having been charged with insubordinate and unofficer-like conduct, tending to the injury of military discipline, by his commanding officer, Lieut.-Col. Lord Brudenell, was brought to trial before a Court Martial, held at Cork. The Court, in declaring Capt. Wathen honourably acquitted of each and of all the charges, strongly animadverted on the system of espionage which the accuser had established in his regiment; in consequence of which, his Majesty, in approving and confirming the finding of the court, directed the removal of Lord Brudenell from his command.

— The wind having at last shifted to the northward, it is calculated that at least 900 vessels will have simultaneously set sail from the various ports in the Channel, and from Bristol, the Welch ports, Liverpool, and Ireland. Many of these outward-bound vessels have been detained since the middle of November; and the loss by the detention will be very great to the merchants and shipowners.

— The Frankfort Gazette states, after accounts from St. Petersburg of this date, that a caravan of 328 camels had set out from Orenburgh, and another of 1212 camels from Troitzt, with goods to the amount of 746,423 rubles, both destined for Bucharia.

3. Messrs. Telford and Palmer, the engineers, have arrived at Dover, for the purpose of surveying the harbour, and reporting their opinion on its present state, which is so bad that for the last three months it has frequently been impracticable, for a week together, for vessels to enter. This has arisen, it appears, chiefly from the effect produced by the tides and heavy seas on the shingle of which the beach is for the most part composed.

4. Four convicts belonging to the hulks at Woolwich, died after a few hours' illness, in consequence of having eaten a considerable quantity of hemlock, which they mistook for wild celery.

— 6. In an action near Vittoria, between El Pastor and the Carlist in-[illegible] the former suffered a defeat, and sustained much loss in some [illegible] subsequent actions of doubtful result. No quarter was given on either [illegible] armies.

— On digging for the purpose of draining a pasture belonging to [illegible] also, a slaughthateau de la Millière, canton of Cauhé, in the Vienne, a subterranean vault, filled with gunpowder, was discovered, sufficient in quantity to load ten carts. This deposit must have been made at a very distant period, as the surface is covered with trees, some of which are apparently upwards of one hundred years old.

14. Lord Teignmouth died at the advanced age of 83. His Lordship was formerly Governor-General of India, and President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from the period of its institution. As an author, his principal work is a "Life of Sir William Jones," with whom he was intimately acquainted.

15. All business suspended at Lyons, in consequence of a general strike of the workmen for higher wages. The original strike was begun among the working weavers of a certain description of shawls and shagged articles; but in consequence of the combination among the different classes of workmen, the stoppage of one led to the suspension of all.

19. Mr. Baron Bayley retired from the Exchequer bench, and has been created a baronet.

— Mr. Wombwell's celebrated lion, Wallace, and a tigress, escaped from the caravan at Worksworth, on the way to Newhaven fair. The lion, after having destroyed several cattle and sheep, and killed one man, was secured by the able management of the keepers, but not until it had received some severe wounds. Every exertion was made to secure the tigress; but this object could not be effected until she had killed a woman with a child in her arms, and a boy about eleven years of age; and had herself been so severely wounded as not to be expected to recover.

The Postmaster-General has determined on abolishing the whole of the privileges enjoyed by the clerks of the post-office, as regards the transmission of a dealing in newspapers, whether English or foreign. The privileges will cease, so far as English newspapers, and the circulation of them in the United Kingdom, are concerned, on the 5th of April next. A compensation is proposed to be made to the clerks of the post-office only in those cases where their privileges, as in the instance of foreign newspapers, are sanctioned by an Act of Parliament.

The Home-Office lately issued a paper, directing one of the magistrates at each of the metropolitan police-offices, to examine personally the public-houses and gin-shops in their respective districts, in order to ascertain whether they have all the necessary convenience for a working man to cook his dinner.

Lay meetings have been extensively held throughout the country this month, for the purpose of resolving on declarations of attachment to the established church.

The sum of 1300*l.* has been raised by subscription for the erection of a suitable monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, to the memory of the late Dr. Babington.

Letters from Sydney New South Wales, of the 17th of August, state the arrival there of the first vessel with free female settlers, 215 in number; and the result of the experiment is highly satisfactory In three days, no less than 180 of them were engaged; and there was no doubt that the whole of them would in a few days be provided for.

Papers from Freemantle, Western Australia, have been received to the 21st of August. They exhibit astonishingly high prices in articles of ordinary consumption: mutton being 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.; fowls, 5*s* each; fresh butter, 3*s* per lb.; potatoes, 4*d.* per lb.; pork, 1*s*, 6*d.* per lb.; eggs, 4*s.* per dozen; hay, 10*l.* per ton; and vegetables 3*d.* per dish. There was no fresh beef.

At Martinique it appears that an attempt has been made by a party of free mulattoes, to excite the slaves of that island to rebellion; they had even proceeded so far as to set fire to estates, several of which were destroyed. The event was accompanied by a serious loss of life, 50 or 60 having been killed, and 180 taken prisoners with arms in their hands.

The details of the Slavery Emancipation Bill have been promulgated throughout the Island of Mauritius, and appear to have given general satisfaction.

Some disturbance took place at Trinidad during the Christmas holidays, in consequence of the Negroes refusing to work, without alleging any reason for the refusal. The military were called out, and the ringleaders, who were taken at Bon Accord, were punished; but at Cedar Hill a violent struggle ensued in consequence of the Negroes endeavouring to prevent any of their party from being taken; eight, however, were secured. A cane plantation on the last mentioned estate was set fire to, and five acres destroyed before it could be got under. Order was ultimately restored.

M. Bourrienne, the author of the well-known "Memoirs," which give by far the clearest insight into the true character of Napoleon Bonaparte, died lately at Caen in a mad-house.

On Sunday the 16th February, the well-known Mr. John Thelwall died at Bath. He had commenced a series of lectures on elocution, when he was interrupted by the disorder which proved fatal to him.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke Street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 16. APRIL 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Report of the Poor Law Commissioners	49	Abstract of Parliamentary Papers	61
Dissenters' Marriages	55	House of Commons	62
The Hardware Trade	57	Statistics, Trade, &c.	62
Public Petitions	61	Political Retrospect for March	63
		Chronicle of Events	71

REPORT OF THE POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS.

THE subject of the English poor laws, including their history as well as their present state, was treated at considerable length in the 'Supplement to the Companion to the Newspaper for July, 1833. The present paper, therefore, will be mainly devoted to an exposition of the measures proposed to his Majesty by the Poor Law Commissioners, with a view to remedy the principal evils of the existing system.

Before entering upon the subject, we wish to say a few words respecting that feature in its character to which the present report mainly owes its superiority over all preceding reports—the evidence upon which it is based. Under former inquiries the witnesses were few, and chiefly drawn from particular classes. For example,— of the thirty-three witnesses (a number considerably above the average) examined before the Lords Committee of 1830-1, about two thirds are composed of magistrates and farmers, the classes who to many appear interested in a mal administration of the poor-laws. As compared with the above, the character of the evidence collected under the present commission may be best gathered from the words of the report itself.

"All evidence is necessarily subject to error, from the ignorance, forgetfulness, or misrepresentation of the witnesses, and necessarily tinged by their opinions and prejudices. But in proportion as the number of witnesses is increased, those sources of error have a tendency to compensate one another, and general results are afforded more to be depended upon than the testimony of a few witnesses, however unexceptionable. The evidence contained in our Appendix comes from every county and every town, and from a very large proportion of even the villages in England. It is derived from many thousand witnesses, of every rank and of every profession and employment, members of the two Houses of Parliament, clergymen, country gentlemen, magistrates, farmers, manufacturers, shopkeepers, artisans, and peasants, differing in every conceivable degree in education, habits, and interests, and agreeing only in their practical experience as to the matters in question, in their general description both of the mode in which the laws for the relief of the poor are administered, and of the consequences which have already resulted from that administration, and in their anticipation of certain further consequences from its continuance." *

It may be proper here to add, that of the Appendix above alluded to, one part alone, Appendix (B), extends to nearly 6000 folio pages. It consists of a Digest of the answers to the queries circulated over the country by the Commissioners, arranged in such a manner that the answer to any one of the fifty-three questions may be read as a separate subject, without the attention being distracted by the intervention of other matter, the answers from each parish recurring in the same portion of each page; and it contains, perhaps, the most extensive, authentic, and valuable body of statistical information ever collected in this country, not even excepting Doomsday book, upon which the Commissioners appointed by William I were employed six years, while the Commissioners of William IV. have scarcely consumed a fourth of that time upon their more arduous and, in a moral point of view, far more important undertaking.

Allusion has been made above to the magistrates and farmers in the capacity of witnesses. It is shown in the evidence collected under the commission to be a not uncommon impression among the farmers that they profit by the allowance system in getting their labour partly paid for by others. This is certainly one of the primary and transient effects of the system. But the farmer's advantage is but temporary, for the ultimate and permanent effects are the destruction of the labourer's skill and industry, and the insecurity and diminished return of his employer's capital; in a word, the demoralization of the labourer and the ruin of the farmer.

The case of the magistrates is ably and impartially stated in the following passages of the report:—

"Our Appendix contains many complaints of the conduct of magistrates. It is to be observed that much of this is *ex-parte* evidence, which the persons complained of had no opportunity of contradicting or explaining, and that the overseers, from whom it was principally derived, may be supposed to have been anxious that the blame of mal-administration should rest on any persons but themselves. It must be acknowledged, however, that in so large a body as the magistracy of England and Wales, invested with powers so extensive and so uncontrolled, cases of misconduct must from time to time arise. Admitting, as we are anxious to admit, the general integrity and intelligence of the magistracy, and the importance of their services in the administration of justice, we yet cannot doubt that there are to be found among more than two thousand persons some exceptions to the general character. But we believe these exceptions to be rare, and that in a great majority of instances, so great as to form the general rule, the magistrates have exercised the powers delegated to them by the poor-laws, not wisely indeed, or beneficially, but still with benevolent and honest intentions, and that the mischief which they have done was not the result of self-interest or partiality, or timidity or negligence, but was in part the necessary consequence of their social position, and of the jurisdiction which was confided to them, and in part arose from the errors respecting the nature of pauperism and relief which prevailed among all classes at the time when the allowance system and the scale were first introduced, and still appear to prevail among the majority. Under the influence of such opinions even good intentions may become mischievous. A more dangerous instrument cannot be conceived, than a public officer, supported and impelled by benevolent sympathies, armed with power from which there is no appeal, and misapprehending the consequences of its exercise."*

The principle which the Commissioners adopt as the basis of their proposed remedial measures, and it is one that will be admitted by all except those who desire to live on the labour of others, is that the condition of the person receiving relief shall not be made so eligible as that of the independent labourer of the lowest class. The report states, as the result of the extensive inquiries made under this commission into the circumstances of the labouring classes, that the agricultural labourers, when in employment, in common with the other classes of labourers throughout the country, have greatly advanced in condition—consequently, a condition worse than that of the independent agricultural labourer, may nevertheless be a condition above that in which the great body of English labourers have lived in times that have always been considered prosperous.

* Report, p. 3. The octavo edition will also be quoted throughout this article, as being more easy of access. Octavo edit. p. 5.

* Report, p. 83; octavo edit. p. 150.

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

The evidence quoted in the report shows that the specific effects of the application of this principle have been, 1. The conversion of paupers into independent labourers, and the reduction of rates; 2. The rise of wages; 3. The diminution of improvident marriages; 4. The increased content of the labourers, and the diminution of crime.

This principle then being admitted, it was next to be considered what should be the general mode of legislation founded upon it. Here the Commissioners have taken their stand upon the ground of experience, and submit—

"That those modes of administering relief which have been tried wholly or partially, and have produced beneficial effects in some districts, be introduced, with modifications according to local circumstances, and carried into complete execution in all."*

The following are the chief specific measures which they recommend for effecting these purposes. We shall devote as large a space as our limits permit to the exposition of those that, from their importance, may most appear to demand it.

"I. That except as to medical attendance, and subject to the exception respecting apprenticeship hereinafter stated, all relief whatever to the able-bodied persons or to their families, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses (*i.e.*, places where they may be set to work according to the spirit and intention of the 43d of Elizabeth), shall be declared unlawful, and shall cease, in manner and at periods hereafter specified; and that all relief afforded in respect of children under the age of 16, shall be considered as afforded to their parents."

The Select Committee of the Commons, for 1828, went far in the suggestion of remedies for the existing evils. They recommend the refusal of allowance to labourers in aid of wages—one fruitful source of mischief. They also state that the success of their proposed amendments would depend, *in many cases*, on the adoption of a well-regulated system of workhouse industry. But the exceptions made to the application of their rule (of refusing allowance) are sufficient to neutralize, in a great degree, the benefits likely to arise from their otherwise excellent recommendations. One of the exceptions is temporary illness. Now, though a man cannot counterfeit old age, he can counterfeit sickness or infirmity, as is repeatedly shown in the evidence of the present Commission.† And it is the peculiar characteristic of this Commission, that its inquiries have ascertained and made manifest to all who are capable of being convinced by evidence, that the system of well-regulated workhouses is the only plan by which their principle of granting relief to the indigent can be carried into full effect.

It is here proper to notice the distinction made by the Commissioners between *poverty* and *indigence*. By indigence is meant the state of a person unable to labour, or unable to obtain, in return for his labour, the means of subsistence. By poverty, the state of one who, in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour. It is for the relief of the former alone that a compulsory provision can be contemplated by any rational legislator. To attempt an eleemosynary provision for the latter, would be to attempt to reverse the laws of nature—to go against that decree of Providence which says that man shall live by the sweat of his brow. A cry has been got up, by those demagogues who subsist on the confusion of ideas which they produce in the minds of their dupes, with the purpose of working one of the fallacies of confusion, by confounding the words poor and indigent. They represent the recommendation of the Commissioners as an attempt to make poverty penal,—to deprive the poor of their rights, and to treat them with cruelty. The poor are greatly obliged to them, however the indigent may feel on the occasion. Now, be it understood, that within the term poor are comprehended all those who have no accumulated labour or capital to live on; who live, in short, on the labour, whether daily, weekly, quarterly, or yearly, of their hands or their heads. Would it not be doing the poor, as thus defined, a very important service to draw a broad line of distinction between them and those improvident, dissolute, and idle persons who desire to live on the labour of others? Under the present system all are alike degraded. No prudence, no diligence avails. No love of independence is sufficient to secure independence, as the following cases fully show. They also most forcibly show with how much indulgence the vices of the present race of labourers ought to be received, since they must be considered as the victims of a system almost unparalleled in the annals of mankind for its demoralizing power. They make us wonder rather that, in defiance of that system, such instances should still be to be found, than that the labourer abandons virtues of which this is the reward, and would lead us to infer, with Turgot, that man must have about him a natural goodness that is above the influence of all that bad institutions can do.

"The case of a man who has worked for me, will show the effect of the parish system in preventing frugal habits. This is a hard-working, industrious man, named William Williams. He is married, and had saved some money, to the amount of about 70*l.*, and had two cows; he had also a sow and ten pigs. He had got a cottage well furnished: he was a member of a benefit club at Meopham, from which he received 8*s.* a-week when he was ill. He was beginning to learn to read and write, and sent his children to the Sunday school. He had a legacy of about 46*l.*, but he got his other money together by saving from his fair wages as a waggoner. Some circumstances occurred, which obliged me to part with him. The consequence of this labouring man having been frugal and saved money, and got the cows, was, that no one would employ him, although his superior character as a workman was well known in the parish. He told me at the time I was obliged to part with him, 'Whilst I have these things, I shall get no work; I must part with them all: I must be reduced to a state of beggary before any one will employ me.' I was compelled to part with him at Michaelmas: he has not yet got work, and he has no chance of getting any until he has become a pauper; for until then, the paupers will be preferred to him. He cannot get work in his own parish, and he will not be allowed to get any in other parishes. Another instance of the same kind occurred amongst my workmen. Thomas Hardy, the brother-in-law of the same man, was an excellent workman, discharged under similar circumstances; he has a very industrious wife. They have got two cows, a well-furnished cottage, and a pig and fowls. Now he cannot get work, because he has property. The pauper will be preferred to him, and he can qualify himself for it only by becoming a pauper. If he attempts to get work elsewhere, he is told that they do not want to fix him on the parish. Both these are fine young men, and as excellent labourers as I could wish to have. The latter labouring man mentioned another instance, of a labouring man in another parish (Henstead), who had once had more property than he, but was obliged to consume it all, and is now working on the roads."*

The following case is of the same nature:—"An industrious young man, who had been a soldier, and married a wife abroad, was discharged: he returned to his parish (Westbury), but did not apply for relief. His wife, who is a respectable woman, with himself, slept on straw; they endured the greatest privation rather than go to the parish. At length he got regular employ, at 9*s.* per week. He now became comfortable: he furnished his house, and everything was going on well, till the stem commenced, when he was informed he could not be employed any longer: and he could not get labour till he consented to be stemmed at 3*s.* per week, for which he labours about three days. He is now off the parish again by his industry, but he told me the stem was 4*l.* out of his pocket last year, only for labour."†

Under the system of poor-law administration proposed by the Commissioners, there is no danger of men like these having to enter a workhouse. The proper resources of such men against sickness and other casualties are savings' banks and friendly societies; and the cases which those cannot provide against are the fitting occasions for the exercise of charity.

The view of the subject given above is fully borne out by the following evidence which expresses the sentiments of a large proportion of the most respectable mechanics:

Launcelot Snowdon examined,—

"Are you acquainted with the operative classes?—Yes, having been a journeyman printer twenty years, and one half of the time foreman, and having been in different situations in our own societies, as well as connected with various other societies of operatives, I believe I am well acquainted with them.

* Report, p. 146; octavo edit. p 261.

† See particularly p. 153 of the Report—evidence of Mr. Tidd Pratt.

* Report, p. 45, evidence of Mr. Hickson; octavo edit. p. 78.

† Report, p. 124; octavo edit. p. 221.

"In what way do they regard the fact of any one of their body receiving parochial relief?—I know that none but the worst characters would ever think of applying for parish relief; and that the respectable workmen consider it disgraceful. The other day, a list of those who received out-door parish relief was brought to a printing-office to be printed. One of the men saw on the list the name and address of one of the journeymen in the same office. This man was challenged with the fact, which he did not attempt to deny. He had been receiving as much as 6*s.* or 8*s.* a week out-door relief, during two years, for four children, although he had been in receipt of 36*s.* a week steady wages during the same time. The men stated the circumstance to the employer, and he was discharged.

"Did they request that he might be discharged?—The proceeding was tantamount to that, and of course the master acceded.

"Suppose the whole of the relief were regulated by an independent, or, say a Government authority, on a fixed rule, that of not rendering the condition of the pauper within the workhouse so good as that of the lowest class of workmen living by his labour out of the house?—That of course. No reasonable man would, I should conceive, expect to have his condition in the workhouse bettered. I think a Government authority would be much the best, as the parish officers are now, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, interested parties." *

Again:—"Do you find any effect produced by men obtaining parochial relief readily, when they are out of work, or have anything the matter with them?—I have always seen that men who have had parish relief have been very careless of work and of their money ever afterwards. It has also acted very mischievously on benefit societies, as these men would never contribute to them. We had a large and very good society of our own, which failed some time ago, and I have known the societies of other trades fail, and it has been a common complaint amongst us, that but for the parish, they would have stood firm. I am myself confident, that but for the parish, they would have stood firm.

"Do you think that rendering a workman's wages attachable, when in work, as repayment for any relief which he may have had from the parish, would be serviceable as a remedy for the evil you have mentioned?—Yes, I think it would be highly useful in every point of view. I have no great hopes of the old ones who have had parish relief, but I have no doubt that it would make many of the young ones subscribe, and keep themselves from the parish.

"Do you think the body of operatives with whom you are acquainted would agree with you in this view?—Of course, those who have been paupers would not agree, but all the respectable workmen would decidedly agree. I think that in instances of real misfortune, which I have known occur, it would be thought better of, if the relief was given as a loan, and not as a charity. But the workmen would generally object to any compulsory payment to guard against future liabilities.

"Do you think the process of collecting this sort of repayment would be difficult?—I think not." †

One eminent recommendation of the workhouse principle is, that it would be a self-acting test of the claim of the applicant. It is shown throughout the evidence, that on the application of this principle, the number of the claimants of relief diminishes in an almost incredible degree. The usual statements, says the report, (p. 118, folio) of the permanent overseers in towns are, that more than one-half, or two-thirds of the cases of able-bodied paupers, are cases of indolence or imposture: but it rarely appears that more than five or six in a hundred claimants sustain the test of relief given upon a correct principle. The following instance is one of a numerous class, and is selected as an apt illustration from the examination of Mr. John Coate, relieving officer of St. Leonard, Shoreditch.

"All this troop, about fifty persons, came to my door, with an officer at the head of them, demanding immediate relief on the magistrate's order. I said, 'No, I cannot think of letting the parish be robbed in this way; I shall attend the summons this night at the office.' I did attend, and stated to Mr. Benett that I should insist on the whole of those fifty cases being gone into separately before I gave any money.

"He was very warm, and said he was not going to have a vestry-room made of his office. I then handed him up the summons, and said, 'That is your signature, and I am come to answer it.' He then went into two or three of the cases. I think the first or second of these cases was that of a lad named Perkins. One of the officers told me that he knew that this Perkins had been at work that week, and had earned 8*s.* or 10*s.* This was proved. I then asked Mr. Benett whether such a lad as this ought to have had a summons, and an order for immediate relief.

"Mr. Benett said, no; but that he had no means of inquiring into the cases. The lad was certainly discharged without relief. This lad has since been transported. I had no specific information, and had no means then of obtaining any with respect to the rest: and Mr. Benett having gone through about half a dozen of these cases, I then said to him, seeing him getting very angry at the prospect of a long detention, 'I will take the rest of them into the house.'

"Myself and the beadle then went away, followed by the train of paupers, for on Saturday nights I find it necessary to take one or two beadles with me for personal security. The paupers used excessively bad language to us, and as they passed by-streets on the road to the workhouse, they slunk away, until at the workhouse, I think, we had only ten or a dozen, who chose to come and accept the bread, for the want of which they declared to the magistrate they were starving at the time they first applied for immediate relief.

¶ The next subject for consideration, is the agency by which the above principle of relief may be best carried into effect. The simplicity of the principle might suggest, that the change might be effected by a single enactment. But it is found, on the one hand, that there is scarcely one statute connected with the administration of public relief which has produced the effect designed by the legislature, on the other, that the obstacles to the due execution of any new legislative measure, are greater than they have ever been. These obstacles mainly arise from the difficulty of finding, under existing circumstances, a sufficient number of proper functionaries, and the danger to person and property from any attempts to carry into effect the intention of the statute of Elizabeth, supposing those functionaries found.

With regard to the first. It is clear from the evidence, that the success in the dispauperized parishes of those measures which the Commissioners recommend shall be generally enforced, has been solely owing to the circumstance of their being found within each of those parishes 'an individual of remarkable firmness and ability, often joined with a strong interest in good administration, great influence to overcome opposition, and leisure to establish good management.' Now among the 15,535 parishes of England and Wales, how many such individuals have been found? Certainly not a score. Good example, too, does not spread.

"The Commissioner who examined Cookham, visited Bray, and made inquiries of persons connected with that and other adjacent parishes, why they did not adopt the means of reducing their heavy rates, which (as they were well aware) had been found so efficient and salutary in Cookham. The answers were usually to this effect:—'The farmers are so disunited and unwilling to stir.' 'The members of the vestry are so jealous of each other, that they can do nothing.' 'We have no one to take the lead.' 'We have no one who will take upon himself the responsibility.' 'It never can be done, unless we have among us a man of the talent and influence of Mr. Whately.'"

Mr. Whately himself was asked—

"Do you think your example would be followed if extensively known?—I very much doubt it. I believe it is pretty extensively known, but it it has been followed only in one or two solitary cases, so far as I am aware of.

"Are you aware that any pains have been taken by the neighbouring parishes to ascertain the nature of your system?—Yes; many have made themselves fully acquainted with it by personal application to me; but either through indolence or want of firmness, or some other cause, have not availed themselves of the information they have received, nor have I any reason to hope that a great national benefit can be effected by the personal exertions of individuals, who must necessarily expose themselves to considerable obloquy

* Report, p. 154; octavo edit., p. 275.
† Report, p. 189; octavo edit., p. 335.

* Report, p. 81, *et seq.*; octavo edit., 146, *et seq.*

if not to great loss of property, and who, in many cases, have no immediate personal interest.

"If you were to withdraw your exertions, do you think that the present system would be carried on in your parish?—Many of the principal rate-payers with whom I act, are of opinion that it would not." *

"In the communication of Messrs. Cameron and Wrottesley will be found an account of the ignorance and apathy prevalent amongst the rate distributors of the adjacent parishes, with relation even to the important pecuniary results of the change of system at Cookham. Mr. Whately having been prevented by a severe illness from attending the vestry, the effects of his absence soon exhibited themselves in the management of the poor; and some of the members of the select vestry were convinced that the safety of the reformed system depended upon his restoration to health. It appears from Major Wilde's report, that when the master of the workhouse at Southwell, who had long been accustomed to manage that establishment, under the admirable superintendence of Mr. Becher, went to another parish, he soon relapsed into the common habits. In Hatfield, the management fell back during the short illness of the permanent overseer, who is a person excellently qualified; and it appears from various other instances, that the voluntary adoption and continuance of an improved system is dependent on obtaining, within each parish, an individual of great firmness, ability and disinterestedness, to originate it and carry it on; or in other words, that the good general administration of the existing system is dependent on a perpetual succession of upwards of fourteen thousand men, of firmness and ability, agreeing upon a system, and conducting it voluntarily." †

Instead of being men of this description, it appears from the return made to Parliament as well as the answers to the queries issued by the Commissioners, that some of the overseers can scarcely write their names, and few can keep accounts.

On the subject of the other main obstacle in the way of improvement, intimidation exercised on those who attempt it, we shall make an extract from the report, which not only developes the nature of the evil but points to the only remedy:—

"We see no ground for expecting that any purity in act or intention in the distribution of rates will render the distributors less obnoxious to hatred, which is always the stronger as they are the more closely connected with the rate receivers. Speaking with reference to the smaller farmers who had served the office of overseers, an experienced witness observed, that 'a refusal from a person who is nearly an equal, excites more animosity than from a person who is comparatively a stranger and has greater authority.' Can a farmer at a vestry be expected to refuse relief, and endanger his own property and person to save funds to which he is only one of many contributors, when, in proportion to his belief that the applicant is undeserving, must be his conviction of the capability of that applicant to resort to any criminal means of obtaining compliance with his demands, or of gratifying his revenge? But the immediate distributors of relief, are not the only persons obnoxious to such motives. Mr. Villiers states, that a magistrate declared to him that in his neighbourhood if a gentleman living upon his own property were strictly to perform his duty in a large proportion of the cases where paupers appealed from their overseers, he would be in danger of having his property destroyed. Such dangers, it is to be observed, are generally incurred by refusals to increase allowances, which are *now* wholly illegal; and, therefore, to expect the voluntary execution of new and strict regulations by persons placed under such circumstances, appears unreasonable. Mr. Day, the magistrate at Maresfield, to whose communication we have before referred, in the following passage forcibly expresses opinions, which we have reason to believe are entertained by a numerous class.

"'I must here guard against an impression that may be conveyed by these remarks, which might lead to a fatal disappointment. The workhouse system is at present legal, and funds for emigration may, in many instances, be raised by voluntary contributions. But were the plan, advocated by me, attempted to be put in execution at the mere instigation of an individual, or by a vote of vestry, it would probably induce an irritation that would lead to disastrous consequences. When in the parish of Mayfield it was rumoured that I intended interfering to reduce the rates, it was immediately suspected by the paupers that I was opposed to their interests. On the door of the first vestry I attended, I found affixed a notice, "that they intended washing their hands in my blood." In 1826, a threat of that kind was readily disregarded; at present, it would be consummated in a riot or fire. But if the alteration be the act of the legislature, it assumes a different aspect. It comes with the sanction of the law, and however it may be murmured at, the odium is removed from the obnoxious vestryman, or the individual magistrate. The complaining pauper looks round to the adjacent parishes and the neighbouring benches. He sees his lot the lot of all; and is told that however he may meet with sympathy, there is no power of redress. He may hope to intimidate a vestry, but he cannot dare to oppose a government.'*

"We believe, however, that general regulations made under the immediate control of the executive, would meet with comparatively ready obedience; not from fear or despair of the success of resistance, but from confidence in the disinterestedness of the source from which the regulations emanated. We are happy in having found no distrust of the government amongst the labouring classes in the pauperized districts: we rather apprehend that they entertain extravagant expectations of what can be accomplished by legislative interference. In the instructive letters from emigrants of the labouring classes to their friends in England, we see few traces of discontent with the political institutions, or the general government of their former country; few expressions of satisfaction that they now live under other institutions; but we do find in those letters, felicitations that they are no longer under local control or parochial management; 'Here,' say the labourers, in speaking of their new abodes, 'there are no overseers to tread us under foot.' Wherever in the course of this inquiry it has been deemed requisite to communicate directly with the labouring classes, the Commission appears to have been regarded with entire confidence. Our written communications from labouring men on the subject of the labour-rate are abundant: our assistant Commissioners found their inquiries answered with alacrity by all the labourers who were examined. Under the conception that the Commissioners were invested with extraordinary powers, the labourers have appealed to us for interference against local malversations. One of the Sussex labourers was asked in the course of his examination—

"'What alterations of the poor-laws are talked about by the labourers?'—'They have hopes that government will take it in hand, as they would then be contented with what was allotted to them: they would be sure that they would have what was right, and could not be driven about by the overseers.'

"'Are you sure that the labourers would be pleased to see the overseers deprived of their power?'—'Yes, that they would, for they often fail, and take the parishes in; and besides, all parish business now goes by favour. Many people do now say that they talk about reform in the government, but there wants reform in the parish.'

"'Suppose that the workmen were deprived of the allowance in aid of wages, but deprived in such numbers that the farmers would be compelled to pay wages to the same amount, how do you think such a measure would be received by the workmen?'—'That would give a great deal more content, and I am sure that they would do the farmer more work. The parish money is now chucked to us like as to a dog.' †

Here follows a variety of extracts from the evidence to the same effect.

Another difficulty in the way of any legislative enactments effecting the object in view, will be understood from the following evidence of Mr. Mott.

"The most practical witnesses concur with Mr. Mott in representing the voluntary adoption of detailed regulations hopeless, and legislation on details ineligible, if not impracticable. He is asked—

"'Do you think it practicable to bring parishes to the voluntary adoption of any uniform regulation when their importance is proved to them?'—He answers, 'I certainly do not think it practicable. I think it utterly impossible to bring the 14 or 15,000 parishes in England and Wales to

* App. (A.) Part 2.
† Report, p. 158; octavo edit, p. 282.

* Appendix (C.), p. 152.
† Report, p. 162; octavo edit., p. 289, *et seq*

one mind upon any one subject, however clear the evidence may be; much less so to act with uniformity in any one point. The Commissioners must be well aware, that great frauds are committed by paupers in the metropolis receiving relief from different boards on different board days. 'I have known instances of paupers receiving pensions from three or four different parishes. It was proposed some years ago, and it has been proposed from time to time to remedy this evil, which all the parishes are aware is very great, by one simple but effectual expedient, which it would be very easy to adopt, namely, by all the parishes paying on the same day; but they never could be got to do this. Individual conveniences prevented the remedy being applied, and the system of fraud still prevails, and will continue to prevail, so long as the present management prevails. Now, if the parishes in the metropolis cannot be got to act in concert for the suppression of an evil which affects only one part of the system, I think it will be seen that I am justified in my opinion, that any reform or co-operation in the country is quite hopeless without the establishment of a strong central management; nothing else will check the system.'

"'Might not such general regulations as those to which you have alluded be prescribed by act of parliament?'—'No, certainly not. The regulations of any system must be very numerous; and though they may be uniform, it would be necessary to vary them from time to time; and unless parliament was to do nothing but occupy itself with discussions on details of workhouse management, it would be impossible to effect any great alteration in that way. Many regulations, however ably devised, must be experimental. Unforeseen and apparently unimportant details might baffle the best plans, if there were not the means of making immediate alteration. Suppose a general regulation were prescribed by act of parliament, and it was found to want alteration; you must wait a whole year or more for [illegible] parliament to amend it, or the law must be broken. A central authority might make the alteration, or supply unforeseen omissions in a day or two. Besides a central board or authority might get information immediately on the matters of detail. If they had for instance to settle some uniform diet, they could at once avail themselves of the assistance of men of science, physicians or chymists; but you would find that parliament, if it could really attend to the matter, and would do anything efficient, must have almost as many committees as there are different details. If there was a central board established, and it were easily accessible, as it ought to be, persons in local districts would consult them or make suggestions, who would never think of applying to parliament. Who would think of applying to parliament, to determine whether four or five ounces of butter should be used as a ration in particular cases, and whether the butter should be Irish or Dutch? or, if Irish, whether Cork or Limerick; or to determine whether the old women's under-petticoats should be flannel or baize, and how wide or how long? Yet on details of this sort, beneath the dignity of grave legislators, good or bad management would depend.'*

"The Commissioners recommend therefore, the appointment of a central board to control the administration of the poor-laws, with such assistant Commissioners as may be found requisite: and that the Commissioners be empowered and directed to frame and enforce regulations for the government of workhouses, and as to the nature and amount of the relief to be given, and the labour to be exacted in them, and that such regulations shall, as far as may be practicable, be uniform throughout the country."

As the subject of pauper-labour was gone into at some length in the former article on the poor-laws in the 'Companion to the Newspaper,' it will not be necessary to recur to it here.

"III. That the Central Board be empowered to cause any number of parishes which they may think convenient to be incorporated for the purpose of workhouse management, and for providing new workhouses where necessary, to declare their workhouses to be the common workhouses of the incorporated district, and to assign to those workhouses separate classes of poor, though composed of the poor of distinct parishes, each distinct parish paying to the support of the permanent workhouse establishment, in proportion to the average amount of the expense incurred for the relief of its poor, for the three previous years, and paying separately for the food and clothing of its own paupers."

* Report, p. 166, octavo edit., p. 295.

In the same article, also, much evidence has been adduced, shewing the advantage of large district management over small. The superior economy of large parishes is still further established by the following curious and important calculations, which we extract from the Commissioners' Report.

"Of all England—

"The 100 absolutely largest parishes, containing a population of 3,196,064, give 6*s.* 7*d.* per head.

"The 100 intermediate parishes, containing a population of 19,841, give 15*s.* per head.

"The 100 least parishes, from which poor-rates returns are made, with a population of 1,708, give 1*l.* 11*s.* 11½*d.* per head.

"The 100 intermediate parishes are of the size of which there is the greatest number, and where the population is not too large, to allow the parish officers to obtain a personal knowledge of the individuals relieved.

"We have no recent returns of proportions of paupers in the parishes referred to in the preceding statement; but on referring to the parliamentary returns of the number of paupers in each parish in the years 1803 and 1813, it appears that the number of persons relieved in the large and small parishes bears some proportion to their relative amount of rates. In the 300 parishes of which the comparative amount of the poor's-rates on the population has been stated, the

	1803.	1813
Average number of persons relieved was, in the 100 largest parishes	1 in 16, or 6¼ p' ct.	1 in 13, or 7¾ p' ct.
Ditto, 100 intermediate do.	1 in 10, or 10 p' ct.	1 in 8, or 12½ p' ct.
Ditto, 100 smallest ditto	1 in 6, or 16⅔ p' ct.	1 in 4, or 25 p' ct.

	In 100 Largest Parishes.	In 100 Intermediate.	In 100 Smallest.
The Increase of Pauperism on Population from 1803 to 1813, was	1¼ p' cent.	2½ per cent.	8⅓ per cent.*

It will be necessary here to say a few words as to the character of the workhouses proposed by the Commissioners, more especially as most of the evidence hitherto made public has been on the subject of ill-regulated workhouses. The Commissioners consider that, at least, four classes are necessary:—1. the aged, and really impotent; 2. the children; 3. the able-bodied females; 4. the able-bodied males.

One of the most important consequences of a high state of civilization ought to be the realizing to the utmost the principle of the greatest happiness, and, by consequence, reducing human misery, as nearly as possible, to a *minimum*. In a high state of civilization, then, by means of such institutions as life assurances, friendly societies, and savings banks, provision may be made against most of those ills that are the scourge of humanity. But in a high state of civilization no one must be suffered to perish of want. Against such contingencies public provision must be made. But to those who are reduced to a state of destitution by their own follies and vices—who, to reverse the common phrase, are the architects of their own misfortunes—to the improvident, the idle, and the profligate, the proposed workhouses will become schools of salutary discipline. We are convinced, however, that they will act, as they ought to do, as a means of deterring all the respectable from sinking into pauperism a degradation which all will be fully enabled to avoid in a healthy state of things. Even at present, in the words of a witness belonging to the working classes already quoted, "None but the worst characters would ever think of applying for parish relief; the respectable workmen consider it disgraceful." Those who object to the restraint of workhouses as resembling that of prisons, might just as well object to the high walls, the iron spikes, and confined precincts of the King's Bench, on the plea that it was not proper treatment for gentlemen, to immerse them in such a place. This would be all very well, if the place were intended to attract as many inmates as possible. But the law meant it as a place not to attract, but to repel. And such was, and is, the intent of the law with respect to workhouses.

To those, however, who are reduced to destitution by no fault of their own—and in a high state of civilisation they must necessarily be few—to the destitute old and the orphan

* Report, p. 178, octavo edit., p. 317.

young, political society owes protection and refuge, unaccompanied by degradation. There is much in a name; and when a name has once got any stigma attached to it, it is not easy to get rid of that stigma. We should, therefore, propose, that between the places provided for the reception of the last-mentioned classes, and those for the reception of the able-bodied, who are idle and dissolute, a broad line of distinction be drawn; and that, while the latter be called Workhouses, the former be called Houses of Refuge, or Asylums.

We should wish, also, with Mr. Livingston, the eminent American statesman,* to make a distinction between the able-bodied who "are willing to labour, but who cannot find employment," and those who "are idle from inclination, not for want of employment," did we not fear that one consequence of such a distinction would be, that it would tend to destroy all real distinction between the two classes. If the state finds for all who say they are willing to work, but cannot find employment, either wages without employment, or employment in every respect *as eligible* as can be found elsewhere, they will *never find employment elsewhere.* This, in truth, has been one of the greatest blunders committed by the later menders of the English poor-laws; and, in point of fact, amounts, in the end, to making relief (to use the words of Mr. Pitt) "a matter of right and an honour, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt."† Whoever, therefore, should propose such a measure, though he may enjoy for a time the coveted distinction of being called the poor man's friend, will be found, in the sequel, to be the poor man's deadliest enemy. They are such friends as these who have reduced the English poor man to his present state of degradation, and, unless delivered from such friends, from that state of degradation he will never return.

With respect to the orphan children, they should be educated in their house of refuge, protected alike from the contamination of bad example, and the demoralizing influence of a sense of being looked upon as degraded outcasts. Is it politic—is it just that the youth, whose only crime is the improvidence, or perhaps the misfortunes, of his parents, should leave the place that ought to have afforded decent protection to his infancy, and useful instruction to his childhood, with morals deeply tainted, habits incurably depraved, and passions excited to vengeance, to seek, in unceasing war against society, revenge for his own degradation? Such things are a blot upon a nation's escutcheon, which a wise and benevolent statesman would rejoice to wash out. For this, if for no other cause, there is need of some government interference with the administration of the poor-laws.‡

We have dwelt at such length on these three leading recommendations, as being by far the most important; and, indeed, those on which the whole success of the Commissioners' plan will depend. The limits to which we are confined, will compel us to give the others without comment. The Commissioners recommend:—

"IV. That the Central Board be empowered and required to take measures for the general adoption of a complete, clear, and, as far as may be practicable, uniform system of accounts.

"V. That the Central Board be empowered to incorporate parishes for the purpose of appointing and paying permanent officers, and for the execution of works of public labour.

"VI. That the Central Board be directed to state the general qualifications which shall be necessary to candidates for paid offices connected with the relief of the poor, to recommend to parishes and incorporations proper persons to act as paid officers, and to remove any paid officers whom they shall think unfit for their situations.

"VII. That the Central Board be empowered to direct the parochial consumption to be supplied by tender and contract, and to provide that the competition be perfectly free.

"VIII. That the Central Board be empowered and required to act in such cases as public prosecutors.

"IX. That, under regulations to be framed by the Central Board, parishes be empowered to treat any relief afforded to the able-bodied or to their families, and any expenditure in the workhouses or otherwise incurred on their account, as a loan, and recoverable not only by the means given by the 29th section of the 59 Geo. III. c. 12, but also by attachment of their subsequent wages, in a mode resembling that pointed out in the 30th, 31st and 32d sections of that act.

"X. That the Central Board be empowered to make such regulations as they shall think fit respecting the relief to be afforded by apprenticing children, and that at a future period, when the effect of the proposed alterations shall have been seen, the Central Board be required to make a special inquiry into the operation of the laws respecting the apprenticing children at the expense of parishes, and into the operation of the regulations in that respect which the Board shall have enforced.

"XI. That the Central Board be empowered and directed to frame and enforce regulations as to the relief to be afforded to vagrants and discharged prisoners.

"XII. That the Board be required to submit a report annually, to one of your Majesty's principal secretaries of state, containing—1. An account of their proceedings. 2. Any further amendments which they may think it advisable to suggest, 3. The evidence on which the suggestions are founded. 4. Bills (if any) carrying those amendments into effect, which bills the Board shall be empowered to prepare with professional assistance.

"XIII That the Central Board be empowered to appoint and remove their assistants and all their subordinate officers.

"XIV. That settlement by hiring and service, apprenticeship, purchasing or renting a tenement, estate, paying rates, or serving an office, be abolished.

"XV. That (subject to the obvious exceptions of persons born in prisons, hospitals, and workhouses) the settlement of every legitimate child born after the passing of the intended act, follow that of the parents or surviving parent of such child, until such child shall attain the age of sixteen years, or the death of its surviving parent; and that at the age of sixteen, or on the death of its surviving parent, such child shall be considered settled in the place in which it was born.

"XVI. That whenever there shall be any question regarding the settlement by birth of a person, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and whether born before or after the passing of the intended act, the place where such person shall have been first known by the evidence of such person, by the register of his or her birth or baptism or otherwise, to have existed, shall be presumed to have been the place of his or her birth, until the contrary shall be proved.

"XVII. That the general rule shall be followed, as far as it is possible, and that every illegitimate child born after the passing of the act, shall, until it attain the age of sixteen, follow its mother's settlement.

"XVIII. Secondly, with respect to the mother.—As a further step towards the natural state of things, that the mother of an illegitimate child born after the passing of the act be required to support it, and that any relief occasioned by the wants of the child be considered relief afforded to the parent.

"XIX. That the same liability be extended to her husband.

"XX. On the other hand, the repeal of that part of the 53 Geo. III. c. 101, sec. 6, which makes an unmarried pregnant woman removable, and the 50 Geo. III. c. 51, sec. 2, which authorizes the committal of the mother of a chargeable bastard to the House of Correction.

"XXI. That the second section of the 18th Eliz. cap. 3., and all other acts which punish or charge the putative father of a bastard, shall, as to all bastards born after the passing of the intended act, be repealed.

"XXII. That the vestry of each parish be empowered to order the payment, out of the rates raised for the relief of the poor, of the expenses of the emigration of any persons having settlements within such parish, who may be willing to emigrate; provided that the expense of each emigration be raised and paid, within a period to be mentioned in the act."

The total amount of money expended for the relief of the poor for the year ending 25th March, 1832, was 7,036,968*l.*, and this amount appears to continue to be, as it has been, steadily and rapidly progressive. But, enormous as this sum may appear, we consider the merely economical evils as of trifling import when weighed against the moral evils

* Introductory Report to the 'Code of Reform and Prison Discipline,' p. 20. fol. New Orleans. 1826.

† Speech, 12th February, 1796.

‡ On the subject of the education of pauper children, there is much valuable evidence contained in the Appendix to the Commissioners' Report.

of the system. Examples have been afforded of the injustice perpetrated on those who bravely struggle to the last against those overwhelming evils. The condition of those who submit without a struggle is faithfully and forcibly portrayed in the following passage of the 'Commissioners' Report:'—

"But though the injustice perpetrated on the man who struggles, as far as he can struggle, against the oppression of the system, who refuses, as far as he can refuse, to be its accomplice, is at first sight the most revolting; the severest sufferers are those that have become callous to their own degradation, who value parish support as their privilege, and demand it as their right, and complain only that it is limited in amount, or that some sort of labour or confinement is exacted in return. No man's principles can be corrupted without injury to society in general, but the person most injured is the person whose principles have been corrupted. The constant war which the pauper has to wage with all who employ or pay him, is destructive to his honesty and his temper; as his subsistence does not depend on his exertions, he loses all that sweetens labour, its association with reward, and gets through his work, such as it is, with the reluctance of a slave. His pay, earned by impunity or fraud, or even violence, is not husbanded with the carefulness which would be given to the results of industry, but wasted in the intemperance to which his ample leisure invites him." *

This then is the condition to which bad legislation has reduced a large proportion of the poorer classes of our countrymen. We do not deny that a "bold peasantry may be their country's pride;' but we should value a moral and intellectual more than a merely "bold peasantry." And though it cannot be doubted that our peasantry have suffered degradation, we are not of the number of those who look back to any particular period of our history when that peasantry enjoyed a very high degree of elevation, because we possess no evidence that they ever enjoyed any very high moral and intellectual cultivation. Instead of possessing the elevated and refined tastes, and the cultivated understandings which could alone give them a just claim to be called "their country's pride,' their minds have been, too generally, wholly unmformed, and their pleasures coarse and sordid.

It is a consolation to every well-wisher of his country and humanity to think, that, as a great portion of this evil has been produced by bad legislation, a corresponding portion may be removed by good. We firmly believe that the most satisfactory results will be produced by the operation of the measures recommended by the poor-law commissioners; and we anticipate no ordinary gratification in watching the progress of those results as displayed in the progressive diminution of poors'-rates, but far more in the steadily and rapidly progressive increase of the people's intelligence, industry, morality, and happiness.

DISSENTERS' MARRIAGES.

ALTHOUGH the Bill for the Regulation of the Marriages of Dissenters, brought into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell on the 25th of February, has been received with so little satisfaction by those for whose relief it was intended, that it is not now likely to be persevered in, it will be convenient that we should preface the few observations we have to make upon the general question, by a brief explanation of that proposed measure.

The bill, as printed, consists of twenty-seven clauses; but its material provisions may be very shortly stated. Dissenters intending to marry would proceed, in the first instance, in the same way with members of the established church, that is to say, they would get their banns of matrimony published in the parish church in the regular form, or would procure a license from the bishop or other ordinary; but this being done, they would not, as at present, be obliged to have the ceremony performed by a clergyman of the esta blished church, and according to the office appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, but would be at liberty to be married in any other way that might be preferred by the congregation to which they belonged. The marriage, however, would still have to be solemnized by a minister, preacher, or teacher of some congregation, qualified to officiate as such according to the statutes in force at the time being, in a chapel, or other place of religious worship duly certified according to law as such, and also specially licensed for the celebration of marriages. The justices of the peace assembled at the Sessions would be required so to license any chapel or other place of worship, on the application in writing of twenty resident householders of the parish, township, or place in which the chapel might be situated.

Such is the amount of the relief to the Dissenters which the bill concedes. The other enactments have all for their objects merely the securing of the requisite regularity of procedure, the perfect publicity of marriages celebrated under its provisions, and their accurate registration. The forms and regulations laid down with this view we need not detail.

The measure has, in the first place, been objected to on account of its alleged complexity. We do not think, however, that if we admit the principles upon which it is founded, we can fairly charge it with this fault. The forms which have to be gone through by the parties intending to marry in each individual case are simple enough. Their banns having been published, they deliver within seven days after, to the officiating minister of the church in which the publication has taken place, a written declaration that they are desirous of having their marriage celebrated in a particular dissenting chapel, which they name, on this they receive, as a matter of course, a certificate, that their banns have been duly published, for which they pay half-a-crown; and carrying that to their own clergyman, they are married by him, provided that notice of the intended solemnization of the marriage shall have been given in the chapel on three preceding Sundays during divine service. These Sundays, if the parties think fit, may be the same as those on which the banns shall be published in the parish church. If they are married by license, the previous notice is not required at all. In all this there seems to be nothing either of difficult comprehension or that would be very troublesome to go through. The air of complexity about the bill arises from the multiplicity and minuteness of the forms and regulations which [illegible], as already noticed, with the view of ensuring the due publicity and registration of dissenters' marriages. Assuming the object to be right, however, it will hardly be pretended that any of these regulations are unnecessary. If it be held that publicity and registration of marriages are not proper objects of legislative concernment, then, indeed, the machinery here devised for their attainment will be looked upon as not only useless, but mischievous. It will be objected to not only on account of the trouble and expense which it entails both upon individuals and the public, but, perhaps, still more strongly as an unjustifiable interference with private liberty. This grievance, however, if it be one, is not a Dissenter's grievance, but one common to persons of all persuasions, to the members of the established church as well as to others. It is not, therefore, in a bill for the relief of the Dissenters that we are entitled to look for its removal.

But, secondly, the hostility of the Dissenters appears to have been excited against the present measure in consequence of the share which it seems still to reserve to the clergy of the established church in the superintendence of marriages generally, and, by consequence, even of those which it would allow to be celebrated by the ministers of other sects. In reality, however, the established church, under this bill, would exercise not an atom of authority over the marriages of Dissenters. The duties which its functionaries would have to perform would be purely ministerial; they would act simply as the servants of the state, and would have no discretion in any case in which their services would be called for. To parties whose banns of matrimony had been regularly published, they would be *bound* to grant a certificate to that effect, on receiving the written declaration of the parties that they wished to be married elsewhere. These declarations they would be *bound* to preserve by pasting them in books provided by themselves for that purpose. They would be *bound* to enter in each case in the Register of Banns a signed memorandum of having granted the above-mentioned certificate. Every archbishop, bishop, ordinary, or other person having authority to grant licenses of marriage, would be *bound* to grant such licenses upon the usual affidavit to any parties declaring themselves to be Dissenters, just as to members of the church. The registrar of the diocese would be *bound* to receive from the minister of every dissenting congregation the duplicates transmitted

* Report p. 47; Octavo edit. p. 87.

by the latter every three months of the entries of all the marriages solemnized by him, and to keep them in a secure place of deposit, and to show them to any person who might apply at all reasonable hours. These are all the functions which the bill reserves to the church. There is no authority granted—no right of interference whatever—no power to refuse performance of the duties imposed. There are certain small fees, indeed, appointed to be paid to the clergy for their services—half-a-crown for every certificate of the publication of banns, and five shillings in the quarter, with a penny besides on each entry, to the registrar for taking care of the book of marriages; but if these services are to be rendered at all, they must be paid for. There is no other body of agents to whom they could so conveniently be intrusted as to the clergy of the established church, were it only from their regular diffusion over all parts of the kingdom, and the circumstance that the registers of the marriages of those of the population who are not Dissenters are also in their custody. It might, or it might not, be advisable, to establish a new and distinct order of functionaries for the guardianship of these documents. This innovation could not, at any rate, be reasonably expected to be effected by a legislative act specially intended and entitled to be for the relief of the Dissenters. Desirable as such a change might be, in the mean time the old arrangement in regard to all the community, except the Dissenters, remains undisturbed; and the present bill, therefore, in dispensing the required relief to the Dissenters, naturally and almost necessarily does so by means of provisions in harmony with that existing arrangement.

But thirdly, Lord John Russell's bill has, we believe, disappointed not the Dissenters merely, but the public in general, as being a measure throughout affirmatory and conservative of the principle of the existing marriage law, at which it was hoped it would have dealt a fatal blow. It is another of the many attempts that have been made since of a passing of the act of 1753 to bolster up the cumbersome, politically [illegible] same time, ill-cemented system established by [illegible]idence, or to accommodate its requirements to the [illegible]d leave the place we presented themselves [illegible] protection to his [illegible] ives, and the [illegible] changes in the circumstances of society that have taken place since it first came into operation. By the act in question (the 26 Geo. II. chap. 33), it was, for the first time, declared necessary that all marriages should be celebrated according to certain specified religious forms; and this still continues to be the law, the last act upon the subject, the 4 Geo. IV. chap. 76, passed in 1821, being merely a modification in some subordinate particulars of the act of 1753. The subjects of the marriages of Jews—of the marriages of Quakers—of those of English subjects celebrated abroad—of those entered into in Scotland according to the law of that country—of those solemnized in churches or chapels which had not been consecrated when the act of 1753 passed—and of those of minors where the ceremony had been performed without the consent of the guardians having been obtained in writing—have all, at different times, alarmed and disturbed the public mind, and given occupation to the courts of law and to the legislature, in the settlement of disputed points and the redress of grievances arising out of the change thus made in the old law of the realm. Various attempts have also been made in parliament to effect the repeal of the modern law, and to bring back again something like the old state of things; and in 1781, a bill brought in with this view by Mr. Fox, actually passed the House of Commons, and was only lost by the opposition of the Lords. But of all the hardships inflicted by the existing marriage law, the grievances to which it subjects the Roman Catholics and the Protestant dissenters have always been accounted the chief. They remain, also, till this moment unremedied. No dissenter, Jews and Quakers excepted, can at present be married in England either by a clergyman of his own communion, or according to any other form than the service prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. The poorer classes of the Catholics are in particular strongly attached to their own ritual, and look upon both the doctrines and ceremonies of the reformed church established in this country with abhorrence. So obstinate are their feelings upon this head, that they are every day in the habit of braving the penalties of the law, and satisfying themselves with a marriage ceremony performed by a priest of their own communion, and according to the rites of their own faith. Yet these penalties are severe in the extreme. The children who may be born to the parties are illegitimate; and either party may desert the other at pleasure, and enter into marriage with any one else. It happens by no means unfrequently, that a man, after living for some time with a woman to whom he has been thus united, abandons her and her children to disgrace and misery.

We are free to confess, that so long as the principle of this system is adhered to, we do not well see what further relief can be granted to the Dissenters than that proposed to be granted by Lord John Russell's bill. That measure would do away with whatever there is in the operation of the marriage law, which is peculiarly a grievance upon the Dissenters. Under its provisions, the members of all dissenting congregations, comprehending more than twenty householders (that is, practically, of all congregations without exception), would be at liberty to marry according to their own forms. That they are prevented from doing this, and compelled to go through another religious ceremony of which they disapprove, is the only peculiar ground of complaint, which, as Dissenters, they have at present. That minors are not allowed to marry without the consent of their guardians—that all marriages must be performed in public, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning, and after the publication of banns for three Sundays, or license obtained on affidavit—that they must be performed in a place of religious worship—and that they must be registered;—these enactments affect the members of all communions equally; and, if they are on any account objectionable, the evil is one that presses in the same degree upon the Dissenter and upon the Churchman.

We should have rejoiced, however, if ministers had taken the present opportunity of abolishing nearly the whole of the existing marriage law. Marriage ought certainly to be considered simply as a civil contract, which any two consenting parties (qualified in respect of age and other circumstances to act for themselves) ought to be at liberty to enter into, merely by making a public declaration of the act. As in the case of all other contracts which the State engages to uphold, and which, in their consequences, affect many other individuals besides the actually covenanting parties, we agree that the law is entitled to demand here, both that the proceeding should be guarded with such preliminaries and accompaniments as may be deemed necessary to ensure its ample publicity, and that it should be registered at the expense of the parties. But beyond this, we do not see that it is either right or expedient to go. Most assuredly, a religious ceremony ought not to be imposed by the law, however proper or desirable it may be that marriages should be generally solemnized under the sanction of religion. We would leave this to the feelings of society and of individuals. From a passage in the speech delivered by Lord John Russell on submitting the present bill, an apprehension would appear to be entertained by his lordship, that if the law enjoined no religious form, marriages would be commonly entered into without any further ceremony than a mere declaration before witnesses or the civil magistrate. We believe that this would not happen in this country in one case out of a thousand. We refer to the example of Scotland. In that part of the kingdom, nothing farther is necessary in order to constitute a man and woman husband and wife, than a declaration of consent by the parties before witnesses, or even such a declaration in writing without any witnesses. But, in point of fact, a marriage there not celebrated by a clergyman, is a thing rarely or never heard of. Those that take place at Gretna are almost the only exceptions; and in the case of these, the parties are all English. Fashion has in some degree taken under its shelter the knots tied by the blacksmith who officiates here; but every where else throughout Scotland, marriages performed except by a clergyman, and with the decency of religious observances, are as unusual as in England. To what is this owing? Simply to the nearly universal feeling, which is in favour of a religious celebration of the contract, and which would look upon the neglect of that solemnity as disreputable. Liberalize the English marriage law, and you would have the same thing here. Permit people to marry according to any form they pleased, or without any form at all except what might be deemed necessary for the sake of giving due publicity to the transaction, and marriages would still be as generally accompanied by a religious service as they now are. The only difference would be, that the service would in all cases be one of which the parties approved, and in which their hearts would take part, instead

of being what it too often is at present, one in which they join only by compulsion, and which, therefore, notwithstanding all its solemn invocations, can only be deemed a solemn mockery. Such an alteration of the law would relieve all the grievances of the Dissenters as to this matter effectually and at once. The accurate registration of marriages ought then to be made the subject of another measure, which should embrace the registration of births and deaths also. For these purposes, let a new body of functionaries be created, if that should be thought a better plan than to employ the parochial clergy. But at any rate, the system should be placed altogether upon a civil and not upon an ecclesiastical foundation. A Dissenter should no more be compelled to conform to any of the observances of the established church in taking a wife, than in purchasing an estate.

THE HARDWARE TRADE.

We propose in the present paper to follow up the account of the iron manufacture, given in our last number, by a few notices respecting the present state of the hardware trade. We will endeavour to collect the more important statements upon this subject, to be found in the evidence taken by the late committee on manufactures; and shall add such further information from other sources as may be necessary to place before the reader a full view of the extent of this branch of our national industry and commerce.

It has been stated that knives were first made in this country, in the year 1563, by one Thomas Mathews, on Fleet Bridge, in London. But this notice must be understood to refer to table-knives only. It is certain that the fabrication, both of knives for other uses, and of many other instruments made of iron, was practised in England long before that date. Among the most antient trades, both in London and in other towns, we find the various descriptions of dealers and workers in iron, under the names of ironmongers, hammermen, blacksmiths, armourers, bucklers, bladers, cutlers, &c. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' tells us that of old time the cutlers in that city consisted of three sorts of workmen; namely, bladers, haftmakers, and sheathmakers; who were not incorporated as one company till the year 1403, the 4th of Henry IV. But there is a passage in Chaucer (who died in 1400) which proves that the manufacture of knives, or whittles, as he calls them, had even in his day been established in the very town which still continues to be its principal seat. It occurs in his graphic description of the miller of Trompington in the Reve's Tale, the third of the Canterbury Tales:—

"A millar was there dwelling many a day,
As any peacock he was proud and gay;
Pipen he could, and fish, and nettés beat,(1)
And turnen cups, and wrastlen well, and sheet;(2)
And by his belt he ware a long pavade,(3)
And of his sword full trenchant was the blade;
A jolly popper(4) bare he in his pouch;
There n' as no man for peril durst him touch;
A Sheffield thwittle bare he in his hose;
Round was his face, and camuse(5) was his nose;
As pilled(6) as an apé was his skull;
He was a market-beater at the full;(7)
There durstè no wight hand upon him leg,(8)
That he ne swore he should anon abeg.(9)

The great extension of the manufactures of Sheffield, however, has taken place within the last century. Before the year 1780 there were probably fabricated in the place nearly all the principal descriptions of goods which are now made, although of course in much more limited quantities. In the eighth edition, published in 1778, of the 'Tour through the Ireland of Great Britain,' originally written by Defoe, we find the following account of the manufactures then carried on:—"The principal manufactures here are knives, forks, scissors, razors, lancets, phleams, files, edge-tools for carpenters, shears, &c., metal and horn buttons; and of late years various kinds of goods have been made plated with silver, such as knives, buttons, buckles, snuff-boxes, tweezer-cases, toothpick-cases, saucepans, coffee-pots, cups, tankards, candlesticks, &c. &c. &c. There is likewise reason to believe that here were first made snuff-boxes, candlesticks, &c., of a sort of coal called kennel, or channel-coal, formerly got near this place." Saws, indeed, the manufacture of which is now so important a branch, are not mentioned in this list of articles; but the omission is probably accidental. The amount of plate manufactured, both in Sheffield and Birmingham, had before this become so considerable, that in 1772, an act of parliament was passed appointing wardens and assay-masters for both towns

(1) Mend. (4) Probably a pistol.
(2) Shoot. (5) Hat
(3) A weapon of offence, not now known. (6) Bald.
(7) That is, probably, one who used to swagger up and down the market when it was at the full.
(8) Lay. (9) Suffer for it.

The information on the subject of the present state of the manufactures and trade of Sheffield, to be found in the report of the late committee of the House of Commons, was principally obtained from two witnesses, Mr. Samuel Jackson, manufacturer of saws and steel there, and exporter of hardware generally, and Mr. John Milner, who has spent the greater part of his life as a journeyman spring-knife cutler, but is now a manufacturer on his own account. We have already had occasion to refer to many parts of the evidence of these two intelligent witnesses, in our paper on Trades' Unions, in the twelfth number of the 'Companion,' and also to some of the facts mentioned by Mr. Jackson in that on the iron manufacture in our last Number. We shall confine ourselves now to such of their statements as we have not already noticed.

The declared value of the entire British and Irish produce and manufactures, exported to all parts of the world, is above thirty-six millions sterling; and in 1831, above nine millions, or about a fourth part of this sum, was the amount exported to the United States of America alone. Mr Jackson states incidentally that one fourth of the whole goods manufactured in Sheffield are exported to the United States. Considering the unquestionably large extent of the home consumption of Sheffield goods, we should think this a high estimate; but it appears from an account in the second volume of the Tables published by the Board of Trade, that of the whole British cutlery and hardware exported, the United States take rather more than one-half. The declared value of the whole quantity exported in 1832, was 1,433,297*l.*; of which the share of the United States was 738,015*l.* Of the goods manufactured in Sheffield, indeed, there is but a very small portion exported to the continent. The chief markets are in this country and in America. Owing to the political agitation in the United States throughout the whole of the last year, there was a great falling off both in the spring and in the autumn orders from that quarter; and Sheffield severely felt the effect of this suspension. We fear the new commercial difficulties which have resulted from the interference of the president with the national bank, must still for some time prevent the demand from rising to its former average. Mr. Milner says, "We are too much dependent upon the American market; should anything unpleasant take place between America and England, we should be in a very bad state, for the experience of the last year and a half has shown the people of Sheffield, that if a convulsion took place in America, or if an alteration should take place in the commercial policy of America, Sheffield might be ruined." Fortunately, there is but little hazard of the occurrence of any one of the three calamitous events to which the apprehensions of the witness are directed. Of all insane wars that were ever undertaken, a war between two countries, one of which, to mention no other bonds of union, is a customer to the other for not less than one-fourth of the whole amount of goods which that other annually has to dispose of, would assuredly be the most insane. The worst of the political agitation which has for some time interrupted the tranquillity and prosperity of the United States, is also, it may be hoped, now over. And as for any alteration of the commercial policy of that country, the only alteration which is now likely to take place is one that will be favourable to British interests, as involving a still further relaxation of the system by which the introduction of foreign manufactures has been hitherto attempted to be checked. Mr. Jackson, who has visited the United States, found some small manufactories of fine cutlery there; but owing, he says, to the high price of labour, they could not compete with the English. In consequence of the protection afforded by the former tariff, they had made some progress in the fabrication of some of the heavier kinds of edge-tools, and also in that of mill-saws, upon which a duty of one dollar each was paid, amounting to about 50 per cent. on the value; but their success was confined to these articles.

The declared value of the entire British hardware and cutlery exported, which in 1832, as already mentioned, was 1,433,297*l.*, was in 1831, 1,620,631*l.* The difference was probably mainly produced by the falling off in the orders from America. The quantities exported in the two years were, in 1831, 16,799 tons, and in 1832, 15,294 tons. In the latter year the number of tons exported to each of the countries, taking the largest quantities, was as under:—

	Tons.
To United States of America	7,874
British North America	1,549
Asia	1,032
British West Indies	667
Mexico and South America	616
Germany	586
Foreign West Indies	560
Brazil	497
Italy	341
Africa	314

Smaller quantities were also sent to Russia, the Netherlands, France, Spain and the Canaries, the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man, Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira, Turkey and Continental Greece, Denmark, Gibraltar, Prussia, Malta, Norway, the Ionian Islands, Sweden, and the Morea and Greek Islands.

As to the continental manufactures, Mr Jackson states, that in Prussia, Belgium, and France, a great many species of hardware trades are carried on, and several of them to a much greater extent than in Sheffield. Many are of recent origin, but others existed before there were similar manufactures in Sheffield. In repeated visits which he made to the continent, this witness found the hardware manufactures constantly improving. The branches that appeared to be making the greatest progress were the scissors, saw, edged tool, and steel manufactures; and the places in which these branches were carried on most successfully were the duchy of De Berg in Prussia, Remscheid, Solingen, and that neighbourhood, and different parts of France. "In France especially," says Mr. Jackson, "many large manufactories have sprung up of late years, in consequence of the encouragement given to them by government, and by anonymous societies with large capital, and they have been much protected in consequence of the prohibitory duties upon English manufactures." The operatives belonging to the French manufactories are described as very inferior to the operatives in England, in regard to both their comforts and their earnings. One of the greatest of the French manufactories is that at Molsheim, near Strasburg. "At this manufactory," says Mr. Jackson, "where they employ as many hands in the manufacture of saws almost as they employ in Sheffield, the wages of labour are as twelve to one; that is to say, we have to pay for a single article as much as the manufacturer at Molsheim pays for a dozen. These observations were made by myself at the time of my last journey, (in the autumn of 1830.) Being a practical man, I took more interest in ascertaining the relative situation of the operatives in the two countries. I will state, from the remarks I made, what I ascertained to be the usual terms of employment. A saw-grinder at Molsheim earns about 28 sous, or 1*s.* 2*d.* a day; he grinds and glazes six dozen billet webs, (that is a species of web of which large quantities are sent to America,) which makes the price 2½*d.* per dozen. The Sheffield price for the same work, not done in a superior manner, is 2*s.* 6*d.* per dozen." At this, which is the present rate of payment, the Sheffield workman would make from 15*s.* to 20*s.* per day. But wages were, some years ago, considerably higher: and "we have had workmen," says the witness, "that have earned 20*s.* on a Saturday morning before breakfast, when perhaps they had not worked the previous part of the week." This happened about 1810. A saw-maker at Molsheim, Mr. Jackson afterwards states, works in summer from five in the morning to seven in the evening; and in the winter from six in the morning to eight in the evening. The prices of provisions he found to be there as follows:—household bread 1*d.* per pound; white bread 1½*d.* per pound; beef 3*d.* per pound; potatoes 2*d.* per peck; beer 1*d.* per pint. "In the duchy of De Berg, in Prussia," he proceeds, "there is also a large manufactory of steel, saws, files, edged-tools, and cutlery; there are 800 saw manufacturers, 1000 file manufacturers, 3000 cutlers, 1000 sabre manufacturers, 1500 scissor manufacturers. A master saw manufacturer has generally three or four workmen who board and lodge in his house, and who receive, besides board and lodging, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per week; without board and lodging, good workmen will obtain from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* per day, and work from five in the morning till nine in the evening." These long hours, namely, from five in the morning till seven or nine in the evening, are stated to be general throughout the continent; and the men, besides, appeared to Mr. Jackson to work much harder during that time than they do in England. There is very little intemperance among them. The prices of provisions in the duchy of De Berg are, black bread, made of rye coarsely ground down, ½*d.* the English pound; white bread 1½*d*; and meat 3½*d.* It is here that the articles are manufactured which principally come into competition with English goods in America. They cannot on the continent make the circular saws, nor the hand saws, nor the back saws, nor long saws, as well as they can be made in England; but other kinds, including those which are chiefly in demand on the continent, and in the American market, they can make fully as well as we can. The principal continental market where the French come into competition with us is that of Belgium. The people of that country are supplied with certain kind of saws by the French manufacturers, and with other kinds by the English.

The finer descriptions of surgeons' instruments made at the manufactories of Paris, Mr. Jackson thinks inferior to those made in England, while the price is higher. "The reputation of English edged tools," he says, "of files and saws, steel and razors, is very great throughout France." English cutlery is occasionally smuggled into that country through Belgium. It is believed, however, that of late years this had not been done to any considerable extent. With the exception of a penknife or a razor, there is little or no English cutlery to be seen in private families in France. The shops of the Palais Royal exhibit what they call English goods, but there is reason to believe that most of them are manufactured in the country, and then impressed with the English marks, that they may bring a higher price. On the other hand, some of the finer articles of cutlery are occasionally brought from France to this country; for example, scissors, fitted with mother-of-pearl or ivory shanks, of which the workmanship is both cheaper and better than we can produce in England, although the blades are considered inferior.

As to the wages, and the comparative condition of the workmen in the two countries, Mr. Jackson states the following facts:—"The present price of provisions in France (in June 1833) is nearly the same as in England. A very intelligent French gentleman, who visited Sheffield last week, as the representative of a society just formed at Lyons, who are expecting to be large purchasers of foreign goods, gave me the price of provisions at Lyons and the neighbourhood at this moment; the price of bread, what is called *pain de menage*, is about 3 sous per pound; the price of meat from 10 to 12 sous. The cost of a house for a workman and his family—a house containing three rooms—would be from 5*l.* to 6*l.* a year, which is as nearly as possible the price at Sheffield. At Paris, the prices would be dearer." The wages in France vary from a franc and a half to three francs a day. In Sheffield, the operatives in the cutlery trade work eleven or twelve hours a day, and, in the different branches, were receiving in June last the following wages:—of the spring-knife cutlers, the blade forgers from 21*s.* to 31*s.* 6*d.* per week; the workboard hands (those who put the knives together) from 15*s.* to 25*s.*; the grinders from 30*s.* to 40*s.*:—of the table-knife cutlers, the forgers from 21*s.* to 35*s.*; the hafters from 18*s.* to 27*s*; the grinders from 27*s.* to 40*s.*:—of the razor makers, the strikers from 24*s.* to 26*s.*; the hafters from 18*s.* to 40*s.*, and the grinders from 18*s.* to 50*s.* These were the wages for a full week of six days; but there might then be from 200 to 300 operatives not having more than two or three days work a week: and, of the whole number of operatives, probably not more than half were in full employment. The number of hands actually employed in each of the principal staple trades of Sheffield, was as follows:—makers of table-knives and forks, 3689; of pen and pocket-knives, 2680; of razors, 754; of scissors, 600; of files, 1768; of saws, 563; of edged tools, 703; of stove-grate fenders, &c., 1530; of white metal articles, 643; and of silver-plated goods, 500; making a total of 13,430. There are, however, some other hardware manufactures carried on. The witness thinks that the workmen, at the present moment, owing to a variety of

causes, do not receive the same amount of money for their work which they did thirty years ago; but still he is of opinion that their comforts are pretty much the same, and that they never either lived or dressed better than at present. "From what I have seen," he says, "of the manufacturers of England, I believe the workmen in Sheffield are better clothed and better fed, and live in better houses than the workmen in any other part of the country, or in any other part of the world." As to the French workmen, he describes them as miserable beyond description, as compared with the English. In certain branches of the business, too, which have been only recently introduced into France, he states that an English workman will produce more in a given space of time than a French workman. A good many British artisans have gone over to be employed in the continental manufactories, but most of them have very soon returned home. "In starting a fresh manufactory," says Mr. Jackson, "it is universally the practice, particularly in the iron trade, to employ a few English workmen; but, after their own workmen have obtained the same skill and knowledge which the English workman possesses—the prices of English workmen being much higher than that of native workmen—it is of course the interest of the manufacturer either to expect the English workman to come down to the prices paid to the native workman, or to let him return to his own country. I am acquainted with Mr. Cockerill, a large manufacturer at Liege and Seraing, and when they commenced their manufactory, they employed a great number of English workmen, but I believe most of them have now returned to England. He had to pay for English workmen 7*s.* and 8*s.* a day, and his native workmen are employed at one and two francs a day."

Mr. Milner's evidence, although it does not perhaps contain any facts irreconcileable with the statements of Mr. Jackson, yet presents a more gloomy picture of the general condition of the workmen than that drawn by the latter gentleman. This witness says, that about 1817 a decline of prices began to take place, which has been going on ever since, and that from 1818 the circumstances of the workmen began to be sensibly operated upon. Employment has since been so irregular, that there never has been a sufficiency of it for more than a year or two at a time, and there has frequently been not half work for the same number of hands. The destitution and misery of many of them on these occasions, are described as being very great. Mr. Milner conceives, that upon the whole, the workmen now consume a great deal less than they did fifteen or sixteen years ago, both of such articles as tea, sugar, and coffee, and also of butcher's meat. Their dress he likewise thinks is much inferior to what it was formerly. It is evident, however, that in judging of matters of this kind, people almost always proceed in great part upon mere general impressions, rather than upon a careful induction and sufficient examination of facts. There can be no doubt that wages have fallen considerably since the termination of the war, in the cutlery, as in all other trades; but it is by no means made out that the prices of provisions, and of the other necessaries and comforts of life, have not declined in at least an equal degree. It is also beyond all question, that the market for the hardware manufactures of this country has of late years been greatly extended; and the quantity of employment upon the whole, therefore, must be much greater than it formerly was. We should think that this augmentation of the demand has fully kept pace even with the increase in the numbers of the workmen. Owing to circumstances, however, some of which at least are altogether beyond legislative control, the trade may not for the last twenty years have been so steady a one as it was for some time before; and, whether this may have been the case or not, of course, when a stagnation does take place, the number of sufferers is now greater, and the sum of misery produced more frightful, than when the entire number of the persons connected with the business was only half, or three-fourths of what it now is. A fact stated by Mr. Jackson, should go a great way to prove that Mr. Milner's comparison of present with former times, is to a great extent delusive. The poor rates of the parish of Sheffield, it seems, in 1810 were 38,000*l.*, and now they do not amount to 20,000*l.*; a reduction which, even after making allowance for the rise in the value of money, cannot be regarded as less than fifteen or sixteen per cent. If we take it, as we ought to do, in connexion with the increase of the population (which since 1811, has risen from 53,000 to 92,000), it is a real reduction of between fifty and sixty per cent. In other words, the pauperism of Sheffield is not now half as great as it was in 1810. Yet, at that time wages were higher than they have ever been since.

Of late years machinery has been introduced to some extent into the cutlery business in England, which has considerably reduced the cost of production in the case of certain articles. About ten or a dozen years ago, for instance, as Mr. Jackson states, to manufacture a three-square file, it was necessary to forge it out of a square bar, but now, by the aid of machinery, the bar of steel is rolled three square. The witness found no rolling mills for this purpose at the manufactories in the Duchy of De Berg. Of the different branches of the trade as carried on in Sheffield, the manufacture of scissors and that of plated goods appear to be in the greatest state of depression; or rather, they are the only branches that are depressed from any cause except the temporary diminution of the foreign demand. In the scissor trade, according to Mr. Milner, there were at one time between 300 and 400 forgers; and at present, there are only about 170. To make up, however, for the falling off in the manufacture of wrought steel scissors, there are now very large quantities of cast scissors manufactured in Sheffield. The latter is a very inferior article, but is so difficult to distinguish from the former by the eye, that cast scissors are often imposed upon the public for those made of wrought steel. Mr. Milner is of opinion, and he says such is almost the universal impression, that the trade of Sheffield has been very much injured by the loss of reputation arising from this substitution of a spurious for a genuine article. Meetings have been held to devise some means of remedying the evil: and it has been proposed to incorporate the manufacturers of wrought steel articles, and to allow them to stamp their goods with some common mark, which should be effectually protected; but no measures have as yet been taken to carry that plan into effect. Previous to 1814, it seems, no person could manufacture without taking out what is called an incorporated mark: but since then, in consequence, as we understand the witness, of some change in the law, any person is allowed to use the mark of the corporation of cutlers who chooses, and to place it on any description of goods he may find it convenient to manufacture. We may here mention, by-the-bye, that of what is called town-trade, or London cutlery, there is, according to Mr Jackson, very little really made in London. Notwithstanding the law to the contrary, he conceives it is not unusual even for the word London to be stamped upon many articles made at Sheffield. There may be some very fine and expensive cutlery made in the metropolis, but the greater part even of that description of articles must come from Sheffield, from the greater cheapness of labour there. The witness mentions another fact connected with this matter. "Nearly all the Sheffield manufacturers," he says, "are obliged to strike the name of their customers upon their wares, and that is one reason perhaps why no cutlery manufacturers in Sheffield can keep stocks, as they are uncertain who their customers may be; and, as articles of hardware cannot be marked well after they are hardened, they are deterred from having a quantity made on hand till they have orders, to see what impression they are to bear." There appears to be no good reason why this inconvenient custom should be continued. As for plated goods, Mr. Jackson is of opinion, that people do not now buy as many articles of that description as they used to do; but the principal cause of the falling off in this branch of business at Sheffield appears to be, that it has partly migrated to Birmingham, where wages in some departments of it are only one half what they are at Sheffield. On the other hand, the file trade has nearly left Birmingham, in consequence of Sheffield having superior advantages for the manufacture of that article. Upon the whole, Mr. Jackson admits, what, indeed, must be considered quite indisputable, that cutlery is now consumed in this country to as great an extent as it ever was; but the goods used, he says, are lower priced goods, and he seems to intend that we should understand goods of an inferior description. That more of such goods are now manufactured than formerly, we believe; but we believe, too, that the consumption of the better descriptions of goods has also increased, and that they, as well as the others, although no doubt at lower prices than formerly, are manufactured in greater quantities than ever.

That the hardware trade is upon the whole, in a tolerably prosperous state, is proved by the admissions of the wit-

nesses. The fall of prices in Sheffield goods since the peace, is asserted by Mr. Jackson, to have been greater than from thirty to forty per cent.; but he also says, "If we may judge from the apparent circumstances of the manufacturers, there does not appear to be much more distress than there was formerly." It is acknowledged also, that the town has probably increased more than any other in England, both in population, and in the number of its manufacturing establishments. When asked if the manufacturers and merchants have been doing as well of late years as during the war, this witness answers, "We have had many merchants who have obtained very considerable property, though business is done at low profits." The trade for the last eighteen or twenty years has, it is stated, been carried on nearly all on orders; and, indeed, with the exception of a few remarkable years, there appears never to have been much of what is called speculation among the Sheffield manufacturers. It is said, accordingly, to have been ascertained, that there are fewer failures among them in proportion to their number, than among the manufacturers or merchants of any other part of England. Periods of depression in the hardware trade, indeed, appear to have of late years occurred occasionally, though not almost every second or third year, as Mr. Jackson loosely states. There was a great depression in 1816, and again in 1822; but since then, although prices have been generally lower than they were previously to 1827, it is not pretended that there has been any stagnation till that occasioned by the late interruption of the usual demand from the United States. Mr. Jackson, when asked if he would recommend a friend with capital in his pocket, and competent knowledge and industry, to embark in the Sheffield trade at present, replies, that the competition is so great, that a person must have a perfect knowledge of the business in order to succeed in it; but when farther asked if, should his friend have good capital in his pocket, he would rather recommend him to keep it there; his answer is, "I should think that most of the manufacturers fancy that they can employ their capital better in trade than by keeping it in their pocket." A manufacturer, he states also, who wishes to retire from business [illegible] withdraw his capital. That is to say, the trade is in so fair a state, that more capital flows freely into it to replace whatever is taken out. Many of the branches of the hardware manufacture, however, may be carried on without much capital. There are some manufactories in Sheffield that have cost 30,000*l.*, or 40,000*l.**; but since 1817, according to Mr. Milner, a change has to a considerable extent taken place in the mode of conducting the trade, many persons having then commenced manufacturing without any capital, and their number having gone on increasing ever since, "so that now," as the witness assures us, "by far the greater portion of the cutlery business, and especially the spring-knife business, is conducted by men of this description."

Two witnesses connected with the business of brass-founding were examined by the committee; Mr. John Dixon, of Wolverhampton, and Mr. Thomas Clutton Salt, of Birmingham. Their evidence extends over nearly thirty folio pages; and we can only afford to notice a few of the more important among the facts to which it refers. Indeed, by far the greater part of it is perfectly worthless for any information that is to be found in it, being made up merely of strong expressions of belief and opinion, in support of which no well ascertained facts are adduced. Both witnesses draw the picture of the existing state of the trade in the darkest colours. Both masters and workmen, according to their representations, are suffering to an extent which scarcely any former period has witnessed. Their favourite era of comparison, or rather of contrast, with the present times, we observe, is the years 1824 and 1825. Mr. Salt states, that a capital of 10,000*l.* then easily yielded him an annual profit of 3000*l.* We submit that such returns as this could not be expected to continue. The truth accordingly appears to us clearly to be, that the depression under which the greater manufacturers are now suffering, is merely the natural consequence and penalty of the extravagant trading of that former period. It is impossible to believe, that the consumption of the articles of their manufacture has diminished, or the demand for them really fallen off within the last twenty years. No man can open his eyes and look around him without being convinced that this is not the case. We may mention merely lamps for domestic use, and gas burners and other fittings, as articles made wholly or partly of brass which must have created an almost entirely new demand within the period that has been mentioned. The witnesses admit that they cannot point out any instance of the least importance, in which another material has of late years been generally substituted for brass. It is scarcely possible, therefore, to doubt that the manufacture of articles of brass is really now much more extensive than it was twenty years ago. It may be, however, that the quantity of goods annually made since 1825, has not since reached the amount to which it was carried in that and the preceding year. The glut of the market then produced, must in this, as well as in other businesses, have left a pressure which would continue to be felt for years. Accordingly, in order to meet this state of things, the aim of the manufacturer is now, to reduce his stock as much as possible. Mr. Salt states, that he used to keep an average 6000*l.* stock, but that now he never allows it to be above 1500*l.* The efforts made with this object must, of course, have tended still farther to reduce the annual production below what it was before 1825. But the change in the mode of managing the trade, is in every way a beneficial one to the manufacturer. He is, in the first place, pursuing by far the best course for speedily relieving the market, and restoring the fair and full effect of the natural demand. And, secondly, while doing this, he is also unlocking a large amount of capital, and by that means, carrying on his manufacture at much less cost than formerly. The prosperity of 1824 and 1825, however, when the brass-founders were making an annual profit of thirty per cent. upon their invested capital, has likewise had the effect of attracting many new adventurers into the trade, and, by thus over-crowding it, opposed an additional difficulty in the way of its restoration to a healthy state. Both the witnesses speak of the numbers of persons, formerly journeymen, who of late years have set up as manufacturers, and who, having little or no capital, and employing few hands, are either able, or are compelled by their necessities, to sell their goods at a lower price than that for which they can be produced by the larger establishments. Whatever is unsound, however, in this state of things, must also soon cure itself and pass away.

The fall in the prices of brass-foundery articles in the last fifteen years is, according to Mr. Dixon—who manufactures chiefly handles and the articles for plumbers, and not the finer descriptions of goods—more than 50 per cent. The nominal prices are indeed the same as they have been for twenty years: but, according to the practice of the trade, the sales are made always subject to certain discounts: and the discount which was formerly 20 per cent. is now 50. This fall however will not, as Mr. Dixon reckons, make a difference of 50 per cent. He says, correctly enough, "If we take 20 per cent. from 20*s.*, it leaves 16*s.*; but if we take 50 per cent. it leaves us only 10*s.*; consequently we have but 10*s.* instead of 16*s.*" But it is not true that this, as he adds, makes more than 50 per cent. difference to the manufacturer. Taking the fact to be as stated, the manufacturer, where he formerly received 16*s.*, now receives 10*s.*, which implies only a fall of prices to the extent of not quite 38 per cent. The high prices referred to in this calculation are those that were obtained from 1819 to 1826.

To compensate this fall of prices, however, there has been a fall both of wages and of the price of the new materials. Of the latter, the principal is copper, which used to cost 112*l.* per ton, and may now be purchased for 83*l.* From this circumstance alone then, we have a saving in the cost of production to the extent of 26 per cent. Lead also, another of the materials, which has been as high as 24*l.*, is now only 14*l.* per ton; and spelter, which was 27*l.*, (a doubt is expressed if it was not a good deal higher,) now costs only 14*l.* or 15*l.* Mr. Salt complains of it as a disadvantage, that, whereas formerly it was the practice for the manufacturers in Birmingham to make all their purchases the first twelvemonth without paying anything, and only to clear off the debt in the course of the second twelvemonth, they are now obliged to pay down cash for all the metal they require. But the change, while it has certainly introduced a wholesomer state of trade upon the whole, is really, in its direct and immediate operation, most beneficial to the manufacturer, who, for the long credit which he formerly enjoyed, used to pay no less than 1*l.* per month on the ton; that is to say, if he purchased a ton of copper at 112*l.*, and did not pay the money for a year after, it cost him actually 124*l.*

* Jackson, 2906.

At present he gives his banker's bill for the metal, with only such a difference as may cover the discount.

The fall of wages since 1819 or 1820 is stated by Mr. Dixon to have been from 5 to 20 per cent. Wages now range from about 15*s.* to 25*s.* per week, and the average may be about 20*s.* Till 1825 it was about 27*s.* or 28*s.* This, by-the-bye, would imply a fall of nearer 30 than 20 per cent. Afterwards the witness states, that to some of his men he still gives 35*s.* per week. They would have had two guineas before 1825. All this, however, is merely a calculation of what the men generally earn, or what they may earn; for they actually work by the job or piece, and not for weekly wages. The manufactory is opened at six in the morning, and they are allowed to work during what part of the day they please, till eight at night, when it is cleared, and the doors locked. Mr. Salt however states, that though he continues to pay the men who have been a long time with him from 24*s.* to 30*s.* a week, he gives no more than from 8*s.* to 14*s.* to his new hands; and he says he is sure he could in the course of a day get 1000 men, all skilful artizans, to work for him at 6*s.* a week. Boys and women are now employed to do many parts of the work which the men used to execute. At Wolverhampton, also, it is stated, there are a vast number of females employed in the tin and japan trade, and in the screw trade. No machinery whatever has been introduced in the fabrication of such articles as those which Mr. Dixon furnishes; and that used in the department of the trade with which Mr. Salt is connected—the manufacture of lamps and ornamental brass-foundery in general—has not of late years been materially improved. It is well known, however, that owing to the introduction of steam as a moving-power, even the old machinery now performs its functions much more economically than formerly. A remarkable instance of this is mentioned by Mr. Babbage in his work on the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures. "Twenty years since a brass knob for the locks of doors was made at Birmingham; the price at that time being 13*s.* 4*d.* per dozen. The same article is now manufactured, having the same weight of metal, and an equal, or, in fact, a slightly superior finish, at 1*s.* 9½*d.* per dozen. One circumstance which has produced this economy in the manufacture is, that the lathe on which these knobs are finished is now turned by a steam-engine; so that the workman, relieved from that labour, can make them twenty times as fast as he did formerly."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE following is an abstract of five reports, of the Committee for reporting on public petitions, which have been issued since our last publication. They are numbered from 3 to 7, both inclusive, and embrace the period from 17th February to 11th March. It will be recollected that, except in the last item, our abstract gives the total amount of petitions and signatures since the commencement of the session.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For the repeal of the Union	85	59,482
Against the Stafford Borough Bill	3	1,271
Against the Warwick Borough Bill	1	600
For the extension of the Warwick Borough Franchise to Kenilworth	1	316
Against the Carrickfergus Disfranchisement Bill	2	66
Ecclesiastical.		
For Abolition of Tithes in Ireland	115	85,447
——— England	6	699
For Commutation of Tithes	15	11,631
For alteration in Tithes	7	905
Against Lay Patronage in Scotland	64	55,684
For relief of Protestant Dissenters	227	42,168
In favour of the Established Church	65	9,216
For the better observance of the Lord's Day	82	20,221
Against the Bishops' sitting in the House of Lords	2	528
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn-Laws	13	104,180
Against alteration in the Corn-Laws	61	15,063
Against the malt tax	83	15,974
For alteration in the Beer Act	3	3,161
Against the house and window taxes	9	699
Against County rates	2	387
Miscellaneous.		
Hand-loom weavers, for measures of relief	2	13,171
Agriculturists	36	9,212
Against Naval Impressment	8	11,476
For alteration in Corporations	3	6,785
Against the use of machinery in dressing cloth	2	2,563
For repeal of the Scotch Corporation laws	1	1,581
Against the Labourers' Employment Act	9	379
Against Imprisonment for Debt	8	317
Against the rigour of criminal laws	3	148
Against the employment of chimney-sweepers	1	570
In behalf of Captain Ross	3	754
In behalf of Mr. Cohen, the editor of the Brighton Guardian	4	793
Other miscellaneous petitions, reported since our last publication	70	5,021

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Naval Receipt and Expenditure.—The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have laid before the House of Commons the first annual report of the receipt and expenditure in this department, for the year ending March 31st, 1833. The receipts, including the parliamentary grant of 4,878,634*l.*, amounted to 5,219,881*l.*; and the sums expended or appropriated amounted to 4,795,656*l.*; leaving an unappropriated balance of 424,225*l.* The following are among the items of expenditure:—Wages to seamen and marines 818,208*l.*; wages to officers, ship-keepers and others on board vessels in ordinary, 72,383*l.*; admiralty, navy pay, and victualling offices, 135,676*l.*; scientific branch 21,655*l.*; his Majesty's yards at home, 72,700*l.*; abroad, 18,259*l.*; wages to artificers at home and abroad, 473,053*l.*; timber and other materials for ships, docks, &c., 485,741*l.*; new works and improvements, 44,638*l.*; half pay to officers of the navy and marines, 865,143*l.*; pensions, &c. military, 274,613*l.*; Greenwich out-pensions, 263,667*l.*; superannuations and pensions (civil), 196,939*l.*; sea victuals, 317,261*l.*; victualling yards at home and abroad, 58,156*l.*; medical establishments, 25,711*l.*; hospital provisions and stores, 20,681*l.*; provisions, &c., for the ordinary, 32,144*l.*, for the yard service afloat, 7,039*l.*, for the army and convict services, 152,812*l.*; marine service, 26,171*l.*; new works at Cremill, 8,692*l.* Parliament voted 60,000*l.* for the completion of these works, of which sum 57,292*l.* remains unexpended but appropriated.

Expedition against Algiers in 1816.—The following is the account of the proportions in which the Royal grant of 100,000*l.* was distributed among the officers and crews engaged in this expedition;—Commander-in-chief, 7,480*l.*; rear admiral, 3,740*l.*; captains and military officers of equal rank, 1,068*l.* 11*s.*; lieutenants, masters, &c. 94*l.* 5*s.*; warrant officers, surgeons, chaplains, &c., 61*l.* 12*s.*; mates, midshipmen, &c. 15*l.*; second rank of petty officers, corporals, &c. 6*l.*; seamen and marines, 4*l.* 10*s.*; landsmen, 3*l.*; boys, 1*l.* 10*s.*

Hull Port.—Abstract of an account of the number of vessels, with the amount of their tonnage, entered inwards at the port of Hull, from all parts of the world, during the year ended 5th of January, 1834; distinguishing the different nations to which they belonged.

	Ships.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom	775	142,301
Russia	17	3,910
Sweden	52	6,599
Norway	73	7,012
Denmark	220	16,592
Prussia	72	14,240
Germany	141	10,957
Holland	21	1,511
Belgium	8	653
France	4	279
Italian States	2	650
Total	1,365	204,704

Malt.—The quantity of malt made in England, in the year ending October 10th, 1833, was 4,242,279 quarters, producing a duty of 4,383,688*l.*; Scotland, 530,365 qrs., duty 523,539*l.*; Ireland, 247,954 qrs., duty 246,347*l.*; total in the United Kingdom, 5,020,599 qrs., duty 5,153,574*l.* The duty is 2*s.* 7*d.* per bushel on malt from barley, and 2*s.* per bushel on malt from bere or bigg.

Brandy, Hollands and Tobacco.—An account of the respective duties on brandy, hollands, and tobacco, in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833. Brandy, 1831, 1,388,167*l.*; 1832, 1,801,401*l.*; 1833, 1,526,546*l.*:—Geneva, 1831, 26,894*l.*; 1832, 25,091*l.*; 1833, 23,594*l.*:—Tobacco, 1831, 2,964,592*l.*; 1832, 3,080,599*l.*; 1833, 3,140,636*l.*

Court of Chancery Business, 1831—1833.—Abstract of an account of the causes, re-hearings, appeals, &c., heard and decided in the Chancery Courts, during the three years ending hilary term 1833, inclusive.

	Causes	Rehearings	Appeals	Pleas	Demurrers	Exceptions	Further Directions	Cause Petitions	Special motions which have been contested
By the Lord Chancellor	32	5	181	1	6	79	3	284	346
By the Vice Chancellor	931	11	0	42	121	136	264	3632	1830
By the Master of the Rolls	1790	23	0	0	0	57	1188	4939	0
	2753	39	181	43	127	272	1455	8855	2184

Committals in London, Westminster, and Southwark, in 1833.—Borough Compter, Southwark, 2052; Bridewell, 642; Giltspur-street Prison and House of Correction, 5344; Newgate, 2161; Tothill-fields Bridewell, 3008; total, 13,207. This return was ordered with a particular view to ascertain the number of persons committed for want of sureties on charges not being for trial: the number of such persons amounted to 1243, of whom 536 were discharged within a week; only 3 were detained above 3 months; and none 4 months.

Convict Hulk Establishment.—Abstract of an account shewing the expense of the Convict Hulk Establishment in England, the average number of convicts, with the number of days' labour performed by such convicts, and the amount of their earnings, from the 1st of July to the 31st of December, 1833, as compared with the preceding half-year. Number of convicts, 3081, being 898 less than in the preceding half-year; expenses, 27,058*l.*, being 5,200*l.* less; earnings of convicts, 17,336*l.*, being 6,572*l.* less. The number of days' labour performed varies at different stations from 154 to 177, and varied in the preceding half-year from 152 to 154; artificers earn 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and labourers 1*s.* There is a separate account for the three convict hulks at Bermuda, in the half-year from the 1st of January to the 30th of June, 1833:—Convicts, 890; expense, 9,933*l.*; earnings, 12,832*l.*; days' labour performed, 146; both artificers and labourers earn 2*s.* a day. Transportation to the Australian Colonies, in greater numbers than hitherto, is in course of operation, with a view to the reduction of the convict establishment at home. This accounts for the diminution which the statement exhibits.

British Museum.—The Receipts of this institution during the year 1833 have amounted to 23,220*l.*, including the Parliamentary grant of 16,844*l.*; the expenses have been 19,484*l.*; leaving in hand a surplus of 3,736*l.* Among the receipts is 462*l.* for the sale of Museum publications, being 262*l.* more than the estimate. During the year 2359*l.* was expended in the purchase of books and manuscripts, including 425*l.* for the price and framing of Egyptian papyri; 1,840*l.* for antiquities and coins, with cabinets; and 1,026*l.*, for purchases in natural history. The estimated expenditure for the year 1834, will require a Parliamentary grant of 17,017*l.*, the institution being provided with funds to cover the difference between that sum and the total estimated expenditure of 22,777*l.*

The number of persons admitted to view the British Museum has been more than doubled since 1831; it was in that year 99,912; in 1832, 147,896; and in 1833, 210,495. The number of visits to the reading rooms, for the purpose of study or research, was 46,800 in 1832, and 58,800 in 1833. The number of visits, by artists and students, to the galleries of sculpture, for the purpose of study, was 4,740 in 1832, and 4,490 in 1833. The number of visits to the print-room was about 4,400 in 1832, and about 2,900 in 1833.

Record Commission.—The amount of the sums of money received by the Commissioners of Public Records from the date of the present commission, being the 12th of March, 1831, to the 1st of August, 1833, was 21,522*l.*; of which sum 20,500*l.* was derived from parliamentary grants, and the remainder from the sale of books. The disbursements of the Commission, during the same period, amounted to 21,592*l.* Since the date of the Commission, in 1831, 33 principal works or parts of works (making 38 vols. in all), have been published or are in progress under its direction. The publications are presented to the principal public libraries in this country and on the continent; and occasionally they have been given to persons engaged in historical and antiquarian pursuits. Complete sets have been supplied to Dr. Southey, and Dr. Lingard; and particular works have been given to Mr. Edward Baines, Mr. Dance, Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. George Baker, &c. The total value of the works, so given to public libraries and to individuals, exceeds the sum of 35,000*l.* A smaller number of copies is now printed, and it is not intended to send the works to all the libraries which have hitherto received them.

Short-stage Coaches, Omnibuses, &c., in London.—Abstract of a statement of the number of short-stage coaches, omnibuses, and flys standing in and passing through the city of London, and the number of journeys respectively performed by them.

Coaches, 293, journeys, 790: omnibuses, 252; journeys, 770: omnibuses passing from east to west, journeys, 246: flys, 8; journeys, 30. Total of vehicles, 533; total of journeys, 1836.

Note.—The average length of the omnibuses, from the horse's head to the end of the steps, is 21 feet 6 inches. The largest size is 24 feet.

The number of empty cabriolets going up and down between the west end of Cheapside and the Bank, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of January, 1834, was, on the 28th, 957; on the 29th, 959; on the 30th, 1,069; total, 2,985.

Abstract of the Population Returns for Ireland in 1833.—The following are the results:—English statute acres, 17,183,763; houses inhabited, 1,249,816; building, 15,308; uninhabited, 40,654; total families, 1,385,066; families chiefly employed in agriculture, 884,339; chiefly employed in trade, manufactures, and handicraft, 249,359; families not comprised in these two classes, 251,368; males, 3,774,880; females, 3,972,521; total number of persons, 7,767,401.

Bread.—An account of the average price of the quartern loaf in the city of London, from the year 1780 to 1815:—

Year.	Wheaten.	Household.
1781	7½*l.*	5½*d.*
1782	7¾	5¾
1783	7¾	5¾
1784	7¾	5¼
1785	7	5¼
1786	6¼	4½
1787	6¼	4¾
1788	6¼	5
1789	7½	5¾
1790	7½	5¼
1791	6¾	5¼
1792	6½	5
1793	7¼	5½
1794	7½	5½
1795	10¼	8
1796	10½	8
1797	8¼	6½
1798	8½	7
1799	10½	9
1800	10¾	9¼
1801	16¾	15¼
1802	10¼	8¾
1803	9½	8
1804	10½	9
1805	14	12½
1806	12¾	11¼
1807	11¼	10¼
1808	12½	11
1809	15	13½
1810	16	14½
1811	15½	13¾
1812	18½	17
1813	16¾	15¼
1814	12½	11
1815	11¾	10½

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

New Members elected since last Session.

Place.	Member elected	In the room of
Ayr, &c. (dis of burghs)	Lord D Stuart	T. F. Kennedy, esq. res.
Berwick (shire)	Sir H. P. H Campbell, bt.	C. Marjoribanks, esq. dec.
Bute (shire)	Rt. Hon. Sir W Rae	C. Stuart, esq. dec.
Devizes	Sir P. C. H Durham	M. Gore, esq res.
Dungarvon	E. Jacob, esq.	Hon. G. Lamb, dec.
Dudley	T. Hawkes, esq.	Sir J. Campbell, Att.-Genl.
Huddersfield	J. Blackburne, esq.	L. Fenton, esq. dec.
Kendal	J. Barham, esq.	James Brougham, esq. do.
Leeds	E. Baines, esq.	T. B. Macauley, esq res.
Morpeth	Hon. E. G. Howard	Hon. F. Howard, dec.
Paisley	Sir D. Sandford	Sir J. Maxwell, res.
Somerset (east)	W. Miles, esq.	W. P. Brigstock, esq. dec.
Totness	Lord Seymour	J. Cornish, esq. res.
Thirsk	S. Crompton, esq.	Sir R. Frankland, do.
York (city)	Hon. T. Dundas	S. A. Bayntun, esq dec.

The boroughs of Carrickfergus and Hertford are vacant.

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

Produce of Taxes in France.—The following table will show the product of the indirect taxes and revenues for 1833 compared with that of the preceding year:—

Taxes and Revenues.	Produce of Taxes, &c.		Difference in 1833.	
	For 1832.	For 1833.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Register, Stamp, and Mortgage Duties	191,999,000	194,047,000	2,048,000	
Custom, Navigation, &c. Duties	105,510,000	106,236,000	726,000	—
Consumption Duties on Salt collected on the Coast	53,846,000	54,911,000	1,065,000	
Liquor, Wine, &c. Duties	62,719,000	68,246,000	5,527,000	—
Consumption Duty on Salt collected in the Interior	6,368,000	6,757,000	389,000	—
Divers Indirect Taxes (Public Vehicles, Navigation, &c.)	22,494,000	25 039,000	2,545,000	—
Product of the Sale of Tobacco and Snuff ..	67,553,000	69,628,000	2,075,000	—
Product of the Sale of Gunpowder	3,356,000	3,561,000	205,000	—
Postage and Duty of 5 per Cent. on remittances	31,103,000	32,032,000	929,000	—
Postage of Rural Service	1,437,000	1,503,000	66,000	—
Product of Mails and Packets	1,600,000	1,829,000	229,000	—
Lottery	11,109,000	10,140,000	—	969,000
	559,094,000	573,929,000	15,804,000	969,000

Increase in 1833 ..... 14,835,000f.

The above increase, divided into quarters, is as follows:—First quarter, 18,757,000f.; second, 16,335,000f; third, 12,395,000f.; last, 9,419,000f. Compared with 1831 there is an increase in 1833 of 46,906,000f.

Public Debt of France on the 1st of January, 1833.

	Francs.
Funded Debt, 5 per cent. Rentes . .	178,896,502
4½ ditto . .	1,027,696
4 ditto . .	3,125,210
3 ditto . .	34,555,274
Life Annuities	6,137,357
Pensions	56,736,874
	280,478,913

Guarantees due by the Treasury.—Capital, 229,789,701f.
Interest, 9,603,084f.
Unfunded Debt on the 1st of January, 1833. Capital, 370,504,962f.
The old public debt on the 1st of August, 1793, was estimated to amount to 127,803,000
The increase from 1793 to the year 8 of the Republic, was . . 46,913,300

	Francs
The whole amount of rentes would appear therefore to have been	174,716,000
The law of the 24th Frimaire, in the year 6, having ordered the reduction of two-thirds of the debt, and the consolidation of the remaining one-third, there should have been in Consolidated Rentes	58,716,000
But the stock having been received in payment for the sale of the national domains, and the rentes of emigrants and ecclesiastical communities having been confiscated and cancelled, the Consolidated Rentes only amounted to	40,216,000
The increase from the year 8 to 1814 amounted to	23,091,637
Total of the 5 per Cent. Consolidated Rentes, which formed the national debt on the 1st of April, 1814	63,307,637

French Civil List.—The following is a statement of the French sovereign's yearly items of expenditure, as given lately in a French paper:—

	£.
Personal Expenses	4,000
Petty Disbursements	12,000
Cabinet Expenses	2,400
Library and Subscriptions to orks . . .	10,000
Personal and Benefactions	40,000
Aides-de-Camp	14,400
Expenses of the Chamber	9,200
Closet, Chapel, and Salaries	1,600
Music, Boxes at the Theatre, and Benefits . .	12,000
Household Wages	26,000
Dresses and Liveries	8,000
Linen and Washing	4,000
Fuel and Lighting	24,800
Cellar	7,200
Stables and Stud (300 Horses)	43,000
Administration of the Palace	19,200
Kitchen and Kitchen expenses	30,000
Crown Records	1,100
Treasury, Jewels, &c.	12,800
Superannuations	34,400
Aids and pensions	60,000
Personal Effects	48,000
Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory	8,940
Gobelin Tapestries	11,520
Beauvais Woollen Manufactory	3,120
Fine Arts and Collections (grants) . . .	18,000
Ditto (purchases) . .	20,000
Mint and Medals	20,400
Forests and Domains	44,000
Buildings	122,120
Sanitory Establishment	3,200
Travelling Expenses	40,000
Banquets, and other expenses on public occasions .	16,000
Presents	6,000
Reserved Funds	8,000
Total Amount	£745,000

Bankruptcy Analysis.

From December 31, 1833, to March 21, 1834.

Auctioneer, 1. Bakers, 3. Brewers, 6. Bricklayer, 1. Builders 4. Brokers (1 Bill, 1 General, 2 Insurance, 1 Ship, 1 Stock,) 6, Cabinet Maker, 1. Cabriolet Proprietors, 2. Calico Printers, 2. Carpet Manufacturer, 1. Carver and Gilder, 1. Cattle Dealers, 3. Chemists and Druggists, 5. Cloth Manufacturer, 1. Coach Makers, 2. Coach Proprietors, 5. Coal Merchants, 9. Coffee-house Keeper, 1 Collar Maker, 1. Comb Manufacturer, 1. Commission Agents, 4. Cooper, 1. Corn Merchants, 3. Cotton Spinners, 7. Dealer, 1. Drapers, 10. Dressing-Case Dealer, 1. Drysalter, 1. Earthenware Manufacturer, 1. Fancy Goods Manufacturer, 1. Farmers, 2. Farrier, 1. Fellmonger, 1. Fustian Manufacturer, 1. Gardener, 1. Glass Dealer, 1. Grocers, 17. Haberdashers, 1 Hatters, 5. Hop Merchant, 1. Horse Dealers, 2. Hosiers, 4. Importer of Foreign Goods, 1. Iron Manufacturers, 3. Iron Merchant, 1. Joiner, 1. Laceman, 1. Lime Burner, 1. Linen Drapers, 6. Maltster, 1. Mast Maker, 1. Merchants, 21. Millers, 4. Millwright, 1. Musical Instrument Dealer, 1. Nurserymen, 2. Oil and Colourmen, 2. Paper Makers, 2. Pawnbroker, 1. Plumber, 1. Printers, 3. Printseller, 1. Rectifier, 1. Riband Manufacturer, 1. Salt Merchant, 1. Schoolmaster, 1. Scriveners, 10. Ship Breaker, 1. Ship Builder, 1. Ship Chandler, 1. Ship Owners, 2. Shoe Maker, 1. Silkmen, 3. Silversmiths, 2. Slop Seller, 1. Soap Manufacturers, 2. Stable Keeper, 1. Stationers, 2. Steel Manufacturer, 1. Stonemason, 1. Sugar Refiner, 1 Surgeons, 3. Tailors, 9. Tea-Dealers, 2. Timber Merchants, 2. Tobacconist, 1. Tool Maker, 1. Toyman, 1. Trunk Maker, 1. Upholsterers, 4. Veterinary Surgeons, 2. Victuallers, 23. Water-proof Articles Manufacturer, 1. Whartinger, 1. Wine Merchants, 3. Total, 269.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MARCH, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In our last Retrospect we carried down the history of parliamentary proceedings to Saturday the 22d of February, on which day the two Houses adjourned to Tuesday the 25th, the intervening Monday being her Majesty's birth-day. The discussions that have since taken place have been unusually numerous as well as interesting.

On the evening of the 25th Lord John Russell submitted to the House of Commons the promised measure of the government for the relief of the Dissenters, in regard to what has long been one of the grievances of which they have most loudly and most justly complained—the manner in which they are affected by the existing marriage-law. We have explained the ministerial proposition at length in another place. Several members addressed the House after Lord John Russell had made his statement, but scarcely any of them expressed a very decided opinion as to the proposed measure, with the exception of Dr. Lushington, who highly approved of it, and denied that it was objectionable,

either for its complexity or on any other account, and Mr. Faithful, who, on the contrary, denounced it as too contemptible to deserve the acknowledgments of the Dissenters. The Dissenters in general, if we may judge from the speeches made, and the resolutions passed, at a considerable number of public meetings, appear to share the feelings expressed by Mr. Faithful, though we are not able to state exactly the plan which they would substitute for that of the government. In the mean time, however, although the bill which Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in, after having been read a first time and printed, stands for the second reading on the 28th of April, ministers have announced that it will not be pressed unless the portion of the community for whose relief it was intended should change the view they have taken of it. No promise has been given that any other proposition on the subject will be made by the government.

In the latter part of this evening Mr. O'Dwyer moved a resolution of censure on the alleged exclusion of Roman Catholics from the jury at the late trial of Mr. Barrett, the editor of the 'Pilot' Dublin newspaper. The motion gave rise to a short debate, which was however enlivened by even a keener encounter than usual between Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Stanley. It was shown that the jury had really been selected almost entirely by Mr. Barrett's own attorney, and without either interference or opposition on the part of the government. Of 207 names 159 had been objected to on the part of the prisoner, and not one on that of the crown; and of the remaining 48 the crown solicitor had only struck off four. When it became apparent from this explanation that there was no chance of the original motion being carried, or even that it would be supported by any considerable minority, Mr. Fergus O'Connor moved, as an amendment, that a committee of inquiry into the circumstances should be appointed. This proposition, however, was also rejected, only 28 members voting for, and 132 against it. Lord Althorp this evening intimated that a bill should immediately be brought in to repeal the extraordinary clause in the act 55 Geo. III. chap. 80, by which it appeared that the commissioners of stamps in Ireland were prohibited from supplying stamps to any editor or proprietor of a newspaper who had ever been convicted of a seditious libel.

Wednesday was occupied in the House of Commons with the consideration of the two election bills, respecting the boroughs of Warwick and Liverpool. The second reading of the first, which enacts that Leamington shall be joined with Warwick in the exercise of the elective franchise, although opposed by Mr. Halcomb and other members, was carried without a division. The bill with regard to Liverpool, which proposes to disfranchise the freemen of that borough, was also carried through the same stage by a majority of 190 to 38. Both bills have since passed through the Commons, and have been read for the first time in the House of Lords—that relating to Warwick on the 13th of March, and that relating to Liverpool on the 21st. In the mean time Lord Grey has taken occasion to state that the government will not, as such, come forward to take the management of these bills; and his lordship was also understood to intimate that the votes of himself and his colleagues must be principally determined by the evidence brought before them. These declarations have been made the subject of a great deal of remark by the friends of the measures to which they refer; and they are unquestionably to be regarded as of ominous import in regard to the success of the different disfranchising bills. The thinking part of the public, however, will not, we apprehend, regret that the legislature should be driven to the adoption of some fairer and more satisfactory mode of punishing, or rather preventing, corruption in electors, than this clumsy process of wholesale disfranchisement. It is objectionable on many accounts; but there is one ground on which it has always appeared to us to be wholly indefensible. Towns, and other communities, of a certain extent, must be represented in the legislature. They have an indefeasible claim to such representation, if not on their own account, on that of the public in general. Take, for instance, the case of Liverpool. The House of Commons would be imperfect if that great town were to be disfranchised. Yet even such an absurdity as this might very possibly be the consequence of the rigid and uniform application of the principle upon which the bills to which we now refer are founded. Nay, the very thing was actually proposed when the conduct of the Liverpool electors was first brought before the legislature. The present measure goes only to take away the votes of the freemen; but, before the passing of the Reform Act, the freemen were the only voters; and parliament was at that time seriously called upon to disfranchise the place altogether. Indeed, no other proposition could have been decently made in the circumstances, according to the rule and the precedents which those who took up the case professed to go by. And there is even now before Parliament, a bill wholly disfranchising the borough of Stafford, on account of the delinquency of a certain portion of the electors. We say that the town of Stafford ought to send members to the House of Commons, and that the acts of certain individuals at present residing in that town have nothing to do with the question. Let these persons be punished if they deserve it. But what justice or what common sense is there in enacting that, in consequence of what they have done, a town containing 7000 inhabitants shall remain to all future time without any representation in the national legislature? If it contained a population of 70,000 the enormity might be greater in degree indeed, but in kind it would be the very same. A hundred, or even twenty years hence, what will it seem to be but the most monstrous absurdity, that Stafford should continue on this account to be without any representative, while there are in England and Wales, at least between seventy and eighty other constituencies not so large sending, some one member and others two? The bill for the disfranchisement of Stafford, and also another for extending the limits of the borough of Hertford, have passed through the House of Commons, and have been read a first time in the Lords.

On the 27th of February, in the House of Commons, Sir William Ingilby moved for a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the propriety of partially or totally repealing the duty on malt. The address of the honourable baronet was more facetious than convincing, and he lost his motion by a majority of 271 against 170. As soon as this division was announced Lord Althorp gave notice that he would, that day week, move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the house tax. The bill has since been brought in, and, although the second reading of it has been deferred till after the Easter holidays, ministers have distinctly stated that they have no intention of abandoning the measure. This evening, a select committee was appointed on the motion of Mr. Sinclair, to consider the subject of church patronage in Scotland, and to inquire in how far the present system is in accordance with the principles of the church established in that country, and conducive to its usefulness and prosperity.

In a committee of ways and means, on the 28th, Lord Althorp moved a resolution, which was agreed to, continuing the sugar duties at their present amount till the 5th of July, 1835. It was admitted, however, on all hands, that a change of system in regard to this important matter cannot be much longer delayed, and that the equalization of the duties on East and West India sugar must be considered as now merely a question of trial. In the remaining part of this evening, and also on the 3d and 10th of March, the army estimates were discussed. The number of men proposed by ministers for the service of the year was 88,952, being a reduction of 8000. The reduction in the expenditure amounts to 299,000*l*. A farther reduction of 9000 men was proposed by Mr. Hume; but the amendment was negatived by a majority of 282 to 46. A subsequent attempt of the honourable gentleman to reduce the sum proposed for the support of the general staff officers from 27,120*l*. to 18,550*l*., was defeated by a majority nearly as great, the numbers being 243 to 59. Before the House adjourned on the 28th a select committee was appointed on the motion of Lord Althorp "to examine the papers respecting sinecure offices, and to report their observations thereupon to the House." The papers referred to, were moved for by an address to the crown, on the 15th of August last, and had been presented on the 26th of February. They comprehend an account of the nature, tenure, and emoluments, of all sinecure offices in the United Kingdom.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Hardy and Mr. Murray obtained leave to bring in, the former a bill to amend the law relating to bribery at elections, and the latter a bill to repeal the foreign enlistment act. The greater part of the evening, however, was taken up in the discussion of a motion by Mr. Buckingham for a select committee to consider the subject of impressment in the navy. The motion was met by Sir James

Graham with an amendment, which may be taken to indicate that impressment, except on extraordinary occasions, will never again be resorted to, whatever other measures may be adopted for securing the necessary supply of seamen. Sir James stated that he had prepared a measure which would put an end to the practice except in cases of emergency, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to merchant seamen, and for keeping up a register of all the men engaged in that service. After a debate of some length, in which most of the speakers expressed a strong anxiety for a change of the present system, the amendment of Sir James Graham was carried by a majority of 218 to 130. After this discussion had terminated, Mr. Hutt introduced the subject of the duties on Canada and Baltic timber; but on Lord Althorp stating that it was not the intention of the government to propose any alteration of these duties during the present session, the honourable gentleman withdrew his motion.

On the two following evenings the greatest question which had yet occupied the attention of the House was submitted to it by Mr. Hume, who moved for a committee of the whole House to consider of the corn laws, and of substituting instead of the present graduated scale of duties a fixed and moderate duty on the import at all times of foreign corn into the United Kingdom. The motion was opposed by Sir James Graham, Mr. Baring, Lord Althorp, Lord Palmerston and others; but even the ministry were divided upon the question, for Mr. Hume's proposition, which was seconded by Colonel Torrens, received also the support of Mr. Poulett Thomson and Lord Howick. The speech of Colonel Torrens, though not the longest, was the most scientific, and, we think, the most convincing that was made in the course of the debate. Sir James Graham met the motion by a direct negative, and spoke at great length; as did also Mr. Poulett Thomson in answering his right honourable colleague. The address of Mr. Baring, which was in direct opposition to the opinions he had formerly maintained, was certainly not, in point of argument, one of his happiest efforts; but it hit exactly the temper of the House, and was much cheered. On the division, the numbers appeared to be for Mr. Hume's motion 155, and against it 312. For the imposing amount of this majority the landlords may be said to have been indebted to the Irish members, all of whom, with about half a dozen exceptions, either voted against the motion, or staid away. According to the lists published in the newspaper, about sixty of them, or considerably more than one-half, adopted the latter course.

The business of the House on the evening of the 11th was commenced by the discussion of a motion from Mr. O'Connell, for the appointment of a committee to consider and report on the oaths taken by members of the House. The honourable and learned member professed to ground his proposition on the alleged ambiguity of the oath taken by Catholic members under the Catholic relief bill, which bound them not to exercise any of their privileges, "to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or government in this kingdom." In the course of an interesting debate, however, which followed, the impropriety of referring a subject of such fundamental importance to a select committee was so clearly shown, that the motion was withdrawn; and Mr. O'Connell intimated his intention to take another opportunity of submitting his views to the House in a different form.

Sir Andrew Agnew then moved for leave to bring in two bills for the better observance of the Sabbath, the one to apply to England, and the other to Scotland. The motions of the honourable baronet met with considerable opposition, but no division took place, and leave was given that the two bills should be brought in; most of the members who spoke, however, declaring their determination to oppose the measures, if they should turn out to be of the same character with that which had been submitted to the House in the preceding session. A third motion from the same quarter, for leave to bring in a bill to enable local authorities to change Saturday and Monday fairs and markets to other days was not so successful, having been negatived by a majority of 181 to 137.

A conversation of some interest took place before the House adjourned this evening on the subject of the appointment, in 1832, of a son of Lord Chancellor Plunkett to the valuable union of the deaneries of Raphoe and Down, the dissolution of which had, it appeared, been recommended a short time before in a report by the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Inquiry, of whom Lord Plunkett was one. Severe animadversions were passed on the conduct of his lordship by various members; but on the assurance of Mr. Stanley that the matter was at present under the consideration of the Irish privy council, and that the dissolution of the union, notwithstanding Mr. Plunkett's appointment, was likely immediately to take effect, Mr. Goulburn withdrew the motion he had made for an address to the crown on the subject. It appears from explanations which have since been given that this appointment was not, as had been supposed, solicited by Lord Plunkett for his son, but that it was the spontaneous act of the government in London; and also that the Irish Chancellor, although he had been induced to sign the report of the Commissioners, had expressly guarded himself against being supposed to concur in all its recommendations. His son, too, since his acceptance of the living, had given his consent that it should be dealt with in the same manner as if he had no vested interest in its revenues.

On the 12th a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed "to inquire into the state of the law respecting sewers in and near the metropolis, and into the administration of the same by the various Boards of Commissioners of Sewers, with a view to suggest such amendments in both as shall be deemed advisable." This is a subject of the very greatest importance, and eminently demanding the attention of the legislature.

A motion for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords was brought forward in the Commons on the 13th, by Mr. Ripon. The honourable member asked for leave to bring in a bill to *relieve* their lordships from the exercise of their legislative and judicial functions. The supporters of the motion had all the debate to themselves, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declining to go into the discussion, on the ground that it was not to be expected that any considerable number of the members of the House would assent to such a proposition. When the division took place, however, the numbers were found to be 58 for the motion and only 125 against it; an announcement which was received with much cheering by the minority. It certainly might have been expected that the friends of the present constitution of the church, if they declined defending their views by argument, would have taken care at least to vindicate them by a somewhat more triumphant vote.

In the latter part of this evening Mr. Hume brought before the House an act of the government which he contended was an improper interference with the freedom of industry—the accommodation which they had given to the master coopers in letting them have a number of casks from the king's dockyards when deprived of a supply by a late strike of their workmen. The ministers defended this proceeding on the ground of the great inconvenience that would have been sustained had the aid of government been refused in the circumstances; but we agree with Mr. Hume that the act was both unfair and inexpedient. It was unfair, because the conduct of the men, however unwise it may be deemed, was still not illegal, and the government therefore, standing upon the support of all classes of the community, and bound to act impartially by all, ought not to have arrayed itself on the side of one of the parties in the contest that was going on, and against the other. And it was inexpedient, because likely to be attended in every way, except in regard to the immediate purpose which it answered of relieving the temporary difficulties of the masters, with the worst effects. It not only tended to exasperate the men by impressing them with a feeling of having been unjustly treated; but it went to obscure to their minds the lesson which the eventual failure of their combination would have been sure to read to them, by deluding them into the notion that, had it not been for the interference of the government, the attempt they were making would not have failed. Mr. Hume's motion, which was for copies of the correspondence between the master coopers and the Lords of the Admiralty, was agreed to.

On the 14th, the House having resolved itself into a committee, Sir James Graham explained the reform of the Office of Exchequer for effecting which a bill was already in progress through the House. In reference to this very important measure we can only state here, that it abolishes entirely the existing system of the office, in respect both to the method in which the accounts are kept, and the officers by whom proceedings are superintended and directed. For this system, which has subsisted almost without change

since the Conquest, a completely new machinery will be substituted. The entries will be made in English instead of Latin, the Arabic will be substituted for the Roman numerals, useless forms will be discontinued, and sinecures will be extinguished. Sir James Graham stated that whereas the present establishment consisted of sixty-five individuals, and cost 41,900*l.* per annum, there would in future be only twenty-nine persons employed at a yearly cost of 11,000*l.* Of course, compensation must be made to those of the present officers who have vested interests in their places, which will prevent the immediate saving from reaching to this amount. In place of the present auditor and clerk of the pells, it is proposed to appoint a comptroller and assistant-comptroller, at much more moderate salaries; and the two tellerships will also be abolished. In the short debate which followed Sir James Graham's speech, no opposition was expressed to the general principles of the measure; but some suggestions as to minor details were made by Lord Granville Somerset, which were perhaps deserving of attention.

The same evening Major Fancourt, in a temperate speech, moved the insertion of a clause in the Mutiny Bill, abolishing the punishment of flogging in the army. The motion was resisted by Mr. Robert Grant, principally on the ground that the government was actually directing its best efforts to the reduction of flogging, and that such a resolution as that proposed would only interfere injuriously with this experiment. The resolution was negatived on a division by a majority of 227 to 94.

At the morning sitting of the House on the 17th, a conversation arose, and was continued on the following morning, respecting the principle adopted in levying the tea-duties, by the bill of the last session. An opinion was strongly expressed by several members, that the plan of discriminating duties for the different varieties of the article would be found of impossible application. But as this plan is actually pursued and found to answer in America, it is difficult to understand why it should be thought impracticable here. Notwithstanding the urgency of the representations made to them, ministers have not intimated any intention of abandoning their original scheme.

At the evening sitting on the 17th, the total repeal of the malt-tax, after the 4th of October next, was moved by Mr. Cobbett; but after a short debate the motion was rejected by a majority of 142 to 59. A discussion of considerable interest followed on a motion by Mr. Shiel for an address to his Majesty, praying that there might be laid before the House copies of any communications between his Majesty's government and that of Russia, with respect to any treaty between the latter power and Turkey, entered into since the 1st of January, 1833. The motion was resisted by ministers, and was negatived after a long debate: but the speech delivered in reply to Mr. Shiel by Lord Palmerston contained some information of which the public had not been before possessed, at least in an authentic form. His lordship stated that, in December, 1832, an envoy had come to this country from the Grand Signior, soliciting our assistance in the contest in which he was engaged with his rebellious vassal the Pacha of Egypt—that the request was refused, among other reasons, because we had at that time no naval force to spare, our ships being occupied in other quarters—and that Lord Ponsonby, although he had received his appointment to succeed Sir Stratford Canning as ambassador at Constantinople in November, 1832, had been detained at Naples, and prevented from proceeding to that city till the following May, by unfavourable weather. Of the treaty of the 8th of July last, concluded between Turkey and Russia, he acknowledged that our government did not approve; but he added, that such explanations had been given by both parties as tended, in some degree, to remove the unfavourable impressions made by the language of the treaty itself.

On the 18th the abolition of the compulsory payment of church-rates by Dissenters was moved by Mr. Divett; but, on Lord Althorp stating that the government intended immediately to introduce a measure which would probably satisfy the views of the Dissenters upon this subject, the motion was withdrawn. In the course of the same evening two committees were appointed on the motion of Sir Robert Inglis and the Solicitor-General; the one to inquire into the Glasgow Lottery, and the other to consider the present state of the law as regards libel and slander. The Solicitor-General prefaced his motion by a very able speech.

Up to this time little business had been done in the House of Lords, and no great discussion had taken place, although the conversations that incidentally arose were sometimes interesting. On the 21st, however, a debate of unusual length and animation was occasioned by a petition from certain resident members of the senate of the University of Cambridge, in favour of the abrogation of every religious test exacted from members of that university before they could be admitted to degrees, whether of bachelor, master, or doctor, in arts, law, and physic. The petition was submitted to the attention of their lordships by Earl Grey, in a long and very able address, which was replied to at considerable length by the Duke of Wellington. The other speakers were the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Durham, both of whom strongly and forcibly urged the expediency of complying with the prayer of the petitioners. A similar petition, addressed to the House of Commons, has since been laid before that assembly by Mr. Spring Rice; and as all the principal members of the government have expressed in warm terms their concurrence with its object, there is reason to hope that a reform called for by so many powerful considerations will not be much longer impeded by the comparatively unimportant difficulties that stand in its way. The innovation, however, it is proper to remark, will necessarily lead to other changes, and is not perhaps the less desirable on that account.

On this evening the ordnance estimates were moved in the House of Commons by Colonel Maberley. The sum voted, as compared with that voted last year, exhibits a reduction of 120,000*l.*; and it is calculated that the actual expenditure will be reduced by 82,000*l.* Mr. Hume attempted to show that there was still much room for further retrenchment; but did not oppose the resolution as moved.

On the 26th a measure of very great importance was submitted to the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, in a bill for extending the jurisdiction of the Old Bailey Court, which at present is confined to the county of Middlesex, over so much of the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Essex, as to include the whole of the borough of Southwark, and the other populous districts on the same side of the river, and for increasing the number of sessions of the court from eight to twelve in the year. His lordship calculated that the judicature thus enlarged would extend over a population of nearly 1,700,000 persons; and the saving occasioned by the greater frequency of the gaol deliveries in the expense of detaining prisoners in custody will also be very considerable.

The two Houses adjourned on the 26th till the 14th of April, it being however arranged that the House of Lords should sit, during the holidays, in the mornings, for the hearing of Scotch Appeals.

FRANCE.

A GENERAL strike of the workmen in the great manufacturing city of Lyons, the importance and object of which had been greatly exaggerated and misrepresented by the factious, and had caused some uneasiness to government, has terminated very quietly, and even sooner than might have been expected. After a fortnight's idleness the men returned to their work, without any occasion having arisen for the interference either of the military or the civil power. Other disturbances, though not of a very serious nature, have, however, taken place in Paris. In consequence of the seizure of certain newspapers, and the restrictions laid upon the two sous publications which used to be hawked about the streets, loud disapprobation was expressed by a portion of the populace, and crowds gathered at different points of the city, discussing this and other grievances, and assuming, it is said, rather a menacing attitude. Ministers took the alarm and engaged an extra number of men, armed only with sticks, to assist the regular police in dispersing these mobs. A collision took place in the Place de la Bourse and in some of the streets leading thereto, in which the extra constables (if we may so call them) used their sticks with great effect and scattered the crowds. This circumstance was severely commented upon by the republican and all the opposition journals, who accused Louis Philippe's ministers of having hired a set of discharged galley-slaves and assassins to kill or cruelly maltreat *peaceful* Frenchmen. It was also the subject of some stormy discussions in the Chambers, where ministers were accused of having actually been the cause of sacrificing *many* lives. It was replied by them that the police had suffered more than the mob—that

no lives, however, had been lost—and that they challenged their accusers to prove their assertions. To this the attacking party rejoined, that the dead could not speak, and that their surviving friends and relatives were afraid of appearing as witnesses lest they should be arrested as seditious persons and accomplices in the riot. At last, however, an unfortunate journeyman tailor was found who had died in consequence of wounds received in the scuffle. Of this discovery the accusers took all the advantage they could, and assumed as a certainty that the poor man had been sacrificed while going quietly about his business. It appears probable that the police authorities were not very particular in their choice of peace-keepers, yet surely these men armed with sticks were preferable to troops of cavalry or to any species of soldiery. A liberal member, however, made it a matter of solemn complaint in the Chamber of Deputies, that troops had not been employed and the mob dispersed by charges of horse. (The French are certainly a most military people, but we could scarcely have expected a sentiment like this.) It was answered for ministers, that cavalry acting in the crowded streets of a capital were likely to do much more mischief, and to be of necessity much less scrupulous in distinguishing which of the citizens were riotous and which not, than the men they had appointed to the service.

Others discussions, of a nature equally violent, have taken place in the lower house on a ministerial project of law relative to revolutionary clubs and political associations. The supporters of the measure recalled to the memory of the house what had happened in their first revolution, under Robespierre, when the Jacobin club overthrew every other authority and plunged France in crime and blood. M. Keratry stated it as his honest conviction, that the 'Society of the Rights of Man,' which appears now to be the most formidable of these associations, has taken up the work where Robespierre left it off—the only difference being that, in their recent attempts to destroy public order and confound all the elements of society, they have been the beaten instead of the victorious party. General Jacqueminot, speaking on the same side, quoted passages from the speeches of the old republican, Lafayette, delivered in the years 1792 and 1794, in which it is asserted that 'political societies must either fall into universal discredit, or they will overturn everything before them.' The subject is a difficult one—we know that Frenchmen are apt to carry these matters far beyond our practice in this country: but we doubt whether persecution will cast 'universal discredit' on the clubs and societies, of which, moreover, we cannot help thinking that Louis Philippe's cabinet has betrayed rather too much fear. It must be recollected, however, that the keeper of the seals affirmed, on authority, that the 'Society of the Rights of Man' had mainly instigated and taken an active part in the troubles at Lyons and other towns; and another ministerial member (M. Fulchiron)) not only confirmed all this, but gave it as an undeniable fact, that the same society was the moving cause of the disturbances and attempts at insurrection which took place almost simultaneously with the strike at Lyons, at St. Etienne, Geneva, and Savoy. In the course of this speech, M. Fulchiron appropriately introduced the name of Washington, whom nobody could accuse of being wanting in love for rational liberty, and repeated the energetic terms in which that great and good man stigmatized political clubs.

The committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the bill for regulating the customs, or the new tariff, has introduced some important modifications in several of its principal clauses. They relate chiefly to the import duties upon coal, iron, spun-cotton, and sugars. Spun-cotton or twist is to be introduced at a still more considerably reduced rate than that we stated in the last Number of the Companion.

The new tariff, as promulgated, has been far from giving general satisfaction. It is complained, on the one hand, that it does too much, and on the other, that it does too little. In the latter class of complainants are, of course, most of the French ports and great commercial cities. Among these, Bordeaux has particularly distinguished herself, and, not contented with earnest representations and prayers for redress, the Chamber of Commerce of that city has held threatening, and, we should say, idle language to government, speaking of the feasibility of that portion of southern France detaching itself from the king's dominions, if a more liberal commercial system be not adopted. The Chambers of Commerce of Nantes, Havre, Rouen, and Boulogne have signified their concurrence in the opinions advanced in the Bordeaux address. The chamber of St. Malo also sent in its adhesion on the 4th of March, but this document is distinguished by more moderation and wisdom than the rest of them. It adopts the free trade basis laid down by the merchants of Bordeaux, *with some exceptions*, and expresses a conviction that political economy requires that the emancipation of commerce should be established, if *not suddenly*, at least *gradually* and *progressively*.

Whilst at one end of France men have been so violent as to talk of dismembering the kingdom, the popular feeling has been excited with almost equal violence in Paris by a ministerial project to revise the municipal or corporation laws, to give more political influence to the departments, and render them less dependent on the capital. In our apprehension this would be a good measure, for some of the most serious misfortunes that have befallen France have sprung out of the complete supremacy of the capital over the provinces and great provincial cities—have been owing to the circumstance that Paris has not merely represented the head and heart of the state, but its body, limbs, and extremities—that she has been as everything, and the rest of the kingdom as next to nothing in a political sense. Most of the Parisian journals, however, and all those men who look to the capital alone as the fulcrum on which to lay their revolutionary lever, are opposed to this project, which will also encounter the opposition of the bigoted adherents to the centralization system.

With the recollection of what occurred in our House of Commons on the 17th of March, when Lord Palmerston was called upon to answer questions and produce documents relating to an important part of our foreign policy, it is amusing to compare what was said in the French Chamber in the course of the discussion on the late riots, when the government party not only maintained that putting questions to ministers was inconvenient, and attended with many evil consequences, but that, according to the constitution of that assembly, the right of a member so to question was very dubious. This position was warmly attacked, but it seems probable the government will succeed in maintaining it, and thus destroy what is a useful constitutional privilege, or a pernicious abuse, just according to the tempers of those who employ it.

SPAIN.

THE problems in which the fate of this distracted country is involved seem still to be far from their solution. Instead of a blending of parties, which was to be desired as the greatest of blessings and as the only means of securing tranquillity and the establishment of a moderately liberal government to Spain, new parties have sprung up, and all appear to assume a wider or more pronounced hostility. The queen-regent's government is in the greatest distress for money, and has not yet been able to conclude a loan for which it is in treaty, of 8,000,000*l.*, a sum considered by most men as inadequate to the present emergencies. Hence decrees are issued, for the most part in vain, for levies of troops, and a sort of conscription law has been passed for raising men that the queen can neither clothe nor support. In addition to the sin of its poverty, government has committed a mistake, which has caused great irritation and disgust, in the regulations it has established for the embodying of an urban or municipal militia. Acting on a plan of numerical uniformity, and forgetting that, in many and extensive portions of Spain, there are no such populous towns, this law enacts that only places containing 3500 inhabitants shall have the right of embodying a militia corps. A Spanish paper has published a statement, showing, that, out of the whole number of towns in Spain, (leaving the revolted provinces to themselves,) only 619 would by this law be authorized to form a militia, and that the number of men that could be armed by these towns without a violation of art. 11 of the law, which allows but one man in a hundred, would be very insufficient indeed, even without taking into consideration numerous grounds of exclusion from this service established by other articles of the law. Another serious objection is, that a force thus raised would be concentrated in the large towns, leaving the small towns and villages, where such a defence is most wanted, wholly unprovided. The law includes several other capital errors, as will always be the case where legislators proceed merely on the system of numbers and uniformity without reference to other circumstances. In several places thus excluded, and which were

before well affected to the queen-regent, her obnoxious law has been publicly committed to the flames. We are happy to learn that government has withdrawn it for revision.

Favoured by these circumstances, the Carlists in the north, though they have occasionally sustained partial defeats, are said to be gaining strength. In the neighbourhood of Bilboa, they act as if Don Carlos were undisputed master of the throne. They have their organized administration, their army, their lines of customs, and their taxes, in part levied by force and in part paid with good will. Zavala, the Carlist generalissimo, has shot several of his prisoners of war in retaliation for the queen's martial decree of the 21st of January, and for the execution of several Carlist prisoners by her party.

According to the latest intelligence, the queen-regent's troops had been reinforced in the Biscayan provinces and in Navarre; but it seems they are only masters of the ground they occupy, and that the Carlists, who carefully avoid a general action, are continually harassing them, and disposing of the resources of the open country. It would be uninteresting to detail the events of this petty but sanguinary warfare. Each party is so inflamed with rage and hatred against the other, that they carry on hostilities with the merciless spirit of the middle ages. Meanwhile the pretender, Don Carlos, continues to skulk in hiding-places, only heading his partisans in arms by means of monks and other emissaries, proclamations, and promises of future reward and honour. The adherents of the queen-regent never appear to know the place of his abode, which he probably often changes, and a body of her troops has twice crossed the frontier in the course of a month and penetrated some distance into Portugal in fruitless search of him. According to some accounts he is now concealed in Spain.

At Madrid, although the riots have been suppressed, a widely spread disaffection, resulting from a variety of totally different political feelings, is said to prevail. One party is described as being anxious to remove her present majesty (Ferdinand's widow) from the regency, and to substitute the wife of the Infante Francisco Paulo, the brother of Don Carlos.

The circumstance the most to be deplored in this struggle for principle, which must decide whether Spain is to secure for herself the enjoyment of an improved and improving government, or to be thrown back on her old vicious institutions, is, that the constitutionalists and liberals are not agreed among themselves as to what is to be done or desired. On the contrary, they entertain notions the most opposite. To pass over several minor parties, and only speak of two influential classes among them, we find one bent upon an instant overthrow of all the establishments of Spain —a confiscation of church property, and the fixing of a constitution more comprehensive and popular even than those of France and England; whilst the other would proceed slowly and circumspectly, contenting itself with the gradual reform of abuses and the convocation of the Cortes after the fashion of the antient Spanish constitution. This class also, instead of irritating and alarming the monks and priests, among the latter of whom there are many inclined both to political and ecclesiastical reform, would endeavour to conciliate them and make them fall into the constitutional line of march. They would then confidently attend the course of events, and in the education of the people at large, which has hitherto been sadly neglected; in the improvement of industry and prosperity; and in the opening of roads and the establishment of means of rapid communication all over the kingdom, look for a state of things which might not only permit, but call for a more theoretically perfect constitution and government than Spain can now bear.

The present ministry, and Martinez de la Rosa as the most prominent member of the cabinet, have been made subjects of severe criticism by some of our journals. They apparently do not possess all the talent and energy desirable at such a crisis, but it ought in justice to be confessed that their position is one of extreme difficulty. Reports have been current in Madrid that this cabinet was about to be changed, and Toreno has been named as likely to be one of the new ministry.

Of the many newspapers that sprung up in the capital after Ferdinand's death, government has thought fit to interfere with some, and others have ceased through want of purchasers. Recent letters from Madrid announce that the Cortes is really to be assembled early in June. It is again confidently asserted that Spain will immediately recognize the independence of the South American states, and admit the long-disputed Cortes' bonds into the list of the lawful national debts.

PORTUGAL.

SINCE the rather important battle of Almoster, which was fought on the 18th of February, and which, after severe losses on both sides, terminated in favour of the Pedroites, and in the retreat of the forces of Don Miguel to Santarem, no great military event has taken place. In this sanguinary combat a battalion of Spaniards, well armed and accoutred, and in the service of Don Carlos, whom they style lawful king of Spain, fought on the side of the Miguelites. An expedition to the Alemtejo, which was to be commanded by the Duke of Terceira, with the object of pressing Santarem in the rear, and preventing the Miguelites from receiving provisions and other resources in that direction, has been subjected to some very prejudicial delays; and, finally, the plan and the commander have been changed. At the beginning of March, disease was still committing ravages in Santarem. A Captain Robinson, one of Don Miguel's agents from London, had, however, not only eluded the vigilance of the Pedroite navy, and landed safely in Figueira, but had reached head-quarters at Santarem with a considerable supply of money, and with ammunition and clothing. According to the last intelligence the Miguelites had received altogether 100,000*l.*, and were again well-dressed and equipped, at least to the number of 18,000 men. Several English, French, and other officers, had taken service under Don Miguel. Seventy mules laden were, however, intercepted and taken by the Pedroites on their road to Santarem; and at various times a considerable number of monks have been seized in the Alemtejo as they were carrying money and provisions to Miguel. All these friars, and other partisans of various castes and grades, have been thrown into the prisons of Lisbon, which promise to be soon as well filled as they were before the Miguelites evacuated the capital. Notwithstanding rather frequent quarrels between Don Pedro and the foreign officers in his service, and his apparent inability to pay up the arrears due to his army generally, he continues to receive frequent reinforcements of English, French, Belgian, and other adventurers, who are all said to be brave in action, though somewhat deficient in discipline on other occasions.

The most important of the Pedroite movements have been in Algarve, where the Baron de Sa, after some skirmishes, has succeeded in taking Faro, and Tavira the capital of that province, and a place of some strength, about 140 S.E. of Lisbon. De Sa's forces consist chiefly of Frenchmen, Germans, and Belgians. He expected an action with a Miguelite corps about to advance on St. Ubes. General Lemos has succeeded Povoas as commander-in-chief of Don Miguel's army. Both brothers are making efforts to strengthen and concentrate their forces in and about Santarem. A pretty constant skirmishing is kept up at that point; but, on the whole, with the exception of De Sa's successes in Algarve, it may be said that the relative positions of the belligerents have undergone little change since we last wrote.

Lord Howard de Walden has presented his credentials to Donna Maria, as new ambassador from our court. It is said in many quarters that the young queen has refused a proposed match with one of the sons of the French king, Louis Philippe, and that a scandalous story affecting her majesty's character, which has been circulated by some of the French journals, is attributable to spite for this rejection.

We mentioned in our last monthly retrospect that a building had been prepared at Lisbon for the accommodation of the Cortes. For several weeks, however, we have heard nothing more of that constitutional body, nor does a word appear to be uttered at the court of Don Pedro about the time when it is really to be convoked.

SWITZERLAND

THIS country has been placed in an embarrassing position in consequence of the late attempt made by the Polish and other refugees to revolutionize Savoy. The number of political exiles, and more especially those from Poland, that have been allowed to remain in, and wander about Switzer-

land, has for some time been a cause of ill-humour to all those countries the frontiers of which touch in any part on the territories of the Swiss confederation, but since the armed attack under General Romarino, which we mentioned in our last retrospect, and which was prepared chiefly in the territory of Geneva, this ill-humour has been greatly increased, and precautionary measures, bearing rather a hostile appearance, have been adopted by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Sardinia. Representations had been previously made to the Swiss Diet by these two powers, and also by Prussia, but the fact seems to be that the Diet cannot command obedience to its decrees and regulations; and in the meantime the Canton of Berne has formally declared that the Poles shall be free to remain in that part of Switzerland, or to go whither they choose. The Austrian troops have therefore been reinforced in Tyrol to check any incursion in that direction, and the poor, peaceful inhabitants of Savoy have been burdened by an increase of military dispatched by the King of Sardinia to defend that portion of his states. But, according to recent letters from Vienna, where the affair is taken to heart, matters are not to stop here. More energetic remonstrances, which will be sanctioned by the Germanic Diet, are to be transmitted to the Swiss confederation, in the name of *all* the German governments; and if that body fail to deliver itself "from its incommodious guests who endeavour to spread disorder both within Switzerland, and beyond its frontiers," then all diplomatic relations with the Cantons shall cease, and a military cordon shall be established to preserve Austria and other powers from the invasions of anarchy.

TURKEY.

The Sultan continues to make great efforts for the recruiting of his army. At the end of February, a considerable body of tacticoes, or the new disciplined troops, left Europe for Asia, and crossing the sea of Marmora, landed at Isnikmid, the antient Nicomedia. About thirty thousand regular troops remained at Constantinople. The greatest activity also prevails in the arsenal and dock-yards of Constantinople. Old ships of war are repairing, and several new ones ordered. The following is the strength of the Sultan's fleet at the present moment.

The "Mahmoudier," a three-decker, one of the largest ships in the world, carrying 140 guns.

The "Selimer," a three-decker, carrying 120 guns. (Both these large vessels have undergone repairs, and are now in excellent condition.)

Five two-deckers, carrying 64, or 74 guns each; all these are rather old, and one or two scarcely sea-worthy.

Seven frigates, of which only three are in good condition.

A new frigate, very lately constructed at Constantinople by a skilful American ship-builder, who died there before it was finished. This vessel carries 64 guns, and is the largest and one of the finest frigates ever built.

A beautiful sloop of war bought from the Americans, and described as being a model of perfection of its kind. It carries 28 guns.

Four other old sloops of war, a few brigs, and two English steam-boats, complete this naval force. Were it properly manned and commanded, such a fleet would not be altogether contemptible, but both crews and officers are at present about as bad as can possibly be. Before the Greek revolution, the Turkish ships were entirely managed by Greeks, who are active and clever sailors, the Mussulmans merely commanding, (the men, not the manœuvres) and working the guns when in action. Few of the Turkish officers were acquainted with the simplest rules of navigation or mathematics, or knew any thing about practical navigation, or the modes of managing a ship. An old cavalry officer, a shoemaker, a tailor, a barber, has often filled the post of capitan-pasha, or admiral-in-chief; and though in some cases this pasha had previously been a Barbary corsair, a sailor, or a boatman, and accustomed to the sea, there is scarcely an instance of one with a tincture of scientific education.

Now the Greeks, as pilots and sailors, are almost altogether lost to the Sultan. He has induced a *few* by very high wages, which he can ill afford to pay, to engage on board his ships now afloat; but these men are constantly deserting, and are, moreover, little to be depended upon in such a service. He has also engaged some Sclavonians from the Bocca di Cattaro, and that part of the Adriatic, who are excellent as working mariners, but ignorant and mutinous in the extreme. Their number is also very inconsiderable. The mass of the crews on board the fleet is, therefore, composed of young Turks—for the most part mere boys, of whom the Sultan is endeavouring to make sailors. But sailors are not made in a day, and these striplings have not the proper means of instruction. A few of them of superior condition have, indeed, been taught a little of mathematics and navigation at Constantinople by christian masters, but their instruction is incomplete, and as to experience and practice, they, of course, have had none.

The Sultan will probably avail himself of the services of the Egyptian admiral, Osman Noureddin, who recently deserted from Mehemet Ali Pasha, and was received with open arms at Constantinople. This Osman has received a proper education in Europe, and is said to be a good officer; but he can scarcely be expected to do much with such materials as the Sultan can place at his disposal.

The steam-boats are under the direction of Mr. Kelly, an intelligent Scotchman, but one by one, all the Englishmen and Scotchmen who engaged with him, have left the service in disgust, and he has been obliged to supply their places chiefly with Maltese, who have incidentally picked up a little knowledge of steam-engines, &c. But even these poor fellows have been frightened at the service by an event that took place some months ago. A Scotchman, who commanded the smaller of the two steam-boats which was lying at the time in the port, off the arsenal, was missed one night in his cabin after he had retired to bed—the few christians on board searched for him all over the ship in vain. The next morning he was found by some boatmen in the port, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and the carcase of a dog tied to his feet. Some of the Turks on board, or in the arsenal, were suspected of the murder, but the matter was never properly investigated.

People at Constantinople are lost in surmises as to the meaning of these notes of preparation, and the course the Sultan intends to pursue. As far as his fleet is concerned, if it is to act with the Czar's fleet now in the Black Sea, he may depend upon the fact, that the Russians cannot afford to lend him much nautical skill, or many seamen. In the course of the war of 1828 and 1829, it was difficult to say which of the belligerents,—the Turks or the Russians—gave most frequent proofs of bad seamanship.

There is no doubt, at this moment, that the Turkish government is wholly subservient to Russia, and it is a matter of notoriety at Constantinople, that several of the leading men in the divan, from the crafty old seraskier, down to Achmet-Pasha, who has just returned from his embassy to St. Petersburg, are bribed by Russian gold and Russian promises. (The last mentioned diplomatist, Achmet, was fifteen years ago, a common boatman on the Bosphorus.)

Opposed to this marked partiality of the court, or perhaps, we should rather say *part* of the court, (as some of the men about the Sultan are said to be violently irritated at the last Russian treaty of Hunkiar-Iskellesi,) are the feelings and prejudices of the whole body of the Mussulman people, who abhor the Russians more than ever. Among other ways, they showed this feeling in the following striking and dignified manner, when the emperor's army was encamped on the Bosphorus. The Russian generals gave a grand review of their troops, to which they invited the Grand Signior and his court. This review took place in a beautiful valley* opposite to Buyukdere; nothing was neglected on the part of the Russians to render it a brilliant and imposing spectacle;—the Sultan went, attended by the seraskier, the selictar, and some other officers and favourites; a few companies of his miserable looking tacticoes were encamped near the spot; but, save and except these, not a single Turk of high or low degree, showed his face there, although the people had been given to understand that their presence would be agreeable to government, and although the large and populous village of Buyukdere, and the village of Therapia, were only separated from the scene of display by the narrow channel of the Bosphorus.

As if he feared a descent on his coasts, and an attack on the Dardanelles, the Sultan has directed troops to be stationed all round the gulfs of Saros and Enos, and has reinforced the garrisons of the Straits of the Dardanelles. We are informed by a gentleman who has lately come from that part of Turkey, that the new fortifications raised at the Dardanelle forts, under the direction of Russian officers and

* The Hunkiar-Iskellesi, or "the Sultan's Landing-Place;" the spot where the late ill-omened treaty was signed.

engineers, are as yet very inconsiderable, and that those forts still remain, as they always have been, weak and exposed on their reverse, or, on the land side.

A camp is also forming in Asia Minor, under Redschid Mehmet Pasha, near to the town of Sivas.

Lord Palmerston is probably well informed of what is doing and contemplated, as Mr. S. Pisani, a dragoman attached to our embassy at Constantinople, has just arrived in London with dispatches from Lord Ponsonby.

GREECE.

THE 'Times' newspaper of the 17th of March contained an excellent communication from Napoli di Romania, which is the seat of the Greek government for the present. The letter was dated at the close of the last year; but we are happy in being able to add from information received from gentlemen who have but very recently returned from that country to England, and from letters we have seen of a very late date, that the views the writer takes of the present condition and prospects of Greece, are neither too sanguine, nor over coloured. For the following facts, taken chiefly from the able correspondent of the 'Times,' though a few are of our own gleaning, we can confidently vouch.

The Greek ministry, which since the arrival of the Bavarian regency has undergone several changes, seems now to be consolidated and fixed. It consists of the following five members who are all men of good education, talent, and character.

1. Prince Mavrocordato, a pure patriot though a skilful politician, who is minister of the royal household, of foreign affairs, and the marine, and also president of the council.

2. Coletti, the steady leader of the anti-Russian party, who is minister of the interior and possessed of more influence both in the cabinet and the country at large, than any other member of the government.

3. Theocaris, the son of a wealthy Greek merchant at Leipsic, by a German mother, who is minister of finance. This gentleman has been well educated at the university of Leipsic, and accustomed to business. Under the unfortunate Capo d' Istria's administration he was a valuable member of the statistical commission.

4. Schinas, who has also been educated in Germany and has travelled much in the civilized countries of Europe. He is minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction, and has shown a most praiseworthy eagerness for the education of the people.

5. Schmaltz, who is minister of war. He was a Bavarian Philhellene, and distinguished himself in the revolutionary war of Greece, long before there was any prospect of a prince of his country being appointed to the Greek throne.

To have the force of law, the decrees of these ministers must have the signature of the three members of the regency. It appears there are some slight complaints, occasionally, of the slowness and precision of these Bavarian functionaries. But this probably arises merely from the national temperament of the parties. For ourselves, from what we know of the Greek character we should be inclined to think that German phlegm and steadiness would prove an advantageous check on its volatility and vehemence. The diplomatic arrangements are the following.

Tricoupi, a man of ability and considerable literary acquirements, has been sent to London, M. Soutzo to Paris, and their old friend and combatant for the cause of Greek independence, General Sir R. Church, to St. Petersburgh. Zographo, another Greek of distinguished talent, is ready to go to Constantinople whenever the Porte condescends to express its willingness to receive him.

We mentioned in our retrospect for the year 1833 (to which we claim the attention of our readers, for the sake of connecting several links of this short narrative), that the government of the Greek church had been rendered independent of the patriarch who resides at Constantinople. The primates and chiefs of the national clergy have met in synod, and have agreed to fix the number of metropolitan dioceses at ten, and no more. But consulting the life-interest of the bishops, who are now no fewer than forty, they have preserved them in their dioceses until death removes them. Generally speaking, there is a complete absence of bigotry and intolerance; nor are the people less attached to the young king because he is of the Roman and not of the Greek church. He has his chapel and his catholic priests for his own devotions. The Russians have always counted much on the sympathy of the Greek people as co-religionists, and, among the intrigues set on foot by them to obtain a supreme influence over the new state, they have not neglected to work the vein of sectarian jealousy and hatred, though it should seem they have had little success in that way. The kingdom has been divided into ten provinces, or districts, precisely corresponding with the church division into ten bishopries. These districts have been subdivided into forty-two circles. Each district and each circle has a presiding authority. In each village there is also a *maire*, who is called Demogeront, and is elected by the people, but subject to the approbation of government. Local councils are established, composed of the chiefs, or elders of the districts, towns, and villages, who are freely elected by the inhabitants without any control or interference whatsoever.

From these municipal institutions the very best results are expected as a *certainty*, and *hopes* are entertained that they may finally lead to the establishment of a free constitutional government. We should say that these are the modes, and the only modes, of rendering the Greek people fit for a constitutional regime, which, at the present moment they undeniably are *not*. Those men are guilty of something worse than idleness who would disparage and embarrass the present government of Greece, because they have not concocted a constitution, and granted a charter in form. To have acted as they suggest, would have been about as absurd as placing the Iliad of Homer in the hands of a youth, and telling him to read and understand its letter and spirit, before he has learned the characters of the Greek alphabet. But as matters have been arranged, the subjects of the new kingdom will become gradually initiated in parts of the science of self-government; they will go through an indispensable course of political instruction, and the discussions and business of provincial, or town councils, will prepare them for the debates and the larger affairs of a national parliament. Municipal institutions are at once the foundation and the bulwarks of constitutions. We know of no country that has succeeded in a representative system of government, that had not before been in possession of municipal institutions. With their natural quickness and talent, the progress of the Greeks will be rapid in these matters; but there will be plenty of time to talk of constitutions, before they can be in a condition to receive any of those which the liberality of theorists in other countries has offered them ready made.

A free press nominally exists, but in consequence of great personal abuse, calumnies on private character, and a continual outpouring of satire, to which the Greeks of to-day are as much addicted as were their ancestors of two thousand years ago, government has thought it expedient to exact a deposit of about 200*l.*, to serve as a security for payment of penalties to which they may render themselves liable, from all parties conducting or starting a newspaper. Journals devoted to philosophy and literature are, however, perfectly free.

We mentioned in the retrospect to which we have already referred, the establishment of three courts of justice; one at Napoli, the second at Missolonghi, and the third at Thebes. These were criminal courts. The formation of the courts of civil law has been delayed, in order to place them on good and lasting foundations. Codes, both of civil and criminal procedure have been prepared, and are probably published ere this.

A number of schools for primary instruction have been established throughout the kingdom, and the people have invariably shown an avidity for instruction. They have also shown much eagerness to procure proper persons for directing lyceums, or higher schools, at different places, and females to direct the education of their daughters.

The revenue of the state has been doubled since the arrival of the regency. It was estimated last year at 160,000*l.*, a small sum to be sure, but still it is an improvement on the past, while there is every prospect of rapid increase.

The only physical want is, that of hands to till the soil. The population of the kingdom, including the Cyclades, does not much exceed 700,000, and hence, large tracts of the most productive kinds of land, situated in the finest of climates, lie waste and deserted.

In the larger towns, the improvement has been rapid since the establishment of order. It is said, that persons who travelled in Greece during the horrors of revolutionary and partisan warfare, and even those who saw Napoli di Romania, Navarino, Patras, &c., only two years ago, are

struck with astonishment at the celerity with which houses, built of good solid materials, have been erected.

A considerable number of emigrants from Malta, some parts of Italy, and other countries, have settled in Greece as shopkeepers, mechanics, boatmen, or in other callings. The trade in the Cyclades is improving, and two or three of those islands are building ships with timber and other materials chiefly imported from Trieste. By a recent decree of government, the royal navy is to be increased by several vessels of different rates. Miaulis, the celebrated Greek admiral, who did so much in the revolutionary war, has been appointed to organize the fleet. The brave, honest, and disinterested Canaris, commonly called in the Levant "The Turk-burner," and who performed more valuable services with a few fire-ships than other men have done with fleets, was lately at the young king's court at Napoli, where he had adopted the Frank costume.

A new and good coinage has been introduced, and measures adopted to prevent the further dilapidation of the state property.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS.

Oct. 17. Papers from Canton to this date have been received. An insurrection in the southern part of Cochin China had broken out, in consequence, it is stated, of a popular magistrate having been disgraced and imprisoned at Saigun, through the intrigues of some persons at Court. They rose in such numbers that the military were overpowered, and the escape of the prisoner was effected, whom they placed at their head, and sent for assistance to the Siamese, who had a large army on the Cochin Chinese frontier, so that it was feared it might be some time before order could be restored.

The same papers state that the inhabitants of Canton (city) had suffered very severely from a violent gale of wind and rain, which lasted for 12 days without intermission. It was calculated that no less than 1000 persons perished, and that 10,000 houses were swept away by the violence of the water from the hills, which met the tide, forced back by the violence of the wind, and inundated the greatest part of the city, forced down the north-east part of the wall, carrying everything before it, and, passing through the cemetery, tore up the coffins and remains, and bore them down to the river. Trade was totally suspended, and the greatest distress prevailed.

Nov 8. Singapore papers to this date state that accounts from Bencoolen, Sumatra, to the middle of August, had arrived, stating that an insurrection had broken out among the inhabitants of the hills, who had massacred the President, totally overpowered the few soldiers who endeavoured to arrest their progress, and penetrated to the very heart of the settlement, with a view, it is supposed, of causing a general insurrection throughout the country, for the purpose of overturning the Dutch Government there. The Europeans at first remained quietly in their houses, but the natives increased in such numbers that they were compelled to take refuge in the forts and islands. Matters, however, before the departure of the advices, had partly become quiet, but a general rupture was shortly apprehended.

Jan. 11. Letters of this date from La Guayra, state that the government of Venezuela, on hearing of the death of the King of Spain, had determined on despatching a special mission to Madrid, for the purpose of pressing on the Spanish government the expediency of acknowledging without further delay the independence of that republic.

23. This morning, the chateau of St. Louis, the residence of the Governor of Quebec, took fire about noon, and, notwithstanding the immediate alarm, the attendance of the troops, and fire-engines, all efforts to save the building have proved unsuccessful, and it is now a heap of ruins. From the intense cold of the day the engines became quickly clogged with ice, nor could the firemen maintain themselves sufficiently long on the roof, from the cold, to render any effectual service. The watermen conveying water from the river were literally covered with ice, as well as the firemen on whom the spray falls. All human efforts in such weather were perfectly useless. The chateau was built by the French about 150 years ago, and will cost the province from 25,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* to replace it.

28. Information of this date from Constantinople states that a war of the most savage character had commenced between the Turkish and Greek population of Albania. Unable to endure longer the vexations to which their villages were daily exposed, the latter have risen in arms simultaneously, and revenged their sufferings in the blood of their oppressors. Several engagements have already taken place, and no quarter is given on either side. Subsequent information states that these troubles had been pacified by a new Pacha, who had been sent to supersede the old oppressor, and had obliged him to refund to the people the sums he had extorted.

28. A letter from Rome states that lately, as the great sculptor Thorwaldsen was standing on the top of a very high ladder, engaged in forming the head of a colossal horse, he became so absorbed in his work that he made a step backwards in order to see better the effect of his chisel, and lost his footing; fortunately, however, he had sufficient presence of mind to seize the ear of the horse, and thus, in all probability, saved his life.—*French Paper.*

Feb. 14. The Turkish government has decided on the establishment of a post for the regular conveyance of letters throughout Turkey. It is calculated that this improvement, besides its importance to the people, will add 6,000,000 piastres to the revenue.

15. Eleven persons were destroyed at Malta by the explosion of the merchant-schooner Meteor, in consequence of the ignition of the waste powder which remained about the vessel after the discharge of 180 barrels of that article at the powder-magazine.

20. The editor of the 'Ami de la Vérité,' a legitimatist journal of Caen, was sentenced by the Court of Assizes for Calvados to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs for a libel upon the King, and exciting hatred and contempt against the government.

26. Mr. John Richardson, the steward of John Perkins, Esq., was murdered by a pistol-shot, and robbed by two men, on his return, in a gig-cart, from Epsom to Bletchingly. Rewards amounting to 300*l.* have been offered for the discovery of the murderers, and several persons have, in the course of the month, been apprehended on suspicion.

— Sennefelder, the inventor of the art of lithography, died at Munich, in the 63d year of his age.

— The beautiful and powerful steamer the Adelaide, while on her passage from Londonderry to Liverpool, sustained considerable damage. About 2 o'clock on Thursday morning last, while off the Mull of Galloway, she was struck by a tremendous sea, which washed all the houses off deck, and swept overboard Capt. Shannon, her commander, who unfortunately happened to be in the house at the time. He was never seen afterwards. About two hours afterwards she was struck by another sea, which carried away the remains of her bulwarks, boats, davits, a bullock, half of the wheel, the greater part of the skylights, and half filled the cabins with water. One of the engines was also broken and rendered useless. With great difficulty the vessel got into Douglas, Isle of Man, at 2 p.m. on Thursday, but is so much disabled that she still remains there.

— The legislative body at Frankfort have repealed the law which limited the number of marriages between Jews at Frankfort to thirteen a year.

March 1. Information from Berlin states that numerous arrests of the students of the University have taken place. A new species of Burschenschafft has been discovered, the ramifications of which are described as being very extensive and dangerous.

— The Corporation Inquiry in the city of London closed this day. No day is named for commencing the inquiry into the state of the different companies, of which the only announced recusant is the Merchant Taylers.

4. For some time past a combination has existed amongst the workmen employed in the different gas works, for the purpose of forcing their employers to raise their wages; and a short time since they demanded that their wages should be raised to 35*s.* per week, with the allowance besides of two pots of porter each per day. It appears the wages they then and at present receive are 28*s.* per week for a stoker, a man who attends to the fires, and one guinea per week for the labourers generally, and this they receive all the year round. The respective companies refused to accede to the demand, and the workmen, in consequence, came to the resolution of making a simultaneous strike, the whole of London would, therefore, have been thrown into a state of darkness, and the most serious results might have occurred. The workmen resolved that the strike should be made at such a time that it would be impossible for the companies to engage other men; and, in fact, some days would probably have elapsed ere men, competent to perform the duty, could be procured. In the interim the Imperial Gas and Coke Company gained information of the plan in contemplation, and took measures to prevent the project being carried into effect. They, at considerable expense, obtained men from different parts of the country who were acquainted with the business, and this day the whole of the workmen, 35 in number, belonging to the Imperial Gaslight and Coke Company, who had joined the union, were discharged from the company's gas-works in Maiden-lane, Battle-bridge, and the new workmen put on in their places. The unionists seemed much astonished at this decisive mode of proceeding, and quietly left the premises. On the following day the Phœnix Company discharged 17 of their men, and subsequently the Chartered Gas Company discharged 156 of theirs. In consequence of this some difficulty was for a time felt in producing the requisite supply of gas in Westminster, but the increased experience and strenuous exertions of the new men have removed this inconvenience, and the works go on without the old hands, some of whom have in vain applied to be re-admitted.

— The *Moniteur Ottoman* announces, after private letters from Palestine, that the plague has broken out at Jerusalem, and rages in the quarters of the Jews.

4. Mehemet Ali is said to be preparing an expedition against Arabia Felix. An army of 2000 men was nearly ready to march on this service, when the last accounts left Cairo.

8. The Gazette of Frankfort on the Maine states, after a letter of the 1st from Frankfort on the Oder, that the fair in that town had gone off so badly, that the greater part of the dealers had

scarcely sold enough to cover their travelling expenses; this was owing to the adherence of Saxony to the Prussian system of commerce, as Leipsic will now have the business hitherto transacted at Frankfort on the Oder.

— The civil tribunal at Blois has delivered judgment on the appeal of the Duchess of Berri, as the guardian of the Duke of Bordeaux, against the sequestration placed on the estate of Chambord, whereby it has ordered the sequestration to be taken off, and restored full possession of the domain to the young Prince. An appeal is said to have been made against this decision.

10. The inhabitants of Newcastle resolved, at a public meeting, to call upon their representatives to resign, in consequence of their vote with the majority, on Mr. Harvey's motion for an inquiry into the pension-list.

11. The Frolic, of Portsmouth, and other fishing vessels which had left Jersey the preceding day, found this morning that they had, during the night, got within the limits of eight miles from the French coast, to which the British fishermen are restricted. Before they could withdraw beyond the limits, the French armed cutter appointed to watch the fishery and prevent encroachment, sent out an armed boat, which took the Flora, of Milton; but having been repulsed with sweeps and boat-hooks in five attempts to board the Frolic, they fired and shot the master, Burnett, through the lungs. The French boat afterwards made off, and Burnett only survived his wound an hour and a half. The coroner's inquest, held at Jersey, brought in a verdict of "wilful murder" against the man that shot Burnett.

— Late accounts from Greece state that the government is actively engaged in the revision, commenced under Capo d'Istrias in 1830, of all the ordinances of the Emperor Basilius Mazedo, which form the basis of the civil rights of the Greeks. All such of these laws as are to remain in force will be collected into one code.—*French Paper.*

— A man of the name of Polari has been tried and found guilty in Holland, for stealing the jewels of the Princess of Orange. He was sentenced to half an hour's exposure upon the pillory, with a board upon his breast describing his crime, and to be imprisoned for 12 years in a house of correction.

— M. Cabet, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, has been found guilty of libelling the King in his journal, the *Populaire*, and sentenced to two years' confinement, two years' further deprivation of civil rights, and a fine of 2000 francs. As this sentence is considered exceedingly severe, it stands a chance of being mitigated by the court of appeal.

15. This afternoon a numerous meeting of scientific and literary gentlemen and others was held at the rooms of the Horticultural Society, for the purpose of forming a Statistical Society, for the collection and classification of all facts relating to the present condition and prospects of mankind, and especially of the British empire.

The Marquis of Lansdowne (who was in the chair) felt that it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the actual necessity there was for a collection and classification of the various facts already elicited, and hereafter to be discovered, relating to the past and present condition of society, and to what might probably be the future state of mankind; for he believed that almost all those whom he addressed were not only aware of, but had personally experienced, the painful difficulties which lay in the way of the literary and scientific man, and of the political economist, arising from the absence of any combination of these facts for practical purposes. In other countries this want had not only been felt but provided for, and in France, particularly, there was an efficient machinery, under the direction of the government, for the attainment of the object now had in view. In this country, although the government had already done much towards the distribution of such facts—he alluded to the publications under the direction of the Privy Council and the Board of Trade—yet they must be sensible that to perform the work effectually they must look for the co-operation of able, active, and intelligent individuals; therefore it was that it was now proposed that a society should be formed, which should have for its object the collection, not of theories, but of facts, upon which alone all theories and all systems should be founded. Of the expediency of such a society no one could have a doubt; and their present object was to ascertain and determine upon the best mode of its organization.

Mr. Goulburn, M.P., in proposing the first resolution, said that during his political life he perpetually had occasion to prepare important documents for the public use, in doing which he had felt in their full force the difficulties arising from the want of an authenticated collection of statistical knowledge. The resolution which expressed the necessity for the collection and classification of statistical facts, was seconded by the Lord Advocate and carried.

Mr. Babbage proposed the next resolution, which was for the appointment of a society for the purpose described in the preceding resolution, to be called the Statistical Society of London. From the statement of this gentleman, it appeared that the idea of forming this society originated from the suggestion of M. Quetelet, the gentleman sent from Belgium to watch the proceedings at the last meeting of the British Association at Cambridge. It was first proposed to make the collection of statistical facts a branch of that association; but on consideration, it was found that the more efficacious mode would be the formation of a society like the present.

Mr. Jones, Professor of Political Economy at King's College, and one of the Committee delegated by the British Association to assist in the formation of the society, seconded the resolution. In addition to the reasons already adduced for the formation of such a society as the present, it must not be forgotten that there were many individuals who had employed years in the collection of statistical facts, but who were prevented from making them public in consequence of the want of pecuniary means. They had already received offers of the most valuable information from all parts of the British dominions, including the colonies. The principal branches of information to which the attention of the society would be directed were political statistics, in which all facts necessary for the use of political economists would be included, as well as accurate returns of the state of public justice, the number of causes tried at the different tribunals, &c.; their medical statistics, embracing all facts relating to the progress of disease, the duration of human life, and other matters closely connected with the principles of population; and lastly, moral and intellectual statistics, which would be devoted to facts illustrative of the state of literature, of crime, and of moral and religious instruction. This resolution having been agreed to, the next was moved by *Mr. Spring Rice, M.P.*, and seconded by *Mr. Abercrombie, M.P.*, appointing a provisional committee, the members of which were to be Mr. Babbage, Mr. Jones, Mr. Hallam, and Mr. Drinkwater, the Secretary. M. Quetelet was then named an honorary member, on the motion of Mr. Babbage, and the meeting separated.

18. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the circumstances connected with the expedition of Capt. Ross to the Arctic seas, with a view to ascertain the fitting reward to be bestowed on him by the House.

— Mr. John Williams has been appointed to the vacant seat on the Exchequer Bench. Sir William Horne had at first accepted the appointment, but declined it after Sir John Campbell had been appointed to fill the office of Attorney-General, which he had vacated. Mr. (now Sir Charles) Pepys is the new Solicitor-General.

— A decree has passed the Mexican Congress relative to the duties on importation, which orders that in future they shall be paid in three equal portions, occupying in the whole a period of 150 days; the first portion in 70 days from beginning the discharge of the cargo, and the remaining portions at intervals of 40 days each.

— The public attention has been drawn this month to a misunderstanding between the East India Company and the tea-dealers. The latter accused the former of a breach of contract in putting up for sale 500,000lbs. of tea, beyond the quantity offered at the sale in December, when, as they state, their purchases were made on the understanding that no increase would be made at the March sale. They therefore demanded that their own uncleared stock, amounting to 2,000,000 lbs. should be taken back by the company at the selling prices. This the directors declined, but ultimately determined to withdraw from the sale 580,000 lbs. which had been refused at the previous sale. This arrangement was so unsatisfactory to the trade that, measures having been taken to prevent competition, at the beginning of the sale, an advance of one farthing only on the upset prices could be obtained; but subsequently the prices came round to nearly those of December, and the directors availed themselves of an informality to refuse the delivery of 6000 chests which had been purchased at the inferior price.

— *West Indies.* The bill for the entire abolition of slavery in the island of Antigua, which has passed the second reading of the Legislative Assembly, embraces a variety of measures apparently well calculated to meet the novel circumstances awaiting the great mass of the population. The first item of the bill provides for unqualified emancipation on the 1st of August proximo, discharged from all the provisions of the act of the British Parliament with reference to apprenticeship. A second prominent feature is the locating in their present domiciles all the slaves residing upon sugar plantations for the space of one year, and providing also for settlement in the parishes in which their present residences are situated for the same period. In case of insubordination or improper conduct two magistrates to have the power of removing them. Food and clothing as now provided by existing laws, to be supplied to the old, infirm, and young, for one year at the proprietor's expense, and reasonable wages allowed to all the able and competent labourers. The laws of the island relative to the slaves to be abrogated, and the statute law of England to take their place. One of the items of this bill contemplates the repeal of the law of the island, which gives to his Majesty 4½ per cent. of all the produce shipped from the colony, in consideration of the provision necessary for the incompetent slaves. This latter clause will prevent the bill from receiving the royal assent, but it is understood that steps are in progress to induce the legislature of Antigua to reconsider the provision by which the law has for the present been frustrated.

— The reported escape of a lion and tiger from Mr. Wombwell's menagerie, recorded in our last Number, has since been discovered to be one of those silly things called *hoaxes*.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by William Clowes, Duke Street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 17. MAY 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Emancipation of the Jews	73	The Sugar Duties	80
History of the Corn Laws	75	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	82
Tithe Commutation Bill	79	Statistics of Prussia	83
Education of Dissenters	81	Public Intelligence	83
Bill for the Amendment of the Poor Laws	82	Political Retrospect for April	83
Population and Occupations of the Metropolis	83	Chronicle of Events	84

EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS.

An attempt is, we rejoice to see, again in progress to procure the removal of the disabilities affecting the Jews.

We Englishmen are fond of repeating that our country is pre-eminently distinguished for the liberality, the justice, and the wisdom of its laws. A good deal of this high commendation England probably deserves. But self-admiration is apt to be carried too far by nations as well as individuals. There are not a few valuable rules of legislation in the adoption of which other nations have gone before us; and among these we ought never to forget to reckon the great principle of religious freedom.

In past times the system of persecution was full well (though not every where with precisely the same zeal) by almost of the states of Europe.

Spain drove into successful rebellion her Protestant subjects in Holland, and established the Inquisition to torture the Jews and Heretics among her own inhabitants.

At one period French Protestants were massacred, at another tolerated, and again, after the year 1685, oppressed and forced into exile by the government of their country.

In Germany, Catholics and Protestants carried on long and sanguinary wars against one another.

During the earlier times of English history the Jews were constantly treated, both by the king and people as fit objects of robbery and murder, and, in the year 1290, all persons of that religion were expelled from the country. After the reformation, while England was, perhaps, on the one hand, distinguished from some other states by the somewhat less bloody character of her persecutions, it is, on the other hand, worthy of notice, that during the period when each succeeding sovereign introduced a different system of faith into her Established Church, the one principle in which all agreed was, in treating as criminals those who presumed to differ from their ruler upon points of doctrine *

Even since humanity has made too much progress to allow of men being punished for their religion by death, or even, in most cases, by fine or imprisonment, the notion has in some countries continued to prevail, that dissent from the established faith is an offence which ought in some manner to be punished. The means adopted in order to effect this object have been, to shut out the dissenter from political privileges or places of honour or profit; and we accordingly find that after opinion has ceased, tests and disabilities have frequently continued.

The people of the United States were the first who, during the last century, determined to recognise the rule that governments have no right to make the creed of their subjects a matter either of reward or punishment, and it was adopted as one great feature of the constitution of the Union, that there should be no civil distinctions of different religious classes, and that all trusts and dignities should be equally open to all.

At the time of the Revolution the same principle was introduced into the laws of the French by the Constituent Assembly in their Bill of Rights of government which that people have enjoyed through we find that this principle is still contested and that the enjoyment of equal political rights is still secured to persons of every creed with the least firmness.

The example of the French and Americans was imitated by Holland about 1811, and has since been followed in Denmark and the new kingdom of Belgium.

In the principal possessions of the English crown religious freedom has also been established. By acts of the colonial legislatures of Jamaica, Canada, Jamaica, and Barbadoes the Jews who were before previously deprived of political privileges on account of their creed, have during the last few years had restored to them all the rights of citizens; and the statute passed in 1833 by the British Parliament for the government of India contains a provision "that no native of India nor any British subject resident there, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the East India Company"—a provision which Mr. Macaulay justly and emphatically called "a noble clause."

If we now turn from our own colonies and the dependencies of Britain to Britain itself, we shall find that it has been a long and tedious efforts to gain freedom of conscience for different classes of citizens, and that even now it has not been gained for all. It was not till 1791 that the Catholics, not till 1813 that the Unitarians, ceased to be liable to the most oppressive pains and penalties. Until 1828 capacity to hold offices was granted to Protestant Dissenters from year to year only by the annual indemnity act; political equality was not given to the Catholics until 1829, to the Quakers and Separatists until the last session of Parliament, and even during the last session we had to record, the triumphant success indeed in the Lower House, but the failure in the House of Lords, of the endeavour made to complete the good work by placing the Jewish community also on the same footing with their fellow citizens.

This, then is the present state of things, and the extraordinary anomaly which it offers at once suggests the question—What good reason can be given why the persons born and dwelling in the United Kingdom, who profess the Jewish faith, should be denied that freedom from religious disabilities which all classes except the Jews enjoy in this kingdom, and which all classes including the Jews, possess in most important parts of the empire of Britain, as well as in Holland, Belgium, Denmark, the United States, and France.

To answer this question is, one would naturally suppose, by no means an easy task; nor will this opinion be altered on reading the speeches delivered in Parliament by the opponents of the claims of the Jews.

Some of these opponents, indeed, not being able to surmount the difficulty, made a bold attempt to avoid it by asserting that the extension of political privileges to any class of men was a matter, not of right, but merely "of grace and favour," or, in other words, that although the Jews look upon it, as most persons would, as a great hard-

* Thomas Parre, who is remarkable for having lived 152 years (from 1483, about the beginning of the reign of Richard III. to 1635, in the reign of Charles I.), might at any time, until the 24th or 25th year of Henry VIII., have been burned for heresy if he was not a Catholic; in the latter part of that king's reign he would have been subject to capital punishment for denying, on the one hand, the Anglican principle of the king being the head of the Church, or, on the other, the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, under the government of Edward VI. he might have been legally put to death for being an anabaptist; in the reign of Mary for not being a Catholic, and in that of Elizabeth, for *being* a Catholic, or, at all events, for asserting the supremacy of the pope.

Thomas Parre must have possessed in a high degree the power of adapting his religious opinions to those of the reigning monarch, or he must have been more fortunate than many in escaping the vengeance of the law, otherwise he could never have reached the age of 152.

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke street, Lambeth]

ship to be disfranchised on account of their religion, the legislature may rightly persevere in keeping them in this state of disfranchisement without being able to give any reason for its perseverance.

Even those, however, who made use of this argument, or rather, of this apology for the lack of argument, seem to have had a suspicion that it would scarcely be considered satisfactory, and they therefore generally proceeded to do what, according to their principle, must have been a matter of grace and favour—they attempted to give some reason in order to prove the propriety of refusing to relieve from their disqualifications our Jewish countrymen. For this purpose the plea generally put forward has been, that the Jews are constantly expecting to be restored to Palestine, and that since their dispersion they have, therefore, been everywhere incapable of patriotism, and unfit for the performance of the duties of citizens.

If we had no experience to guide us on this point, it might be necessary to insert here the arguments, which convincingly show that no part of the tenets of the Jews affords any ground for supposing them deficient in readiness to serve their country.

But it is fortunately needless to speculate upon the effects which it is probable that religious freedom *would* produce upon the Hebrews, because we know what effects it *has* produced upon them. In many countries, as we have already mentioned, the experiment of placing the Jews on an equality with their fellow-subjects has been tried, and wherever it has been tried its success has been triumphant. They have everywhere been found just as patriotic, just as willing and able to discharge political and military functions, as men of any other faith.

In the United States a Jew was one of the aide-de-camps of General Washington. Jews have been principal members of corporations, judges, chief magistrates of cities, officers in the army and navy, and members of congress and of different state legislatures, and all these stations they have filled to the satisfaction of their countrymen.

In the island of Jamaica, where the enfranchisement of the Jews is yet recent, many persons of that religion have already been magistrates and military officers. Of these some are Englishmen, who, it deserves remark, would find themselves, on their return to their native land, under a legal incapacity to hold the same stations here which they have occupied in Jamaica.

With respect to France it will suffice to cite the testimony of Mr. Charles Dupin and Mr. Merilhou. The former said in 1827:—"The Hebrews naturalized on our territory by the benefit of our laws, have acquired all the rights of other citizens. The exercise of these rights gives them virtues; they addict themselves to study; for the pursuits of usury they substitute those of industry; and they are Frenchmen in heart as well as by blood."

The expressions used in December 1830 by Mr Merilhou, then minister for public instruction, in the Chamber of Deputies, are, if possible, still more emphatic: "But since the Constituent Assembly," he said, "has placed the Israelites on a footing with other citizens, they have partaken of our glory and misfortunes; their blood has flowed on the same fields of battle as ours; their children have been brought up in the same schools with those of their Christian brethren; they have imbibed the same principles—adopted the same habits—and have become most deserving citizens."

Let us now turn to Holland. There Mr. Meyer, a jurist of great eminence, has been chief judge in one of the courts of Amsterdam, and was also secretary to the commission for framing the Dutch Constitution; Mr. Asser was for many years secretary to the minister of justice,—a situation similar to that of an English under-secretary of state. Other Jews have been magistrates, have held commissions in the army and navy, and various offices under government, and in corporations. In that country persons of all religions perform indiscriminately military service; a great number of Jews formed part of the garrison of the citadel of Antwerp during the siege of that fortress by the French; and General Chassé, after stating to Lieutenant General Sir Robert Wilson that all his troops had behaved throughout with undaunted bravery and enthusiasm, added, that there was no difference in this respect between the Jews and the rest of the garrison.

If we had space to spare, we might bring forward many similar circumstances and testimonies, but we think that those which we have already stated give us a right to ask, whether those persons must not possess either far too little information, or far too great a determination to resist the clearest and strongest evidence, who can still maintain that the Jews are naturally deficient in patriotism, and therefore unfit for political franchises and trusts?

In truth, the facts adduced in contradiction to this hypothesis during the parliamentary discussions of last year, were so numerous and convincing, that it was at last in a great degree abandoned, and those who in the House of Lords led the opposition to the measure we are considering, relied principally on the argument, that it would show, on the part of the legislature, and produce in the minds of the people, disrespect to Christianity, if Jews were placed on a footing of equality with Christians. This mode of arguing would have been quite seasonable some hundred years ago. Jews were then frequently murdered in honour of Christianity. And even in the 17th century, Cervantes, who, though a writer of romance, is a most accurate describer of manners and opinions, makes Sancho Panza say:—"I am a good man and a good Catholic; a Christian, whose fathers were Christians before him, *and a mortal enemy of the Jews.* What more is necessary in order to be safe from slander?"

We venture, however, so far to differ from Sancho Panza and the opponents of the Jews' Relief Bill, as to think, that neither virtue nor reverence for Christianity is shown by hating the Jews, nor even by seeking, though without any feeling of hatred or dislike, to keep them subject to privations on account of their belief, and shall shortly state our reasons for that opinion.

1st. We suppose it will be granted that neither private persons nor legislators can show respect for any religion by acting in a manner entirely inconsistent with its commands.

2ndly. Christianity is the religion of peace; it teaches the value of faith, hope, and charity, but declares that "the greatest of these is charity." It enjoins us to do to others as we would that others should do to us.

3rdly. It has scarcely ever been attempted, and has certainly never been successfully attempted, to show, that to relieve our Jewish fellow-citizens from the disabilities now imposed upon them, would produce the least danger to any other class in the community.

4thly. It is with very creditable candour conceded by those who are most forward in resisting the enfranchisement of the Jews, that they are, in spite of the disadvantageous tendency of these disabilities, as deserving of respect for their *good* conduct and morality as those of other creeds more favoured by the law. "I will admit,"* says Sir Robert Inglis, "whatever advantage may be taken of my admission, that there are few classes placed in such a situation as Jews are as I think necessarily, in this country—who would be distinguished by such general good conduct."

"With due allowance for human infirmity,"† adds the Archbishop of Canterbury, "I think it may be pronounced that, in point of morality, the Jews stand well."

The testimony of the Bishop of London is even more explicit. "As to the personal character of the Jews themselves,"‡ he says, "so far as I have had an opportunity of forming an opinion, the results of my observations are highly favourable." I once had the care of a large parish in which a number of that people resided, and I found them among the most liberal, loyal, and quiet of its inhabitants."

These things, then, being viewed together, it appears to us self-evident, that to persist in keeping liable to degrading regulations, which produce no real benefit to society at large, any class of men, but particularly a class consisting chiefly, as we are told by their opponents, of moral, loyal, liberal, and quiet citizens, is neither consistent with the command to do to others as we would that they should do to us, nor with the spirit of love, nor of peace, nor of charity; that such conduct is, for these reasons, entirely at variance with the precepts both of morality and religion; and although it may have been intended as a mark of reverence, is, in fact, if rightly considered, an instance of disobedience, and therefore, of disrespect, or at least of inattention, to Christianity. And if this is true, then do those persons adopt the course at once most pious and most moral, who not only *say* that their faith teaches love and peace, but act as if they believed what they say, by striving to procure the abolition of oppressive and intolerant laws.

* Mirror of Parliament. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

But another reason has been given against the emancipation of the Jews. No necessity, it has been said, exists for such a measure, which means, in other words, that the Jewish body in England is not numerous or powerful, and can therefore only request, and not demand, redress. Now this argument so far differs from the rest, that it is founded on fact, and not on fiction. It is true that the British Jews are not powerful or numerous.

But although it has been too much the practice for governments to adopt no public measure, however just, till it had been loudly insisted on by the people, we do not think so ill of our country as to anticipate that the small number of the Jews will long prevent them from attaining what it appears to us they are in common fairness entitled to. Very many well-signed petitions were last year presented to parliament in favour of Jewish emancipation. A similar petition from the metropolis has again, during the last few weeks, been signed by more than 23,000 persons, among whom are almost all the most eminent merchants and bankers of the city of London. During the past month a numerous public meeting has been held at Edinburgh, where resolutions recommending this measure of justice were adopted, and where, among many other excellent speakers, the Rev. Dr. Brown, an eminent minister, expressed, as the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Chichester had previously done in parliament, a conviction that Christianity enjoined, instead of forbidding, the removal of restrictions upon conscience.

We doubt not that this sympathy in the cause of the Jews will continue; we hope, too, that even that branch of the legislature which has hitherto resisted, will learn both from argument and from public opinion, how fit it is to do them justice: and that England will be freed from the disgrace of inflicting, and her Jewish subjects from the pain of enduring, disabilities on account of religion.

HISTORY OF THE CORN-LAWS.

Of the great economical questions which are agitated in our day, that of a free trade in corn is one of the very greatest. It is also one, which, although it has been long and largely discussed in every form of disputation, is probably destined to engage yet a good deal more of the public attention both in parliament and elsewhere. The result of the late debate in the House of Commons, triumphantly as the opinions of the party opposed to the repeal of the present law were supported by the numbers on the division, will not, we may be very sure, have the effect of preventing the subject from being again and again brought before the legislature, till the advocates of a change of system shall either attain their object, or shall be made to feel the hopelessness of attaining it by many defeats. The circumstances of the present moment, and especially the moderate prices at which grain is now selling in the home market, may render it unadvisable to stir the matter again before another session; but it is likely to be at least an annual question for some time to come. In the meanwhile, the season of comparative ease and quiet—that during which the evils, or alleged evils, of the existing system do not actually press upon us—appears to be not the worst for its calm consideration, and the diffusion of a knowledge of the facts and principles upon which the judgment to be formed respecting it depends. Unfortunately, it very rarely happens that momentous public questions are finally brought to a settlement before the last moment to which such a measure can safely be deferred; and it is perhaps scarcely to be expected that we shall soon become so much wiser as in all cases to legislate for the coming crisis, instead of in the midst of its difficulties, although such a mode of proceeding would obviously in general prove by far most advantageous even for the interest that has to give way or concede when the push comes. But, at any rate, let governments go on as they may, there is no reason why the public should not avail themselves of the opportunity of making up their opinions before the necessity of acting may hardly leave time to think. We shall therefore, we conceive, be doing a useful and acceptable service, by even now laying before our readers such an exposition of this important subject as shall, within a moderate compass, embrace everything really essential to its elucidation. We shall begin with those historical details which are necessary to be known in order that we may understand what the corn-laws really are—what they are at present established, and out of what previous enactments those now in force have grown. Considerable ignorance on these heads may sometimes be observed in persons who write and declaim very fluently on both sides of the controversy.

It has been commonly assumed, that from the Conquest down to near the middle of the fifteenth century, no corn was allowed to be exported from this country; and there are some considerations certainly which would seem to make it probable that such was the case. In the first place, it is well known that the predominant practice of state policy in those days, was to endeavour, as much as possible, to retain within the kingdom all those things which were held to be indispensable to its wants, rather than, by permitting freedom of export and import, to trust to the natural operation of the commercial principle for an adequate supply. Then there were, in all likelihood, no inducements to deviate from this rule in the case of corn, arising from the state of agriculture, which for a long time was not sufficiently advanced, either to claim exemption on account of its importance, or to be able to take advantage of such exemption if it had been conceded. It must have been some ages, before grain enough was raised in England to permit any to be spared for the foreign market. We are not aware that any notices have come down to us of the first attempts made by the growers of this country to send their produce abroad. It is evident, that until that state of things arose, no law upon the subject could well exist. But when corn at length began to be sent out of the country, or soon after that practice began to grow up, it is extremely probable that the crown would interfere, by an exertion of prerogative, to put a stop to it. Mr. Macculloch has stated (see 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,' art. Corn-Laws), that till the year 1436, the export of corn from England was forbidden, under the severest penalties. We have not been able to discover any old law imposing such penalties; nor, although we think it likely, as we have just said, that the crown had assumed the power both of preventing and of allowing the exportation of the article at its pleasure, is it quite correct to say that the trade remained fettered, even to this extent, down to 1436. The earliest statute on the subject which we have found (34 Edward III. c. 20), passed in 1360-61, declares that "the passage of corn shall be prohibited (*defendu*) in all the parts of England; so that none have license nor warrant to pass with such corn in any wise, unless it be to Calais or Gascoigne, or to other special places which it behoveth that the king cause to be furnished (*face garnir*) with the corn of England, and that at his own ordinance and license." The meaning of this we take to be, that the crown, except in the cases specified, shall be restricted from granting any license to export. It seems to be assumed, that exportation, without such license, was clearly illegal. The statute, therefore, may be considered as a restriction upon the royal prerogative; and in that view it indicates that the prevention of the exportation of corn was then regarded as a point which the commonalty had an interest in carrying against the crown. It was thought, not unnaturally, with whatever degree of short-sightedness, that the less corn allowed to be sent out of the country, there would be the more at home.

But whether it was that the actual effects of this policy were found to be different from what had been anticipated, or that in place of the consumers of corn, another interest (the producers) had obtained the ascendency in the legislature; not many years after, namely, in 1394, a new act was passed (17 Richard II. c. 7) of the following tenor:—"The king, at the request of the Commons to him made in this present parliament" (these are merely the words of form in use at the time in all statutes), "hath granted license to all his liege people of his realm of England, to ship and carry corn out of the said realm, to what parts that please them, except to his enemies, paying the subsidies and devoirs thereof due" (that is, what we should now call the customs); "notwithstanding any ordinance" (the term, as used at this time, includes acts of parliament), "proclamation, or any defence" (prohibition) "made before this time to the contrary; nevertheless he will that his council may restrain the said passage when they shall think best for the profit of the realm." And this act is confirmed in 1425, by the 4 Henry VI. c. 5.

It is somewhat curious, certainly, that the act of 1436 (15 Henry VI. c. 2) takes no notice of these two preceding statutes, the first of which, as we have seen, had forty-two years before established the free exportation of corn, subject

only to occasional suspension by royal edict when the price in the home market was conceived to be so high that it ought not to be raised by any additional quantity being sent abroad. It is probable that so vague a regulation was found nearly inoperative, and that very little corn really was exported under its sanction, the permission which it conceded being too indeterminate to encourage any extension of tillage sufficient to keep prices down to what was deemed the requisite point of depression at home. It was accordingly considered necessary in the present statute to fix a distinct limit up to which the liberty to export should extend. The words employed are as follows:—"Forasmuch as by the law it was ordained that no man might carry nor bring corn out of the realm of England without the king's license, for cause whereof farmers and other men which use manurement" (if that be the meaning of the original term, *manuovement*) "of their land may not sell their corn but of a low* price to the great damage of all the realm; our said sovereign lord the king, willing in this case to provide remedy, hath ordained, by authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to every person to carry and bring corn out of England, and the same to sell to whatsoever person that he will, except only to the king's enemies, as often and as long as a quarter of wheat exceed not the price of six shillings and eightpence, and one quarter of barley three shillings, in that port where that wheat or barley is so shipped, and that without sueing any license for the same; all other ordinances before this time thereof made to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that the king be contented with his customs and duties. And this ordinance shall endure till the next parliament."

The next parliament met in 1439. There was no parliament in 1440; but in that which met the following year, a new act (20 Henry VI. c. 6) was passed, commencing by a recital of that last quoted, which it declares to have been made "for the common profit of all the realm, and especially for the counties adjoining to the sea." It goes on:—"Our said sovereign lord the king, forasmuch as this statute is not now in his force, and that many counties adjoining to the sea may not sell the substance of their corn but by carriage and bringing by the sea, hath ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that the statute and ordinance aforesaid, now expired, as afore is said, shall begin to hold his force at the feast of the nativity of our Lady next ensuing, and shall endure from thence till the parliament next to be holden after the same feast, so that a parliament be holden within ten years next ensuing after the first beginning of this present parliament; and if so that there be no parliament holden within the same ten years, that then it shall continue and endure till the end of the same ten years." Finally, by the 23 Henry VI. c. 5, passed in 1444, the act of 1436 (no mention is made of that of 1441) is "ordained to be perpetual, and stand in his force for ever."

We have quoted the words of these statutes at length, because it is important to a clear understanding of the subject that we should know not only what was enacted, but, as far as possible, the views and reasons by which the legislature appears to have been influenced in introducing the successive changes that have been noted. Assuming that up to the close of the 14th century the exportation of corn was prohibited by law, and that till about that date very little was, in fact, exported, we find that, in the course of the next fifty years, exportation, after having been in the first instance tolerated under the king's license, became eventually within certain limits the established policy of the country. It is sufficiently evident, however, from the language of the several acts, that this important change was brought about simply by the increasing influence of the agricultural interest, and that it was not introduced with any of those more remote and comprehensive views to which we shall presently have occasion to advert. The liberty of carrying their corn to a foreign market was granted as a boon to the landlords and farmers, and certainly in the expectation that the effect would be, not to lower prices, but to keep them up to what was conceived to be a fair and remunerating rate. We shall see that in a later age, exportation was encouraged on the distinct principle of its having a tendency to secure a more abundant supply of the commodity for the home market; and hence, to keep prices more steady and moderate than they otherwise would be.

* In the common translation, "a bare price," but *bare* is evidently a misprint for *base*. The original French is *bace*.

Taking the 300 years and upwards which elapsed from the Conquest to the year 1394 as the first period in the history of the Corn Laws, we may consider the second period as taking its commencement from the last-mentioned date. It continued till the year 1463, when another important change was introduced.

Up to this time there is no reason to believe that the importation of corn from abroad had ever been prohibited or subjected to restriction. Such a prohibition, indeed, would have been altogether opposed to the spirit of our ancient policy, which, as already noticed, was anxiously directed to the object of attracting to the country and preserving within it as much food as possible. The circumstances of the time rendered it necessary that this should be made a primary object. But as the agricultural interest had already succeeded in carrying one modification of the old principle, by which they obtained the liberty of sending corn abroad, so the still-augmenting power of the same class soon after forced from the country another concession in their favour, by which they acquired a complete monopoly of the home market. The statute 3 Edward IV., cap. 2, passed in 1463, after the following preamble, "Whereas the labourers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm of England be daily grievously endamaged by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm of England, when corn of the growing of this realm is at a low price," proceeds to enact that no person, from the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing, shall bring into England any wheat, rye, or barley, not of English or Irish growth, unless the price of wheat shall exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, that of rye 4*s.*, and that of barley 3*s.*, on pain of forfeiture of the grain.

Here, then, we have at length established within certain limits a system as favourable to the grower of corn as it was possible to make it—open where it was for his interest that it should be open, and close where he required that it should be close. So long as the price of wheat was below 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, exportation was free and importation was prohibited. The price, therefore, was sustained at that height, at the least, in so far as it was possible so to sustain it by legislative contrivances. And the benefit of the corn-grower was the avowed and sole object of the system.

This state of things seems, however, in course of time, to have been found inconvenient. In these circumstances was passed, in 1534, a new act, the 25 Henry VIII. chap. 2, the preamble of which is amusing for its mixture of *naiveté* and good sense. "Forasmuch," it begins, "as dearth, scarcity, good cheap, and plenty of cheese, butter, capons, hens, and other victuals, necessary for men's sustenance, riseth and chanceth of so many and divers occasions that it is very hard and difficil to put any certain prices to any such things, &c." It then proceeds to enact in general terms "that no person or persons, unless it be by license under the king's great seal, from henceforth shall carry, or convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed, any corn, beeves, muttons, veals, porks, or any other of the above said victuals to any the parts beyond the sea; except only for the victualling the towns of Calais, Guinnes, and the marches of the same, and except for victualling of masters, mariners, and merchants of ships passing the seas; and also except barrelled butter and meal to be carried to the parts of Ireland, as hath been accustomed." The penalty for a violation of the law was the forfeiture of the commodity. By this act, therefore, we may consider an end to have been put to the third period in the history of the Corn Laws, during which the exportation of wheat had been free so long as its price did not exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter. Exportation, except by license, was now prohibited in all circumstances.

This change of the law, along with other causes, appears to have operated with disastrous effect upon the agriculture of the kingdom. Or, to speak more accurately, the prohibition of exportation, after having been resorted to as a corrective for that depression of agriculture which had been brought about in the first instance by other causes, was found only to aggravate the evil. Much land having, no doubt, been thrown out of tillage in the course of the desolating civil contest which had raged for so many years previous to the accession of Henry VII., and the quantity having probably been rather increased than otherwise by the important innovations on the ancient policy of the state which signalized the reign of that king, the act of 1534 was passed to meet the diminution of produce thus occasioned; but the restriction thus imposed only operated as an addi-

tional discouragement to agriculture, and the extent of land under the plough became still further narrowed. In this state of things the legislature attempted to force cultivation by a very extraordinary enactment. The statute 5 and 6 Edward VI., chap. 5, passed in 1551, is entitled "An act for the maintenance and increase of tillage and corn;" and the preamble consists of a complaint that of late a great deal of tillage land had been converted to pasture. To remedy this evil, it is then ordered that for the future at least as much land shall be tilled in every parish as had been under the plough at any time since the accession of Henry VIII., under a penalty, to be exacted from the parish, of 5*s.* for every acre that should be deficient. The act, it was declared, should remain in force for ten years, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.

The system introduced in 1534, under which exportation was interdicted in all circumstances, endured only for about twenty years; and even during that period it was, most probably, in a great degree inoperative. In 1554 a new act was passed (the 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, chap. 5) restoring the liberty to export so long as the price of wheat should not exceed 6*s.* 8*d.*, that of rye 4*s.*, and that of barley 3*s.* The preamble complains, that whereas sundry good estatutes and laws had been made in this realm in the time of the queen's highness's most noble progenitors, that none should transport, carry, or convey, out of the country any corn, butter, cheese, or other victual; yet, notwithstanding, many and sundry covetous and insatiable persons, seeking their own lucres and gains, had and daily do carry and convey innumerable quantity as well of corn, cheese, butter, and other victual, as of wood, out of this realm into the parts beyond the seas: by reason whereof the said corn, victual and wood are grown into a wonderful dearth and extreme prices. The object principally in the view of those who framed this act, therefore, may be fairly considered to have been the more strict prevention of exportation when there was not a sufficient supply in the home market: but for this purpose it was deemed necessary to permit corn to be sent abroad so long as it was below a certain price at home: or, in other words, to return to the regulation which had subsisted before 1533. So that here we have an end of the fourth of the periods into which the history of the Corn Laws may be divided.

The characteristic of the fifth period is the existence of the liberty of exportation under certain limitations. At first, as we have just seen, the right ceased as soon as the price of wheat rose above 6*s.* 8*d* the quarter. A few years later, namely, in 1562, by the stat. Elizabeth, chap. 5, section 17, the limits within which the different descriptions of corn might be exported were extended so as to carry the terminating price of wheat to 10*s.* the quarter; that of rye, peas, or beans, to 8*s.*; and that of barley or malt to 6*s.* 8*d.* The better to prevent evasion of the law, it was at the same time enacted that the commodity should only be exported from such ports as her majesty might by proclamation appoint. And in 1571, by the 13 Elizabeth, chap. 13, it was declared that, for the increase of tillage and maintenance and increase of the mariners of the realm, corn might be exported, on payment of certain specified duties, at all times when no proclamation had been issued to the contrary. In these two last statutes, if not in the one by which they were preceded, we may perceive again the gradually increasing influence of the agricultural and commercial interests. All this while the law of 1463, prohibiting importation so long as the price of wheat was under 6*s.* 8*d.*, that of rye under 4*s.*, and that of barley under 3*s.* the quarter, appears to have remained unrepealed; but it must, in all probability, have proved generally inoperative from the prices seldom or never descending below these rates. The importation of corn, therefore, we may reckon to have been now practically free.

A succession of acts in the course of the next hundred years maintained the principle that had been thus introduced, of a free export within certain limits, at the same time that the limits were more and more enlarged by each act. The amount of the duty on exportation was also gradually raised. In 1623, by the 21 James I., chap. 28, exportation was permitted till the price of wheat should exceed 32*s.* and that of malt and barley 16*s.* the quarter. By the act 12 Charles II., chap. 4, passed in 1660, the export prices were advanced to 40*s.* for wheat, and 20*s.* for malt and barley; but a duty of 20*s.* was also imposed upon every quarter of wheat exported. The latter regulation, however, was repealed three years after by the 15 Charles II., chap. 7, which both reduced the duty to 5*s.* 4*d.* and allowed exportation till the price in the home market should exceed 48*s.* the quarter. In 1670, by the 22 Charles II., chap. 13, a further important change was made in the same direction, exportation being permitted as long as wheat should be under 53*s.* 4*d.* the quarter. Corn imported from foreign countries was, at the same time, loaded with imposts so heavy as effectually to exclude it, so long as the home price should be under the amount at which exportation ceased; and even when wheat rose to this price of 53*s.* 4*d.* it could only be imported from abroad on payment of a duty of 8*s* the quarter. This duty remained unabated till the price reached 80*s.*, at which point importation became free. The object, we may therefore say, directly aimed at by these arrangements was neither more nor less than to keep up the price of wheat to 53*s.* 4*d.* the quarter at the lowest. This certainly was, in real amount, a considerably higher price, though how much higher might admit of dispute, than 6*s.* 8*d.* was in 1554, when what we have called the fifth period in the history of the Corn Laws commenced, and the first attempt was made, by a reciprocating system of freedom to export, and restrictions on importation, to establish a certain point below which prices should not descend. And be it observed, that from this beginning, throughout the whole subsequent course of legislation, the benefit of the corn-grower, or at any rate of the portion of the community connected with and dependent upon agriculture, was avowedly the chief, if not the single, aim of every enactment.

But in 1689, immediately after the Revolution, the landholders succeeded in gaining still another step in advance. With the act of the 1 William and Mary, chap. 12, then passed, commences the sixth period in the history of the corn-laws. By that statute the exportation of corn was, not permitted only, as heretofore, but actually encouraged by bounties. A sum of 5*s* was made payable upon every quarter of wheat exported, so long as the home price did not exceed 48*s.*: and other bounties of smaller amount were granted upon the exportation of barley, malt, and rye. By a subsequent act (the 11 and 12 William III. chap. 20), passed in 1700, the same system was carried to yet a further length by the abolition of all the then existing duties on the export of corn. "No alteration," says the writer of the article *Corn-Laws* in the 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,' "having been made in the prices and duties regulating the importation of foreign corn, as fixed by the act of 1670, and the duties being rigorously exacted, the act repealing the duties on exportation completed the restrictive system. Every part of this complex machine was now in operation: and while no foreigner was allowed to contend with our own home growers, the liberality of the state enabled them to contend with foreigners, even when the price of corn in Great Britain was considerably higher than its price abroad."

The granting of bounties, however, on the exportation of corn, was defended, when first proposed, on a novel pretence. It was then contended, and for a long time after commonly believed, that the extension of tillage occasioned by these bounties operated materially in keeping down prices, and that the public therefore were amply repaid in this way for the outlay. Even foreign writers were in the habit of taking this view of the subject. The following passages are quoted in the valuable publication entitled 'Tracts on the Corn-Trade and Corn-Laws,' which appeared anonymously in 1758, and again in 1766, but which is known to be the work of Mr. Charles Smith. From 'L'Ami des Hommes:'—"The English, to encourage the culture of corn in their island, have made use of a singular method, which hath succeeded, which is to gratify, at the expense of the state, the exporters of that merchandise." From Boulainvilliers, 'Les Intérêts de la France, mal Entendus:'—"In other states, private persons pay the government for the exportation of grain; England acts quite otherwise, and pays them. All common means made use of to that time to increase the fruits of the earth had been insufficient, or, at least, of little use. Before that epoch, the agriculture of England was of little account in Europe. As long as that monarchy thought only of its own subsistence, it always found itself short of the necessary; it was very often obliged to have recourse to foreigners to make up the deficiency of the growth of the nation; but when it made its agriculture an object of commerce, the cultivation of its land became one of the most abundant in Europe. Without that stroke of state—the best

concerted of all those which have yet appeared in modern politics—England had never sown but for herself: for what could she have done with the surplus of her grain? It was the bounty only which could assure her of the sale in foreign markets; and for that reason be the only source of the augmentation of her harvests. Let us combine all the means which that monarchy hath put in use, for an age past, to establish its power; and we shall find that it is to this in particular that she is indebted for her elevation."

There has, even in more recent times, been much difference of opinion as to the effect of these bounties on exportation. At present we shall only remark, that, although in ordinary circumstances such a method of encouraging tillage, must, for obvious reasons, be the very reverse of economical or advisable, yet in a peculiar state of things it might possibly be productive of beneficial results, which would not have been obtained but for the stimulus so applied. It is not a good thing, generally speaking, to trade upon borrowed capital; but a salutary impulse may be sometimes given, even by loans, to particular branches of industry. While ordinary means are best for ordinary purposes, an unusual expedient may be properly employed to surmount an unusual difficulty. But that the state of agriculture in England, when the bounty system was introduced, was such as to require that extraordinary aid, may certainly be very reasonably doubted.

This system remained in considerable vigour till after the middle of the last century; but about the year 1757, it began to be found that the exportation of corn from England to the continent could not be forced even by this artificial encouragement; and after the right to export had been repeatedly suspended for a year, in the expectation that more plentiful harvests, or the still greater extension of tillage, would again bring back the old state of things, an act was at last passed in 1773, withdrawing the bounties, and altogether prohibiting exportation as soon as the price of wheat should reach 44*s.* the quarter, and allowing importation on payment of the trifling duty of 6*d* the quarter, as soon as the price should be 48*s*. At this point, therefore, what we have called the sixth period in the history of these laws, may be regarded as having been brought to a close. The bounty system, though still nominally in force so long as the price of wheat should be under 44*s.* the quarter, never again came actually into operation.

During the seventh period, which now commenced, importation was constant and considerable, and prices in consequence continued steady and moderate. Tillage was also extended during this interval, and the extension, whether less rapid or more so than that which had taken place under the artificial stimulus that had previously been maintained, was certainly much more healthy, and much more likely to be permanent. Altogether, the state of things introduced by the act of 1773, was the most satisfactory that has existed since restrictions first began to be imposed upon the export and import of corn. But, unhappily, the period during which this act remained in operation was very short. A new act, founded upon opposite principles, was passed in 1791; and with that commenced the eighth period in the history of the English corn-laws.

By this act exportation was in the first place permitted till the price of wheat in the home market should reach 46*s.* the quarter. But of much more consequence than this slight extension of the range within which exportation might take place were the new regulations as to importation. It was enacted that so long as the price of wheat in the home market should be under 50*s.* the quarter, none should be brought from foreign countries except on payment of a duty of 24*s.* 3*d.*, an amount perfectly prohibitory. While the price was above 50*s.*, and under 54*s.*, the duty was 2*s.* 6*d.* The duty was not reduced to 6*d.* till the price reached 54*s.* the quarter. In 1804, the protection thus given to the corn grower was carried still farther by a new act. Importation, except under the prohibitory duty of 24*s.* 3*d.*, was now forbidden till the price of wheat in the home-market should be 63*s.*; the duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* was exacted from that point till the price reached 66*s.*; and it was only when it exceeded that amount that the duty was reduced to 6*d.* The limit up to which exportation might take place was also advanced by this act to 54*s.*, and bounties were still continued on exportation when the home price of wheat was under 48*s.* the quarter. These latter enactments, however, were totally inoperative.

Up to the close of the war, also, in 1814, there was nearly as little corn imported as there was exported. But when the restoration of peace removed the obstacles to free intercourse with the continent, great quantities were brought thence to this country, and prices fell rapidly. In these circumstances in the beginning of the year 1814, a new effort was made by the agricultural interest to recover their monopoly. The attempt, however, was met by so determined a resistance, that of two bills which were brought into the House of Commons having that object in view, only one, altogether repealing the bounties, and allowing exportation in all circumstances, (alterations which were of no practical importance,) was carried. But the following year the struggle to place additional restrictions upon importation was renewed with better success. After long and violent debates the celebrated act, the 55 Geo. III. chap. 26, was carried by large majorities through both houses. By this measure the importation of foreign grain was altogether prohibited till the price of wheat in the home market should be 80*s.* the quarter; that of rye, pease, and beans, 53*s.*; that of barley, bear, or bigg, 40*s*; and that of oats 26*s.* The only exception made was in favour of the produce of British possessions in North America, which was allowed to be imported when the home prices were, of wheat, 67*s.*; of rye, &c., 44*s.*; of barley, &c., 33*s.*; and of oats, 22*s.*

By this law the system of protection to the home-grower by the enhancement of prices, which had been introduced in 1791, was carried to the utmost length which it ever attained. The attempt, however, was not followed with the success which had been expected. Prices continued in general below the amount which had been assumed by the framers of the act to be necessary in order to remunerate the British agriculturist. This being the case, it would have been useless folly to proceed farther in the same course; and accordingly, in 1822, the law which had been passed seven years before, was abrogated by a new act—the 3 George IV. chap. 60—with which we may consider the ninth and last period in the history of the corn-laws to take its commencement.

During this period the extreme point of restriction established by the law of 1815 has been gradually, if somewhat slowly, receded from, although the principle of protection against foreign competition has not been abandoned. By the act of 1822, the importation prices were reduced, for wheat, to 70*s*, for rye, pease, and beans, to 16*s.*, for barley, bear, or bigg, to 35*s.*, and for oats, to 25*s.*;—those for the produce of the British possessions in North America being reduced in the same proportion. But so long as the price of wheat in the home market was between 70*s.* and 80*s.*, a duty was imposed upon the foreign article of 17*s.* for the first three months after the opening of the ports, and of 12*s.* afterwards. When the price was between 80*s.* and 85*s.*, the duty was fixed at 10*s* for the first three months, and 5*s* afterwards; and when the price was above 85*s.*, the duty was to remain steady at a shilling the quarter. Similar regulations were made for the other descriptions of grain.

The principle, however, even in this somewhat mitigated application of it, was still over-stretched. With the exception of some barley, no corn was ever brought from abroad under the provisions of this act. But in 1826, in consequence of the deficiency of the harvest of that year, a temporary act was passed permitting the importation of 500,000 quarters of wheat on payment of such duties as might be fixed by the Privy Council; and a considerable quantity of oats were also admitted by ministers on their own responsibility, for which exertion of authority they received an indemnity on the re-assembling of parliament. These measures demonstrated the unsuitableness and impracticability of the existing law, and also prepared the way for a still farther relaxation of the restrictive system. In the early part of the year 1827, accordingly, Mr. Canning moved a set of resolutions in the House of Commons, the leading principle of which was to legalize importation in all circumstances, and for the absolute prohibition which then existed to substitute a graduated scale of duties. The bill which was founded upon these resolutions, however, after having been carried through the Commons, was abandoned in consequence of a clause moved by the Duke of Wellington having been carried in the Lords, the effect of which would have been, in the very face of the main principle of the bill, to keep the ports shut so long as the price of wheat was under 66*s.* the quarter. But the next year, a measure similar to that which had been thus defeated was brought in by Mr. Charles Grant, and eventually passed into a law,

the 9 George IV. chap 60. It is by this act that the corn-trade is at present regulated. The following is a summary of its leading provisions. Importation is free on payment of a duty of one shilling on the quarter, whenever the price of wheat in the home market is 73*s.*, of barley 41*s.*, of oats 31*s.*, of rye, pease, and beans, 46*s.* When wheat is at 61*s.*, the duty upon it is 25*s.* 8*d.*, which is increased by one shilling for every shilling, or part of a shilling, that the price is below that limit. On the other hand, as the price rises from 61*s.* up to 73*s.*, the duty diminishes according to the following scale:—At 62*s.* it is 24*s.* 8*d.*; at 63*s.* it is 23*s.* 8*d.*; at 64*s.* it is 22*s.* 8*d.*; at 65*s.* it is 21*s.* 8*d.*; at 66*s.* it is 20*s.* 8*d.*; at 67*s.* it is 18*s.* 8*d.*; at 68*s.* it is 16*s.* 8*d.*: at 69*s.* it is 13*s.* 8*d.*; at 70*s.* it is 10*s.* 8*d.*; at 71*s.* it is 6*s.* 8*d.*; and at 72*s.* it is 2*s.* 8*d.* Barley at 32*s.* pays a duty of 13*s.* 10*d.*; oats at 24*s.* a duty of 10*s.* 9*d.*; rye, pease, and beans at 35*s.* a duty of 16*s.* 9*d.*; and in the case of all these grains for every shilling that the price falls, the duty increases by one shilling and sixpence, and decreases by the same sum for every shilling that the price rises. The produce of the British possessions in North America or elsewhere out of Europe may be imported on payment of a duty of 5*s.* on wheat till the price reaches 67*s.*; of 2*s.* on barley till the price is 34*s.*; of 2*s.* 6*d.* on oats till the price is 25*s.*; and of 3*s.* on rye, beans, and pease, till the price is 41*s.* When the prices have attained these limits, the duty is sixpence on the quarter, whatever the description of grain.

From this review then it appears, that the chief restriction laid upon the corn trade in this country in early times, was of a kind directly the opposite of that to which it is now subjected. It was exportation, not importation, which was restrained down to the year 1463. The restrictions upon exportation continued in actual operation till the year 1757, and were not formally repealed till 1814. Those upon importation, on the other hand, have not only continued in force ever since they were first imposed, but, notwithstanding occasional fluctuations in the degree to which they have been stretched, have been carried, upon the whole, much farther than they were at first. At the present moment, however, the system maintained, although still in a high degree protective of the interests of the home-grower, is much less artificial than it has been. There is now no absolute prohibition of importation while prices are under a certain amount, as there was previous to the act of 1828; and the bounties, which, as a further support to the agricultural interest, were formerly paid upon exportation, have also been now withdrawn.

An important part of many of the modern acts relating to the trade in corn, has been the provision made for ascertaining the prices in the home market upon which exportation and importation have been made dependent. No purpose would be served, by detailing here the various methods which have been successively tried with that view. But as one of our objects is to lay before the reader a sufficiently full account of the law as it now stands, we shall state the mode of striking the averages, as it is expressed, which has been established by the act of 1828. By that act it is ordered that weekly returns of the purchases and sales of British corn shall be made in 150 cities and towns, which are enumerated, and which comprise all the principal corn markets in England. There is in each of these towns an inspector of corn returns, and a comptroller of corn returns for the kingdom generally. The inspectors transmit their returns to the comptroller; and by that officer the averages are made up and completed on Thursday in each week, from the returns received by him during the week next preceding, ending on and including the Saturday in such preceding week. It is ordered that he shall add together the total quantities of each sort of British corn respectively appearing by such returns to have been sold, and the total prices for which the same shall thereby appear to have been sold, and shall divide the amount of such total prices by the amount of such total quantities of each sort of British corn, and the sum produced thereby shall be added to the sums in like manner produced in the immediately preceding five weeks, and the amount of the whole shall be divided by six, and the sum thereby given shall be deemed and taken to be the aggregate average price of each sort of British corn respectively. These aggregate weekly averages are published in the next succeeding Gazette, and transmitted to the collectors of the customs at all the ports. To afford the materials for these calculations, all persons purchasing corn are required to transmit to the inspectors accounts in writing of their purchases, under penalties for neglect or false and fraudulent statements.

We have endeavoured to render our sketch of the origin and progress of the corn-laws as intelligible as possible, by avoiding all reference for the present to any other legislative enactments, except those which went to regulate the export and import trade. The ancient regulations on the subjects of forestalling and regrating are all now either repealed or have become totally inoperative; and any account of them would only have still further complicated, for no purpose, an exposition of necessity sufficiently intricate, though unincumbered with any extraneous details.

In future papers, to which the present is intended as an introduction, we shall proceed to the discussion of the policy of those laws the history of which we have now traced.

TITHE COMMUTATION BILL.

THERE can be no question as to tithe being property, just as much as land is property. Tithe is merely a portion of the produce of every farm or estate, which belongs to one man, while the remainder belongs to another. It is a debt annually payable by the land, which the parties to whom it is due have just as much right to exact as any other creditor can have to demand payment of any other debt.

If this be the case, we may know what to think of the cry which some politicians are very fond of raising—the cry that tithes should be altogether abolished. It is simply a proposal that every man who happens to be the owner of a titheable estate should be allowed to put into his pocket a certain sum of money which belongs to another, or, which is the same thing, that he should be released from the obligation to discharge a certain portion of his just pecuniary engagements. With as much decency might the landlords call out for an extinction of all wine-merchants' and tailors' unpaid bills, as for an extinction of tithes, in this sense of the expression.

A difference of opinion may exist as to how that portion of the tithes which belongs to the public ought to be appropriated. This is quite a distinct point, and one which we do not now consider. What we would assert at present is merely, that the revenue called tithe, do with it what we may, is not to be given up, without an equivalent, to the owners of the soil. They have no more right to it than any other class of persons whatever.

Although, however, the character of tithe as a species of property cannot be disputed, it does not follow that the shape in which that property at present exists may not be extremely inconvenient and objectionable. If all the landed estates in the country had for many ages been purchased and held by their owners, under an obligation to allow certain other parties, once every year, to make a wild attack upon the growing crops, and to pull up and destroy as much as they could in a given time, it would be well to take measures to put an end to so pernicious a privilege. In such a case the legislature might with propriety interfere, to compel the persons having this right of annual inroad and havoc to surrender it for a fair compensation.

Now the property called tithe, in the mode in which it is at present held, is really a nuisance, if not quite so bad as this, yet bad enough to demand the application of every justifiable means for its removal. When tithes are taken in kind, as they may in any case be at the will of their owner, they become a species of exaction, suited only to the most barbarous ages, and at war with the whole spirit and habits of advanced civilization. We have here something really little short of the hostile inroad and destruction of our hypothetical case. The privilege of the tithe-owner, thus exercised, becomes an interference with the occupant of the soil, which it is impossible for the latter not to feel to be in the extremest degree oppressive and galling. The entering upon his lands, sanctioned as it may be by the law, has all the air of a robbery. No wonder that a right should come to be reviled and denied to be what it is, which thus assumes all the likeness and manner of a wrong. But even when paid in money, tithe is still an exaction liable to many grave objections. From the circumstance of the person to whom it is paid having no further connexion with the land from which he demands this yearly tribute, it is too apt to appear to the popular mind to be something given for nothing. Then the settlement of its amount is often a source

matter of difficulty, occasioning constantly renewed disputes between the two parties. When one of these parties, as is for the most part the case, is the clergyman of the parish, the disagreement thus produced is especially unseemly and lamentable, placing as it does the pastor in a position towards his flock, which, on every account, for their sake, and for his own, and for the sake of the church, is the one he ought least of all to occupy. Add to these considerations that tithes, increasing as they do in amount with the produce of the soil—with an increase of produce, which the receiver of the tithes has not contributed a farthing to create—cannot but be felt to be, in so far, an apparently unfair exaction. The tithe-owner alone reaps where he has not sowed. The landlord, if he derives a higher rent from an improved farm, does so as his reward and fair compensation for having been for a course of years before satisfied with so moderate a rent as permitted his tenant to lay out a portion of his annual returns in so improving it. But the tithe-owner lays out nothing, and yet takes his share in the benefit of every shilling that is laid out by others. He grants no respite from an increase of his annual demand till the termination of the existing lease, but presses his claim for a larger sum close upon the gathering in of every successive harvest. In this way tithe acts to prevent the application of capital to the improvement of the soil. It operates as a tax upon every such attempt, which, in many cases, the returns that can be reasonably calculated upon are not able to sustain.

For all these reasons it is extremely desirable that some arrangement should be come to by which we shall get rid of the present system of tithes. The owners of that species of property must be either compelled or induced to exchange it for some other. If the evil cannot be otherwise put an end to, the legislature, we conceive, has a right to pass even a compulsory enactment upon the subject just as it has recently done in order to put an end to another great evil, the existence of negro slavery. As the West Indian planters have been compelled to give up, for a certain sum of money, the property they had in their slaves, so the tithe owners, if need be, may in like manner be compelled to surrender for a fair compensation their property in tithes. The public sense of the necessity or the strong expediency of either measure may be considered to be its sufficient justification, so long as everything is done which it is possible to do to make up to individuals for the losses which it may inflict.

A bill for effecting a commutation of tithes was last session introduced into the House of Commons by ministers, but was afterwards dropt. The ground on which the measure chiefly failed in giving satisfaction, appears to have been, that it was not compulsory, but only permissive: that is to say, it merely proposed to afford facilities for the commutation, when the two parties (the payer and the receiver) were both willing to enter into an arrangement for that purpose, but left them the liberty to decline doing so if they chose. It would not necessarily, and probably would not for a long time in fact, have brought about the extinction of the present objectionable mode according to which the clergy are entitled to exact their dues. Since the reassembling of parliament after the Easter recess, another bill has been brought forward to effect this important object, which is founded upon a different principle. It will convert tithes, over the whole kingdom, either into their value in land, or into a fixed charge upon the rent of land.

It is proposed that the actual rent of all the titheable land in England and Wales shall be ascertained, and also the average amount of tithes paid in each parish during the last five years, by valuers appointed for each county, arable and non-arable land forming the subjects of two distinct valuations. A comparison between the amount of tithe and the amount of rent, in the case of each species of land, will then fix permanently the proportion which the former shall bear to the latter throughout the country; but at the end of every seven years the rental shall be re-valued, and the amount of the tithes for the succeeding period of that length altered according to any rise or fall that may have taken place—the proportion originally fixed between tithe and rent being, as we have just said, preserved for ever unchanged; and this adjustment having been made, the tithe-owner will have his claim, not, as at present, against the land, but against the landlord.

portable if any proprietor of land should wish to relieve his **quarter.** for all time coming from tithe, or the rate imposed **inopera** of it, he will have it in his power to do so by a single **Up** unt equal in amount to twenty five years' purchase of the annual charge. All the money thus received will be paid into the hands of commissioners appointed by the bishop of the diocese, and invested either in land or in public securities, as they shall direct. Whatever land is thus purchased with the redemption money of the tithes of any parish, must be situated either in that parish or one adjoining to it, and will be considered as glebe land under the management and control of the incumbent. He will be permitted to grant a lease of it, or any part of it, for twenty-one years, but will not be allowed to take premiums or fines on the renewal of leases.

There is also a provision in the bill for enabling landlords to free their lands from the septennial valuation, by simply converting the rate imposed in lieu of tithe into a fixed and permanent rent-charge, estimated in bushels of wheat.

Another measure which has since been brought forward, closely connected with that which we have just explained, is the bill for the abolition of church rates. This bill provides, that the imposition of church rates by vestries shall altogether cease, and that a sum of 250,000*l.* shall be annually granted for the repair of churches from the land-tax. This money will be applied strictly to the maintenance of the building, and to absolutely necessary alterations. For whatever ornamental work shall be desired by the congregation, they must provide the requisite funds by their own voluntary subscriptions.

The church rates raised by vestries at present, amount to not much less than 600,000*l.* annually. By the proposed plan, therefore, the public are relieved from considerably more than one half of the tax to which they are now subject. This will not satisfy those who would have had the rates extinguished altogether, and not even a partial substitute provided; but such a proposition is only consistent with the adoption of the principle, that there should be no church supported by the state. So long as a national ecclesiastical establishment is maintained, the buildings allotted to it must be kept in repair. In other quarters it is contended, that the revenues of the deans and chapters should be seized upon and appropriated to this object. The propriety of maintaining the sinecure situations in our cathedrals is a fair enough subject for consideration; and if this part of the establishment is found objectionable, it may be right that it should be abolished. But do not let the abolition be determined upon simply because a sum of money happens to be wanted for some other purpose, and the funds belonging to the deans and chapters are deemed the most convenient for spoliation. As to the objection taken to the imposition of this new charge upon the land-tax, on the ground that that tax is collected from the kingdom generally, while the church is maintained for England only; it is merely one of those theoretical punctilios which it is quite impossible to attend to in the actual conduct of affairs. By the present bill, the church is deprived of a large revenue, to the continued enjoyment of which it has a perfectly good legal title; for all property paying church-rates has been hitherto bought and sold under a full consideration of that liability; and the measure will scarcely be denounced by any except the boys of the lowest form in the school of politics, merely because in the opposite direction it may rub against some miserable pedantic dogma such as this.

EDUCATION OF DISSENTERS.

THE position which the two national universities have taken up, in reference to the claim preferred for a participation in academical honours by the large portion of the community who are dissenters from the established church, must be admitted, even by its defenders themselves, to be in no small degree bold and startling. They object both to open their own doors to the dissenters, and to allow them to have a separate university for themselves. They say plainly, that in so far as academical distinctions are concerned, the dissenters shall not be educated at all.

The benefits thus refused are not merely honorary and titular. Were it otherwise, those shut out from them would still have a right to demand that a sufficient reason should be given for their exclusion. There is no hardship more bitter in the endurance than degradation. But it so happens, that to these university degrees important civil privileges are attached—privileges which may even be almost said to have a money value, and which, at any rate, if their worth cannot be exactly calculated in pounds, shillings, and pence,

do most unquestionably supply the place both of money, and of exertion, and of time, in helping their possessor forward in the various paths of professional life. A degree of doctor in medicine, for instance, from Oxford or Cambridge, is the indispensable qualification to admission as a fellow of the College of Physicians. A degree of master of arts, from either of these two universities, shortens, by two years, the attendance at the inns of court of students educating for the bar. These are considerations which come home to the pockets of men, if there are any persons whose sensibilities lie there rather than elsewhere.

Let us begin with the opposition of Oxford and Cambridge to the institution of any third national university, having the power of conferring degrees, and established on such principles as to offer no bar to the admission of dissenters to all its advantages. Such a seminary already exists in the London University; but the application of that institution for a charter of incorporation, and the power of granting degrees, is met by the most strenuous resistance on the part of the two elder universities. Their opposition, however, it is understood, is rested chiefly, not upon any peculiar feature in the constitution of the new establishment, but upon the simple ground that they possess by law a monopoly of the right to grant those distinctions which the London University also desires to possess the power of dispensing. They contend, that to permit any other establishment to create masters of arts or doctors in this kingdom, would be an invasion of their monopoly.

If we rightly understand this plea, it would go to restrict the crown from founding a third university, even of the same exclusive character with Oxford and Cambridge. It would go the length of preventing for ever any extension of the means of academical education in England beyond what might be afforded by these two establishments, however strongly such extension might be demanded by the increase of population, or by any other circumstances.

This plea, be it further observed, is urged at a time when, in one of the existing universities at least, there is, from the mere inadequacy of the buildings, accommodation only for a part of those who apply for admission; and when it is in general indispensable that the name of a person desirous of becoming a student should be on the list for some years before he can be admitted.

We submit that this is a state of things which it is altogether vain to expect should be upheld, be the law at present what it may. There is a force of circumstances, against which no law can stand. If the law is now such as Oxford and Cambridge contend that it is, it must be allowed to remain so no longer. Either it or every thing else must give way. The law may be changed, but the state of society, and the circumstances of the country generally, cannot.

We are not aware, however, that any proof has been, or can be, brought forward, of the proposition on which Oxford and Cambridge thus found their claims. That they have hitherto been the only establishments in England entitled to confer degrees, is not disputed; but that they do now, or ever have, enjoyed this right as a monopoly—that is, as a right which no other establishment could or can be admitted to share with them—we have seen no evidence. Assuming that the right in question was originally bestowed by the royal prerogative—for that, if not bestowed, it is at least maintained by the authority and sanction of the crown, is, we apprehend, the orthodox doctrine in a Protestant realm such as this—what is there to show that the crown, by that former exercise of its power, deprived itself for all future time of the capacity to perform another similar act? Indeed, if we are to suppose one of the two universities to have possessed the right before the other—Oxford, we will say, before Cambridge—how came Cambridge to acquire it afterwards, except on the same principle on which it may be granted to the University of London now?

One of the forms in which Oxford and Cambridge put forward the claim we are considering, has almost the air of a joke. They have no objection, they say, to the University of London obtaining the right of bestowing honours of a different kind from those in which they deal—any new description of degrees, of its own invention. But the common degrees were not invented by Oxford and Cambridge. They are the same that are bestowed by all the universities of Christendom; and in that consists their value beyond any other before unheard of distinctions which might be substituted for them. The older universities seem to be apprehensive that their degrees will suffer in the public estimation from being confounded with those to be granted by the new seminary. Perhaps it is natural enough that they should wish to preserve the distinctive character of their own honours. But we have no fear that this object will not be effectually secured, in so far as it is just or desirable that it should, under the proposed new arrangement. A degree granted by the London University will never be confounded with one of the same nature granted by Oxford or Cambridge, except only in the case of its coming really to indicate the same amount of acquirement; and in that case there would be no reason for regret or complaint, though they should be generally regarded as equivalent. The mere identity of appellation would not obliterate the real difference, at least wherever any attention is paid to such matters. We believe that so long as there remained any sufficient reason for considering the rank of the one higher than that of the other, the doctors or other graduates of Oxford and Cambridge would no more find themselves deprived of their proper place in relation to those of the London University, than marquises, earls, and viscounts find that their higher dignities are forgotten in society because they are commonly known and addressed by the same title which is given to the members of the lowest degree in the peerage. Or, to refer to a case more in point:—who confounds masters of arts and doctors of any of the Scotch universities, with persons bearing the same titles which they have obtained at Oxford or Cambridge? The latter effectually preserve themselves from being confounded with the former by the simple expedient of adding the name of their college to their degree, whenever the occasion requires or admits of a precise announcement: a practice which their rivals carefully eschew, for nobody ever saw, either on title page or elsewhere, M. A. or D. D. of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, or Aberdeen.

Of course, in order that the respectability of academic degrees may be kept up, the power of dispensing them ought to be very cautiously granted to new institutions, and nothing would be more absurd than that every seminary of education which may rise in any part of the country, and take to itself the name of a college, should obtain this high prerogative. At present we should say that the University of London, and perhaps the King's College in London, are the only two establishments which have any fair claim to be so distinguished. We hesitate in regard to the propriety of granting such a right to King's College, only because the class of the community by whom it is supported might probably be themselves averse to any such additional encroachment on the monopoly of the two older universities. The claim of the London University, on the other hand, has been long and strenuously urged by those interested in the institution, and rests, besides, principally on grounds which do not exist in the case of the other new metropolitan college; namely, the circumstance that this is the only establishment at which one large portion of the public can obtain the benefit of an academical education. This and the other considerations bearing upon the question are very well stated in an Address published a few days ago from the Senate of the university to the Council, and which was originally submitted with the view that it should be communicated to the learned counsel retained in support of the application to the crown on the part of the university for a charter of incorporation *. It is here stated, among other particulars, that the university now consists of twenty seven professors, who teach at least as many distinct branches of knowledge, that a further addition to the number of chairs is contemplated; that the appointments are made by the Council, acting under the influence of public opinion, their responsibility to the body of proprietors, and after a report from the Senate on the testimonials of the candidates; that the property of the university has cost 160,000*l.*, and that, besides the peculiar facilities for public lectures afforded by its buildings, it possesses ample means of instruction and illustration in its general, medical, and law libraries, its anatomical museum, its museum of materia medica, and its other medical collections, its zoological museum, and its collection of philosophical instruments and models of machinery. The magnitude of the population of the metropolis is also urged as a strong

* London, Taylor. 8vo. pp. 15.

reason, apart from all considerations springing from the peculiar opinions of the dissenters, for the establishment in London of a university, endowed with the ordinary powers and privileges of a university. It is to be observed, however, that the University of London proposes to confer only degrees in arts, in medicine, and eventually in law. As there is not, and cannot possibly be, any education in systematic theology at this establishment, the exclusive privilege of conferring degrees in divinity will be left to Oxford and Cambridge.

But, for reasons in some respects distinct from those that have just been stated, we have no hesitation about conceding the other innovation demanded, in reference to this matter, by the dissenters from the established church. We would, as proposed by the bill which is now on its way through the House of Commons, throw open Oxford and Cambridge to this portion of the public, so as to allow them to take degrees there without subscription to the thirty-nine articles. Upon this subject there are some very sensible remarks in one of the paragraphs of the Address to which we have referred above. "It is a great grievance," the writers observe, "to the dissenters from the church of England (and under this name we may include all the members of the established church of Scotland, as well as the Scotch dissenters), that in this country they are precluded from the advantages and honours of a university education. At Oxford they are not permitted to enter. At Cambridge the lowest degree is refused to them; and this exclusion from the honours of the university has naturally deterred them from availing themselves of the means of education which it has still left open to them. It cannot be doubted that this exclusion has lowered the standard of learning and science among the English dissenters: and thus one Christian sect has enforced in some measure against those who dissent from it, the subtle species of persecution which the Emperor Julian devised against all Christians, when he forbade them to attend the schools of philosophy. It may be observed, that this penal exclusion, as in all similar cases, falls most surely upon those who are most conscientious in their views of religious truth. A person who is ignorant or indifferent, who knows not, or cares not, what he professes, may enjoy all university honours; while a student who has carefully examined the disputed questions, and who conscientiously differs in opinion from the established church, however small be the point on which he differs, is compelled to forego the benefits of a public education and the honours attached to learning and science. It is, perhaps, a still greater hardship that this sentence of exclusion falls most frequently upon young men, whose age and attainments do not enable them to form an independent opinion adverse to the established church, and whose sole disqualification is that they are unwilling without examination to renounce opinions which they have received upon trust from those whose authority they are accustomed to revere. The dissenting student is thus not merely debarred from a nominal distinction, but he is probably deprived of opportunities of establishing a reputation which would contribute greatly to his success in after life. To dissenters who are students of medicine or of law, the very entrance into their professions is seriously impeded by the exclusive character of the existing universities."

In addition to these considerations, there are others, which we think a sound view of their own best interests ought to induce the two universities to regard as of great weight. Every body must perceive, as we remarked at the commencement of our observations, that the double opposition which these venerable establishments are at this moment offering to the claims of the dissenters, cannot be successful, at least beyond a very brief season. This large portion of the community cannot be permanently, or much longer, both excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, and prevented from acquiring academic honours at a university of their own. The two older universities, in attempting to maintain their present monopoly in this uncompromising form, are wasting their strength in a contest in which they must be defeated. They are doing more. They are recklessly converting into enemies those whom they have the most favourable opportunity that could be desired of securing as friends. We wonder that they do not see that they have really no interest in repelling dissenters, but a very strong interest in attracting as many of that body as they can get to come to them. Dissenters who should study at Oxford or Cambridge, and should find themselves frankly and fully admitted to all the advantages and privileges of these great national institutions, would, we have no doubt, in general acquire the usual filial love for their *alma mater*, and feel it as strongly as if they had subscribed the thirty-nine articles ever so often. Whoever reckons this act of subscription among the ties that bind him to his university? Is there, in fact, one in a hundred of those who subscribe it, by whom it is regarded as any thing more than an unmeaning form?

The petition lately presented to parliament from a large section of the resident members of the University of Cambridge, in favour of the admission of dissenters to degrees in that institution, may be taken as a sure promise that this desirable reform will be eventually carried. It is nothing that the counter-petition, afterwards presented, had considerably the larger number of signatures. All reforms originate with a minority. It is much when a good object or a right principle has even a minority arrayed in its support. It will have a majority ere long. It has passed beyond being merely the conviction of a few scattered individuals, and has become a public cause—a bond of union to a party—a great moving power in the actual contest of men and of opinions. After this, if it really deserves victory, it will soon obtain it. As for the specific objections which have been soon raised to the proposition, we cannot see much in them. It is said that dissenters by obtaining degrees, will become members of the caput, and as such, governors of the university. This is precisely the argument that was employed against the emancipation of the catholics. As a few catholics have, in consequence of that measure, got into parliament: so, no doubt, a few dissenters would, under the proposed reform, obtain seats in the caput at Oxford and Cambridge. But the present state of things must be very much changed before these few votes, even supposing them to be uniformly given in a spirit of hostility to the established church, can have any influence. When the dissenters who take degrees at Cambridge and Oxford shall be so numerous as to out-vote the churchmen, the church will be past being either injured or benefited by any thing that academic bodies can do.

BILL FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE POOR LAWS.

In our last Number we presented an abstract of the report recently given in by the commissioners appointed by the crown to examine the system and administration of the laws for the relief of the poor; and we inserted at length the recommendations of the commissioners for the reform of this important department of the national policy. We now give a detail of the most material provisions of the bill, which has been introduced by Lord Althorp into the House of Commons for effecting that object. It will be observed that it is for the most part founded upon the recommendations of the commissioners.

The introductory clauses direct the appointment of a board of three commissioners with nine assistants, who besides being furnished with the usual powers of commissioners, are to be invested with the power of making rules, orders, and regulations, for the management of the poor; the administration of the poor laws; the guidance of officers and vestries; the keeping auditing, and allowance of accounts; the entering into contracts; and generally to carry the act into execution. Such general rules, however, must for forty days be subject to the approval of the secretary of state for the home department, and it is afterwards competent to the privy council to prevent their being carried into effect.

With regard to workhouses, all by-laws relating to them and the relief of the poor, are to be subject to the confirmation of the commissioners, who may order workhouses to be built with the consent of the majority of the guardians, and may direct alterations and enlargements without such consent.

The commissioners are also empowered to direct parishes to be formed into unions, for the purpose of having workhouses in common, and may alter or dissolve existing unions; but in all cases of such unions it is to be so arranged, that each parish shall be chargeable with the maintenance of its own poor.

The next series of causes relate to guardians; and in all cases where the regulations of the former vestry acts have

not already been adopted, it is directed that the election shall be by the rate-payers and such owners of property as shall require to have their names entered in the rate-book as owners entitled to vote. When in unions or single parishes, the commissioners direct that the workhouses and the relief of the poor shall be governed and administered by a board of guardians; they are to fix the number and define the duties of the board. The commissioners are empowered to make and alter by-laws, which, if affecting more than one union, are to be deemed general rules; and justices of the peace are authorized to see that these and the other regulations of the commissioners are duly enforced. Lunatics, insane persons, and dangerous idiots, are not to be kept in workhouses. The commissioners are authorized to direct the removal of any paid officers of parishes or unions, whom they judge unfit or incompetent.

The measures under the head of administering relief, are very important. They are framed with the view of altering the allowance system, and depriving in most cases, out-door paupers of relief. Relief to the able-bodied is to be regulated by the commissioners, and relief granted contrary to their regulations, in any case, will be disallowed in the accounts. After the 1st of June, 1835, all allowance to able-bodied persons in employment, is to cease; and the acts authorizing justices to order out-of-door relief to the poor, are declared to be repealed: such relief not being hereafter to be given without the control of the guardians. Relief given to a wife, or child under sixteen, is to be considered as given to the husband or the father. The husband is liable to maintain the legitimate or illegitimate children born to his wife before his marriage with her, until they attain the age of sixteen, until (being females) they marry, or until the death of their mother. In all cases the relief given, may be directed by the commissioners to be considered as a loan, and as such, may be recoverable: and justices are empowered to attach wages in the hands of the employer, for the purpose of its liquidation; and if the employer refuses or neglects to make the required payment, the amount may be levied upon him by distress and sale.

The commissioners are empowered to make regulations concerning vagrants and prisoners; and the act which limits the binding of apprentices to forty miles from the parish to which they belong, is repealed.

Owners and rate-payers are authorized to raise money on security of the rates, for the purpose of enabling such poor persons as desire it to emigrate.

The rules regarding settlements direct that, after exceptions have been provided against, the child at sixteen, or on the death of the surviving parent, is to be settled in the place of its birth; but until then it is to follow the settlement of the parents. Thus future settlements will be only acquired by birth and parentage, and only in the case of a female, changed by marriage.

The bill finally makes a very important change with regard to bastardy. The acts relating to the liability and punishment of the putative father, and the punishment of the mother of illegitimate children, are repealed. All past securities and recognizances for indemnity of parishes against children likely to be born bastards, are declared to be null and void; persons in custody for not giving such indemnity, are to be discharged; and the mother of illegitimate children is declared bound to maintain them.

POPULATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE METROPOLIS.

THE recently published abstract of the population returns for the year 1831, exhibits some considerable improvements as compared with former publications of the same description. Not only is the classification more lucid, but the information, exhibited under the head of "Occupations," is more certain and definite, and affords a more laborious and minute analysis of social life than has hitherto been attempted in this country, and thus supplies what we, in common with many others, have long felt a desideratum. Former population acts only inquired what number of families, not *persons*, were chiefly employed in, or maintained by agriculture? how many by trade, manufacture, or handicraft? and how many families were not comprised in either of these classes? In general, the answers appear to have been made with care and distinctness in 1811 and 1821, but a more particular classification was thought to be desirable and practicable in 1831; and it was determined to ask the occupation of every male above twenty years of age; not only because he is then usually settled in his vocation, but because the number of males under twenty years of age, and the number above that age, was found to be so equal in the enumeration of 1821, that any considerable deviation from that obvious proportion was likely to induce further inquiry, and correction in every case suspected of error; for in the enumeration of 1821, the males under twenty years of age were 3,072,392; above that age 3,002,200; including all the males whose ages were then ascertained. In the enumeration of 1831, the males known to be under twenty were 3,941,495,—above that age 3,944,511, exclusive of the army and navy.

In the present abstract, the old arrangement is retained in one page which exhibits the area in English statute acres; the houses, inhabited, building, and uninhabited; the occupations as above-mentioned; and the number of males, females, persons, and families. The opposite page is occupied by the new information, which is exhibited in columns under the following heads. Males twenty years of age; agriculture, namely, occupiers employing labourers, occupiers not employing labourers; labourers employed in agriculture; employed in manufactures, or in making manufacturing machinery; employed in retail trade, or in handicraft as masters or workmen; capitalists, bankers, professional, and other educated men; labourers employed in labour not agricultural. Other males twenty years of age, except servants. Male servants twenty years of age; male servants under twenty years of age; female servants. This statement shows the nature of the information exhibited concerning each place included in the enumeration: but at the end of each county, the species of manufactures are enumerated in a note, and a list is given of the principal retail trades and handicraft employments, with a statement of the number of persons in the county engaged in them as masters or workmen: and distinguishing in the enumeration the principal towns in the county, from the county at large. This list of such occupations is of course extended with the number and extent of the towns which the county contains. London necessarily affords the most numerous subdivisions: and besides the usual enumeration at the end of the county of Middlesex, which considers the metropolis in its districts, a very acceptable appendix to the second volume shows the occupations of the population of all the parishes whose churches are situated within eight miles rectilinear distance of St. Paul's cathedral. The metropolis thus considered, and excluding only Woolwich from the places included by a circle drawn with this radius, contained in 1801 a population of 1,031,500; in 1811, of 1,220,200; in 1821 of 1,481,500; and in 1831, of 1,776,500. This statement comprehends an addition of a twenty-fifth part of the enumerated population, on account of the great number of British seamen belonging to the shipping at anchor in the Thames, of soldiers at the Tower and in Westminster, and of the transitory population always arriving and departing so irregularly as to prevent enumeration. The population of Paris, considered as embraced by a similar circle with a radius of eight English or seven geographical miles from the site of the Bastille, amounted in 1829 to 1,013,000. For the purpose of better instituting this comparison between these two great cities, Woolwich, with a population of 17,661, has been omitted in the above account, to compensate for the vacancies in the Paris circle not filled up by the department of the Seine, the population of which, including that of Paris proper, is that just given.

In adverting to the population of towns, the very valuable preface from which our statements are taken, informs us, that the number of females is always found to exceed that of males; and that this fact is easily explained by the employment as domestic servants of females drawn th[illegible] from the rural districts; females born in a town finding their occupation in it. At sea-ports this d[illegible] the more remarkable, in consequence of the num[illegible] who are excluded from the enumeration of bitants, as being seamen who navigate regist (a class of men amounting to 130,000), or mi seamen: and as the number of burials of mal equals or exceeds the burials of females, it unfair to estimate the *actual* population at double the number of existing females.

Land-jobber . . 23
Bricklayer . . 317
Brick-maker . . 23
Lime-burner . . 1871
Plasterer . .

of the ... maintain form, are must be de... lessly convei... most favourat... as friends. W... really no inte... interest in a... to come to ... or Cam...

Within the London Bills of Mortality.

	Houses.				Occupations.			Persons.				Agriculture.								Male Servants.		
	Inhabited.	Families.	Building.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, and Handicraft.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding classes.	Males.	Females.	Total Persons.	Males twenty years of age.	Occupiers employing Labourers.	Occupiers not employing Labourers.	Labourers employed in Agriculture.	Employed in Manufacture, or in making Manufacturing Machinery.	Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft as Masters or Workmen.	Capitalists, Bankers, Professional, and other educated Men.	Labourers employed in Labour, not Agricultural.	Other Males, twenty years of age, except Servants.	Twenty years of age.	Under twenty years of age.	Female Servants.
City of London.																						
Within the Walls	8,002	11,719	32	705	1	7,07[illegible]	4,641	27,327	28,451	55,778	16,869	7	. .	7	96	7,311	4,303	3,364	877	904	606	7,070
Without the Walls, not including any part of Southwark	8,733	15,884	49	426	29	11,101	[illegible]654	33,413	34,492	67,905	19,147	10	. .	19	173	11,249	2,497	3,026	1,[illegible]75	493	301	3,292
City of Westminster and Liberties	20,616	46,004	412	864	119	24,092	21,793	95,219	106,623	201,842	59,963	31	11	147	621	27,088	8,674	11,245	4,422	7,724	1,570	20,060
Borough of Southwark.																						
Christ Church	1,869	3,452	. .	76	. .	1,667	1,785	6,532	7,173	13,705	3,918	. .	. .	. .	67	1,818	520	687	776	50	91	704
George, St., the Martyr	6,036	9,183	70	571	42	5,019	4,122	18,891	20,878	39,769	8,467	2	2	176	76	3,877	849	1,630	1,521	334	321	1,216
John, St., Horsleydown	1,601	2,347	4	96	. .	607	1,740	4,865	5,006	9,871	2,575	. .	. .	. .	2	702	159	1,596	. .	26	21	255
Olave, St.	1,138	2,107	7	48	1	741	1,365	4,395	4,[illegible]99	8,694	2,608	. .	. .	1	4	799	185	1,402	209	17	25	215
Saviour, St.	2,674	5,059	32	250	4	2,743	2,312	9,034	8,972	18,006	5,127	. .	. .	4	134	2,852	231	1,785	91	30	46	488
Thomas, St.	112	187	5	1	. .	66	121	671	785	1,456	513	. .	. .	. .	1	69	86	38	307	12	2	157
Out-Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey																						
St. Andrew, Holb., above Bars (part of), with St. George the Mart.	2,937	6,751	21	114	9	3,655	3,087	12,909	14,525	27,334	7,915	2	1	10	27	4,193	1,411	1,655	332	178	137	1,757
Artillery Ground, Old	187	345	. .	20	. .	316	29	683	728	1,411	384	. .	. .	. .	54	265	22	37	2	4	8	62
Bermondsey, St. Mary Magdalen	4,918	7,668	49	421	131	6,060	1,417	14,989	15,352	29,741	7,639	27	4	113	133	4,159	474	2,440	324	25	11	506
Bethnal Green, St. Matthew	10,877	14,241	70	1,169	50	11,962	2,229	29,668	32,350	62,018	15,511	7	. .	64	5,651	5,964	564	2,723	611	27	1	164
Botolph, St., without, Aldgate	499	759	1	19	. .	354	405	1,677	1,776	3,453	1,002	. .	. .	. .	41	344	108	495	8	6	5	168
Charter-House	14	20	. .	. .	1	. .	85	109	55	164	91	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	81	. .	2	2	2	27
Christ Church, Spitalfields	2,271	4,576	12	147	. .	3,071	1,505	8,674	9,275	17,949	4,792	. .	. .	. .	836	2,476	68	1,296	89	27	24	342
Clement, St., Danes (part of)	452	852	3	42	. .	276	576	1,942	2,022	3,864	1,189	. .	. .	. .	. .	309	246	60	501	73	50	530
Clerkenwell, St. James and St. John	6,015	11,673	15	370	3	7,352	4,288	22,682	24,952	47,634	12,430	. .	1	5	44	7,265	1,953	2,218	869	75	104	2,119
Duchy of Lancaster (part of)	72	69	2	2	. .	27	32	163	242	410	117	. .	. .	. .	1	47	32	14	3	20	4	125
Ely Place	42	42	. .	2	. .	2	40	79	137	216	62	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	40	. .	5	6	1	75
Giles, St., in-the-Fields, and George, St., Bloomsbury	2,764 / 1,949	9,729 / 3,509	10 / 10	110 / 129	25 / 11	5,670 / 1,797	4,034 / 1,701	17,486 / 6,976	18,906 / 9,499	36,342 / 16,475	10,883 / 4,551	2	4	15	211	5,514	902	3,537	364	245	62	1,468
George, St., in-the-East	5,764	10,090	17	476	. .	6,000	4,090	17,659	20,846	38,505	9,749	. .	. .	3	11	37	1,[illegible]30	1,337	617	126	570	99	2,615
Glass-House Yard	155	290	. .	7	. .	168	131	601	711	1,312	375	. .	. .	. .	102	5,[illegible]25	261	4,114	215	32	. .	555
Hackney, St. John	5,220	6,307	53	561	582	2,505	3,220	13,571	17,476	31,047	6,670	44	30	607	112	2,419	1,429	1,236	512	281	71	2,396
Islington, St. Mary	5,797	8,575	316	717	329	4,874	3,381	16,354	20,962	37,316	8,368	13	38	329	174	3,366	2,124	1,335	731	217	97	3,254
Lambeth, St. Mary	12	13	. .	. .	. .	5[illegible]	8	30	42	72	15	. .	. .	. .	. .	8	4	1	. .	2	. .	19
Limehouse, St. Ann	13,983	21,191	336	1,353	532	9,311	11,348	39,545	48,[illegible]11	87,856	20,983	22	21	375	748	6,597	4,904	5,292	2,468	556	432	5,157
Luke, St., Middlesex	2,607	3,783	21	250	6	3,717	00	7,460	8,235	15,695	3,720	6	. .	52	143	1,376	414	1,265	449	75	81	433
Newington Butts, St. Mary	5,766	10,141	47	685	. .	7,447	2,694	22,307	24,335	46,642	12,420	. .	. .	. .	435	873	460	1,793	1,731	128	336	1,388
Rolls Liberty	7,885	10,773	104	865	178	5,438	5,157	20,256	24,270	44,526	11,046	21	26	155	154	5,379	2,340	2,311	566	94	123	2,048
Rotherhithe, St. Mary	398	754	1	7	. .	432	322	1,408	1,974	2,682	807	. .	. .	. .	. .	445	171	113	60	18	15	147
Saffron Hill and Hatton Garden	2,256	3,080	3	225	85	2,758	237	6,037	6,838	12,875	3,106	8	19	146	78	2,042	25	396	385	7	3	205
Savoy, St. John the Baptist	893	2,216	. .	64	. .	1,816	400	4,596	4,933	9,529	2,906	. .	. .	. .	9	1,459	167	1,197	64	10	6	294
Sepulchre, St., (part of)	57	73	. .	5	. .	40	33	193	238	431	132	. .	. .	. .	. .	56	55	13	. .	8	. .	85
Shadwell, St. Paul	545	1,138	. .	39	. .	726	412	2,370	2,399	4,769	1,389	. .	. .	4	9	737	67	322	232	18	14	158
Shoreditch, St. Leonard	1,493	2,314	15	124	. .	905	1,409	4,556	4,988	9,544	2,661	. .	. .	. .	. .	895	42	1,714	9	1	2	275
Stepney, St. Dunstan	10,693	15,830	397	1,367	35	9,751	6,044	31,877	36,687	68,564	16,708	. .	21	20	447	9,826	2,148	3,209	920	117	64	1,571
Tower Liberty	11,215	15,885	316	1,223	51	9,574	6,260	31,253	36,619	67,872	15,851	14	17	75	574	6,231	2,396	5,901	560	93	52	1,464
Tower, Old Precinct	69	103	. .	1	. .	. .	102	180	253	433	111	. .	. .	. .	. .	17	60	33	1	. .	. .	59
Wapping, St. John	45	59	. .	. .	. .	38	21	130	150	280	83	. .	. .	. .	. .	36	25	. .	16	6	2	48
Whitechapel, or St. Mary Matfelon	518	804	3	52	. .	676	132	1,715	1,849	3,564	1,018	. .	. .	. .	. .	348	57	526	73	9	2	189
Parishes not within the London Bills of Mortality.	4,119	7,203	3	363	7	3,394	3,867	14,933	15,800	30,733	8,362	. .	. .	14	477	3,859	531	3,531	403	47	79	942
Chelsea, St. Luke	4,635	8,032	44	349	87	3,985	3,960	14,536	17,835	32,371	7,884	6	4	54	40	3,536	1,224	1,450	1,345	225	123	1,859
Kensington	2,248	4,647	103	281	217	1,750	2,650	8,456	12,446	20,902	4,427	21	17	350	16	1,778	921	966	331	247	74	2,123
St. Mary-le-bone	11,608	20,918	756	921	143	12,826	15,949	53,201	69,005	122,206	33,171	57	23	165	. .	13,709	5,157	7,975	1,240	5,785	638	12,925
Paddington	1,933	3,493	93	104	82	1,049	2,362	6,273	8,262	14,510	3,501	15	21	73	. .	1,540	638	715	191	308	129	1,237
Pancras, St.	12,369	25,[illegible]92	517	787	225	13,720	11,446	46,038	57,490	103,548	26,182	16	17	270	93	13,[illegible]51	5,457	4,789	939	750	470	7,228
Totals	196,666	347,356	4,086	16,408	2,977	196,620	147,759	683,059	788,882	1,471,941	388,002	331	282	3,232	11,834	180,755	55,853	90,150	26,665	18,900	6,361	89,517

MALES (TWENTY YEARS OF AGE) EMPLOYED IN RETAIL TRADE, OR IN HANDICRAFT, AS MASTERS OR WORKMEN.

Air-pump-maker	1	Slater	251	Copper-barrel dealer	1	Floor-cloth-dealer	21	Jack maker (Roasting)	1	Paper-bag-maker	1
Anchor-smith	6	Mason, or Waller	1822	Copper-plate-printer, Engraver	1091	Florist	2	Japanner	92	Paper-hanger	112
Armourer	2	House-painter	5030	Coppersmith	132	Foil-beater	1	Jewel-case-maker	7	Paper-mould-maker	2
Army Accout.-maker	18	Building-material-dealer	7	Copying-machine-maker	3	Frame-maker	6	Jeweller	2807	Paper-stainer	140
Artificial Flower-maker	6	Butcher, Flesher	4322	Coral-polisher	1	French-polisher	34	Lace-dealer	316	Parchment-maker	50
Assayer	2	Butterman	5	Cord-maker	2	Fringe-trimming-dealer, maker	63	Lamp-maker	21	Pastry-cook, Confect.	909
Auctioneer or Appraiser, Sheriffs' broker	561	Button-maker	61	Cork-cutter	227	Fruiterer	537	Lapidary	49	Patten-maker	156
Awl-maker	2	Calenderer	24	Corn and Coal-measure-maker	2	Furrier	455	Lard-maker	2	Pattern-drawer	1
Back-maker (brewing)	11	Camp-equipage-maker	1	Corn-dealer, Seedsman	577	Gas-fitter	23	Last-maker	15	Pawnbroker	548
Bacon and Ham dealer	3	Cane-worker, dealer	2	Cotton-reel-maker	2	Gauze and crape dresser	4	Lath-render	26	Pearl-worker	1
Bacon-drier	6	Cap-maker	37	Crape-finisher	1	Gilder on Steel	1	Lead-dealer	2	Pen-cutter	45
Baker, Gingerbread, Fancy	5655	Card and Pasteboard maker	39	Curiosity-dealer	11	Ginger-beer-maker	6	Leather-cutter, Dresser	52	Pencil-maker	49
Ball-maker	4	Carpenter	13208	Currier	1119	Glass-cutter, Engraver, Polisher	346	Leather-pipe and Bucket-maker	8	Percussion-cap-maker	1
Barber, or Hair-dresser, Hair-dealer	2019	Cabinet-maker	5416	Cutler	583	Glass-dealer	75	Leech-dealer	4	Perfumer	36
Barometer-maker	2	Wheelwright	1005	Dealer (generally)	166	Glass-mounter	3	Letter-cutter	3	Pewterer	97
Basket-maker	555	Sawyer	2180	Dealer in Marine-stores	12	Glass-stainer	2	Lime-dealer	1	Piano-forte-maker	171
Bread-maker	31	Carpet and Rug dealer	24	Die-sinker	1	Glazier, Plumber	2319	Picture-dealer	18	Picture-frame-maker	6
Beaver-cutter	1	Carrier, Carter	871	Distiller, Rectifier	38	Globe-maker	11	Lint-maker (Surgical)	1	Pill-box-maker	3
Bedstead-maker	56	Cart-grease-maker	1	Dog-dealer	1	Glover	300	Locksmith	15	Pin-maker	2
Bellows-maker	15	Carver and Gilder	1506	Drawing-instrument-maker	1	Glue-maker	21	Lodging-house-keeper	1	Pipe-maker	180
Belt-maker	3	Cattle-dealer	4	Dressing-case-maker	7	Gold-beater	127	Looking-glass-maker	3	Pipe-clay-dealer	1
Billiard-table-maker	1	Caulker	674	Drug-grinder	1	Goldsmith	35	Maccaroni-maker	2	Plane-maker	13
Bird-cage-maker	32	Cement-maker	2	Drysalter, Colouring Materials	567	Gold and Silver-lacemen	4	Maltster	21	Silk-dresser	1
Bird-stuffer, dealer	7	Chair-maker	145	Dyer	1381	Gold and Silver-thread-spinner	1	Mangle-maker	2	Silk-printer	3
Blacking-maker	14	Chair-stuffer	17	Earthenware, China, Pottery	702	Granary-keeper	10	Map-dissector	1	Plater	10
Blacksmith, Horse-shoes	3391	Chaser (Silver-plate)	33	Eating-house-keeper, Cook	142	Grocer, Greengrocer	4277	Map-mounter, Seller	8	Silver-polisher	11
Bleacher	5	Cheesemonger	1586	Egg-merchant	18	Gun-maker	688	Marble-cutter, Statuary	273	Pocket-book-maker	25
Blind-maker (windows)	47	Chemist and Druggist	1082	Embroiderer	14	Gun-barrel-filer	1	Marble-turner	1	Potatoe-dealer	140
Block and Mast-maker	120	China-painter	5	Emery-maker	7	Gun-case-maker	1	Mat-maker	22	Poulterer	337
Blue-maker (Indigo)	2	Chocolate-maker	3	Emery and Glass Paper-maker	3	Gun-lock-forger	2	Mathematical Instrument-maker	48	Press-maker	4
Boat-builder, Ship-wright	1391	Cider-dealer	9	Enameller	3	Gut-spinner	8	Mattrass-maker	15	Presser	26
Bone-boiler, Bone-sawyer	6	Clasp-maker	3	Engine-turner	6	Hair-preparer	1	Measure-maker	12	Print-cutter (in Wood)	3
Bonnet-blocker	1	Clicker	5	Engraver	11	Hardwareman	19	Measuring-tape-maker	1	Printer	3628
Bookbinder	1557	Clock and Watch-maker	3	Fan-maker	2	Harness-maker, Collar-maker	689	Medallion-painter	1	Printseller	276
Bookseller or Vender	1106	Cloth-dresser, Worker, Drawer	25	Fanlight (Window) maker	2	Hatter and Hosier	2662	Mercer	14	Provision-dealer	8
Bottle-dealer	7	Clothier	710	Farrier, Cow-doctor, Cattle-doctor	613	Hay-dealer	2	Milkman, Cow-keeper	1430	Prussian-blue-maker	1
Bow-string-maker	2	Linen-draper, Haberdasher	2893	Feather-dresser	116	Herbalist	2	Miller	111	Publican, Hotel, or Inn-keeper, Retailer of Beer	4097
Bowyer	2	Silk-mercer, or dealer	596	Feather-maker	1	Hinge-maker	1	Milliners	16	Pump-maker	8
Brace-maker	9	Coach-maker	2167	Fell-monger	210	Hoop-shaver	16	Millwright	260	Purse-maker	1
Braid-maker	1	Coach-owner, Driver, Grooms, &c. &c.	1392	Felt-monger	2	Hop-dealer	4	Music-seller	32	Quill-dealer, Dresser	15
Brass-founder	23	Coach-painter	27	Fender-maker	5	Hop-presser	3	Musical Instrument-maker	299	Razor-strop-maker	2
Brass-worker, Tinker	1773	Coach-smith	6	File-cutter	6	Horn-turner	2	Mustard-dealer	1	Reed-maker	2
Brewer	590	Coach-spring-maker	1	Fire-work-maker	1	Horse-dealer, Stable, Hackney-coach or Fly keeper	655	Nailer	4	Refiner	22
Bristle-dealer	2	Coal-merchant, Fuel	1367	Fish-dealer	1076	Horsehair-maker, dealer	12	Needle-maker	5	Register-office-keeper	1
Broker	1040	Cock-founder (Brass)	1	Fish-hook-maker	3	Huckster, Hawker, Pedlar, Duffer	862	Net-maker	1	Rhubarb-dealer	1
Bronze-maker	2	Coffee-shops	118	Fishing-rod and Tackle maker	34	Image-maker (plaster)	34	News-vender	39	Ribbon-draper	2
Brush-maker	574	Coffee-roaster	12	Flask-maker	1	Ink-maker	11	Nightman, Scavenger	130	Ribbon-dresser	22
Buckram-stiffener	1	Coffin-maker	3	Flatter	2	Instand-maker	2	Oil-dealer	33	Rigger	102
Builder	871	Coin and Antiquity dealer	2	Flax-dresser	10	Iron-founder	652	Oil-man	338	Robe-maker	2
Land-jobber	37	Colour-maker	8	Floating-light-maker	1	Ironmonger	953	Old Clothes-dealer, Rag-dealer	1172	Rocking-horse-maker	1
Bricklayer	5000	Comb-maker	184	Ivory-turner, worker	11	Iron-plate-worker	8	Optician	516	Rope-maker	876
Brick-maker	317	Composition-maker	4			Ivory-turner, worker	11	Orange-dealer	43	Rug-maker	15
Lime-burner	23	Composition-ornament-maker	3					Organ-builder	35	Ruler, or Rule-maker	20
Plasterer	1871	Cooper	2123					Orris-weaver	13	Sack-cleaner	1
								Packer	65	Sack-maker	26
								Paper-maker	439	Saddler	869
										Sail-cloth-dealer	1
										Sail-maker	224
										Salesman	57
										Sash-maker	1
										Saw-maker	17
										Scale-maker	57
										Scale-beam-maker	28
										Scaleboard-cutter	9
										Scull and Oar-maker	3
										Sealing-wax-maker	9
										Seal-skin-dresser	3
										Seed-presser	2
										Shell-polisher	4
										Ship-breaker	261
										Ship-chandler	26
										Ship-Timepiece-maker	1
										Shoe and Boot-maker, or mender	16,502
										Shop-keeper (Dealer in sundry necessary articles, such as are sold in a village shop)	3217
										Shroud-maker	1
										Sieve-maker	13
										Silk-dresser	1
										Silk-printer	3
										Silver-polisher	11
										Silversmith	287
										Silver-turner	3
										Size-maker	3
										Skin-dresser	3
										Slopseller	28
										Soap-boiler	5
										Soda-water-maker	11
										Soot and Chimney-swr.	421
										Spectacle-maker	8
										Spice-dealer	4
										Spirit-merchant, Spirit-shop	251
										Spring-maker	1
										Spur maker	3
										Stationer	1393
										Stay-maker	119
										Stenciller	3
										Stick-maker (Walking-sticks	8
										Stock-broker	241
										Stone-dealer	4
										Stove-maker	4
										Straw-plait & Bonnets	410
										Sugar-baker, Refiner	337
										Surgical-Instr.-maker	14
										Sword-cutler	1
										Tailor. Breeches-maker	14552
										Tallow-chandler, Wax-chandler	983
										Tambour-worker	1
										Tan-dryer	6
										Tanner	865
										Tarpaulin-maker	3
										Tea-dealer	648
										Tea-pot-handle-maker	1
										Tea-urn-maker	1
										Tilt-maker	1
										Timber-dealer	70
										Tinman	1236
										Tin-plate-worker	10
										Tip-filer	3
										Tobacconist	803
										Tool-dealer	1
										Tool-maker	22
										Toyman	476
										Tripeman	17
										Trunk-maker	158
										Truss-maker	24
										Turner	1470
										Twine-spinner	5
										Type-founder	126
										Umbrella-maker	219
										Undertaker of Funerals	565
										Upholsterers	1194
										Varnish-maker	15
										Vellum-binder	12
										Velvet-edger	1
										Vinegar-maker	5
										Violin-string-maker	10
										Wadding-maker	4
										Wafer-maker	5
										Warehouse-keeper	2
										Watch-case-maker, and Gilder	5
										Watch-glass-maker	2
										Water-filter-maker	2
										Water-gilder	2
										Whalebone-cutter	7
										Wharfinger	181
										Whip-maker	66
										White-lead-worker	17
										Whitesmith	2013
										Willow-weaver	30
										Wine-dealer	605
										Wire-drawer	71
										Wire-worker	98
										Wood-dealer, Cutter	174
										Wool-card-maker	1
										Wool-dealer	7
										Wool-comber	67
										Woollen-draper	29
										Woollen-printer	1
										Worsted-maker	1
										Yeast-dealer	5
										Zinc-plate-maker	1

Total employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft in the Metropolis 180,755

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

In the course of the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 28th of February, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a resolution for continuing for a further period the present consumption duties imposed upon sugar, it was generally admitted that the system under which the sugar planters of the British West Indies have so long enjoyed the monopoly of the home market could not be justified upon principle, and that it ought to be and soon must be materially modified, if not altogether abandoned.

It was at the same time expressly stated by those members of the government who took part in this debate, that the question is one of time only, and that when the result of the grand experiment now in course of trial in the West India islands and colonies shall be no longer doubtful, and when it shall be made to appear that the planters in those colonies are still able to carry on the cultivation of their estates under the altered circumstances brought about by the act of last year for abolishing slavery, that then the question of a discriminating or protecting duty on sugar in favour of that class of cultivators, will be fully open for the consideration of the legislature, with a view to establish one uniform rate of duty upon all sugar, the growth or production of British possessions. It may therefore be desirable that we should endeavour at this time to give some explanation of this somewhat complicated question, and to show the effects that will probably follow the alteration which it is proposed to make.

The rates of duty at present chargeable upon sugar, when brought into consumption in the United Kingdom, are as follow :—

Raw sugar, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any British possession in America and imported thence, 1*l.* 4*s.* per cwt.

Raw sugar, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any British possession within the limits of the East India Company's charter, and imported thence, 1*l.* 12*s.* per cwt.

Raw sugar, from any other place, 3*l.* 3*s.* per cwt.

Refined sugar, 8*l.* 8*s.* per cwt.

The duties upon foreign raw sugar, and upon that which has been refined, are altogether prohibitory, being greater than the price for which similar produce which has paid the British plantation duty will sell including that duty. Not a pound of foreign grown, or of refined sugar, therefore, is ever brought into consumption in the United Kingdom. The difference between the rates chargeable on West India and East India sugar operates nearly in the same manner. Out of 4,429,864 hundred weight of sugar, upon which consumption duties were paid in 1832, only 79,595 hundred weight, or about one fifty-sixth part of the whole was of the produce of British possessions within the limits of the East India Company's charter, being not greater for the whole of our extensive Eastern empire than the quantity contributed by the little island of St. Christopher in the Antilles.

It has been said that the sugar produced in India is so inferior in quality to that brought from the West Indies as to be unsuited for consumption here except in this very limited degree. That East India sugar is in general inferior to the other, is indeed true, and the fact may be readily admitted without its forming any justification of the fiscal measure whereby its consumption is prevented. Nay, there is every reason to believe that it is principally owing to the imposition of a discriminating duty, that greater skill and a larger amount of capital have not long since been employed in the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of its products on the plains of Hindostan. There, in its native clime, the plant attains as perfect a growth and yields as rich a product as in the most favoured of our Western colonies; but excluded as that product virtually is from the markets of the United Kingdom, where it would meet and must compete with the superior manufacture of the West, one principal incentive to improvement is wanting, and the cultivation is left in the hands of men deficient alike in science and in capital. It needs no very extraordinary prophetic powers to foretel, that from the moment when the produce of both countries shall be admitted to consumption in England at the same rate of duty, an impulse will be given to this species of industry in the East; that men of intelligence and possessed of sufficient means will be found ready to avail themselves of the fertile soil and cheap labour of Hindostan, in order to produce sugar the quality of which will vie successfully with the best which is brought from the plantations in America. It is not to be expected that this result will be all at once attained or that the culture of the cane can be immediately increased to the extent of which it will in time be susceptible; but this fact should be viewed as a powerful reason for assuaging the fears of the West India planters, and for removing their objections to an act of simple justice which has only been too long delayed, and which indeed ought never to have been rendered necessary by the raising up of an invidious distinction between the productions of different parts of the same empire. If instead of being dependencies on the British crown, the East and West Indies had been in the situation of separate and independent governments, and it had been attempted to establish discriminating duties between their respective production of the same article of commerce, would not the less favoured of the two have had a just ground of complaint against us? Time has been when a national war has ensued from a less legitimate cause of dissatisfaction. When, however, it is considered that these two regions have an equal right to claim protection and favour at the hands of the parent state, a *primâ facie* case is made out in favour of the most perfect equality, a case which it would be most difficult to assail by means of any fair argument, or to answer in argument with those better principles of commercial economy which are now, happily, so generally recognised and supported.

It has been said that this question is one of time only, an opinion which we would qualify by saying, that the present is perhaps the *only* moment in which the inexpediency of alteration could be urged upon any tenable ground. Up to the moment when this country determined, at a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, to wipe off the moral stain which attaches to the character of every nation that tolerates the existence of slavery, there was no period at which it was not competent to the legislature, with the most perfect propriety, to have put an end to the invidious distinction made between the sugar planters of India and the Antilles. The reason for continuing that distinction is passing away every hour, and we trust that by the time the bill just passed for continuing the sugar duties shall expire (on the 5th July, 1835) the success of the benevolent experiment now in course of proof in the West Indies, will again leave the legislature free to deal with this question according to its individual merits.

It is true that at no time since the advocates for equality have raised the question, have the West India planters been willing to admit the force of their reasoning. Up to the close of the war in 1814, the markets of India were subjected to a hateful monopoly in the hands of the East India Company; the capabilities of that portion of the British empire to supply this country with articles suited to our wants were but ill understood, and there existed no party in England—save that great party, the consumers, who are but little thought of in such cases—at all interested in the inquiry how far those capabilities could be rendered available to increase the sum of the general prosperity. Since the period just mentioned, when the ports of India were partially thrown open to the enterprise of private traders, the West India planters have always been able to meet the question of an equalization of duties, with the cry of distress, occasioned by the comparatively low price of their produce in the markets of Europe. As this is a plea which, for the sake of the consumers we trust the planters will still be able to urge, it may be worth while to inquire how far they are entitled to plead it successfully against the rest of their fellow subjects, and we do not think many words will be necessary in order to show why it should not thus be allowed to prevail.

During the first fifteen years of the war, which began in 1793, the West India sugar planters were enabled to sell their produce at very high rates. The consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom during the same period was actually more than doubled, the quantities retained for consumption during the years 1792 and 1808 respectively, having been 1,523,394 and 3,280,680 hundred weights. To meet this increased demand and to take advantage of the augmented price, capital was raised by mortgaging their estates and fresh quantities of land were brought under cultivation of the cane. At the same time it is notorious, that in imitation of his brother landowner in England, the West India planter increased his personal expenditure to the full measure of his means, and instead of availing himself of the continuance of high prices to provide funds for clearing off his incumbrances, took advantage of those prices in order to obtain still larger advances from the merchant to whom his

produce was consigned in Europe. When, first by the operation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, and afterwards by the natural effect of peace, those prices were reduced to their proper level, the improvident planter could no longer pay the interest upon his mortgages and continue his profuse personal expenditure, and then began that cry of distress on the part of the West India interest, which with scarcely any intermission, has been continued ever since, and which has hitherto availed them for the continuance of their monopoly of the markets of this country. It will be rather too hard, however, to entail a perpetual tax upon the people of England, and to circumscribe the industry of our manufacturer on the one hand, and of the Indian agriculturist on the other, because our West India planters misapplied their former extraordinary gains, using that as income which they should have viewed only in the light of capital. That this view of their case is a just one is capable of the completest demonstration. Those few of their class who acted a more prudent part have never ceased to draw a revenue from their estates, and while they have been forced to accept a lower price for their produce have been able to meet this evil by the diminished price of the various articles required for the supply of their plantations.

The grower of sugar in the West Indies has a just right of complaint against the mother country, or rather, would have that right but for the monopoly of which we complain, on the ground of the restrictions which are placed upon him in providing the necessary stores for his plantation. The sugar grower of India is not fettered in this way, but receives his supplies without restriction from any country where they are found to be the cheapest. One of the principal evils of all systems of restrictions, consists in the seeming necessity which it produces for multiplying attempts at protection to a degree, which in the end involves, and becomes injurious to every interest and class in a country. It is only just that our West India colonists should have the same choice of markets whence to procure supplies as is enjoyed by their rivals, and every restriction of that nature must be removed whenever they shall be deprived of their present monopoly.

Impolitic as the preference is which is given to the sugar of the West Indies over that of our Eastern possessions, it would be wholly inoperative to the benefit of the class for whose advantage it was designed, but for another part of the system under the operation of which a bounty is paid upon the re-exportation of sugar which has been refined in England. Hitherto, greatly as the consumption of sugar has increased in this country, the power of production in the West Indies has increased with it, so as always to be in advance of our home wants. Under this circumstance, and so long as it may be necessary to seek a market elsewhere for a single pound of West Indian sugar, the price of that pound must govern the price of the whole quantity imported, since it is quite impossible to imagine two prices to exist coevally in the same market for the same article. Unless, therefore, some means were employed for keeping up artificially the price of British plantation sugar relatively to that produced elsewhere, it would be a matter of comparative indifference to the Indian cultivator whether the discriminating duty were continued or not, since the markets which would govern the price everywhere would be equally open for his produce. The means whereby the price of the favoured article is artificially kept up, are, however, provided by our system of drawbacks, which are so calculated as to give an actual bounty upon the exportation of sugar refined in England. This bounty has been estimated according to a series of experiments carefully conducted by a scientific gentleman employed by Government, at about four shillings per hundred weight, and to this amount the price of every hundred weight of sugar imported for consumption is benefited, at the expense of the great body of consumers, and for the sole advantage of the West India planters. In confirmation of this assertion, we may refer to the speech of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, under whose instructions the experiments alluded to were made. The loss thus entailed upon the country in the year 1832, the latest period to which the parliamentary accounts are hitherto completed, may be stated as follows:

cwts.	£.
3,655,534 retained for consumption, at 4*s.* per cwt.	731,106
455,846 refined, equivalent to . .	
774,939 raw sugar, exported . .	154,987
Together .	886,093

Of late years, it has happened to this country in many instances to witness a disposition in neighbouring kingdoms to imitate our commercial errors, and in some of these cases the imitation has not occurred until those errors have become sufficiently manifest to ourselves. As one instance, we may bring forward the system which has been adopted by France of giving protection to the produce of her own colonies, as against that procurable from foreign countries. It is true, that France has not adopted this plan in all its absurdity, inasmuch, as she admits the like descriptions of produce from all her colonies at equal rates of duty; but on the other hand, she has carried the amount of protection afforded by discriminating duties, and rendered efficient by a system of drawbacks, to an extent far greater than has been shown to exist with us. By these means the price of sugar is artificially raised to the French consumer, to the extent of twelve shillings per hundred weight. The operation of this system in the year 1832 was such, that of eighty-two millions of kilogrammes of sugar, upon which duties were paid, upwards of sixteen millions of kilogrammes were refined and re-exported, being just one-fifth of the whole; while of the thirty-nine millions of francs received in duties, rather more than nineteen millions were paid back in drawback, being as nearly as possible, one half of the entire sum received! This system has also had another bad effect in France, it has forced the production of beet-root sugar to such a degree, that, according to the statement of Mr. Gautier, made to the Chamber of Peers, the quantity of that kind of sugar made in France in 1832, amounted to twelve millions of kilogrammes, a quantity equal to one half the total importations of sugar annually made to Great Britain from all parts of the world. We have seen a statement drawn up by a gentleman who possesses the best sources of information on the subject, which proves, that by these means the annual loss to which the French people are subjected in order to "protect" one or two insignificant colonies, exceeds by fifty per cent. the whole amount of capital employed in the colonial trade of France.

It must always be a difficult matter for the government to apportion correctly any scale of payment where individual skill and ingenuity are arrayed in opposition to the revenue, and engaged in obtaining the greatest possible amount of money from the exchequer. This must always be the case as respects a drawback paid on the exportation of any article which shall have undergone a process whereby its form is altered from that which it bore when the duty was paid, in respect of which the drawback is claimed. The various experiments set on foot by the government, in order to ascertain the exact amount of drawback which should be paid, in order to give back on exportation precisely the amount of duty paid upon sugar, exhibit very different results according to the quality of sugar acted upon, and the modes employed in the refining process. This fact furnishes a strong argument for the establishing of a system under which it shall not be necessary to grant any drawback on re exportation. Such a course can only be followed by allowing the refining of sugar and all analogous processes, to be performed in buildings, placed in the custody of revenue officers, in which case, the raw material being delivered for manufacture without payment of the consumption duty, the refined or manufactured article would not be entitled to drawback on re-exportation. Under a fair and wholesome state of things, such a plan must be beneficial to commerce, inasmuch as it would at once set free all that amount of capital which is now employed in paying duties upon the raw material, and which is, as it were, left unprofitably to the government during the time employed in the processes of manufacture. An approach was made towards this desirable state of things, by the passing of an Act of Parliament during the last session, under which the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs are empowered to approve of premises as "Bonded sugar houses, for the refining of sugar for exportation only," and to deliver to the proprietors of such houses, any quantity of foreign sugar, the produce of any British possession, for the purpose of being there refined, under the locks of the Crown for exportation only, and subject to such conditions and regulations as those Commissioners may consider necessary for the protection of the revenue. This Act was passed at the instigation of the sugar refiners, who alleged that they were liable to be injured in the prosecution of their business, through the periodical scarcity of British plantation sugar in the market. The system of refining in bond is ren-

dered to a certain degree unprofitable, however, through the necessity which is imposed of exporting all the produce of the raw sugar employed, their being little or no market on the continent for the treacle, which forms from one-fifth to one-fourth the amount of that product. Treacle is consumed largely by the poor of this country, but its consumption on the continent is extremely limited. In Sweden, in some Prussian provinces on the Baltic, and in Bohemia, it is partially used, but with these exceptions, the only vent for the refuse of sugar refineries is among the distillers of ardent spirits, with whom its value must, of course, be measured with reference to the price of grain. Treacle, produced in the bonded refineries of England, must consequently be sold at about one half of the price which it would yield if permitted to be brought into consumption here; and this sacrifice upon an article, the bulk of which is great in proportion to its value, forms a considerable drawback to the success of sugar refining on the bonding system in England.

If that system were introduced generally for the refining of all sugar, as it seems reasonable to suppose will before long be the case, it will be necessary to provide some plan under which the refiners may bring every portion of their produce into consumption at home, and it does not appear difficult to apportion the duties upon each description of product so as to secure substantial justice at once, to the grower, the refiner, and the consumer.

Since the partial opening of the trade between this country and India, it has always been among the greatest difficulties with which our merchants have had to contend, to find profitable investments in return for goods of British manufacture; and, it has been especially desirable to find some additional article suited for consumption in England, which might serve as "dead weight" in freighting ships on their return voyage. If, by equalising the consumption duties upon East and West India sugar, an impulse were given to the cultivation in India, those ends would be materially answered, and an additional impulse would, at the same time, be given to a branch of foreign commerce which is already of the highest importance, and which bids fair to be, in the course of years, at once the most extensive and the most profitable in which this country will be engaged.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Private Bills.—Our March number contained an abstract of the private bills before the House of Commons this session. The list since issued only contains four additional Bills, one relating to municipal regulations, one to tithes, one to authorise change of name, and one to the improvement of a harbour. The following is an account of the progress made in private bills up to March 26th:—

Petitions presented	196
Bills read first time	181
Bills read second time	72
Bills read third time	19
Royal assent	12
Withdrawn	1

Bank of England Notes in Circulation.—An Account of the Amount of Bank of England Notes in Circulation, distinguishing those under 5*l.*, and Bank Post Bills, at the close of the business on the last Saturday in every Month, from 17th August, 1833, to 15th March, 1834.

1833.		Bank-notes of £5 and upwards.	Bank Post Bills.	Bank-notes under £5	Total.
August	31	17,774,050	1,566,010	289,650	19,629,710
September	28	16,533,660	1,576,940	289,410	18,400,010
October	26	16,952,530	1,588,110	289,110	18,829,750
November	30	15,904,300	1,415,670	288,800	17,608,770
December	28	16,094,670	1,349,910	288,050	18,732,630
1834.					
January	25	17,789,610	1,606,260	287,840	17,683,710
February	22	17,294,420	1,567,480	287,630	19,149,530
March	15	16,519,920	1,493,160	287,430	19,300,510

Bank of England.—An Account of the Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, on the average of the three months ending the 4th of March, 1834:—Liabilities—circulation, 18,700,000*l.*; deposits, 14,418,000*l.*; Total, 33,118,000. Assets—securities, 25,547,000*l.*; bullion, 9,829,000*l.*, Total, 35,376,000*l.*

An Account of the Average Circulation of Branch Bank of England Notes and Twenty-one-day Bills, during the Year 1833; distinguishing the Amount from each Branch Bank, and the aggregate Sum.

The Gloucester Branch Bank		51,030
The Manchester	ditto	1,542,150
The Swansea	ditto	49,150
The Birmingham	ditto	407,400
The Liverpool	ditto	560,750
The Bristol	ditto	124,350
The Leeds	ditto	269,530
The Exeter	ditto	37,000
The Newcastle	ditto	51,130
The Hull	ditto	72,860
The Norwich	ditto	34,170
		£3,199,520

Private Bank Notes circulated.—The aggregate Amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales by Private and Joint-Stock Banks, between the 28th of August, and the 28th of December, 1833, was—

Private Banks	£8,836,803
Joint-Stock Banks	1,315,301
	£10,152,104

State of Crime in the Metropolis in 1833.—The whole number of charges brought before the metropolitan magistrates by the new police during the last year, amounts to 69,959; showing a decrease, compared with the previous year, of 7,584 offences. A very large proportion of the charges are, however, of a very minor character. Out of the whole number, it appears that no less than 27,000 have been dismissed by the magistrates as unsupported by proper evidence. The largest items in the catalogue of the offences are—

Drunken charges brought before the magistrates	11,393
Ditto, discharged by the superintendents	18,487
Disorderly characters	5,721
Prostitutes	3,427
Assaults	5,721
Larcenies	7,858
Suspicious characters	3,201
Vagrants	6,757

Out of the large number of 29,800 drunkards, no less than 12,000 appear to have been female.

Gaol of Newgate in 1833.—Statement of the Number of Persons in custody on the 1st January, 1833, and committed to His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate during that Year, and showing how they have been disposed of.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In custody on the 1st of January, 1833	179	134	313
Committed to 31st of December inclusive, under 17 years of age	222	36	
Above that age	1,478	425	2,161
			2,474

Of whom there have been executed	2	
Died	3	
Removed to the hulks at Gosport	400	
Ditto to Portsmouth	75	
Ditto to Sheerness	50	
Ditto to Chatham	300	
Ditto to Woolwich	320	
Ditto to Penitentiary, Milbank	24	
Ditto to Refuge for the Destitute and House of Occupation	7	
Ditto by *habeas* for trial at the assizes	14	
Ditto to the House of Correction for London	109	
Ditto to Middlesex	241	
Discharged, having received His Majesty's pardon	9	
Ditto, having been acquitted at the sessions, Old Bailey	383	
Ditto, bills of indictment not having been found	117	
Ditto, not having been prosecuted	6	
Ditto, having been imprisoned pursuant to sentences	67	
Ditto whipped	14	
Ditto fined 1*s.*	35	
Ditto upon bail and for other causes	39	
Removed to Clerkenwell, Southwark, and Tower sessions, for trial	8	
		2,223
Remaining in custody on the 1st of January, 1834—Males, 183; females, 68		251
		2,474

959 of whom have been in Newgate before.
Committals decreased this year 1,036.

A Statement of the number of Persons committed to His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate and convicted in the year 1833, specifying their offences and sentences:—

Murder	2
Burglary	9
Housebreaking	72

Shooting at	1
Highway robbery	15
Stealing a letter from the Post-Office	2
Cutting and maiming	4
Returning from transportation	2
Horse-stealing	3
Cattle-stealing	1
Sheep-stealing	5
Forgery	26
Coining	5
Stealing in a dwelling-house above the value of 5*l.*	32
Manslaughter	3
Bigamy	7
Concealing the birth of an infant	1
Receiving stolen goods	22
Larcenies	1,017
Misdemeanors	25
	1,254

OF WHOM THERE WERE SENTENCED.

To death *	107
Transportation for life	103
Ditto 14 years	149
Ditto 7 years	426
Imprisonment in Newgate and the House of Correction, viz.:—	
For 2 years	7
18 months	6
1 year	34
9 months	13
8 months	2
6 months	79
4 months	6
3 months	118
2 months	8
6 weeks	32
1 month and under	98
Fined 1s. and discharged	40
Discharged by the Court	6
Those whose judgments remain respited	2
	1,254

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

Court-Martial committals.—The number of persons committed under sentence of court-martials to the several gaols in England, in the year 1833, amounted to 920.

Chimney-Sweepers' Apprentices.—The number of boys bound to chimney-sweepers, during the last nine years, at the several police offices within the bills of mortality, amounted to 115 so far as the returns show, but the Mansion House, Guildhall, and Southwark offices, possess no materials for affording such returns.

Turkish Army.—At the commencement of the hostilities with Egypt, the Turkish army formed a total of about 300,000 men. It was composed like the Russian army, of regulars, disciplined in the European manner; and of irregulars, levied after the old system.

The regular army is at present composed of 50,000 men namely;—

Infantry.	
Four regiments of the guards	10,000
Twenty regiments of the line	24,000
Battalions distributed in the provinces	12,000
	46,000
Cavalry.	
Three regiments of the guards	1,500
Two regiments of the line	1,000
	2,500
Artillery of the guards	300
Artillery of the line	1,200
	1,500
Total	50,000
Irregular Army.	
Infantry and artillery	120,000
Cavalry	50,000
	170,000
Grand total of the Turkish army	220,000

The greater part of the regular troops, and particularly the guards, are in service at Constantinople and the principal strong places of the empire. The irregular troops are dispersed upon the frontiers, and sometimes are intrusted with the defence of places of small importance in the interior. Two French officers have the chief charge of exercising the regular troops, horse and foot, at Constantinople, and of instructing them in the management of arms, horse exercises, and the evolutions of the line.—*Mémorial Encyclopédique.*

* Two of whom have been executed, viz.:—for murder, one: house-breaking, one. Total, two.

Egyptian Army and Revenue.—The Egyptian army is maintained with so much difficulty, that impressment is the only means employed of recruiting its numbers. Nevertheless this army at present rivals the best European troops in organization and discipline. Ibrahim Pasha has much improved his system, by inducing European officers of merit to enter his service. The forces of the Egyptian army, upon the ordinary footing, consists of 111,000 men, namely,—

Infantry, regular.	
One regiment of guards	2,400
Fourteen regiments of the line	45,600
	48,000
Cavalry.	
Regular, (eight regiments)	6,000
Irregular	24,000
	30,000
Artillery.	
Regular	2,400
Irregular	2,000
	4,400
Sappers and miners	1,200
Military pupils	2,400
Total	86,000

If we add to these two last numbers the amount of the extraordinary levies made during the last war with the Porte, namely— 60,000

We have for the total of the army on the footing of war 171,000

In the 60,000 men of the extraordinary levies made in the last campaign against the Turks, were comprised people from Upper and Lower Egypt, Syria, &c.—*Mémorial Encyclopedique.*

Exports from St. Petersburg in the year 1833.—The following are the most prominent articles:—Copper, 212,720 poods; iron, 828,955; hemp, 1,980,668; flax, 246,911; cordage, 230,474; potass, 475,996; linseed oil, 201,244; tallow, 1,083,657; candles, 36,358, wax, 9233; soap, 8077; isinglass, 5625: leather, 129,602; wool, 58,512; hogs' bristles, 64,020, horsehair, 23,924; feathers, 29,708; spices and drugs, 18,741; mats, 132,003; cloths, 208,470; table linen, 984,100; packing cloths, 1,619,385 archines; linseed, 58,369 tchetverts; and deals, 2,181,562.

Exports from the Cape of Good Hope.—According to an official document published at the Cape, it appears that the value of colonial produce exported to Great Britain during the months of October, November, and December, 1833, amounted to 24,916*l.*; to St. Helena, 2,953*l.*; to the Mauritius, 8,443*l.*; to the East Indies, 663*l.*; to South America, 2,208*l*; to New South Wales, 5,137*l*; to Hamburgh, 240*l.*; to Java, 1,457*l.*; and to the Island of Ascension, 200*l.*;—making altogether a total value of 46,217*l.* of goods exported during the quarter. Besides the goods of colonial produce so disposed of, it appears that articles not of colonial produce were exported during the same period to Great Britain to the amount of 915*l.*, to St. Helena 406*l.*, to the East Indies 175*l.*, to the Mauritius 1,822*l.*, to South America 188*l.* to New South Wales 1,969*l.*, and to Java 237*l.*,—making altogether 5,712*l.*, and showing the export of goods generally to have amounted during the quarter to 52,129*l.*

Silver Mines of Konigsberg.—The 'Frankfort Gazette' states, after accounts from Stockholm, that the silver mines of Konigsberg have of late acquired considerable importance. The produce in the year 1830 was only 800,200 marks, whereas that of 1833 exceeded 45,000 marks, of pure silver. The average amount of each year's produce, after defraying all expenses, is about 309,423 specie-dollars; 3,000 or 4,000 men were formerly employed in these works, now 300 or 400 are sufficient.

Bankruptcy Analysis from March 21, *to April* 22.—Baker, 1. Bill-broker, 1. Booksellers, 3. Brewer, 1. Brick-maker, 1. Builder, 1. Butcher, 1. Chemist and Druggist, 1. Clothier, 1. Coach Maker, 1. Coach Proprietor, 1. Coal Merchants, 4. Commission Agent, 1. Confectioner, 1. Corn Merchant, 1. Cutler, 1. Dealer, 1. Drapers, 2. Embroiderer, 1. Fellmongers, 3. Fishmonger, 1. Foreign Warehouseman, 1. Glover, 1. Grocers, 5. Haberdasher, 1. Hatter, 1. Iron Manufacturer, 1. Ironmongers, 3. Jewellers, 2. Laceman, 1. Linen Draper, 1. Maltsters, 2. Mealman, 1. Merchants, 2. Millers, 3. Oil Merchant, 1. Scrivener, 1. Shoemakers, 2. Shopkeeper, 1. Silver Plater, 1. Silversmith, 1. Surgeon, 1. Tailor, 1. Timber Merchants, 3. Tobacconist, 1. Upholsterer, 1. Victuallers, 6. Watchmaker, 1. Wine Merchants, 3. Wool Stapler, 1.—Total, 81. Total, from the commencement of the year, 350.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

In consequence of the vacation, only three Reports have been issued since our last. They are numbered from Eight to Ten, and extend from the 12th to the 21st of March.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For the repeal of the Union	103	72,748
Against the Hertford Disfranchisement Bill	1	326
Against Liverpool Freemen Bill	6	9,066
Ecclesiastical.		
For Abolition of Tithes in Ireland	126	92,404
For Commutation of Tithes	32	13,356
Against Lay Patronage in Scotland	94	65,525
For relief of Protestant Dissenters	473	100,577
In favour of the Established Church	74	11,362
For reform in ———	2	470
Against the Union of Church and State	4	13,041
For the better observance of the Lord's Day	106	25,223
Against the Bishops' sitting in the House of Lords	3	1071
Taxes.		
Against the malt tax	93	17,701
For repeal of the Corn-Laws	14	104,198
Against alteration in the Corn-Laws	64	16,444
Against the house and window taxes	11	1,062
For alteration in the Poor-Laws	4	521
For repeal of the Beer Act	6	377
Miscellaneous.		
Hand-loom weavers, for measures of relief	9	13,705
Agriculturists ——— ———	39	10,655
For alteration in Corporations	5	10,899
Concerning the Dublin and Kingston Ship-canal	2	7,994
Against the employment of Chimney Sweepers	9	1,933
Against Imprisonment for Debt	3	318
In behalf of Mr. Cohen	5	865
Other miscellaneous Petitions reported since our last publication	75	4,391

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR APRIL, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The first half of the month of April passed in this country without having been marked by any political events. Parliament re-assembled, after the recess, on Tuesday the 14th. The business in the House of Lords consisted merely in the presentation of a few petitions. In the Commons, after the house had resolved itself into a committee of supply, the miscellaneous estimates for the year were brought forward by Mr. Spring Rice. The amount voted under this head had in 1831 been 3,346,000*l.*; which was reduced in 1832 to 2,750,000*l.*, and in 1833 to 2,258,000*l.* The present vote exhibited a reduction of 234,000*l.* upon this last sum; the entire amount now being only 2,024,000*l.* or 1,322,000*l.* under the sum voted in 1831.

The first proposition upon which any discussion arose, was that for a grant of 11,550*l.* to purchase two pictures by Correggio, for the National Gallery. With scarcely an exception, however, all the speakers expressed themselves strongly in favour of the grant. Mr. Warburton remarked, that if any pictures were purchased for the National Gallery, they should be such as, like the two pictures in this instance, had obtained a high and well-known character throughout Europe. It was afterwards stated by Mr. Rice, that since the first purchase of pictures by the public in this country, there had been given to the state, by private individuals, pictures to the value of 67,000*l.* Sir Robert Peel said that an excellent bargain had been made for the public in the purchase of these two pictures, which were two of the finest works of art in the world. He did not believe that there were twenty pictures in existence finer than those two. Some remarks were also made on the intended appropriation of a part of the new National Gallery to the use of the Royal Academy. It was stated by ministers, that the Academy would not be understood to acquire any right of possession in the rooms that might be allotted to them; but that, should they be afterwards removed in consequence of all the space being required for the pictures belonging to the public, it would probably be considered equitable and expedient that they should be provided with apartments elsewhere.

An interesting conversation also arose on the motion for a grant of 20,000*l.* to enable his Majesty to issue money for the erection of school-houses, in aid of private subscriptions, for the education of the poorer classes. Mr. Hawes stated that the effect of a similar grant voted last session had been to produce subscriptions from private individuals to no less an amount than 60,000*l.* According to Mr. Rice the public grant of 20,000*l.* had occasioned a total expenditure of 48,111*l.*, by which permanent means of instruction had been provided for 30,366 children. The right honourable gentleman further remarked, that the suggestion which had been thrown out for the establishment of normal schools, that is, of schools for the professional education of teachers, was one that, in his opinion, well deserved to be adopted; and that he hoped his noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would authorize him, before the close of the present session, to make some proposition to the House on the subject.

On the 15th, Mr. Roebuck brought forward his motion for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the political condition of the Canadas. The honourable member introduced his proposition in an elaborate speech, in which he endeavoured to show that the province of Lower Canada was in such a state of exasperation and disturbance as approached nearly to open revolt. He did not, however, bring forward any facts to make it appear that this state of things extended to the other province; and Mr. Stanley, in his reply, also contended, that even in reference to the portion of the colony to which the statements that had been addressed to the House were in some degree applicable, they were greatly exaggerated. Mr. Roebuck finally withdrew his motion, and a Committee was appointed "to inquire and report to the House how far the grievances complained of, in the year 1828, on the part of certain inhabitants of Lower Canada, have been redressed."

In the latter part of the evening, Lord Althorp laid before the House the ministerial scheme for the commutation of tithes. We have detailed the leading provisions of this proposed measure in another place. The resolution moved by Lord Althorp was carried after a short debate; and the bill founded upon it has since been brought in.

On the 16th, in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor, in moving for certain returns on the subject of education, entered at considerable length into the existing state of popular education in this country, and into the defence of his own conduct in having abandoned the principle which he had formerly advocated, of a system of general education to be established and maintained by the state. He contended, on a comparison of returns which he had obtained from different parts of the kingdom in 1818, with others obtained in 1833-4, that such a progress was actually making in the multiplication of schools by the voluntary exertions of the public, that it was both unnecessary and would be inexpedient for the legislature to interfere in the matter. He intimated, however, that he should have no objection to the institution, by the state, of normal schools, such as existed in France and Prussia; but with this exception, he expressed himself of opinion, that an occasional small grant, like those voted in the last and the present session, in aid of private subscriptions, was all the aid or encouragement to the education of the people that the government could properly or safely offer. We think that, admitting the increase in the number of schools to be as great as is assumed, his lordship infers too much from that fact, when he takes it as a satisfactory proof that popular education is proceeding, in all respects, as well as could be desired. At the most, it only goes to show that probably more children are taught now, than were taught fifteen years ago, to read, write, and cipher. It is no evidence of any extension of the higher and only valuable education bestowed upon all classes in Prussia and France. His lordship acknowledged, indeed, that his returns threw no light upon the description of education received at the schools which appeared to be so fast increasing in number. "It was to be recollected," he remarked, "that all was not gold which glittered; so all was not education which looked like it. There might be schools well planted, many children might appear to darken the doors in a morning as they entered, and their busy hum might be heard

within the walls throughout the day, and they might flock around as they departed at the eventide; yet, for want of attention being paid to the means of education, no great benefit might result." The subject, however, is undoubtedly surrounded with considerable difficulties.

In the course of this evening, Lord John Russell stated in the House of Commons, in answer to an inquiry by Colonel Evans, that it was the fixed intention of the government to persevere in pressing the local courts' bill, and the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt, through parliament during the present session.

On the 17th Lord Althorp explained to the House the plans of the government on the important subject of the reform of the poor-laws, and obtained leave to bring in a bill to carry his propositions into effect. We refer the reader to a preceding page for an analysis of this bill. It has since been read a first time and printed; but has not yet undergone any formal discussion. An interesting debate then took place on a motion by Colonel Williams, for an address requesting his Majesty to signify his pleasure to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that they should no longer demand from persons taking degrees (except in divinity) any declaration of conformity to the Church of England. This motion, however, was afterwards withdrawn, on Mr. G. W. Wood moving for leave to bring in a bill to effect the same object. Mr. Wood's proposition was strongly opposed by different members; but on the division the numbers were 185 for, and only 44 against it. The bill accordingly has since been brought in.

On the 18th a message having been received from his Majesty communicating the intention entertained of taking measures for regulating and limiting the numbers of the members of the several orders of the Bath, it was moved in committee by Mr. Stanley that compensation should be made out of the consolidated fund to certain officers of the order who would be deprived of their fees under the new arrangements. This proposition gave rise to a short debate, but it was eventually assented to. Afterwards in a committee of supply a grant of 8,978*l.* was moved for Maynooth College, and warmly opposed by several members; but it was carried on a division by a majority of 137 to 11.

On Monday the 21st, the presentation by the Duke of Gloucester of a petition signed by 258 members of the senate of the University of Cambridge against the admission of Dissenters to degrees, gave rise to a long and animated debate. A similar petition was presented at the early sitting of the House of Commons by Mr. Goulburn. In the evening Lord Althorp brought forward the ministerial plan for the extinction of church-rates, which we have explained elsewhere. In the debate which ensued, the members representing the opinions of the Dissenters expressed in general only a very qualified approbation of the measure. This evening, also, the Hertford borough bill was read a third time and passed.

During the remainder of this week, at the close of which we now write, the House of Commons has been occupied in the discussion of a motion made by Mr. O Connell on Tuesday, for a select committee to inquire into the means by which the Union with Ireland was effected, the effects it has produced, and the consequences of continuing it. The debate, although it has been four times adjourned, is not yet concluded.

FRANCE.

The association suppression bill passed the Chamber of Deputies, at the end of March, by a majority of 246 to 154.

The Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 176 to 168, annulled a treaty concluded in 1831 by the Duke de Broglie and General Sebastiani, and refused to grant the sum which the ministry were pledged to pay to the United States as an indemnity for the injuries inflicted during the last war, by the French upon American ships and commerce. The sum agreed to, as full compensation did not exceed one million sterling.

After having strenuously but vainly laboured to procure from the Chamber the ratification of his arrangement, De Broglie (as minister of foreign affairs) resigned. His example was followed by Sebastiani, who was a member of the cabinet without having any portfolio, or especial duties.

After these resignations the ministry was re-modelled.

Among the recent prosecutions of the press, the editor of the 'Gazette de France,' a Carlist paper, has been tried for a libel on Louis Philippe—for styling the young Duke of Bordeaux Henry V.—and for calling in question the legality of paying taxes to the existing government. Moved by the evident weakness and imbecility of this party, the jury have given an acquittal.

M. Lionne, the editor of the 'Tribune,' the most stirring and violent of a party which is acknowledged by all France to be much more formidable than the 'Carlist,' has been visited with more severity. For a libel on the subject of political associations, and for espousing and encouraging the cause of the Mutuellistes and revolted workmen of Lyons, he has been condemned to five years' imprisonment, and to a fine of about 1000*l.* The office where the tribune was printed has also been sealed, and government has withdrawn the printer's patent, without which he cannot prosecute his calling.

Certain discussions in the Chambers on the affairs of Algiers, have fully proved that the occupation of that place and its dependencies is a losing concern—that it costs enormous sums to the French nation who derive no benefit from it; while the native population, whether Moors, Arabs, or Kabyles, are in all respects in an infinitely worse situation, than they were in under the old Dey.

In our last monthly retrospect we announced with pleasure that the workmen had returned to their occupations, and that riots had ceased at Lyons. A few days later, however, that unfortunate city became the scene of horrors and desolation almost equal to those it sustained under the French Republic and Collot d'Herbois in 1793. It has been once more the arena of a frightful civil war—barricades have been raised—blood has flowed in torrents in the streets—the courts of justice have been closed, and all business and industry interrupted for more than a week in this, the second city of France.

On the 5th of April, when some of the workmen were to be tried for former riots, or for their connexion with the illegal society called the Mutuellistes, which aimed not merely at imposing laws on their (the workmen's) employers but at prescribing a new form of government for France, the deplorable disturbances commenced. At an early hour an immense throng beset the court of justice, which was also soon crowded by angry men, who interrupted the proceedings by their clamours, while the shouts and threats of the mob without, meant for intimidation, rendered the voices of lawyers, prisoners, and witnesses, almost inaudible. Thus circumstanced the president of the court proposed that the hall, at least should be cleared, and the trial carried on with closed doors. Such a measure was opposed by the procureur du Roi, and by the groans and hisses of the mass of the audience. The discussions which ensued ended by postponing the trial until the 9th of April.

When the court broke up, the crowd without made a violent attack on the witnesses who had deposed against the Mutuellist prisoners.

Lawyers in their gowns, (French lawyers do not wear wigs) rushed into the midst of the mob to protect these witnesses, and even the Procureur du Roi collared one of the rioters. No call was made on the military, and the judicial and civil authorities were evidently anxious to prevent any violent collision. But during this unseemly turmoil, a brigadier of gensdarmes was heard to say, that if he had but forty men like himself, he would presently reduce the *canaille* to order. He had scarcely uttered the words when a host of workmen set upon him, tore off his order from his breast, his aiguilettes from his shoulders, seized his sabre, and with insulting expressions threw it into the river. The officer was saved from being torn to pieces himself by some respectable citizens, who took him into one of their houses and defended him there. The ill-timed bravado of this man was, undoubtedly, a great provocation to the people, while the treatment he received was, of a nature to exasperate *all* soldiers, and the French, who have such high notions of military dignity, most especially. This little incident, added to one or two others, contributed greatly to inflame the fury of both parties, who, in the end, fought most mercilessly against each other.

As the crowd would not disperse, the proper authorities at length gave orders that some infantry of the line should advance to the large square, where the Court of Justice is situated. A company marched up with fixed bayonets, but the workmen saluted the common soldiers as brothers, and remained quiet. A second company then advanced in

the same manner, yet still no collision took place. On the contrary, parts of the multitude quietly withdrew, and others placed refreshments for the troops before the doors of the wine-houses. Seeing all quiet, the officers ordered them to remove their fixed bayonets, and then the soldiers partook of what was offered to them.

At this spectacle, some of the more timid citizens of Lyons expressed their fears that the troops were gained over by the associations, and would not act against the workmen. The officers in command seem never to have entertained any apprehensions of the sort. Before evening, every thing was tranquil in Lyons.

On the following day, however (the 6th of April), there was a great deal of excitement, occasioned by the funeral of a chairman of a Mutuellist club. The members of the Society of the Rights of Man, and other associations, attended in great numbers. Intemperate speeches were made over the grave by workmen, and money was collected for men wounded or taken prisoners during the preceding disturbances. The mourners retired, singing Republican songs, which they continued to do during the greater part of the night. An officer and a platoon were reviled and taunted with being the tools of traitors and of tyrants.

Two days of comparative calm then succeeded, but on the morning of the 9th, the day fixed for the continuation of the interrupted trial, at about eleven o'clock, an immense mass of armed men arrived and presently filled the large *place* or square of St. Jean, which had been almost empty a few minutes before. An orator arose out of this mass, and read a paper declaring Louis Philippe to be no longer king, and proclaiming a republic for France, the head of which was to be, naturally, the city of Lyons.

Both the military and the civil authorities present seem agreed in stating that the first musket was fired by the insurgents, but this is denied by the opposition newspapers. To us the question does not appear important. From the decided military manner in which the deluded workmen came to the scene of action, and from other circumstances, it was evident that theirs was not a mere demonstration—that the soldiers must either fight against part of their fellow-citizens, or leave the whole of the south of France a prey to another revolution. We deplore the carnage that ensued, but we cannot see how bloodshed could have been avoided.

A few words with respect to the localities may aid our readers in understanding the nature of the contest, and *how* it could be so long maintained by the workmen. Lyons, which, with its suburbs of Croix Rousse, La Guillotière, La Favoniere, &c., contains a population of 190,000 souls, is situated at the junction of the rivers Rhône and Saone. The Saone, a broad, deep, and rapid stream, traverses it in its length, and the Rhone washes other parts of the city. Bridges across these rivers afford communication between different parts of the city and the suburbs, and hence these bridges were obstinately contested by the troops and the workmen. On both sides of the river there are *places*, or free, open squares, upon the greater part of which several streets open from different points. Through these streets the insurgents could make their approaches on the *places* where the troops were deployed, and through them they could retire when beaten. A sad experience taught the soldiers not to follow them through those streets, which are, for the greater part, long, narrow, and crooked, with strong stone houses of five or six stories, and with numerous windows, on either side. This is particularly the case in the old part of the town, which is the manufacturing district, where the workmen made their longest stand.

If General Aymar, to whom this difficult command fell, had engaged his troops in these streets at first, he would have been defeated as surely as Marmont was beaten in Paris in 1830. Added to these features, which render Lyons a critical ground for such operations as the troops had to perform, several of the suburbs are on eminences rising from the banks of the rivers, and are not only very defensible positions, but gird in and command a great portion of the town. Now the workmen were in possession of La Guillotière and most of these places from the commencement of the affair, the number of the troops employed being by no means adequate to keep them all, and to defend the interior of the city.

On the first day (April 9th) the conflict began in one of the large squares. The workmen were beaten off at the first attack, and the prefect, or chief magistrate, seeing that they were raising barricades on all sides, ordered the troops to advance upon those in some of the more *open* streets. The soldiery succeeded in destroying those they marched upon, notwithstanding a murderous fire. A condensed and serious action took place in the square of the prefecture. The workmen intrenched themselves in an unfinished but strong building, whence they were dislodged only by artillery. Even after they had fled from this point, two other buildings of still greater strength remained to be reduced by cannon-ball and shells before the troops were masters of this part of the town. At one large house, which was filled from the ground floor to the attic with workmen, who fired with all the precision of riflemen, many were killed, and a considerable number made prisoners. The prisoners almost to a man came out of the house besmeared with blood and blackened with gunpowder.

At the same time, hard fighting was going on at several of the bridges, in the Place des Terreaux, and at the school of Croix Rousse. For five hours the cannon and musketry scarcely ceased for a minute. On most points the insurgents were obliged to retire, and they passed the night as if it had been one of repose after their usual labours in the factories, without making any new effort.

On the second day they not only maintained their ground within the city, but increased their number and their barricades.

On the third day they drove the troops from some of the suburbs they had occupied, destroyed two telegraphs, and nearly succeeded in cutting off General Aymar's communications. This was the critical moment. Paris was in consternation from the non-arrival of telegraphic intelligence; and it appears certain that the general was for a short time in doubt whether he should not withdraw his troops from Lyons.

On the fourth day, however, affairs wore a very different aspect. By a succession of rapid and well-concentrated movements, the troops, after long and desperate fighting, remained completely victorious except in the heart of the old town, whither the insurgents retired, and shut themselves up in the strong lofty houses.

Though beaten and disheartened—though the victory was decided—these desperate men kept up the insurrection until the 15th of April, when it was finally suppressed, and the city was restored to a sad tranquillity.

Many years must pass before Lyons can recover from the losses and injuries she has sustained. The workmen attacked and destroyed the property in the houses of all the merchants and manufacturers who were unpopular with them. The best of the public edifices, the Hôtel de Ville or Town Hall, the fine old cathedral, and several other churches, before the very altars of which the struggles of despair were prolonged, have been almost entirely ruined. The elegant modern dwelling-houses and hotels on the Place de Bellecour have been rent and riddled with cannon-balls and shot, and nearly every part of the town and suburbs bears equally melancholy evidence of what has happened.

The loss between killed and wounded sustained by the troops is stated at 2000, and it is calculated that from 6000 to 8000 of the insurgents have been killed or wounded.

The cannonading had not ceased at Lyons when another attempt was made to render Paris also the scene of civil warfare. The arguments of the republican journalists, the loudly expressed sympathy of a certain portion of the inhabitants of the capital for the cause of the workmen at Lyons, the uncertainty as to how and when that struggle might terminate, and the well-known desperation of a faction, had all rendered it incumbent on the government to strengthen the garrison of Paris. We cannot see why Louis Philippe was to be blamed for doing this at such a crisis, or even for reviewing, as he did, on the morning of the 13th of April, the troops that had been concentrated—for this review was intended to prevent an insurrection by an exhibition of the overpowering force the king had at command, and ready to act. Some of our newspaper writers, however, lay the entire blame of what happened upon this review, and upon the king and government.

On Sunday the 13th of April, the *émeute* began at two o'clock in the afternoon, on some of the quays on the Seine, and in the Place du Chatelet, whence it soon spread to the populous streets of St. Martin and St. Denis. The immediate cause of the explosion is said to have been the arrest in the streets of two or three riotous individuals. By six in the evening, a crowd of workmen from the quarters of the

Marais and the Fauxbourgs had prepared themselves for violence. They began their operations by taking up the pavement of the streets, seizing omnibuses, coaches, and cabriolets, to convert into barricades, and by attempting to gain possession of the windows of the houses from which to fire on the troops; but they had not in their favour, as they *had* in 1830, the general good wishes or indifference of the inhabitants of Paris, which alone can render such tactics available against well-organized troops in proper numbers.

Before nine o'clock, 20,000 regular troops and 20,000 national guards were under arms. During the night, numbers of the national guards came in from the Banlieux of Paris, which have been distinguished these several years by a good spirit, and love of peace and order. There was some fighting on both sides of the Seine, and the affair lingered on throughout the night; but as day broke, and disclosed the force of the troops and artillery brought against them, the insurgents abandoned all their barricades, and confusedly retreated to obscure houses in narrow streets and alleys, where they were soon blockaded on all sides, and compelled to surrender. We regret to say that several acts of cruel vengeance were committed on the insurgents, not so much, it should appear, by the regular troops as by the national guards, who had suffered severely, and had heard of several of their fellow-citizens and companions in arms being massacred in cold blood by the mob. It is said they confounded, in their rage, the innocent with the guilty; and this is very probable, and indeed a natural consequence of such a system of warfare.

Though the horrors were insignificant compared with those of Lyons, during the night of Sunday, and Monday morning, Paris presented some dreadful scenes. When the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres rode to the scene of action at an early hour in the morning, they were hailed by the troops and the national guards, but some of the insurgents deliberately fired at them from a window. The king, after reviewing a large body of troops in the Place de Carousel, rode to the disturbed quarters about noon, but before he arrived the insurgents were disposed of. By Monday evening, nearly 40,000 regular troops of all kinds, besides national guards, whose steadiness and fidelity admitted of no doubt, were at Paris and the suburbs.

In concluding its account of the success of the government, one of the Paris papers ('Le Temps') says, "May God grant that this triumph of order may not cost us too much of our liberty!" We join in this prayer with all our hearts; but it ought to be impressed on the minds of the French people, that liberty and order must be alike exposed unless they can prevent these perennial attempts of a party, representing no very large portion of the public, to change the government by force.

Besides the numerous prisoners taken with arms in their hands, many have been arrested in Paris since the conflict. These men are not to be tried by the usual courts and by juries, but by a special commission appointed by the Chamber of Peers.

As a further woful consequence of the events we have hastily sketched, Marshal Soult, the war minister, insists on the necessity of raising the army to 360,000 foot and 65,000 horse; and, in addition to the heavy sums already granted for that part of the service, he demands fourteen and a half millions of francs for the year 1834, and twenty-two and a half millions for 1835.

The task of making new laws for the repression and punishment of future insurrections has been allotted to M. Persil, who is likely to err on the side of severity rather than on that of moderation.

SPAIN.

ALTHOUGH a body of Carlists surprised and entered the city of Vittoria, where they massacred 196 prisoners, their party seems rather to have lost than gained ground. They could not maintain themselves in Vittoria, and that *coup-de-main* produced no military results.

Impelled, it is supposed, by poverty, the queen-regent has begun church-reforming. This, in Spain, is a critical subject to touch, yet, as far as government has hitherto proceeded, their measures appear wise and moderate. The queen-regent's decree states,

1. That the provision for all prebendaries, canonries, and other ecclesiastical bodies not immediately connected with the cure of souls, shall be suspended.

2. That the revenues of those that become vacant are to be exclusively applied, in the terms of the papal bulls on the subject, to the extinction of the national debt.

3. That government reserves to itself the faculty of disposing of individual benefices for the purpose of rewarding such eminent services as may be rendered either to church, or state, or education.

The cabinet still finds difficulties in raising such a loan as is indispensable to the wants of the country. In spite of the Carlist insurgents in the provinces, Madrid remains perfectly quiet, the good citizens seeming almost indifferent to the petty partisan warfare. M. Sarmento, the envoy from Donna Maria, has been well received at court, and the amicable relations between the young Queen of Portugal and the Regent of Spain seem now to be much strengthened and more declared. By recent intelligence fresh troops were to march to the Portuguese frontiers, and a corps of 2000 men was to make another irruption in search of Don Carlos. M. Perez de Castro, a distinguished Spaniard, has been nominated minister to the court of Donna Maria.

The long expected royal statute for the convocation of the Cortes was at last published on the 13th of April. It is a singular omission, that, among all its details, it does not fix the date when this body, or rather these bodies, shall meet. It is expected, however, that an express decree will determine this at an early period. The statute seems to give satisfaction to all moderate Spaniards.

The general Cortes are to be composed of two Estamentos or Estates, viz. the Proceres, or Peers, and the Procuradores, or Deputies of the Kingdom.

The Estate of Peers is to consist of the archbishops and bishops of Spain, the grandees of Spain, the *titulos* of Castile, of an undetermined number of men illustrious by the employment they have held as ministers, ambassadors, generals, judges, &c., and by their previous services to their country; of landed proprietors and great merchants and manufacturers, who have an annual income of 70,000 reals, and who have been previously deputies of the kingdom; of public teachers and professors, and cultivators of science and literature, who have acquired celebrity, and possess an annual income of 70,000 reals, whether derivable from private property or a salary paid by the state.

All must have completed twenty-five years before they can take their seats.

Among the grounds of exclusion is the existence of any mortgage on the estates of the grandees!

The Estate of Deputies is to be composed of persons freely chosen according to the law of elections.

Every deputy must be a native of the kingdom, or the son of Spanish parents; he must be thirty years old, have an annual income of 12,000 reals, and must be born in the province for which he is named, or must have resided in it at least two years previously to his election; he must also possess within the province, either in town or country, property which shall produce half the income necessary to a deputy. Here, again, no proprietor whose estates are encumbered with mortgage is eligible.

By chapter 5, article 24, it is established that the right of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving the Cortes, shall belong exclusively to the sovereign.

By article 31 of the same chapter, it is decreed, that the Cortes shall not have the right of deliberating on any subject which shall not be expressly submitted to their examination in virtue of a royal decree. But a supplementary article provides that this is not to prejudice the right which always *was* exercised by the national Cortes of *offering petitions to the sovereign.*

The sessions of both houses are to be public, except in certain cases to be defined by their own regulations.

PORTUGAL.

No great or decisive movements have been made by the Pedroites, who have, however, gained some minor advantages, for the best of which they are indebted to Admiral Napier.

That distinguished officer, among other places on the northern coast of Portugal, has taken Caminha, Viana, and Valença do Minho; and it is probable that before this he has made himself master of Figueira, a sea-port through which the Miguelites have frequently received supplies.

Castello Branco, a strong town and the capital of a province, Monte-Alegre in Tras os Montes, and some other

towns, have spontaneously declared themselves for the constitution and the young queen.

In the south the queen's troops under Bernard da Sa sustained a check. A division of the constitutional army advanced from St. Ube's, and took the important town of Alcacer da Sa, without meeting with any resistance.

Two thousand men from Oporto planted the queen's colours on Braga, but they only gained possession of an empty town. Nearly all the inhabitants had run away, carrying their property with them.

We hear no more talk of the Portuguese Cortes. Will the example of the queen-regent of Spain hasten its convocation? But the Cortes of Portugal can scarcely be complete until the Miguelites are dispossessed of all the towns and districts they still hold or control.

It is asserted that considerable numbers of Spanish Carlists have entered Portugal in aid of Dons Miguel and Carlos.

BELGIUM.

We regret to state that Brussels has been again disgraced by riot, plunder, and barbarous destruction.

When the Dutch government was overthrown by the revolution of 1830, among other things retained by the Belgians were several fine English horses, the property of the Prince of Orange. It was lately resolved to dispose of these horses by a public sale, and this was thought a proper opportunity by some of the Flemish nobility to show their respect to the son of their late king, or their own liberality, in restoring what they might have considered as indelicately appropriated by their countrymen. Accordingly they entered into a subscription for the purpose, bought up the horses, and sent them to the Dutch court at the Hague.

Although party spirit may have had much to do in this liberality, still we think, that so far there was nothing to blame on the side of these nobles; but it certainly was, at the least, imprudent for them to publish, as they did a few days after, and when the Belgians were much excited by the military promenades of the Dutch on their frontiers, an advertisement calling upon the friends of the House of Nassau to join in a subscription in order to make up part of the amount of their outlay. This conduct, however, cannot excuse what followed.

The populace of Brussels having obtained, by means of the advertisement, a clue to the individuals who had taken part in these proceedings, rose tumultuously on the 5th of April, and broke into the houses of the Prince de Ligne, the Duke d'Ursel, and fourteen other gentlemen designated as being of the Orange party. The destruction of furniture, pictures, and other valuable property, was continued during the next day, though 3,000 infantry, and 1,500 of the king's body guards, were in the city all the time.

The conduct, the negligence, or the connivance (for it has been called both) of Leopold and his government has been severely criticised, and turned to party purposes; but the king was placed in embarrassing circumstances, for which allowances ought to be made, and policy as well as humanity might have prevented him from employing the military against the people.

When the king went out at the head of his troops to show that no such extreme violence was contemplated, he advanced only accompanied by a few officers, and spoke with the rioters. They received him with the loudest acclamations, and soon after, and without bloodshed, the city was restored to tranquillity.

The government has recently expelled from the country, on twenty-four hours' notice, several foreign residents at Brussels, who had in different manners rendered themselves obnoxious.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS.

Nov. 16. By the Canton papers which come down to this date, it appears that the distress occasioned by the violent overflowing of the waters, and incessant rains, was not confined to Canton alone, but was felt generally throughout the country. The city of Chin-chow had been almost entirely destroyed, 18,000 houses having been swept away by the water from the mountains bursting through a ravine upon the town. Numerous persons were drowned on the occasion. A forced subscription had been ordered by the government to alleviate the distress of the lower orders, and to repair the different embankments. The several companies were called upon for sums in proportion to their capitals; the Hong merchants were rated at 80,000 dollars; the silk and cotton merchants, as well as the salt-merchants, at 40,000; the government collecting altogether a sum of about 1,600,000 dollars. The local authorities had solicited the government to open the granaries for public use, as a famine was much apprehended, but no answer had been returned up to the date of the advices.

Dec. 18. Letters and papers from Bombay to this date state that the insurrectionary movement still continued in Gwalior; and, if the accounts are to be relied on, had assumed a threatening aspect, for it is stated that no less than 30,000 insurgents were under arms, with forty pieces of ordnance. Nine regiments of regular troops had been sent against them, under the command of Colonel Baptist, who had succeeded in restoring partial tranquillity; but, as the number of the riotous and discontented was so superior, much apprehension was entertained for a continuance of it. The Rajahs of Uncara and Bhoondee are said to have been preparing considerable forces to arrange, by force of arms, some misunderstanding which existed between them. Lucknow had again been visited by the cholera, where, during one week, no less than 1,200 persons fell victims to it.

Jan. 16. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the newly-appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, arrived there this day, and was received with all the honours due to his rank. On being sworn in, the king's commission was read, which stated that in future all governors of the Cape were to be assisted by a legislative and executive assembly; the former to consist of not less than ten nor more than twelve persons, exclusive of the governor, of whom five should at all times be persons holding appointments within the settlement. The five official persons were to be the officer of the forces next in command to the governor, the colonial secretary, the treasurer, auditor, and attorney-general; the others, to be named by the governor, were to be landed proprietors or merchants who had been at least two years in the colony. The executive council was to be composed of the official persons above-mentioned, without any other addition. This intelligence had given general satisfaction throughout the settlement, as it was looked upon as an earnest of a free and liberal legislative assembly being established in the colony.

26. By accounts from the Cape of Good Hope to this date, we learn that a meeting of the principal colonists had been held for the purpose of drawing up a petition to his Majesty, praying that a settlement might be made at Port Natal, on the eastern coast of Africa, the vicinity of which is stated to be peculiarly favourable for agricultural undertakings, while its proximity to the sea, and its position as regarded the neighbouring tribes, afforded the means of carrying on to a considerable extent an internal and external trade. The petition was unanimously agreed to.

Feb. 3. The correspondent of the 'Times' at Alexandria, in a letter of this date, says, that Mehemet Ali has at last created a military power capable of withstanding the attacks of the Sultan. In the arsenal, as well as among the troops, the utmost activity continues, as if a new conflict was not far distant. It is said that to a demand for his disarming, Mehemet Ali has declared his willingness to begin, provided he receives a guarantee from France or Great Britain that he is not to be attacked either by the Sultan or the Autocrat. Ibrahim Pacha was expected to arrive in Egypt immediately. The Syrians are described as dissatisfied with his rule, and the example of Aleppo is quoted, where, when he ordered a levy, the people offered money to be exempted—he took the money, and then ordered the levy. This act is said to have produced exasperation and revolt, which ended with executions of the ringleaders. Mehemet Ali's troops have been successful in the Hedjaz. There is a report in circulation respecting the loss of a vessel in the Red Sea, having on board a number of officers, among whom were several Europeans, designed for an expedition carried on against some part of Arabia. The city of Bagdad is now blockaded by the neighbouring Arab tribes, and reduced to the greatest straits from want of provisions. There are numbers of refugees at Alexandria eager for employment, from Poland, Naples, and Piedmont, and also some French Carlists. Mehemet Ali published a notice some time since, that he could not employ the Polish refugees. This was attributed to a wish to conciliate Russia, and General Dembinski, whose acceptance of employment from the viceroy is stated to have arisen from a wish to serve his countrymen, has resigned, and is now about to return to France, accompanied by some Poles lately arrived. Mehemet Ali having paid 5000 purses to the Sultan, under the name of a present, the latter demands 30,000 additional, as arrears of taxes due to the Porte. There are 7000 ready, which may be sent if tranquillity be preserved in the East between the Great Powers. Mehemet Ali professes to be content with his present position as "a tributary," not "a subject" to the Porte; but his immense preparations would seem to indicate that he waits but a favourable opportunity of declaring his independence, and leaving the Turks to their fate separately, while he establishes an Arab-Egyptian dynasty.

15. The opposition party in the parliament of Lower Canada has assumed a very bold attitude in reference to the government. A call of the House was made on this day, when seventy resolutions were proposed, strongly condemnatory of the proceedings of Lord Aylmer the governor, and of the despatches of Mr. Stanley. The extracts from these despatches, which had been laid before the House, are characterized as insulting and inconsiderate to such a degree that no legally constituted body, although its functions were infinitely inferior to those of legislation, could or ought to tolerate them. Subsequently nine articles of impeachment against Lord Aylmer were added to the above seventy, and a vote to moderate their warmth was negatived by 52 to 19. When the last accounts left Quebec, twenty-three of the resolutions had been adopted in a committee of the whole House.

— Resolutions against the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank have passed the Senate at Washington, with only one dissentient voice: but the President still remains inflexible, and is supported by the House of Representatives.

March 4. The steam-boat 'William Penn,' plying between New York and Baltimore, when nearly opposite the Point House, was discovered to be on fire. Every exertion was made to stop the progress of the flames, which spread with great rapidity from the fire-room, and soon communicated to the fuel. The boat was then run on shore, and the passengers, amounting to 140 or 150, jumped overboard. The scene presented was one of inexpressible dismay, and three lives were lost; a lady, a clergyman, and an officer, who all jumped overboard abaft the wheel-house, where the water was deep, were drowned. The passengers all suffered severely from the nature of the landing, it being very soft mud.

5. A boat belonging to Findochty, in the parish of Rathven, was lost on the coast of Caithness. Five widows and thirteen helpless children are thereby left in very destitute and pitiable circumstances.

11. Five villages in the district of Neuschlos, near Gratz, were destroyed by fire. It broke out in the village of Oberpremstetten, and a terrible hurricane prevailing at the time, the flames spread to four neighbouring villages. The most strenuous exertions failed in arresting the fury of the conflagration. Only a few houses escaped, which lay out of the direction of the wind: 128 houses, with their stables and barns, are reduced to a heap of ruins No lives, however, were lost.

16. The remains of the fisherman Burnet, who was shot by the crew of the French cutter, l'Ecureuil, as mentioned in our last, were interred at Gorey, in Jersey. Upwards of 200 persons attended the funeral. The captains and proprietors of oyster-vessels have entered into a liberal subscription for the widow and family. It appears that government is taking cognizance of this affair.

17. The town of Pembroke was in a state of excitement bordering on riot, in consequence of the death of a young man named William Truscott, while he was the object of pursuit of a party of the preventive service belonging to the revenue cutter 'Skylark.' It is said, in the verdict of the coroner's jury, that the deceased ran into Pembroke river in presence of the preventive party, and was there suffocated; and that one of the party, whose name is unknown, fired a pistol at the deceased the instant he ran into the water. The popular irritation rose to a great height, and some mischief was done by brick-bats and other missiles. Lieutenant Connor, commander of the 'Skylark,' received a severe wound on the cheek.

20 German papers state that the Sultan has given permission to the inhabitants of the Isle of Samos to govern themselves on payment of a tribute of 500,000 piastres; but as the revenues of the island are much reduced, the Sultan will forego the tribute for the first three years

Sir John Jeffcott, the principal in the fatal duel at Exeter, surrendered to take his trial immediately after the opening of the commission of the Exeter assizes. Sir John entered the dock accompanied by his brother and another gentleman. The clerk of arraigns having read the indictment charging him with the wilful murder of Dr. Hennis, Sir John pleaded "not guilty." There was no evidence offered on the part of the prosecution, and the jury, under the direction of the judge, found him "not guilty."

22. The Lord Chief Justice was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Denman of Dove-Dale, in the County of Derby.

23. Ten prisoners were indicted at the Midland Circuit, Derby, for the murder of certain miners of the Red Soil Mine, Ashford, by setting fire to a quantity of straw, and by pouring upon it oil of coal, sulphur, and other combustibles, which, by their noxious fumes, suffocated several of the miners. This circumstance arose out of a dispute as to the property in certain cross veins of the "Red Soil" and "Magpie" mines, which are contiguous to each other. The jury acquitted all the prisoners, apparently on the ground that the mischief was not intentionally done.

26. Mr. John N. Reeve was tried at Norwich on the well-known charge of stealing some sovereigns from the body of Mrs. Pyne, one of the ladies drowned on board the 'Earl of Wemys' smack, off Brancaster. The grand jury ignored the bill against Mr. Reeve for stealing money from Miss Roche's reticule, and the evidence against him on the other charge was so slight, that he was not called upon for his defence; and the jury acquitted him in the fullest possible manner, declaring that he left the court without a stain on his character.

28. On Good Friday, in consequence of the wind blowing very strong from the westward, and the tides being then about their extreme height, the water rose several feet above its usual level, and the lands below Ulverston were inundated to a considerable extent. Many wheat fields were entirely covered with salt water; several walls and hedges were thrown down, and the road leading along shore towards the canal foot was in many places completely broken up, and in others covered with gravel and large stones. The damage sustained is therefore very great. Considerable damage has been done at Roosbeck and Rampside, by the sea washing away portions of land in some places, and in others almost covering whole fields with stones and gravel. The sea was tremendous along the west side of Walney, especially a little above the south end. The surf broke against the land in liquid mountains, and the spray, being carried high into the atmosphere, flew several miles before it fell. There is great reason to fear that the sea will make a passage across the island at no remote period. It is generally believed that this is the highest tide which has occurred since April 1821.

29. Several arrests have taken place at Berlin, and, it is said, a conspiracy worthy of the fanaticism of the anarchical party was about to break out. Uniforms of gendarmerie and of the keepers of the Palace-garden, were found at the rendezvous of these silly conspirators. Several foreigners who had resided here for a year past have been ordered to quit the city immediately, and the kingdom as soon as possible. It is said that the garrisons of the Rhenish provinces are to be reinforced.

31. On Easter Monday a most disgraceful riot took place in Ahascragh, at the fair. Hundreds of Lord Ffrench's tenantry were literally in a state of warfare with the people of the town. Skulls were laid bare, and bones broken; some are despaired of. Sticks, spades, forks, and every species of weapon that could be had were in requisition. There were but four police in the town, owing to the assizes. They succeeded in arresting three of the ringleaders, and the day after six men were lodged in the Bridewell of Ballinasloe.

The sentence by default pronounced against General Romarino, and the other Sardinian subjects who took part in the attempt of February last, has just been published. They have been found guilty of leze-majesty, and are ordered to be delivered over to the chief executioner, to be by him conducted on a court or market-day, with halters round their necks, by the open squares, and other accustomed places of Chambery, to the place of execution, to be there hung upon a gallows erected for the purpose, till they are dead. They are further sentenced to pay a fine of 50,000 livres, and declared to have incurred the penalties affixed to highway robbers of the first class, amongst whom their names are to be enrolled.

Several skeletons have been lately dug up in the parish of Stowe, Bucks; one of colossal size, and one having an antique gold ring round the bone of one finger.

According to the Hanoverian papers, the celebrated German jurist, Feuerbach, who died lately at Frankfort, during a journey undertaken for the benefit of his health, is now generally believed to have been poisoned. He was a kind patron of the unfortunate Caspar Hauser, and most zealous in his endeavours to discover the murderers of that mysterious youth.

April 1. A discovery was made that twelve convicts confined in Newgate had made very effectual preparations to break out on the north side of the prison. They had loosened the brick-work, and cut round one of the stones so completely, that they could see into the street immediately beneath the cell. This was supposed to have been effected in about two hours and a half, when the timely discovery was made by Mr. Cope, the governor.

3. The sawyers who struck on the 1st of July last at Greenock have at length discovered the error of their ways, and offered to return to their work unconditionally. Their places, however, have been gradually supplied, and, like many others, they find their repentance to be too late.

— About two months since the workpeople in the employment of Mr. John Haley, of Bramley, turned out, and have remained out ever since. On Thursday, however, four girls who had been amongst the turn-outs resumed work. This was not in accordance with the wishes of their fellows, and consequently an assemblage, to the number of about 1000 persons, took place in front of the mill that evening, when several of the windows were broken, and other riotous proceedings occurred. A similar congregation took place last night, but several constables from Leeds being on the spot, the turn-outs contented themselves with hissing, hooting, &c.

4. At the Government Annuity Office, no less than 400,000*l.* was paid in the purchase of annuities, this being the last day for receiving lives above sixty-five as nominees. The clerks were employed nearly the whole of the night in preparing the accounts.

— Recent accounts from Napoli di Romania announce the death of the Greek captain, Colocotroni, in the prison in which he had been confined several months, for having taken part with other chiefs in a conspiracy against the government.

— The 'Augsburg Gazette' of this date contains extracts of letters from Frankfort, dated the 31st ult.; and from Vienna the 29th ult., stating that the Ministers of the Congress now pursue

their deliberations daily, their attention at this moment being devoted to the press, the liberty of which will only be restricted so far as is necessary to prevent its degeneration into licentiousness. In order to lighten the labours of the Congress, the bookseller Gremium, of Frankfort, has sent in of his own accord a memorandum relative to the publications of Germany, and to the best mode of regulating the press in future. It appears that the Congress awakens a general satisfaction throughout Germany, now that the numerous misrepresentations as to its views, spread in all directions, are no longer attended to.

5. Admiral Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, G.C.B., governor of Greenwich Hospital, died in his 77th year. He is succeeded at Greenwich by Sir Thomas Hardy.

— Upwards of 2000 persons have left the St. Katharine's and London docks within the last three weeks for Upper and Lower Canada, Van Dieman's Land, New South Wales, and New York, and there are not less than twenty large ships now fitting out in the above docks for the purpose of conveying passengers to the colonies. Yesterday the George Clinton, American ship, and the Adventure, a British vessel, left the St. Katharine's and London docks with upwards of 300 emigrants on board, who intend settling in the United States. Among them are mechanics of every description, principally belonging to the metropolis, agricultural labourers, excavators, and others. The George Clinton and the Adventure also carry out a great number of cabin passengers.

11. The 'Gazette' announced the appointment of Mr. Robert Graham to the vacant office of one of the Lords of the Treasury.

15. Serious disturbances took place at Oldham, in Lancashire, in consequence of the intrusion of the police the preceding evening into the trades' union, where they seized two of the members and some books. The factories ceased working this morning, and the men assembled and rescued the prisoners as they were being conveyed to the magistrates, and maltreated the police. On passing a factory in which men were employed at a lower price than the scale of the unionists, some muskets were, either in defiance or alarm, discharged from the windows, and one man was killed; on which the enraged mob assaulted the premises and demolished the windows, forced an entrance and destroyed a quantity of machinery, as well as the furniture in the house of the manager. Two troops of lancers and four companies of infantry arrived in the course of the forenoon; but after the above outrages the people manifested no disposition to further violence, although twelve of the ringleaders were captured and committed for trial. The unionists, however, have resolved not to return to their work until their grievances are redressed, and then only on the principle of the Regeneration Society, that is, eight hours work for twelve hours of pay.

— A branch of the Bank of England is about to be opened at Plymouth. This will be the fourteenth establishment in connection with the bank.

21. At the Dorchester assizes, six agricultural labourers were convicted, on the 17th of March, of a felony, in being members of an illegal society, and administering illegal oaths. It appeared that the system of many of the trades' unions had been adopted by these peasants. Their object was to compel their employers to give them a certain rate of wages, and to submit to certain rules of their dictation. It seemed, also, that they were in connexion with other societies of the same description. The oaths were administered with a good deal of mummery, the persons taking them being blindfolded, and then shown the picture of a skeleton, death's head, &c. The prisoners were sentenced to seven years' transportation. This sentence, and the consequent violent language and threatening attitude of the trades' unions, has formed the most exciting topic of the month. It was contended that the men were ignorant of the existence of the law under which they had been convicted; and that having, by this conviction, made the law known, it would be an act of becoming grace to pardon the convicts. Large meetings have been held in London, Birmingham, and other parts of the country, to petition the Crown in their favour. But it having been notified, from the proper official quarter, that "his Majesty had not been pleased to signify any commands" on the London petition, and the convicts having in the meantime departed for their destination, other meetings have been held to get up new petitions, and to pass resolutions, deploring, in very strong language, the determination of the Government. The subject was noticed in Parliament on April 18, when Lord Howick denied that the convicts were ignorant men, since two of them were Methodist preachers; and the documents found upon them showed that Government had been enabled to deal with the ringleaders of a body, that, if not checked in its career, would have proceeded to a frightful extent; and he contended that Government had acted with true mercy in visiting with severe punishment the Dorchester prisoners, which was calculated to have the effect of preventing similar conduct being pursued by other individuals.

On the 21st, the trades' unions met, by previous arrangement, in Copenhagen Fields, and marched thence, in numbers which have been variously estimated from 15,000 to 100,000—but probably from 30,000 to 40,000—to Whitehall, to deliver to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, a petition to the King in behalf of the Dorchester convicts, signed by 266,000 persons. The deputation was received by Mr. Phillips, the under secretary, and informed that Lord Melbourne had seen a copy of the petition, and did not object to it; and he would, if it were presented in a proper manner, receive it and lay it before the King, which, under such circumstances of attempted intimidation, he declined to do. The deputation then withdrew with the petition, and the people, on being informed of this result, dispersed. Serious disturbances had been apprehended from such a vast assemblage, and the troops and police were at hand, though they did not appear in view; but the whole affair happily passed off in the most quiet and orderly manner. The petition has been since presented and received.

— A memorial has been agreed to by the merchants, planters, and others of the island of Jamaica, against the continuance of the legislature as at present constituted. The petitioners wish, that until the freedom of the negroes is established on a permanent basis, the "Assembly should be suspended, and its legislative functions vested in a responsible council appointed by the king, on principles similar (so far as the different circumstances admit) to those regulations established in Demerara, and other colonies recently conquered." They allege as reasons for this, that as the Imperial Parliament has legislated for the internal affairs of the colony, a seat in the Assembly is no longer held in esteem by men capable of legislating for the benefit of the colony; that the Assembly will therefore be probably filled by unfit persons; that to provide for emergencies, a more energetic and powerful government will be proper; and that the suspension of their legislative functions will tend to allay party spirit.

— Accounts from Bermuda state, that the House of Assembly had passed a resolution, declaring that slavery, without any modification of apprenticeship, should be abolished on the 1st of August next in that colony.

Commencement of the Grand Junction Railway.—This great national work is now commenced. The viaduct for carrying the railway across the valley of the Weaver, in Cheshire, which was contracted for a few weeks ago, by Mr. M'Intosh, of London, is now in progress. The foundation-stone, as it were, of one of the greatest enterprizes which modern times have seen is now laid, and the combined efforts of individuals will now be directed towards the completion of a scheme, the object of which is to connect London with the commercial and manufacturing part of the kingdom. It is expected that in three years this portion of the great line of communication between Lancashire and London will be completed, and as the works at the other end of the line will probably proceed with equal rapidity, we may hope in about that time to see the trade of the south and centre of England pouring along its new channels, and to be able to reach London from Liverpool in from ten to twelve hours. Since the passing of the act, the attention of the directors has been turned towards the discovery of the most eligible route to be taken, and it has been ascertained, that in the neighbourhood of Stafford and Birmingham a cheaper and better line can be found, affording facilities of access to several important towns, which the original route did not give. Several deep cuttings and high embankments will be avoided; and although, by the application to Parliament in the present session, considerable time will have been lost in proceeding with the works at the Birmingham end, there is nevertheless such a reduction in the amount of work to be done there, as that no ultimate delay will be occasioned in the completion of the whole. By far the greatest work on the whole line—and we should probably not err were we to state in the kingdom—is the viaduct over the river Weaver, which will consist of twenty arches, of sixty feet span, and will be nearly three times as long, and one-sixth higher than the stupendous work of the same kind at Newton, on the Manchester and Liverpool Railway. The extremities abut against the solid ground, which rises up with considerable steepness on each side of the valley. There will be no artificial embankments at the ends of the viaduct, and the railway will be carried, by a series of arches, from the high ground on one side to that on the other. Each arch will be sixty feet wide, and sixty feet high from the ground. The following statement of the dimensions of the principal bridges in England will, on comparison, give a better idea of the magnitude of this work:—

Waterloo Bridge	of	9	arches,	is 1260	feet in length.
Vauxhall do.	of	9	do.	is 820	do.
Southwark do.	of	3	do.	is 700	do.
New London do.	of	5	do.	is 800	do.
Chirk Aqueduct	of	10	do.	is 450	do.
Pontcysyllte do.	of	12	do.	is 870	do.
Sankey Viaduct, on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway	of	9	do.	is 550	do.
Weaver Viaduct	of	29	do.	is 1380	do.

The viaduct is to be built of stone, which will be supplied in great abundance in the immediate vicinity, and it is probably owing to this abundance, and to the extreme cheapness with which it can be procured, that this immense edifice has been contracted for on such reasonable terms to the company; the whole sum for building it, we are informed, will not exceed 55,000*l.*—*Liverpool Times.*

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 18. JUNE 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Commerce of France and England	97	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	111
The Conquest and Occupation of Algiers by the French	102	Statistics, Trade, &c.	114
Stamp Duty on Newspapers	108	Public Petitions	115
Church Reform Bills	110	Political Retrospect for May, 1834	ib
		Chronicle of Occurrences	120

COMMERCE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The first Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the Commercial Relations between this country and France has just been printed; and the document deserves to be considered as one of the most important ever laid before the public. The connexion of France and England has hitherto, in regard to commercial intercourse, as in most other respects, been little more than a connexion of opposition. The object of the policy of both governments has been to weaken, and, if it might be done, to cut asunder the bonds of attachment by which the two countries have been united by nature. Rivals in the struggle for power and ascendancy, the two states have acted as if each had no higher interest than at any cost to keep itself independent of the other. This consideration has been for the most part argument sufficient to shut the eyes of both to all the benefits promised by any arrangement for the free interchange of their respective articles of produce—of those many things adapted for the use and convenience of man which the one has and the other wants. Hence, instead of such interchange, and the friendly relations by which they would have been thereby bound together, all the force of exorbitant duties and prohibitory enactments directed to the exclusion of the goods of the one from the markets of the other, and a feverish state of mutual jealousy and hatred, ever and anon breaking out into fierce and protracted contests of arms, to the fearful waste of the capital and the blood, and the injury of all the truest interests of both.

Was this a natural state of things, or, in more distinct terms, were there any peculiarities inherent in the position and circumstances of the two countries which made it necessary or desirable that they should regard and treat each other as they did? Looking to the past, he would be rather a bold than a profound reasoner who should say decidedly that the hostile rivalry of France and England, with all the undoubted mischiefs and miseries that have flowed from it, has not been upon the whole productive of more good than evil to both nations. All struggle and exertion is as such salutary and elevating, and even war itself, with all its hated accompaniments, must notwithstanding be accounted of use in so far as it calls forth great efforts and brings powerful energies into exercise. It may be that France and England never would have risen to be the great and civilized countries they now are, but for that very hostility which kept them for so many ages constantly contending together. No excitement less rude might have sufficed to enable them gradually to cast the slough of their old barbarism—to awaken from the inactivity and indolence, the aversion to change, and superstitious submission to ancient institutions and observances, which belong to a certain stage in the progress of society—to shake themselves free from those various influences, indisposing them to change and improvement, which might otherwise have grown over them like a crust, and kept them for ever lagging in the march of civilization. We say that we do not know whether the wars in which they have so often tried their strength with each other, may or may not have performed the service of such a useful or necessary stimulus. But passing from this consideration to what is vastly more material, there can at any rate be little hesitation in pronouncing that the season in which the action of this destructive element might have been serviceable is over now. There is no fear that either the one country or the other will now fall asleep, though the trumpet of battle should never again sound in the ear of either. The onward movement of each is now made sure under the force of other and far better impulses. The chief of these are Literature and Commerce; both, unlike war, the ends and fruits as well as the means of civilization. In a state of literary advancement such as that now attained by Europe, contests of mere physical energy would seem to be as much out of place as the burning of torches after the sun was high in the heavens. What was needed to disperse the darkness would be profanation in the daylight. But commerce, the other great civilizer, is opposed to war even more than literature is. Peace is to commerce light, and warmth, and all things; the very air she breathes, and which if she have not she dies. In so far as she is concerned, there is but one alternative; if we will have war, we cannot have commerce.

The wars in which France and England have been so frequently engaged during the last six or seven centuries, although they have now ceased, never, we hope, to be renewed, have generated and left behind them, as it were, a poison in the atmosphere, under the action of which there is reason to fear that the commercial intercourse between the two countries will long continue to droop. It might be supposed that now, when not only the combatants have sheathed their swords, but the quarrel has to all appearance been fought out, and all things seem to promise that the friendship which has been established between the two nations will be permanent, there would be nothing remaining to oppose itself to the freest resort of the one for sale and for purchase to the markets of the other. The following passage from the commencement of the Report before us points out with great clearness how it has happened that a state of things in great part created by the war still continues to maintain itself notwithstanding the return of peace:—

"The commercial legislation of France has been founded, for the most part, on the desire to make that country independent of every other, and to force within itself the production of the principal articles of consumption, in spite of natural difficulties, and without any reference to their cost. That legislation received its greatest encouragement under the Imperial *régime*, when France was excluded from many of the markets of the world, and when, in order to possess without interruption those objects of luxury which long usage had made necessaries, it appeared absolutely needful they should be created by her own industry, or grown on her own soil. And though the cost of so producing was ruinous to the consumer, and, in the long run, scarcely less so to the producer, yet the government and the people lulled each other with the fallacy 'that the cost mattered not, as the money was spent in the nation, and the wealth of France was not expended on foreigners.' The fact, however, cannot be denied, that many of the efforts made by France to produce the commodities she had been accustomed to import, were forced upon her by the isolation into which she was thrown by the naval superiority of Great Britain. But these efforts, however well suited to the peculiar exigences of the time, and however creditable to the ingenuity of those who exerted them, necessarily flung the capital of France into false and unfavourable positions. When the return of the Bourbons opened to France the commerce of the world, so many interests had been created, and so much labour and wealth were engaged in the production of articles which might have been more economically imported, that it was found

 [William Clowes, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

difficult suddenly to change that legislation which gave to the French producers the benefit of a monopoly, without which they would have fallen; and their fall would inevitably have brought with it much suffering and distress."

The appointment of the two commissioners, Mr. George Villiers and Mr. John Bowring, to whom we are indebted for the present Report, grew out of a suggestion of Baron Louis, the French minister of finance, addressed in 1831 to Mr. Bowring, who was then employed by the British government in the investigation of the method employed in France in keeping the public accounts. The commission was appointed in the latter part of the same year; and two commissioners having been nominated on the part of the French government—the Baron Freville, counsellor of state, (since made a peer of France), and the Count Tanneguy Duchatel, counsellor of state (since a member of the Chamber of Deputies)—it was determined, on considerations of convenience, that the sittings, in the first instance at least, should be held in Paris. The first report of the English commissioners, here printed, is dated the 26th of November, 1832. It is addressed to the Board of Trade, and together with the appendix and a supplement, dated 1st of January 1834, forms a folio volume of 212 pages.

We cannot here attempt to review even in the most rapid manner the entire contents of this document, or to present any thing like a synopsis of all the information contained in it, the greater part of which is exhibited in a very condensed form. But we will select a few of the points adverted to by the commissioners, to which it may appear most desirable that the public attention should be directed.

Let us first, however, state the object which is to be considered as having been really contemplated by the appointment of the commission. In a letter addressed to the commissioners a short time before the commencement of their labours, Mr. Poulett Thomson, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, thus explains the views of both governments: "It was proposed to establish the present commission, to be composed of individuals of each nation, not with the character of representatives of the commercial interests of their respective countries, to contend for peculiar points, or negociate for separate advantages, but with one common and uniform object in view; namely, to ascertain as clearly and exactly as possible, from the documents and information which either government can command, what is the present state of the trade of the two countries; to examine how it is affected by the tariffs; how far their provisions are rendered inoperative by the smuggler; and how, with regard to the existing interests, and the obstacles which they must naturally create to the introduction of a better system, a change in favour of a freer communication can be effected." And the commissioners themselves observe: "We were well aware that the interests which had been created in France by her commercial system, and the prejudices which these interests had engendered, presented a formidable barrier against any rapid or extensive change. To alter the whole legislation of a country on matters which involve great pecuniary considerations, was no task to be lightly undertaken or easily accomplished. All that we could hope for the present was, that some modifications might be introduced into the French tariff, and some principles recognized, whose future developement, when experience had shown their value, might be reasonably anticipated. We could not but feel, and the fact has been again and again presented to us, that England had been long engaged in the career of restriction and prohibition, and that she had, in truth, furnished example and encouragement to other nations to adopt a system, which, happily for her own interest, she has since had the wisdom to abandon, or considerably to modify, yet that she still retained numerous laws which protected and interfered with free commercial communication. But though hopeless of any extensive or immediate change, we considered that the opportunity was most valuable for gathering together authentic and official facts, and of tracing from sources whose authority could not be disputed, the progress of manufacturing and commercial decline or prosperity; nor has our conviction of the usefulness of our investigations been in any way diminished as we have proceeded in a task which has been materially forwarded by the friendly zeal of our colleagues, and the most unreserved communications on the part of the French authorities." They afterwards remark, in reference to the project of a new commercial treaty with France: "Treaties of commerce are generally agreements for mutual preferences; and, in so far, are encroachments upon sound commercial principles. They are intended to benefit the contracting parties by common intercourse, to the exclusion (and consequently to the detriment) of other nations. They ordinarily propose exclusive advantages, which, if they open some channels of commercial profit, necessarily close others, and prevent the negociating nations from availing themselves of the improvements, or accommodating themselves to the changes, which the fluctuations of agriculture, manufactures, or trade demand. The Methuen Treaty, for example, bound Great Britain to take the produce of a particular country at diminished duties, whatever superior advantages any other country might chance to offer; while Portugal was, at the same time, compelled to receive the manufactures of England, whether or not she might have supplied herself more profitably elsewhere. A treaty therefore with France, proffering reciprocal advantages, that is to say, giving to France peculiar privileges in the English markets, or obtaining peculiar privileges for England in the markets of France, did not appear to offer any prospect of permanent utility; but if it were possible that each country should, for itself, and with a special view to its own interests, remove those impediments to intercourse which had grown out of hostile feelings or erroneous calculations, and by comparing the facts which each government was enabled to furnish for the elucidation of the inquiry, each should find that it could safely and judiciously prepare for more extended transactions; if, in a word, it could be shown that each possessed sources of wealth which might be made productive to the other, while they lost nothing of their productiveness to the nation that possessed them, we believed, that in selecting such topics for our examination, and such objects for their result, we were best discharging the duty which had devolved upon us."

In reviewing the past history of the commerce of France and England, the commissioners divide it into three periods; the first of which comes down to the revolution, or the year 1791. The ancient policy of France, like that of our own country, was founded upon the principle of encouraging importation, and discouraging, or prohibiting exports, a principle which, although not the result of far reaching vie at least had the merit of looking to the interests not of a few producers but of the great body of consumers. It was in 1664, in the reign of Louis XIV., and during the administration of Colbert, that a sort of imitation of the English Navigation Act was promulgated, by which a tax of fifty sous per ton was imposed upon all foreign ships entering the French ports, with the view, as it was expressed, of inducing builders and merchants to construct French vessels. The exclusive policy thus introduced was extended, under the direction of the same minister, in 1667; and in 1687, it was established in its full rigour. From this date, the interest of the consumer, that is of the nation, was systematically and avowedly treated as of inferior importance to that of the producer. High prices were encouraged as a national blessing. For this purpose not only were foreign commodities excluded, when if admitted, they might have been sold cheaper than the same description of goods produced in France, but bounties were paid upon the exportation of articles of French manufacture which could not be disposed of abroad at a remunerating price. And this curious forcing process, was called, both in France and in England, encouraging the national industry. It was, in fact, encouraging certain branches of industry which were incapable of yielding any profit, at the expense of all those other branches which really contributed to the national wealth.

In this state matters continued till 1786, in the close of which year was concluded the treaty, commonly called the Eden treaty, after Mr. William Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), the negociator. The preamble of this compact (which is not given by the commissioners), is worth quoting for the sake of the principles which it recognises, and the evidence thereby afforded of the advanced state which public opinion had attained upon such subjects in the two countries, at a time when many persons believe that the minds of men had scarcely awakened to any enlightened political views. It is one among many proofs which might be adduced, that almost every nation in Europe was moving forward in a rapid course of improvement before the breaking out of the French revolution, a course of improvement which that terrible convulsion arrested every where at the moment

substituting in its place a dreary quarter of a century of war and desolation, and after all, scarcely in any case leaving the spirit of political reform of so healthy and really vigorous a tone as before. The Eden treaty commences by declaring that "His Britannic Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, being equally animated with the desire not only of consolidating the good harmony which actually subsists between them, but also of extending the happy effects thereof to their respective subjects, have thought that the most efficacious means for attaining these objects, would be to adopt a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which, by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages, on both sides, to national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection." The treaty then proceeds amongst other things to enact, that "the subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns shall have liberty freely and securely, without license or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports, or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign situated in Europe;" that they shall have leave to come with their ships and merchandise into each other's ports, on payment only of the duties prescribed by the treaty, which, upon the wines of France imported into Great Britain are to be the same as those charged upon the wines of Portugal;—upon hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, turnery, and all works, both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, imported into either country from the other, not higher than ten per cent. *ad valorem*,—upon manufactured cottons and woollens not higher than twelve per cent. *ad valorem*; and the same upon porcelain, earthenware, and pottery, plate glass, and glass ware in general. These stipulations, be it observed, are much more liberal than those which all the exertions of the friends of commercial freedom have yet succeeded in establishing under the state of things which has succeeded to the period of the Eden treaty.

This treaty, however, continued in operation only till 1791, when its provisions were supplanted by a new tariff reimposing the former prohibitory duties; and the system then restored may be said to have been adhered to down to the present day, at least on the part of France, in all its leading principles. The commissioners enter into a variety of details, tending to show the flourishing state which the commerce between the two countries attained during the short period of the operation of the Eden treaty, as compared with its condition at any period, either before or since; but into these we cannot follow them. We will extract, however, some of the general conclusions at which they arrive. On the whole, they state, the quantity of manufactures exported from England continued to be much larger than the quantity imported by her from France: but yet the demand for French articles in this country was decidedly on the increase. The foreign trade which France commanded under the low prices produced by English competition during the existence of the treaty of 1786, has since, of course, been altogether, or nearly altogether, lost. Foreign trade cannot exist, except in association with low prices. Another effect that has followed is the increase of smuggling. "In 1789," the commissioners observe, "the whole of the intercourse (between France and England) was sanctioned by law, while, from the period in which the Eden treaty ceased to be in operation, an indirect and contraband trade, of continually increasing magnitude, particularly of imports from France, has grown out of the fiscal regulations of the two countries; a trade which is, according to the best information we can obtain, very much larger in amount than that which passes through the custom-houses."

It appears from tables published by M. Moreau, in which he compares the general commercial relations of France in 1787-9 with those of 1819-21, that the decrease of importations upon the whole, in the latter three years, was not less than 360,000,000 francs, and that of importations from England alone not less than 49,000,000 francs. In 1787-9, the total importations into France amounted to 1,644,391,500 francs; and the importations from England to 169,234,700 francs. The amount of the general importations again was in the first period 1,344,581,600 francs, and in the second only 1,140,428,600; exhibiting a decrease of 204,153,000 francs. The exports to England had only increased from 100,382,800 to 102,298,200 francs, or not quite 2 per cent. The commissioners add,—

"The comparison between the importations of 1789-91 and 1819-21, show some interesting fluctuations. At both periods England ranks third in importance for the amount of her exports to France; but the Netherlands, which was the seventh country in importance at the former period, had become the first in the latter; one of the causes of the change being, no doubt, that they had become the indirect channels for the supply of colonial and other produce, once imported direct from England. Spain, the second country in importance before the revolution, had become the fifth; and the United States, which were the tenth, had advanced to be the sixth.

"In comparing the rank of countries, as to the exports from France, England, which in 1789-91 was the fifth in rank, had taken the first rank in 1819-21. The German States, which had the eighth place in the earlier period, occupied the second; while the Hanse Towns, which filled the second, were lowered to the seventeenth. Austria was the sixth before the revolution, and the eighteenth in 1819-21; and the French colonies, which were the most important, had sunk to the fifth rank.

"Not less remarkable have been the fluctuations of the different articles of commerce.

"In the first period, the twenty principal articles imported were coffee, sugar, cotton, cotton goods, wheat, oil, wools, linens, indigo, cattle, wood, tobacco, iron and steel, copper, potashes, silk goods, spirits, coals, hemp, olive oil.

"In the second period, the twenty principal articles imported were cotton, sugar, oil, wools, coffee, indigo, wheat, olive oil, linens, wood, copper, coals, cattle, iron and steel, hides, potashes, cheese, hemp, tobacco, rice.

"The articles of interchange between France and England have undergone the fluctuations, which will be best shown by comparing the relative importance of the articles of French importation and French exportation:—

"French importation, 1787-9,—cotton and woollen goods, coals, wheat, salt meat, muslins, copper, flour, silk goods, drapery, hardware, lead, provisions, earthenware, butter, tallow, tobacco, haberdashery, mercery, tin, rice, pepper, linens, carriages, alum, tin plates, iron and steel, indigo, oil, hides, and sugar. In 1819-21,—cotton, indigo, iron, lead, tobacco, pepper, sugar, tin, carriages, coals, saltpetre, potashes, whale fins, copper, tin plates, hemp, instruments, wheat, jewellery, wood, cinnamon, coffee, hides, cocoa, wool, tortoiseshell, oil, ostrich feathers, black lead, and rice.

"French exportation, 1787-9,—brandy, cotton twist, wine, linens, lace, colonials, tobacco, wheat, furniture, silk goods, seeds and grain, gum, cotton goods, wools, fruits, indigo, liquors, woollen goods, books, salt, skins, soap, porcelain, copper, verdigris, cattle, paper, madders, provisions, and vegetables. In 1819-21,—brandy, wine, linens, seeds, eggs, silk goods, fruits, wool, madders, cattle, hats, books, butter, millinery, pictures, porcelain, glass ware, hides, oils, skins, furniture, mercery, clocks and watches, leather and woollen manufactures, perfumery, flour, soap, cork-wood, and lace."

The following account, in which the imports and exports of France in 1828 are contrasted with those of England, gives a very distinct view of the state of the commerce of the two countries—

"Importations.—France: silk, cotton, sugar, wheat, linens, indigo, oil, olive oil, coffee, wools, wood, tobacco, precious stones, hair, hides, silk goods, linen thread, fruits, coals, and straw hats. England: cotton, sugar, tea, coffee, silk, wheat, flax, tallow, timber, wools, wines, indigo, whale oil, rum, madders, hides, India goods, skins, tobacco, and butter.

"Exportations.—France: silk goods, wine, silk, cotton goods, linens, brandy, woollens, coffee, cotton, sugar, madders, hides, flour, refined sugar, mercery, clothing, prepared hides, volatile oils, [illegible] and fruits. England: cotton goods, woollens, cotton twist, linens, coffee, iron and steel, cotton, refined sugar, India piece goods, copper ware, hardware, raw sugar, indigo, rum, coals, wrought tin, wine, salt, tobacco, soap, and candles."

Although this table, however, exhibits the different articles entering into the foreign trade of each country, ranged according to their relative importance, it is not to be assumed that those occupying the same places in the French and English columns are imported or exported by the two countries in the same absolute quantities. The importations of

the first five articles in the English column, as the commissioners remark, exceed all the importations of France taken together, and the amount of the first article of English export is greater than that of the whole export trade of France.

The foreign commerce of France has made much less progress within the last half century than either her agriculture or her manufactures. The value of her imports and exports together amounted, in 1787, to 25,000,000*l.* sterling; in 1830, it amounted to no more than 25,500,000*l.*, notwithstanding an increase in the population of the country from twenty-four to thirty-three millions. The entire foreign commerce of England amounted, in 1787, only to 18,000,000*l.* sterling; and in 1830, to nearly 70,000,000*l.*, or nearly four times as much, the increase of population having been from nine to sixteen millions.

One of the documents contained in the appendix to the report is a return from the English custom-house, showing the general exportation of several of the most important articles of British commerce, and the quantity of each remitted to France in each year, from 1814 to 1831. Upon this return the commissioners observe, "The most remarkable facts are, the increased consumption of British wool in France, notwithstanding the import duties of thirty-three per cent. In 1824, only about 4000 lbs. were exported to France, while, in the last four years, the average has been nearly 1,000,000 lbs. Of copper, for the last ten years, there has been a gradual increase of export, namely, from about 200 to 20,000 cwt. Of cast iron, there has been a small increase; but of iron bars a great decline, attributable to the operation of that discriminating duty, which levies fr. 27. c. 50. per 50 kilogrammes on the coal-produced iron of England, while the hammered and wood-wrought iron of Sweden pays only fr. 16. c. 50. Of coals, the exportation to France has nearly doubled during the last six years, though subject to a duty in the proportion of fr. 110 to fr. 33, as compared to that paid by the coals of Belgium entering by the land frontier. The annual exportation from England to France now averages more than 40,000 tons, which is about one-tenth of our whole exportation; while, from Belgium, the importation, in 1831, was 440,000 tons." In another table is given a statement of the whole amount of coals exported from England in 1831 and 1832, with the amount of duties received thereon, by which it appears that the quantity sent to France is only about one-fifteenth of the whole. "Of woollens," continues the report, "there is a constant tendency to increased shipments to France, and more particularly so of manufactured goods, of which, before the opening of the English market to French silks, scarcely a piece was exported to France; while now, the demand is gradually increasing from year to year, as, in fact, is the general exportation of this article." It appears, also, that in the year 1830 the importations of all articles from England amounted to not less than an eighth part of the whole importations into France; and that, of the whole amount of exportations from France in the same year, not less than a fifth part consisted of commodities sent to England. These results, taking place notwithstanding the exclusive system in force, show strikingly how well adapted the two countries are by nature for commercial intercourse, and the exchange to a large amount of their produce with each other. As the commissioners remark, "it can, in fact, be hardly doubted, that, of all countries in the world, France and England are the best situated for the interchange of their peculiar productions, and the most likely, under wise legislation, to assist each other in the developement of those aptitudes which grow out of their natural position. Their vicinity, their high civilization, their extent, their variety of soil, climate, and productions, seem to offer an almost unbounded field of mutual interchange."

At present, however, the small share which France possesses of the immense export trade of England places in a strong light the oppressive operation of those anti-commercial regulations to which she has subjected herself. In 1830, while our exports to all Europe amounted to 34,275,387*l.*, those to France amounted only to 659,087*l.*, or about a fifty-second part of the whole. Among the European countries to which shipments of British goods were made, France ranked only the ninth in importance. In 1831, she ranked as the eighth, and received a thirty-eighth part of the exports from England to the whole of Europe.

In illustration of the effects produced on the industry and capital of France by her prohibitory system, the commissioners instance a few facts connected with the agriculture, the manufactures, and the navigation of that country. In the article of iron, it is calculated that the annual sacrifice made by the agriculturists to the protected iron-masters is not less than from 1,500,000*l.* to 2,000,000*l.* sterling. Yet the policy maintained at this enormous expense has been so far from protecting the iron-manufacture, that the largest of the iron companies have become bankrupt. Numerous returns are quoted with the view of exhibiting the declension that has taken place in the shipping of France under the prohibitory system. These however we must omit, and content ourselves with giving the following brief general statement extracted from a Report on the National Fisheries presented to the Chamber of Deputies:—"In 1788 France had trading to St. Domingo alone 527 ships, tonnage 167,665, manned by 9,855 mariners,—whilst in 1830 she had engaged in the trade to all her colonies only 407 ships, 101,283 tons of shipping, and 6,029 men." It appears, also, that while the whole import trade of France in 1787 employed 455,269 tons of French, and 433,599 tons of foreign shipping, making 888,868 tons in all, in 1830 it only employed 340,171 tons of French, and 669,283 tons of foreign shipping, or 1,009,454 tons of shipping in all. The amount of tonnage employed in the export trade appears (by comparing statements in pp. 20 and 30 of the report,) to have actually diminished; having in 1787 been 161,582 tons of French, and 532,687 tons of foreign shipping, or 694,269 tons in all; while in 1830, it was only 258,621 tons of French, and 370,518 tons of foreign shipping, or 629,139 tons in all. We may here notice, what is indeed admitted by the commissioners themselves, that the different accounts quoted in the report, derived as they are from various sources, are frequently found not to correspond exactly.

The effect of the French prohibitory system upon the national revenues is sufficiently shown by the statement of the fact, that the net returns from the custom-house do not exceed 3,000,000*l.* sterling, being only 1,000,000*l.* more than England receives on her importations from France alone. The gross receipts of the English customs average nearly five times those of the French.

A very interesting part of the report is that devoted to the subject of the contraband trade between the two countries. A list is first given, furnished by the French custom-house, of the prohibitions established by the tariff now in operation in France, divided into classes according to the general grounds which are conceived in each case to justify the prohibition. The classes thus formed are five in number; namely, prohibitions established, 1. for the public safety; 2. to protect monopolies (including tobacco, salt, and playing-cards); 3. to prevent abuses and confusion of articles; 4. unimportant, and existing only by a too general application of the laws; 5. for protecting French manufactures. Another document still more curious follows, being a complete list, furnished by the French government, of the prohibitions on imports and exports, with the date of the laws of prohibition, and with the detailed reasons which led to the introduction, or which are employed for the justification, of those laws. But we cannot afford to quote any part either of this singular paper, or of the able remarks of the commissioners on the inconsistencies of the system of which it is an exposition. The general principle upon which the prohibitions are defended is, that the cheapness of a foreign article is a sufficient ground for prohibiting its importation, and the cheapness of a home article for prohibiting its exportation. If these principles, as the commissioners remark, were carried out to their legitimate consequences, all commercial relations between France and other countries would cease;—no exchange of commodities at all could take place.

The actual state of the contraband trade created by this system, is next considered. Maritime smuggling, it is stated, has probably diminished of late years, the rate levied on commodities introduced by sea being higher than that paid along the land frontier. One of the principal branches of the maritime smuggling now carried on is the smuggling of tobacco from Guernsey to Cherbourg and the neighbourhood. Sugar and coffee are also frequently introduced all along the part of the coast adjacent to England, and along the whole Pyrenean frontier.

But the greatest quantities of contraband English goods are brought across the northern land frontier. They are for the most part packed in bales weighing from 70 to 80 lbs.; and it is usual to get those packages stamped at the frontier towns with the names of French manufacturers before they

are forwarded to the interior. There are many depôts of these English goods at Cambray, St. Quentin, Ypres, Tournay, Mons, Chuney, and other towns in the neighbouring departments. Of the sugar, coffee, and other bulky colonial articles consumed along the frontier, a large portion is thus introduced by the contraband traders; but tobacco, it is stated, is the only article of colonial produce which is conveyed in considerable quantities into the interior.

"It is estimated," says the report, "that of the premiums on smuggling one half goes to the carrier and the other to the smuggler. The smuggling companies have usually a chief, who undertakes the pecuniary arrangement of these transactions, and is the party with whom the insurance is effected; it is he who arranges with the carrier for the conveyance of the goods, paying ordinarily from twenty to thirty francs per package. The carrier is not provided for by the smuggler, but merely delivers his charge at an appointed place. The manager generally receives for himself five francs per package. The introduction of the goods through the lines usually employs three days; and the average expenditure per man is twelve francs per journey. When the goods have passed the lines, they commonly leave the hands of the smuggling parties, whose business is what is called the *filtration* through the frontier." The value of each package of manufactured goods thus introduced, is stated to be usually about 50*l.* sterling.

But the principal means employed for the introduction of contraband goods is the agency of dogs. The statements of the commissioners upon this subject, taken from a report made on the 30th of July, by the director of the French Custom House to the minister of finance, are exceedingly curious. It is stated to have been in 1825, when smuggling by horses was suppressed, that smuggling by dogs commenced. The first attempts were made in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, and the practice has since extended to Dunkirk and Charleville, to Thionville and Strasburg, and lastly to Besançon, where it was introduced in 1828. The dogs thus employed, carry each a weight, sometimes of ten, sometimes even of twelve kilogrammes, equal to about 25 and 30 lbs. Troy. But supposing the average quantity to be only two and a-half kilogrammes, and calculating the whole number of dogs on the supposition that in certain districts one in ten, in others one in twenty was killed, it is estimated that in 1823 there were introduced in this way into France 100,000 kilogrammes of goods, 187,315 kilogrammes in 1825, and 2,100,000 kilogrammes in 1826. The kilogramme is exactly equal to 2 lbs. 8 oz. 3 dwts. 2 grs. Troy. In the opinion, however, of many of the Custom House officers, not more than one dog in seventy five was destroyed, even in the most favourable circumstances.

The description of goods thus smuggled into the country, consists usually of tobacco and other colonial produce; sometimes of cotton twist and manufactures. In the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, dogs have been taken with burthens worth 600, 800, and even 1200 francs. It is added, that publications hostile to the government, have frequently been introduced in this way.

"The dogs," proceeds the report, "which are trained to these dishonest habits, are conducted in packs to the foreign frontier; they are kept without food for many hours; they are then beaten and laden, and at the beginning of the night started on their travels. They reach the abodes of their masters, which are generally selected at two or three leagues from the frontiers, as speedily as they can, where they are sure to be well treated and provided with a quantity of food. It is said they do much mischief by the destruction of agricultural property, inasmuch as they usually take the most direct course across the country. They are dogs of a large size for the most part." These animals, ill used as they are, and rendered fierce by hunger, fatigue, and their constant pursuit by the Custom House officers, are very subject to madness. A Custom House officer died from a bite of one of them in 1829. They are trained to regard these functionaries as their natural enemies, and to attack them accordingly.

Among the attempts made to suppress this mode of smuggling, rewards of three francs (half-a-crown) a head have been given for every frauding dog (*chien fraudeur*) destroyed; but although 120,834 francs (about 4833*l.*) has been paid on this account between 1820 and 1830, implying the destruction within that period of 40,278 dogs, their number instead of being diminished has continued rapidly to increase. It was proposed, as another expedient, to lay a heavy tax on the exportation of dogs from France. The dogs carried to the frontier for the purposes of illegal traffic are always, it is said, conducted in strings of from eight to ten, and sometimes from twenty to thirty. They have to be forcibly conducted, anticipating as they do ill usage and fatigue in the employment for which they are destined. It would probably, therefore, be difficult to transport them clandestinely, if the authorities would exert themselves; but it is one of the consequences of the unnatural system which has given birth to this illegal commerce, that neither the public in general nor even the paid servants of the government, can be brought to act with much zeal or activity in support of the law.

The large quantities of contraband tobacco, which find their way into France, are sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the price of the article in that country is 300 or 400 per cent. above the English and the Dutch bonded prices, while its quality is also greatly inferior. It is asserted that although seizures are of daily occurrence, the profit on the fraudulent trade, after all risks are deducted, is not less than 75 per cent. to the smugglers who carry it on on their own account. Of English manufactures, cotton twist is among those that are most extensively introduced by the smuggler. "It makes its way," says the Report, "both by land and sea in spite of all interdictions, to a continually increasing amount. The qualities principally in demand are the higher numbers, which the French mills cannot produce, or produce only at an extravagant price. An official return states that the French No. 180, which can be bought in England at fr. 18 per kilogramme, sells in France at from fr. 39 to fr. 40.; the same quality of French manufacture to which no risk of seizure attaches, will, it is said, produce fr. 42, the two or three francs of difference being paid for the additional security. The numbers principally introduced, are from 170 to 200, and are employed chiefly for the fabrication of bobbinets (tulles). But there is also a large demand for English cotton chains at Tarare: and they are so necessary for the existence of that manufacture, that, by the connivance of the Custom House authorities, no seizures take place after the article is lodged in the warehouse of the manufacturer. He has thus to support an additional cost of from 30 to 40 per cent., the whole of which (by the connivance of the government) goes to the contraband traders. The amount of illicit introduction, is calculated at above twelve millions of francs. There is also a large introduction of English tulle, (bobbinet) estimated at more than fr. 15,000,000, which sells at from 7 to 8 per cent. above the price of French of the same nominal quality. Of cotton goods, quiltings, camblets, and muslins are the principal articles. Of late, there has been a considerable contraband trade in dyed English woollen yarn; and as much as 70 per cent. has been paid for its delivery to the French manufacturer. Fine cutlery is largely smuggled."

It appears, that wherever the duty exceeds 30 per cent. on the value of the foreign manufacture, the power of the custom-house to prevent its introduction ceases. It is conjectured from this, that the average rate of smuggling is probably about twenty-five per cent. on real value; that is to say, that goods smuggled from abroad sell in France for about twenty-five per cent. above the price they would bring if their importation was free.

It is difficult to obtain data from which to form any satisfactory conclusion as to the total amount of the contraband trade. The commissioners state that their investigations have led them to estimate the amount of British goods smuggled into France across the Belgian frontier alone, at more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling a year.

The smuggling from France into England consists chiefly of silks, tea, brandy, and some other spirits. The contraband trade is stated to be greatly diminishing at most of the ports from which it has been carried on. The following are the most important items collected from different accounts given in the report. From January to November 1831, smuggled from Dunkirk, 68,117 litres Geneva (a litre is somewhat less than nine-tenths of an imperial quart), 240 litres ratafia, 530 kilogrammes tea, 36,693 litres brandy of 22 degrees, 71,381 litres brandy of 33 degrees. Preserving the same denominations, the shipments from Gravelines during the same period were, of Geneva, 29,842; of tea, 3250; of brandy of 22 degrees, 11,399; and of brandy of 33 degrees, 48,607;—from Boulogne, of Geneva, 27,806; of brandy, 177,095; of tea, 2,141; of silk goods, 24,309 kilogrammes (value fr. 2,439,900); of silk lace, to

the value of fr. 10,500; of jewellery, to the value of fr. 22,000;—from Calais, of silk goods, to the value of fr. 2,261,400; of trinkets to the value of fr. 22,000; of brandy, 79,700 litres; of tea, 32,598 kilogrammes; of Geneva, 14,416 litres. In 1831 there were smuggled into England from Cherbourg, 240,000 litres of brandy, and 1000 chests of tea.

As in the case of smuggling into France, there is a regular charge at which each different description of goods is introduced by the contraband trader into the British ports. One difference, however, is remarkable. While the premium for delivery in Paris, or in any other town at a considerable distance from the frontier, is enhanced in proportion to that distance, the charge for delivering smuggled goods in London is no greater (with the exception, of course, of the expense of carriage) than for delivery at Dover. The present premiums from Dunkirk are stated to be, on gold trinkets, 6 to 10 per cent.; silver ditto, 10 to 12; silk blond, 10 to 11; coral, 14 to 15; silk goods, 24 to 25; ribands, 22 to 24; gauze ribands, 24 to 25; tea, 50; and spirits, 80. The commissioners calculate that the total amount of English duties evaded by the clandestine import of French articles through the ports of Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, Fécamp, and Cherbourg, exceeds 800,000*l.* per annum. And from this amount tobacco is excluded, whole cargoes of which have been sometimes introduced from the French bonding warehouses into Ireland. From data which are submitted in the report, it is calculated that while of the French silks imported into England from 1826 to 1830, the average yearly value of the portion on which duty was paid, was about 400,000*l.*, that of the portion fraudulently introduced was about 200,000*l.* As the yearly average of seizures was under 10,000*l.*, it follows that the risk to the smuggler from the custom-house did not exceed five per cent. The loss of revenue, from the fraudulent importation of French brandy, is estimated at considerably above half a million. The brandies thus introduced appear to be for the most part of the strength of 33 degrees, instead of 22, which is the proof.

The remainder of the report is occupied chiefly with a review of the colonial system, and of the fisheries of France, and with some notices of the statistics of Paris. We cannot, however, at present follow the commissioners over this ground; nor can we enter upon the additional information contained in Mr. Bowring's supplement to the report. We cannot, however, better conclude our abstract than by the following gratifying statement from the commencement of the last mentioned paper. "Since that report was prepared," says Mr. Bowring, "a great and gratifying change has taken place in the state of public opinion in France. At no period have commercial questions occupied so much of the attention of the community in that country, and certainly never has the progress of those convictions, which must ultimately lead to the emancipation of commerce from the fetters which have so long and so perniciously bound it, been so salutary and striking. In the course of the last year most of the chambers of commerce and many commercial commissions have been called on to express their views on the subject of the commercial policy which has so long depressed the enterprise and impeded the prosperity of a country so rich as France in all the elements of wealth and industry; and it may be said that their opinions have been almost unanimous in denouncing the prohibitory system as pernicious in its consequences, and demanding the gradual liberation of the country from its thraldom. When our commission first began its labours our prospects of success were neither bright nor extensive. Arrayed against every suggestion of improvement were strongly fenced interests—monopolies in high places, and public indifference. We have had the gratification of seeing the topic of free trade become popular, of witnessing not only increasing knowledge of sound principles but increasing zeal in their advocacy; and think it may safely be anticipated that the measures of government will henceforth be directed in that channel of liberalism and well-advised national interest, which will form a most advantageous contrast to the policy of the last forty years."

THE CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH.

THE Regencies on the African coast of the Mediterranean, or, as they are more commonly called, the Barbary States, were for many ages one of the greatest curses to Christian Europe, and a fatal check on the progress of commerce and civilization.

Nominally acknowledging the *suzeraineté* of the Turkish emperors, they for the most times despised the authority of the reigning sultan, nor were they much more submissive to their deys chosen by themselves to rule over them. As long as the tyranny of these deys ran in the directions prescribed by the more numerous or more powerful party among the pirates and marauders, they were respected and rewarded with a large share of the plunder, prisoners, and booty made from the Christians; but whenever the deys opposed the inclinations of the prevailing party, they were deposed, tortured, and barbarously executed—just as if they had been mere Christians.

It was therefore unavailing for the European powers to recur to the nominal sovereign, and make treaties with the sultan at Constantinople, with the view of preserving their subjects from slavery and spoliation. The Barbaresques laughed at such treaties. It was equally vain to enter into any arrangement with the head authorities on the spots, for these authorities were continually changed by sanguinary revolts, and the Deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli almost immediately ceased to be deys whenever they interfered with the pillaging propensities of their subjects.

There was, then, no way of making a treaty binding, and in fact no proper party to treat with. The only course to be adopted was that of arms. The Algerines and the rest of the Barbary States set the laws of nations at defiance; and the Turkish Sultan, who could not keep them in order, or make them observe the treaties he entered into, or was willing to enter into, with the Christian powers, had no just right to complain if those powers themselves undertook the task of coercing the inhuman corsairs, whose excesses in all the worst vices were abhorrent to humanity. This principle was acknowledged, at least in Europe, for several centuries, during which attacks were made by different nations on various of the Barbary States. Indeed England, as well as Spain and Portugal, seeing the inefficiency of casual expeditions and bombardments, more than once aimed at making permanent establishments on the African shores of the Mediterranean.

As far back as 1535, the Emperor Charles V., with a fine Spanish army, landed and attacked the fort of Goletta. He thence marched upon Tunis, where no fewer than 12,000 Christians, reduced to a state of abject slavery, and chained and treated like dogs, were confined at the time. After releasing the Christians, and obtaining some successes, which cost him very dear, the emperor was glad to return to Europe, leaving only a small garrison in Goletta, and renouncing for the time his African conquests as a too dangerous vision.

In 1541 Charles, however, resolved to crown his reputation by the conquest of Algiers. After some advantages, and a stay in the country long enough to allow him time to build some works that yet remain, a tremendous storm dispersed his fleet, and the army retreated and re-embarked in confusion. Shortly after this the brave Admiral Blake taught the Algerines and the other pirates on the Barbary coasts to respect the flag of England.

In 1662 we became possessed of Tangiers, which is situated on the Barbary side of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Portuguese had occupied it ever since 1471, and that court presented it to Charles II. as a marriage-portion with the Princess Catherine when Charles espoused her. Some well-meaning people at the time fancied we might thence put down piracy and the trade in Christian slaves; and that, by extending our power along the coasts and in the interior, we might gradually civilize a great part of Africa. But, in the event, the occupation of Tangiers was of no use to us, and rendered no such benefits to the natives; and after keeping possession of it for twenty-two years, we blew up a fine mole and some fortifications we had built or improved, and abandoned the place. Oran, in the neighbourhood of Algiers, and now included in the French conquest, was held by the Spaniards as early as the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, (or at the latter part of the 15th century,) but they never could make any beneficial impression. They lost it, and retook it, and finally, in 1792, the town having been partly destroyed by an earthquake, they abandoned it altogether. During the time the Spaniards occupied Oran they built some handsome forts, barracks, aqueducts, &c., portions of which existed and were serviceable when the French took the place.

In 1683 Duquesne, the admiral of Louis XIV., bombarded Algiers. In 1775 a Spanish army of upwards of 25,000 men, commanded by General O'Reilly, landed in the neighbourhood with the intention of laying siege to, and taking Algiers, but this force was soon obliged to re-embark in haste, and with great loss.

The memorable bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth in 1816, is too recent an event to require any description. It effected all that a temporary measure could effect—it struck terror in the hearts of the marauders for a while—it procured the release of some thousands of Christian slaves, but it was far from putting a final, general stop to Barbary piracy. Since that time both Tunis and Tripoli, by their excesses, have called Italian fleets before them, and in the bombardment of Tripoli the Genoese navy very honourably distinguished itself a few years ago.

While the abominable system of piracy carried on by these barbarians was in full vigour, the people that suffered the most were the subjects of the small maritime states in Italy, and the inhabitants of the coasts of Sardinia and of the Less or Mediterranean Islands. Not only were their trading and fishing vessels continually seized, and all on board conducted into slavery, but they were often surprised by the corsairs on shore, in their defenceless little towns and villages, and men, women, and children, after experiencing the most revolting treatment, carried to Barbary and sold as slaves.

We have ourselves witnessed the consternation of these poor Italians caused by the appearance of an Algerine or Tunisine cruizer, both on shore and at sea, and that not many years ago.

The might and the almost omnipresence of the British navy of late years, had so far imposed terror on the barbarians, that they seldom ventured to attack an English merchant vessel, or even to detain an Englishman if they found him aboard a captured vessel of any other flag. If we look back on the past, however, we shall find many a British subject detained by them in slavery—many a brave sailor that lingered out his life in the midst of their insults, oppression, and unutterable abominations.

One of these men, who was fortunate enough to escape after fifteen years' captivity, and after having been forced by an intolerant master to turn mussulman, was Joseph Pitts, a native of Exeter. He was taken by the Algerines in the year 1678, when he was a stripling. On his return to England he published an account of his adventures, and of the Algerines, Moors, &c. among whom he had lived so long. His little work, which bears every evidence of authenticity, may still be consulted with advantage, for few or no changes in the condition and habits of the people of Barbary have taken place since his days. He describes the Moors, the Arabs, and the fierce Kabyles, or people in the interior, precisely as they now are. He shows that the garrisons and the armed forces on the coast, mainly composed of the outcasts of Constantinople, Smyrna, and other parts of Turkey, tyrannized at once over the peaceful natives, and over their own deys; that this class, frequently reinforced and directed in their manœuvres at sea by Christian renegades, carried on the trade of cruizing and piracy on their own account, only giving to the existing government a small share of the profits. And even thus did matters continue until the other day.

After showing, as we have attempted to do in a few words, the paramount causes that rendered the extinction of the Barbary States, and particularly that of Algiers, desirable to a considerable part of the civilized world, we need say very little as to the particular or national motives that led France to take up arms. These motives, however, were not devoid of significance, and had they been much less important or provoking than they really were, the French might have counted on the ready sympathy of all the weaker states on the Christian side of the Mediterranean, and indeed of the other powers of secondary consideration, whose ships trading in that sea were continually exposed to the corsairs. All these powers would look with gratitude to that nation which should break up those nests of pirates, and would consider it the benefactor of mankind. This conviction was deeply impressed on the mind of Charles X. and his cabinet, by whom the project of invading Algiers was formed.

We come now to the immediate motives. In 1815 M. Duval was sent as Consul-General of France to re-establish those political and commercial relations with the Barbary States that had been interrupted by the course of the revolutionary and Bonapartean wars, when the French flag was swept from the seas. The choice of the French government was unfortunate, for M. Duval, born and bred in the Levant, and indoctrinated in all the double dealings of that mischievous class, the dragomans of Constantinople, had no notion of straightforward proceedings, and of the true dignity of the nation he was sent to represent. One of his first acts was to re-establish France in certain rights of trade, coral-fishery, &c., which she had previously enjoyed on the sea-coast of the regency between Seibous and Cape Bon. For the enjoyment of these privileges the French African Company had at first paid to Algiers the unimportant sum of 17,000 francs, but, in the course of the 18th century, after gradual increases, this sum was trebled. M. Duval, instead of insisting on former treaties, consented to pay the dey twelve times the amount of 17,000 francs. By the old treaties France had free permission to erect forts and entrenchments, and place garrisons in them for the protection of her coast establishments. But Hussein, the Dey of Algiers, in treating with Duval, and restoring the little territory the French had formerly possessed, expressly stipulated that no fortifications, and no French military force of any kind should be admitted. After verbally assenting to all this, Duval, by bribes and intrigues, prevailed on the Algerine ministers and the local authorities to overlook the erection of some military works at Bona and Calle. These works were completed and garrisoned by the French before the dey was aware of the project. When the facts came to the knowledge of Hussein, he was transported with rage at the French consul's duplicity, but he took no hostile steps, and left the new forts wholly unmolested.

In 1793, the young republic of France suffered severely from a scarcity of corn. To obtain supplies the government applied to the Dey of Algiers, who broke an established law and permitted the two Jewish houses—those of Busnach and Bacry—to export grain from the regency to alleviate the distress felt in France. It appeared afterwards that the dey himself was the real corn speculator, and that the Jews were merely his agents. But this discovery ought not to have affected the business in any way. Between the years 1793 and 1797, cargoes of grain amounting in value to between 600,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* were sent from Algiers to the southern coast of France. In the contracts the Jews Busnach and Bacry made with the French republican government, they had not expressly stipulated that the payment for their corn should be made in specie, but at the time they concluded the bargain, specie was the regular currency in France, while in the East they never had a notion of any other currency than hard cash. Moreover, the first cargoes of corn landed at Marseilles were paid for in cash. The unscrupulous seizure of national and private property at home, vast as it was, could not long suffice the French experimentalists; and assignats, or paper that sunk in value every day, were made the legal currency of the republic. These assignats were tendered to Busnach and Bacry in payment of subsequent consignments of corn. The Jews, however, had seen the rapid depreciation of this currency, and accepted the paper only on condition that the French government should make up the difference, whatever it might turn out to be, between the nominal and real value of the assignats. The contracting parties, owing to the fluctuation in the value of the paper, were soon embarrassed, and disagreed with each other as to the fixing of a just indemnity.

The Jews were not very moderate in their demands; in addition to the indemnity for making up paper to the value of cash, they soon added heavy interest and charges for commission, &c. The Republicans, on their side, not only resisted such demands, but insisted on a diminution of prices, as some of the Algerine corn delivered was, they stated, damaged and unwholesome. According to their showing, the debt legally owing to Busnach and Bacry did not exceed 280,000*l.* With pretensions so widely different no arrangement could be made, and the continual wars of the French that succeeded made them disregard the subject altogether, although the Algerine government, both under the Directory and Napoleon, repeatedly urged its claims. It was not until ten years after the restoration of the Bourbons, or in 1826, that the ministry of M. de Villèle took these claims under consideration, and set apart funds to discharge the long-standing debt.

But here again, fresh difficulties arose. It was made out

on the side of France that Busnach and Bacry, the Algerine Jews, had debts in France which amounted to about 100,000*l.*, and the government insisted on the justice of keeping back this amount out of the sums due them from the dey. The dey protesting he had nothing to do with the private speculations or debts of the two Jews, indignantly rejected this proposal, and not only demanded his money in full, but that 80,000*l.* which he openly said *the French consul had received for rendering certain good offices to Bacry in the prosecution of his claims in France*, should also be restored to him without challenge or deduction.

The dey did not receive the immediate and precise answer which he required. This exasperated the semi-barbarian, who, saying he was both cheated and laughed at, publicly abused the consul in the most unmeasured manner. Hussein was in this state of irritation when, on the 27th of April 1827, M. Duval waited on him to pay the compliments customary on the Bairam, or great festival of the Mahometans. As soon as the consul appeared, he furiously demanded whether he had a letter for him from Paris. The consul answered he had not; and then the dey, losing all respect and self command, after threatening, reviling, and calling him by all the opprobrious names in which the Turkish idiom is so rich, struck the consul on the face with a straw fan.

This gross insult broke off all official relations between the two governments. On the 11th of June, 1827, a French squadron commanded by Captain Collet, appeared off Algiers. Duval the consul, and all the French residents, embarked without any attempt being made by the dey either to hinder them or to make up the quarrel. Before Captain Collet sailed he sent in a haughty and threatening demand for reparation. Hussein laughed at this, and the squadron departed.

The French ships were scarcely out of the bay of Algiers when the fierce old Hussein gave orders for seizing and making slaves of all such subjects of France as could yet be found in his dominions, and for plundering and destroying the French forts at Calle, Bona, and one or two establishments at other ports. These measures could only tend to precipitate the retaliation which the dey had done so much by his previous conduct to provoke. The first warlike demonstrations of the French were, however, paltry and unimposing. They established a blockade of Algiers, which excited nothing more than the derision of the dey, and which, with unaccountable folly, with an immense expenditure of money, and with a considerable loss of human life, resulting almost entirely from sickness, they persisted in for three years. In 1829, when the utter uselessness of such measures ought to have been proved over and over again, the French minister of war collected a body of troops in the South of France, and maritime preparations on a large scale were completed at Toulon In the month of August of the same year, M. de la Bretonnière, a distinguished officer of the navy, was despatched to Algiers to offer peace to the dey, on what were generally considered moderate terms. The alternative was a war of invasion. But the fiery Hussein was as obstinate as ever. He flew into a paroxysm of rage when the French diplomatist made use of the word "reparation"—he said *he* was the injured party, and that he would never make peace unless France agreed to indemnify him for the losses caused to him by the blockade. The audience for peace broke up in mutual anger and in fresh exasperation on both sides.

When M. de la Brettonnière embarked on board of his ship of the line, at the mast head of which the sacred flag of truce was still flying, the advanced batteries of Algiers turned their guns upon her, and continued to cannonade her as long as she was within reach. This last dishonourable, abominable outrage, is said to have been ordered by an express signal from the Cassauba, or palace of the dey.

Extreme measures now became inevitable; but it must be allowed that the odium of commencing hostilities, and of giving a fierce turn to the contest, every way rests with Hussein.

The ill-fated ministry of M. de Polignac, which was so soon to provoke a revolution at home, had just entered office when intelligence reached France of the insult offered to M. de la Bretonnière and the national flag. This ministry boldly, and we think properly, resolved to delay no longer, and at once completed that armament which was to drive the dey from Africa.

The only Christian government that remonstrated as to the extent of the expedition, and the fate that was reserved for Algiers if the French conquered it, was the British, then presided over by the Duke of Wellington. Prince Polignac replied to the duke that France, when insulted, required the assistance of no one to redress her wrongs; and that she was not obliged to consult any other power, as to what she ought to do with the conquest she was determined to make. The Duke of Wellington put up with this haughty reply; and he and his friends, who are constantly embarrassing and questioning the present administration about matters that really had their origin under the management of his own cabinet, would do well to remember this. In this particular case, for example, the duke permitted the armament of France to depart, without pressing for any guarantee or assurance that Algiers would not be held as a fair conquest, and permanently colonized by the French. The duke knows very well what the decided feeling of Charles X. was on this subject; and if, at a later period, Louis Philippe held out something like an assurance that he would not keep possession of Algiers, this was owing to circumstances over which the duke had no control, and in which he could claim no merit.

An admirably appointed French army, amounting between infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, sappers and miners, &c., &c., to an effective force of 37,877 men, and placed under the supreme command of the Count de Bourmont, sailed from Toulon on the 25th of May 1830. The naval force of this expedition was, in proportion, even still more imposing. There were eleven sail of the line, twenty-four frigates, seven sloops of war, twenty-six gun brigs, eight bomb-ketches, seven steam-boats, and numerous small armed vessels. Between sailors and marines, the men in the ships of war alone amounted to 27,000 men. The transports of almost every class and nation amounted to 400 sail.

A number of flat boats, drawing only a few inches water, and with one end made to extend and lower like a sort of drawbridge, were provided for facilitating the landing of the troops.

On the 12th of June this fleet got sight of the African coast; on the 13th it sailed past Algiers, and soon came in front of Torre Chicha which defended the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch, the point where Bourmont had determined to land. To have disembarked in front of Algiers, or indeed at any point much nearer to the city than the one chosen, would have been impracticable, or at least most hazardous.

To the astonishment of the French, not a gun was fired from the strong Torre Chica. The Algerines had most absurdly abandoned that post, and had taken up a position, indifferently defended by redoubts, at the distance of about 1200 yards from the coast, where they could neither prevent the landing of the French, nor cover the city of Algiers when they had landed. With troops so imbecilely commanded, and who at the first onset did not amount to 20,000 men, little was to be feared; and if the French suffered severely before they gained possession of the capital, it was almost entirely owing to their own impetuosity on the one side, and the bad generalship of Bourmont on the other.

At day-break on the 14th of June, the French began to land and form, which they were allowed to do without a musket-shot being fired at them. Before evening the Algerines were swept from the peninsula of Sidi Ferruch, and, under the orders of General Valazé, a strong line of entrenchment was begun across the gorge of the peninsula, which was to serve as a general depôt for the invading army during the siege of Algiers.

On the 15th the French outposts suffered severely from the musketry of the Arabs and Kabayles, whom the Baron Juchereau de Saint-Denys (who was present, and who has written an admirable account of this campaign,) pronounces to be the best sharpshooters in the world. On the 16th a hurricane came on, which for some time threatened the expedition with the fate that befel the fleet of Charles V.

On the 19th Bourmont, who, in an unaccountable manner, instead of availing himself of his first successes and astounding impression, and pushing forward for the city, had remained almost on the spot where he landed, was attacked by an Algerine force, which had been allowed to gather from all points, and which is said to have amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000 men. The best of these troops were 4000 janisaries, 5000 Koul-Oglous, 10,000 Moors (from the cities of Algiers, Constantina and Oran) and 12,000 Kabayles, or mountaineers, from the interior.

After a furiously contested battle, in which the French lost 700 men, between killed and wounded, the Algerines were completely beaten and disheartened. But even then the *prudent* Bourmont did not push on for the capital. He lingered where he was—gave the Algerines time to recover from their consternation, to strengthen their positions, &c., and thus made other combats and a lamentable loss of life inevitable, ere he could set himself down before the walls of Algiers.

At last, on the 29th of June, or a fortnight after his disembarkation, Bourmont broke ground before the Fort of the Emperor (built by Charles V.) which commanded the Cassauba, or palace of the dey, the town, and nearly all the outer forts. The works of the besiegers were not uninterruptedly prosecuted; the besieged made frequent sorties, which, with their cannon and bombs, caused the French a daily loss of from 80 to 100 men. While Bourmont was making his entrenchments the admiral of the fleet kept up a cannonade on the sea-front of Algiers, which (tremendously strong *then*, as we experienced to our cost) had been much strengthened since Lord Exmouth's attack. This cannonade, however, could have been intended only to distract the attention of the Algerines, for M. Juchereau lets us into the secret that the admiral kept so much sea-room "that very few of his balls reached the enemy's batteries on account of the *distance and motion* of the ships."

But the Algerines soon experienced that the inland fortifications of their city were far more vulnerable than its sea-front, where alone they had hitherto been exposed to attack.

On the 4th of July, as day dawned, all the French batteries, on a given signal, opened their fire at once. By half-past nine in the morning the Fort of the Emperor, the key to Algiers, was knocked to pieces and silenced; and shortly after, by order of the dey, it was evacuated by the few men that survived in it, and blown into the air by setting fire to the powder magazines.

The French then began to form advanced batteries against the Cassauba and parts of the city. But the fierce old dey's heart now failed him, and about two hours after noon he sent his private secretary with a flag of truce. After some *pour parlers* which of course all ended in the conditions agreeable to the conquerors, (for the French were now, in fact, the conquerors of Algiers,) the following preliminaries were agreed to.

1. That the French should take possession of the city of Algiers, the Cassauba, all the forts, and all *public* property of every kind, at nine o'clock on the following morning, the 5th of July.

2. That the Mahometan religion, and the customs and usages of the inhabitants should be respected, *and that no person belonging to the French army should enter the mosques.*

3. That the dey and all the Turks should quit Algiers in as short a time as possible, but be at full liberty to choose their place of retreat, having, at the same time, the entire conservation of their private property guaranteed to them.

On the following morning, at the appointed hour, the French began to take possession, and before evening everything was quietly theirs. Thus fell Algiers, after more than three centuries of barbarity, piracy, and brigandism.

It is due to the conquering army to state, that at this proud moment their discipline, their abstinence from insult, revenge, and plunder, were admirable; and sorry are we to be shortly obliged to give a very different account of the conduct of the French in Algiers.

The booty made in gold and silver specie, in wool and other merchandise, in brass cannon, &c., which were set down in the list of public property, was estimated at 55,684,527 francs, or about 2,237,381*l.* of our money. To this are to be added 800 iron cannons, an immense quantity of shot, shell, powder, &c., and the value of the real property of the state, comprising half of the houses in Algiers. It is calculated that after deducting the expenses of the whole expedition from the gross amount, France must have made a clear profit of three millions sterling in actual property.

It will be remembered, that very soon after his downfal, the dey packed up his private property and sailed for Europe, where he learned that Charles X., who had ordered his dethronement, was himself dethroned by the revolution of July. But before the wily, experienced Hussein—who, by keeping himself almost constantly shut up in the strong palace, or rather citadel, of the Cassauba, had contrived to reign longer, and on the whole more prosperously, than any of his predecessors—before the old dey left Algiers, he gave the French some most valuable advice, as to the proper mode of maintaining themselves in their new conquest.

He recommended them to clear the country as soon as possible of the Turkish janisaries, who had ever been fierce and unruly,—to conciliate the Moors and wandering Arabs,—and particularly to avoid hostilities with the Kabayles, or mountaineers, who are descended from the ancient Numidians—a warlike race that has never been conquered by Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, or Ottomans. By neglecting this advice Bourmont almost immediately endangered the safety of the new colony, lost many brave soldiers, and was soon unable to move beyond the forts of Algiers.

For the additional observations and facts we shall add on this very interesting subject, we shall be mainly indebted to a recent article in the 'Foreign Quarterly Review'—a work that has been particularly distinguished by its comments on foreign policy.

The writer of the article on Algiers, who has himself a clear insight into the statistics and the character of the different races that inhabit the regency, goes on the authority of General Clauzel, Baron Pichon, General Brossard, Captain Rozet, and other Frenchmen of high reputation, who have seen what they describe, and what they have printed and published, with their names to their several productions.

After saying, "we are not among those who envy our neighbours their possession of Algiers; on the contrary, it was our wish that they might make a good use of its acquisition; though we must say that hitherto our hopes and wishes have been alike disappointed;" the writer in the 'Foreign Quarterly' continues,

"By the capitulation of the 4th July, 1830, the French became possessed of the city of Algiers and the forts depending on it. *No mention was made of the provinces, or of the native tribes.* (These, as we shall presently see, were not the dey's to give!) The dey capitulated merely as commander of a military garrison, not as sovereign of an extensive kingdom. The natives had been told by the French in their proclamations, *that they had come to deliver them from the Turkish yoke, and restore them to their independence.* The Turks were in fact aliens to the country; their power was that of pirates by sea, and usurpers and marauders by land, and the French might just as well pretend to inherit the one as the other of these attributes. The French became possessed by conquest of Algiers, Oran, Bona, and one or two more points upon or near the coast. The Moors and other mixed races who inhabit these became subjects of France. The interior of the country remained, both *de jure* and *de facto*, in possession of the natives. These natives are of two races—the Arabs and the Kabayles. The Arabs are the descendants of the great eastern conquerors of the times of the caliphs: their tribes are scattered all over northern Africa; they are mostly shepherds, live under tents, and tend their flocks in the plains. The Kabayles, so called by the Moors, are the real aborigines, the descendants of the old Numidians; they are the cultivators of the soil, live in villages called *dashkrahs*, and constitute the great majority of the interior population of the regency of Algiers. They are evidently of the same race as the *Berbers* of Morocco. * * * * Several of the Arab tribes near Algiers paid tribute to the Turks, in order that their cattle might graze safely on the plains; but the Kabayles seldom or never entered into such agreements; they lived independently in the numerous parallel ridges and valleys of the Atlas, which cover the greater part of the surface of the country, and their own sheiks and marabouts administered justice; the Turks only extorted any thing from them by sending detachments to surprise the villages, or kidnap their young men, and making their parents pay a ransom. Such was the *sovereignty* of the Turks over nine-tenths of the territory of the regency. When the French landed, the Arabs abandoned the cause of the Algerines or the Turks, as soon as they could do it with safety, and by their defection, and the intelligence they brought to the French camp, materially facilitated the success of the invaders. They had promised the French general to maintain neutrality, on condition of being protected against the vengeance of the Turks."

For the proper understanding of the question we beg the reader's close attention to all the points included in the extract we have just given.

"After the capitulation," says General Brossard, "and

on the very day the French entered Algiers, all the authorities dependent on the dey were abolished, without any others being substituted. Thus all at once the Arab tribes found themselves independent."

In spite of this self-evident fact, when, a short time after, the Arab tribes peacefully assembled at Bleda, a town about twenty-five miles from Algiers, to consult as to what future relations they should maintain with the French conquerors, Bourmont, instead of employing negociation, or distributing a small portion of the treasures of the Cassauba to win over the sheiks, marched against the assembly with a column of 2000 men. The Arabs learning this approach were alarmed and irritated; the more peaceful or timid tribes departed, but the rest (being joined on this occasion by numbers of Kabayles) kept their ground, and determined to attack the French. And, in fact, the very day after his arrival at Bleda (24th July, 1830,) these hardy shepherds and tillers of the soil fell upon Bourmont, and not only drove him with loss from that town, but followed him up during his hurried retreat to Algiers, pressing on his rear and flanks nearly the whole of the way.

Bourmont then, literally shut up in Algiers and the narrow strips of country commanded by its guns, would have treated with the sheiks; "but they," says General Brossard, "replied that since their victory of Bleda, there was not a herdsman in all Africa who would condescend to treat with the French."

Bourmont fell with the Parisian revolution of July; but it was not until the 2nd of September that his successor to the governor-generalship of Algiers, appointed by Louis Philippe, arrived. This successor was Count Clauzel, one of Napoleon's generals, a man distinguished by military genius, and much respected for his political consistency, and honourable, gentlemanly character. Shortly after his arrival Marshal Gerard, then minister at war, informed the Count that the French government, *already determined to keep possession of Algiers*, was now confirmed in its intention of forming an important colony in its territory. The first step to be taken towards this great end, was to grant lands to colonists on the Matidja plain, and then gradually to drive all the refractory native tribes back upon mount Atlas. But neither the marshal who commanded, nor the general who obeyed his instructions, ever gave themselves the trouble to inquire who were the owners of those lands in the Metidja plain. M. Pichon, who a year after took this trouble upon himself, "discovered that they belonged chiefly to Moorish proprietors, inhabitants of Algiers, the quiet subjects of France, whose property was solemnly guaranteed to them by the capitulation, and who were accustomed to let their lands to Arab or Kabayle cultivators or graziers, either on condition of receiving part of the produce, &c., or for a fixed rent. The regency, or the government of the dey, had no lands except a few farms attached to certain offices of the state."

This was indeed a capital mistake—a playing with right, property, and the letter and spirit of conventions! "The word 'colony,'" says the writer in the review, 'has been sadly misunderstood by the French in this instance. A colony, in our modern sense, presupposes a vast extent of uncultivated and unappropriated ground, as in North America or Australia. There the land is waste and void, for the few Indians, or black savages, are neither cultivators nor shepherds, but hunters and fishermen. But the case is very different in Barbary. The Arabs are herdsmen, shepherds, and graziers; many of them are also farmers and have fixed residences. The Kabayles, who form the great majority of the indigenous population, are all farmers, and very industrious ones too, and the land in the back ground of Algiers is divided among them. * * * Those who live near the towns on the coast are the most tenacious of their possessions, which are the most profitable on account of their vicinity to the markets. The idea of 'driving back' (*refoulant*) the native population into the interior is a most barbarous one."

M. Pichon shows that this idea is sufficiently impracticable.

"Persons," says he, (and we perceive with astonishment that such persons are numerous among the French at Algiers) "who talk seriously of imitating Cortes and Pizarro —of *exterminating the natives*, do not mark the difference between our position and that of the Spanish conquerors, who had to deal with people *that had no fire-arms*,—the Arabs and Kabyles *have all got muskets*, and this arm goes a great way to equalize the combatants, especially in a lengthened and desultory warfare, and in a country where great strategetic operations, movements of large masses, and of batteries are impossible. We experienced this at St. Domingo, and we are now experiencing it in Africa."

Count Clauzel soon found himself engaged in active hostilities with the Arabs and Kabyles, and the Dey of Titteri. His troops took and plundered Bleda, and got as far as Medeah, the residence of the Dey of Titteri, about forty-five miles from Algiers; but they could not sustain themselves there, and all these successes, if such they could be called, cost them very dear.

Count Clauzel returning to France in disgust, General Berthezène, an excellent officer, and apparently a well-meaning man, remained at Algiers. The army was by this time so reduced in number, that the new commander saw the necessity of contracting his line of posts. He marched from Algiers in June, 1831, with 6000 men, to bring in some of the most advanced posts. The French troops burnt the huts and crops of the Kabayles; but on their return towards Algiers, they were sorely harassed by the natives, who gathering in force, and elated by Berthezène's retreat, scoured the partially-allotted Metidja plain, burnt the crops at the French experimental farm, seven miles from Algiers, and kept the garrison on the alert for several weeks.

General Berthezène then very wisely appointed a native Arab, a man of ancient family and hereditary reputation for sanctity, who lived a few miles from the city of Algiers, to be Agà or governor of the Arabs, and to act as a medium of communication between the French and the tribes. Through the good offices of this Agà a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, with the understanding that the general should send no more armed parties into the plain beyond the line of the French outposts.

"General Berthezène," says General Brossard, "had he retained the command, would have established friendly relations with the Arabs; he would have effected this by means of his personal influence, for his conduct towards the natives had always been founded upon humanity, equity, and good faith; the Arabs put great trust in his word, and if some of them deceived him, no one was afraid of being deceived by him. Several chiefs of tribes were sincerely attached to him. 'God will give thee the victory,' said an old sheik, 'for thou art just and good.'"

But the just and good Berthezène was much too scrupulous and moderate a man to suit the *mouvement* and exterminating party at Algiers, who, by their chicanery and misrepresentations, soon obtained his recall. It is probable, however, that his own despatches had something to do with this; for, in writing to the minister at war, he did not hesitate to combat the favourite system of colonisation, and on his own personal observation and experience he told some home truths which could not have been very palatable to the vanity of the civilizing government.

In August, 1831, he wrote that the Moors of the country "ruined," "interfered with in their manners and habits;" "reduced to poverty, treated with contempt, and ruled by foreigners," were in many respects *in a far worse condition than they had ever known under the old Dey*. "It is natural," continued the general, "that they should neither like us, nor relish *the kind of civilization we wish to force upon them*. There is yet something to be done with regard to these people. *The Romans always left to the conquered people the care of their own municipal institutions!*"

The French, who are much addicted to quoting the example of the Romans, would do well to remember this last most important fact.

In October, 1831, the French government, then presided over by M. Perier, resolved to take the administration of Algiers into its own hands, and to separate the civil from the military jurisdictions. Baron Pichon, an experienced man of business, and one enjoying an unspotted reputation, was sent out as civil intendant. But if this choice was good, what shall we say to the next? Shortly after the notorious Savary (Duke of Rovigo) was appointed to supersede Berthezène as commander-in-chief at Algiers!

On arriving at his post, M. Pichon found, as he had foreseen, that it was not a bed of roses. He saw great and increasing oppression and misery on every side, and he was soon made to feel how difficult it was for a man of the pen to interfere with a man of the sword—and that man Savary, —or to draw a proper line between the civil and military attributes of office. Not only had private property of Turks, Moors, and Arabs been seized and squandered in de-

fence of the convention, but the funds and the establishments of religion and charity—the public and in many respects meritorious institutions of the country—had been remorselessly attacked, and dilapidated, if not annihilated.

Nay, even the supply of water—an object of such paramount importance in an African climate and to a Mahometan people—was perilled by French carelessness and blind avarice. To keep the aqueducts, fountains, &c., in good repair, many charitable individuals had left handsome legacies. Now all these funds were sequestrated by the French. General Clauzel, indeed, ordered that the government of Algiers should take upon itself the work to which these funds were appropriated; but this was not done. Consequently the aqueducts were neglected, and the gardens round Algiers which, under the Dey, were well supplied with water, became dry and parched. The detachments of troops, moreover, marching and countermarching through the country, found it more easy to break into these aqueducts with pick-axes, and so get at the water, than to suffer thirst till they reached the next well or fountain. In and about Oran this neglect of conduits and reservoirs, and destruction of aqueducts, were carried so far, that in March, 1832, M. Escalonne, acting civil intendent of the place, represented to M. Pichon that unless prompt measures were taken, the French in Oran, blockaded by the Arabs, might find themselves in total want of water!

In detailing with feelings of shame and indignation this general *gaspillage*, M. Pichon says;—

"It is easy to imagine the impression such measures may have made on the inhabitants of the rest of the country, who are not under our power—*a country too 550 miles in length, and from 150 to 200 in breadth!* I have had indubitable knowledge of many fraudulent acts and malversations that had taken place in the midst of the disorders into which both private and public property has been thrown by the system. This is the unavoidable consequence of the violation of the laws of property; we have ourselves seen in France worse than this, during our revolutionary sequestrations and confiscations. Can the chaos resulting from all this at Algiers be cleared up by the *logic of the sabre?* We shall see!"

Our readers will remember it was stipulated in the convention with the Dey, that none of the French soldiery should enter the mosques, and that the religion and usages of the inhabitants should be respected. By a report made by M. Pichon, it appears that as far back as May 1832, out of *thirteen* large mosques with minarets, the French had already seized *seven*.—One of these seven was knocked down to make room for a new square—the others were turned into barracks. The Commission for military lodgings asked for three more: M. Pichon reduced the demand to one. A few months after another mosque was converted into a Catholic church. There remained therefore to the Mussulmans only four of the good mosques, and two of these four the French engineers wanted to demolish because they stood too near to the line of defence on the sea-side. In Oran, where there were plenty of other buildings fitted for that purpose, the civilizing army seized every one of the mosques. "The consequence will be," says M. Escalonne, the intendant, "that the Imams and other servants of the mosque will leave Oran, and the tale they have to tell to their brethren in the interior will not be in our favour."

All Mahometan people hold their tombs and their burying grounds, which are frequently solemnly-beautiful places, in extreme veneration. But these, to erect fortifications, or to make a road wider or more direct, the French have upturned, or cut through without hesitation. "If you go on at this rate, we shall neither know where to live nor where to die," —was the sad remark of a Moor to M. Pichon. Captain Rozet, who seems to have visited the country merely as a traveller, and who is not a very censorious observer, says on this head,—"Algiers, like other Moorish towns, was surrounded by cemeteries and tombs. These were a sort of sanctuary, the violation of which would once have cost the life of the desecrator, but calamity and fear stifle all generous sentiments. From the first period of our conquest, *we* have violated their tombs; I have seen our soldiers open them to ascertain if they concealed any treasures. The bones of the dead were thrown on the dunghill; I have seen corpses yet entire, and enveloped in white sheets, lying by the road-side. The natives, with downcast eyes, gazed at this sad scene without daring to utter a word: some of them came with religious veneration to gather the scattered bones, and carried them away. But after a time, when bivouacs were formed in the midst of the cemetries and——" But we cannot complete this horrid picture. Knowing, as we well do, how solemn and deeply rooted are the feelings of the Musselmans in these respects, we can assure the French that it will take many years of kind treatment, and of an improved government, (of which scarcely a symptom has been seen as yet,) to obliterate this fatal remembrance and the hatred which will accompany it. Savary, by constitution and habit, was naturally disposed to fall in with the views of the exterminators, or of the party desirous of possessing themselves, at any cost, of the lands and property of the natives. "Drive back to the mountains"—"destroy" —"Stop the broken aqueducts with the heads of the first Bedoweens you meet," were the cries of these men, who had a newspaper, the "*Semaphore*" of Marseilles, to represent and advocate their views. We have before us several detestable examples of injustice, cruelty, and almost unparalleled tyranny—but we can find room for only one, which is advanced and supported by official documents by M. Pichon, *and which has never been contradicted.* The whole proceedings are worthy of Savary. The winter had been passed in perfect peace, the Arabs having scrupulously observed the treaty concluded by their Agà and General Berthezène. In April 1832, some pretended messengers from the remote tribe of the Biskaris, came to Algiers and were received with some parade by Savary, who, in dismissing them, made them the usual presents of cloaks and a little money. These messengers were regarded by the most respectable Moors of Algiers, and by the Agà of the Arabs himself, as impostors. The same day on which they left Algiers, on their return homewards, in passing through the grounds on the Metidja plain occupied by the Ouffia tribe, who had long been living on the most friendly terms with the French soldiers and officers, these Biskaris were plundered of their cloaks and other effects. This is an incident of common occurrence all over Barbary, and even in the most peaceful times. The Biskaris, however, escaped unhurt, and returned to Algiers to lodge a complaint. On the night of the same day, Savary sent out of the city and on the road to the Ouffia encampment, a battalion of the foreign legion, and a squadron of some sort of native cavalry in the French service. Before the dawn of the next day they surrounded the Ouffias who were buried in sleep, and without summons or any kind of notice, the soldiers rushed into the tents and stabbed or shot the inmates to the number of eighty! Only seventeen or eighteen men (among whom was the Sheik of the tribe,) were made prisoners. A number of women were driven to one of the French outposts, and after being detained there three days, were allowed to go back to bury their murdered husbands, fathers, and sons! The cattle, scattered over their fields, and many of which did not belong to the Ouffias, but were merely intrusted to them as herdsmen, were carried off and publicly sold. The money produced by the sale was distributed among the troops that had achieved the slaughter. M. Pichon says he saw some of the officers "who felt a painful regret at receiving their share," but his reviewer properly adds, that "the only wonder is they accepted it at all!" From 1500 to 2000 sheep, between 600 and 700 bullocks, and from 25 to 30 camels formed this booty, taken from the Ouffias for *being supposed* to have stolen a few fustian cloaks and a few piastres. But it appears from a variety of evidence that the Ouffias were either not guilty at all, or were not guilty as a body or tribe. M. Pichon, who had the best means of obtaining information from the natives, says, that the robbers belonged to the tribe of the Kreshnas, and were marauding on the lands of their neighbours the Ouffias. General Brossard asserts, "that the robbery was committed by a joint party of the Kreshnas, the Beni Moussas, and the Ouffias, without the chiefs of those tribes having taken any part in it: it is even asserted that they were ignorant of the attempt. Marauding parties of this sort, composed of men of various tribes, are not of rare occurrence."

We have not space to tell many deeds of duplicity, degrading meanness, and utter disregard for human life, that accompanied and followed the butchery and plunder of the Ouffias; and many other subsequent tales,—such as of military executions of Sheiks, beheading of merchants and seizure of their property without form of trial, of men thrown into secret prisons, and being found with their heads cut off —we must leave wholly untold.

Savary and the party with whom he acted sowed the seeds

of a "reign of terror," and they were soon made to taste some of its fruits themselves. The landed property outside of the towns, became almost valueless:—from want of confidence and cultivation on the part of the natives, the French were deprived of all the many luxuries of life the country was so well able to furnish them. If, except in battalions, they ventured beyond the outposts, they were cut in pieces by the infuriated Arabs and Kabyles. In the course of 1832 and 1833 they suffered great losses. Irritated by fresh severities, and by Savary's setting at nought General Berthezène's treaty with them, the Arabs resumed the offensive along the whole of the French line. Nay, they even forced that line, and after doing great mischief to the baking, farming, and other establishments, set themselves down on the plain of Staweli almost within cannon-shot of the city of Algiers. At the same time Oran was continually beset by the Arabs, though whole tribes, and several Sheiks and Maribouts, had been sacrificed by the French "to inspire a salutary terror." Both at Oran and Mustagannim the French could get no provisions except such as were sent to them by sea. The little *cabotage*, or coasting trade, that had always been carried on in Moorish barks, was annihilated, and the general aspect of things seemed to justify the assertion of a French gentleman writing from Oran, who said, "We carry nothing but desolation and misery to all the points at which we land." This our readers must remember was the fourth year of the military occupation and of the existence of "L'Afrique Française." "Meantime," adds the writer in the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' "France is annually spending about twenty millions of francs, besides losing some thousand men, to retain a possession, the whole revenue of which, including the sequestrations, does not exceed a million and a half! This is a system evidently ruinous to all parties. The French ought to give up every idea of extending their conquests along the coast or in the interior, or of extensive colonisation, at least for years to come. Moderate garrisons ought to be kept in the towns on the coost, commerce encouraged, and friendly relations entered into with the Arabs of the plains, as between neighbour and neighbour. The Arabs are a fine, intelligent race, much more manageable and humane than the Kabyles, and they have a keen sense of justice and of the sacredness of oaths." In these notions, General Brossard, whose active services have made him well acquainted with the country, perfectly agrees. Of two plans proposed, 1st, To form an impassable line of fortifications round the territory which it is wished to occupy; 2nd, To drive back (*refouler*) by force of arms, the native tribes beyond the mountains;—he says, the one is impracticable except on a very small scale, and the other absolutely impossible. The General then recommends the third plan, which must prove the safest, the least expensive, and the most consonant with justice and humanity— *i. e.*, to obtain the peaceful submission of the nearer tribes, and to make of them a barrier against the attacks of the wilder and more remote tribes.

We most cordially say with the Reviewer, "May the French Government adopt this plan ere it be too late!"

STAMP DUTY ON NEWSPAPERS.

[The following paper, which was prepared several months ago for the information of some official personages who took a strong interest in the question of the repeal of the stamp duties on newspapers, has been obligingly confided to us for publication. It will be seen, by reference to the speech of Mr. Hill, member for Hull, on the debate on Mr. Lytton Bulwer's motion, that some of the statements and estimates given in this paper were employed by that gentleman. These facts throw a strong light on the general question; and we have no doubt that they have been collected with great care, and scrupulous accuracy.]

If the stamp were abolished, newspapers would probably be reduced a little in size, and the price might be 2*d.* instead of 7*d.*

There can be no doubt that such a diminution in the price of newspapers would enormously increase the sale, and there are facts which enable us to estimate that increase probably with some degree of accuracy.

Twopence is about the average price of newspapers in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. The population of those islands (sixty thousand) is about as large as that which, in Great Britain, is required to maintain a single weekly paper; whereas, in Jersey and Guernsey, fifteen papers are published every week.

The sale of the three non-political papers of greatest circulation in this country, *viz.* the Penny and Saturday Magazines, and Chambers' Journal, is about ten times as great as that of the three weekly newspapers of greatest circulation, notwithstanding that, to most people, news and politics are far more enticing than any other matter.

A few years ago it was shown by a very able writer in the 'Scotsman,' that the number of newspapers in the United States of America was, in proportion to the population, five times as great as in the British isles; and the same writer was of opinion that, but for the dispersion of the inhabitants, the United States would, in all probability, have a proportion of newspapers eight or ten times as great as in the British isles—an estimate, the accuracy of which is confirmed by the fact that, in the State of New York, with a population of 2,000,000, that is of one-twelfth of the population of the British isles, the number of papers is at least two-thirds of the entire number published in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

The very great difference in the consumption of cheap and of dear newspapers will not appear surprising if we consider the mode in which cheapness operates. Suppose the price of newspapers in this country to be reduced from 7*d.* to 2*d.* Many, who had previously read a weekly paper, would now see a daily one. Those who had purchased a single daily paper would now buy several. Papers would be bought by individuals instead of parties, &c. &c. In short, it may safely be assumed that the previous newspaper-purchasing class would continue to spend at least as much money on newspapers as before, and this alone would advance the sale to three-and-a-half times its former amount.

But another and a much larger class would now, for the first time, become purchasers of newspapers. Of the comparative magnitude of this class a tolerably accurate notion may be obtained, by an examination of the returns of assessments to the window-tax. It may be assumed that a man's expenditure in rent is a tolerably fair index of his expenditure in other things, newspapers, for instance, and that the proportion between the rent of a house and its number of windows is tolerably uniform.* If such be the case, and we assume a certain number of windows, say twenty-eight, to mark the lower limit of the class which can afford to buy sevenpenny papers, two-sevenths of that number, or eight windows, will mark that of the twopenny paper class (the classes of society increase as we descend, in a pretty uniform ratio: it is manifest, therefore, that, in these numbers, *comparative* accuracy only is required. Smaller numbers of windows would, undoubtedly, have given a nearer approximation to *absolute* accuracy; but houses with less than eight windows are not assessed).

Now, by a parliamentary return for the year 1831, it appeared that the number of houses in England and Wales, containing not less than twenty-eight windows each, was 26,499; while the number containing less than twenty-eight, but not less than eight windows each, was 347,287.

From these facts we may infer that the class, now for the first time purchasing newspapers, would be thirteen times as large as the previous class, and that it would buy thirteen times as many cheap papers as the previous class did dear ones. But we have already shown that the old class alone would purchase three-and-a-half times as many papers as before: the whole increase is, therefore, more than sixteenfold.

Taking all circumstances into consideration, we may, we think, safely assume that the abolition of the stamp would increase the *number* of papers in this country tenfold; but as the new papers would probably be somewhat smaller than the old, let us assume that the increase in *quantity* of paper will be eightfold.

The revenue at present derived from newspapers arises under the following heads:—

1. Stamps.
2. Duty on paper.
3. Duty on rags imported.
4. Duty on advertisements.

Under the proposed arrangements the revenue derived

* The assessments for the house duty would be a better guide for our purpose, but for the exemption of farm-houses.

from stamps would, of course, altogether cease; the duty on paper and rags, assuming our data to be correct, would be increased eightfold; but the duty on rags is so trifling, that it may be omitted in the account; the duty on advertisements would be greatly increased, and this forms the most important item of the account.

The present high price of advertisements is owing, not not so much to the duty on advertisements as to the stamp on newspapers, which greatly restricts the advertising power. If, as we have assumed, that power were increased eight-fold, there can be no doubt the price of advertisements would fall very much indeed.

In the United States, the charge for advertisements varies very much, but the average appears to be about 1½*d.* per line. In Jersey and Guernsey it is about 1*d.* per line. Suppose the price in our own country to be reduced to 1½*d.* per line *plus* the advertisement duty; the charge for an average advertisement of 12 lines would then be 3*s.* or less than one-third of the present price. What effect would this reduction have on the number of advertisements?

Before the reduction of the advertisement duty, the price of an advertisement in this country was about eight times as great as in the United States, while at the same time the *number* of advertisements, in proportion to the population, was more than twenty times as great in the United States as in the British Isles. It appears, therefore, that a diminution in the price causes the number of advertisements to increase in a much higher ratio; and this result is in accordance with experience generally, as to the increase of demand as compared with the diminution of price. Any one accustomed to read our own papers must have observed a considerable increase in the number of advertisements since the reduction of the duty, though, for reasons already stated, the price of advertisements has fallen but little. The alteration is however too recent for its full effect to have been manifested; there cannot yet have been sufficient time for the whole change to have taken place in the habits of the people.

With an eight-fold advertising power it is manifest that the number of advertisements might increase eight-fold without crowding the papers more than at present, and such an increase is not greater than may be expected to arise from the estimated reduction to one-third of the present price, if we look at the state of things in America.

Indeed, when we consider that the English are much more of a trading people than the Americans, we might very safely assume even a higher rate of increase.

In order to allow the unstamped papers to pass through the Post-office, it is proposed that franks should be sold (say by the venders of stamps) at a penny each. It will be necessary to make the postage payable by the person sending the paper; for otherwise a great many papers, especially the very low-priced ones, would be refused by persons to whom they were addressed. It is obvious that a direct payment to the Post-office, by the transmitter of the paper, would be highly inconvenient, if not impossible. Mr. Knight's plan of a stamped frank obviates the difficulty; and it would facilitate the transmission of all printed sheets under a certain weight. By a Parliamentary Return, it appears, that in the year 1830, out of thirty millions of papers stamped for the whole kingdom, thirteen millions passed through the London Post-office. If to this we add seven millions as the probable number of newspapers sent through the other post-offices of the kingdom, we make the total number distributed by the post to be twenty millions, or two-thirds of the whole number printed.

After a careful consideration of the subject, we think it very doubtful whether this number would be much, if at all, increased by the proposed arrangement. Let us consider it exactly the same: the cost to the country of transmitting the papers by the post would therefore be the same under each arrangement, and may consequently be omitted in the comparison, whilst the receipts from this source must be carried to the credit of the proposed plan alone.

The account is as follows:—

PRESENT REVENUE.

Derived from a given number of stamped Newspapers—say 100—

Stamps, 100 at 4*d.* each	£1	13	4
Discount, 20 per cent.	0	6	8
	£1	6	8
Duty on paper—100 of the average size weigh about 8lb., which at 3*d.* per lb. is	0	2	0
Duty on advertisements.—* Say one-fifth of the stamps	0	5	4
Total revenue derived from 100 papers under the present arrangements	£1	14	0

FUTURE REVENUE.

Derived from an equivalent number, or rather weight of unstamped newspapers, viz. 800.

Duty on paper— 8 times as much as above	0	16	0
Duty on advertisements— 8 times as much as above	2	2	8
Postage—66 papers (two-thirds of 100) at 1*d.* each	0	5	6
Total revenue derived from an equivalent number of papers under the proposed arrangements	£3	4	2

From this calculation, it appears that the removal of the stamp would nearly double the revenue derived from newspapers.

Supposing, as before, the increase in the number of papers to be accompanied by a like increase in the number of advertisements, let it be determined what increase of papers will be required to leave the revenue in its present state.

Total revenue now derived from 100 newspapers					£1	14	0
Receipts for postage, as in the previous account					0	5	6
Duty on 100 papers (see previous account)	£0	2	0				
Duty on advertisements (see previous account)	0	5	4				
	0	7	4	× 4 =	1	9	4
Total					£1	14	10

It appears, therefore, that an increase in the number of papers, in the ratio of four to one (supposing the number of advertisements to increase in the same ratio), would slightly benefit the revenue, even though the stamps were abolished. Such an increase in the sale of papers may be looked upon as absolutely certain; for it only requires that the public should purchase four papers at 2*d.* each, where it now buys one at 7*d.*

It may perhaps be thought, that the increase in the number of advertisements will not keep pace with the increase in the number of newspapers. Let us therefore assume, that the papers increase six-fold, while the advertisements increase three-fold only.

Total revenue derived from 100 newspapers	£1	14	0
Receipts for postage, as in the previous account	0	5	6
Paper-duty, 48 lbs. at 3*d.*	0	12	0
Advertisement-duty, 5*s.* 4*d.* × 3 =	0	16	0
Total	£1	13	6

Thus it appears that such an increase as that assumed above would leave the revenue practically in the same state as at present.

That the probabilities are decidedly in favour of a much greater increase scarcely admits of a doubt; and if so, it follows, that the change proposed is more likely to benefit the revenue than to injure it. This much, at least, may be considered as quite certain, that the abolition of the stamp cannot possibly produce any serious loss.

It may perhaps appear, that the fact of the Irish papers having only a twopenny stamp has been overlooked. Such is not the case: but the revenue derived from the Irish papers is so small a fraction of the whole (not so

* In the year 1832 the duty on advertisements (155,400*l.*) was about three-tenths of the stamp duty (574,430*l.*) The increase of advertisements in consequence of the reduction of the duty from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1833, cannot, for reasons already stated, be estimated with accuracy, but we think it may safely be assumed to be eventually about in the ratio of 3 to 2: this increase of number, combined with the diminished rate of charge, determines the future advertisement duty under existing arrangements to be about two-tenths, or one-fifth of the stamp duty.

much as a tenth part), that it was thought better not to complicate the account by an item of such trifling importance.

The smallness of the number of papers in Ireland would, if we did not consider the poverty of that unfortunate country, militate against the views here held out; but if the consumption of newspapers be compared with the consumption of any luxury which bears the same price both in England and in Ireland, it will be found that Ireland offers no exception to the principles which it is the object of this paper to establish.

Indeed, a mere glance at the lists of English and Irish papers will show that, in the large towns, where alone in Ireland a moderately wealthy population is to be met with, the greater cheapness of the Irish papers produces a decided effect; for while in Great Britain, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Canterbury, Greenock, and Kelso, are the only towns, besides London, which support a paper published more frequently than once a week (London alone maintaining a daily paper), there are in Ireland six daily papers published in Dublin, and papers more frequently than once per week in Belfast, Carlow, Clonmel, Cork, Drogheda, Ennis, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Newry, Sligo, Tralee, Waterford, and Wexford.

In the foregoing review of the advantages to the revenue which may be expected to follow the entire abolition of the stamp duty upon newspapers, no notice has been taken of the indirect benefits which would certainly accrue from the proposed measure. When, however, it is considered that every increase in the power of advertising must be accompanied with increased facilities for buying and selling, and that consequently the revenue derived from the sale of articles of import, or of excise—from the duties on stage-coach travelling and posting—from the auction-duty, &c. &c., would be greatly increased; and again, when the effect on the revenue of an increase in the trading business of the country is traced through its various ramifications, it becomes difficult to estimate the amount of injury caused by the barrier which the stamp-duty on newspapers presents, or the extent of the benefit which would follow its removal.

CHURCH REFORM BILLS.

IT appears from a paper printed last session by order of the House of Commons, that of the incumbents of 10,560 benefices, being the entire number in England and Wales, only 4649, or considerably under one half, were resident in their parishes in the year 1831. The state of things is, no doubt, the same still. There are very nearly 6000 benefices, the holders of which do not reside on their livings.

Of the exact number of 5911 benefices which were thus situated in 1831, there were 3374, or considerably more than one half, which did not possess even a resident curate. In other words, very nearly every third parish in England may be stated to be without any resident clergyman whatever.

It will hardly be denied on any hand that this is a condition of things imperatively demanding reform. Let this utterly or partially deserted state in which so many cures are left be accounted for, or apologized for, how it may, the case is one to which a remedy must be applied at any cost. The evil goes to destroy the very life of the institution within which it has sprung up and attained its enormous magnitude; and if there be no other way of dealing with it, it must be extirpated, even though something else that is really valuable should go with it. The grand principle upon which the church stands, and is sustained in being, is irreconcilably at war with so imperfect a distribution over the country of the benefits which it professes to dispense. An Established Church, a church supported by the state, appears to be mainly called for by the consideration that by such a provision only, in the present state of society, could religious instruction be diffused throughout every part of the kingdom, and the light of moral and christian truth be set up and kept permanently visible in its poorest and remotest corners. The ground is removed from under the church, therefore, and it is left without a foundation to rest upon, in proportion as this great end remains unfulfilled. There are other purposes, we allow, and high purposes too, not necessary to be indicated here, which belong to the idea of a national Church; but this only is essential to its very existence. In regard to some of these other purposes we think, for instance, that the Church of Scotland is far less judiciously contrived than that established in this part of the island. But in the first requisite of an Established Church, that it really supplies religious instruction equally and fairly to all parts of the country—to the poor parishes as well as to the rich—to the thinly inhabited as well as to the populous—to those remote from the great highways of resort and traffic as well as to those more favourably placed—in this respect it holds out an example which may well put its sister institution to the blush. Of about a thousand parishes, into which Scotland is divided, there is not one which has not its resident clergyman, who, with very few exceptions, is the incumbent of the benefice. Even where an assistant, or curate, as he would be called in England, is employed, it is extremely rare for the incumbent not to be also resident in the parish. Indeed the law of the Scotch Church does not, we believe, permit the latter to absent himself, even in those cases in which he is permitted to have an assistant. A state of health requiring removal to another climate, or some other claim equally urgent, makes the only case in which a dispensation is granted from what is held to be the clergyman's first duty, residence among his flock. An assistant very seldom does more than relieve his principal from the labour of preaching and conducting divine service on the sunday; almost universally the baptizing of children, the ceremony of marriage, and certain other higher offices, continue to be performed only by the latter. His constant presence in the parish, therefore, even although in somewhat infirm health, is indispensable.

Be it observed, that as matters are managed in this part of the kingdom, it is in general the poorest parishes that are left without a resident clergyman—that is to say, it is precisely those for the sake of which an established Church is most required that are allowed to remain without any share in its advantages.

These livings are usually held as annexations to others of more value, the incumbent residing on the latter. It is the toleration of pluralities, therefore, or the holding of more benefices than one by the same individual, which creates non-residence. Prohibit the former and you put down the latter evil. At least, you cannot get rid of the latter until you have abolished the former.

This is the view upon which the Lord Chancellor has proceeded in two bills which, with the consent of his colleagues, he has laid before the House of Lords. One of these bills destroys certain provisions of the existing law by which a right to a dispensation from residence is created in certain cases—in the case, for instance, of a clergyman who has been appointed chaplain to a nobleman or one of the officers of state. The other lays down the fundamental and comprehensive rule that acceptance of one benefice shall in every case immediately void all previous preferment, except only where two benefices to which the same individual may be presented shall not together exceed, annually, the value of 300*l.*, and shall at the same time be only five miles apart. It is permitted also that a benefice, not exceeding 100*l.* in annual value, may be held along with a cathedral preferment; and that where an archdeaconry is below the annual value of 20*l.*, it may be held along with any benefice within the limits of the archdeaconry. The sums specified are to be the actual value of the living in each case, as ascertained by the church commissioners.

Besides these regulations, however, there are others bearing directly upon the matter of residence. It is proposed to declare that hereafter, with the exception of the bishops, while attending parliament or engaged in episcopal visitations, no spiritual person shall be absent from his preferment more than thirty days at one time, or more than sixty days at several times in one year, under a penalty of three times the value of such preferment during the time that he shall have been so unlawfully absent. If such penalty be twice recovered, the preferment is to be void. Absence from a preferment is defined as absence from the house of residence appropriated to the preferment; and it is proposed to enact, that where there is no fit house one shall be appropriated for that purpose. To ensure the observance of these rules, it is provided that all bishops and lower spiritual persons whatever shall, under penalty, annually make a return respecting their residence to the archbishop, which shall be consolidated and transmitted to the King in council, to whom the archbishops must make the like return of their own residence.

All existing pluralities will, of course, remain untouched,

and clergymen at present exempted from residence will continue to enjoy their exemption while actually employed on the duties causing such exemption.

It is objected to any attempt to enforce residence that, if successful, it must render the services of curates nearly unnecessary, and therefore put an end to that description of employment by which persons embracing the Church as their profession are provided for in the earliest stage of their progress. But the natural resource for the younger members of the clergy would seem to be those numerous livings of small value which have been hitherto held, for the most part, along with others yielding a larger income, but which will now be released from the occupation of pluralists, and left free to be distributed among incumbents who will be content with such preferment till they obtain better. Most of the livings thus disengaged will be at least as good as most curacies are at present. No fear, at any rate, can be reasonably entertained of a deficiency in the supply of persons from whom vacancies in the Church may be filled up; and that is the only evil which could be considered a public inconvenience.

On the whole we look upon these bills as most important, and consider their whole tendency to be at once to strengthen the foundations and to augment the usefulness of the Church. To use the Lord Chancellor's own expression, this reform lays the axe to the root of existing abuses, and effects their eradication, in as far, at least, as that can be done by any legislation upon the two great grievances which the measure attacks. We trust, as sincere friends both to the Church and the House of Lords, that at least the leading principles of the bills will not meet with opposition from either.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Excise Duties.—An Account of the quantities of the several articles charged with Duties of Excise, in the Year ending 5th of January, 1834; and a comparison of the Amount with the average of the three preceding Years:—

		Average of the three preceding years.	1833.
Auctions (amount)		£6,424,440	£6,780,363
Bricks	number	1,088,065,044	1,036,202,112
Glass, viz. Flint	cwts.	76,004	76,775
Plate	do.	13,546	14,501
Crown	do.	100,183	128,435
Broad	do.	5,354	7,655
Green	do.	315,667	323,516
	Total	510,756	550,882
Hops	lbs.	27,991,502	32,747,310
Licences	number	547,708	577,827
Malt	bushels	36,535,056	40,005,348
Paper, viz. 1st. and 2d. class, lbs.		63,081,051	69,198,302
Millboard, pasteboard, &c.	cwts.	45,212	46,883
stained	yds.	6,945,734	7,970,760
Soap, viz. hard	lbs.	115,300,178	137,927,546
soft	do.	10,067,375	11,731,156
Spirits	galls.	21,978,809	21,840,719
Starch	lbs.	7,756,320	8,784,566
Stone bottles	cwts.	14,645	17,039
Sweets	galls.	122,683	122,267
Tea	lbs.	30,529,851	31,829,075
Vinegar	galls.	2,522,738	2,860,601

Land and Assessed Taxes.—An Account of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Taxes in Great Britain for the year 1832, distinguishing the Heads of Duty.

Land-Tax	£1,155,018
Windows	1,201,967
Inhabited Houses	1,262,753
Servants	255,355
Carriages	406,487
Horses for Riding	350,963
Other Horses and Mules	63,293
Dogs	172,080
Horse Dealers	13,477
Hair Powder	11,746
Armorial Bearings	56,931
Game Duty	136,457
Composition Duty	23,049
Penalties and Arrears	1,462
Total	£5,111,064

Legacies, Wills, and Administrations in 1833.—The total amount of revenue received in the United Kingdom for stamp duty on legacies, and on probates, administrations, and testamentary inventories, was, on legacies, 1,093,343*l.* in England and Wales; 56,674*l.* in Scotland; 25,463*l.* in Ireland: total, 1,175,480*l.* On probates, &c., in England and Wales, 839,041*l.*; in Scotland, 46,422*l.*; in Ireland, 38,543*l.*; total, 924,006*l.*: grand total on legacies, probates, &c., 2,099,486*l.* The number of wills transmitted, in the same year, to the Legacy Duty Office, amounted to 15,354; and of administrations, 5,765.

Post Office.—An Account of the Gross Receipt of the Post Office Revenue of Great Britain in the year 1833.

Unpaid Letters outwards, and Paid Letters inwards, and Ship Letters, &c., charged on Country Postmasters	£ 562,200
Unpaid Letters inwards, and Paid Letters outwards, collected by Letter Carriers, &c., in London and Edinburgh	506,664
Bye and Cross Road Letters	678,866
Twopenny and Penny Post Letters at London and Edinburgh	110,167
Letters charged on the Postmasters in the West-Indies and British N. America	61,570
Postage of Letters received by the Window-men, &c. of the Foreign Office	78,088
Passage Money and Freights by the Packets	52,779
Miscellaneous Receipts	12,501
Total	£ 2,062,839

Purloining by Postmen.—The number of persons in the employ of the Post Office who have been convicted of purloining money or notes from letters directed to London, was, in 1830, one, the sum of 10*l.*; in 1831, none; in 1832, two, sums 5*l.* and 280*l.*; in 1833, three, sums 15*l.*, 50*l.*, and 5*l.*; total, since 1829, 363*l.*

Charges of collecting the Revenue.—A General Abstract of the Charges of Collection on the Public Revenue of the United Kingdom for the year 1833, with the rate per Cent. for which the Gross Receipt was collected.

	Charges of Collection.	Rate per Cent. £ s. d.
Customs—		
Civil Department	£ 873,885	. .
Harbour Vessels	7,555	. .
Cruizers	121,627	. .
Preventive Water Guard	362,115	. .
Land Guard	21,077	. .
	£ 1,386,261	£ 7 9 3
Excise—		
Civil Department	1,073,262	. . .
Cruizers	5,637	. .
	£ 1,078,902	£ 5 15 7¼
Stamps	187,161	2 10 5¾
Taxes	242,135	4 14 7¾
Post Office	636,755	27 17 11
Taxes on Pensions and Salaries	522	1 16 3½
Crown Lands	28,014	6 11 11½
Small Branches of the King's Hereditary Revenue	939	. .
Totals	£ 3,560,693	£ 6 15 5¼

Public Works.—An Account of the Advances for Public Works, &c., in the year 1833.

Public Works and Employment of the Poor	£ 414,063
Police in Proclaimed Districts	366,040
Relief of Sufferers by the Hurricanes and Insurrection in the West Indies	207,950
For the extension and promotion of Public Works Ireland	91,500
Asylums for Lunatic Poor	42,625
Board of Health for preventing Contagion	38,303
Remuneration to Commissioners of Tithes	25,566
Building Gaols	12,919
Repairing certain Bridges and Roads	6,000
Valuation of certain Lands and Tenements in Ireland	2,000
Relief of the Clergy who were prevented by unlawful combination from receiving their Tithes for the year 1829	919
	1,204,988

The amount of re-payments for Public Works, &c., in the same year, was 505,040*l.*; leaving an excess of advances over re-payments of 699,948*l.*

PUBLIC DEBT, &c.

An Account of the State and Amount of the Funded Debt, and the Annual Charge thereof, with columns stating the Increase and Decrease of such Debt, compared with the preceding Year, from the 5th of January, 1815, to the 5th of January, 1834. Also of the Annual Average Money Price of 100*l.* Three per Cent. Stock, from 1815 to 1834.

FUNDED DEBT.						CHARGE OF FUNDED DEBT.					
At	Unredeemed Debt.	Increase.	Decrease.	Unredeemed Debt.		At	Charge, viz., Interest, all Annuities for Lives and Years, and Management.	Increase.	Decrease.	Charge, viz., Interest, all Annuities for Lives and Years, and Management.	
	£	£	£	£			£	£	£	£	
1 Feb. 1816	816,311,940	. .	20,111,749	796,200,191	1817	1 Feb. 1816	30,458,207	. .	616,193	29,842,014	1817 1 Feb.
— 1817	796,200,191	. .	19,457,788	776,742,403	1818	— 1817	29,842,014	. .	531,560	29,310,454	1818 5 Jan.
5 Jan. 1818	776,742,403	15,124,910	. .	791,867,313	1819	5 Jan. 1818	29,310,454	623,840	. .	29,934,294	1819 —
— 1819	791,867,313	3,113,168	. .	794,980,481	1820	— 1819	29,934,294	. .	144,636	29,789,658	1820 —
— 1820	794,980,481	6,584,829	. .	801,565,310	1821	— 1820	29,789,658	360,262	. .	30,149,920	1821 —
— 1821	801,565,310	. .	6,252,543	795,312,767	1822	— 1821	30,149,920	. .	164,704	29,985,216	1822 —
— 1822	795,312,767	1,217,377	. .	796,530,144	1823	— 1822	29,985,216	. .	1,388,359	28,596,866	1823 —
— 1823	796,530,144	. .	4,828,530	791,701,614	1824	— 1823	28,596,866	481,704	. .	29,078,570	1824 —
— 1824	791,701,614	. .	10,578,392	781,123,222	1825	— 1824	29,078,570	. .	706,364	28,372,206	1825 —
— 1825	781,123,222	. .	2,994,955	778,128,267	1826	— 1825	28,372,206	. .	104,934	28,267,272	1826 —
— 1826	778,128,267	5,673,472	. .	783,801,739	1827	— 1826	28,267,272	289,631	. .	28,556,903	1827 —
— 1827	783,801,739	. .	6,324,847	777,476,892	1828	— 1827	28,556,903	. .	167,034	28,389,869	1828 —
— 1828	777,476,892	. .	5,154,352	772,322,540	1829	— 1828	28,389,869	. .	144,335	28,245,534	1829 —
— 1829	772,322,540	. .	1,070,608	771,251,932	1830	— 1829	28,245,534	40,366	. .	28,285,900	1830 —
— 1830	771,251,932	. .	13,764,936	757,486,996	1831	— 1830	28,285,900	. .	611,146	27,674,754	1831 —
— 1831	757,486,996	. .	1,943,112	755,543,884	1832	— 1831	27,674,754	. .	16,455	27,658,299	1832 —
— 1832	755,543,884	. .	1,443,335	754,100,549	1833	— 1832	27,658,299	45,134	. .	27,703,433	1833 —
— 1833	754,100,549	. .	2,441,666	751,658,883	1834	— 1833	27,703,433	78,683	. .	27,782,116	1834 —
		31,713,756	96,366,813					1,919,620	4,595,711		
Deduct Increase			31,713,756			Deduct Increase			1,919,620		
Funded Debt decreased since 1816			64,653,057			Charge decreased since 1816 .			2,676,091		

This Return includes that portion only of the 2,800,000*l.* Annuities created by the Act 3 George IV., c. 51, which was actually sold—namely, 585,740*l.*; the said Act having been repealed by the 9 George IV., c. 79.

A Return of the Amount of the Unfunded Debt (in Exchequer Bills), and the Annual Charge thereof, stating the Increase and Decrease of such Debt, compared with the preceding Year, from the 5th of January, 1815, to the 5th of January, 1834.

Year ended Jan. 5.	Amount.	Increase.	Decrease.	Charge thereof, being the Interest paid in the year.
	£	£	£	£
1815	57,941,700	. .	. .	2,256,707
1816	41,441,900	. .	16,499,800	3,014,003
1817	44,650,300	3,208,400	. .	2,196,177
1818	56,729,400	12,079,100	. .	1,710,119
1819	43,655,400	. .	13,074,000	2,143,476
1820	36,900,200	. .	6,755,200	687,027
1821	30,965,900	. .	5,934,300	1,769,219
1822	31,566,550	600,650	. .	2,159,602
1823	36,281,150	4,714,600	. .	1,385,424
1824	34,741,750	. .	1,539,400	1,131,121
1825	32,398,450	. .	2,343,300	1,087,284
1826	27,994,200	. .	4,404,250	829,498
1827	24,565,850	. .	3,428,350	831,207
1828	27,546,850	2,981,000	. .	873,247
1829	27,657,000	110,150	. .	949,430
1830	25,490,550	. .	2,166,450	878,494
1831	27,271,650	1,781,100	. .	793,031
1832	27,133,350	. .	138,300	649,833
1833	27,278,000	144,650	. .	659,165
1834	27,906,900	628,900	. .	779,769

Return of the Annual Average Money Price of 100*l.* 3 per Cent. Stock, from 1815 to 1834.

In the Years ending		Annual Average Price of 3*l.* per Cent. Stock.		
		£	*s.*	*d.*
1 February,	1816	58	13	9
—	1817	62	1	2
5 January,	1818	76	16	0
—	1819	78	1	5
—	1820	71	19	3
—	1821	68	12	0
—	1822	74	15	5
—	1823	79	15	0
—	1824	80	5	10
—	1825	94	3	6
—	1826	90	0	8
—	1827	79	8	8
—	1828	84	12	10
—	1829	85	14	0
—	1830	88	15	9
—	1831	89	15	4
—	1832	78	0	10
—	1833	83	0	0
—	1834	87	14	3

This Return shows the Annual Average Prices at which the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt purchased 3 per Cent. Stock in the respective years above stated.

A Return of the Annual Average Money Price of a Quarter of Wheat, as quoted in the 'Gazette,' published by Authority, from 1815 to 1834.

Years.	Average per Quarter.	
	s.	*d.*
1815	63	8
1816	76	2
1817	94	0
1818	83	8
1819	72	3
1820	65	10
1821	54	5
1822	43	3
1823	51	9
1824	62	0
1825	66	6
1826	56	11
1827	56	9
1828	60	5
1829	66	3
1830	64	3
1831	66	4
1832	58	8
1833	52	11

Alterations in Public Offices.—An account of the increase and diminution in the year 1833 in the number of persons employed, and in the salaries, emoluments, and allowances in the public offices. In the Admiralty there has been an increase of 4 persons; in the Navy and Victualling-yards at home, 51; in the Excise, 33; in the Post Office, 33; and in the Board of Education, 7.—Total, 128. In the Colonial Department there has been a diminution of 2; in the War Office, 4; in the Army Medical Board, 6; in the Paymaster-General's Office, 4; in the Commissariat (Ireland), 1; in the Ordnance, 37; Chelsea Hospital, 4; Royal Military College, 1; Royal Military Asylum, 16; Navy Pay Office, 1; Navy and Victualling-yards abroad, 5; Customs (United Kingdom), 113; Stamps and Taxes, 10; Audit Office in Ireland, 15; Tellers of the Exchequer, 1; Barons of Exchequer (Scotland), 1.—Total, 221. The total amount of the increase of salaries in the various departments, 5,650*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*; Emoluments, 405*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*; Retired Allowances, 16,662*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*; Expenses, 2,980*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*—Grand total of increase, 25,699*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* The total amount of the diminution of the salaries in the various departments is 44,806*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*; Emoluments, 2,136*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.*; Retired Allowances, 7,736*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*; Expenses, 55,927*l.* 14*s.* 1¼*d.* Grand total of diminution, 110,606*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

Trade of the United Kingdom.—An Account of the Official Value of the Imports into and the Exports from the United Kingdom, during each of the three years ending the 5th of January 1834; stating also the real or declared value of the Exports.

	Imports.	*Official Value of Exports.*			
	Official Value.	Produce and Manufactures of the U. K.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Total Exports.	Declared or real Value of Exports.
	£	£	£	£	£
1831.	49,713,889	60,683,933	10,745,071	71,429,001	37,163,647
1832.	44,586,241	65,026,702	11,044,869	76,071,572	36,444,524
1833.	45,952,551	69,989,339	9,833,753	79,823,093	39,667,347

Exports of British Produce and Manufacture from the United Kingdom.—An Account of Exports of the principal Articles of British and Irish Produce and Manufacture in the Year ending the 5th of January, 1834, compared with the Exports of the preceding Year.

Articles.	Declared value. 1833.	1834.
Coals and culm	£228,647	£229,924
Cotton manufactures	12,675,619	14,909,462
yarn	4,722,759	4,750,210
Earthenware	490,787	478,515
Glass	402,716	451,388
Hardwares and cutlery	1,434,431	1,408,453
Linen manufactures	1,783,432	2,199,441
Metals, viz. iron and steel	1,190,748	1,425,723
Copper and brass	916,563	851,383
Lead	144,653	119,617
Tin in bars, &c.	111,797	86,698
Tin-plates	231,663	267,430
Salt	149,678	184,470
Silk manufactures	529,990	740,294
Sugar refined	1,038,790	563,092
Wool, sheep's or lamb's	219,650	334,678
Woollen manufactures	5,479,866	6,511,780
Total	£31,751,792	£35,521,558

Oats.—The quantity of oats imported from Ireland into Great Britain in 1833 amounted to 1,353,533 qrs. of which London received 573,347; Liverpool, 293,706; and Glasgow, 209,949; besides smaller quantities to other places.

Wool Imported and Exported.—An Account of the Quantity of Sheep's and Lamb's Wool Imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1833, from the following Countries:

	lbs.
Russia	1,380,823
Sweden	24,259
Denmark	372,490
Prussia	305,379
Germany	25,370,106
Holland	343,936
Belgium	467,095
France	259,844
Portugal	680,650
——— Madeira	1,318
Spain	3,339,150
Italy	855,510
Malta	4,803
Turkey	361,591
Morocco	105,689
Cape of Good Hope	93,325
East India Company's Territories	3,721
New South Wales	1,969,668
Van Diemen's Land	1,547,201
British West Indies	819
Porto Rico	152
United States of America	334,678
Brazil	2,049
States of the Rio de la Plata	207,143
Peru	14,604
Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney	48
Isle of Man	30,326
Total of Wool imported	38,076,413
Quantity retained for Home Consumption	39,066,620
——— re-exported	442,696
——— remaining warehoused under bond	1,689,360
British Sheep's and Lamb's Wool exported	4,992,110
Woollen and Worsted Yarn exported	2,107,478

British Woollen Manufactures exported from the United Kingdom in the year 1833, to the following Countries:

	Declared Value.
Russia	£ 93,072
Sweden	5,212
Norway	12,321
Denmark	2,033
Prussia	150
Germany	634,916
Holland	282,122
Belgium	108,632
France	55,944
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira	149,357
Spain and the Canaries	111,969
Gibraltar	19,436
Italy	220,512
Malta	12,468
Ionian Isles	2,919
Turkey and Continental Greece	20,101
Morea and Greek Islands	914
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Man	35,721
East Indies and China	961,333
New Holland	54,181
Cape of Good Hope	42,604
Other parts of Africa	7,189
British America	376,677
British West Indies	102,100
Foreign West Indies	59,847
United States of America	2,265,407
Brazil	274,568
Mexico and the States of South America	382,515
Total	6,292,432

The following are the descriptions of the articles comprehended in the above statement.

Cloths of all sorts	pieces	597,189
Napped Coatings, Duffels, &c.	do.	19,543
Kerseymeres	do.	31,795
Baizes of all sorts	do.	45,036
Stuffs, Woollen, or Worsted	do.	1,690,559
Flannel	yards	2,055,072
Blankets and Blanketing	do.	3,128,106
Carpets and Carpeting	do.	667,377
Woollens mixed with Cotton	do.	1,605,056
Hosiery	doz. pair	232,766
Sundries	£	78,236

Writs.—The number of writs issued from the different law courts from the 1st day of Michaelmas Term, 1832, to the 1st day of the same term, in 1833, were, in round numbers—

In the King's Bench	39,000
In the Common Pleas	7,000
In the Exchequer	42,000

Government Prosecutions for Libel.—The government prosecutions for libel since the accession of his present Majesty have been six. In these cases the defendants were;—William Cobbett; William Alcock Haley; Richard Carlile; John Ager, Patrick Grant, and John Bell; and Henry Hetherington, and Thomas Stevens.

Persons committed for selling Unstamped Publications.—The number committed in the metropolis from February 27th, 1833, to April, 14th 1834, was forty-nine, of whom none are now actually in prison. In the rest of Great Britain six persons have been committed, of whom three are still in prison.

Game Laws.—The number of commitments under the game-

laws in England and Wales, from 1st November, 1832, to 1st November, 1833, was 3,209. The greatest number confined during the period in any one place, was 160 in the Devizes House of Correction.

Corporal Punishments in the Army.—The following has been the number of such punishments in the years from 1830 to 1833:

655 in 1830; 646 in 1831; 485 in 1832; and 370 in 1833.

Executions for Robbery.—In the year 1833, 246 persons received sentence of death for robbery in England and Wales; of whom seven were executed.

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

Spanish Finances.—A correspondent of the Times' furnishes the annexed view of the present financial position of Spain.

ACTUAL STATE OF THE FOREIGN DEBT OF SPAIN.

1804.—Dutch Loan	30,000,000 guilders, or about		£ 2,500,000
1806.—Ditto . .	10,000,000 ditto	ditto .	800,000
	Cortes.		
1820.—French Loan	200,000,000 reals	ditto	2,000,000
1821.—National do.	500,000,000 ditto	ditto	5,000,000
French do.	140,000,000 ditto	ditto	1,400,000
1821 and 1822.—French and English Loans		.	12,900,000
1823.—English Loan . . .			1,400,000
			26,000,000
1823.—Royal Loan in Paris	89,000,000 francs	.	
Redeemed . .	24,000,000 ditto		
	65,000,000 do., or about		2,600,000
1826.—Rentes Perpetuelles	136,782,000 do.		
Redeemed . .	1,782,000 do.		
	135,000,000 do. . .		5,400,000
1828.—British Indemnities	3,000,000 dollars	.	600,000
French ditto .	80,000,000 francs	.	3,200,000
			37,800,000
1822.—Addition to Dutch Loans of 2,500,000*l.* converted into Cortes' Bonds .		.	1,500,000
1833.—Supposed issue of Rentes Perpetuelles since 1828			5,000,000
1834.—Arrears of Interest on 14,000,000*l.* unacknowledged Cortes' Bonds since Nov., 1823, about			7,000,000
Grand Total about .			£ 51,300,000

About 7,000,000*l.* of Cortes' Bonds have been converted into 3 per cent. stock here and on the Continent, by the decree of 1831, which, with the 5,000,000*l.* of National Bonds, reduces the amount of Cortes' Bonds in actual circulation to somewhere between 14,000,000*l.* and 15,000,000*l.* sterling.

Domestic Debt.

AMOUNT OF CLAIMS PRESENTED TO THE CORTES IN 1822.

	£
Debt on which interest is allowed . .	70,860,000
Ditto on which interest was not allowed . . .	75,870,000
Total .	146,730,000

including about 15,000,000 of Vales Reales in circulation, whereof one-third are entitled to interest payable in specie, and the remainder in paper.

STATEMENT OF THE GROSS REVENUE OF SPAIN IN 1828.

	£
Land-tax . .	1,470,000
Duties on consumption .	910,000
Import and export duties .	600,000
Tobacco . .	610,000
Salt	400,000
Licences, stamps, &c. .	130,000
Tax on the revenues of the clergy	605,000
Sundries . . .	503,000
	5,228,000

STATEMENT OF THE EXPENDITURE OF SPAIN IN 1828.

	£
Army . .	2,650,000
Navy . . .	400,000
Finances and collecting revenues	1,450,000
Justice . .	140,000
Ministers of State . .	110,000
Royal Household . .	500,000
	5,250,000

For the last six or seven years Spain has only been able to arrange the interest due on her domestic debt by the issue of fresh obligations, whilst the interest paid on the bonds acknowledged in Paris, Amsterdam, &c., has been raised by the sale of fresh Rentes Perpetuelles.

The Minister of Finance, in his late statement published at Madrid, estimates the amount of interest required by the Government as follows:—

		Capital.
£ 1,400,000	For the acknowledged domestic debt, at 4 per Cent., is . .	£ 35,000,000
600,000	For the Vales Reales in circulation, at 4 per Cent, is . .	15,000,000
1,400,000	For the bonds acknowledged in Paris, &c., at 5 per Cent., is .	28,000,000
£ 3,400,000	Annual interest on acknowledged debt of	£ 78,000,000

He further states that the revenues of 1833 only amounted to about 4,000,000*l.* sterling, whereas the expenditure, including the amount due for interest on the debt, exceeded 9,000,000*l.*

The Population of the United States.—No precedent exists of so rapid an increase of population as what has taken place in the United States during the last 60 years. Beginning from the year 1770, when it was estimated at 1,500,000, we find it successively rising to 3,929,226 in 1794; to 5,319,782 in 1800; to 7,329,903 in 1810; and to 9,654,415 in 1820. Nor had it slackened during the subsequent 10 years, for it appears that in 1830 the number of inhabitants had risen to 12,856,154, consisting of the undermentioned classes:—

	Males.	Females.
Free whites . .	5,358,755	5,167,299
Slaves . .	1,014,345	996,284
Free persons of colour	153,495	165,972
	6,526,529	6,329,555

The number of individuals of the age of 100 years and upwards was proportionably far greater in the case of the free coloured and slave population than in that of the whites; inasmuch as in the instance of the former, on a population of 2,330,096 souls, they amounted to 986 males and 1329 females, or, in all, 2015 individuals; whilst in that of the latter (the whites), on a population of 10,526,058, they did not exceed 508 in all, or 274 males and 234 females—a singular contrast in the proportion—it being 1 individual in 20,720 in the case of the whites, 1 in 1450 in that of the blacks, and 1 in 510 in that of the free people of colour.

Military Justice in France.—In 1832 the French army, including the municipal guard, &c., at Paris, consisted of 388,402 men. Of this number 6,858 had been subjected to trial; and if we add to these 75 natives of Africa who had been tried by court-martial, we have a total of 6,933 men who had been brought before the military tribunals in the year 1832. Of the 6,858 soldiers, 14 were transferred to the ordinary tribunals, 2,217 were acquitted, and 4,627 had been condemned. Of the latter 93 were condemned to death; 391 to hard labour; 13 to seclusion; 308 to the *boulet*;* 1,149 to the public works, and 2,556 to imprisonment. Thus the military tribunals have acquitted nearly a-third of the number arraigned. The punishment of death has not been applied in the proportion of one in 4000; 521 of the convicts have been subjected to corporeal and ignominious punishment; the rest have been punished correctionally; for the *boulet* and the public works are considered among correctional punishments by the military law; the first for desertion accompanied by circumstances which increase the offence, and the other for simple desertion, or for selling the horse, arms, dress, or equipments furnished by the state. According to the terms of the law of the 13th Brumaire, year 5th, which extends the jurisdiction of courts-martial to the natives of conquered countries, such courts have been established in Africa, at Algiers, at Oran, and at Bon, which exercise a criminal jurisdiction not only over the troops stationed in these provinces, but also over the inhabitants. The portion of the population of these countries which is subject to the military law is estimated nearly thus: At Algiers, about 21,000; at Oran, 3000; at Bon, 500; total 24,500. During the year 1832, as already intimated, the courts-martial tried 75 natives of the African possessions; of whom 13 were condemned to death, 4 to hard labour, 2 to seclusion, 3 to the public works, 6 to imprisonment; the rest were acquitted; making the proportion of acquittals little less than three-fifths. It results from the preceding statements that in the course of the year 1832, 6,933 persons were arraigned before courts-martial; of whom 106 were condemned to death, 395 to hard labour, 132 to seclusion, 308 to the *boulet*, 1,152 to the public works, 2,562 to imprisonment: consequently, 4,655 have been condemned, 14 have been transferred to other tribunals, and 2,264 have been acquitted.

* In this punishment, we believe, the motions of the party are encumbered by a heavy cannon-ball attached to the leg.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Eight Reports have been issued since our last. They extend from the 21st of March to the 6th of May, and the last is numbered the Eighteenth.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For repeal of the Union	440	522,370
Against ———	3	14,168
For Vote by Ballot	15	21,249
Ecclesiastical.		
For Abolition of Tithes in Ireland	329	295,024
——— England	8	1,305
For Alteration of Tithes	9	1,027
For Commutation of Tithes	39	14,744
For Relief of Protestant Dissenters	953	282,666
Against ———	2	146
Against the admission of Dissenters to the Universities	4	1,261
Against Dissenters' Marriages Bill	6	249
In favour of the Church of England	116	27,639
For reform in ———	4	4,164
For separation of Church and State	36	46,027
Against ———	2	146
Against the Bishops' sitting in the House of Peers	4	1,199
Against Lay Patronage in Scotland	159	85,398
Against alteration ———	4	142
For the better observance of the Lord's Day	609	129,378
For the Lord's Day Observance Bill	305	39,926
Against ———	6	373
For Lord's Day Observance Bill (Scotland)	34	6,061
Against ———	5	15,320
For relief of the Jews	3	1,093
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn-Laws	20	112,666
Against alteration in the Corn-Laws	105	19,903
For alteration of the Beer Act	11	26,717
For repeal of the ———	14	4,336
Against the malt tax	104	18,908
Against the Church Rate Bill	6	843
For abolition of Church Rates	2	360
For repeal of Reciprocity of Duties Bill	10	920
For repeal of stamp receipt tax	8	872
Against the house and window taxes	13	1,883
Merchant seamen, for relief from the tax to support Greenwich Hospital	13	3,691
Miscellaneous.		
In behalf of the Dorchester convicts	47	165,827
For protection against Trades' Unions	14	446
Hand-loom weavers, for relief	56	49,731
Agriculturists, for relief	105	14,331
In favour of the Labourers' Employment Act	32	1,200
Against the General Registry Bill	36	13,266
For reform of municipal corporations	6	11,229
In favour of local courts	3	1,159
For a general and national system of education	1	203
In behalf of Polish exiles	3	1,488
Against the employment of children to sweep chimneys	23	4,596
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since our last publication	137	23,407

Bankruptcy Analysis from April 22, to May 23. — Baker, 1. Bill-broker, 1. Bookseller, 1. Builders, 2. Cement Manufacturer, 1. Chain-smith, 1. Cheesemonger, 1. Chemist and Druggist, 1. Clothier, 1. Coach Maker, 1. Colour Manufacturer, 1. Corn Merchants, 5. Cotton Spinner, 1. Dealer, 1. Drapers, 5. Drysalter, 1. Jewellers, 2. Joiner, 1. Linen Drapers, 2. Mercers, 2. Merchants, 3. Miller, 1. Musical Instrument Maker, 1. News Agent, 1. Oilmen, 2. Plasterer, 1. Printer, 1. Saddler, 1. Scriveners, 2. Spoon Maker, 1. Shoemakers, 1. Tailor, 1. Timber Merchants, 2. Tobacconist, 1. Twine Manufacturer, 1. Upholsterer, 1. Victuallers, 4. Wheelwright, 1. Wine Merchants, 2.—Total, 60. Total, from the commencement of the year, 410.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

New Members elected since the commencement of April.

Place.	Member elected.	In the room of
Derbyshire	Hon. G. Cavendish	Lord Cavendish, peer
Monaghan	Mr. Westenra	Hon. C. D. Blayney, peer
Perthshire	Sir G. Murray	Earl Ormelie, peer
Wells	N. W. Colborne, esq.	N. Lamont, esq. dec.

The county of Fermanagh, the city of Edinburgh, and the boroughs of Leith, Hertford, and Carrickfergus, are vacant.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MAY, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Our last retrospect brought us to the commencement of the great debate in the House of Commons, on the motion made by Mr. O'Connell, on Tuesday, the 22d of April, for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the subject of the repeal of the union with Ireland. The debate lasted for six nights, and was concluded on Tuesday, the 29th, by a division, when the numbers appeared to be 38 for Mr. O'Connell's motion, and 523 for an amendment proposed by Mr. Spring Rice, the purport of which was, that the House should address the Crown, pledging themselves, while they would continue to apply their best attention to the removal of all just causes of complaint, and the promotion of all well-considered measures of improvement in Ireland, to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union between the two countries. Other amendments, moved by Mr. Hume and Mr. Mullins, were negatived without a division. On the following day the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Grey, unanimously concurred in the address of the Commons.

The principal speakers in this protracted discussion were, on the side of repeal, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Sheil, and on the opposite side Mr. Spring Rice, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Emerson Tennent. There were only two points which the advocates of the motion can be said to have established, or even to have attempted to establish. They showed that very objectionable means had been employed in bringing about the union; and many persons will also, probably, be disposed to go along with them in another of their positions, namely, that the Irish Parliament which assented to the treaty of union, exceeded in so doing any powers which it could reasonably be supposed to have received from the nation. Neither of these considerations, however, had really any bearing upon the question. They might both of them have made good topics for a debating society, but to urge them as worth attention in the determination of a course of action was the merest puerility and waste of time. The parts of the question which were really relevant the repeal speakers never touched. It was made evident for instance, by both Mr. Tennent and Sir Robert Peel, and that not simply by argument, but by stubborn facts, that during the few years preceding the union, absurdly described as the period of Irish independence, the Irish parliament neither was, nor possibly could have been, in any sense whatever, an independent body. This demonstration, for, as Sir Robert Peel emphatically remarked, it could be called nothing else, the supporters of Mr. O'Connell's motion,—the declaimers in favour of a return to the so called system of independent government, or at least of the establishment of some other resembling it which they would not farther describe, never ventured to assail;—they did not once approach that ground in the whole course of the long and weary controversy. They did not once try to show how it was possible or conceivable that, England and Ireland continuing subject to the same crown, the parliament of the latter could be really independent of that of the former. Mr. Canning pithily expressed his scorn for this childish project of Mr. O'Connell and his partisans, by placing it on a level with a proposition for restoring the heptarchy. It would, indeed, be a step in the same road back towards barbarism. But it would be even something beyond this in absurdity. Dissolve the union between England and Ireland! Dissolve the union between the right hand and the left, and let each, instead of being directed by one will, have an independent mind of its own.

On the 30th, Sir Andrew Agnew's Bill, for what the honourable member called the better observance of the Sabbath, was, after a debate, thrown out, on the motion that it should be read a second time, by a majority of 161 to 125. Nobody went the length of defending all its provisions, or, indeed much beyond its principle.

On the 1st of May, Sir Robert Heron moved for leave

to bring in a bill to prevent the necessity of members vacating their seats on accepting office. The motion, however, met with little encouragement either from the ministers, or from the House generally, and it was eventually withdrawn, as was also an amendment proposed by Mr. E. L. Bulwer, to give seats *ex officio* to the members of the cabinet and the officers of state.

The second reading of a bill for effecting the compulsory and permanent commutation of tithes in Ireland was moved by Mr. Littleton on the following evening. The motion was opposed by several Irish members and others, and an amendment was proposed by Mr. S. Carew for adjourning the debate till the following Friday, which was negatived by a majority of 241 to 74. The debate, however, was eventually adjourned to Tuesday the 6th, on which evening the second reading was carried by a majority of 248 to 52. This decision was preceded by a warm debate.

On the 5th Mr. D. W. Harvey brought forward his motion for a revision of the pension list, with a view to the extinction of such pensions as did not appear to have been granted on public grounds. Mr. Strutt moved an amendment for the appointment of a select committee, simply to ascertain the nature and extent of any abuses which might have occurred in the granting of pensions, but without pointing to any disturbance of the present holders. The ministry, however, considered themselves bound to oppose both motions; and that of Mr. Harvey was negatived by a majority of 390 to 148, that of Mr. Strutt by 311 to 230. Mr. Harvey's motion, for one thing, evidently was defective in not carrying out to the legitimate extent of its application the principle upon which it was founded; for if it would be right, in the case of pensions conceived to be improperly granted, to deprive their holders of all future benefit from the grant, it would be equally just to call upon them to refund what they had already received.

On the 7th, the second reading of a bill for granting a charter to the new banking copartnership, called the London and Westminster Bank, was carried against the opposition of ministers by a majority of 143 to 35. It is quite clear that upon this question ministers had no other course than the one they took. The bill is not an express violation of the late charter granted to the Bank, but it is a direct invasion of privileges secured to the Bank by a former act of parliament, which act ought certainly, therefore, to have been repealed before the present bill was brought forward. The proper and fair time indeed to have repealed the act in question would have been before the granting of the late charter. In taking their present ground ministers are only maintaining the same interpretation of that act, of which they last session availed themselves in both houses of parliament to resist certain claims which the Bank advanced, grounded on a different interpretation. The third reading of the new bill was carried in the House of Commons on the 27th, by a majority of 137 to 76; but ministers have since intimated their intention of continuing their opposition to the measure in the Lords.

On the 7th, also, Mr. W. Brougham's bill for establishing a general registry of deeds was thrown out, on the motion that it should be read a second time, by a majority of 161 to 45. This decision was followed by the rejection of Mr. Cayley's bill for a district register by 125 to 68.

A motion, made on the 8th by Mr. Pryme, for the repeal of the law preventing unbeneficed clergymen from sitting in the House of Commons, was withdrawn after a short discussion.

On the following evening Lord Althorp explained to the House his plan for the reduction of the Four per Cent. Annuities, by which he expected to effect a saving to the public of above 53,000*l.* per annum. He proposed to give to the holders of Four per Cents. for every 100*l.* the same amount in the 3½ per Cents., not to be redeemable till the year 1840. The amount of the fund called the Four per Cent. Annuities does not exceed 10,700,000*l.*

The remainder of this evening was occupied by the discussion of Lord Althorp's motion for the second reading of the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill. The motion after a warm debate was carried by a majority of 319 to 20. This important measure has since been considered in committee on several evenings; and all the most important clauses of the bill have now been carried, by majorities in general as overwhelming as that in favour of the second reading. A few alterations in the bill as originally proposed have been submitted by ministers and adopted by the House; but none that touches the great principles of the measure. We shall take an early opportunity of returning to this subject.

On the 13th, the appointment of a select committee on the admission of students to the bar by the Inns of Court, was moved by Mr. O'Connell. The debate which followed turned principally on the case of Mr. D. W. Harvey, which has been so often brought before the public, and eventually a committee was appointed to inquire into all the circumstances attending the rejection of the claim of that gentleman to be called to the bar.

In the latter part of the evening Mr. Brougham obtained leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of a general registry of births, marriages, and deaths. We shall explain the provisions of this important measure in our next Number.

On the 15th, another Sabbath observance bill, which had been introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Wynford, very nearly met with the same fate as its predecessor in the Commons. The motion that it should be read a second time was only supported by 16 of their lordships, and opposed by 13. The measure, in its original form at least, has no chance of passing.

This evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Tennyson moved for leave to bring in a bill to shorten the duration of parliaments. After the question had been debated at considerable length, the motion was rejected by a majority of 235 to 185. The minority included not only the advocates of triennial parliaments, the scheme of the author of the motion, but also those of annual, biennial, quadrennial, and quinquennial. The term of six years, we believe, was not patronised by any honourable member.

On the 16th, the Lord Chancellor laid before the House of Lords two bills for the reform of abuses in the Church, which were read for the first time. We have noticed these valuable measures in a preceding page.

The second reading of a bill, brought in by Sir Edward Knatchbull, for the amendment of the beer act, was carried this evening in the House of Commons by a majority of 157 to 27. The principal object of this bill is to make it necessary that an individual desirous of opening a beer-shop should produce a certificate recommending him as a proper person from six 10*l.* rate-payers of the parish.

On rising, both Houses adjourned over the Whitsuntide Holidays, the Lords to Thursday, the 22nd, and the Commons to Wednesday, the 21st.

On the evening on which the House of Commons reassembled, the second reading of a bill introduced by Mr. Lyall, the main provision of which went to transfer the monthly sixpences contributed by the seamen of merchant ships, and now paid into the naval chest of Greenwich Hospital, to the general fund of the Merchant Seamen's Institution, was carried, against the resistance of the ministers, by a majority of 94 to 57. The justice of this alteration of the law cannot be questioned. Mr. Robert Grant then moved the order of the day for the second reading of his bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Jews; for which on a division there appeared a majority of 123 to 32. This evening also, a third Sabbath observance bill, brought forward by Mr. H. Fleetwood, was thrown out, the numbers being only 45 in its favour, and 77 against it. But later in the night, a fourth bill, professing the same object, which had been introduced by Mr. Poulter, was read a second time, and carried by a majority of 52 to 12.

On the 22nd, an interesting debate took place on the motion of Mr. E. L. Bulwer, pledging the House to the expediency of repealing the stamp-duty on newspapers at the earliest possible period. The proposition was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, principally, if not exclusively, on the ground of the inability of the revenue to bear the reduction which he apprehended would follow the repeal of the duty. Upon this point, we refer the reader to an article printed in a preceding page, in which are collected many striking facts illustrative of the extension that would, in all probability, be given to the demand for newspapers, and to the practice of advertising, by a change in the present law. We believe that such change cannot be far distant, notwithstanding the majority of 90 to 58, by which Mr. Bulwer's motion was rejected.

A bill for the abolition of arrest upon mesne process—an important concession to reason and humanity—was this evening ordered to be brought in on the motion of Mr. Pollock, although not without opposition from several honourable members.

Mr. Tooke then moved, that the select committee on the

business of the House should be instructed to consider the expediency of establishing authentic reports of the debates. None of the supporters of this project were able to explain what they meant by authentic reports; but the motion was only negatived by a majority of 117 to 99.

On Monday the 26th, a division took place in the House of Commons on the motion for going into a committee on the Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill. The opponents of the motion, however, were only 7 to 63.

Much of the time of the House of Lords has been taken up during this month in the examination of witnesses respecting the acts of bribery alleged to have been committed at the late Warwick election, it having, on the motion of Lord Wynford, been determined by their Lordships on the 26th of April, not to proceed to the second reading of the bill for enlarging the boundaries of that borough, until the petitioners against the measure should have been heard by their counsel. Considerable trouble has been occasioned by some of the witnesses proving refractory and refusing to obey the summons of the House.

On the 27th, a discussion of great interest was expected in the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Ward, which had been for some time announced, for a reduction of the Irish Church. It was generally understood, that upon certain points involved in this question, and likely to be brought forward in the course of the debate, a considerable difference of opinion prevailed among the members of the cabinet. Mr. Ward made his motion in the following words: "That the Protestant Episcopal Establishment in Ireland exceeds the spiritual wants of the Protestant population; and that it being the right of the State to regulate the distribution of church property in such manner as Parliament may determine, it is the opinion of this House that the temporal possessions of the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced." After an able speech from the mover, the motion was seconded by Mr. Grote. When the latter honourable member, however, had sat down, Lord Althorp rose and stated, that in consequence of certain communications which he had received since the debate commenced, he felt it necessary to move that the House should adjourn till Monday the 3rd of June. The adjournment took place accordingly. In the mean time it is understood that the Earl of Ripon, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Stanley, and Sir James Graham, are no longer members of the government. What changes may take place in consequence of these resignations remains only matter of conjecture at the time when our publication goes to press.

FRANCE.

Both Chambers have been principally occupied in the preparation of laws to prevent the recurrence of riot, revolt, and civil warfare, and to punish those who have been, or may hereafter be, engaged in making barricades, &c. The opposition in the Chamber of Deputies to the bill to this effect, was numerically small, but exceedingly violent. The clause that excited the greatest outcry was that relating to the domiciliary visits of the police and gendarmes in quest of swords, fire-arms, ammunition, and other articles capable of being converted into implements of war.

It was urged by M. Pages and other republican members that the law would act as a trap—that it did not properly define what arms, &c., people might keep for the amusement of the chase, and for the protection of their property, and what were unlawful.

There is no doubt that much of the bill is opposed to all our notions of individual liberty and the sacredness of private houses; but in how far the desperate madness of a party that has now so often renewed a hopeless struggle, and caused the French nation such enormous sacrifices, may render some such measure indispensable to prevent a state of continual revolution and anarchy, is another question.

In reply to one of the opposition who complained of the severity of the law, a ministerial member said, "While we have been rendering the penal code more and more mild, the people have been gradually becoming more and more ferocious!" We cannot admit the principle implied here, nor can it, we think, be affirmed, with any regard to truth, that even the most disorderly part of the populace are so ferocious now as they showed themselves to be in the first revolution.

Every clause of the bill was, however, passed, and Louis Philippe and his government have expressed their firm determination to carry it into vigorous execution. Many members of the Lower Chamber, and among them M. de la Martine, the distinguished poet, who are avowedly averse to the cause of Louis Philippe, energetically supported ministers in their measures, pleading that they were absolutely necessary for the safety of the country, and that though they, as individuals, had little affection for the government that arose out of the revolution of July, 1830, they preferred any established government to a fresh revolution. This sentiment we know to be common to the immense majority of the French, including men of every shade and caste of political opinion, except the faction we have already alluded to.

In the Upper House the bill encountered no opposition, but the peers are an assenting, complacent body, not likely, from their constitution and relative circumstances, ever long to run counter to a large majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

A proposal to pay 1,200,000 francs, to the corporation of Lyons, to enable them in part to repair the great damages inflicted on the city during the last insurrection, was angrily and somewhat scornfully rejected by the deputies. Several members argued that the citizens of Lyons were not entitled to any such succour at the hands of government, as during the struggle they did not join or render proper assistance to the king's troops. Since the suppression of that tragical revolt, Lyons has twice run the risk of being anew the scene of riot and bloodshed, for some of the workmen have fired on detached sentinels and weak outposts.

In the capital, and indeed in the kingdom generally, Louis Philippe appears to have full confidence in that armed citizen force; but in certain districts, where revolutionary notions obtain, the national guards have been disbanded, and regular troops marched in.

Some violent provincial papers of republican politics have also been suppressed, and their editors and printers thrown into gaol. Very numerous arrests of suspected persons have taken place at Paris, Lyons, and in several of the departments.

Soult, the minister of war, in demanding for the years 1834 and 1835 the enormous standing army of 425,000 men, (horse and foot,) sustained a partial defeat, it being determined in committee that the demand for 1834 should be granted, but that for 1835 it should be limited to the first six months of the year. May we hope that in twelve months' time it may be possible to govern the French people with a less imposing force?

Some interesting debates on the affairs of Algiers occupied the Chamber of Deputies for three days. In the course of the discussion, what we have shown in a separate article, or that the occupation of Algiers as a colony was a very losing concern for France, was made very apparent. But Soult, aided by a little national vain-glory, on which a French statesman may always safely count, triumphed over a rather energetic opposition, and carried his point that the conquest should be kept at any cost. Soult reiterated the assertions that Louis Philippe and his ministers had all along been determined to retain possession of Algiers—that they, in fact, had never had but one opinion on the subject. Their financial estimate for that promising colony was, however, very much cut down in the Chamber of Deputies.

The report of the deputies' committee on the project of law respecting the customs' tariff, has appeared officially in the 'Moniteur.' It recommends wider modifications than M. Thiers had been disposed to. Among these are a reduction of *one third* in the duty on foreign coal, a considerable reduction in the existing rate of duty on foreign iron, a reduction of 10 per cent. in the present duty on foreign raw wool (now from 20 to 30 per cent.), and a trifling reduction in the duty on foreign cattle. The other modifications are of minor importance.

Admiral Roussin, who, on the re-modelling of the ministry after the resignations of the Duke de Broglie and General Sebastiani, was named minister for the colonies and the marine, has written from Constantinople, declining the honour of that promotion, and begging to be left where he now is, as special envoy to Turkey. Admiral Jacob has therefore been appointed in his stead.

The Chamber of Deputies adjourned, *sine die*, on the 20th of May; and it was dissolved on the 24th. The colleges are appointed to meet for the new elections on the 20th of June, and the Chambers to reassemble on the 21st of August.

On the morning of the 20th of May, the celebrated republican, General Lafayette, died at Paris, after a short illness, which was his first, as well as his last, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

To the private virtues—to the public honour, sincerity, and consistency of Lafayette too much praise cannot be given—but praise must almost end there. He was not a great man—he was not even a clever or sagacious man. He was a man of *one idea*—he took this up (almost accidentally) in his youth—he passed all his life in a dream, and died in his mistake. He figured in both hemispheres, and in sundry revolutions, none of which he could shape or direct. He was always either duped or outmastered by the power and influence of others.

He will occupy a place in history, because he was mixed up in great events, but his name will never obtain the glory attached to that of one who has produced a great and enduring impression on political affairs and society.

His character has been hit off, by two men of eminent talent, who knew him well at the busiest time of his life, or during the first French revolution. "He wishes to be a Sir Charles Grandison Cromwell—*il a bien sauté pour reculer*—(meaning, that he had not answered in France to the reputation he had acquired during the war of independence in America)—he only desires a newspaper fame!" said the bitter epigrammatic Mirabeau.

"He has every great and good quality; but, unfortunately, there is a something wanting in every one of them!" said M. de Narbonne.

Mirabeau, who was too severe, acknowledged, however, that Lafayette had great *sang-froid*, or coolness and self-possession, and that whatever talent he possessed, he had it always ready.

SPAIN.

IT is now confidently asserted that the Cortes will assemble on the 25th of June. The government has not accepted any of the tenders for a loan, and delays making any arrangements with the creditors of the country until the Cortes shall meet and give them their proper consideration.

The new church commission has been at work. They have put forth a plan of ecclesiastical territorial division, so proportioned as to harmonize with the new civil territorial divisions of the country. They have also decided that the convents of mendicant friars shall be gradually diminished, and that the admission of fresh novices into those orders shall be suspended for the present.

These establishments of begging monks are certainly too numerous; but they are far from being so bad as they have been described by hasty, ill-informed travellers. At all events, we can conceive few things either so cruel or so impolitic as to suppress them all at a blow, and throw their inmates loose on the world. It is worthy of remark, that the French when they held military occupation of Italy, which they governed very much on the *coup-de-main* system, and with a deadly hatred of monks, rarely or never put down the convents of the mendicant orders. The Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Dominicans, &c., they disposed of in a summary way; but they were content to leave the Franciscans, the Capuchins, and such classes, much as they found them. There were two pretty obvious reasons for this. In the first place, the Benedictines and higher orders of monks had extensive estates—most valuable property, (which the French confiscated!) while the Franciscans and Capuchins had no property whatever beyond their churches and their convents, and the "sack of St. Francis" filled by the voluntary donations (generally in kind) of the peasantry and poorer citizens. They, therefore, offered no temptation to the French fiscal—and then the French knew that the plebeian orders, composed out of the common people, possessed the sympathies and could direct the political feelings of the popular masses to the most violent extremes. The same commission has also settled that the ecclesiastical seminaries are exclusively to be directed by such of the clergy as have "proved themselves to be worthy of the trust, and of unequivocal attachment to the imprescriptible rights of Donna Isabella II."

Civil war, however, has not yet ceased in Spain, though the military operations have been neither decisive nor important. In the northern provinces the Carlists claim some advantages; it appears, indeed, certain that the Queen's forces under the command of Quesada have been twice checked, with some loss, by the partisans led on by Zumalacarreguy, but the Carlists have not succeeded in making themselves masters of any of the fortresses or important towns.

A quadripartite treaty between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, which was admitted by Lord Palmerston in our House of Commons to be in preparation, is said to have been officially executed. France, it should appear, is bound in this treaty to interfere by force of arms to effect the tranquil and firm enthronement of the two young queens, and to restore general peace in the Peninsula.

The whole of the proceedings of the congress assembled at Vienna have been conducted with so much closeness, that it is unsafe to indulge in any conjectures on this head; and we only mention as a rumour, which seems generally credited, that in consequence of the announcement of the quadripartite alliance, the congress is to prolong its sittings for another month.

From other quarters it is asserted that the northern courts, and Austria more especially, will see with pleasure any kind of settlement in the long-troubled affairs of Spain and Portugal, so long as the monarchical principle is not interfered with, or the ultra-liberal parties permitted to predominate.

PORTUGAL.

ADMIRAL Napier has taken the valuable sea-port of Figueira. The Miguelites have evacuated Almeida, a small town in the province of Beyra, near to the Spanish frontier of Leon, but important from its position and some fortifications. General Rodil, at the head of an auxiliary force, sent in aid of the young Queen by the Spanish government, after encountering some difficulties on his march, chiefly from the peasantry, who in many parts of Portugal still incline to Don Miguel, and who generally entertain their old national antipathy to the Spaniards, has contrived to effect a junction with the Duke of Terceira, and the united forces of these two commanders have occupied Coimbra. The Miguelite garrison of that city retired without firing a musket.

In the north of Portugal, though the good disposition of the country people is somewhat doubtful, the inhabitants of the towns now pretty generally recognise Donna Maria and the Constitutional Charter—though what that charter *will be* seems uncertain.

According to the latest advices, Don Miguel still remained at Santarem. The notions entertained of his position and prospects are of course influenced by political and other feelings. He is represented by one party to be still in possession of a strong, well appointed, and well supplied army, and of the affections of the mass of the Portuguese people—to have in his rear a productive, well cultivated country—and, in short, the necessary means for prolonging the struggle. But another party says, with equal positiveness, that his resources are almost annihilated, that his cause is now desperate, and that he may be expected daily to break up from Santarem without fighting a battle in that part of the kingdom. According to this showing, he and Don Carlos contemplate retiring immediately on Elvas, where they will probably enter into an arrangement to act in combination.

In our last monthly retrospect we mentioned that in the southern provinces Bernard da Sa had sustained a check. He, however, soon recovered himself, and when (on the 5th of May) a Miguelite force of between three and four thousand men attempted to dislodge him from his positions, he completely repulsed them, after they had suffered great loss. Donna Maria's or Don Pedro's ministers seem to have started some difficulties as to their ratification of the quadripartite treaty. The ratification is, however, daily expected. The same men, with certain of the ex-emperor's favourites, and even Don Pedro himself, have had fresh quarrels with British and other officers in the young Queen's service, and in command of the foreign mercenaries, who, undeniably, have done more for Donna Maria's cause than the native Portuguese soldiery. General Bacon has been removed from the command of the cavalry, and is now seeking a fair trial by court-martial. The details of these constant squabbles are too paltry to merit notice, but they certainly tend to exhibit Don Pedro in an unfavourable light.

The minister Carvalho has put forth a decree annulling

former commercial treaties with Great Britain, and equalizing the duties on all imports into Portugal, let them come from what country or under what flag they may. The passing of this decree, without previously advising (as is usual in such cases) the British Government, was an obvious lack of courtesy on the part of Don Pedro, and was so considered by Lord Palmerston. The effects of the decree, however, will scarcely be so important as some persons in this country contemplate.

A difference in favour of British imports, amounting in *some instances* to 15 per cent. less in the duties on them, from various causes was no such immense advantage to the British merchant. We are of opinion, that the greatest commercial power ought not to attempt to avail itself of such mean and invidious distinctions between nation and nation; and certainly, if we do avail ourselves of these distinctions, they will in no manner add either to the trade or the honour of our country.

When the present ministry, in 1831, equalized our duties on Foreign wines, admitting the wines of France and other countries at the same rate as those from our old ally Portugal, we conceive they destroyed the grounds on which any serious complaint could now be raised against the recent equalization system of the Portuguese.

A Methuen, or any other treaty, when infringed by one contracting party, can hardly remain binding on the other.

In Spain we enjoy no distinctive advantages over other nations; but that circumstance does not prevent us from competing with, and in most great articles of import, even underselling them in the Spanish market.

UNITED STATES.

The long quarrel arising out of the Bank question and General Jackson's withdrawal of the Government deposits from that establishment, has been carried on with increasing violence, and is not yet terminated.

The Senate determined by twenty-eight votes to eighteen that the reasons assigned by General Jackson for the removal of the deposits from the Bank were unsatisfactory; and that he had exercised an authority not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both. The question was made the subject of a stormy discussion in the House of Representatives, where one member, a Mr. Allan, had so much to say, that he could not finish his speech in two whole days! In that assembly, however, a vote was carried approving of the conduct of the President.

A violent debate, with the result of which we are not yet acquainted, has since taken place in the Senate as to the point, whether that body should receive or reject the protest which General Jackson had sent in consequence of their vote of censure, and of (what he terms) their unconstitutional interference with the authority of the executive.

It should seem that the opposition or Bank party is very strong and violent.

In the midst of this excitement and mutual irritation some elections at New York, which were merely municipal, gave occasion to a riot and some bloodshed. The Irish inhabitants of the St. Giles of New York, who were Jackson-men, are accused of having begun the affray in which several hundreds of both parties were soon engaged.

A body of the Bank party forced the arsenal, and procured arms and ammunition—the Jackson-men followed them, and provided themselves for war in the same manner. Troops were called out—the Mayor arrived and addressed the multitude, who then quietly restored their arms to the arsenal and dispersed—not, however, before thirty persons had been badly wounded.

The Jackson candidates for civic honours succeeded in the election, but, according to American papers, it seems uncertain which party will have the majority in the Common Council.

The Bank partisans of New York have invited their friends of Philadelphia to make common cause with them.

The crisis in the money market is still felt, and there have been other important failures.

SYRIA.

In spite of partial insurrections, and some discontent on the part of Pashas and others, who preferred, for obvious reasons, the weaker government of the Sultan Mahmoud, to the stronger government of the Egyptian conqueror, it appears pretty certain that the condition of Syria has been improved since Mehemet Ali has taken possession of the country.

Commerce, the forerunner of all good—the only sure harbinger of national prosperity and civilization, has made great progress in the short space of two years. British merchants with their usual alacrity, have been among the first to avail themselves of this new opening of trade, and his Majesty's government, properly impressed with the increasing importance of Syria, and the advantages to be derived from firmly established and well-maintained commercial relations with that part of the East, has appointed a Consul-general (Mr. Farren) who has now been residing for some months at Damascus.

This ancient and once magnificent and trading city has been for many ages rather remarkably distinguished by its adherence to Oriental exclusiveness, and its dislike of European commerce and the enlightenment and other influences proceeding of which that is the source. These prejudices, however, seem to retreat before the energy and power of the Pasha of Egypt, who cordially entered into the spirit of Lord Palmerston's despatches in favour of British establishments in Syria, and wrote to his adopted son Ibrahim Pasha, who is commanding in that country, warmly recommending our newly-nominated Consul-general and all British subjects who may attempt to revive the long decayed commerce of Damascus, Bagdad, &c.

In consequence of all this, Mr. Farren was received at Damascus with the utmost kindness and distinction, his public entrance into the city being almost a triumph. In other countries we might disregard such a pageantry; but in the East, so honourable and splendid a reception will have the solidly advantageous effect of raising our Consul in public estimation, and of dissipating some prejudices. Ibrahim Pasha evinced the most friendly sentiments towards the Consul-general personally.

The arrival of Mr. Farren was also exceedingly well-timed. It was at the season when the Mahometan pilgrims were assembling at Damascus from all parts of the interior for their journey to Mecca. Now these men will speak of what they have seen, and spread the accounts of British enterprise and influence through all the adjacent regions. A moral power, not to be despised, will thus be created in support of trade and civilization, and this power may finally triumph over bigotry and sloth.

The nearest sea-port on the Syrian coast is Beyrout. Before the appointment of the consul-general, not a single British vessel, not a single British cargo, had arrived at that port direct from home. There did not exist a commercial house in any part of Syria, nor were the capabilities, the resources, the productions, or the trade-wants of that great country at all familiar to Englishmen. Since Mr. Farren's appointment, British vessels from 120 to 250 tons each have arrived at Beyrout direct from England, carrying cargoes of British and colonial manufactures, and at one time (in February last) there were three of our ships on their passage to that port. Of these three ships, two were from London, and one was from Liverpool.

Within a short time three British ships at Beyrout were freighted home direct, and there was abundance of produce at hand to be shipped by the first occasions that might offer. One of the three return ships, we are informed, brought a full cargo of madder roots, silk, wool, and skins. These articles will continue to form important and increasing items of Syrian export, but there is an abundance of most excellent tobacco, cotton, and other things to add to them. The productive power of the country is, indeed, already coming fully into play.

Four British houses at Damascus and three at Aleppo, all in direct trade with England, are now established, while others are in contemplation. A branch of one of the existing houses has already been settled at Bagdad, and sanguine hopes are entertained that similar British commercial establishments will soon be seen spreading all over the surrounding countries. Local consuls, or vice-consuls, are fixed at different points, and communicate regularly with the consul-general at Damascus. As in Turkey and in Egypt, the native courts of law have no authority whatever over the affairs and litigations of British subjects with each other. These matters are left to the local consuls, whose decisions may be submitted to the consul-general as to a court of appeal, whilst the consul-general's sentences may

be re-examined, confirmed or revoked, by appealing to a higher tribunal in England.

A glance at a map of the East will make our readers feel the advantageous geographical position of Damascus, the capital of Syria, and now the centre of a truly interesting scheme of British operation. The population of this capital and its immediate neighbourhood would of itself be sufficient to form a considerable mart for trade; but we must look at Damascus in its relation with the surrounding and vast regions of Asia—we must consider it as the centre of numerous and far-extending radii, which may all be made high roads for commercial enterprise.

The French and other governments are increasing their consular establishments in Syria, which is now become the scene of active interests, both political and commercial. The civil authority is lodged in the hands of Sheriff Bey, as Mehemet's governor-general of Syria.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Jan. 24. A private letter of this date from Port Louis states that the island of Mauritius had suffered severely from the effects of a hurricane on the 20th, which, though only of a few hours' duration, was more disastrous in its consequences than any that have occurred since 1812. The largest bridges were swept away, and some lives were lost. Unlike preceding hurricanes, it did not complete the circuit of the compass; it ranged from south-east to north, and by proceeding no further spared the shipping. A few ships, however, suffered; but only one was lost.

Ap. 20. The coroner's inquest on the body of the man killed by a shot from the factory during the Oldham riot, has delivered a verdict of manslaughter. The evidence on which this verdict was founded, is only known through the subsequent statements of the witnesses to the reporters; as the inquest was held with closed doors, a circumstance on which the newspapers have animadverted.

28. The strike of the journeymen tailors of the metropolis has been made to engage much of the public attention during this month. The journeymen struck for higher wages at this time when their services were most in demand. The masters being encouraged by the leading newspapers, and generally by their own customers, who forbore at this juncture to press their orders, organized an opposition to the demands of the workmen, most of the respectable masters in London agreeing not to employ any men belonging to trades' unions; and many of them employing women to execute their work. This strike is said to have thrown 13,000 men out of employment; and as it does not appear to have produced the expected results, as the funds of the union are exhausted, and as arrangements in progress appear to threaten that their services may be superseded, there is understood to be a disposition among the men to return to their work. It is hardly to be expected, however, that they will all be able to regain their former employments. The tailors in several other towns have struck in imitation of the metropolitan tailors; but some of them appear to have already returned to their employments. At a meeting of the master tailors in London on the 27th, it was decided by a very large majority, that only those journeymen should be re-employed who would sign a declaration that they had ceased to be connected with any Trades' Unions.

30. The town of Brandeis, fifteen miles from Prague, is chosen to be the future residence of the Duchess of Berri, and the spacious castle there belonging to the crown is putting in order for her reception. It is said, that Charles X. opposed her residing at Prague, because he did not wish to have her husband so near.

May 12. One of the most remarkable domestic occurrences of the month, has been the abduction of Mr. William Gee, a solicitor of Bishop Stortford, and the forcible means used to obtain from him certain title-deeds and a check for 800*l.* Mr. Gee was professionally employed by a person who stated herself to be a widow, of the name of Canning, to invest the sum of 2000*l.* for her benefit. He invested 1200*l.* of this sum, and placed the remaining 800*l.* in the hands of his bankers. Mr. Gee having been by specious pretences seduced to a house in York Street, Commercial Road, was there seized by three men, and forced through the back kitchen walled with strong boards, and plastered with mud and soil. He was there fastened by chains and cords to a board which served for a seat, and to two pieces of wood so that he could scarcely move. The men then extorted from him an order for the title-deeds of the invested property of Mrs. Canning, and a check for the 800*l.* This was stated to be the price of his release, and was yielded by him in the fear of being murdered. One of the men, who was blind and seemed the leader of the party, then went away with the order and the check, leaving the other men in charge of their prisoner. When Mr. Gee was left by himself, he contrived by extreme exertion to force up the chain across his breast; and then, turning his hand, he was able to untie the cords which bound his legs, and ultimately to get out. He clambered over several garden-walls, and at last escaped into the street, and immediately took measures to prevent the check being paid. Information having been given of these facts at the Lambeth-street Police-office, the three men were apprehended the next day. The blind man, Edwards, calling himself Heath, is a teacher of music, and had hired the house in York Street but a few days previously, and had the den constructed according to his directions, for the special purpose to which it was applied. He did not deny this part in the transaction, but justified it as a means of obtaining for Mrs. Canning that justice which had been quietly sought in vain. The transaction has been since elucidated by the fact, that Mrs. Canning had been married, under a false name, to Edwards, and that she had only a life interest in the property in question, which she was to retain while she remained a widow, and no longer. The other two men, Lecasser and Weedon, appear to have acted as directed by Edwards. They have all been committed to take their trial on the charge, "That they, by menaces and by force, did demand of Mr. W. Gee the sum of 1100*l.* or 1200*l.*, with intent to steal the same." This leaves Mr. Gee the option of still preferring bills of indictment against the prisoners for the higher offence of felony, or of assault with intent to commit a felony.

16. In consequence of a resolution come to by the master manufacturers and cloth weavers, not to give employment to any men but such as would sign a declaration abandoning the Trades' Unions and promising not to join that or any similar association while they continued in their employment, about 3000 workmen in all the branches of the woollen manufacture left their employment. The determination of the men was not to sign the declaration proposed to them; and as the masters refused to receive them on any other terms, twenty-four mills have been brought nearly to a stand.

16. The infant son of King Leopold died this night at the palace of Laecken. He was not quite ten months old. Whit-Sunday, usually a great holiday in Brussels, was universally observed as a day of mourning for this calamity. It is supposed that the king, according to the power with which he is invested, will nominate one of his nephews as his presumptive successor in the throne.

18. The Tabernacle, Moorfields, was a scene of great disturbance on Sunday morning, in consequence of an attempt of the trustees to exclude Mr. Campbell, the favourite minister of the congregation, from the pulpit, and to put another gentleman in his place. There was a great deal of hissing, yelling, and shouts of "Campbell!" which lasted three quarters of an hour before the service was allowed to proceed. On the following Sunday Mr. Campbell was allowed to resume his place in the pulpit, and preached to a congregation that filled every part of the building.

Procession of Trades' Unions.—On the subject of the late procession a Correspondent sends us the following statement:—"I took a station in Maiden Lane, nearly opposite the Gas-works, in an elevated situation, above the heads of the passers-by, and singularly eligible for the purpose I had in view—the absolute counting, from beginning to end, of the persons actually walking in procession. The two horsemen, leading the van of the multitude, passed me at a quarter past 10, by my watch, and the last man of the whole passed me at 23 minutes past 12, by the same watch, being at the time about eight or nine minutes too fast. I carefully counted the whole of them, noting down, as I proceeded, each 500 in my memorandum-book; and, upon adding up the numbers, I made 23,620 persons in the actual line, exclusive of those who walked by the side to keep the road, and who, I suppose, might amount to perhaps 200 or 250 more. The men walked in rows of five abreast, excepting that at the head of the procession and about the petition some were eight abreast; at the head of the different lodges generally came two first, then four, and then five again; of the bricklayers' labourers a great many were six abreast.

"As they did not carry any insignia of their trades, I could not note accurately the precise number of *every* trade, but from personal knowledge of individuals of the different trades undermentioned and their situation in the line, I state the following as the numbers of those trades:—

Tailors	5060
Carpenters	3195
Bricklayers and Plasterers	1845
Plumbers and Glaziers	930
Bricklayers' Labourers	2538

A builder's foreman in the city has told me that he also counted them from beginning to end, at a later period than myself, and he made 'nearly 25,000.' He also told me that the secretary of the Sawyers' Society had counted them for the information of that body, and that he made them 25,000."

*** The COMPANION to the NEWSPAPER is also published with Numbers VI. and VII. of the PRINTING MACHINE, forming Part IV. of the COMPANION TO THE LIBRARY AND THE NEWSPAPER. Price 1*s. sewed.*

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 19. | JULY 1, 1834. | Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Popular Education in the Arts	121	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	131
Oxford	124	Statistics, Trade, &c.	134
State of the Silk Trade	126	Public Petitions	135
Poor Laws Amendment Bill	127	Political Retrospect—Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Egypt	136
Servia	129		
Business of the House of Commons	131	Chronicle of Occurrences	142

POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE ARTS.

In one of the late Reports (the fifteenth) from the Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions, there is printed a petition from the vicar, curate, churchwardens, and other inhabitants and rate-payers of the parish of Foleshill, in the county of the city of Coventry, the principal object of which is to urge the necessity of an alteration in the administration of the poor-laws. At present, however, we notice the petition, the good sense and right feeling of which are highly creditable to its authors, for the sake of a suggestion contained in it on another subject of great national importance. After stating that the parish of Foleshill contains, by the last census, a population of 6969 persons, at least four fifths of whom were formerly employed in, or totally dependent upon, the riband trade, and that the consequence of the admission, since 1826, of ribands of French manufacture has been to throw idle 2099 looms out of 2391, the entire number in the parish, to the immense augmentation of the poor-rate, the petition proceeds:—"That your petitioners have never entertained any doubt that the legislature were actuated by the most wise and patriotic intentions of promoting the general benefit and prosperity of the country, when they repealed the law which, for more than half a century, has totally prohibited the importation of French riband; but it is admitted, in the evidence to which your petitioners have before craved the attention of your honourable house, by those who have had every advantage of acquiring information which the highest authority could afford, that the operative riband manufacturers of this country are at present perfectly unequal to compete with the long cultivated taste and ingenuity of their French competitors. That your petitioners are of opinion, that the superiority which the French riband weavers have attained is attributable to the constant instruction and encouragement afforded by the government of their country, to all classes of persons engaged in the trade, for the cultivation of their taste, and the developement of their inventive genius; and that, before the English weavers were exposed to such an unfair and unequal competition, a much longer period than three years ought to have been allowed, and every facility should have been afforded to them of acquiring similar advantages, so as to render unnecessary the introduction of French ribands as a source of instruction and improvement, &c."

The first point of view from which we look with gratification upon such expressions of popular opinion as the above, is that in which they present us with an indication of the improved intelligence of our industrious classes. They have begun to see the value of the superior skill and taste which they do not yet possess; and, although we shall not say that this alone would be enough to ensure them, even if they should be left to themselves, the acquisition of what they so well appreciate and so strongly desire, we may certainly, at least, take it as an earnest that when the requisite means have been provided, and the proper facilities put in their power, they will avail themselves of their new opportunities with an alacrity that will leave none of the benefit unreaped.

The object here, as we have said, is one of great national importance; and this being the case, we hold that it is one deserving of national encouragement. In ordinary cases, it may be safest and best for governments to refrain from interfering with their aid where the people can act for themselves, and to allow what we may call the natural forces of society to work out the desired end in their own way and their own time. But this doctrine is, we think, carried too far when it is announced as applicable universally. There are circumstances, and the present we regard as being of that description, in which, unless the state as such shall come forward with its assistance, a great benefit may be either lost altogether, or at all events the moment in which it is of most importance that it should be secured may be allowed to pass away, and perhaps some irretrievable advantages along with it. It is quite evident that the poor riband weavers of Coventry, without employment, and subsisting upon parish alms, will and can do nothing to procure for themselves the instruction of which they are notwithstanding so well aware that they stand in need. Their employers, the master manufacturers, are scarcely more likely to bestir themselves in the matter than the workmen, in whose difficulties and privations they are themselves sharers to a large amount. Suppose the return for any exertions they might make, or any expenditure they might incur, in instituting schools of the fine arts for the instruction of their men, to be ever so sure, it is still only prospective, and even considerably remote in prospect. They could not expect the period of remuneration to commence till after the lapse of some years. But rather than wait so long, rather than set their faces to so arduous and so costly a struggle, they will probably endeavour to find an investment for their capital in some other branch that will yield them an immediate profit. The great wealth of our traders and manufacturers of all kinds in this country does indeed enable them to venture upon enterprises, the protracted character of which would deter the capitalists of most other countries. But, on the other hand, in no country whatever is the value of quick returns, the importance of a frequent circumvolution of the capital employed in any business, better understood, or rated higher, than it is in this. Whenever the period of return is more than usually long, the magnitude of the rate of profit must make up for the delay. This is the course of ordinary business, of that business in which the great mass of the capital of the country is engaged. It is only in regard to the comparatively small surplus, which flows by a variety of devious channels into what is properly called speculation, that the rule can be said not to hold so strictly. But it would be wild in the extreme to trust such a matter as that we are at present considering to a principle almost as irregular in its operation, and as little to be counted upon, as the chances of a lottery.

The case, finally, is one in which there is but little probability that the public generally, or any sufficiently large portion of the public, will come forward with the requisite readiness and zeal to effect the proposed object, if the government shall stand back. There has been little or no indication as yet of any disposition to do so; and indeed, there is wanting here that which most commonly excites the efforts of private individuals, the prospect of immediate relief to some present and urgent distress. The look-forward is too far for the popular vision, which is for the most part confined to the concerns of the passing hour, and to a scene of action near at hand, and where everything can be clearly discerned.

We conclude, therefore, that unless the government shall lend its aid in providing that instruction which the riband-weavers of Coventry pray for, the object is not very

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

likely to be accomplished at all. But there is another reason, founded not in considerations of expediency, but in the justice of the case, why the state should not refuse to do something here. There can be no doubt that the present condition of the riband manufacture of this country, its inferiority as compared with that of France, and with that of every other branch of mechanical industry prosecuted among ourselves, is the doing of the legislature. The protection accorded to their silk trade up to within the last few years from foreign competition, has only tended to keep it in a state of depression. From the end of the 17th century till the year 1826, no importation of silk goods into Great Britain was permitted from any other country in the world. Sometimes the law was strictly prohibitory; at other times, duties so heavy were imposed upon the foreign article as to exclude it quite as effectually. The monopoly thus enjoyed by the manufacturers "effectually put a stop," as a late writer has remarked, "to all improvement;" so that the manufacture continued stationary in England, while on the continent it was rapidly advancing.... Notwithstanding the unparalleled advances we had made in other departments of manufacturing industry, it was affirmed in 1826 by the member for Coventry (Mr. Ellice), in his place in the House of Commons, 'that there were in that city 9700 looms, 7500 of which were in the hands of operative weavers, who applied their manual labour, as well as their machinery to the manufacture of ribands. These looms were, for the most part, of the *worst possible construction*; and it would scarcely be believed that the improved loom in France would, in a given time, produce five times as much riband as the common loom in England, with the same manual labour! He could also state that there existed an improved manufacture in Germany, by which one man could make *forty-eight times as much velvet as could be made in an equal time by an English machine.*'... Perhaps these statements may be somewhat exaggerated; but there can be no doubt that they are substantially well founded. Surely, however, no one believes that the inferiority of the machinery used by the English manufacturers is to be ascribed to any thing except that the protection they enjoyed had made them indifferent to improvements. No one believes that the French or Germans are superior to the English in the construction of machines; on the contrary, their inferiority is admitted by themselves, and by everybody else. That that spirit of invention, which has effected such astonishing results in the cotton manufacture, should have been wholly unknown in that of silk, is entirely to be ascribed to the fact of the former never having been the object of legislative protection. The cotton manufacturers were not bribed into the adoption of a routine system; they could not rest satisfied with mediocrity; but being compelled to put forth all their powers—to avail themselves of every resource of science and of art, they have, in a few years, raised the British cotton manufacture from a subordinate and trifling, to the very first place among the manufactures, not of this country only, but of the world!"*

The state owes the silk manufacture whatever compensation it can make for the injury it has thus inflicted. In so far as regards the machinery employed in the manufacture, the best, and indeed, the only thing that the legislature can do in order to repair the mischief wrought by the prohibitory system, is what it has done—to leave English mechanical skill and ingenuity to contend without favour against those of other nations. There can be no doubt of the result of such a contest. Already the machinery employed in the silk manufacture in this country, is equal, in most respects, and in some, superior to the most improved in use on the continent. "We do not exaggerate, we only state the plain matter of fact," says the authority already quoted, "when we affirm that the silk manufacture has made a more rapid progress during the last eight years, or since the abolition of the prohibitive system in 1826, than it did during the preceding century. So unprecedented has been its advance that 'the once existing disparity in quality between goods of French and English make, has, with some very unimportant exceptions, not merely disappeared, but actually ranged itself on the side of the British artisan.' Some of our readers will probably be not a little surprised to learn, that the real or declared value of the silk goods of British manufacture exported to France in 1832, amounted to 75,187*l.* Most of the machines and processes known on the continent have been introduced amongst us, and many of them have been materially improved. Nor, after what has taken place, can the least doubt remain in the mind of any one, that had the same freedom been given to the silk manufacture fifty years ago that was given to it in 1826, it would now have ranked among the most important and valuable businesses in the kingdom, and would have had nothing whatever to fear from the admission of foreign silks free of duty."*

The more abundant capital, more energetic spirit of enterprise, and greater advancement in the science and practice of mechanics, possessed by the people of this country, have enabled us to make the rapid progress that has just been described even in a line of pursuit in which, owing to the want of the usual stimulants, we had scarcely ever, until lately, made any forward movement at all. It required only a new application of the same powers and principles which we had long been in the habit of applying in numerous other branches of industry. But in certain departments of the silk manufacture, and especially in the weaving of ribands, it happens that a knowledge of the art of design is as essential to the production of the finer descriptions of articles as mechanical skill. Now, in that knowledge the artisans of this country, of all classes, are for the most part wholly uninstructed, and wholly without the means of obtaining instruction. It is a species of knowledge which among us has all along been cultivated only by those who follow the profession of painting. It has no more been thought of as the accomplishment of the common mechanic than Latin or Greek has. He has had no opportunity of acquiring either any skill in this art, or even any taste for it. Had the silk manufacture been left to bear up by its native strength against foreign competition, it is not likely that we should have suffered ourselves to be beaten here by our continental rivals any more than in other manufactures. But the protection, as it is falsely called, with which the trade has been fenced round and covered over,—protection against the very influences which would have most invigorated it,—has had the effect of keeping it dwarfed and feeble, where so many other things, springing from the same soil, are beyond example luxuriant and gigantic.

In most of the continental countries the people of all ranks have hitherto enjoyed vastly greater advantages for the cultivation of a correct taste in the fine arts than have been open to us in England. In Italy, in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, and in many parts of Germany, the churches are often adorned with pictures by the greatest masters, and are open every day of the week to all who choose to enter. A sense of the power of high art in this way grows up in the heart with the birth of thought and feeling, and lives there in intimate and permanent association with whatever else makes up the being of the individual. With us there is nothing of this kind; to the great body not only of the labouring classes, but of the public generally, the world of art is "an universal blank;" their minds and eyes are as little acquainted with it as if they were without the faculty of deriving pleasure from such a source.

Something, no doubt, and in course of time we would hope much, will be done to create and diffuse throughout the community what we cannot hesitate to call a higher civilization, by the scheme which the legislature has at length adopted of establishing a national gallery, to be free to the whole public almost as the public streets. Be it observed, that this is really the only thing that ever has been done in this country for the effective diffusion of a taste in art. The annual exhibition at Somerset House, for instance, to say nothing of its consisting merely of modern works, is in no sort a public gallery. The shilling demanded for admission, indeed, is but a small sum; but it is also a small matter which it purchases—the liberty to enter once into the rooms. You may, indeed, go, if you please, in the morning, and remain, if you can, till night; but there are few persons whose convenience it would suit to make so lengthened a visitation. An hour, or a couple of hours, is all that can be easily spared at one time by most people who have any thing to do with their time; and in that space how many of the ten or twelve hundred works, with which the walls of the rooms at the Royal Academy are covered, can be, we do not say studied or examined, but even looked at? Yet no good is to be gained by merely looking at a great picture for a few moments. What is wanted is a repository of treasures of this description, which

* Macculloch's Dictionary of Commerce. Second Edition, p. 1031.

* Id. p. 1032.

shall be open at all times to all comers; and such the National Gallery will be. Thither any one may resort who has an hour or half an hour to spare; and he may repeat his visit as often as he pleases. In this way he will not only see the pictures, but will make acquaintance with them; he will not only carry away from a single inspection a confused impression of the forms and colours mingled on the canvass, but he will get the work by heart, and thus make it, as it were, his own property, and have it always with him, wherever he goes. The productions of the pencil defy that mechanical transcription which is applicable to those of the pen; and it is in this way only that they can be really multiplied. It is this consideration which forms the grand argument for the formation of collections, such as that we are now considering, at the public expense. It is impossible, without such collections, that the mass of the people should ever acquire any knowledge of art.

But for that sort of education in art which, as is pointed out with so much intelligence by the Coventry riband weavers, the welfare and even the existence of some important branches of manufactures require, more is necessary than the institution of public galleries. We hope and trust that the legislature will follow up what it has already done by the establishment of schools in certain districts where our weavers of ribands and fancy stuffs, and perhaps other descriptions of mechanics, might be instructed in the arts of design. This is what is most wanted, it is almost all that is wanted, to enable us to defy the rivalry of the continental manufacturer, even in those departments of the silk trade in which his superiority is most decided. We believe that the expense of such schools would be inconsiderable, and that, after they had been fairly established at the cost of a few thousand pounds, they would maintain themselves. The only difficulty would be to bring the manufactures in question up to the point at which a skill in design should be a necessary accomplishment of the artisans; they would scarcely drop down again from this elevation after they had fairly gained it.

The fullest information, we believe, which has yet appeared in this country on the subject of the schools of design alluded to in the Coventry petition as existing in France, is to be found in the evidence given by Mr. Bowring before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat upon the silk trade the session before last. It may be useful as well as interesting to present here the most important portions of his statement. "Up to the period," says the witness, "in which the pattern is produced, I think the French have greatly the advantage over us; they have not a great superiority when the pattern is produced; but the fact that struck me most in France was the way in which taste was formed, and I was exceedingly surprised at finding among the weavers themselves, and among their children, and amongst everybody connected with the production of patterns, an attention devoted to everything which was in any way connected with beauty, either in arrangement or in colour. I have again and again seen the weavers walking about gathering flowers, arranging them in their most attractive shapes. I found them constantly suggesting to their masters improvements in their designs; and I learnt that in almost every case where the manufacturer had great success, there was some individual in the fabric who was the creator of beautiful things. There is at this moment scarcely any house of considerable reputation at Lyons which has not a partner who owes his position to his great success in the study of the arts; this has been treated as an object of so great importance, that they have, in the city of Lyons, a school of arts, to which the town itself gives 20,000 francs a year, and which takes possession of every lad who shows great aptitude for drawing or for any other subject of study which is likely to be brought to bear on manufactures; all the painters, and all the sculptors, and all the botanists at Lyons become manufacturers, and scarcely ever go out of the manufacturing circle. The town gives instruction in every thing which presents itself in the shape of art. I went to the school of St. Peter, which is one of the most remarkable schools of art, and I found there 180 students, and that to every one of these students the town was giving five years gratuitous instruction in art; a great number of them were engaged in the study of anatomy; they had a surgical professor there, who was teaching them not only the harmony of the human form, but all the wonderful organization of the human machine, as connected with the machinery of manufactures. I found a botanical professor who had thirty or forty boys under him studying flowers, and many flowers exceedingly beautiful. I found others attending to architecture; and, in fact, that all the departments of art, which could in any way be caught hold of for the production of beautiful things, had become objects of attention. And I found also a professor, the object of whose teaching was to show those young men how the machine could avail itself of their productions; that is to say, how by machinery they could produce, on a piece of silk cloth, that which they had drawn on a piece of paper. Those schools are not only the object of local attention, but they come immediately under the protection of government; and I see by the general budget, that the government (that is, the Minister of Commerce) allows 3,100 francs a year, independently of the endowment the town gives to this school. Although the Minister of Commerce makes a special grant for any purpose which is likely to advance those studies, the town is willing to consent to make supernumerary grants. The school supplies the student with every thing but the materials, and their works belong to the students themselves. Of late, (which, by the way, is another evidence of the effect of competition,) the school has become an object of very considerable attention; and the French, finding they are thrown more on their production of beautiful patterns, are giving to the schools of art a vast deal of their care and anxiety; the professor of painting of this school is a man of high distinction, very well known in the world of art. . . . . The French manufacturer considers that his pattern is the principal element on which he is to depend for his success. The mere art of manufacturing may be easily effected; but here is a taste-producing school which contains from 150 to 180 students; it has gone as high as 200. The manufacturer goes there, and he sees a boy who has passed through all the courses of study, who has, in fact, the appropriate knowledge, that boy's mind having been getting instruction in every shape, and applying it all to one particular end, namely of manufacture, which he looks to as the means of future success. The manufacturer can pick out of these 200 boys the boy whose taste is most distinguished; that boy is admitted into his house, probably at a small salary. One manufacturer told me he had three such: to the lowest in rank he gave 1000 francs, equal to 40*l*. The number of pieces produced, the object of a particular pattern, may be very small at first, but if his success is remarkable, in two years he may get 2000 francs; after three or four years, if his success is great indeed, and the patterns he produces meet with great acceptance, he can obtain 3000 francs: from the moment that his reputation is worth 3000 francs his fame is established, and he has the offer of a partnership; and that is the history of a great many of the most prosperous manufacturers of Lyons.

"There is but one principal school, which is the school of St. Peter. I have heard again and again, from manufacturers even of considerable reputation, that they are not in the habit of trusting wholly to themselves for the result of a pattern; it is to them a matter of great anxiety to hear the opinions of young men who are thus instructed; and as an evidence of the attention paid to the matter, I visited, not long ago, the house of a weaver, a man getting 30 or 40 sous a day; he turned over some hundreds of patterns, and said, I will give you my opinion of these. I was much struck with the correctness of his taste, and I found they were able to prophesy pretty correctly what the success of a pattern would be.

"The greatest attention is paid to the production of a pattern, as the recompense of the successful manufacture of a new pattern, or a new order of patterns, is full of encouragement. The subject of patterns is a frequent topic of conversation: for instance, the power of introducing patterns from a kaleidescope, was, on one occasion, the object of my inquiry. I found that all the intelligent manufacturers agreed that the kaleidescope produces nothing but incongruities. . . . . In reference to the botanic part, or the study of flowers as patterns, there will not be seen the inconsistencies in the French patterns which are so often found in the English patterns; they draw more correctly and observingly.

"I beg to state, that the universal conviction in France is, that they are wholly dependent on the superior beauty of their productions for their foreign sale; and that is the great object of anxiety there, that every thing should be done to keep up that spirit; daily knowledge is gathered

from all quarters, and the universal desire among the manufacturers there is to do something which in the regions of taste, shall be better than that which has been done by their neighbours; for they feel they are much behindhand in many other matters; that they do not possess the same advantages for the production of their goods after the taste is created: their looms, for instance, are frequently in a deteriorated and backward state, and nothing but the superiority they have on these matters of taste, enable them to carry on a successful trade.

"The observations of the operatives are invaluable to the master; I have heard manufacturers again and again say, that the masters who stood upon their own sagacity, and had not availed themselves of the hints of their dependents, had failed."

Mr. Bowring adds, that very high sums are sometimes paid to designers. "The highest sum I have ever heard of," he says, "is 6000 francs a year; but it is a better remuneration to give a talented young man a partnership than a salary of 4000 francs a year, his assistance being so important for the production of a novel thing." In the school of art there are, he thinks, five or six professors. "I will describe," he continues, "the course of things which is followed: There is the Anatomical School, which gets supplied with subjects with great facility, having the power of drawing on the hospitals, as the other surgical schools have. Then the school of the living human being; I found a very beautiful child, of three or four years old, with thirty or forty students sitting round it: they were employed in copying its locks, or engaged in the study of its features. I found in a third range the architectural students; they were engaged in copying different styles; and the great object of the master is to prevent confusion between different styles, and they find architecture of considerable importance for providing patterns of a stiff and formal character: thus their ornaments are correct and appropriate. Next comes the manufacture in velvet, of which there are of students is, I take *forty-eight times as much velvet as* [illegible] *can be made in an equal time by an English machine.*' ... Perhaps [illegible] these statements [illegible] but there [illegible] n be [illegible] greater: they were engaged in copying the most beautiful flowers. A botanical garden is attached to the school. There are thirty or forty students, some of whom were engaged in arranging the flowers, to show them in their most attractive shape. Then I think came what may be called a general professor, whose object was painting landscapes, and exhibiting art in its wider bearings. And, last of all, a professor whose object was the application of machinery to art, which takes possession of all that which the boy has invented or produced, and teaches him how it is to be transferred to the silk manufacture. I found in that school a large collection of patterns, which had been deposited by the Prud'hommes. After a certain number of years, those patterns come into the possession of that school, and are employed as helps for the production of new patterns."

The instruction at this school is purely gratuitous; and the pupils are admitted by the order of the municipality, or corporation, by which the principal expense of the establishment is defrayed. "There is also," proceeds the witness, "a department of Natural History; I am desired to obtain for them specimens of sculpture, for they thought they should probably find them of use. The mayor requested I would send from hence, at the expense of the town, a copy of the Elgin Marbles, for the service of the School of Art. There is a letter from the mayor also, in which he tells me that they are intending to give this school much more developement; that they feel the pressure of necessity upon them; and that they have ordered a report to be made of the Bresca school at Milan, to see whether anything existing there can be advantageously introduced at Lyons. I mention this as an evidence of the anxiety and attention with which they look at these things. The manner in which the grant is made is precisely this: I hold in my hand the budget of the town of Lyons for 1831; in the year 1830 they granted 22,000 francs from the town, but this year only 20,000. The mayor proposes the amount; it is then referred to the municipal council, to approve of it; it is then referred to the prefect, and comes under the immediate cognizance of the king: so that the sanction of all the principal authorities is obtained, the town reserving to itself the right of making any supernumerary grant, if it should be necessary. Of late a very large legacy has been left by a French general of the name of Martin, who has directed that a considerable portion of it should be applied to the establishment of an institution whose objects are, in many respects, similar to those of the school of St. Peter. The amount altogether was not less, I believe, than two millions of francs, and the decision as to its application is as late as April 1831." The operations of this school, he adds, are also intended with reference to the improvement of the silk manufactory; "but they do not exact that a boy there shall devote himself exclusively to the manufacture at Lyons. He gets gratuitous instruction as soon as he gives evidence of aptitude for those particular instructions; and it happens that in a town like Lyons, inasmuch as he gets an almost certain existence by applying his talents to the production of patterns, there are very few men who go into the higher walks of art, where there would be great uncertainty. Those men, devoting themselves to those studies for the purpose of improvement, calculate that when once they leave the school they can get a thousand francs, which is the first recompense of their labour. I was surprised to find that this school had not produced a greater number of artists and painters; but the simple fact is, the manufacture swallows them up, and it is on manufacture that their hopes are founded. I have said again and again, how is it you are not at Rome, or at Paris, and applying your genius to something better? The answer was, invariably, 'We have a certainty here.' And thus it is that the manufacturer of Lyons avails himself of the talent which the neighbourhood produces."

At St. Etienne, Mr. Bowring afterwards states, where there is a great manufacture of ribands, there is also much attention paid to the subject of drawing, although there is nothing there that can be decidedly called a school of design. There are in the place many students not collected in schools, and a considerable number of draftsmen. "At this moment," he says, "there are fifty-eight artists at St. Etienne, employed in the production of riband patterns."

OXFORD.

GREAT as the necessity still is for placing the education of the poor upon a broad and solid foundation, it appears to us that there is even a more pressing necessity for making some great efforts for the improvement of the education of the *rich*. The little that has been done in schools for the humbler classes has still had the effect of exhibiting the immense superiority of rational modes of instruction, and mild correctives in youthful wilfulness, [illegible] years' babbling of [illegible] the Netherlands, and [illegible] of [illegible] over a [illegible] without sense, and a ten years' subjection to brutal and indecent punishment. A fearful and revolting manifestation of the state of intellect amongst some of the more unhappy of the young men, who to the wisdom and virtue induced by the fagging and flogging of Eton, superadd the experience of a year or two in the profligacy and bigotry of Oxford, has been presented in the late memorable display of the habits and modes of thinking of the under-graduates at the installation of the Duke of Wellington. This ceremonial demands no notice from us except in the point of view in which we put it, as an indication of the miserable state of knowledge and feeling amongst the students of one of our great universities.

The following passages, descriptive of the exhibition we have mentioned, are selected from the "St. James's Chronicle," the organ of the party who dwell with rapture upon the manifestations of "the spirit of the age" exhibited by the big boys of Oxford. We beg our readers to peruse the extracts with the understanding that the record of these transactions is made in the warmest spirit of admiration.

"*Tuesday.*—After the masters of arts and strangers had wedged themselves into a compact mass, the undergraduates and bachelors of arts were admitted into the upper galleries, and then came

> "Tumult and Confusion, all embroiled,
> And Clamour, with a thousand various mouths."

"After they had filled the gallery and settled themselves in their seats, an unanimous cry arose among them for three cheers for the Duke of Wellington. They were given with such hearty vociferation, that I was almost afraid that the miracle of Amphion would be renewed, and that they would move the stones out of the roof of the theatre upon the heads of the clamourers. Then there was a short pause, and again another cheer for the Chancellor of the University;

The name of Dyer, one of the proctors, was then mentioned, on which was heard

> "On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
> A dismal universal hiss, the sound
> Of universal scorn." *

Various other names, not only of private, but of public men, were at intervals shouted out by undergraduates in the gallery, and served as signals for them to express their like or dislike to the individuals who bore them. The name of Earl Grey was received with an unanimous demonstration of strong disapprobation. Some few cheered the Lord Chancellor, but their cheers, "like angels' visits," were few and long between. The majority of voices was evidently hostile to his lordship. An undergraduate exclaiming "The bishops," the cheering was universal, deafening, and almost appalling. Lord Wynford entered the theatre about this time, and was received with applause; so, too, was Lord Lyndhurst. The next arrival of importance was that of the Duke of Cumberland, who was in the full dress of Colonel of the 15th Hussars. Not a dissentient voice was raised against him—on the contrary, he and his suite were received with loud cheers. A cheer was proposed and given for the Chancellor of the University of Dublin."

The "honoured correspondent" of the 'St. James's Chronicle, thus describes the same scene:—

"C. Ch., June 10, 1831.

"In the transactions of this day conservativism was absolutely embodied—I may say, impersonated. Never did I see—never, I believe, did any one see, such an exhibition of eager, bursting, uncontrollable enthusiasm, as that of which the Duke of Wellington, in the first place, the Dukes of Newcastle, Cumberland, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and the noble Chancellor's friends, were the objects. A miraculous unanimity of sentiment, universally prevailed. The walls actually trembled at the shouts that greeted the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Winchilsea; and when a cheer was proposed for the bishops, you might have supposed yourself in a park of artillery, or the tenant of a three-decker, delivering both her broadsides at the instant. Twice was Lord Grey's name pronounced—twice the groans and hisses became perfectly frantic—without one mitigating note of applause, or even compassion, so deep and sincere was the contempt of all, both young and old. Lord Brougham's name fared no better, except that two or three feeble voices were raised to claim forbearance to a man of science and letters. Yet the assembly at Oxford is no mob; it consists of educated men, many of them, under God, the hope of the next generation. Let him who seeks to know what is the 'spirit of the age,' the spirit of the present and the coming age too, look here."

Let us see how "the assembly at Oxford," which is "*no mob*," but "*consists of educated men*," deported itself on the following day:—

Wednesday.—"In the galleries the under-graduates were as closely packed, and as determined to express their opinion on 'men and things in general' as on the previous day. Their first cheer was for 'The Ladies,' and this was repeated at very frequent intervals throughout the day, always accompanied with a certain gay, hilarious, gallant, and hearty expression of their happy faces very distinctly marked from all the other various feelings by which they were animated from time to time. Having given 'The Queen,' 'The Princess Victoria,' 'The Duchess of Kent,' and other announcements of course, they proceeded to the authorities of the university, and treated the different names much in the same manner as on the previous day. The ministers, as well collectively as in detail, were also groaned, hissed, and laughed at most unmercifully. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland entered very early, and was warmly received. His presence seemed only to re-animate the zeal of the young men to still more noisy exertions. The favourite noblemen, especially, were now given out in rapid succession, with occasionally a sarcastic proposition to provoke a groan. In some cases the latter was accompanied with a witty addition, such as 'Earl Grey, and his family in office,' which drew down a hearty laugh of long duration. 'Daniel O'Connell and his tail' was treated to the same doubtful honours; and 'The House of Commons and Reform.' There were also sentiments given out and cheered vehemently, such as 'The Rights of the Universities'—'The Principles of William Pitt'—'Protestant Ascendency'—'The Memory of the Protestant Reformers'—'The King's Address to the Bishops'—'The Memory of George III., and of George IV.'—'The Duke of Wellington's Administration,' &c. 'The Gower-street Company' was received with a burst of laughter and cries of 'Stinkomalee.' 'The Admission of Dissenters' was also given out and received with determined and inveterate marks of reprobation it would be impossible to describe."

Those who are "under God, the hope of the next generation" had still another day to establish the assertion that they were "no mob." The Thursday morning was devoted to the service of the church. The reporter, with great *naïveté*, says, "It was about eleven o'clock when the Chancellor, accompanied by the Vice-Chancellor, the noblemen and gentlemen recently made Doctors, and the heads of houses in their robes of state, entered the cathedral; and, *though he was not received with the noisy cheers with which the welkin has rung for him elsewhere*, I heard more than one person congratulate his neighbour upon the powerful champion which the church had now enlisted in her service and defence."

Political dialogues in a place of worship are, of course, in the best taste: but let that pass. Come we to the crowning manifestation of the great truth exhibited in "the glorious, gratifying, and truly useful ceremonial at Oxford;" that "there will flow from this university a river of life and strength, contentment and joy, to every corner of the land!"

Friday.—"The Duke of Cumberland, as on the preceding days, arrived before the Chancellor, and was received with loud plaudits. Meanwhile as soon as the undergraduates took their places in the gallery assigned to them, they commenced to cheer or groan according to custom, and just as the feeling of the moment suggested some subject for applause or disapprobation. In the former spirit the following exclamations were raised:—'The Queen!' 'The King's Conscience!' 'The Bench of Bishops!' 'The privileges and politics of the University!' 'The editor of the *Standard!*' 'Trinity College, Dublin!' In the latter these shouts were uttered. 'A groan for Gaffer Grey!' 'Down with the Ministers!' 'A groan for Lord Palmerston and his protocols!' 'A groan for Lord Brougham!' A new idea then struck one of the undergraduates, and a cry of 'A laugh for the Dissenters' so tickled the fancy of the young men, that a very gentle cachination, which at first followed the cry, soon became so infectious that it swelled into a general roar, which did not subside for more than two minutes. 'O'Connell and his tail' were next proposed, and the groans were loud and discordant. 'Repeal' followed, and produced no impression, but 'Repale' was succeeded by a hearty laugh. The cue once given, others were not slow to take it up, and 'the rint,' in connexion with O'Connell's name, was most particularly well groaned for. I thought of others who had better reason to groan. 'Lord Grey's disinterested relations in office' was no sooner shouted out than a general burst of laughter, followed by mingled hisses and groans, proclaimed that the opinion of the Oxonians was not in their favour. 'Mr. Sheil' was declared not to be worth a groan, as were two or three other persons in public life. Shortly afterwards a general move in the area indicated that some person of consequence was coming, and a cry of 'Hats off,' preceded the entrance of the Duke of Cumberland, attended by his aide-de-camp. He was long and loudly cheered, and it was not till he had taken his seat that the undergraduates resumed theirs. 'Three cheers for the ladies' were given with great enthusiasm, so much so that the gownsmen seemed to forget that there was such a thing as arithmetic, and 'one cheer more' was split into fractions, making altogether a most puzzling whole. 'The graces in the gallery' were next loudly cheered, particularly by their neighbours. The same sentiment, but varied in form, 'The undergraduate ladies,' was received with mingled mirth and cheering."

The authorities on the subject of this 'glorious, gratifying, and truly useful ceremonial,' say that "the assembly at Oxford is no mob, but consists of well-educated persons." We entertain another opinion. It seems to us that the uproar when "twice was Lord Grey's name pronounced, and twice the groans and hisses became *perfectly frantic*"—the vociferations of "Stinkomalee" (a nick-name for the

* The reporter is infected with the *genius loci*, and cannot give a common quotation from Milton without a blunder.

London University, invented by a paper distinguished for its orthodoxy and obscenity)—the "Down with the Ministers"—the groans "for the House of Commons"—the "Laugh for the Dissenters" which swelled 'into a general roar'—are as much ebullitions of an intolerant, ignorant, and, we add without shrinking, *blackguard* "mob," as the huzzas and hisses of the lowest mob that was ever collected in 'Spafields;' and, we say it with real grief, we think such an exhibition of imbecile fury is likely, with most thinking, and reasonable, and just men, to injure the Church of England, precisely in the same way as the support of another blackguard mob, in the year 1792, did an injury to that Church, by associating its venerable name with the most ferocious attack upon the lives and properties of dissenters, that the bigotry of the worst laws had ever produced. The frantic groans of the theatre at Oxford, and the infuriating yells of the mad men who burnt Dr. Priestley's house at Birmingham, proceeded from one and the same cause—ignorance. Education has destroyed this furious spirit amongst those who are called the lower orders;—education—the education which teaches public and private duties, respect for the rights of others, courtesy to all men—has not yet touched the great body of Oxford students—the gentlemen *par excellence*, the 'educated men' who are "under God, the hope of the next generation."

Alas! for the next generation, if it had no other hope. Its best hope is, that the spirit of sound instruction will gradually spread through the land, and that its light may at last penetrate even the chinks and crannies of the monastic walls of Oxford. It is impossible that it can long continue that the felon boys of Newgate and the patrician boys of Eton should be the only flogged boys in the land;—it is impossible that it can ever again occur that several thousands of young men, so brought up under the guidance of brute force, should for three days, under the guidance of their own unreasoning passions, yell out insults to large classes of their fellow subjects—to the Ministers of the Crown—to the popular branch of the legislature, in the presence of a prince of the blood, an archbishop, and nine bishops, hereditary senators of all parties, and hundreds of that gentle sex who ought not to see the "human face divine" distorted by such fierce passions of hatred as appear to have animated these unfortunate boys. Unfortunate we call them, because even high birth and great expectations are no preservatives against the evils which must result from rejecting in early life that principle of self-respect which almost instinctively suggests the feelings and habits of gentlemen;—unfortunate we call them, because if to the vocation of the Christian ministry is to be carried that ferocious spirit of bigotry which these young men manifested (and the great part have acted thus because they look upon the Church as their *freehold inheritance*), they will find their ship embarked on a perilous sea, and learn, to their discomfiture, that the "spirit of the age" will exact something more from the parish priest or the collegiate dignitary, than the capacity for obtaining preferment and the aptitude for faring sumptuously every day. We make these remarks in the spirit of affection for the Church. We know that it contains, and that too amongst its hierarchy, many of the most upright and able men in the land, who would scorn to utter one word of contempt against conscientious dissent—who show to all men, that the first duty of a Christian minister is to exhibit Christian charity, in the highest and most enlarged sense of the term. Such men were not stimulating the howlings at Oxford. May their example so infuse itself into the general body of the ministry of the Church of England, that they will see the necessity of building the future security of that church upon their own virtues and acquirements. Her great support is the immortal reputation of the many glorious men that have been her champions, and the champions of civil and religious freedom. Her rotten foundations are those institutions which cherish habits of thought, that have no sympathy with the great bulk of the people, and foster prejudices and party-feelings which are disgusting enough in laymen, but most disgusting in those who profess to be dedicated to the service of the religion of peace.

STATE OF THE SILK-TRADE.

DURING the last month the subject of alleged distress in certain branches of the silk manufacture has been brought before both Houses of Parliament; in the Upper House by Lord Strangford, and in the Commons by Mr. H. Bulwer, one of the members for Coventry. The motion made in the Lords was for a committee of inquiry into the allegations of a petition presented by certain silk-weavers, setting forth their distress, and praying for measures of relief, while the debate was raised in the Commons upon a motion for leave to introduce a bill for *prohibiting* the importation of foreign manufactured ribbons. The questions in both cases have been negatived, in the Lords without a division, and in the Commons by so large a majority, that it does not appear likely any similar proposition will be soon again brought forward in that house. Under these circumstances, we might be well content to leave the matter without comment of ours, but that we think the occasion a good one to show how utterly groundless are the arguments of those persons who are accustomed to declaim against the more liberal system of trade which has of late years become part of our national policy, and which, it would not be difficult to show, has in every case in which it has been allowed a trial, triumphantly borne out the predictions of its advocates.

We remember, at the time when Mr. Huskisson first proposed to throw down some of the barriers which had been raised with the view of protecting the silk manufacture of this country, and without which barriers it was declared impossible that this branch of industry could be continued among us, that Mr. Baring, who at that time sat as the member for Taunton, an important seat of the manufacture, declared in Parliament that the silk trade was "a doomed trade"—that when once the competition of foreign manufacturers was admitted, our capitalists and artisans would find it altogether impossible to stand against the competition; that ruin the most signal and complete must overtake them.

Ten years have elapsed since this prediction was so confidently uttered, a sufficiently long period certainly, wherein to judge of its correctness; and now, how stands the fact? By submitting it to the test of a few arithmetical figures, which are not capable, like figures of speech, of being turned and twisted to answer different purposes at different times, it will be seen that the prediction has not only signally failed of its accomplishment, but that the growth and proportional increase of the manufacture has been great beyond all expectation or precedent.

The quantities of raw and thrown silk imported for use into the United Kingdom in each of the ten years preceding the alteration of the system were as follows:—

1814	.	2,119,974 lbs.
1815	.	1,475,389 ,
1816	.	1,088,334 ,
1817	.	1,686,659 „
1818	.	1,922,987 „
1819	.	1,848,553 „
1820	.	2,027,635 „
1821	.	2,329,808 „
1822	.	2,441,563 „
1823	.	2,468,121 „
		19,409,023, or yearly aver. 1,940,902 lbs.

The quantities used in the ten years that have followed the change have been—

1824	.	4,011,048 lbs.
1825	.	3,604,058 „
1826	.	2,253,513 „
1827	.	4,213,153 „
1828	.	4,547,812 ,
1829	.	2,892,201 „
1830	.	4,693,517 „
1831	.	4,312,330 „
1832	.	4,373,247 „
1833	.	4,684,499 „
		39,585,378, or yearly aver. 3,958,537 lbs.

Showing an increase of more than 100 per cent., if we take the average of the years, and proving that the growth of the manufacture has been both steady and progressive in the face of that foreign competition before which it was declared incapable of standing for a day. If, at the period when that prediction was uttered, any one had foretold the degree of prosperity which has been here proved, he might have been considered extravagant even by the most sanguine friends to the liberal system; but if, in addition, he

had predicted that which is now a fact of daily occurrence, that silk manufactured goods, the produce of the looms of Manchester and Macclesfield, are actually exported to France to be used in that country, he would have been considered entitled to a habitation in Bethlehem hospital.

It is true, and for the silk manufacturers themselves it is a fortunate truth, that in return we import largely the produce of the looms of France. Without this stimulus to the ingenuity of our artisans, they might to this time have continued satisfied with the inferior fabrics which alone they produced up to the period when the foreigner was allowed to bring his skill and taste openly into competition with them. But what, after all, is the amount of silk goods which the alteration of the law has caused to enter our ports from Europe? Our readers will, we think, be somewhat surprised to learn, that, compared with the quantity of raw silk woven by us at home, it has amounted, upon a liberal computation, to less than four per cent.—that is, for every four yards of French manufactured silks, of all descriptions, brought for use to this country, one hundred yards are used of domestic fabric.

In every article of plain manufacture, and of what are called heavy goods, we have nothing to apprehend from the free competition of our neighbours. It is only in light and fancy articles that their productions are preferred; and for this preference there are quite sufficient reasons to be given. In the first place, the proportion of labour bestowed upon such goods is proportionally greater, with reference to their value, than where a larger quantity of material is used Labour is unquestionably cheaper in France than with us, owing to the smaller cost of provisions, and the fewer comforts to which the French artisans are accustomed. Simond, the intelligent Swiss traveller, has described the poverty of the silk-weavers of Lyons as being far more abject than anything to which our own artisans are accustomed. He tells us that their abodes are wretched in the extreme; one room, generally not larger than twenty feet square, not unfrequently serving every purpose both as a dwelling and workshop, for three entire families, containing, consequently, their looms, their beds, and all the few articles they possess for domestic purposes. But the French manufacturer is entitled to a preference for his fancy goods as a reward for the superior taste and ingenuity displayed by him in the invention of patterns, and the combination of colours.

We have, in another article in the present Number, given an account of the great school of art at Lyons, at which numerous pupils are constantly receiving gratuitous instruction in the different departments of drawing, with a view to the employment of their attainments in the manufacture of silks. We have nothing of this description in England, and until we have, and until time shall have been allowed for the production of its good effects in rearing up a new class of artisans, it will be hopeless to expect to rival our neighbours in that branch of the manufacture. There is, assuredly, no want of public spirit on the part of our leading manufacturers, and we do not despair of shortly seeing an honourable rivalry to the schools of Lyons instituted by them in more than one of the seats of our silk manufactures. Some attention to this subject has already been given by the cotton-printers of Lancashire; and everybody must have observed the superiority of the patterns produced by them now, over the comparatively rude conceptions which they were formerly accustomed to put forth. But whatever is done in this way has hitherto been confined to the instruction of youths within the walls of individual factories—a far different thing from the establishment of schools under public sanction, and having the advantage of professors who have acquired a public reputation.

Notwithstanding the incontrovertible facts we have brought forward as to the prodigious and continuing growth of our silk manufacture, it may still be very naturally imagined that complaints would not be made by any considerable class of persons without some foundation. That distress is felt by the petitioning weavers of Coventry we will not deny. They may be, they doubtless are, without that full employment, and those remunerating wages, which every right feeling man would wish them to enjoy; but we are convinced, by all the inquiry we can make, and by an examination of the evidence adduced before the committee on the state of the silk trade, which made its report in 1832, and that on the state of manufactures, commerce, and shipping, which sat in 1833, that this unfortunate state of things is in a great degree owing to the want of judgment shown by the workmen in resisting the introduction of improved machinery, by which course their trade has been carried to other places, and among other workmen, who have not suffered their unwise prejudices to impede that march of improvement, in furthering which, our artisans are, of all classes in the community, the most deeply interested. It was with feelings of no little pleasure that we lately read an advertisement put forth by the operative silk-weavers of the town of Nuneaton, in which they candidly acknowledge having committed this error, and express their anxious wish for the introduction, by the master manufacturers, of those improved machines, the use of which, in ignorance of their true interests, they had before resisted.

POOR LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

An abstract of the provisions of this great measure, as originally brought forward, was given in the 'Companion to the Newspaper' for May. The bill has now come out of committee in the House of Commons, where it has been discussed clause by clause; and we shall state the several modifications it has received in the course of this ordeal.

In the clause regulating the appointment and powers of the commissioners, the duration of the commission has been limited to five years; a proviso has been inserted, that no member of parliament shall be a commissioner or assistant commissioner; the distance from which witnesses may be summoned has been confined to ten miles; and the power to commit for contempt has been struck out. Contempt is now made punishable by fine only, and on conviction before two magistrates. The clause which enabled the commissioners to act as justices of peace has also been omitted.

The commissioners were originally empowered to order any sum not exceeding one-tenth of the annual rates of any parish to be expended in enlarging workhouses. It is now provided, that the sum ordered to be so expended shall not, in the case of any parish, exceed 50*l.* in the year. Of course, vestries may of themselves allow any larger sum they please.

As to another very important point, a discretionary power has been given to the commissioners with which they were not entrusted in the first draught of the bill. Instead of the original peremptory enactment, that the allowance system should cease universally on the 1st of June next, the commissioners are now authorized to sanction its continuance in such places, for such times, and on such conditions, as they may think expedient. The object contemplated is still the abolition of out-of-door allowance, and that as speedily as it can be safely and conveniently accomplished; but it has been thought better to make provision in this manner for any cases in which strong reasons may exist for suspending for a short time the introduction of the new system.

Certain alterations have also been made in regard to the powers of rate-payers and vestries. Both occupiers and owners were originally to have additional votes up to the number of six, in proportion to the value of the property for which they were assessed; that advantage is now given to owners only. Owners are, besides, permitted to vote by proxy. It was at first proposed that parishes should be restricted from adopting either Gilbert's Act, or Sturges Bourne's Act, or Hobhouse's Act, without consent of the commissioners;—such consent is now made necessary only for the adoption of Gilbert's Act.

The clause which restricted overseers from giving relief in any case, except under the direction and control, or in pursuance of the order, of the parish guardians or select vestry, has been qualified by the introduction of words permitting and requiring the overseers, in cases of urgent necessity, to afford such temporary relief in food or medicine as the case may require, and that whether the applicant for assistance belong to the parish or not. The age of twelve, instead of sixteen, as at first proposed, is now appointed as that at which paupers may receive relief in their own names.

An important clause has been introduced to the effect, that in the case of all property the rent of which is under 10*l.*, the owner of the property, and not the occupier, shall be assessed.

As the bill was originally drawn out, the different modes of acquiring a settlement by hiring, service, apprenticeship, renting or purchasing a tenement or estate, serving an

office, or paying rates, were abolished; and a settlement was left to be acquired only by birth, parentage, or marriage. As the bill now stands, settlement by birth is not substituted for settlement by hiring, service, or apprenticeship; but the right by renting or purchasing a tenement is left untouched, except that rating in addition to renting is made requisite; so that if a child hereafter born do not acquire a settlement in the last-mentioned mode, its settlement will be the settlement of its parents.

There is every reason to believe that under the new system it will become extremely unimportant upon what particular principle the law of settlement may be arranged. The following observations, which we have been permitted to extract from a report by Mr. Chadwick, not yet printed, place this point in a clear light:—

"It appears, from the evidence which I have been enabled to collect on this subject, that labour circulates in the greatest quantity in the immediate neighbourhood of the labourer, so that the circulation from any given spot diminishes as the distance from that spot increases. The greatest circulation appears to be within the compass of a moderate day's journey. From some returns which I have obtained from five of the larger parishes in the metropolis, it appears, that of 12,785 cases of removals which were made during five years, only 1426 cases were removals from those parishes to places beyond a limit of twelve miles from Saint Paul's Cathedral; so that there is only about one case out of nine removed from these parishes to any part of the kingdom beyond the limit of twelve miles. Subsequently to these returns having been obtained, well-informed witnesses have stated, that had a circle of double the extent been taken for the inquiry, the proportion of those removed beyond that limit would have been found to be so small as to be of little comparative importance. Evidence of this kind appears to be the most conclusive from the metropolis, inasmuch as there is probably no other district where the supply of labour is derived from such great distances. It is usually found in the rural districts, that not more than one-fourth of the cases of removals arising amongst the parishes comprehended by the comparatively narrow boundaries of the incorporations are cases of removals to parishes beyond those boundaries.

"If for the narrow and capricious boundaries afforded by parishes, districts of the size of those to which we have alluded could be substituted, nearly at least three parts out of four, or in the case of the large districts nearly eight parts out of nine of the evils arising from settlement would be removed.

"I would further submit, that, by the extension of districts, the object of the law of settlement in preventing any district being suddenly, by design or accident, unduly burthened will be best obtained.

"The progress of the arts and manufactures leads to the aggregation of large bodies of labourers in particular employments in small localities, for the purpose of division of labour and united action. In the same progress, and especially in the manufactures dependent on fashion, the demand for labour is liable to extreme fluctuations. Particular manufactures leave one part of the country and are established in another; some branches expire, whilst new ones spring up. We have seen that the present administration of the poor laws, and in some degree the state of the law itself, frequently operate mischievously, by indisposing workmen to follow into new districts the demand for employment, and by weakening the motives to seek new employments when old ones have ceased. The subdivision of the country into small districts or parishes has occasioned very serious burthens to be thrown upon parishes where the manufactures which are subject to these fluctuations have been located. We find in various parts of the country parishes which ascribe their present burthens to the fact of manufacturers having once existed and failed there, and left their workpeople and their descendants to be paupers. The township of Winlaton, in the county of Durham, affords an instance of these complaints:—'This township,' says Mr. Wilson, 'has felt, with more than ordinary severity, the effects of a system which imposes on every narrow locality the support of its population under every change of circumstances. The failure of Crowley, Millington, and Co.'s ironworks, in 1815, not only threw great number of hands out of employment, but annihilated a benefit-fund, which the workmen had entrusted to the care of their employers for a long series of years. The consequence was, that the poor's rate instantly rose in Winlaton township to 16*s.* in the pound upon the rack rent, while in the five other townships which compose the parish of Ryton, they remained at 2*s.* or 3*s.* They have continued higher in Winlaton ever since, than in the other townships.'

"Mr. Mozley, who has paid great attention to the amendment of the poor laws, states, in a communication on the subject—'Agriculturists are cruelly used: a village happens to have a fine stream of water running through it; a set of adventurers build a large mill; hundreds of apprentices are taken; the concern becomes in a few years bankrupt, and the farmers, who had no interest in its prosperity, are *ruined* by its adversity: they are drawn into the vortex. Four years ago, I was about purchasing an estate six miles from Derby. I consulted a friend, who said "the cotton-mills in the parish are an insuperable objection: they are now occupied by men of immense fortune, but should *they* take themselves out of business, *other* hands might become bankrupts, and then what will the land be worth?" Thus a fine stream, which constitutes the beauty of the country, becomes a dreadful evil.'

"It must be obvious, that in these cases it cannot be prevented by any alteration in the grounds of settlement. If birth, marriage, and parentage were the only remaining forms of settlement, the existing localities would still be exposed to such calamities. In a large proportion of the instances adverted to, the parishes are burthened with the pauper descendants of the work-people of a past generation.

"Besides these accidental burthens, arising from causes which must increase with the progress of manufactures, we have seen that parishes are liable to sudden increases of paupers by fraud.

"The frauds to which the agricultural parishes are subject, have been already described. Instances of similar practices on the part of the manufacturers are comparatively few; but we cannot hope that so obvious a source of profit will long be overlooked. If the present system continues, we may expect to see manufactories erected on one side of a parochial boundary, and cottages for the work-people on the other; so that all the casualties to which the labourers are subject, and the great casualty of the failure of the manufactory, may fall exclusively on that parish in which the master manufacturer owns perhaps nothing but the three or four acres which he has covered with his cottages. In the larger parishes such shiftings of burthens do not take place, and the reason is, that the diminution of burthen to be obtained by such means in parishes of considerable population, being shared by a number, the saving to any *individual* would be too small to constitute a motive to make the requisite arrangements. The employer of labourers in a single parish might, for example, by making arrangements to prevent their gaining settlements, save himself fifty pounds a year; but if his parish be incorporated with fifty others, in which the future burthens are equalized, the saving reduced to one-fiftieth part would not repay him for the labour and attention. The utmost reduction which the largest manufacturer, or the most considerable employer of labourers could make in such parishes as Manchester, Liverpool, or Mary-le-bone, by any arrangements as to the settlement of his labourers, could scarcely be worth his exertions.

"Witnesses who have had long experience in parochial affairs have stated, to me that the removals to and from large districts, on an average of a few years, balance each other more closely than the scanty returns which we have obtained on the subject appear to indicate, and we anticipate a considerable diminution. In proportion as there is an approximation to uniformity of management, the motives, on the part of paupers, to shift from a parish where there may be rigid management, or 'a bad parish,' to a parish where there is profuse management, or 'a good parish,' will decrease. In proportion as there is an approximation to the main object of the change as regards able-bodied paupers, *i. e.*, rendering their condition less eligible on the whole, than that of the independent labourer, it is proved by all existing experience, that such labourers will cease to avail themselves of any settlement whatever, whether immediate or distant.

"Mr. Thomas Langley, out-door inspector of the parish of Mary-le-bone, was asked, what effect regulations upon the principle last mentioned, would have upon removals and the general operation of the law of settlement? He states in answer—

"I think the law of settlement would then be of very little consequence. Where a pauper has a doubtful settlement, it is now our practice to offer him labour, or to take him into the workhouse, as an experiment. We even take families in, and we now, under all our disadvantages, get rid of three out of four such cases. If we were under such regulations as would make a pauper's condition, whether in or out of the workhouse, not so good as the condition of a hard-working labourer of the lowest class, the experiment being much cheaper, we should naturally resort to it more frequently. In fact, if such regulations were established, I think we should very seldom incur the expense and trouble, or the risks, of a removal in any case.

"'Would the law of settlement remain then of any consequence in any case?—I do not know that it would; I cannot see that it would. I think that if such regulations were adopted as those mentioned, the labourers would become more provident, and that their habits would be greatly improved.'

"If, after these measures have been carried into practical operation, it should be found that the removals beyond the limits of the new districts nearly balance each other, settlements might, without danger or loss to any district, be extinguished, and the indigent obtain relief in whatever district they needed it."

The only other alteration which requires to be noticed, is that which has been made in the part of the measure relating to bastardy. The original proposition, it will be recollected, was, that the putative father of an illegitimate child should no longer be subject either to any punishment or to any liability to maintain the child, but that its maintenance should fall upon the mother in the first instance, and after her upon her parents. The clause making the parents of the mother liable was withdrawn without any debate; and probably there will be little difference of opinion as to the expediency of this amendment. Another alteration, however, which was afterwards made, is of a more questionable description. On Saturday last, the Committee, by a majority of 114 to 39, adopted a clause proposed by Mr. Miles, which, by partially restoring the liability of the putative father of an illegitimate child to be pursued for its maintenance, and moreover sanctioning the conviction of the father on the mother's oath, may be considered to run counter to the fundamental principles upon which this part of the bill was originally founded. This is by far the most serious mutilation that the measure has undergone; and the point, as Lord Althorp confessed, has been yielded to clamour rather than to reason. The new clause enacts, that when any illegitimate child shall have become chargeable, it shall be received with its mother into the workhouse, upon which it shall be lawful for two Justices of the Peace, on the application of the overseers, to ascertain who the father of the child is upon the oath of the mother and such additional evidence as they may think fit to require, and then to require the father to pay all expenses already incurred and such additional sum weekly as shall be equal to the cost of maintaining the child. If he refuse or neglect to make payment, the arrears may be levied upon his estate or effects, or his wages may be attached; and should the money not be recovered by any of these means, he may be sent, for three months, to the House of Correction, there to be kept to hard labour. The weekly payments, however, are not to be given to the mother, but are to be received wholly for the use and benefit of the parish. We fear that, notwithstanding the qualifications by which the clause is guarded, it will tend to perpetuate many of the worst evils of the existing system, productive as that system has been proved to be of perjury, injustice, and profligacy.

SERVIA.

This country, which is far from insignificant in resources and extent, has very seldom been visited by the traveller. Like Bosnia, and other of the back provinces of European Turkey, its condition, the character of its inhabitants, and their modes of political existence, have been almost entirely overlooked. These provinces lie out of the high-road of civilized intercourse; and the fierce predatory habits of their mountaineers, and the absence of roads, have deterred strangers from exploring them. Now and then a courier or a merchant from Constantinople has made his way in a hurry across Servia, by Semlin and Belgrade, and so on to Vienna; but he has seldom seen more than a strip of these countries. Taken collectively, however, the great tract, extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea—and which forms the back ground alike of the new Greek kingdom and of the Turkish dominions in Europe—is one of very great importance, and probably destined some day to form an Illyrian or Sclavonic kingdom. The population, whether called Albanians, Bosniaks, or Servians, are all of the Sclavonic race,—brave, hardy, and devotedly attached to their independence. Indeed, they have never properly been subdued since their first settlement in the seventh century. Though Russia, if unopposed by other powers, might drive the Turks into Asia with little difficulty, we are convinced it would take a long time, and cost her enormous sacrifices, to establish her sway over the whole of what is nominally European Turkey. With her usual art, she has, however, long kept her eye on Servia, aiding that province in all its insurrections against the Turks; and, at every treaty of Peace with the Porte, inserting clauses favourable to the Servians, and calculated to win their gratitude and affection to herself. By the last treaties of Adrianople and Hounkiar-iskellesi, the independence of Servia was acknowledged by the Sultan, the government was left in the hands of Milosch, a native prince, and the Emperor Nicholas was recognised as Protector of the Servians—a Christian people after a fashion.

Through the kindness of a friend, in the quickness and justice of whose observations we have great confidence, we are enabled to lay before our readers some very interesting and recent information. This gentleman passed through Servia on his way from Constantinople to London, during the winter of 1833-4.

The first town he reached, after crossing the Servian frontier, was Parakin, which he describes as rather a large place, furnished with Bazaars. The people, he says, were armed and dressed in the style of the Mussulman Albanians, with a strong cast of the features of that race, and a stern, independent look, that strongly contrasted with the tameness of the Bulgarians, and other rayah, or non-Turkish subjects of the Sultan.

"There was no mistaking the men we now saw, as being the lords of the soil; and the recent acknowledgment of their independence by the Porte had, no doubt, given considerable animation to their national pride. Our landlord, on the preceding evening—a respectable, intelligent Greek, settled for some years in the country—talked of the new government under the native prince Milosch with evident satisfaction, describing the people as naturally turbulent and marauders, but restrained by him so thoroughly, that a woman loaded with gold might travel in safety on the high road we were now passing. We made allowance for some exaggeration; but after getting a few hundred yards beyond the town of Morava Kurpris, where there is a long wooden bridge across the Morava, we had palpable proofs of the truth of part of his description. Stretched on a wheel suspended to a post on which they had been impaled, were the withered carcases of several robbers executed two years before, on the very spot where their crimes had been committed. There were more villages and signs of cultivation than in the Turkish districts we had passed; but the greater part of the surface of the soil was waste, and seemed to offer little encouragement for clearing and cultivation."

The traveller went on by Jagodina to Gregojovatz, the residence of Prince Milosch. The day he arrived at the latter town happened to be the festival of St. Nicholas, the prince's patron saint, and he found the Servians celebrating it with great rejoicings and feastings at the prince's castle. He then says,—

"Our host at Pattarina, the subsequent stage, who spoke Greek and Turkish, and in very loyal terms of the hospodar, or prince, yet assured us that, with all his authority and severity, his countrymen were still committing assassinations and other disorders among themselves. This was more unfavourable than our previous account; but we saw no signs whatever of their turbulence, and had heard of no injury done to strangers, of late years, in passing through their country. The Servians are, however, but rough Christians at best, and shew that Christianity, which must precede true civilization, requires also its aid to bear any fruits of its genuine spirit. Thus the European Turks are, for the most part, further advanced in the moral scale for intelligence, manners, and humanity

of disposition than the Servians, and probably the latter are somewhat indebted to the former for the example of subordination and respect for their superiors, which now makes them submit to the sway of Milosch. On the other hand, the calamities they suffered, and their successive struggles with the Turks, tended to keep up a restless martial spirit, opposed to moral improvement, and time may soften their rugged character. Meeting everywhere as we passed, the same suspicious looks of fierce half-civilized people, armed alike to assail or to repel aggression, it was rather surprising that there was so little public display of acts of violence. We met with some Turks likewise armed, but with dejected looks, returning from Belgrade, and quitting a country where they had hitherto resided, but were no longer masters. It was more pleasing to turn to a view of nature, and observe how many cultivated and cheerful spots the industry of the natives—superior in that respect to the Turks—had conquered, in these parts, from the thick forests which overspread their soil.

"The villages, which improved in neatness and substantial dwellings as we advanced towards the Danube, are often remote from the roads, and discernible only by the smoke ascending from them. This, we found, was owing, in some cases, to the dangers and persecutions to which they were formerly exposed from the Turks, which made them prefer the more remote places for concealment, or facility of escape. The roads are wide, and in the dry season afford good travelling; but now, in winter, they were one mass of deep, black mud, strewed with stumps and branches of trees, against which the horses stumbled, sinking at every step to the knees incessantly for hours. It was only within a few years that this road had been improved by Milosch, and become the usual route for the post and travellers between Constantinople and Vienna. From its inconvenience and insecurity owing to the lawless state of the country, they were previously obliged to make a detour by way of Bukarest and Hermanstadt, or Ulidin and Orshova, through Bulgaria, occasioning several days' longer journey."

Our friend thus speaks of Belgrade, that city so celebrated in the annals of the warfare between Ottomans and Christians, and now the last stronghold of the Turks in Servia:—

"A Pacha commands in the Castle of Belgrade, with a few hundred soldiers only for a garrison. The outer walls are naked and neglected, but the upper fortifications are maintained in good order, with the guns mounted, though insufficiently manned for defence. The situation and appearance of the place fully justified the imputations that might be entertained of a fortress long the bulwark of Hungary against the Turks, and of the latter, in return, against the House of Austria. Defences rise within defences, and walls over walls, to the very summit of the hill, from the level of the waters of the Danube and Saave, which unite at its base. From the river it might be deemed impregnable; but the approaches by land, though powerfully guarded by nature and art, were unable to withstand the genius and valour of England. As Belgrade now remains isolated from the rest of the territory under the Sultan's direct sway, and in charge of such a trifling force, it is of no value to him unless deemed of too much consequence to be yielded to the Servians, a notion which is understood not to be disagreeable to Austria. The few Turkish residents and soldiers are under the jurisdiction of their own Pacha: the rest of the population—a mixture of Servians and Sclavonians from the adjoining Austrian territory, with some other strangers—have for some time enjoyed the privilege of being governed by their own laws. Milosch had never yet entered the town till the time we were performing quarantine at Semlin, when he had an interview with the Pacha in the castle, and received the right of collecting the customs of the port, hitherto enjoyed by the Turks, and now ceded in consideration of the annual tribute of 40,000 ducats, agreed to be paid by Servia to the Porte. This falls very light on the population, their numbers, formerly estimated at 600,000, being, by an extensive addition of territory on the side of Bulgaria, now increased to near 1,000,000. The accession of territory was obtained under the auspices of Russia, by which power the basis of Servian independence was stipulated at the peace of Adrianople, though the terms have but now been adjusted. With the condition of the tribute already mentioned, the country is exempt from Turkish jurisdiction."

The whole of the conclusion of our friend's communication is especially deserving of attention.

"The government is absolute in the hands of Milosch, and conducted, without expense, through the medium of the principal inhabitants of each town or village for local objects. He has a few hundred men as guards about his person, and maintains no costly establishments. There is no military force to pay, as the whole population is armed, and it is computed that, on a general call for their services, he could collect from forty to fifty thousand men in a few days. Although this constant use of arms is opposed to internal peace and the progress of civilization, it is Milosch's policy, in accordance with the disposition of the people, to be prepared, in case of danger, to defend universally their independence. They can have little to fear from the Porte, against which, besides, they have the protection of Russia, but they are viewed with jealousy by Austria. They adjoin her territory on the Saave and Danube, and, in the event of any assault on the Ottoman empire, it is believed that Austria would look to the acquisition of Servia, Bosnia, and Albania for indemnity against the aggrandizement of Russia. The Servians are good marksmen, not deficient in courage, and a united people in religion, which is that of the Greek church. The population of the neighbouring province of Bosnia is more numerous, but composed of a mixture of Catholic and Greek Christians and Mahommedans,—the latter of course the oppressors of the rest, and possessing the chief power. There is, therefore, no chance of amalgamation or mutual union; and the Bulgarians, though of the Greek church, and a hardy race, are quite untrained to arms, and unimbued with warlike habits, having, for ages, remained in quiet submission to the Turks. Their dull apathetic disposition is utterly opposed to any views or exertions for independence. The Wallachians and Moldavians are of a still more servile cast, and thus the notion of a confederacy in their northern provinces, to check the power of Russia, is a visionary theory, or highly improbable on consideration of facts. Any convulsion to call such a confederacy into existence would be much more likely to overthrow the nascent independence of Servia, which was achieved with such perseverance. Their great champion was Czerni George, as he is usually called in other countries, but in his own universally by the Turkish name of Carra Jorghi, which has the same signification of Black George. It is supposed that he was treacherously deprived of his asylum in Russia, and given up by that power to be put to death by the Turks; but another version of the facts, far more circumstantial, and corroborated by authentic testimony, would show the charge to be destitute of foundation. Carra Jorghi, tired of remaining inactive, was returning to Servia of his own accord. The Pacha of Belgrade got advice of his secret arrival in the confines, and sent notice to Milosch that he should make him answerable with his life unless he brought him Carra Jorghi's head; and Milosch, then the first among his countrymen, and perhaps unable to disobey, sent a party of stout fellows, who assailed Carra Jorghi near Semendria, and put him to death. Milosch himself had been one of his slaves. Originally a boy who looked after the pigs in the forest, he distinguished himself amidst the troubles of the country, and became one of the capitani, or leaders. On Carra Jorghi's expulsion and subsequent death, he remained the foremost, and managed to preserve his life and influence. He was always, however, very suspicious of the Turks, and never had even entered Belgrade, to avoid any danger from their individual resentment or the designs of the government. He has now passed his sixtieth year, with children grown up, but is of vigorous health and constitution, blunt and ordinary in his manners, but bold and decided in his character. He understands well the people he has to govern, and has the merit of being a universal favourite among them, and of being neither charged with ambition nor oppression. He is not averse to improvements, and has some officers with him fugitives from the Austrian service. He has a few companions near his person trained to regular exercise, but has not yet attempted to carry his military experiments further, either from the expense, or as deeming the innovation too dangerous. He is about removing his residence from Gregojevatz to Semendria, on the Danube, which he intends to make his capital as more convenient, and had already sent to England for plans for the erection of a palace.

"Servia is bounded on the north by the Danube and Saave, which separate it from the Austrian dominions; by Bosnia on the west; Bulgaria on the east; and it adjoins the Turkish territory of Nissa, the Sangiak of Sophia, and Albania, on the south. Its vicinity to the Danube, along which it extends longitudinally, gives it considerable facilities for commerce. Its chief resources for export are wool, skins, a spirit made of prunes, of which a great deal is sent to Hungary, and pigs, which are bred in the forests with very little care, and left to feed on the acorns. They are a diminutive species; a few short bristles arise from the back; the rest of the hair looks so curled and woolly, that an English traveller arriving at Constantinople is reported to have said there was nothing remarkable in that part of his journey but an odd sort of animal between a sheep and a pig. They are so numerous, however, and so easy to rear, that they form a great part of the Servians' wealth. Their country has already gained by the opening of the steam navigation on the Danube between Vienna and Semlin, and will still more when it is extended to Constantinople. British manufactures are little known amongst them, but there is an opening which may become important for their introduction, now limited to small supplies from Trieste through the Austrian territories. Their consumption in Austria is subject to a heavy duty, and Belgrade, where the duty is trifling, being the great place of transit to and from Servia, and opposite the quarantine station of Semlin, on the other side of the Saave, is a place of much superior commercial importance.

"The Austrians at Semlin have a strong dislike of the Servians, and reproach them with being indolent; but they are evidently on the increase, and, as they go on clearing their forests, so will their agriculture be extended, and their resources improved. Their language is a dialect of the Sclavonic, called Ruz, common, with the difference of some local idioms and phrases, to Austrian Sclavonia and Transylvania, and to the Bulgarians and Bosnians. They are quite a separate race from the Greeks, with whom they only hold a community of faith, and who officiate as their priests; but the service is in the ancient pure Sclavonic, which neither themselves nor their instructors often understand."

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The following report and resolutions of the Business Committee were brought up and read in the House of Commons on the evening of June the 6th

1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that, with a view to promote the convenience of members, and to facilitate the despatch of private business, it is expedient that certain measures which, under the existing laws must be brought separately under the consideration of Parliament, should be provided for by general enactments, enabling parties interested therein to proceed to their accomplishment, without having constant reference to the special sanction of the legislature.

2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that, if possible, a general Inclosure Act should be passed, which may enable parties having an interest therein to inclose lands, subject to such provisions as may secure the rights of all concerned, without subjecting themselves to the heavy penalties which are now incurred.

3. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that powers provided for paving, macadamizing, watering, draining and otherwise improving towns, cities and places, should be vested (under certain conditions and regulations) in the inhabitants, to be carried into effect without the necessity of appealing to parliament.

House of Commons.—New Members.

Place.	New Members.	In the room of
Edinburgh	Sir J. Campbell, Att.-Gen.	Rt. Hn. F. Jeffrey, judge.
Fermanagh	M. Archdall, Esq.	General Archdall, res.

There are vacancies in the counties of Wexford and Kirkcudbright, and the boroughs of Chatham, Elgin, and Finsbury.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

House of Commons.

Sittings of the House in the two last Sessions.—The following is the substance of two Returns on this subject, lately laid before the House. The Session 1831-1832 commenced on the 6th of December, 1831, and continued to the 16th of August, 1832. In this period the House sat on 140 days, in which its sittings occupied 1187 hours. A particular statement is given of the days on which the House sat, and the number of hours in each day. The following is an analysis of this statement.

| The House sitting at a time | | |

Poor-Rates.—Abstract of Returns, showing the Amount of Monies levied by Assessment for Poors'-Rate and County Rate, in each County in England and Wales, in the Year ending March 25, 1833; distinguishing the Payments made thereout for other purposes than the Relief of the Poor, and the Sums expended for that purpose, specifying the Rate of Increase or Diminution as compared with the preceding year; and stating the Number of Parishes in each County in which Select Vestries have been formed, or Assistant Overseers appointed, pursuant to Act 59 Geo. III. c. 12.

COUNTIES.	Total Sums levied.	Sums expended for Relief of the Poor.	Payments for other purposes than Relief of Poor.	Total Sums expended.	Increase per Cent.	Decrease per Cent.	Select Vestries.	Assistant Overseers.
ENGLAND.	£	£	£	£	£	£		
Bedford	91,761	80,384	9,388	91,045	4	—	10	36
Berks	136,400	111,597	18,459	133,187	—	8	16	50
Buckingham	159,786	132,937	24,708	161,160	—	8	29	49
Cambridge	119,617	101,331	16,071	120,049	—	3	13	38
Chester	141,493	98,572	37,687	143,740	—	6	114	110
Cornwall	121,435	100,313	15,163	119,935	—	1	32	39
Cumberland	58,244	46,901	9,585	58,684	—	2	76	75
Derby	108,074	76,685	30,226	111,123	—	6	54	74
Devon	260,320	226,891	28,518	263,440	1	—	14	96
Dorset	108,495	90,488	14,301	107,207	—	2	24	47
Durham	104,707	81,213	18,601	104,165	—	6	77	63
Essex	311,961	265,629	39,928	313,747	—	4	32	100
Gloucester	207,741	176,840	33,619	218,394	2	—	37	70
Hereford	70,287	60,233	9,061	71,070	—	5	36	55
Hertford	111,934	91,323	19,963	114,240	—	5	12	38
Huntingdon	46,733	39,576	6,169	46,839	—	4	10	31
Kent	433,274	369,587	64,752	450,351	1	—	40	182
Lancaster	430,429	274,981	149,578	441,775	—	9	184	261
Leicester	139,303	114,881	22,842	142,636	—	1	52	45
Lincoln	225,005	169,073	49,073	224,896	—	3	99	97
Middlesex	968,724	647,013	336,959	1,003,888	—	6	13	64
Monmouth	37,824	28,958	7,203	38,031	3	—	18	10
Norfolk	358,006	316,654	32,125	357,622	—	1	52	90
Northampton	169,614	148,042	19,037	170,822	—	4	51	68
Northumberland	99,747	73,792	22,461	100,511	—	6	45	49
Nottingham	116,380	74,762	39,446	117,914	1	—	23	58
Oxford	158,650	130,607	23,698	158,584	—	4	52	61
Rutland	12,190	8,971	3,046	12,235	—	1	31	11
Salop	106,258	86,077	19,405	109,286	—	3	43	77
Somerset	223,493	184,595	31,794	228,864	—	4	62	108
Southampton	248,176	211,075	35,980	252,523	—	9	37	86
Stafford	175,591	124,870	44,312	177,583	—	6	57	93
Suffolk	300,017	259,098	33,900	300,058	—	7	43	111
Surrey	378,151	278,375	98,403	358,445	—	2	10	39
Sussex	319,752	263,663	51,766	323,916	—	1	32	90
Warwick	202,750	175,899	35,737	217,633	4	—	39	53
Westmoreland	29,269	24,641	4,799	30,147	—	6	53	28
Wilts	221,414	189,089	25,918	219,635	—	5	28	76
Worcester	110,820	89,668	19,587	113,170	3	—	34	62
York, East Riding	130,955	100,535	28,478	131,734	—	5	92	42
York, North Riding	102,906	79,456	21,167	104,057	—	7	107	39
York, West Riding	371,866	281,233	82,353	377,672	—	—	120	182
Total of England	8,229,798	6,486,534	1,635,285	8,363,024	—	4	2,003	3,053
WALES.								
Anglesey	20,467	15,948	3,173	20,553	—	10	12	12
Brecon	23,609	19,568	3,661	24,054	—	1	12	12
Cardigan	23,242	18,821	3,637	23,204	—	2	5	18
Carmarthen	44,587	36,251	7,363	44,992	3	—	25	14
Carnarvon	25,720	21,319	3,399	25,958	3	—	11	19
Denbigh	44,668	36,815	6,689	44,612	—	—	6	30
Flint	29,191	22,358	4,978	28,487	3	—	11	20
Glamorgan	55,172	43,309	10,298	55,408	1	—	20	39
Merioneth	18,405	15,247	2,412	18,069	—	—	4	17
Montgomery	43,974	35,346	6,848	43,572	—	5	11	20
Pembroke	30,616	25,449	3,931	30,782	1	—	16	15
Radnor	17,045	13,830	2,960	17,160	—	2	5	1
Total of Wales	376,702	304,265	59,384	376,857	—	1	138	217
Total of England and Wales	8,606,501	6,790,799	1,694,669	8,739,881	—	4	2,141	3,270

Land under cultivation of Hops.—Abstract of an Account of the total number of Acres of Land in Great Britain, under the cultivation of Hops, in the year 1833, distinguishing the number of Acres in each Excise District.

Barnstaple, 8½; Bedford, 26; Bristol, 4; Cambridge, 4; Canterbury, 8,641¼; Chester, ¾; Cornwall, 4½; Derby, 139; Dorset, 19; Essex, 378¾; Exeter, 19; Gloucester, 7½; Grantham, 29; Hants, 1,386½; Hereford, 12,071; Isle of Wight, 1; Lincoln, 552½; Northampton, 1¾; Oxford, 10; Plymouth, 4; Reading, 7½; Rochester, 12,566½; Sarum, 1,018¼; Salop, 3; Stafford, ½; Stainbridge, 702½; Suffolk, 148½; Surrey, 13¾; Sussex, 9,179½; Uxbridge, 7; Wales, East, ¾; Middle, 129; West, ¼; Wellington, 16; Worcester, 2,087⅜. Total number of acres in England and Wales, 49,187½.

The duty on hops, of the growth of the year 1833, amounted to 272,878*l.* The quantity of hops exported during the same year, amounted to 1,662,006 lbs. The following are the places to which the largest quantities were exported:—875,193 lbs. to Hamburgh; 126,360 lbs. to Havre; 122,752 lbs. to Calais; 93,821 lbs. to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; 58,559 lbs. to Elsinore; 58,019 lbs. to Rotterdam; 56,424 lbs. to Trieste; and 43,882 lbs. to Ostend.

Commissions.—Abstract of a Return of the number and description of the existing Commissions of Inquiry, showing the total cost of each commission, from its appointment to 29th of April, 1834.

	Date of Commission.	Total cost from commencement.
Commissioners of Charities	1831	£26,637
Commissioners of Royal Burghs, and other Burghs in Scotland	1833	1,653
Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenues, England and Wales	1832	2,192
Do. Ireland	1833	710
Commissioners of Excise	1833	2,150
Commissioners of the Courts of Law, Scotland	1833	1,606
Commissioners of the Poor, Ireland	1833	935
Commissioners of Poor Laws	1832	6,408
Commissioners of Municipal Corporations, England	1833	6,665
Do. Ireland	1833	4,046

Parliamentary Grants to Ireland since the Union.—Abstract of an Account of the sums granted by Parliament for maintaining charitable and literary institutions, for the internal encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, and for carrying on public works, and for the employment of the Poor in Ireland, from the 1st of January, 1801, to the 1st of January, 1833.

Charitable and literary institutions	£1,225,750
Encouragement of agriculture and manufactures	1,340,421
Public works and employment of the poor	3,072,160
Total	£8,638,331

Militia and Yeomanry.—Abstract of Accounts of the sums actually expended in each year, for the Militia and for the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of the United Kingdom, from 1st January, 1816, to 1st January, 1834.

	Militia	Yeomanry.
1816	£306,306	£112,598
1817	381,668	138,813
1818	365,510	118,736
1819	375,545	123,729
1820	418,537	185,479
1821	420,377	207,568
1822	340,617	184,317
1823	332,093	142,944
1824	326,901	144,514
1825	418,194	129,281
1826	352,613	162,480
1827	339,127	151,027
1828	335,516	58,715
1829	308,421	63,027
1830	243,629	70,345
1831	372,331	184,883
1832	226,840	96,482
1833	222,173	92,406
Totals	£6,084,406	£2,367,348

Total expense of the militia and the yeomanry, since 1815 £8,451,754

Income of Charity Property.—A Return made by the Secretary to the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities in England and Wales, of the Amount of the Income of Charity Estates, and Property of all Kinds, and distinguishing those for Education, in the several Counties under-mentioned.

—	Annual Income of all Charities.	Portion of the whole Income applied for Education in established Schools.	Portion of the whole Income applied for or appropriated to Education, otherwise than in established Schools.	Total applied for Education.
	l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*
Bedford	13,579 16 8	1,608 11 10	214 3 6	1,822 15 4
Cumberland	3,279 1 10	1,802 18 7	85 14 3	1,888 12 10
Derby	12,515 14 11	3,547 19 4	127 1 6	3,675 0 10
Devon	28,438 3 7	5,755 14 2	785 5 1	6,540 19 3
Durham	17,124 16 4	1,783 3 6	80 4 6	1,863 8 0
Glocester	19,435 14 11	4,810 16 10	691 13 9	5,202 10 7
Huntingdon	3,738 7 6	854 4 10	172 0 0	1,026 4 10
Lancaster	85,784 11 10	18,455 12 5	259 10 3	18,715 2 8
Northampton	17,923 6 6	3,088 13 0	697 6 5	3,775 19 5
Northumberland	5,648 6 2	2,478 14 5	40 4 6	2,518 18 11
Nottingham	13,477 2 11	2,103 4 6	284 16 1	2,388 0 7
Oxford	13,112 4 1	1,621 16 11	118 7 4	1,740 4 3
Rutland	4,783 6 4	1,290 0 0	197 8 0	1,487 8 0
Salop	20,030 0 0	6,231 4 11	197 10 7	6,428 15 6
Somerset	34,925 0 11	7,581 16 5	574 9 5	8,156 5 10
Southampton	10,589 4 3	2,730 17 4	623 0 2	3,353 13 6
Stafford	19,171 15 6	6,693 7 4	440 4 5	7,133 11 9
Suffolk	26,364 13 4	2,938 15 9	1,018 5 1	3,957 0 10
Surrey	26,739 8 7	5,547 19 2	1,049 15 11	6,597 15 1
Westmoreland	5,145 13 11	1,988 8 5	220 3 4	2,172 11 9
York	81,399 18 5	18,821 15 11	2,453 5 1	21,075 1 0
	413,041 8 6	101,199 15 7	10,260 9 2	111,460 4 9

The total amount of the income of charity estates and property in the foregoing counties including 15,269*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*, the amount of general charities, the benefit of which extends to several places, is £428,311 7 7

The portion of income applied for education, is 111,460 4 9.

Exciseable Articles.—An Account of the quantities of the several articles charged with Duties of Excise, in the Year 1833; showing also the increase or decrease in the quantity of the preceding Year.

		Quantity.	Increase, or Decrease.
Auctions		£6,780,367	£355,923 inc.
Bricks	number	1,036,202,122	51,862,932 dec.
Glass, viz. Flint	cwts.	76,775	771 inc.
Plate	do.	14,501	955 inc.
Crown	do.	128,435	28,252 inc.
Broad	do.	7,655	2,301 inc.
Green	do.	323,516	7,849 inc.
Total	do.	550,882	40,126 inc.
Hops	lbs.	32,747,301	4,755,808 inc.
Licences	number	577,827	30,119 inc.
Malt	bushels	40,005,348	3,470,292 inc.
Paper, viz. 1st. and 2d. class, lbs.		69,198,302	6,117,251 inc.
Millboard, pasteboard, &c.	cwts.	46,883	1,671 inc.
stained	yds.	7,970,760	1,025,026 inc.
Soap:—hard	lbs.	137,927,546	22,627,368 inc.
soft	do.	11,731,156	1,663,781 inc.
Spirits	galls.	21,840,719	138,090 dec.
Starch	lbs.	8,784,566	1,028,246 inc.
Stone bottles	cwts.	17,039	2,394 inc.
Sweets	galls.	122,267	416 dec.
Tea	lbs.	31,829,075	1,299,224 inc.
Vinegar	galls.	2,860,601	337,863 inc.

The following was the net produce of the duties on the above articles:—Auctions, 230,880*l.*; bricks and tiles, 305,208*l.*; glass, 591,542*l.*; hops, 228,317*l.*; licenses, 802,301*l.*; malt, 4,680,733*l.*; paper, 769,346*l.*; printed goods, 1,925*l.*; soap, 871,740*l.*; spirits, 3,745,950*l.*; starch, 91,567*l.*, stone bottles, 3,563*l.*; sweets, 2,613*l.*; tea, 3,444,101*l.*; vinegar, 24,162*l.* Total, 15,793,954*l.*

Vessels Registered.—An Account of the number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to the several ports of the British Empire, on the 31st of December, 1833.

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom	19,158	2,233,855	136,250
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	531	37,446	3,839
British Plantations	4,696	363,276	23,911
Total	24,385	2,634,577	164,000

New Vessels Built.—An Account of the number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been built and registered in all the Ports of the British Empire, during the years 1831, 1832, and 1833.

	1831.		1832.		1833.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom	748	83,852	733	90,180	711	89,212
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	18	1,855	26	2,735	17	2,959
British Plantations	376	34,290	386	43,397	298	32,878
Total	1,136	119,997	1,145	136,312	1,026	125,049

N. B.—Several returns from the British plantations for the last year have not yet been received. The statement for 1832 is corrected from returns received since the last account was made up.

Brewers, Licensed Victuallers, &c.—The number of brewers in England, is 1814; in Scotland, 214; in Ireland, 231: total for the United Kingdom, 2259. The number of licensed victuallers in England, is 52,611; in Scotland, 17,378; in Ireland, not stated: total, 69,989. The number of persons licensed under the Act "to permit the general sale of beer by retail in the United Kingdom," is in England, 33,451; the number in Scotland and Ireland is not stated. The number of victuallers who brew their own beer in England, is 25,125, and in Scotland, 350: total, 25,475; the number in Ireland not stated. The number of bushels of malt used by brewers, is 14,499,283; in Scotland, 955,715; in Ireland, 1,683,285: total, 17,138,281. The number of bushels used by licensed victuallers in England, is 9,012,706; in Scotland, 130,154: total, 9,142,860. The number of bushels used by persons licensed for the general sale, who brew their own beer in England, is 3,284,984.—The Account for London is included in the above, but is thus stated separately also:—Brewers, 98; licensed

victuallers, 4,293; persons licensed for the general sale of beer, 1,112; victuallers who brew their own beer, 23; persons licensed for the general sale who brew their own beer, 135; bushels of malt used by brewers, 4,575,375; by licensed victuallers, 33,089; by persons licensed for the general sale, 167,670.

Beer Exported.—The following is an account of the total number of barrels of beer exported from the United Kingdom during the year 1833, distinguishing the countries to which they were sent:—Africa, 1,695¾; Madeira and the Azores, 85¾; East Indies, 29,256¾; West Indies, 18,407¾; British settlements in America, 2,225¼; United States, 3,195; South America, 4,280½; New South Wales, 11,441¾; Ports in the Mediterranean, 954¾; Guernsey and Jersey, 437¼; other parts of Europe, 9,107¼. Total number of barrels exported, 81,088; the drawback on which amounted to 20,272*l.*

Grain, Meal, and Flour, Imported, &c.—Abstract of an Account of the quantity of Grain of all sorts, Meal and Flour, stated in Quarters, Imported into Great Britain, in the year 1833, from foreign parts, showing also the quantity Imported from Ireland.

	Foreign and Colonial.	Irish.
Barley and Barley Meal	93,332	9,057
Beans	23,007	19,858
Indian Corn and Meal	120	1,162
Oats and Oatmeal	23,942	1,793,569
Pease	15,873	2,773
Rye and Rye Meal	3,369	—
Wheat and Wheat Flour	321,915	844,905
Buck Wheat	33	—
Bear, or Bigg	—	834
Malt	—	8,266
Totals	481,596	2,761,635

The following are the foreign countries and colonies from which the largest proportions of the above amount were obtained:—Prussia, 105,979 qrs. (chiefly wheat); Van Diemen's Land, 100,215 qrs. (wheat); Denmark, 70,533 qrs. (chiefly barley); Germany, 70,533 qrs. (chiefly wheat); Russia, 42,231 qrs. (chiefly wheat and oats); and from Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man, 33,879 qrs. (chiefly of wheat)

Prices—The average prices in Great Britain during the year were:—Barley, 27*s.* 6*d.* per quarter; Beans, 33*s.* 2*d.*; Oats, 18*s.* 5*d.*; Pease, 36*s.* 5*d.*; Rye, 32*s.* 11*d.*; Wheat, 52*s.* 11*d.*

Coals Exported.—The following are the quantities of large and small coal exported during the year 1833, distinguishing the countries to which they were sent:—Russia, 42,736 tons; Sweden, 8504; Norway, 3622; Denmark, 74,445; Prussia, 24,068; Germany, 69,896; Holland, 114,238; France, 45,218; Portugal, Azores and Madeira, 13,532; Spain and the Canaries, 1710; Gibraltar, 9994; Italy, 9997; Malta, 7031; Ionian Islands, 1049; Turkey and Continental Greece, 562; Morea and Greek Islands, 1174; Cape of Good Hope, 2954; other parts of Africa, 7423; East Indies and China, 8355; New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Swan River, 15; British North America, 55,313; British West Indies, 46,142; Foreign West Indies, 1195; United States of America; Columbia, 20; Brazil, 1863; States of the Rio de la Plata, 868; Chili, 85; Peru, 121; Isles Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Man, 53,886. Total, 634,448 tons; the total amount of duties on which was 65,008*l.* Of the above quantity 233,709 tons were exported from Newcastle, and 176,487 from Sunderland.

Tobacco and Snuff Imported.—Abstract of an Account of the quantity of unmanufactured Tobacco, of manufactured Tobacco and Cigars, and of Snuffs imported into the United Kingdom, in the year 1833; with a statement of the quantity retained for home consumption, and the amount of duty paid thereon.

	Quantity Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Amount of Duty.
	lbs.	lbs.	£
Unmanufactured tobacco	22,082,579	20,626,800	3,090,782
Manufactured tobacco and cigars	386,608	143,868	64,726
Snuffs	3,864	138	41
Totals	22,473,051	20,770,806	3,155,550

It appears from the same paper that 20,748,317 lbs. of the above quantity of unmanufactured tobacco was imported from the United States of America, and 219,576 lbs. of the manufactured tobacco and cigars. Of the snuff, 3631 lbs. are from the Cape of Good Hope

Copper Imported and Exported.—The quantities of copper imported into the United Kingdom, during the year 1833, were:—Unwrought, in bricks or pigs, rose copper and cast copper, 2474 cwts. Part wrought; viz., bars, rods, or ingots hammered or raised, 1281 cwts.; plates and coin, 16 cwts.; old, for re-manufacture, 559 cwts.; ore, 118,632 cwts.; copper manufactures, value, 3921*l.* Nearly all the unwrought and partly wrought copper came from Chili; nearly all the copper manufactures from France and Germany; and the principal quantities of copper ore were imported thus;—from Columbia, 61,745 cwts.; Cuba, 24,880 cwts.; and Sweden, 15,798 cwts. *Exported British Copper:*—Unwrought, 47,887 cwts.; coin, 15 cwts.; sheets, nails, &c., 91,366 cwts.; wire, 16 cwts.; wrought copper of other sorts, 16947 cwts. Total of British copper, 156,233 cwts. Copper smelted in the United Kingdom from foreign ore, exported unwrought, 32,493 cwts. *Foreign Copper Exported:*—Unwrought, 2039 cwts.; old, fit only for re-manufacture, 383 cwts.; partly wrought, 1278 cwts.; ore, 15 cwts., manufactures valued at 167*l.* The following countries took the largest quantities of British copper:—Asia, 76,77¼ cwts.; United States of America, 30,684 cwts.; France, 18,116 cwts. France also took 18,275 cwts. of the copper smelted in this country from foreign ore.

Lead Imported and Exported.—The following is the account of the quantity of lead and lead ore imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1833:—Pig lead, 790 tons 7 cwts.; lead shot, 7 tons 10 cwts.; lead ore, 1592 tons 15 cwts; white lead, 8 tons 3 cwts. Total, 2,398 tons 16 cwts. Net amount of duty upon the quantities entered for home consumption, 121*l.* 1,580 tons were imported from the Isle of Man; 527 tons from Spain; 135 tons from the Hanseatic towns, and 109 tons from Gibraltar. *Exported:*—Pig and rolled lead, 9015 tons 3 cwts.; litharge, 587 tons 18 cwts.; red lead, 565 tons; white lead, 906 tons 15 cwts.; lead ore, 60 tons. Total of Britishh lead and lead ore, 11,145 tons. *Foreign Lead and Lead Ore Exported:*—Pig lead, 856 tons 10 cwt.; lead shot, 7 tons 10 cwt.; white lead, 3 tons 25 lbs. The chief exports of British lead and lead ore are, 2455 tons to the East Indies and China; 2357 tons to the United States of America; 1238 tons to Russia; 587 tons to Brazil, and 501 tons to British North America.

Tin Imported and Exported.—Imported:—From Holland, 2015 cwts.; Belgium, 3181 cwts.; East Indies, 1822 cwts.; Singapore, 26,105 cwts.; Java, 724 cwts.; China, 1274 cwts. Total, 35,124 cwts. *Exported*, 24,989 cwts. of British tin and 39,849 of foreign tin. The chief exports of British and foreign tin were as follows:—

	British Tin.	Foreign Tin.
	cwts.	cwts.
Russia	3,753	5,011
Holland	687	4,285
Belgium	42	15,745
France	8,986	1,554
Italy	3,087	5,388
Turkey	3,790	1,498
United States of America	1,177	3,569

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

French Revenue and Expenditure.—The following particulars are from a summary given by M. Dupin, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, during the debate of the 19th of May:—"The budget of *Expenditure* for 1835, which has been recently voted, amounts to a sum of 40,360,340*l.*, (or 1,009,008,531 francs,) and the budget connected with the Ministry of Commerce to 1,103,600*l.* (or 27,590,000 francs). Besides these amounts, votes have been made, under special enactments, to be appropriated to the wants of the years 1833, 1834, and 1835; for these provision must also be made; they form altogether a sum of 3,313,240*l.*, (or 82,831,199 francs,) and when added to the budget for 1835, constitute a total of 44,777,180*l.* (or 1,119,489,730 francs). The sum total of the *receipts* does not amount to more than 993,792,420 francs (or 39,751,690*l.*) The *deficit* is, therefore, 125,637,310 francs, or 5,025,490*l.*; and besides this, there exists a *floating debt* of 500,000,000 francs (or 20,000,000*l.*)." In the same debate, on a motion which was brought forward, but not carried, it was stated that the net produce of the extensive system of *lotteries* in France did not exceed 12,000,000 francs or 480,000*l.*

Trade of Russia with Foreign Parts.—In the ten years' interval, between 1824 and 1834, the *Importation* of foreign merchandize into Russia amounted to 1,951,844,619 roubles, (89,392,230*l.*,) which gives an average value of 8,939,223*l.* per annum. During the preceding ten years' interval it was 1,646,904,710 roubles (75,475,230*l.*) The average increase in the importations during the last ten years has therefore been 1,391,700*l.* per annum. The amount of *Exportations* between 1824 and 1834 was 2,307,399,005 roubles, (105,669,950*l.*,) or, on the average, 10,566,995 yearly, bring also an excess of 125,504,581 roubles (5,752,290*l.*) over the exportations of the preceding ten years, or an average annual increase of 575,229*l.* In the last ten years the excess of exportations over importations has, therefore, amounted in the whole to 16,277,729*l.*, which give a yearly average of 1,627,772*l.* The *Duties of Customs* between 1824 and 1834, so far as foreign merchandize is concerned, produced 673,339,401 roubles, or 30,861,370*l.*, and the excess in that

produce over the duties collected in the preceding interval (1814 to 1824) amounted to 277,213,113 roubles, or 12,705,650*l.*, which gives an increase of 70 per cent. In the last ten years also, 5000 vessels more arrived in the Russian ports in ballast, for the purpose of taking in Russian produce, than in the ten years preceding.—H.

Dutch Army.—The peace establishment of the Dutch army has been raised to 74,000 men, and may be increased in time of war to 124,000. The army is thus divided:—

Infantry.		
2 regiments of guards	3,400	
11 ——— the line	31,350	
1 battalion of royal chasseurs	1,000	
1 ——— the reserve	1,200	
36 battalions of communal guards	24,000	
5 ——— volunteers	2,000	
Garrison troops	800	
		63,750
Cavalry.		
3 regiments of cuirassiers	2,160	
2 ——— dragoons	1,200	
1 regiment of hussars	500	
1 ——— lancers	1,200	
		5,260
Artillery.		
Train and 'pontoniers' *	5,000	
Engineers	400	
		5,400
Grand total		74,410

Upon the war footing the infantry consists of 18 regiments, and the cavalry of 10.

The 11 regiments of infantry of the line preserved in time of peace, bear the numbers 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17 and 18; the numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 15 and 16 remain vacant, and are not preserved even in form. The regiments of cavalry maintained upon the peace establishment bear the numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10; the numbers 2, 7 and 8 remaining vacant in the same manner as in the infantry.—*French Journal.*

Belgian Army.—The Belgian army, which is now perfectly organized, is composed, on the peace establishment, of 71,000 men, well disciplined, well maintained, well armed, and well equipped. This force is divided as follows:—

Infantry.		
10 regiments of the line	44,000	
3 ——— light infantry	7,000	
Foreign corps	1,000	
13 battalions of civic guards	8,000	
		60,400
Cavalry.		
1 regiment of cuirassiers	1,200	
2 ——— chasseurs	1,600	
2 ——— lancers	1,600	
		4,400
Artillery.		
14 batteries of field artillery, including 1 of horse artillery	3,000	
10 batteries of the civic guards, and 1 company of workmen	1,000	
Train of artillery	600	
		4,600
Engineers.		
5 companies of miners	800	
Miners and workmen of the maritime engineers	200	
		1,000
Troops not of the line		600
Grand total		74,000

Upon the war footing this force may be raised to from 90,000 to 100,000 men, comprehending the moveable civic guards. Belgium has sixteen fortified places, namely, Ath, Anvers, Ghent, Liege, Tournay, Marienbourg, Maestricht, Menin, Mons, Namur, Nieuport, Ostend, Philippine, Philippeville, Sas de Gend and Ypres.—*French Journal.*

* Men employed in transporting the guns on the canals, we believe.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Seven Reports have been issued since our last publication. Their dates extend from the 7th to the 27th of May; and the last is numbered the Twenty-fifth.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For repeal of the Union	447	527,279
For Vote by Ballot	5	18,152
Against Septennial Parliaments	11	2,624
For Triennial Parliaments	1	574
For extension of the Elective Franchise	1	306
For elucidation of the Reform Bill	3	340
Ecclesiastical.		
For relief of Protestant Dissenters	1,069	335,401
Against ———	58	4,734
Against the Bill for admission of Dissenters to the Universities	164	12,608
For the Bill ———	1	415
For relief of the Jews	4	1,444
Against Lay Patronage in Scotland	219	101,269
Against alteration in ———	7	366
For better observance of the Lord's Day	663	147,066
For Lord's Day Observance Bill	336	42,408
——— (Scotland)	10	16,225
Against ———	9	16,103
In support of the Church of England	249	42,751
For Reform in the Church	6	4,188
For separation of Church and State	43	50,439
For relieving the Bishops from sitting in the House of Lords	5	1,307
In support of the Church of Scotland	2	524
Tithes—for alteration	10	1,928
——— abolition	10	2,192
Against Tithes (Ireland) Bill	1	4,000
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn-Laws	30	140,502
Against alteration ———	117	20,582
Beer Act, for repeal or amendment	73	12,249
——— for alteration	23	36,021
Church Rates, against the proposed measure	61	20,257
For repeal of the export duty on Coals	9	6,623
Against the Poor-Law Amendment Bill	80	7,226
——— Stamp Receipt Tax	14	4,395
For repeal of the Malt Tax	115	25,618
——— Reciprocity of Duties Bill	14	1,160
Merchant Seamen, for relief from the tax to support Greenwich Hospital	15	5,923
Miscellaneous.		
In favour of the Dorchester Convicts	67	212,465
Hand-loom Weavers, for relief	78	64,967
Linen Weavers, for relief	4	7,112
Agriculturists, for relief	30	26,439
Against the General Registry Bill	134	26,564
For inquiry into the extent and causes of Drunkenness	155	45,405
Against Importation of Foreign Ribbons	8	10,692
For inquiry into the state of Irish Fisheries	11	3,286
Against the employment of Children to sweep Chimneys	30	7,645
For Law Reform (Scotland)	2	2,982
Against the jurisdiction of the Benchers of Inns of Court	3	2,839
For Local Courts	5	2,001
In behalf of the Polish Exiles	9	2,575
For amendment of the laws relating to Friendly Societies	16	1,463
For protection against Trades Unions	68	1,322
In favour of Labourers' Employment Act	37	1,429
For restrictions on Emigration	3	1,246
Against Sale of Beer Amendment Act	5	915
For inquiry into the state of the Medical Profession	18	786
Against Imprisonment for Debt	8	579
For mitigation of the severity of Criminal Laws	7	466
For salaries to Teachers and lectures at Mechanics' Institutes	1	298
For inquiry into the Pension List	1	342
Miscellaneous Petitions reported since our last Publication	129	9,270

Bankruptcy Analysis from May 23, to June 24.—Artist, 1. Attorney, 1. Bookseller, 1. Brushmaker, 1. Builders, 2. Butcher, 1. Chemists, 2. Clothes Dealer, 1. Clothier, 1. Collier, 1. Colour

Manufacturer, 1. Commission Agent, 1. Cooper, 1. Corn Factor, 1. Cotton Manufacturer, 1. Cotton Spinner, 1. Currier, 1. Druggist, 1. Dyer, 1. Factor, 1. Farmer, 1. Grazier, 1. Grocers, 7. Hatters, 2. Hide Dealer, 1. Hosier, 1. Innholder, 1. Ironfounder, 1. Iron-merchant, 1. Laceman, 1. Linen-drapers, 2. Linen Manufacturer, 1. Lithographic Printer, 1. Mealman, 1. Merchants, 10. Music Seller, 1. Nurseryman, 1. Picture Dealer, 1. Ribbon Manufacturer, 1. Saddler, 1. Sailcloth Manufacturer, 1. Scissors Manufacturers, 2. Schoolmaster, 1. Scriveners, 6. Shopkeeper General, 1. Ship-builders, 2. Soap-boiler, 1. Surgeons, 3. Tanner, 1. Timber-merchant, 1. Tinman, 1. Twine Manufacturer, 1. Upholsterer, 1, Victuallers, 7. Wharfingers, 2. Wine Merchants, 2. Total, 92. Total from the commencement of the year, 502.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JUNE, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE secession from the Government of the Earl of Ripon the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Stanley, and Sir James, Graham, in consequence, as stated at the close of our last retrospect, of a difference among the members of the Cabinet on the subject of Mr. Ward's proposed resolution as to the Irish Church, or, at least, on the most advisable mode of meeting that motion, led in the course of a few days to the following new arrangements. The place of Lord Privy Seal, resigned by the Earl of Ripon, has been conferred upon the Earl of Carlisle, who had before a seat in the Cabinet without any office. The Marquess of Conyngham has been appointed Postmaster-General, but without a seat in the Cabinet, in room of the Duke of Richmond. It is understood that this office was in the first instance offered to the Earl of Mulgrave. Mr. Spring Rice has succeeded Mr. Stanley as Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Auckland has been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, in room of Sir James Graham. Mr. Ellice, the Secretary at War, has been taken into the Cabinet. Mr. Spring Rice has been succeeded as one of the Secretaries of the Treasury by Mr. Francis Baring. Lord Auckland's former office, of President of the Board of Trade, has been given to the former Vice-President, Mr. Poulett Thomson, whose place will not be filled up. Mr. Thomson, however, does not sit in the Cabinet. Finally, Mr. Abercromby has been appointed, with a seat in the Cabinet, to the place of Master of the Mint, also previously held by Lord Auckland.

We may likewise here mention that Mr. Jeffrey, promoted to the bench in Scotland, has been succeeded as Lord Advocate by Mr. J. A. Murray, member for Leith; that the seat, which has been for some time vacant at the Treasury Board, has been filled by the appointment of Captain Byng, the member for Chatham; and that Colonel Leith Hay has been appointed Clerk of the Ordnance, in room of Colonel Maberley, now a Commissioner of the Customs. Mr. Robert Grant, also, who has accepted the governorship of Bombay, has been succeeded as Judge-Advocate by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, the member for Kirkcudbright.

Although the movements that have taken place amount only to a reconstruction of the Cabinet, and not to what can properly be called the substitution of a new ministry, since Lords Grey, Brougham, Lansdowne, Melbourne, Auckland, Althorp, John Russell, Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant, who before constituted about three-fourths of the Cabinet, still remain at the head of affairs; yet the political complexion of the Government has undoubtedly undergone a change from these events. The direction of the change is towards what is called liberalism; but it would be more difficult to say exactly how far it goes in that direction. The obvious measure of its amount would seem to be the difference between having in the Cabinet the four ministers who have retired, and having Mr. Abercromby and Mr. Ellice there. The other members, however, who retain their places, constitute so preponderating a majority, that with them must really rest the guidance of the State. Supposing them to be unanimous, their new colleagues can have little or no weight, except by following as they may lead.

In the mean time, both the votes of the House of Commons and other indications appear to show, in so far as they may be trusted, that the strength of the ministry is not less than it was before its late modification. In all the new elections that have since taken place, namely—at Edinburgh, at Leith, at Cambridge, and at Greenwich, the government candidates have been returned.

On the meeting of the House of Commons, pursuant to adjournment, on Monday the 2d of June, the debate on Mr. Ward's resolution was resumed, the Honourable Member having declined to accede to the request of Lord Althorp, that he would not press the motion. Lord Althorp stated, that since the subject had been brought before the House his Majesty had been advised to issue a lay commission, having power to visit all the parishes in Ireland, and to report upon the number of the members of different communions residing in each, as well as upon a great variety of other particulars calculated to exhibit a full view of the religious state of that country. When Mr. Ward declared his intention to persevere, his Lordship moved the previous question, which, after a protracted and warm debate, was carried by a majority of 396 to 120. On this occasion the conservatives, and the friends of Mr. Stanley, voted, with few exceptions, with the Ministry. The debate possessed great interest, from the explanations both of the Ministers who remained in office, and of Mr. Stanley, on behalf of himself and those who had acted with him. Mr. Stanley's speech was even more than usually vehement and powerful. Of the Ministers, Lord John Russell, Mr. Rice, Mr. Charles Grant, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Ellice, as well as Lord Althorp, addressed the House. The speeches delivered by Mr. O'Connell and Sir Robert Peel also produced much sensation.

Before the House adjourned this evening, the Bill for repealing the Inhabited House Duty from the 5th of April last, was read a third time and passed.

On the following day, a motion brought forward by Mr. Buckingham, for a select committee to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the vice of drunkenness among the labouring classes, was carried by a majority of 64 to 47. It is but fair to Mr. Buckingham, to state that he professed to look to the diffusion of education, as, after all, affording the only sure prospect of a remedy for the evil against which he purposed to legislate. The chief legislation which he contemplated, accordingly, he stated to be the foundation of district libraries, reading-rooms, museums, and other establishments for promoting the intellectual improvement of the people. A more direct and comprehensive effort to effect this object was made, after the above motion had been disposed of, by Mr. Roebuck, who moved for a select committee to inquire into the means of establishing a system of national education. After a short debate, in a thin House, the liveliest passage of which was an invective against the proposal delivered by Mr. Cobbett, the motion was withdrawn, and the House unanimously agreed to an amendment proposed by Lord Althorp, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grants of last Session, for erecting school-houses, and also to consider the expediency of effecting further grants in aid of education." The appointment of this committee deserves to be considered as a great and valuable concession to the growing public opinion in favour of the establishment of a system of general education; and it can scarcely fail to lead to the practical recognition, at least to a certain extent, of the principles upon which that opinion is founded.

In the latter part of this evening another Select Committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Charles Grant, to inquire into the best means of promoting communication with India by steam. Now that this important subject has at length been taken up by the Government, it may be anticipated that effectual steps will be taken to carry into execution one or other of the schemes of steam navigation to the East Indies, which have been for some time before the public.

On the 4th, the Bill which had been sent down from the House of Lords, entitled the Labourers' Employment Bill, being substantially the same with one having the same

title which had been defeated last Session, was thrown out on the proposition that it should be read a second time, by a majority of 80 to 36. No other fate could be expected for so pernicious a measure, in an assembly which had received with so much favour the Poor Law Amendment Bill, to the whole spirit and principles of which the present attempt at legislation was diametrically opposed. The object of the Labourers' Employment Bill was to compel the rate-payers to give employment at a certain fixed rate of wages to all the labourers in the parish, who could not procure work in any other way, whether the said rate-payers required the labour thus forced upon them or not. Sir C. Burrell, who moved the second reading of the Bill, let out its true character and object when he said that it would prove a safety valve to the Poor Law scheme of the Government. It would have been a valve by means of which no small portion of the efficiency of that great reform would have escaped and been dissipated into air.

This evening the Bill brought in by Mr. Ewart, for allowing prisoners charged with felony to address the court and jury through their counsel, was read a second time without a division, though not without opposition from several Members. Various other Bills, most of which we shall have occasion to notice again, were also advanced a stage. And on the motion of Mr. Hume a select committee was appointed to consider the case of the suppression of Mr. Buckingham's paper, the Calcutta Journal, in 1823, by the Indian Government; and to report whether any, and what amount of, compensation should be awarded to Mr. Buckingham for his losses on that account.

On the 5th, Mr. Young's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Reciprocity of Duties Act was negatived after a long debate, by a majority of 117 to 52. The statements and arguments of the Honourable mover were replied to in a very able speech by Mr. Poulett Thomson.

On Friday the 6th, and also, on Monday and Tuesday following, the House of Commons was engaged in considering the Poor-Law Amendment Bill in committee. The successive clauses have been for the most part carried by large majorities. The Bill only got through the committee on Saturday the 21st. On Monday an Address to his Majesty was agreed to, on the motion of Lord D. Stuart, praying that the sum of 10,000*l.* should be granted for the relief of the Polish Refugees now in this country.

On Wednesday the 11th, the third reading of the Religious Assemblies Bill was carried by a majority of 88 to 33. A motion by Mr. Maxwell for a select committee to inquire into the distress complained of in the petition of the Hand-Loom Weavers was also carried, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Poulett Thomson and Lord Palmerston, by a majority of 70 to 42. The Bill for the removal of the Civil Disabilities of the Jews was then read for the third time, after a short debate followed by a division in which the numbers were, 80 for, and 14 against the motion. This measure of reason and justice, however, has since been thrown out on the second reading in the House of Lords, by a majority of 130 to 38. This decision took place on the 23d, and was preceded by a debate of some length.

On the 12th, a resolution moved by Colonel Evans, for the discontinuance of the payments under what is called the Russian Dutch Loan, was met by Lord Palmerston with the previous question, and lost without a division. A motion by Mr. Wallace, for an Address to his Majesty, praying that the office of Postmaster-General might be put under the management of a board of commissioners, being opposed by Ministers, was withdrawn after a short debate. Lord Ebrington moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the claims of British subjects for compensation from the government of Spain, on account of losses of property in 1804 and 1805; but the motion was resisted by Lord Althorp, and negatived on a division, by a majority of 62 to 28. The Attorney General then brought in the Bill for which he some time ago obtained leave, for abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, and for otherwise amending the law of debtor and creditor. In concluding a speech in which he explained the leading provisions of the measure, he pledged himself to do his utmost to have it passed this Session.

Friday the 13th, and the following Monday, were chiefly occupied in the House of Commons by the further consideration of the Poor Law Amendment Bill, as were also some other days in the course of the week. On the 16th, in the House of Lords, after counsel had been heard against and in support of the Bill for Chartering the London and Westminster Bank, it was agreed that the opinion of the Judges should be taken as to whether the Bill is any infraction of existing statutes, before the consideration of it should be further proceeded in.

On the 17th, the House of Commons, on the motion of Sir Edward Codrington, agreed to address his Majesty for some pecuniary recompense to the officers and seamen who had been engaged in the battle of Navarino. The motion was at first resisted by Ministers, but the feeling of the House appearing to be in its favour, they withdrew their opposition.

This evening the subject of the distress of the Coventry riband-weavers was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Strangford, who moved that their petitions should be referred to a Select Committee. After a short debate, the motion was negatived without a division. On the 19th, the subject was discussed at greater length in the House of Commons, on a motion of Mr. H. Bulwer for leave to bring in a Bill to restore, in regard to this branch of the silk manufacture, the prohibitory system which had existed previous to 1826. On a division, the motion was negatived by a large majority,—the numbers being 22 for, and 122 against it.

In the earlier part of this day Sir Edward Knatchbull's Bill for the amendment of the Beer Act was discussed in Committee, and a long debate took place on an amendment, proposed by Mr. Warburton, for striking out that part of the first clause which prohibited beer being drank on the premises where it was sold. The amendment was eventually rejected by a majority of 141 to 23. The further discussion of the Bill was then postponed to the 9th of July. At the evening sitting, a resolution moved by Colonel Evans for the repeal of such clauses of the Reform Act as required the payment of rates and taxes, in order to the exercise of the elective franchise, occasioned a short debate, but was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 121 to 37.

On the 20th, an interesting discussion took place in the House of Lords, on a motion made by Lord Wharncliffe, for an address to the Crown, praying for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the state of prisons. It was stated by Viscount Melbourne, in the course of the debate, that a gentleman had some time ago been sent out by the Government to the United States, to obtain information with regard to the state of prison discipline, and the result of the experiments which had been made in the application of secondary punishments, in that country. This gentleman had now returned to England, and his Lordship suggested that it would be better to defer the consideration of the subject until a report from him, which was in preparation, should be on the table of the House. Lord Wharncliffe eventually withdrew his motion.

This evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. G. W. Wood moved the second reading of the Bill for admitting Dissenters to the Universities; and Mr. Estcourt having moved that the Bill should be read that day six months, a long and interesting debate arose. The Bill was supported by Mr. Rice, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Stanley; but the latter Right Honourable Gentleman intimated that, from a recent alteration in the conduct of the Dissenters, who had assumed a new ground, and a more violent tone, in opposition to the Established Church, he was not prepared to advocate their claims with the same zeal which he had expressed when he had some time ago declared his concurrence in the Cambridge petition. The altered position of Mr. Stanley himself gave considerable interest to this announcement of his present views. Mr. Estcourt's amendment was negatived by a large majority.

On Monday the 23d, Mr. Littleton, on moving the recommittal of the Irish Tithes Bill, explained certain alterations which he proposed to make in that measure. They consisted principally in the omission of the provisions for the eventual investment of the revenues of the Church in land. When the Right Honourable Gentleman had sat down, Mr. O'Connell rose, and concluded a long speech by moving the following resolution:—"That after any funds which should be raised in Ireland, in lieu of tithes, had been so appropriated as to provide suitably, considering vested interests and spiritual wants, for the Protestants of the Established Church of Ireland, the surplus

that remained should be appropriated to the purposes of public utility." The motion was resisted by Ministers, and gave rise to an interesting debate, in which the recent explanations of the different Members of the Government in regard to their views as to the appropriation of any surplus revenue that might be discovered to be incumbering the Irish Church, were very freely canvassed. On the division, Mr. O'Connell's resolution was negatived by a majority of 360 to 90.

The House of Lords, which, as already noticed, had, on this evening, thrown out the Bill for the repeal of the Civil Disabilities of the Jews, was engaged on the 24th in discussing, incidentally, the claims of the Dissenters to admission at the Universities; the subject having been introduced by some remarks offered by the Bishop of Llandaff, on presenting a number of petitions against the claims. From the tone of most of the speeches, it may be predicted that the Bill now in the House of Commons, is not likely to be favourably received by their Lordships.

The morning sitting of the House of Commons, this day, was chiefly occupied in the discussion of an amendment, proposed by Sir E. Wilmot, to the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, which was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 32 to 25. In the evening, Mr. Ewart moved, after a short speech, that the duties upon articles the produce of the East Indies, should be reduced to an equality with those levied on the produce of other parts of his Majesty's dominions; but the debate was prevented from proceeding by the House being counted out.

On the 25th, in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor moved, that an address should be presented to his Majesty, praying, that there should be laid before the House the First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the means of forming a Digest of the Criminal Law. His Lordship described the report as one of the ablest and most important documents ever presented to Parliament. The Lord Chancellor afterwards stated, in reply to a question of the Duke of Cumberland, that he hoped to be able to carry his bill respecting the non-residence of the clergy, through the House this session; but that, as to the Pluralities Bill, he thought it would make very little difference whether it was passed at the end of the present session, or early in the next. Viscount Melbourne repeated the intimation, which had been before given by Ministers in the House of Commons, that the Irish Coercion Bill, which will shortly expire, will again be brought forward, with certain modifications. It will be introduced first in the House of Lords.—This evening the greater part of the time of the House of Commons was taken up in considering the Highways Amendment Bill, the clauses of which, amounting to 113 in number, were successively discussed in Committee.

On the 26th, the House resolved itself into a Committee on Mr. Poulter's Sabbath Bill (that designated No. 2) and the several clauses were all passed, though divisions took place on some of them. The Game Law Amendment Bill was thrown out, on the proposition that it should be read a second time, by a majority of 55 to 24. In the latter part of the evening, Mr. Wallace moved an address to his Majesty for the appointment of a Commissioner to inquire into the management of the Post Office and Packet service; but the motion, after a short debate, was negatived without a division. Mr. Thicknesse then brought forward a motion, of which he had given notice, for a new and, as he contended, more equal assessment of the window duty; but afterwards withdrew it. A motion, made by Mr. Hesketh Fleetwood, for a Select Committee to inquire into the appointment and duties of his Majesty's Consuls in foreign states, was also, after a short discussion, withdrawn.

FRANCE.

The French papers have contained few interesting facts, and have been almost entirely devoted to details of the current elections, and to matters connected with the numerous trials for open insurrection and other political offences.

These journals are, with a very few exceptions consisting of papers paid by government, most violent in their abuse of Louis Philippe, and in their animadversions on those who vote for deputies known to be attached to his cause. This, however, does not seem to interfere with the return of a vast majority of moderate men, determined to stand by his throne and prevent any new revolution. The elections that have been already announced show an immense preponderance of decided friends of the present government. A few moderate oppositionists have been returned, one or two absolutists, and three or four republicans.

To judge from the state of the public mind, as compared with the tone of the newspapers, the influence of the French press should seem to be on the decline. The general wish of the nation is for peace at home, and men see, without emotion, the power of the King strengthened beyond the proper constitutional degree, hoping that so he may be able to crush the *Mouvement* party for ever.

Since the fearful tragedy at Lyons, and the *émeute* at Paris, in April, the tranquillity of the country has suffered no serious disturbance.

The evil spirit of the Trades' Unions has, however, been again at its mischievous work, the journeymen dyers of Lyons having entered into a fresh combination against their masters. The woful ignorance of these men—their utter blindness to their own true interests, and the recklessness with which they seem always ready to venture life and limb on what is only a mistake in political economy, threaten the second city in France with ruin. The orderly part of the workmen are continually leaving Lyons to seek employment for their industry in less turbulent places; and if the present spirit prevails much longer, her commerce will be wholly transferred elsewhere.

We rejoice to see that an increased and increasing liberality of view, in relation to the free-trade system, obtains in Louis Philippe's cabinet. By an ordonnance, published in the 'Moniteur' on the 3rd of June, old prohibitions on the import and export of certain commodities are entirely removed, and moderate duties on the imports fixed in their stead. The tonnage duties, levied on foreign ships in French ports, are also reduced. Cotton yarn, or twist, is free of entrance, on payment of a reduced duty. Chain-cable, another great article of British manufacture, is to be admitted, at the same rate of duty as is paid for unwrought iron bars of the smallest size.

The most important part of this document, however, is the plain assertion, made by the Minister of Commerce, that this removal of prohibition is only a step towards free trade. In the report which introduced the ordonnance, it is said, "Our navy will no longer be deprived of the powerful advantage of the best iron cables that are made. If the duty imposed on the importation of these cables appears too high, it is so *because we must not pass without precaution from entire prohibition to free entry: and, moreover, the prohibition being once abolished, the duty can be settled, at any future time, in accordance with the advantages of trade.*"

The adoption of views and measures like these does more real honour to France than any of the battles in her splendid register 'Des Victoires et Conquêtes.'

We are encouraged to hope, that the visit to England of M. Dupin, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and his friendly intercourse with the best of our public men, will not fail in producing effects beneficial to both countries. In the meantime, it affords us great pleasure to remark that this observant and able gentleman has been much struck by the general good condition and conduct of our people.

Lucien Bonaparte has put forth, in London, an address to 'The French citizens, and members of the electoral colleges' in France. He begins by demanding justice, and the revocation of the sentence that proscribes all his family—he calls that friend to liberty, his brother Napoleon, "the man of the people"—he attempts to show that France has lost, instead of gaining, by the substitution of Louis Philippe for Charles X.—he deplores the wounds inflicted upon freedom—the anarchy that prevails in France, and then proposes, as a cure for all evils, the immediate recall of the Bonapartes, who, he affirms, will unite with the true patriots attached to the ancient dynasty, the republicans of the convention, the directory, and the consulate, the heroes of the empire, and, in short, with all the good men of old and young France, in labouring to obtain the blessings of liberty and good government. According to Lucien, the only government good for France is a republic.

This curious document appeared among the advertisements of the 'Morning Herald' of June 5th.

PORTUGAL.

It is with great pleasure we announce something like 'the beginning of the end' of the unnatural contest that has so long desolated this unhappy country. Santarem, so long the strong-hold of the Miguelites, surrendered to the Pedroite army. After that event Don Miguel attempted to retreat upon Elvas; but his diminished forces were weakened by disease, and thinned by the rapid desertion of those who now considered his cause desperate. Moreover, by quick and well-concerted movements, he was pressed by Marshal Saldanha on one flank and by the Duke of Terceira on the other. After some fighting, he was completely hemmed in and brought to bay at Evora. But his own personal valour never appears to have been great—he dreaded the unequal conflict, and proposed an armistice to Saldanha. The Marshal consented to suspend military operations until he should receive instructions from Don Pedro's government at Lisbon. When those instructions arrived, they severely censured the forbearance of Saldanha in allowing the Miguelites an hour's delay, and rejected the proposed truce. Before Saldanha could move his troops to the attack, Don Miguel capitulated on such terms as he could procure. The personal preservation of himself and his followers was the first clause. He and his suite were to be allowed unmolestedly to quit the kingdom, and go on board an English, French, or Spanish ship, for any port in Europe he might choose. All his honours, as a prince of the blood, were to be secured to him, as also an annual income from Portugal of about 12,000*l.* sterling. The officers, and others who accompanied him, were to be permitted freely to dispose of their property in the kingdom.

The conditions attached to these concessions were—first, that Don Miguel should surrender to his niece, Donna Maria, all the crown jewels:—(these jewels were once the most valuable in the world, but it seems more than probable that the collection has been reduced during the Prince's straits for money); second, that he should rid the country of his presence within six days; and third, that he should solemnly declare that he would never return to any part of the Portuguese dominions, or of the Spanish provinces, nor in any way concur in disturbing the tranquillity of the Peninsula. When these terms were made known at Lisbon, they excited great dissatisfaction, as a very general feeling prevailed in that city that Don Miguel was treated with too much leniency. One party would have had him brought to trial to answer for his misdeeds and the loss of thousands of Portuguese lives; and another, more moderate, would have had him so secured as to render him incapable of doing future mischief. It was urged, with some reason, that no reliance could be placed on his word or oath, and tha this ambitious, intriguing disposition was incorrigible.

On the night of the 27th of May, when Lisbon was illuminated, and Don Pedro and his family went in state to the Opera House, the more violent of the anti-Miguelites enacted a very disgraceful scene, and gave occasion to one of those ebullitions of temper and undignified displays for which the ex-Emperor seems to be unfortunately distinguished. Cries that Miguel ought to be put to death—that those who spared him and sent him where he could prepare new plots, or at least revel in wealth and luxury, were traitors to the country, echoed through the house. A party of young men, who are described as being persons of condition, forced themselves into a box close to the royal one, and called for the democratical hymn of 1820, instead of the constitutional hymn of 1826. On this the Emperor came to the front of the royal box, and begged they would forbear, as the Queen was present. His interference only increased the tumult. Don Pedro then sternly addressed the rioters, telling them that they must respect the laws and good order—that if they did not, he would make them; and, getting into a passion as he went on, he let drop the unroyal word of *canailla*, or blackguards. Confusion was then at its height, for while some of the audience cried 'Long live the laws! Long live Pedro the Liberator! Long live the father of our Queen!' the rioters, exasperated at the term *canailla*, shouted 'Down with the Tyrant!' &c. &c. The young Queen, terrified at the noise and the rage of her father, burst into tears. At last the military governor of Lisbon turned the rioters out of the boxes, and tolerable tranquillity was restored. The mob, however, is said to have hooted the royal party as they retired homeward in their carriages.

Such was the decent, dignified manner, in which the final triumph over Don Miguel was celebrated at the capital of Portugal.

We would have spared our readers such offensive details, but that they give an insight into the character of Don Pedro and of certain of the ultra-liberal parties.

On the 31st of May, Don Miguel embarked on board a British man-of-war for Genoa, being naturally disinclined to re-visit England. It is said he intends honouring Rome with his residence.

On the same day the government 'Chronica' notified the elevation of Saldanha to the rank of a Marquis, with a pension so enormous for a country like Portugal, that we fancy the amount will never be paid; it also declared Terceira to be a relation-duke (Duque Parente), or of the blood royal; but this family adoption was made subject to the approbation of the Cortes when they shall be assembled.

The prize-money for the Miguelite squadron captured by the brave Napier has been fixed at 115,000*l.*, and the shares are supposed to be paid to the officers and men (nearly all English) by this time. As the navy is no longer wanted, the foreigners will be dismissed, and only a few vessels re-commissioned by Portuguese officers and seamen.

A Royal decree has abolished all the privileges and monopolies of the Oporto Wine Company; henceforward the cultivators may sell their grapes or their wine to whom they please, and at whatever price they can obtain. This is a wise measure, and like everything that sets trade more free, must produce beneficial effects; but there is another decree of greater magnitude and of more questionable merit, namely, one that suppresses all the regular orders of monks in the kingdom. We, indeed, doubt not only the policy, but the justice of this sudden sweeping measure; and, at all events, such a measure should not be passed, in a country claiming to be constitutional, by the absolute decree of a Regent, signed only by himself and one of his ministers and creatures. If ever there was a subject that ought to have been discussed by the national Cortes, it was this.

We subjoin the substance of the decree, reserving for an early occasion some remarks on the effects it is likely to produce:—

"Art. I. All convents, monasteries, colleges, hospices, and establishments whatsoever, of monks of the regular orders, in Portugal, Algarve, the adjacent islands, and Portuguese dominions, whatever may be their denominations, institution, and rules, are henceforth extinguished.

"Art. II. All the estates of these convents, &c., are incorporated with the national domains.

"Art. III. The sacred utensils and ornaments employed in the divine service are placed at the disposal of the respective ordinaries, to be distributed among the churches of their dioceses which have most need of them.

"Art. IV. Each of the monks of the suppressed convents, &c., shall receive an annual pension for his support, unless he receives an equal or greater income from a benefice or public employment. The following are excepted:—

"'*a.* Those who took arms against the legitimate throne, or against the national liberty.

"'*b.* Those who abused their ministry in the confessional or the pulpit, in favour of the usurpation.

"'*c.* Those who accepted benefices or public employment from the government of the Usurper.

"'*d.* Those who denounced or directly persecuted their fellow-citizens for their fidelity to the legitimate throne and the Constitutional Charter.

"'*e.* Those who accompanied the troops of the Usurper.

"'*f.* Those who, on the re-establishment of the authority of the Queen, or since, in the districts in which they resided, abandoned their servants, monasteries, &c.'

"Art. V. All laws and ordinances to the contrary are abolished. The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice is charged with the execution of the decree.

"D. Pedro, Duke of Braganza.

"Joaquim Antonio D'Aguiar.

"Palace da Necessidades, 28th May, 1834."

Many Miguelites have returned to Lisbon, since the

Don's departure, relying on the pledged word of Don Pedro that they should not be molested. The mob of the town have, however, killed some ten or a dozen of them in cold blood. Two of the murdered men were monks, and it is said they were all individuals who had made themselves obnoxious during Miguel's harsh rule. Government has issued an earnest order to the proper authorities, to prevent the recurrence of these inhuman, disgraceful scenes, and has also made an appeal to the good feelings of the Portuguese, praying them to forget all past differences, and to consider each other as members of one great family. With the fierce passions and uneducated minds that belong to so large a portion of that nation, we fear that it will be long before this appeal is listened to. We hope, however, for the sake of humanity, and the honour of the badge they wear, that the constitutionalists will not be hurried on, by the spirit of re-action and revenge, to anything approaching the cruelties, spoliations, and other severities, exercised by the now overthrown Miguelite faction in their day of triumph and power.

SPAIN.

The entire ruin of Don Miguel's affairs, in Portugal, has relieved Spain from the dangerous presence, or neighbourhood, of the absolute pretender, Don Carlos. That prince, with his family and a numerous retinue, fled for refuge to a British man-of war, 'The Donegal,' which safely landed them at Portsmouth on the 18th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. It is said that the expatriated prince intends taking up his abode in the neighbourhood of London; but we suppose England will only be his temporary asylum.

It is not yet known how far his departure from the Peninsula will affect the spirits and hopes of his partisans and the insurgents in the north of Spain. Some assertions are abroad, that the event was long expected, that a proclamation entreated his followers not to despair, but to continue to organize themselves, and that he (Don Carlos), their lawful king, would soon be in the midst of them. We are confirmed in the opinion we expressed some months since, that he is deficient in boldness and decision of character, and is not a man to carve his way to a throne through great difficulties.

We fear, however, his desperate party will prolong the struggle, and keep a considerable tract of the Spanish kingdom plunged in the horrors of civil warfare. The insurgent army, in the north, is estimated as high as 20,000 infantry, and 1000 cavalry; but this force is much scattered. The recent conflicts, which have been sanguinary, though on the small scale of partisan warfare, are said to have mostly terminated in their favour. The Queen is, however, now much strengthened, by the return from Portugal (where his services were no longer necessary to the constitutionalists) of General Rodil, with a fine *corps d'armée*, cheered by recent success, and stated to be devoted to her cause. This is one positive and great advantage that has resulted from the discomfiture of Don Miguel.

The convocation of the Cortes has been fixed, by a royal decree, for the 24th of July next, or a month later than was contemplated when we last wrote.

This decree, which was published in the Government Gazette, on the 24th of May, provides that an electoral junta shall be assembled, in each department, on the 20th of June, then to nominate two electors by ballot, which electors shall proceed to the capital town of their respective provinces, and select the stipulated number of deputies for the Cortes.

The recent proceedings of the Queen Regent's government seem to us to have been cautious and wisely moderate. The ultra-liberal and impatient party, who would do what must be the work of years in a day, would ruin the country, and the cause of rational liberty in it, were they permitted to guide affairs.

A decree, appointing a censorship over the press, has caused some discontent; but another, conveying a remodelled amnesty for all political offenders, without any exception or reservation whatever, has given unalloyed satisfaction to the constitutionalists.

The envoys of the northern courts have all left Madrid, in disgust, it is said, with the liberal line of conduct pursued by the Spanish court and ministry. The only ambassadors or ministers that remain are the English, French, Portuguese, and Neapolitan. According to the latest news M. Martinez de la Rosa is to be the Speaker or President of the new Chamber of the Cortes, and his present post, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, is to be filled by the President of the Chamber of the Council of Castile.

The Queen Regent's government is about to enforce with great rigour a law passed against secret societies. It appears that in spite of the vigilance of the police, these conclaves meet in Madrid and most of the great cities, and correspond with each other. They include a variety of political associations, but the most active of them appear to be an ultra-liberal club, after the fashion of the Italian Carbonari, and an ultra-royalist Carlist association, which may be compared to the Caldarari of Naples, the secret society created by the notorious Prince of Canosa, to counteract the Carbonari. The members of these associations are bound to secrecy by solemn oaths, and undergo a long, formal initiation. The Spaniards may be more true to their oaths, but in Italy the governments became regularly acquainted with all that passed in the Carbonari *vendite*, through sworn members of the society, who were paid for that purpose. The quadripartite treaty mentioned in our last Retrospect as having been concluded between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, has been laid before the public. It relates wholly to the pacification of the two Peninsular kingdoms, and is introduced by the following preamble:—

"Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, during the minority of her daughter, Isabella II., Queen of Spain, and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarves, in the name of Donna Maria II.:—

"Perfectly convinced that the interest and safety of the two crowns require the vigorous and immediate employment of reciprocal efforts to put an end to hostilities, which, having been at first directed to the overthrow of the throne of her Portuguese Majesty, now afford support and protection to the discontented subjects of Spain, their said Majesties, desirous at the same time of providing the means necessary for re-establishing peace and internal happiness, and of fixing the future prospects of the two countries upon a solid and reciprocal basis, have agreed to unite their forces, with a view to compel the Infante Don Carlos of Spain, and the Infante Don Miguel of Portugal, to quit the domains of the latter kingdom.

"In pursuance of these conventions, their Majesties the Regents have applied to their Majesties the King of the French and the King of Great Britain and Ireland. These two last Princes, considering the interest they ought always to take in the safety of the Spanish monarchy, and animated by the most ardent desire to contribute to the establishment of peace in the Peninsula as well as in Europe; and his Britannic Majesty, considering besides, the special obligations which emanate from his ancient alliance with Portugal, have consented to act as parties to the said treaty.

"To this effect their Majesties have appointed their Plenipotentiaries in the following order:—

(The names of Florida Blanca for Spain, Talleyrand for France, Palmerston for England, and Moraes-Sarmento, are then introduced).

The following are the articles agreed upon by these Plenipotentiaries:—

"Art. I. His Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, in the name of Queen Donna Maria II., engages to put in action all the means in his power to drive the Infante Don Carlos from the Portuguese dominions.

"2. Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, on the application and request of his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, having, besides, very just and very serious grounds of reproach against the Infante Don Miguel for the support he has afforded the Infante Don Carlos of Spain, engages herself to send into the Portuguese territory a sufficient number of Spanish troops to co-operate with those of his Imperial Majesty in compelling Don Carlos of Spain and Don Miguel to quit the Portuguese territory; the Queen of Spain engaging, moreover, to support, on her own account, and without any charge upon Portugal, the Spanish troops, which shall everywhere be received and treated in the same manner as the troops of his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza. And her Majesty engages to withdraw her troops from Portugal immediately after the expulsion

of the two Infantes shall be accomplished, and when the presence of these troops shall be no longer required by her Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal.

" 3. His Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to co-operate, by employing a naval force to second the operations and other measures rendered necessary by this treaty.

" 4. In case the co-operation of France shall be deemed necessary by the high contracting parties, his Majesty the King of the French engages to do all which his august allies shall in common accord determine upon.

" 5. The high contracting Powers have agreed that, in consequence of the terms of the preceding articles, a declaration shall be immediately issued, announcing to the Portuguese nation the principles and object of the present treaty; and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, animated with a sincere desire of effacing all remembrance of the past, and of rallying around the throne of his daughter the whole nation, declares his intention of publishing a general and complete amnesty in favour of all the subjects of her Most Faithful Majesty who shall, within a time to be fixed, return to their allegiance. And the said Regent also declares it to be his intention to ensure to the Infante Don Miguel, as soon as he shall have left the Portuguese and Spanish territories, an income suitable to his rank and birth.

" 6. Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, by this present article, declares her intention to ensure to the Infante Don Carlos, as soon as he shall have left the Portuguese and Spanish territories, an income suitable to his rank and birth.

" 7. This present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at London in a month, or sooner if possible."

The treaty is dated London, the 22nd day of April, 1834. According to some French writers, this treaty has ceased almost as soon as it was ratified, the departure from the Peninsula of both the pretenders rendering its provisions unnecessary. But, in fact, the pacification contemplated by the contracting parties is not yet accomplished. A great part of the north of Spain is still in arms, and the Carlist Chief, Zumalacarreguy, seems to be as bold and confident as ever.

GERMANY.

An event has occurred, which has excited less interest than we could have expected. The troops of the Emperor of Austria have taken possession of the free town of Francfort. That city had been the scene of some disturbances, arising out of differences of political opinions among its inhabitants; but these commotions were scarcely sufficiently serious to call for any armed interference; nor does it appear, from any article of existing treaties, that Austria had any right so to interfere.

The city of Francfort has issued a protest to this effect. Some of the papers published there have expressed an alarm lest the independence of Francfort should be annihilated, and the city incorporated with some neighbouring state. These fears are allayed, in some minds, by an assurance that Prince Metternich declared to its representative, at the Congress of Vienna, that the independence of Francfort should be respected. The advocates of the recent trade league, and of the formation of a general system for the Germanic body, are, however, constantly talking of the necessity of "simplifying that body, by consolidating the smaller states." In carrying such a system into execution, we may reasonably apprehend that the rights and inclinations of the "smaller states" may not be allowed sufficient weight.

The Austrian Government has been negociating with Prince Milosch, on the truly important subject of the navigation of the Danube, or of that part of the river that runs through Servia.

The Congress assembled at Vienna has, we suppose, closed its labours, for it was announced that the last protocols were to be signed on the 12th of June. Some of the latter sittings of the Congress were very protracted; and as it is reported that the particular resolutions adopted at them will be made public at Francfort, they probably relate to the occupation of that city, and the fate reserved for it. The Luxembourg question, which is known to have occupied part of the time of the diplomatists, is supposed to be left just where they found it, no definitive arrangement being agreed upon.

M. Ancillon has been arranging, for Prussia, the differences that exist, relative to the frontier line between her duchy of Silesia and the kingdom of Poland. The Russian government, it should appear, is disposed to be liberal to Prussia in this respect. It is supposed that many similar differences, as to territory and lines of demarcation that exist within Germany—that country of many governments—have been put in a train for arrangement during the sitting of the Vienna Congress. By next month we may probably have something more than conjectures to offer on the decisions of this close body.

EGYPT.

We have received, in a letter from a friend at Cairo, a few interesting details of the improvements making by Mehemet Ali, and the general aspect of things in Egypt.

The Pacha has accomplished many works of important utility, and is projecting others. The two branches of the Nile which inclose the Delta are to flow under two bridges, which are to be connected with each other, and with Suez on the Red Sea on the one side, and with Alexandria on the Mediterranean on the other, by means of a railroad. Our correspondent, however, regrets that the construction of these bridges, which will have to withstand the tremendous tide of the inundation, and which occasionally must be closed by flood-gates, so as to retain the water above them sufficiently high to fill the canals by which the Delta and the adjacent provinces are irrigated, is committed to persons who have had very little practice in architecture. Each of these bridges is to be built in the neck of a peninsula, formed by a bend of the river; a new bed for the river is then to be cut across the isthmus, and the old bed round the peninsula is to be filled up.

Our friend, while admitting that the country is in some respects improved—that during the last nine years civilization has made rapid strides in certain quarters—and that the manners and customs of the higher orders, particularly of the persons connected with government, have become more and more assimilated to those of Christendom, regrets, on the other hand, that the government has become more and more oppressive, and that the misery and the crimes of the lower classes have increased in proportion with that oppression.

The accounts which have lately appeared from time to time in the English and other newspapers, and which have represented the whole of Egypt, and the masses of its population, as being in the most flourishing condition, he accuses of gross exaggeration. He says that the peasantry—that the people, properly so called—are reduced to a degree of misery that can scarcely be conceived by those who have not seen it with their own eyes. We are emboldened, by the reports of several other English travellers who have lately visited Egypt, to assert that our friend's picture of distress is a correct one. The Pacha's officers, both civil and military, his numerous commercial agents (for Mehemet Ali, correctly speaking, is the only merchant in the land of Egypt), the many Europeans he has employed to carry on his internal improvements, and the others who either directly or indirectly act as factors for the sale of his produce in the markets of Christendom, live in a prosperous, and, in some instances, even a splendid manner. His troops are also well equipped, and generally decently maintained; but the aspect of prosperity does not extend beyond these limits. All the rest of the population of Egypt seem sunk into one common condition of wretchedness.

The native labourers, who are called Fellahs (a term answering to our old word *villanus*, and which is almost equivalent to villain as a term of reproach), are not, it is true, subjected to such various and frequent caprices of tyranny, as they were under the Beys and the Mamelukes; but they are crushed by one steady, unvarying load of oppression, which is only slower in its operations, and just as sure to end in utter exhaustion and impoverishment.

There is one great fact, not to mention many minor ones, which is altogether opposed to our notions of a country's prosperity, and which seems to have escaped the attention of those who have devoted themselves to the task of praising the enlightened government of Mehemet Ali. It is simply this: the Pacha has established the

very worst kind of monopoly all over Egypt. The farmer who produces corn or rice, must sell all above a certain modicum to the government, and *at a price fixed by the Pacha himself.* It is the same with cotton; it is the same with every species of produce that is sufficiently important to figure in Mehemet Ali's list of exports. As long as this abominable system prevails—but it must in time kill itself—as long as government absorbs everything, though by means of disciplined armies it may keep Egypt, Nubia, and Syria tranquil—though it may cut canals, throw bridges across them, and connect them by railroads—though it may civilize some few hundreds of selected youths, and do sundry other things, it can never render those countries truly flourishing, nor effect what ought to be the end of all government—real civilization.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

January 9. Calcutta papers of this date bring the melancholy information of the loss of the 'Lady Monro,' bound from Calcutta to Madras and Sydney. The vessel, in addition to a valuable cargo, had, at the time of the fatal catastrophe, upwards of ninety persons on board, only twenty of whom were saved. The individuals who survive the loss of the vessel are J. M'Cosk, Esq., of the Bengal infantry, one convict, and eighteen Lascars. Of the seventy-six persons who perished, nine were European convicts, four European servants, nine native servants, and twenty-four Lascars; the remainder were European ladies, gentlemen, and children.

May 9. The Ottoman Moniteur of this date contains a firman of the sultan for the organization of a new Turkish militia, for the purpose of providing, in case of war, a sufficient body of disciplined troops for the defence of the vast territories of the empire, and garrisoning the frontier fortresses, without in the mean time withdrawing from agriculture, trade, and the other branches of industry, too many hands, whereby the country would be impoverished, and the revenues of the state be diminished. The Seraskier Pacha has been commanded to make, without delay, all the necessary preparations for organizing this new militia or national guard, which is to be distinguished by the denomination of Redifii-asakiri-mansoueri-Mouhammedige. It is not to be constantly embodied, but to be assembled from time to time to receive instruction in military discipline and manœuvres, and in the use of arms, so that in times of war there may be a sufficient force to join the regular troops in defence of the empire, when they will be clothed, fed, and lodged, and receive the same pay. This new system will, without interfering with the progress of the industry of the country, obviate the disastrous consequences hitherto arising from a precipitate calling of numerous bodies of men to take up arms, without examining whether they are young or old, fit or unfit for military service, and without their being acquainted with the use of arms.

23. This was the day appointed for the celebration of the completion of that gigantic undertaking, the Nene Outfall Cut; and at the same time it was determined to present a handsome piece of plate to Tycho Wing, Esq., through whose exertions the work has proceeded and been successfully finished. The plan was laid down by Mr. Rennie, who reported, in the year 1814, his opinion of the best direction of the cut, and the result has been to render the drainage complete, and to scour out the Wisbeach river so effectually that vessels of 250 tons burthen can now ship goods at Wisbeach, where, but a few years back, none but vessels of less than 60 tons could penetrate. Nearly 1500 acres of marsh land have been embanked from the sea, and are now nearly all of them in cultivation, and about 6000 acres more are rapidly becoming fit for inclosure. In consequence of the more rapid discharge of the upland floods through the Nene Outfall, the danger of inundation by a breach of bank is incalculably diminished to the fens on each side of the river Nene, between Peterborough and Wisbeach. The value and security of the lands in Moreton's Leam Wash, containing about 3500 acres, and even of the upland meadows beyond Peterborough, is much increased, for the purposes of summer grazing or mowing. The north level, containing 48,000 acres, and situate in the contiguous parts of the counties of Cambridge, Northampton and Lincoln, is the first great division of the fens which has proceeded to avail itself of the advantages thus placed within its reach. The expense of executing the Nene Outfall has been about 200,000*l.*, that of the north level drains about 150,000*l.* The present Duke of Bedford has been the great patron and promoter of both undertakings.

24. The 'Ami de la Charte' of Nantes states, that on this evening that town was visited by a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, which did immense damage, the extent of which could not be easily ascertained or calculated. It raged also in many of the surrounding communes, entirely destroying the fruits, and greatly damaging the other productions of the earth, breaking innumerable panes of glass, and throwing down walls and buildings. At Rézé, in particular, a large manufactory was carried away, and a great many men narrowly escaped perishing. We do not, however, find that any lives have been lost. One hailstone was taken up which was found to weigh between four and a half and five ounces.

25. Upwards of thirty families at Axminster were deprived of their homes by the destruction, through fire, of a long range of houses near the church. This calamity occurred during divine service, and has occasioned very considerable distress. The fire broke out in a baker's house, by which that and twenty other houses were destroyed. Fortunately the wind was in a favourable quarter, or it is apprehended that full half of the town would have been consumed.

June 2. At the Salford intermediate sessions, on Monday, twelve men and lads were tried for the riotous attack on Mr. Thompson's premises at Oldham, when eight of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, varying from six to eighteen months, and four of them were acquitted. At the same sessions, Daniel Brierly and James Taylor (trades' unionists) pleaded guilty to an indictment charging them with having, together with other persons unknown, entered into a conspiracy for the purpose of administering unlawful oaths, and were ordered to enter into their own recognizances of 50*l.* each to abide the judgment of the court when called upon.

4. The 'Echo de Rouen' states, that several villages of the canton of Boos having been lately annoyed by the presence of wolves, a hue-and-cry took place on Sunday in a wood contiguous to the commune of Yonarve, the result of which was the discovery of seven cubs about a month old, which were taken and destroyed, but no full-grown animal was met with. It is supposed that the father and mother of the litter took to flight on hearing the pursuers approach.

5. This morning, at an early hour, a considerable number of workmen, principally consisting of excavators, were put into employ by the surveyors and contractors who are engaged in the intended railroad, to be termed the London and Birmingham one, which will commence from the Hampstead-road, Camden-town, close to the bridge over the Regent's Canal, and will pass within about one hundred yards of the gardens of Chalk Farm Tavern. The road will then incline to the right, leaving Primrose Hill on the left, which is entirely avoided, and afterwards proceed through the farms of Messrs. Rhodes, Wilberforce, and Balkus, until it arrives at Kilburn Wells Tea Gardens, Edgeware-road. The carriage road in the Edgeware-road, Kilburn, as well as the new north one, will be arched, and supported by twelve substantial arches. The works will be carried on at the same time in various parts. The ground for the intended railroad is being railed off through the fields to Kilburn by strong wooden fencing. An immense number of implements, consisting of wheelbarrows, new planks, and every description of articles used by excavators, have arrived for the undertaking. A number of tall powerful countrymen have been engaged as excavators. The length of time before it is completed, it is understood, will be four years.

7. As some labourers in the employ of the Rev. E. Goddard, of Cliffe Pypyard, were removing earth on the summit of the hill forming the north boundary of Broad Town Fields, they discovered, a few inches below the surface of the soil, some human skeletons of gigantic stature. By removing the earth with great care the workmen were enabled to expose the skeletons to perfect view. They were lying with the feet towards the east, but the skulls and several bones of each appear to have been fractured. A surgeon of the neighbourhood was of opinion, from the mouldering appearance of the bones, that they were of great antiquity. The place where they were found is contiguous to a Roman station, where other skeletons have heretofore been discovered, with several ancient weapons or implements of warfare buried with them. An iron point of an arrow was also found on this occasion near one of the skeletons. Such was the curiosity excited by the discovery, that crowds of persons visited the spot on the following day, and although care had been taken to cover up again these relicts of mortality, the earth was removed by some of the visiters, the skeletons disturbed, and most of the bones have since been taken away.—*Devizes Gazette.*

9. In pursuance of a notice circulated round the metropolis, calling a public meeting to be held at five o'clock on Monday, at the National Exchange Bazaar, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, of the trades' unions and their friends, to take into consideration the cause of the industrious classes, in consequence of the new position in which they are placed by the declaration of the master tailors and manufacturers over the kingdom not to employ any unionists, a vast number of mechanics of various grades collected; but it was not until half-past six that the chair was taken by a delegate of the name of Goldspink, who addressed the meeting, enjoining them to act peaceably, when Mr. Owen proposed a string of resolutions indicative of the feelings of the working classes respecting the conduct of certain workmen, who, the first speaker said, had signed away their birthright in consequence of their poverty, and concluded by stating that it was their

intention to call a grand meeting of all classes throughout England on a day hereafter to be fixed, to take into consideration their oppressed and starving condition. The resolutions were put *seriatim*, and, after considerable debate, carried unanimously, when the meeting separated.

10. *Tuesday.*—This being the day appointed for the ceremony of the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the city presented considerable animation and bustle at an early hour. The Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Cumberland, and several illustrious and distinguished personages arrived on Monday. A little before eleven o'clock, a long procession, with the Duke in his robes of office, set out from University College, and advanced up the High Street, which was crowded with spectators, and then turning down by St. Mary's Church, by the side of which a scaffold had been erected for the accommodation of the visiters desirous of seeing the procession, proceeded to the theatre. The splendour of the dresses (among which the noblemen's, richly laced with gold bars, and the habits of the heads of houses, being scarlet with black velvet sleeves, were highly conspicuous) made it a very gay scene, and the cheering with which it was accompanied gave it additional interest. In the theatre cheers were given for the Duke of Wellington, and three more for his Grace as Chancellor; the name of Earl Grey was received with disapprobation; that of the Lord Chancellor with a few cheers; and the bishops with almost appalling shouts. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Wynford, and Lord Lyndhurst, were received with applause. Shortly after eleven o'clock the procession entered the theatre, the Duke dressed in his splendid robes as Chancellor, and the Vice-Chancellor and doctors in their robes of office. The noblemen who followed wore military or naval uniforms. In the Duke's train came the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Montagu, Lord Apsley, Lord Hill, Lord Mahon, Sir G. Murray, Sir H. Hardinge, Sir T. Acland, Sir R. Inglis, Mr. Estcourt, Sir C. Wetherell, Drs. Burton, Fox, and Rowley, and a number of heads of houses. There were eleven members of the Episcopal Bench present, among whom were the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh; the Bishops of Oxford, Worcester, Exeter, Gloucester, Llandaff, and Barbadoes. When the cheering had subsided into silence, the Duke of Wellington, as Chancellor, opened the business of the Convocation in a short Latin speech, by stating that it was convened to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws, *Honoris causâ*, upon several individuals of rank and distinction whom he named. The names of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Newcastle, the Earls of Winchelsea, and Sir J. Scarlett, were received with thunders of applause. After the Chancellor had gone through the list once, he went through it a second time, and after each name on proposing the admission, said, "Placetne vobis Domini Doctores, placetne vobis Magistri?" The Convocation replied with one voice—"Placet." This ceremony over, Dr. Phillimore, as Professor of Civil Law, presented the incepting doctors. The new-made doctors then took their seats amid the cheers of the audience, and the public orator delivered the Creweian Oration. There were several very well-turned compliments in it to the Duke of Wellington, an eulogium on the Duke of Cumberland, and also a panegyric on the bishops. After this oration was concluded, the Latin poem which gained the Chancellor's medal this year, was recited by its author, Mr. Kensington, of Trinity College. The subject is—"Cicero ab exilio redux Romam ingreditur." It was received with great applause. Then Mr. Anstice, late student of Christ Church, and now the Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, London, delivered his Prize Essay "on the influence of the Roman conquests upon literature and the arts in Rome." At its close, the Chancellor, who spoke his Latin orations with much emphasis, terminated the proceedings of the Convocation by declaring "Dissolvimus hanc Convocationem." The procession returned to University College, and, on their arrival at the college, the different members who formed the procession took leave of his Grace, and separated for the colleges to which they belonged or were invited. In the afternoon the concert in the theatre was attended by a host of ladies, gownsmen, and strangers. The Duke was present for a short time, and was again received with enthusiastic cheers, which were repeated on his departure. It was half past seven when the assembly dispersed, and thus closed the business and interest of the installation day.

Wednesday.—At eleven o'clock the Duke proceeded in his state carriage to the Clarendon Printing House, and thence entered the theatre, followed by the visiters of distinction, bishops, heads of houses, proctors, &c. The under-graduates, as on the preceding day, called out the names of various heads of the government and the High Church party, most of the former of which were received with hisses and groans, and the latter with acclamations. The Chancellor opened the Convocation, by stating that it was called for the purpose of conferring honorary degrees on several noblemen and gentlemen whom he named. The University having signified its assent to the proposition of conferring these degrees upon them, Dr. Phillimore proceeded as before to present them to the acceptance of the Chancellor; and in so doing he made a Latin speech in their praise. When Lord Encombe was presented, Lord Eldon was much affected, and shed tears of joy at the honour conferred on his grandson. The Installation Ode was then performed, set to music by Dr. Crotch, Professor of Music to the University. It is described as calculated to increase the reputation already acquired by that eminent musician. After the Ode, Mr. Scott of Christ Church recited the Chancellor's Prize Essay in Latin, which was much applauded. Sir R. Newdigate's English Verse Prize had been gained by Mr. Arnold of Wadham, who also read his composition from the rostrum with immense effect. The subject is, 'The Hospice of St. Bernard,' and the poem was much applauded. Several other complimentary odes upon the Duke's achievements were also recited. The Convocation was then dissolved. There was afterwards a concert, which commenced at four o'clock and lasted till eight. A ball at the Star Inn concluded the amusements of the second day.

Thursday.—This morning the Bishop of Oxford preached in St. Mary's Church, for the benefit of the Radcliffe Infirmary, before the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and the noblemen and gentlemen recently made doctors. The edifice was crowded to repletion, and the heat so overpowering that many were obliged to leave before the sermon was finished. The concert in the theatre at three o'clock was attended for a short time by the Dukes of Wellington and Cumberland, who retired with the Chancellor's suite to dine with the President and Fellows of St. John's College.

10. The Betsey arrived at Liverpool on Tuesday last, with a cargo of tea (nearly 2200 chests) from Dantzic. This is the first cargo of tea imported into Liverpool, and it is consigned to Messrs. Rathbone, Brothers, and Co. It is imported under the new act, which says that tea may be imported into any port of Great Britain and Ireland from a port or place to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Dantzic is fifteen miles to the eastward of the Cape, and some enterprising merchant has availed himself of the permission of the act to import tea from the Baltic. The arrival of the first cargo of tea excited quite a sensation on the Liverpool Exchange. It has been since stated, however, that the tea has been seized on the ground that the act specifies east of the Cape with certain qualifications, and that Dantzic does not come within them.

12. On this day, pursuant to annual custom, the children belonging to the different charity schools of the metropolis, and the surrounding districts, attended divine worship at St. Paul's cathedral. The number of children, both male and female, ranged round upon the vast decagon under the dome, could not be less than from 8000 to 10,000; and it was computed that the whole assemblage within the walls of the sacred edifice comprised about 15,000 souls. The Bishop of Chester preached upon the occasion, taking for his text the 13th chap. of Matthew, 38th verse. "The good seed are the children of the kingdom, the tares are the children of the wicked."

13. The 'Leeds Mercury' thus narrates the progress of the Leeds Trades' Union towards that complete dissolution which took place this day:—On Monday, the unionists assembled, as usual, on Hunslet Moor, abused the masters, the 'Leeds Mercury' and its correspondents, and resolved never to sign the declaration. Tuesday, the pay-day, however, produced a great change of tone. A small sum of money being in hand, the committee paid those of the men whose secession they most feared, 2*s.* 6*d.* each, including the men who had been in the employ of Messrs. Sheepshanks and Co., though these had only been standing a week; while the poor fellows who had been out a month, including a great majority of the whole, received not a farthing. What followed is characteristic: the men who had got paid were the first to run and sign the declaration renouncing the Union, and Messrs. Sheepshanks soon had their mill full of hands. Another meeting took place on Hunslet Moor on the Wednesday, but the rain, and the cause still more damping, reduced the attendance to a few hundreds. Still there were big words; and a declaration, vowing inviolable attachment to the Unions, whatever might be the consequences to the masters, was agreed upon. But when signing was talked about, the men ran and signed the wrong document—namely, that renouncing the Union! In short, on Wednesday, Thursday, and yesterday, there was a race among the applicants at the mills; and we regret to say, great numbers who applied for work will not be able to obtain it, owing to the depressed state of trade, and to the numbers from other trades and other places who have been taken into the mills during the strike. About forty-five mills and dressing shops have been standing, but nearly all are now at work again. The masters having completely triumphed, we trust they will use their victory generously, and not suffer the slightest feeling of resentment towards a class, or towards individuals, to sully it.

14. The pole of the Criterion, Brighton coach, broke this afternoon when passing over London bridge, in consequence of the coachman suddenly pulling up to avoid running over a person on horseback, who was crossing before the leaders. The horses became unmanageable, and set off at full speed. The injudicious attempts of persons in the road to stop them, increased their fright; and the coach was finally upset at Stones-end, by which Sir W. Cosway, Bart., who was on the box, was so seriously injured that he died within fifteen minutes, and Mr. Tedhunter, of Eastcheap, had his thigh broken. Sir William Cosway, many years since, had both his thighs broken by a similar accident near Temple-bar, which prevented his marriage with the daughter of Admiral Lord

Collingwood, to whom he had been secretary while in the naval service. At the last election, Sir William was the unsuccessful candidate for East Kent, in which he had considerable estates.

16. *Destructive Fire in Bishopsgate Street.*—A most alarming and destructive fire broke out in Bishopsgate Street about two o'clock this morning, which in little less than two hours and a half reduced eight houses to a heap of ruins, together with nearly all the property they contained, and had nearly proved fatal to the lives of several families.

18. At six o'clock this morning, the Admiral superintendent's yacht was dispatched to the Donegal for the purpose of conveying on shore Don Carlos's family and suite. At a quarter before seven o'clock, the Donegal was seen to "man yards," and a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from that ship, when the party embarked on board the yacht. Captain Fanshawe accompanied the illustrious strangers, who, on landing at Sally Port-stairs, were received with a second salute of twenty-one guns from the Platform Battery. A captain's guard of honour was drawn up in the street, and the marine band, as the Prince and Princess entered the post-carriages which conveyed them to their apartments in High-street, struck up "God save the King." Though an early hour, seven in the morning, the platform was crowded with well-dressed people. Sir F. Maitland, the superintendent, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, Captains Harcourt, Codrington, and others, paid their respects at twelve o'clock. Sir Frederick Maitland is the same distinguished officer who received Napoleon Buonaparte on board the Bellerophon in Basque Roads.—*Portsmouth Paper.*

22. Such was the intensity of the heat of the atmosphere at two o'clock yesterday afternoon, that the thermometer stood at 77 in the shade. Severe losses have been incurred by stage-coach proprietors during this and the preceding day. Upon the Greenwich road, three horses dropped down dead on Friday, between three and five o'clock.

Dr. Doyle.—The celebrated Catholic prelate, Dr. Doyle, died, after a lingering illness, at his house near Carlow. Another Catholic bishop, Dr. Waldron, died on the 27th of May, in consequence of an accidental fall down stairs in his own house.

Dennis Collins.—Dennis Collins, the old sailor who was transported to Van Diemen's Land for throwing a stone at the King when at Ascot races, three or four years ago, died at Port Arthur on the 1st November, in consequence, it is said, of his fixed determination to refuse all necessary nourishment, although the best diet that the settlement could afford was daily offered to him.

Mauritius.—It appears that the island of Mauritius was, on the 20th of January, visited by a violent hurricane which occasioned a considerable loss of life and property. The Government subscribed 1000 sacks of rice and 5000 dollars to be distributed among the poor surviving inhabitants. There was besides a large public subscription. Subsequent information, dated March 18, states, that sixty vessels were at that island in want of freight, and that, in consequence of the great scarcity of produce, from thirty-five to forty would be obliged to proceed without cargoes.

Trinidad.—Advices from Trinidad state that the colonists there were discussing the propriety of receiving into that island 20,000 emancipated Africans, proposed to be sent to that colony by the mixed Commission at the Havannah.

Jamaica.—Late accounts from Jamaica state that severe storms of hail and rain had been experienced there during the latter part of April, by which the coffee blossoms had suffered considerably; in other respects, the crops were favourable, and the island was healthy. The Governor-General, the Marquis of Sligo, had promulgated a plan for the formation of an efficient police, which had been satisfactorily received, and some of the leading planters and proprietors were discussing a proposition for encouraging the settlement of moral and industrious Europeans in Jamaica. Symptoms of insubordination had been displayed by the slaves of Spring-garden estate, Portland, but the circumstance was not considered of any great importance.

Demerara.—Demerara papers of the 26th of April contain accounts of the state of that colony, which, taken altogether, are not unsatisfactory. Allusion is made in them to the recent establishment of district criminal courts, which, it is said, promise to become an inestimable benefit to the community, by the enforcement of the due observance of the law, and the insurance of due obedience from the labouring population. It is a general source of complaint that the negroes will not work without coercion. Owing to the long continuance of dry weather, it was feared that the sugar crop would fall very short.

By Demerara papers to the 10th of May, it appears tha tthe colony was still suffering from the dry weather, which had almost destroyed the crop of plantains, the main subsistence of the labourers, and that other provisions had become very scarce and dear. The Governor of British Guiana had issued a proclamation to the [illegible] of the united colonies (Demerara and Berbice), explaining to them the classification of prædials and non-prædials, with a view principally to remove an impression on the minds of the carpenters, coopers, &c., attached to estates, that they would be classed as non-prædials, and therefore have their term of apprenticeship confined to *four years*. The Governor added some very good advice to the negroes, as to their behaviour in their new condition. At Berbice, it appears that on plantation "Providence," corn flour had been ground by machinery attached to a steam-engine.

Steam-Communication with India.—We are glad to observe that, on the motion of Mr. C. Grant to institute an inquiry into the subject of steam-communication with India, a select committee of the House of Commons has been granted, to collect evidence, and to report on the best means of effecting an object which is admitted on all hands to be extremely desirable. The present aspect of society, both in Europe and in Asia, cannot be contemplated with indifference by those who are interested in the improvement and happiness of mankind; and a measure which would give increased facility to our intercourse with the East must be considered to be eminently calculated to promote those objects. It would not only prove of great utility to private interests, but would bring an accession of political and commercial power which would unite England more firmly with those distant possessions which, as integral parts of the empire, can be better maintained by the exercise of a paternal policy, than the despotism of the sword. Facility of intercourse would fix more of the public attention on the affairs of the East: it would bring back from the shores of India an energetic and intelligent race of government servants, who would support and advocate the interests of the natives against false opinions and unjust measures, generated in this country by ignorance, prejudice, or self-interest; and it would ultimately help to reconcile a conquered people to the yoke of rulers, whose dominion should have a more firm foundation in the affections than in the fears of the governed. There are other reasons that render it of still greater importance, arising from the increased means it would hold out of augmenting our political and mercantile influence in Egypt, Syria, the banks of the Euphrates, and in Persia, through a more constant intercourse with our agents on all subjects of interest connected with those countries, and the opportunity it would open to us of familiarizing the natives with the character and operation of our free institutions. Since we have withdrawn our agents from the Red Sea, and the shores of Arabia, the native commerce between those countries and India has decreased progressively; but a more regular and permanent communication with the Arabs would encourage the spread of commerce, and inspire their Sheikhs with the fear of the discovery and reprisal of any acts of piracy such as they have been in the practice of committing upon the boats that navigate to that quarter from the coast of Guzerat and Katewar. Whether the communication be established *via* Egypt and the Red Sea, or by Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf, it must be followed by certain, although not by equal, advantages; and while our Russian rivals are labouring to weaken our power in the East, it is of manifest necessity that we should arm ourselves with a weapon of defence that promises to break the strength of our opponents.—*Atlas.*

Law for Political Journals in Spain—No periodical journal, unless it be exclusively dedicated to the arts, literature, and science, is henceforth to be circulated in Spain without a license from the Queen. The editors must individually possess a pecuniary qualification, equivalent to that which entitles a citizen to exercise the elective franchise. They must, moreover, deposit a certain sum by way of security for the payment of fines which they may incur; and, besides all this, their journals are to be subjected to a previous censorship. The quantity of matter disapproved of by the censor is not to be indicated by blanks or asterisks, as was the case in France under the former regime; and offences against this decree are to be punished by fine, and by removal from the culprit's place of residence to a distance of not less than twenty leagues.

Captain Ross.—Captain Ross has arrived at Copenhagen, where he has it in view to engage some Greenland seamen, preparatory to another expedition towards the frozen regions. At Copenhagen, Captain Ross had the honour to be presented to the King. He remained there three days. He intends, it is said, to have some ships built of deal in Sweden and Norway, and with these vessels, which, on account of the pliability of the material, are peculiarly qualified for voyages among the ice, to go to the North Pole. He had become intimate with M. Kale, an enterprising man, who had an opportunity of doing him some service in Greenland, in which country M. Kale intends to form a private establishment; and he expects that, in the almost unknown spot which he has selected, he shall obtain abundance of fish and wild fowl of all kinds. The merchants are much interested about the undertaking, as the trade to the north, and especially to Iceland, since it has been made free, has greatly increased in extent and importance.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 20. AUGUST 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Civil and Political Dissensions in Switzerland	145	Poor Rates	157
Reform of the Court of Session, Scotland	147	Public Petitions	157
The South Australian Association	149	Political Retrospect—Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Greece	158
The Influence of Newspapers on Public Opinion	151	Chronicle of Occurrences	164
Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	153	Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge	167

CIVIL AND POLITICAL DISSENSIONS IN SWITZERLAND.

THE two-and-twenty Cantons, or independent republics, which compose the Swiss Confederacy, may be divided into two great classes, differing from each other in their form of society, and in the spirit of their institutions. The first order or class, which is the oldest, and in which Swiss liberty originated, consists of the little mountain cantons, namely—Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons. These are chiefly pastoral; cattle constitutes their wealth, although agriculture is to some extent attended to in the valleys, and manufactures have been established in some districts. The manners and habits of the people are conformable to the nature of their prevailing occupations and means of subsistence. They are simple, independent, contented with little, attached to their mountains, pious and unsophisticated. Their ideas are necessarily contracted within a narrow span. Their government is pure democracy—all the men of age assemble once a year, to the number of several thousands, in a field or other public place, and there elect or confirm their magistrates, vote the supplies, and decide upon other questions of general importance. The current business of the year is transacted by several councils, the members of which are generally confirmed on the expiration of the term of their office, and may be said to be for life; unless some grave charge, or an ebullition of party spirit, causes the general assembly to withhold its confirmation. The larger of these democracies has 50,000 inhabitants, men, women, and children included, and the smallest 12,000. These cantons have remained to the present day unchanged in the spirit and form of their institutions.

The second class of Swiss republics is that of the representative, or town cantons, where national independence originated in the principal town of each, which at first constituted the whole republic. Such are Luzern, Bern, Freyburg, Soleure, Zurich, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Geneva. By degrees various neighbouring districts placed themselves under the protection of the town, in order to be safe from the exactions of the feudal barons, and from the violence of the marauding parties, which were so common in the middle ages. Other districts were conquered by the towns, or purchased by them from the country barons, or from the emperors and the house of Austria. The towns leaving to these districts their municipal administration, did not give them any share in the central government, which remained in the hands of the citizens, or of such of the country people who purchased the freedom of the city. This was, in reality, the case with all republics, in ancient times as well as in the middle ages; the country people were the subjects of the towns. In the course of ages, however, the country districts increased in population, and made progress in their industry—villages grew into towns, the established manufacturers acquired wealth, and then began to aspire to a share in the central government of the state. They were the more strongly urged to this—that the ruling city, where trade and manufactures had long been established, as was the case especially at Zurich and Basle, might keep in its hands a strict monopoly of several branches of commerce, and forbid competition to the country people. The country people were also excluded from most offices in the Church or State. They on the other side paid hardly any taxes, except to supply their own municipal expenses. But they were obliged to do military duty at the request of the city, and were subject to the courts both civil and criminal, appointed by the latter, and to obey the general laws made by the citizen legislators. Such was the condition of most of the Swiss republics, and thus the name and the forms of a republic were found united with the exercise of real absolutism over a greater part of the population. The headiness, good sense, and honesty of the Swiss contributed, for a long time, to smooth the feelings of dissatisfaction; yet occasional and partial insurrections took place among the peasantry of several districts against the towns, which however were speedily suppressed, and then the penal code, which was that of the Gothic ages, was put in full vigour against the revolted, and torture, cruel modes of death, and long imprisonment, were not spared by the republican triumphant rulers. But fortunately things came but seldom to such extremes.

During the last thirty years several concessions were made by the towns to the country people. After the general peace in 1814, new constitutions were framed, by which a certain proportion of country representatives were admitted into the legislative council. The canton of Basle, where the most serious disturbances have taken place, may serve as a specimen of these new arrangements and modifications, which, as it often happens, have satisfied no one, because old rancour and recent violence, and the selfish passions of men have interfered on both sides to prevent conciliation.

By the Constitution of 1814, the Great Council, or legislative assembly of Basle, consisted of 154 members, chosen out of a population of 50,000 souls (all these little states have a disproportionate number of legislators, in order, it would seem, to satisfy the cravings of the citizens after power, however ephemeral and insignificant). Thirty members were named by the city electors, and thirty-four by the country, the rest were chosen by the Great Council itself, sixty from the city, and thirty from the country, —in all ninety city members, and sixty-four country ones. The qualifications required of a member were his being twenty-four years of age, and his being citizen or *bourgeois*) of the canton—that is to say, being registered as a burgher or freeman of one of the communes: which freedom, once purchased, entitles the legitimate offspring of the purchaser to all the rights and privileges of the commune; as in Switzerland, birth or residence without the *bourgeois* are not sufficient to make any one citizen of the state, nor entitle him to assistance, nor, indeed, secure him from expulsion, if he become destitute. The third qualification required of a member was his being possessed of 5000 Swiss livres, or 300*l.* sterling in real property. The Great Council is sovereign. The executive, called little council, was composed of twenty-five members, chosen by the Great Council out of its body, of which four at least were country members. The court of appeal, or supreme court of justice, composed of twelve members, was likewise chosen by the Great Council from among its own members. By these means, a majority in the Great Council might keep all the power of the state in their hands in perpetuity. The same citizen could be legislator, member of the executive, and judge at the same time. Such was, in substance, the constitution of most of the Swiss republics till 1830. The people in several cantons had become clamorous for a revision of the constitution, and in June,

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

1830, nearly two months before the revolution at Paris, the Swiss canton of Ticino quietly effected a change in its constitution, substituting direct election of all the members, to be renewed every four years, and the division of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. In that and the following year the other cantons, after some opposition, adopted a similar principle.

At Basle a new statute was framed by the Great Council itself, by which 79 members were in future to be elected directly by the country districts, and 75 by the city, the members to be renewed periodically, and the division of the three powers to be strictly maintained. The country members who were at the time sitting in the old Great Council highly approved of the new statute; but a party of country people, led by some agitators, assembled at Leichstall, a large village about ten miles from Basle, demanding to have 110 members returned for the country, threatening to march against the city in case of refusal. Basle is a wealthy city, numbering about one-third of the population of the whole canton, bearing three-fourths of the whole taxation, supporting all the public and the charitable establishments, the university, hospitals, &c., and having among its citizens nearly all the education and intelligence of the canton. The citizens of Basle would not give themselves and their property up to the discretion of a rude and tumultuous peasantry, and they prepared to resist. In the first encounter, in January, 1831, the revolters were dispersed, some fled out of the canton, others were pardoned: and tranquillity being thus restored, the new constitution was then laid before all the citizens and burghers, both of town and country, assembled in their respective communes, and was approved of by five-sevenths of the votes. The constitution was thus fully legalized: but soon after the people of Liechstall broke out into a fresh insurrection, the citizens marched against them, and several lives were lost on both sides. After this, a reconciliation became more distant than ever, and although the Federal Diet repeatedly interfered, it was unable to restore order for any length of time. Acts of violence committed by the peasants brought on retaliation on the part of the citizens; many lives were lost, houses were plundered and burnt, and, after two years of a lamentable contest, it was found impossible for the city of Basle to live in peace with the rest of the canton. The consequence has been a separation into two minature states, Basle city, and Basle country, each having its separate legislature and government.

The people of the other cantons have been somewhat wiser. At Zurich the country-people willingly consented that the city of Zurich, although numbering but one-thirteenth of the whole population of the canton, should return one-third of the members to the legislature, in consideration of its superior wealth, industry, and intelligence.

At Bern, the most considerable and most illustrious state in Switzerland, the change that has taken place has been greater, because the forms of its government were the most aristocratic in Switzerland, Freyburg excepted. The ancient families who had exercised the power for ages, and, it must be confessed, not without wisdom or moderation, have displayed a bitterness of feeling, which has destroyed the good relations of society; many have refused to swear allegiance to the new constitution, and have even refused employment under it, which was offered to them in consideration of their acknowledged abilities and past services; others have voluntarily emigrated; and this has perhaps contributed to throw the reins of affairs into the hands of persons of the opposite extreme. Yet, fortunately, there has been no bloodshed or open violence.

The little democratic canton of Schwytz has had, also, its civil dissensions. Some districts or valleys of that mountain region had been incorporated with the old territory and town of Schwytz later than others, and they were always considered and called the new districts. As such, they had not an equality of rights with the old ones, and although they all assembled together in the landsgemeinde, or general assembly: yet, by an old regulation, the new districts could only furnish one-third of the members of the executive and judiciary. This was made, in 1831, a subject of controversy, two separate landsgemeinde were assembled, and the hardy mountaineers on either side threatened at one time to decide the feud by the strength of their brawny arms; but German good sense at last prevailed; and as they could not live together in peace, they agreed to separate, and yet remain friends and good neighbours. Thus, Schwytz forms now two separate roden or states, exterior and interior, the population of both being about 30,000 souls. When the deputies of Schwytz exterior first appeared in the Federal Diet last year, those of Schwytz interior, or old Schwytz, in a friendly cordial manner shook them by the hands, and introduced them to their colleagues in the assembly, who were delighted in seeing this mark of genuine old Swiss feeling triumphing over past petty animosities.

The canton of Neufchatel has afforded, and still affords, another instance of civil disturbance. The circumstances of this little state are very peculiar. Its system of government is extremely complicated, and the machinery of it is not easily explained. The principality of Neufchatel is a constitutional monarchy, of which the King of Prussia is the sovereign, in consequence of the voluntary election by the states of the country, in 1707, of Frederick I., then King of Prussia, who was next heir to the old Counts of Neufchatel. It forms, however, a state quite distinct from and independent of the other Prussian dominions. Its allegiance is not to the King of Prussia, but to Frederick William of Brandenburg, Prince of Neufchatel. In all wars between Prussia and other powers, Neufchatel remains neutral. In 1806, however, after the reverses sustained by Prussia, the king was obliged to give up Neufchatel to the Emperor of the French. But even in this, Neufchatel was more fortunate than many other countries, for, instead of being merged into the great French empire, it was given by Buonaparte to Berthier, who changed little or nothing in the old institutions of the country, and Neufchatel continued free from the conscriptions, taxes, police, and all the burthens of Napoleon's system. By the peace of 1814, Neufchatel was restored to its old sovereign the King of Prussia, and at the same time was received as a canton in the Swiss Confederacy.

The legislative power at Neufchatel resides in the states, called Audiences, which are composed of 45 members, appointed by the king, and 30 elected by the commons. The laws framed by them must be approved of by the king, or in his name by his governor, who resides at Neufchatel. No tax can be imposed without a law being passed by the audiences. The executive power is vested in a council of state presided over by the governor. The towns of Neufchatel and Vallengin have their own respective councils, and form two little republics, almost independent of the rest. No one but a native of the country can fill any situation, civil or military, in it, with the exception of the governor. Trade is perfectly free, no duty is levied upon either importation or exportation. The manufactures of Neufchatel have free ingress to the other states of the Prussian monarchy as national goods. No one can be sent for trial out of the country, nor condemned without being tried by the competent court. No magistrate or other public functionary can be deprived of his office, except for misconduct, and then only by a sentence of the competent judges. These and other rights and liberties and customs, *written* or *unwritten*, of Neufchatel, the king on his accession swears to maintain.

Under these institutions, and the liberal encouragement given to industrious strangers to come and settle within this favoured territory, the principality of Neufchatel has gradually risen in wealth, population, and industry within the last hundred years. Valleys before uninhabited, have become covered with habitations and manufactures, especially of jewelry, watches, and other ingenious machinery. The districts called le Locle and la Chaux de fonds are populous colonies of thriving mechanics. Many rich families live at Neufchatel, and one finds merchants from Neufchatel in almost every commercial town of Europe, and generally in a good way of business, the natives of Neufchatel having a peculiar talent for commerce. Nor is agriculture neglected; the country is well cultivated, rich in vineyards, which produce the best wine in Switzerland.

In 1831, however, political discord broke out at Neufchatel. One party wished for a new constitution on the principle of equality. They were supported by the democratic party in the neighbouring states. A young Frenchman, who had become bourgeois of one of the communes of Neufchatel, established a democratic paper, which he was desired to discontinue, and as a douceur, received eighty louis d'or. But he soon after resumed the publication, saying that he had no other means of subsistence. The position of Neuf

chatel was infinitely more difficult than that of the other Swiss states, on account of its Prussian connexion. The bourgeois of the four towns of Neufchatel, Vallengin, Boudry, and Landevors, who enjoyed a great influence in the councils, were opposed to change. Some of the country communes sided with the towns. The King of Prussia sent a commissary to endeavour to conciliate matters, who behaved with apparent cordiality. A project of a new constitution was framed in March, 1833, by a deputation of the bourgeois; according to which, fifty-one members to the future legislature were to be returned directly by the people at large, and to be renewed at stated periods; twelve more to be named by the burghers of the four towns, and twelve others by the King. This, with other liberal provisions of the project, might have settled all disputes, had not the extreme democratic party started up with a new demand, that of throwing off the allegiance to the King of Prussia. This was more easily said than done. To widen the breach still more, a troop of violent partisans, led by some retired officers of the French service, took possession by surprise of the castle of Neufchatel, demanding that general assemblies of the people should be convoked, to decide upon all these important questions. They at the same time threatened the citizens of Neufchatel with the fire of the castle if they did not submit, and they required provisions to be regularly supplied to themselves by the town, under the same threat. Confusion was now at its greatest height. Families ran away from Neufchatel; the friends of a constitutional monarchy assembled in a considerable force at Vallengin, and the peasants assembled in other quarters to support the insurgents. Prussian cockades, Swiss cockades, Neufchatel cockades, trees of liberty in one place, the Prussian eagle in another—it was a real carnival of misrule and anarchy. Acts of violence were committed by both parties. The Swiss Diet now interfered, and after much difficulty induced the insurgents to leave the castle: but, of course, could not dictate any internal arrangement between the conflicting parties. The King being informed of this, sent M. von Pfiel as his commissary, to restore order. Of the leaders of the revolt some escaped into France; others were tried, and condemned to long imprisonment. Tranquillity, however, was not re-established, although the bourgeois, or town party, supported by the King's authority, regained their influence. Many people who did not approve of the insurrection, now disapproved of the reaction. Party bitterness poisoned the social, and even domestic, intercourse. Families were, and are still divided between themselves. Several men in a good way of business have sold their stock by auction and emigrated, rather than submit, and this resolution has been attended with great loss to themselves and relatives. Neufchatel continues to this day in a very unsettled state, and may be considered as no longer forming part of the Swiss confederacy. The principality of Neufchatel contains somewhat above 50,000 inhabitants.

Another subject which has much occupied Swiss politicians for the last three years, is that of the Federal Diet. Every canton sends one or more deputies to the Diet, which assembles every year alternatively in one of the principal towns. Every canton has but one vote in the assembly. The chief business of the Diet is to transact all foreign affairs, and to act as umpire in the internal disputes between the various cantons, and between parties within each canton. It has also a small regular force at its disposal, and can order out the militia of each canton. Its powers, however, are much more limited than those of the Congress of the United States. The Swiss of each canton are very tenacious of their municipal independence, which has been, in fact, the foundation and the strength of their liberties. The manners of the various cantons, their language and religion are also different. Through such a country it would be impossible to establish uniformity. The French Directory attempted it by bayonets, deluged the country with blood, and failed in establishing a single government all over Switzerland. Buonaparte perceived the blunder, and the injustice of the attempt, and restored the Swiss to their federal form of government. The congress of Vienna respected it likewise. In these latter years there was a party, small, but composed of men of talents, who wanted again to try a central supreme government; they framed a plan for the purpose, but the people, especially those of the democratic cantons, rejected it. No doubt there are inconveniences in a too great subdivision of states, but yet a federal system in a republican country seems the best safeguard of the liberties of each; a great republic, one and *indivisible*, as the French styled theirs, is apt to degenerate into a tyranny of factions, or into military despotisms. Besides the municipal liberties and the federal system are adapted to the nature of the country, and have become in the course of five centuries, interwoven with the habits and ideas of the people. People must not be forced into a system of government they do not like, however superior that system may appear in a general and abstract view.

With the exception of the affairs of Neufchatel, tranquillity may be said to be now restored in Switzerland: many improvements have taken, and are taking place in various Cantons, especially concerning the judicial administration, and the education of the people which in many parts had been sadly neglected. A late source of great difficulty to Switzerland has been the question concerning the foreign emigrants, Poles, Italians, and Germans, of whom a considerable number repaired to that country, and were hospitably received, until the rash, not to use a harsher term, attempt upon Savoy, by a band of about five or six hundred of them, awoke the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. Of that attempt and its results we have spoken in a former Number of the Companion. But a still worse feature of this business was their countenancing a revolt of the lower classes in the peaceful Canton of Geneva, into which they had forced themselves arms in hand, and which they kept in a state of alarm for a week, during which time all the citizens were obliged to be under arms, to prevent a repetition of the scenes which have afflicted Basle, for it was proposed to divide the little Canton of Geneva also into two. From Geneva these troublesome guests went into the neighbouring Canton of Vaud, where the authorities were obliged to take measures for preserving peace, to have an additional force under arms, at Bern, where the refugees resided at first, refused to admit them again, until the Canton de Vaud agreed to pay a certain sum, in order to obtain their admission into their old quarters. All this business, we are told, has cost the Canton de Vaud 80,000 Swiss livres, nearly 5000 pounds sterling, which the Canton can but ill spare, being a poor Canton and already burthened with a great number of its own destitute citizens. Another consequence has been that the neighbouring powers, Sardinia, Austria, and the German Diet, have threatened to interrupt all communications with Switzerland, if measures were not taken to prevent the refugees assembling again and attempting to pass the frontiers. Some of the demands of these powers were couched in an angry and peremptory tone, but the justice of the principle of international law to which they appealed, could hardly be denied. On the other side the stoppage of all commercial intercourse with Switzerland, would have been ruinous to many of the Cantons, especially the manufacturing ones. It seems that ultimately a law or compromise has been accepted, that whenever it shall be proved that any of the refugees have actually conspired against the peace of any neighbouring country, they shall be expelled. Those who are peaceful, are allowed to remain undisturbed as before, within however a certain distance of the frontiers. If some such regulations were not adopted, if bands of armed men of all nations were to be allowed to assemble on neutral ground, ready to pounce upon any country, at the first appearance of symptoms of political discontent: Europe would speedily return to the state in which it was in the middle ages, to the times of the condottieri, and the free companies, and the Black bands.

REFORM OF THE COURT OF SESSION, SCOTLAND.

In June, last year, a commission was appointed by the crown to inquire into various matters connected with the administration of the law in Scotland; and their first Report, dated the 2d of May last, and ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 24th of the same month, has just appeared. It forms, with the Appendix, a volume of upwards of four hundred pages, and is in many respects an interesting and important document.

The subjects of inquiry enumerated in the commission are the following, as they are briefly stated in the title of the Report:—1. The Fees and Establishment of Clerks in the

Court of Session; 2. The Preparation of Records in that Court; 3. The Constitution and Jurisdiction of the Sheriff Courts; 4. The Law and Forms of Imprisonment for Debt; 5. The Expense of Criminal Proceedings; and 6. The Forms for the Completion and Transference of Heritable Rights. The Report embraces the first form of these heads; and we propose in the present paper to give an abstract of what it contains on the subject of the fees now exigible from suitors in the Court of Session, and the practicability of diminishing those fees either by reducing the establishment of clerks and other officers, or otherwise.

It may be necessary for the information of the English reader to premise that the Court of Session is the supreme court in Scotland for the trial of all civil causes, including matters of equity. It was established by James V., in 1532, in room of an ambulatory committee of parliament, by which, under the name of the Lords of Council and Session, justice had been till then administered throughout the kingdom. Ever since its establishment, till very lately, the Court of Session has consisted of fifteen judges or lords, one of whom is styled the Lord President, while the others assume titles either from their names, as Lord Monerief, Lord Gillies, or more commonly from some landed property of which they may be possessed, as Lord Kames (Home), Lord Hailes (Dalrymple), Lord Monboddo (Burnett), Lord Auchinleck (Boswell), Lord Conehouse (Cranstoun), &c. By a recent act the number of lords has been reduced to fourteen, and according to its present constitution the Court consists of two divisions, the first of which is composed of the Lord President and six other lords; the second of the Lord Justice Clerk and six other lords. The Lord Justice Clerk is the Lord of Session, who also officiates as chief of the Supreme Criminal Court, called the Court of Justiciary, (instituted in 1672). It is composed of the Lord Justice Clerk and five other Lords of Session, called Lords Commissioners. The Lord President of the Court of Session has a salary of 4300*l.*; the Lord Justice Clerk 2000*l.* as Chief of the Court of Justiciary, and the same sum as a Lord of Session; the other Lords of Session 2000*l.* each: and such of them as are Lords Commissioners of the Court of Justiciary 600*l.* each in addition. Four of the Lords of Session also sit as Lords Commissioners of the Jury Court, instituted in 1815 for the trial of civil cases. It is presided over by a Lord Chief Commissioner, who holds no other office.

Before 1815 jury-trial in civil cases was unknown in Scotland; all such cases were decided either by the subordinate local judges, the district justices of peace, and the sheriffs of counties, or by the Lords of Session acting at once as jurymen and as judges. The Court of Session sits only in Edinburgh; but the Lords of Justiciary, in addition to their sittings in the capital, make twice in the year, during the recesses of the Court of Session, a circuit throughout the kingdom, and hold what are called Circuit Courts in several of the principal towns. There is no appeal from the decisions of the Court of Justiciary, whether sitting at Edinburgh or on circuit; but from those of the Court of Session there is an appeal to the House of Lords.

The Court of Session holds only two terms, or sessions, in the year: the summer session extending from the 12th of May to the 12th of July, and the winter session from the 12th of November to the 12th of March. During the two intervals of four months each, which occur every year between these short sessions, a single judge, under the title of Lord Ordinary, sits occasionally for the dispatch of certain summary matters; but the progress of all causes of importance is wholly suspended. In a note appended to the examination of one of the witnesses called before the present commission, Mr. Peter Campbell, solicitor, there are some curious details respecting the comparative quantities of labour undergone by the Scotch and English judges, and the amount of duty which they severally perform. While in the King's Bench, for instance, the judges sit annually for 116 days at the rate of six hours per day, besides 185 in chambers for more than two and a half hours a day, 75 days in the Bail Court for one and a half hour each day, 126 days at Nisi Prius, in London and Middlesex, 74 days on circuit, besides the sittings of some of their number at the Court of Delegates, at the Old Bailey Sessions, at the Admiralty Sessions, and their attendances on the House of Lords and in the Privy Council—to omit a variety of minor duties—the judges in the inner house of the Court of Session sit only for about two hours each day for 114 days in the year; and the other public duties of such of them as are not Lords of Justiciary or Commissioners of the Jury Court are of exceedingly trifling amount. The fifteen judges of the Court of Session, Mr. Campbell states, have decided only about 2700 causes a year on an average of thirty years—the decisions on about one half of which are pronounced *in absence*, and give the judges little or no trouble. It appears, on the other hand, that in the Court of King's Bench there have been wont to be heard annually above 56,000 causes; in the Common Pleas, above 16,000; and in the Court of Exchequer, between 7000 and 8000. The number of actions brought into the last-mentioned court since the recent alterations in the forms of process, is understood to be not less than 30,000 yearly.

The reform of the constitution of the Court of Session, however, in so far as respects the number or duties of the judges, was not among the matters of inquiry directly submitted to the consideration of the present commissioners, although some propositions having that tendency were incidentally brought before them in the course of their investigations.

By the act 50 Geo. III. c. 112, it was directed that certain fees which had been heretofore paid by suitors to different officers of the court should go to form a common fund, called the Fee-fund, from which the officers in question should be paid each a certain fixed salary, any deficiency or surplus that might occur being made up by, or paid over to, the Exchequer. On an average of five years, the annual produce of this fee-fund has been 13,165*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* But, besides this large sum, fees have continued to be collected by the clerks and other officers, to the average annual amount of 12,042*l.* 11*s.*—making the total annual amount of fees paid by suitors, 25,207*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* This sum, however, is still inadequate to defray the salaries fixed by the act; and accordingly, on an average of five years, the following payments appear to have been made for that purpose by the Exchequer—namely, to make good annual deficiency of the fee-fund, 3,970*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*; to the clerks and other officers of the Jury Court (which is merely an appendage to the Court of Session) 3,645*l.*; and for compensation to clerks of the court, under former statutes, 2,232*l.* 14*s.*

The commissioners recommend, in the first place, that all fees levied from suitors ought to be abolished, on the principle that the administration of justice, and the protection of the property and character of individuals, are matters of public polity, in which the whole nation has an equal interest, and the expenditure demanded by which, therefore, ought not to be borne by individuals. They remark that it is an additional "evil springing from the present system, that there is levied from every suitor, without reference to the amount of the claim or the nature of the action, the same amount of contribution towards this expenditure. It matters not whether the suit relate to the humble pittance of the poor man, or to the most extensive estates of the rich, one inexorable rule of action is followed. Thus, while the stake at issue, and the consequent benefit to be derived from the suit, vary from the smallest to the greatest sums, the parties are made to contribute according to an uniform rate." They propose that for the future the clerks and other officers of the court should in every case be paid by salaries in lieu of fees.

The following is a list of the clerks and other officers forming at present the establishment of the Court, with the emoluments drawn by them, and the sources whence these emoluments are derived, omitting fractions of pounds:—

Paid by fixed salaries from the Fee-fund—	
4 Principal Clerks of Session, 1000*l.* each	£4000
5 Depute Clerks of Session, 400*l.* each	2000
13 Clerks of Judges and Keepers of the Rolls	4334
Clerks of Judges receiving Annuities	785
4 Extractors, 250*l.* each	1000
1 Keeper of Judicial Records and Edictal Citations	450
1 Assistant ditto	130
1 Collector of Fee-fund	600
1 Accountant ditto	200
1 Principal Clerk to King's Processes	40
1 Depute Clerk ditto	10
2 Issue Clerks in Jury Causes	1400
2 Principal Record Clerks ditto	1000
2 Assistant Clerks ditto, 600*l.* and 300*l.*	900
7 Macers	951
2 Ditto for Jury Causes	195
Total paid in Salaries	£17,996

Paid by Fees—	
6 Inner House Assistant Clerks	2360
5 Outer House ditto	4242
2 Principal Clerks of the Bills	1283
2 Depute ditto	673
1 Assistant	200
4 Extractors	824
8 Clerks of Extractors	824
1 Minute Book-Keeper	383
1 Keeper of Records	60
1 Auditor of Accounts	1190
Total paid by Fees	£12,042

Making the total salaries and fees, 30,038*l*. There is besides an expenditure on account of retired allowances, offices in the general register house, and printing, to the amount of 1530*l*. The total amount, therefore, of the expense of the present judicial establishment of clerks and officers of the Court of Session (exclusive of the compensations under former statutes payable from the exchequer) is 31,569. The commissioners add, that "during the last five years several offices have been abolished, in consequence of which, the expenditure of the present establishment is considerably lower than the general average of these years."

By altogether abolishing some offices, and reducing the salaries attached to others, in a manner which is stated in detail in the report, the commissioners propose to bring down this actual expenditure to little more than one half of its present amount. The following table, in which are collected the propositions they make as to the several offices, will, when compared with that given above, show the nature and extent of the reductions that will result from the new arrangement:—

4 Principal Clerks of Session, 1000*l* each	£4000
4 Assistant Clerks in the Inner House, 300*l*. each	1200
4 Depute Clerks, 100*l*. each	1600
1 Depute Clerk for the Outer House and Bill Chamber	500
5 Assistant Clerks in the Outer House, 300*l*. each	1500
1 Assistant Clerk in the Bill Chamber	300
13 Judges' Clerks and Keepers of the Rolls	3000
Annuity Fund for do.	750
1 Principal Extractor and Keeper of Judicial Records	600
1 Assistant do.	300
Clerks of Extractors (say)	800
1 Keeper of Minute Book and Edictal Citation	300
1 Clerk to do.	130
1 Collector of Fee Fund	600
1 Accountant of do.	100
1 Auditor of Accounts	700
7 Macers, 100*l*. each	700
Total	£17,080

"We cannot conclude this branch of our report," say the commissioners, "without respectfully submitting to your Majesty the expediency of immediate effect being given, by a legislative enactment, to our recommendations. The fees exigible from suitors will be materially diminished; and we feel confident, that the measures which we have proposed will be beneficial to the establishment of clerks and other officers, and contribute to the general usefulness of the Court of Session."

THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION.

The public meeting of this association, held in Exeter Hall, on the 30th of June last, and the introduction of a Bill into Parliament on the 17th of July by Mr. W. Whitmore for the establishment of a colony in South Australia, will we presume have made most of our readers in some degree acquainted with the principles and prospects which actuate the promoters of this new scheme of colonization. The general facts therefore need not be stated. The evidence in favour of the province selected is various, satisfactory, and complete. Different individuals, agriculturists and men of science—ship-captains, who visited the spot for purposes of commerce or discovery—some who only visited the spot in passing, and others who have remained there for months—in their unanimous testimony combine in displaying the part of New Holland chosen for this colony, as a region distinguished for the mild temperature of its climate—the abundance of animal food in its fields, and of fish in its rivers—placed in an advantageous position for intercourse and commerce with other parts—and besides the exchangeable commodities which it naturally produces, capable, from the excellence and fertility of its soil, of yielding under the hand of cultivation, alike the fruits of pastoral and of agricultural industry. There are no doubt differences and discrepancies in the testimony, but they confirm the conclusion supported by the greatest amount of evidence since they arise from differences in the degree and kind of information existing necessarily among the witnesses; while all the testimonies of those who had the greatest advantages of previous knowledge, and of time and opportunity for the formation of their opinions—the most accurate and therefore the most valuable testimonies, are most decidedly in favour of the spot as highly suitable for a colonial settlement. Assuming on evidence which we deem superior to cavil, the suitableness and eligibility of the spot for a colony, our object at present will be to develope briefly the mode of colonization to be pursued—a subject of vital importance to the whole scheme, since an erroneous principle here might, in spite of all the advantages of soil, climate, and position, render all these very "rich gifts of nature poor," and, as in the recent case of the Swan River settlement, blight all the rational prospects of the colonists with sterility, starvation and disgrace.

The Swan River is a warning to projectors. If the South Australian Association cannot give the public a clear disclosure of the cause of its failure, and a prospect of avoiding it in the colony they propose, there is no ordinary temerity in their proceedings and something worse than folly in their hope of encouragement. Believing, however, that they have discovered in the mode of colonization adopted in the Swan River settlement, a cause adequate of itself to account for all its evils—a cause which has had a similar baneful influence wherever it has existed—they feel amply warranted in proposing a new scheme of colonization established on a principle supported by universal experience—its neglect having been the ruin, and its adoption the success of every colony of which we have an account.

The cause of the Swan River failure was the dispersion of the colonists, caused by the way in which grants of land were obtained. A colony is a community of persons who have taken possession of waste lands. The object of a colony is the production of wealth, and the laws which regulate the process by which it is produced, the combined influence of land, labour, and capital, of course determine the success of the colony. These call wealth into existence—without these it cannot exist. Disperse capital, and its productive power evaporates in proportion to its dispersion. When labour is scattered over an extensive tract, the strength which union imparts ceases to exist—the wonders which it alone can achieve become impossible, and the miracles of skill and quickness which we owe to the division of labour are at an end. When labour and capital are combined with land the wilderness blossoms into fruitfulness; but when either of them are scattered over an extensive tract, labour wastes itself, and capital perishes. The dispersion of labour is the creator of barbarism—its union of civilization. Land is not wealth, it is only an element which, along with labour, is essential to its production. In Britain it is reckoned wealth because it is a source of riches to landowners. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that emigrants should forget that the value of land which labour alone can elicit varies even here, in accordance with the density of the population which covers it, when we remember how even philosophers have erred on this point.—Quesney declaring land to be the sole source of wealth because rent does not require the pre-existence of wealth: and Adam Smith, referring the prosperity of colonies "to the mere trifle" for which land can be purchased. This delusion was the ruin of the Swan River. The blame of its failure will of course fall on its projectors—the injurious desire of land among the colonists, and the lavish grants of it by the government are very naturally forgotten, though they are the only source of the evil. The grants of land ought doubtless to be large enough to prevent the waste of labour on inferior soils—but they cannot be so far extended as to disperse labour over remote parts without causing poverty and ruin. Naturally desirous of changing the

character of a labourer for the character of a landowner, every colonist seizes the first opportunity of obtaining land; and hence the division of labour into fractional and separate parts ensues until the dissolution of society prevents the production at once of a surplus for the purposes of foreign, and of a variety of articles for the purposes of internal exchange. The productive power of exchange is lost, and all the advantages of exchanging instead of making; are hindered from contributing to the general prosperity of the colony. This was the case at the Swan River. Excessive grants of land scattered the colonists—one individual received 500,000 acres—unlimited tracts were sold at 1s. 6d. per acre; five times as much land was granted in one year, as was disposed of in New South Wales in forty. Upwards of a thousand labourers were sent out, but the extreme cheapness of the land, and the extravagant price of labour furnished them with such facilities and inducements to become landowners, that the capitalists were everywhere left without persons to cultivate their lands. In consequence capital to the amount of 200,000*l.* perished.—A scene of desolation ensued. The labourers having deserted their masters from the delusive desire of being the owners of land, implements of agriculture were allowed to rust on the banks of the river—seeds of various kinds rotted in casks on the beach for want of sowing, and sheep, cattle, and horses perished because there was no one to attend to them. The crisis came—hunger cured the labourers of their infatuation, and they returned and demanded from the capitalists they had ruined, the work which they had deserted. It was not to be had. Mr. Peel, after being left alone by three hundred servants whom he sent out, so that he had not one to do him a single service, was at last compelled to make his escape to an island in order to avoid the fury of his labourers, when they returned to demand that employment which they deprived him of the power of giving, by the destruction of capital to the amount of 50,000*l.*

Similar effects have been produced wherever the proportion between labour and land has not been kept up by the arrangements or circumstances of the colony. The maintenance of this proportion has uniformly been attended with prosperity. The Greek colonies in Asia Minor flourished to an extraordinary extent, and for a time outstripped the mother country in prosperity and civilization, because their slaves supplied them constantly with an adequate amount of labour, and they kept together in one great fortified town which they built on the coast. The first English colony was founded in Virginia in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Although the colony was fertile, and the emigrants provided with everything that appeared necessary to success, instead of flourishing, three successive embarkations of Englishmen belonging to that heroic age perished before the colony was established. About the same time the prosperity of the Spanish colony in the island of Hispaniola was exciting the admiration of Europe. The Spaniards compelled the natives to labour, and flourished until the natives decayed, which stopped the prosperity of the colony. It was restored, however, when the natives of other islands were made slaves. In Virginia, the English spread themselves over the country, and, as the natural consequence of their separation, perished; until the proportion of labour to land was adjusted by the wreck of a Dutch vessel on the shore full of slaves, which began the prosperity which Virginia continues to enjoy. The Dutch established two colonies, the one at the Cape of Good Hope, and the other in New York. The colonists in New York were compelled by the warlike natives to keep together, and labour was accordingly combined and divided—they flourished. At the Cape it was otherwise. Every settler placed himself in the centre of a wide circumference of land: in this way every family was isolated and laboured apart; the hardship and misery which proceeded from this source was extreme. The colony advanced, but very slowly, to prosperity; and to this day the colonists are among the most barbarous of the inhabitants of the globe. We add but one other illustration. The United States give no free grants of waste lands without a special decree of Congress; every grant is paid for at the rate of a dollar and a quarter per acre. In British Canada, "crown reserves" have been given to the clergy, and numerous extensive tracts bestowed gratuitously. The effects of the different systems are remarkably displayed in the following extract from 'Pickering's Emigrants' Guide, 1830.' "On the United States' side of the Niagara are large towns springing up; the numerous shipping with piers to protect them in harbour; coaches rattling along the road; and trade evidenced by waggons, carts, horses, and people on foot in all directions. On the Canadian side, although in the immediate vicinity, an *older settlement*, and apparently *better land*, there are only two or three stores, a tavern or two, a natural harbour without piers, but few vessels, and two temporary landing-places." It thus appears from an induction of facts, that the due combination of land and labour is the essential element of colonial success. Although sanctioned by neither philosophers nor statesmen, this principle of the concentration of labour and society, in order to secure the success of colonial enterprise when casually brought into play by either the wreck of a slave ship, the density of a forest, or the hostility of a warlike tribe, has been in every age a secret, but infallible infuser of prosperity into all the thriving colonies of the globe.

The object of the South Australian Association is to secure the development of this principle—a due proportion between land, labour and capital. It is to embody in practice this one great lesson of colonial history. The constitution of the system and the provisions of the act of parliament have been framed with this object in view. They provide first for the disposal of all waste lands by public sale; secondly, for the expenditure of the purchase money in sending out labourers, who are, thirdly, to be persons of both sexes, just arrived at the age of puberty—a class the most likely to insure a rapid increase of population.

1. Land is to be sold publicly at the highest price that can be got. There are to be no gifts of land. There will be no favouritism. This is secured by the following provisions of the act:—

"I. All that part of Australia which lies between the 132nd and the 141st degrees of East longitude, and between the southern ocean and the tropic of Capricorn, together with the islands adjacent thereto, is erected into a British province, by the name of 'South Australia,' and declared, with respect to government, independent of every other colony.

"II. All the lands within the above limits are declared to be public lands, and are placed under the management of a Board of Commissioners sitting in London.

"III. There is but one way in which every individual may obtain a private property in any of the said lands; namely, by paying for the same in ready money.

"IV. Subject to the above condition, and to the necessity of previous surveys, every one shall be free to acquire a private property in the said lands, and without limit as to quantity or situation.

"V. The lowest price at which public land shall ever be sold in this colony, is 12*s.* per acre.

"VI. Subject to the above provision, Commissioners are authorised to raise or lower the price of public land; always giving public notice of any intended change in the price, and of the period during which the higher or lower price is to be required.

"VII. All sales to be conducted in public.

"VIII. The foregoing provisions declared to be fundamental articles of the constitution of South Australia, and not to be changed without the authority of Parliament."

The advantages of these regulations are obvious. The disposal of land will be uniform and permanent in its mode of procedure, and complete impartiality will be secured in the bestowal, and perfect liberty in the appropriation of it. Wealthy and selfish men will not be able by political influence to obtain free grants, which, as in the case of most of our colonies, they allow to lie waste, and only sell when the industry and capital of contiguous colonists have raised them into a value to the creation of which they have not contributed. These lands, indeed, instead of assisting the general prosperity, obstruct and retard it by occupying the place which might have been filled by more active cultivators with a thriving agriculture. The Board of Commissioners by regulating the price of land, and securing adherence to the provisions of the act, seem highly calculated to exercise a beneficial influence on the prosperity of the colony.

2. The purchase-money received for land is to be laid out in sending labourers to the colony.

"IX. That the whole of the money obtained by the sale

of public land shall form an emigration fund, and shall be employed by the Commissioners in conveying poor labourers to the colony."

This will render the payment, though nominally the price of land, really an investment for labour; the money will not only give the purchaser the possession of land, it will secure labour to improve it, and by being laid out in increasing the population, it will be at the same time enhancing the value of the land it purchased. If we reckon the cost of each labourer's passage at 15*l.* and the minimum price of land 12*s.* per acre, the proportion of labour secured to the land would be at the rate of four persons to every 100 acres. The prosperity of the colony would raise the value of land, and consequently the proportion of labour which would be still further swelled by the rising population of the colony. The Board of Commissioners, by having the disposal of land, have it in their power to prevent the labourers from becoming landowners, to the destruction of the proportion between labour and land. To adopt a comparison from the able author of 'England and America,' they will surround the colonists with an elastic belt, in order to secure the combination of labour and land, but which will be capable of constant enlargement in accordance to a pressure from within.

3. None but persons at the age of puberty are to be sent out as labourers.

"X. All the poor persons taken to the colony by means of the emigration fund shall be, as far as it is possible to make the selection, young adult persons of both sexes, in an equal proportion."

This will diminish the cost of enlarging the population. It will secure its advancement at the most rapid rate possible. The greatest amount of labour will be got at the least possible expense. Persons of this class, too, can leave their country with less pain than any other. Persons who will add to the population to the highest amount alone will be sent, and thus the elements of increase will be in the greatest possible proportion, and those of decrease in the weakest and lowest.

The last provision of the act which we shall quote, provides for the supply of labour from the outset of the first emigrants, lest the colony should perish before the arrival of labourers.

"XI. The Commission of Public Lands and Emigration is empowered to anticipate the sales of land, by receiving purchase-money on account from emigrants intending to buy land, and, if necessary, by raising a loan or loans, to be secured on the whole Public land of the Colony; and to employ such loan or loans in conveying selected labourers to the colony."

Such is an outline of this scheme. It was first proposed in an acute, spirited, and ingenious letter from Sydney, published in 1832, and edited by Mr. Robert Gouger, the Secretary of the South Australian Association. It appears to us to be founded on one of the soundest principles in political science, judiciously and practically applied.

Various objections to the scheme have been stated. It is opposed to the interest of various parties. In the shape of aspersion, insinuation, and abuse, a good deal of matter has appeared, but the arguments are few and feeble indeed. It is alleged that the minimum will never be paid for land in Australia. It may be paid, however, for both land and labour; for mere land higher prices are paid in various colonies. The American Land Company sell their land at from 15 to 30 shillings per acre; and the value of land in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land exceeds 12*s.* There does not, therefore, appear to be any thing very chimerical, in expecting that sum for land and labour combined, so as to ensure colonial success.

It is a futile objection to say that, by the removal of labour and capital to colonies, we lessen the skill and resources of the mother country. Even if this were true, the object of skill and capital is happiness, and they are worthless except as means to this end. It is a bad superiority that can be kept up only by the perpetual struggle of suffering and famishing labourers. It is, indeed, true, that emigration lessens capital, and capital is the chief employer of labour; but it does not follow that emigration lessens employment in Britain, a country in which there is at once a redundancy of labour and capital. There is a surplus of both. The redundancy of capital is seen in the eagerness with which every enterprise that promises even the smallest profits is embraced; while the overflow of population is conspicuous in every profession and department of labour. Capital and labour want room. The greater capitalists are preying upon the smaller, and thus diminishing the profits and common capital of both. The remedy is obvious, and odious epithets applied to emigration will not prevent a properly-regulated colony from being precisely what this case demands—an open sphere for the operations of capital, and a fair field for the achievements of industry. Colonies increase both capital and labour, by giving full developement to their powers of mutual and self production. Exchange and production, prosperity and enjoyment, are the consequences—wealth is produced in a thriving community, and the wilderness blossoms with a flourishing people, who unfold anew the powers of labour, land, and capital, for the advancement of civilization and the diffusion of happiness. Such are the blessings of a successful colony. It is for the reader to judge if they are likely to be realized by the present scheme. This only we may be permitted to remark, that if it recommends itself to our readers as it has done to us, as a scheme founded on a principle approved by the voice of universal experience, as the essential element of colonial success, and incorporated in arrangements which are at once judicious in themselves and flexible to suit every emergency no capable mind will be scared from giving it his approval because it suits certain parties to call the South Australian Association at once a joint-stock company, formed for interested purposes, and a band of enthusiasts, held together only by the sympathies of a Utopian benevolence.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPERS ON PUBLIC OPINION.

Every one has heard of the saying of Burke, that the man who reads a newspaper every day for six months will certainly become a convert to its opinions. The saying has grown into a truism. It appears to us, however, that new circumstances have arisen in our social condition, through which a great deal—much more than people in general are apt to believe—of this newspaper-power has been destroyed. We think that the saying of Burke—true as it was in his own day, and applicable as it has been to the state of political knowledge in this country, at any period since that day till the first session of the reformed Parliament—*now describes a past state of society.* We are perfectly aware of the fury we shall provoke by the declaration; but we do not shrink, on that account, from expressing our belief that the *prestige* of newspaper wisdom is shaken, and for ever. The age of leading articles is gone.

It is not our intention, in the present paper, to enter into any nice investigation of the causes of this curious phenomenon. The main cause may be described in a few words:—*The people have taken the business of thinking into their own hands.* In the quaint language of Hobbes, they are no longer in a condition either "to be tainted with dependence on the potent, or scribbled over with the opinions of their doctors."

The great legislative measure of the present session of Parliament has been the Amendment of the Poor Laws. This was no abstract measure whose bearings the people could not understand, and in whose consquences they would take no interest. Every man was to be affected by it in some way or other. The lowest in the scale of society, the mendicant and the pauper—the most numerous and important class, that which comprises the independent labourers—the employers of these independent labourers—the contributors to the fund by which pauperism was upheld—all these, in which are comprised the whole population, are deeply affected by such a vital change in the administration of the poor-laws, as is contemplated by the Bill which, in a very few days, will be inscribed in our statute-book. Have they been taken by surprise in the introduction of this Bill into Parliament?—Have they been ignorant of its provisions?—Have they wanted encouragement to oppose the Bill from those who have claimed the title of the best public instructors? Precisely the contrary. In this instance—and it is perhaps a solitary one in the history of our legislation—the Bill for the amendment of the poor-laws has not only been founded upon the most carefully collected evidence, but that evidence has been promulgated with the greatest

anxiety, before a single step was taken in legislation. In this case the materials for thinking were placed in the hands of the people, by the publication, in a very cheap form,—first, of Selections from the Evidence before the Commissioners, and, secondly, of the Report of the Commissioners. The people understood the effects of pauperism, and were made familiar with the projected remedies, long before the question became a subject of discussion within the walls of Parliament. The moment the Bill was brought in, a cry was set up against it by the two most powerful of the London daily papers, 'The Times' and 'The Morning Herald,' to say nothing of lesser oracles. Without the preparation for a right judgment which we have described, this cry would have been echoed through the country,—the people would have been goaded into a belief that the liberties of Englishmen were about to perish,—the Legislature would have been acted upon by the excitement,—the Bill would have been lost. But mark the difference. For three months these two powerful daily papers have exerted all their rhetoric to crush the Bill,—the one has poured forth all its hard names, and the other has huddled together all its common-place,—and the result has been that, out of a population of fourteen millions of persons affected by the operation of the Bill, only sixteen thousand, according to the last Parliamentary return, have been brought to petition against it! One person in 800 has been influenced by the declamation of 'The Times' and 'The Morning Herald.'

It may be instructive to trace the course of one, at least, of these papers during the three months in which the Poor Laws Amendment Bill has been before Parliament.

On the 30th of April 'The Times' issued its declaration of war against the Bill. Like most other potentates, 'The Times' commenced its manifesto with professions of peace. "The more we consider the new system of poor-laws, the more (*involuntarily, and really against our wishes*) do our apprehensions increase respecting it." But the timid and modest "apprehensions" of the first lines of the manifesto became the most truculent and mouthing hostility towards the end. The lion lashed himself into a fury. "It will disgrace the statute-book which contains Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and no Englishman who is not dead to shame will again hear the words 'British liberty' pronounced without a blush or a sigh." This is the true key-note, thought the diurnal agitator; this is the war-whoop which is to be echoed from St Pancras to the Tower Hamlets, and, spreading through the land, is to produce an universal denunciation of "the parish-pauper triumvir," * the "mountebank nostrummongers"†—the vile Central Board, who seek "to tax the people, and to torture the poor at their mere will and pleasure."‡ St. Pancras responded, and so did the Tower Hamlets. "The householders and other inhabitants of the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex," out of the 103,508 inhabitants of which that parish is composed, found 173 who were "not dead to shame," and these few "faithful among the faithless" heroically recorded their names in a petition against taxing the people and torturing the poor. St. Mary, Whitechapel, one of the Tower Hamlets, out of its 30,000 of population, found 375 supporters of 'the Bill of Rights;' and Mile End, another of the Hamlets, enrolled, out of its 34,000 inhabitants, 368 who still clung to 'Magna Charta.' With such support, the 'Times' ventured to prophesy. On the morning of the day when the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 299, 'The Times' consoled itself (relying, no doubt, especially upon the 173 of St. Pancras) by saying "We cannot believe that it is intended to press the measure another stage at present." On the morning after this second reading, relying upon the parliamentary *minority* of twenty, the sanguine soothsayer affirms, "There is not the slightest chance of such a Bill ever receiving the sanction of the House of Commons." This was truly leaping into the gap, and bravely was the fight continued. Hear the voice of the mighty man of war:—"The most offensive innovation upon the usages and customs of the Constitution, and the most atrociously wanton aggression upon the liberties of the people, that were ever before attempted in this, or perhaps in any other but a purely despotic country"—"a worse than Egyptian bondage"—"that absolute, arbitrary, and despotic tribunal denominated the Central Board, upon which it is proposed to confer unchecked and uncontrolled power and authority over the liberties and the property of all the King's subjects, for the dangerous and inhuman purpose of deteriorating the condition of the most miserable portion of the community." That voice was not uplifted in vain. Petitions rushed in to scare the House of Commons from their "inhuman purpose." Up to the 27th of May eighty petitions had been presented against the "worse than Egyptian bondage," and these were signed by no less than 7226 persons. It is true that the number of signatures against this "most atrociously wanton aggression upon the liberties of the people" was inferior to the number petitioning "against the employment of children to sweep chimneys,"—and did not amount to one-sixth of those who petitioned "for inquiry into the extent and causes of drunkenness." But still the one petitioner in 800 was demonstrative of public opinion—as reflected in 'The Times.' Symptoms, however, began to be shown, that the House of Commons would not listen to the *one* petitioner, while the 799 other interested persons were silent. 'The Times,' therefore, had to point to another tribunal: "Let Lord Althorp reflect well upon the headstrong course he is pursuing. The Bill will not become the law of the land, even if it should pass the House of Commons, which we again declare we believe it never will. There happens, however, to be another branch of the legislature"* The mode in which this branch of the legislature is to be worked upon soon suggests itself to the fertile invention of 'The Times.' "The advocacy of the arbitrary and irresponsible tribunal to be called the Central B[illegible] s proceeded from professed REPUBLICANS." This [illegible] to the fears of the Upper House. We next have a cunningly-compounded unction of flattery—"We do not believe that pence squeezed out of the pauper's pittance will be thought desirable acquisitions by the Lords." The Compromise that 'The Times' at last [illegible] was desirable to rescue the funds for the maintenance of labour from the constantly increasing ravages of those who would have entirely converted them into funds for the maintenance of want,—although the saving of capital might be called "pence squeezed out of the pauper's pittance,"—they passed the Bill. The House of Commons was, of course, to be abused when 'The Times' saw that its prophecies of the non-passing of the Bill were coming to an issue. "Most assuredly no unreformed House of Commons ever made up their minds so speedily on a complicated question which required such mature deliberation, or delivered themselves so wholly and resignedly over to the dictation of a Minister."

The House of Commons passed the Bill, and the last fight was to be made in the Lords. Public opinion was to be brought to bear upon the votes of the Upper House. On the 8th of July, 'The Times' says "The vast majority of the people are opposed to this measure." A reinforcement had arrived to the one petitioner in eight hundred inhabitants of Pancras, and Mile-End, and St. Mary, Whitechapel. A petition had been presented from 55 "inhabitants and rate-payers of the parish of Wisbeach St. Mary, in the Isle of Ely," and another from "the visiters and guardians of the parish of Alverstoke, Hants," six in number. "The vast majority of the people are opposed to this measure." Public opinion being so clearly expressed, 'The Times' throws itself and public opinion upon the House of Lords. "It is a melancholy circumstance that the people of England should have occasion to look to the House of Lords for the reparation of the mischief perpetrated by their own representatives; but, unsupported as they are by those who ought to be their friends, they must, in their necessity, appeal to those on whom they ought to have fewer claims, *but who will have a glorious opportunity of acquiring a just popularity*, if they will indignantly reject a measure which we thought at first, which we still think to be, a true mode of degrading the English labourer into a miserable serf." But no symptoms amongst the Peers were presented to the longing eyes of 'The Times,' of a desire to acquire "*a just popularity*." A new species of tactics was, therefore, to be resorted to. The Lord Chancellor was to introduce the bill,—was to carry the measure through the House of Lords. On the 16th of May, because Lord Althorp was successfully conducting the bill through the House of Commons, 'The Times' exclaimed, "God help him and us who are governed by a Government of which a man with such an understanding forms

* 'The Times,' May 3rd. † May 6th. ‡ May 8th.

* 'The Times,' May 16th.

a part." On the 16th of July, 'The Times' began to abuse the Lord Chancellor about "his ugly bantling." From that day to the present hour these attacks have never ceased. The offence which the Lord Chancellor had given to 'The Times' was mortal. He had dared to think that a *poor man's magistrate*,—a maker of orders for relief on overseers,—a hunter after pauper-popularity,—was, in these respects, a mischievous member of society, although he might represent a county, and have some remote influence on 'The Times' newspaper: moreover, the Lord Chancellor had dared to praise a gentleman connected with the Poor-Law Commission, who had acquired the honour of having 'The Times' for his personal enemy. These were offences never to be forgiven. We commend those who are curious in the analysis of those meeties of language which some people call "strong writing," and others "Billingsgate," to read the articles in 'The Times' against the Lord Chancellor, from the 19th of July to the 26th, they were never excelled even by 'The Times' itself in its old days of 'Dr. Slop.' In the mean time, in spite of the hankerings after a "just popularity,"—in spite of the sympathy which some Peers might feel in the abuse of their Speaker,—the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill is read a second time in the House of Lords, with a minority of 13!—a fit parallel with the 173 petitioners of St. Pancras. Upon this affecting occasion, we quote the lamentations of 'The Morning Herald,' they form a sweet harmony with the ravings of 'The Times.' "We must, therefore, make up our minds for a change, a total change of system in regard to the poor." With this prospect before us, we are still happy to find that petitions are pouring in, that exertions are making without doors, and that the *few Noble Lords who have escaped the inoculation of political economy* continue to exert themselves within.'

"The inoculation of political economy!" This is the real secret of the gross mistakes of 'The Times' and 'The Herald,' with regard to their influence upon public opinion. The *people*, as well as their representatives, have *not* escaped "the inoculation of political economy." They now know that there are certain unalterable principles upon which the *science* of politics is founded, which they do not discover in the daily and weekly stimulants of the newspapers. The newspapers (at least some of them) affect to despise these principles, and they still fancy that every thing is to be carried by a clamour. Let them know their own weakness and their own strength. Their strength, when judiciously exerted in furnishing full and correct information, their weakness, their belief that the world, *in spite of the full and correct information which they give*, will be "scribbled over by their Doctors," who think that public men are merely the nine-pins to be set up and knocked down at their own good pleasure, and that public measures are to take their hue from their caprices, and be entirely moulded by their power of phrase-making. Let them not believe, either, that they can conduct a system of *espionage* with advantage to themselves individually, or with credit to their *caste*. When 'The Times' tells us that on Friday last the Chancellor "sent for a poor-law commissioner,—the least of the Apostles,—to cram him for the part he is to play,"—we *know* that 'The Times' either hazards an untruth, or that 'The Times' has spies amongst the eaves droppers of a great man's house, and carries on a confidential intercourse with lacqueys and public-office messengers. Truly, such things expound the secret which 'The Standard' let out a month or two ago, and which 'The Times' repeated,—"There is no doubt in the world that we gentlemen of the Press are, as such, thought by our happier fellow-citizens little better than gentlemen by courtesy."—We wish it were otherwise.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Newspaper Stamps for Ireland.—The number of Newspaper Stamps which have been issued for Ireland, from the 5th of January 1833, to the 5th of April, 1834, is 5,300,000—of which 175,38[illegible], were cancelled. Of this number, there were issued for Dublin alone, 3,120,939—of which were cancelled, 114,445.

Salaries and Emoluments of Receivers of Taxes for England.—The total amount of the salaries paid to the receivers of taxes in England and Wales, for the year ending the 5th of January, 1834, is 2,900*l.*; and the sum allowed for travelling expenses, during the same period, is 6,339*l.* 4*s.*

Statement of the United States Debt, and of the separate Debt of each State.

	Capital	When Redeemable.	Objects of Creation.	Price in London.
	Dollars	Years		
United S. 5 per Ct	4 735,296	1835		95
Alabama 5 per Ct	300,000	1852	For banking capital	
Ditto ditto	3 500,000	1863		96
Illinois 6 per Cent	100,000	1850	Ditto	
Indiana, ditto	200,000	1852		
Louisiana, Wilson's Loan, 5 per Cent.	1,800,000	1839 1844 1849		100
Do. Baring's Loan 5 per Cent.	1,666,667	1838 1843	Ditto	99
Ditto ditto	7,000,000	1844 1847 1850 1852		103¼
Mississippi, 6 per Cent.	500,000	1841 1846 1851 1856	Ditto	105
Ditto, ditto	500 000 500,000 500 000	1861 1866 1871		110
New York 5 per Ct.	1,400 000	1837		95
[illegible] ditto	3,124 270	1845		107
Ditto, ditto	877 000	1846 & 1847		
Ditto, ditto	150,000	1850	For canals	
Ditto, 6 per Ct	2,093,500	1837		
Ditto, ditto	850,000	1845		113
Do Chenango Canal, 5 per Cent	1,000,000	1845		
Ohio, 5 per Cent	400,000	1850	Ditto	111
Ditto, 6 per Cent	4.000,000	1850		
Pennsylvan 5 p Ct	1,300,000	1841		
Ditto, ditto	300,000	1846		
Ditto, ditto	1,000,000	1850		
Ditto, ditto	5,000,000	1853 & 1854	For canals, rail-roads, &c.	104
Ditto, ditto	2,485,162	1856		104½
Ditto, ditto	9,340,661	1858		105
Ditto, ditto	2,000,000	1860		105½
Ditto, ditto	800,000	1863		
Virginia, 5 per Ct.	500,000	1845 1850 1851 & 52		100
Ditto, 6 per Cent	400,000	1844		

Statement respecting American Banks whose shares are current in the London Market.

	Capital	Charters expire	Price in London.
	Dollars	Years	£ s.
United States Bank Shares, 7 per Cent	35 000 000	1836	23 15
Louisiana State Bank Sh., 9 per Cent	1,250 000	1870	26 0
Bank of Louisiana, 8 per Cent. . .	4 000 000	—	20 10
Bank of Orleans, 8 per Cent . .	1.0 000	—	
Bank of Orleans Canal and Banking Company, 8 per Cent.	4,000 000	—	23 5
New Orleans City Bank 8 per Cent	1,000 000	—	
Planters' Bank, Natchez, 10 per Cent	3 000 000	—	23 0

Poor's Rates, &c.—The Return, for the year ending 25th March, 1833, of the monies levied for poor's and county rates, and of the expenditure of the same upon purposes connected with the care of the poor, and with the local expenses of each county, has lately been printed by the House of Commons. The total amount of monies so levied was, for England (with a population, in 1831, of 12,086,675 souls), 8,229,798*l.*, or rather more than 13*s.* 7*d.* per head: and for Wales (with a population, in 1831, of 803,000 souls) 376,702*l.*, or rather more than 9*s.* 4*d.* per head. The total amount of the money levied was 8,606,501*l.*, which, if we take the population, as in 1831, at 12,086,675 souls, makes an average of rather more than 13*s.* 4*d.* per head. For this object alone, therefore, England and Wales are taxed twice as much as the *Austrian* dominions, which do not raise more than 6*s.* 8*d.* per head for the whole expenses of the state; and three times as much as the *Papal* dominions, which for those expenses, do not exact above 4*s.* 5*d.* per head. It is more than equivalent to their amount in *Prussia*,

whose entire expenditure is about 12*s* per head. The whole sum expended upon the poor, in the year 1832-33, was 6,790,799*l*., which is at the rate of somewhat more than 10*s* 6*d*. a head—namely, in England, 6,486,534*l*., and in Wales, 304,265*l*., the average expenditure for the former, supposing the population to have been 12,086,675 souls, being about 10*s* 8*d* per head, and for the latter, with a presumed population of 803,000 souls, being about 7*s*. 7*d*. per head The county in which the largest expenditure on the poor took place was *Middlesex*, where 647,013*l*. was expended amidst a population of 1,358,000, or about 9*s* 6*d*. per head; Lancaster stands next, with a population of 1,335,000 souls, and an expenditure on its poor of 274,981*l*, or about 4*s*. 1*d*. per head. The smallest expenditure was in the county of Rutland, where, with a population of 19,400 souls, it amounted to 897*l*., averaging nearly 9*s* 3*d* per head Since the year 1818, there has been an apparent diminution of 761 291*l* in the whole sum expended for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, making a difference of between 11 and 12 per cent. in favour of 1832-33, but the decline in the prices of the necessaries of life is more than equivalent to this difference.

Silk.—The quantity of this material, which was exported from Lombardy in the five years, 1827 to 1831, amounted to 20,888,499 pounds weight, of which one half was forwarded to London, 2,000,000 to Lyons, and 4,000,000 to Germany and Switzerland.

Hanover —In consequence of the consolidation of the royal treasury with that of the kingdom in general, the Hanoverian Chambers have, in their present session, been called upon for the first time to consider a complete budget of the revenue and expenditure of the country It appears that the total of receipts for the official year of account (1834-1835) is estimated at 6,065,020 rix dollars (about 866,130*l*.), of which 383 455*l*. or 2,684,186 rix dollars derivable from the royal revenues, and 482.975*l*, or 3,380,83[illegible] dollars, from the public revenues The estimate of expenditure, submitted to the revision of the Chambers, amounts, on the other hand, to 6,061,910 rix dollars (about 865,980*l*.), of which the proportion chargeable upon the royal revenues amounts to 382,980*l*., or 2,680,863 rix dollars, and that chargeable upon the public revenues amounts to 382,980*l*, or 3,381,047 rix dollars.

Saxon Mines, &c—We observe among the votes of the second chamber of the legislature of Saxony, on the 19th June, that the net produce of the mines, of all descriptions, is estimated at 120 907 dollars, circa 17,690*l* The expenses of management seem to be somewhat excessive, for though the gross amount of monies received, for instance, by the general smelting establishment is 898,614 dollars (131,240*l*.), the actual net produce of the department does not exceed 23,000 dollars (3350*l*) The coalpits of Saxony appear to be of trivial importance, as the net revenue derived from them is not estimated at more than 14,331 dollars (2090*l*), their gross produce, however, being 84,265 dollars (12,290*l*.), the expense of working them, therefore is 10,200*l* The net produce of the national domains, royalties, and other property, is, on an average of the three years (1834-6), 106,977 dollars, or 15,650*l*.

British Consuls.—Return of the Names, Stations, Amount of Salaries and Fees, of British Consuls, General Consuls, and Vice Consuls, holding appointments, at the commencement of the year 1834.

Station	Name	Total Amt of Salaries and Fees.
Petersburgh	Thomas John Gisborne, C.	£ 517
Archangel	Thomas C Hunt, C.	305
Riga	Robert Hay, C.	306
Liebau	Francis Kemitz, C.	150
Warsaw	Charles J. Barnett, C.	600
Odessa	James Yeames, C Gen.	857
Taganrog	William Yeames, V. C.	250
Stockholm	George Foy, C.	215
Gottenburgh	Henry Thomas Liddell, C	518
Christiana	George Mygind, C.	177
Bergen	John Greig, C.	209
Elsinore	Francis C Macgregor, C.	723
Copenhagen	N. A. Fenwick, V C.	154
Danzig	Alexander Gisborne, C.	512
Konigsberg	J D Brockmann, V. C.	61
Pillau	C. E Elsasser, V. C.	50
Memel	Charles Ruppel, V. C.	60
Stettin	J. F. Petersin, V. C.	50
Hamburgh	Henry Canning, C. Gen.	1935
Ditto	Charles Wesselhoeft, V. C.	300
Bremen	G E Papendick, V. C.	179
Lubeck	W L Behnke, V. C.	155
Cuxhaven	Henry H Dutton, V. C.	103
Amsterdam	Robert Melville, C.	367
Rotterdam	Alexander Ferrier, C.	522
Antwerp	Baron de H Larpent, C.	566
Ostend	G. A Fauche, C.	368
Paris	Thomas Pickford, C.	£291
Calais	S. G. Marshall, C.	654
Boulogne	William Hamilton, C.	522
Havre	Arch. Gordon, C.	510
Nantes	Henry Newman, C.	348
Brest	Anthony Perrier, C.	345
Charente	John Close, C.	370
Bordeaux	T B G Scott, C.	507
Bayonne	J V. Harvey, C.	303
Marseilles	Alexander Turnbull, C.	770
Toulon	L E Jouve, V C.	50
Corsica	A P. Palmedo, C.	205
Madrid	G A. Alonzo, Con. Assist	150
Bilboa	J. Clark, C.	398
Corunna	J Crispin, C.	409
Cadiz	J M Brackenbury, C	743
San Lucar	Charles Phillippe, V. C.	225
Malaga	William Mark, C	426
Carthagena	Matthew Carter, C	407
Alicante	Jasper Waring, C.	458
Barcelona	James Annesley, C	453
Mahon	L C Haygrave, C.	205
Teneriffe	Richard Bartlett, C.	504
St. Jago de Cuba	John Hardy, C	316
Havanna	C D Tolmé, C	300
Lisbon	C Gen.	500
Ditto	Jeremiah Meagher, V C	608
Oporto	Thomas S Sorell, C	689
Madeira	Henry Veitch, C	613
St. Michael's	William H Read, C Gen.	668
Ditto	R C Kendall, V C	100
Fayal	Henry Walker, V C	100
Terceira	H Alton, C	100
Cape Verds	William G Merrill, Act C.	100
Genoa	James Sterling, C.	657
Nice	Peter La Croix, C	247
Cagliari	George Bomeester, C	250
Leghorn	John Falconer C	719
Ancona	Henry Kane, V C.	181
Rome	John Freeborn, C	193
Naples	John Goodwin, C	469
Gallipoli	Richard Stevens V. C	119
Otranto	Francis V Corchia, V C.	25
Palermo	J Walsh, V C	335
Messina	H W Barker, C	668
Austrian States	William T Mooney, C Gen.	1000
Venice	W C Tatam V C	163
Trieste	Henry Bunner, V C	332
Fiume	Charles Thomas Hill, V. C.	52
Ragusa	Thomas Turner, C	202
Constantinople	John Cartwright, C Gen.	1816
Ditto	A C Cumberbatch, V. C.	429
Trebizond	James Brant, V C	207
Dardanelles	A C Lander, V. C	300
Salonica	John Charnaud, Actg C	250
Bucharest	E J Blate C	500
Adrianople	Charles Blunt, Actg. C	250
Smyrna	R W Brant, C	1171
Ditto	N. A Werry, V. C and Cancellier	637
Scio	G D Vedova, V. C.	56
Damascus	J W P Farren, C. Gen.	800
Beyrout	Peter Abbott, C	400
Cyprus	A Vondiziano, V C	25
Candia	S Capogrosso, V C.	150
Egypt	Patrick Campbell, C Gen	1951
Alexandria	Robert Thurburn C	300
Ditto	Charles Sloane, V C.	300
Cairo	Edward Barker V C.	136
Albania	W. R. Meyer, C. Gen.	1624
Patras	G W Crowe C	774
Pyrgos	Ant Pasqualigo, V. C.	200
Syra	Richard Wilkinson, C	329
Napoli	J. D. Griffiths, V C	250
New York	James Buchanan, C	1126
Philadelphia	Gilbert Robinson, C.	656
Charleston	William Ogilby, C.	611
New Orleans	George Salkeld, C.	962
Boston	George Manners, C.	656
Baltimore	John Crawford, C.	560
Pensacola	James Baker, C.	445
Norfolk	William Gray, C.	407
Savannah	Edmund Molyneux, C.	356
Portsmouth	D Mackintosh, C.	385
Mexico	Charles T O'Gorman, C. Gen.	1500
San Blas	Eustace Barron, V. C.	300
Vera Cruz	Francis Gifford, V C	547
Tampico	J. T. Crawford, V. C	400
Port au Prince	G. W. C. Courtenay, C.	1250

Station.	Name.	Total Amt of Salaries and Fees
Port au Prince	Thomas Ussher, V. C.	£500
Cape Haitien	H. J. Thompson, V. C.	415
Guatemala	Frederick Chatfield, C.	1201
Carthagena	Edward Watts, C.	1000
Maracaybo	Robert Mackay, V. C.	300
Caracas	Sir R. Ker Porter, C.	1256
Panama	C.	1000
Guayaquil	Walter Cope, C.	1000
Puerto Cabrello	William Wall, C.	821
Rio de Janeiro	Robert Hesketh, C.	1280
Maceio	Baldwin Sealy, V. C.	260
Maranham	John Moon, C	374
Para	John Hesketh, V. C.	247
Pernambuco	Henry Cowper, C.	863
Bahia	John Parkinson, C.	1282
Monte Video	Thomas S Hood, C. Gen	1027
Buenos Ayres	Charles Griffiths, C	1115
Chili	Hon John Walpole, C Gen.	1600
Valparaiso	John White, V C	842
Coquimbo	Charles Chamberlain, C.	1000
Conception	Henry Rouse, C	918
Peru	Belford H Wilson, C Gen	2040
Lima	Timothy Sealy, V C	700
Arequipa	Udny Passmore, C	1021
Sandwich Islands	Richard Charlton, C	200

Note—The amount of Salaries paid to British Consuls in various parts of the World for 1833, is 62,460*l*, and the amount of Fees, 12,143*l*. The amount paid in 1825 was 71,716*l*, and the Fees were 37,691*l*. There is a diminution in favour of 1833, on Salaries and Fees of 14 804*l*. The diminution arises from abolition of Consular stations, and reduction of Salaries. There are about 240 Vice Consular Agents who receive no Salary from Government, and who act under the Consuls within whose districts they respectively reside

Fire Insurances—The Sums paid to the Stamp Office for Duty on Insurance from Fire, for 1833, is as follows—

Insurance Offices	£	s.	d.
Alliance	20 128	10	11
Atlas	21,288	5	1
British	15,395	17	6
County	44 252	4	6
Globe	27,321	6	11
Guardian	33 216	11	5
Hand-in-Hand	10,793	12	3
Imperial	27 154	11	7
London	8,477	14	8
Phœnix	73 366	1	2
Protector	57 858	3	8
Royal Exchange	55,716	7	7
Sun	121 681	16	3
Union	16,133	4	5
Westminster	15 126	7	3
Bath Sun	1 767	19	3
Birmingham	7,004	11	8
Bristol	3,622	17	6
Bristol Crown	1 772	8	10
Bristol Union	2 566	15	8
Essex Economic	2 821	9	3
Essex and Suffolk	5,853	11	1
Hants, Sussex, and Dorset	2,598	9	5
Kent	9,978	19	6
Leeds and Yorkshire	8,458	9	2
Manchester	17,726	4	0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2,093	11	6
New Norwich Equitable	1,293	6	5
Norwich Equitable	2,647	4	5
Norwich Union	61,325	10	10
Reading	196	14	0
Salamander	4,105	13	10
Salop	2,537	15	1
Sheffield	1 952	16	9
Shields, North and South	764	14	0
Suffolk, East	5 445	15	9
Suffolk, West	6 199	6	11
West of England	27,445	0	0
Yorkshire	5,558	8	1

Navy Corporal Punishments—The following is a Return of the Number of Navy and Marine Corporal Punishments since 1829.—

	1830	1831	1832.	1833
Navy	2,022	1,727	1,762	1,502
Marines	71	89	101	99

The Marine punishments were inflicted at Chatham, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, and Pembroke.

Foreign Wines and Spirits under Bond.—On the 5th of January, 1834, there were remaining under bond at the port of London, and at the other ports of the United Kingdom, the following quantities of foreign wines and spirits:—

Foreign Wines.

	At the Port of London	At the other Ports of the United Kingdom.	Total Gallons.
Cape	229,964	170,507	400,471
French	324,561	114,095	438,656
Portugal	906,335	1,187,835	2,094,170
Madeira	326,757	93,499	420,256
Spanish	2,276,483	1 259 367	3,535,850
Canary	114,154	81,589	197,743
Rhenish	41,303	11 054	52,357
Sicilian, &c.	180,779	208 685	389,464

Foreign Spirits

	Proof Gallons	Proof Gallons	Total Gallons.
Rum	2,579,415	2,043,927	4 623,342
Brandy	965,269	679 414	1,644,683
Geneva	42,556	51,025	93,581
Other sorts	24,238	20,978	45,216

Total quantity of wines of all sorts under bond in the port of London on the 5th of January, 1834, 4,400,330 gallons, at the other ports of the United Kingdom, 3,126,631 gallons—total, for United Kingdom, 7,526,967 gallons.

Total quantity of foreign spirits—Port of London, 3,611,478 proof gallons, other ports, 2 795,344 gallons—total for United Kingdom, 3,406,822 proof gallons

Foreign Wines and Spirits—An Account of all Foreign Wines and Spirits retained for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom, distinguishing each sort, during the year ending the 5th of January, 1834

Foreign Wines

	Gallons
Cape	545,191
French	232,550
Portugal	2,596,530
Madeira	161,042
Spanish	2,246,085
Canary	68,852
Rhenish	43,758
Sicilian, &c.	313,732
All sorts	6,207,770

Foreign Spirits

	Proof Gallons
Rum	3,412,193
Brandy	1,357 211
Geneva	20 978
Other sorts	9 585
All sorts	4 879 967

British Spirits—The Number of Imperial Gallons of British Spirits retained for Home Consumption during the year 1833, is,

	England	Scotland	Ireland
British Spirits	7,717,303	5,988,556	8,168,596

Total number of gallons for the United Kingdom, 21,874,455

Exportation of Foreign Wines and Spirits—The Quantity of Foreign Wines and Spirits exported from the United Kingdom during the year 1833, is—

Foreign Wines

	Gallons
Cape	16,430
French	99 546
Portugal	243,577
Madeira	209,194
Spanish	732,306
Canary	148,915
Rhenish	12,473
Sicilian, &c	150,857
All sorts	1,613,298

Foreign Spirits

	Proof Gallons
Rum	1,834 206
Brandy	793 187
Geneva	362 955
Other sorts	67 747
All sorts	3 058 395

The Coal Trade—From an Account published by authority of the Coal and Corn Committee of the City of London, it appears that, during the year 1833, 2,010,409 tons of Coals were imported into London and sold in the Coal Market. Of that quantity—

	Tons
Newcastle sent	1 060,147
Sunderland	664,383
Stockton	170,187
Blyth	48,689
Scotland	15,138
Wales	28,416
Yorkshire	16,050
Small Coals, &c. (part of which were from Newcastle)	7,399

Metropolitan Police.—The amount actually paid on account of the metropolitan police for the year 1833, is 198,987*l* 6*s*. 4*d*. This includes all the various items of salaries, clothing, premises, gratuities, lamps and gas lights, and other incidentals The total amount received during the same period is 235,180*l* 6*s* 6*d*. But, in addition to the disbursements, there has to be added 15 000*l*. paid into his Majesty's Treasury, returned balance of loan, and a sum of 9,173*l*. 4*s*. 8*d*., owing 31st December, 1833, which extends the expenditure to 223,160*l*. 11*s*.

Militia Estimates—Comparative Abstract of the Total Amount of the Militia Estimates for the Years 1833-4, and 1834-5:—

	1833-4	1834-5
Total amount for Great Britain	£187,534 11 4½	£176,426 15 9
Total amount for Ireland	56,015 11 3	53,866 18 9

There is a decrease in the estimate for 1834-5 of 13,256*l.* 8*s.* 1½*d.*

New Churches.—Under the direction of his Majesty's Commissioners, during the last year, there have been finished ten new churches and chapels; fourteen are in progress of building; plans for three have been approved of; and grants are proposed for other five. Under the Act, there have been erected, in all, 198 churches and chapels, which, with those building and proposed to be built, amount to 220. The accommodation in churches and chapels completed, is, in pews, 119,223; and in free sittings, 147,015—total, 226,238. The amount of Exchequer bills issued for this object, up to August, 1833, is 1,480,000*l.*

Acts of Parliament.—The total number of Acts of Parliament public, local, and personal, which have been passed during the last thirty-three years, viz., from 1800, to 1833, is, 11,189. Of this number, 4,146 are public Acts, and 7,043 of a local and personal nature.

Timber Imported—Abstract of the quantity of Timber imported into the United Kingdom from the north of Europe, through Ports in North America, from 5th January, 1831, to 15th February, 1834.

	Loads	Feet	Pieces	Fathoms.
Fir Timber	5,658	4	3,467	—
Oak Timber	16	9	—	—
Lathwood	—	—	2,003	73⅜
Wainscot Logs	3	40	—	—

		Cr. hds.	Qrs.	No.
Masts 8	Staves	399	1	28

These were imported in 28 vessels, whose tonnage amounted to 7,172.

Tithe Owners' (Ireland) Relief Fund—The total number of applications on the part of owners of tithes in Ireland for relief, during the years 1831, 1832, and 1833, is 2,736, and the total amount of their applications is 818,518*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* Of the number, 2,113 were clerical, amounting to 631,219*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, and that of impropriate claims were 623, amounting to 187,299*l.* 15*s.*

Number and Tonnage of Steam Boats—The number and tonnage of British steam vessels which entered and cleared out at the London Custom House, during the year ending 5th January, 1834, is as follows:—

	Inwards	Tonnage	Outwards.	Tonnage
From and to Foreign Ports	1458	158,161	1306	131,921
Coastwise	11,328	1,633,663	11,401	1,652,089

Of those belonging to other countries, there were—

	Inwards.	Tonnage	Outwards.	Tonnage
France	92	6,584	87	6,264
Holland	17	4,777	16	4,496

Bankers' Notes.—The aggregate Amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales, by private Bankers, and by Joint Stock Companies, between the 28th December, 1833, and 29th March, 1834, is as follows:—

Private Banks	£8,733,400
Joint Stock Banks	1,458,427
	£10,191,827

Criminal Offences in England and Wales—The number of persons in England and Wales charged with Criminal offences, and committed, who were either acquitted, or sentenced to various degrees of punishment, for three several periods, is as follows:—

	For the 7 years ending 1819.	For the 7 years ending 1826.	For the 7 years ending 1833.
Males	58,810	80,315	110,567
Females	13,106	15,313	21,251
Total	72,406	95,628	131,818

During these three several periods of seven years each, the number of sentences for execution, and of actual executions, stand as follow:—

	Period ending 1819.	Period ending 1826	Period ending 1833
Sentences for execution	6,584	7,659	9,457
Sentences carried into effect	662	528	391

Of these numbers, the following is the proportion of sentences and executions in London and Middlesex—

	Period ending 1819	Period ending 1826	Period ending 1833
Sentences for execution	1,254	1,145	1,043
Sentences carried into effect	138	162	81

Bankrupt Petitions.—From November, 1823, to Easter Term, 1827, Lord Eldon heard and decided 623 bankrupt petitions; from Easter Term, 1827, to November, 1830, Lord Lyndhurst, 475; and from November, 1830, to Easter Term, 1834, Lord Brougham, 210.

Revenues and Charges of India—The following is an Abstract of the Revenues and Charges of India, for the years 1829 to 1832, with the estimate for the year 1832 to 1833.

	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32
Revenues	£14,629,388	£14,603,951	£14,198,155
Charges	£15,356,061	£14,494,752	£14,506,540

The total deficiency for these four years is, 925,958*l.* The estimated revenue for 1832-3 and 1833, is 14,218,733*l.*, and the estimated charge is 13,933,120*l.*, leaving an estimated surplus of 285,613*l.* The charges include expenses for St. Helena, and disbursements in England, which stand as follows:—

	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32.	1832-33.
	£	£	£	£
St Helena	104,399	100,257	94,152	95,553
Disbursed in Engd.	1,715,084	1,446,581	1,476,655	1,227,536

The disbursements in England consist of charges for consignments of stores, passage of military, retired pay to officers, payments on account of King's troops in India, retiring pay to King's troops, absentee allowances to civil servants, expense of the Tanjore Commission, with other general and miscellaneous charges.

New Table of Custom Duties, proposed by Mr Poulett Thomson on the 2d of July

Article	Proposed duty £	s	d	Present duty £	s	d
Apples, dried, the bushel	0	2	0	0	7	0
Books, being of editions printed in or since the year 1801, bound or unbound, the cwt	2	10	0	5	0	0
Currants, do.	1	2	2	2	4	4
Figs, do	0	15	0	1	1	6
Grapes, for every 100*l.* of the value	5	0	0	10	0	0
Liqueurs, the produce of, and imported from the British possessions in America, the gallon	0	9	0	1	0	0
Oil, animal the cwt.	0	2	6	50 per cent.		
— cocoa nut, do.	0	1	3	0	2	6
— olive, the tun	4	1	0	8	8	0
—— if produced in, or imported from the dominions of the king of Naples	8	8	0	8	8	0
—— imported in a ship belonging to subjects of the king of Naples	10	10	0	10	10	0
— palm, the cwt.	0	1	3	0	2	6
Palmetto Thatch, produced in, or imported from the British dominions in America, for every 100*l.* of the value	10	0	0	20	0	0
Pears, dried, the bushel	0	2	0	0	10	0
Plantains, dried, produced in and imported from the British dominions in America, for every 100*l.* of the value	5	0	0	20	0	0
Prunes, the cwt	0	7	0	1	7	6
Raisins, do.	0	15	0	1	0	0
—— the produce of, and imported from any British possession, the cwt.	0	7	6	10	0	0

Royal Academy—The number of Exhibitors, Members, Students, and others, at the Royal Academy, during the last ten years, is as follow—

	1824	1825	1826.	1827.	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
Members	46	42	44	43	45	48	44	45	48	45
Students	136	136	134	144	150	116	147	162	160	159
Others	362	386	379	414	466	439	490	490	477	419
Total	544	564	557	601	661	633	681	697	685	653

There are five Professors in the Royal Academy,—viz, those of Anatomy, Perspective, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, each of whom is to deliver six lectures annually. During the last ten years there have been 189 lectures delivered.

In the early years of the institution, the members were not limited in their contributions to the annual exhibitions; but as the artists of the country became more numerous, the members restricted the number of their own works, and opened additional rooms for the general accommodation. The following is the number of works exhibited since 1823—of the portraits it is to be observed, that between two and three hundred, annually, are miniatures:—

1824—Historical and Poetical Works	109
Landscapes, Views, Animals, &c.	219
Carried over	328

Brought forward	328
Portraits	517
Sculpture, Statues, Relievos, Gems	59
Busts	34
Architecture	99
	1,037
1825—Historical and Poetical Works	136
Landscapes, Views, Animals	342
Portraits	413
Sculpture, Statues, Relievos, Gems	52
Busts	60
Architecture	69
	1,072
1826—Historical and Poetical Works	122
Landscapes, Views, Animals	277
Portraits	484
Sculpture, Statues, &c.	74
Busts	51
Architecture	97
	1,105
1827—Historical and Poetical Works	112
Landscapes, &c.	312
Portraits	476
Sculpture, &c.	59
Busts	34
Architecture	134
	1,127
1828—Historical and Poetical Works	129
Landscapes, Views, &c	321
Portraits	476
Sculpture, &c	67
Busts	49
Architecture	126
	1,214
1829—Historical and Poetical Works	184
Landscapes, &c	246
Portraits	573
Sculpture, &c.	53
Busts	66
Architecture	101
	1,223
1830—Historical and Poetical Works	167
Landscapes, &c.	319
Portraits	533
Sculpture, &c.	70
Busts	67
Architecture	122
	1,278
1831—Historical and Poetical Works	153
Landscapes, Views, Animals, &c.	290
Portraits	511
Sculptures, Statues, Relievos, Gems, &c.	71
Busts	72
Architecture	137
	1,234
1832—Historical and Poetical Works	145
Landscapes, Views, &c.	296
Portraits	533
Sculptures, Statues, &c.	76
Busts	70
Architecture	109
	1,229
1833—Historical and Poetical Works	141
Landscapes, &c.	309
Portraits	531
Sculpture, &c.	64
Busts	75
Architecture	86
	1,226

POOR RATES.

(From a Correspondent.)

A Table showing the Amount contributed towards the Poor Rate by every Individual in the Kingdom, as represented both in Money and in Wheat, at various periods, from 1748 to 1832.

Years.	Population of England and Wales	Expended on the Relief of the Poor.	Per Head on the Population		Price of Winchester Bushel of Wheat.		Contributed per Head in Wheat.
		£	s.	d.	s.	d.	Hundredths of a Bushel.
1748							
1749	6,467,000	0,689,000	2	2	4	5	49
1750							
1760	6,736,000	0,965,000	3	0	4	10	62
1770	7,428,000	1,306,000	3	6	6	5	54
1776	7,228,000	1,521,000	3	11	6	9	58
1780	7,953,000	1,774,000	4	5	5	11	74
1783							
1784	8,233,000	1,912,000	4	7	7	7	60
1785							
1790	8,675,000	2,567,000	5	11	6	4	93
1800	9,140,000	3,861,000	8	5	10	2	82
1803	9,423,000	4,077,000	8	8	8	1	107
1810	10,370,000	5,407,000	10	3	12	1	83
1813	10,844,000	6,656,000	12	3	16	8	73
1814	10,915,000	6,294,000	11	5	12	3	93
1815	11,186,000	5,418,000	9	8	8	10	109
1816	11,358,000	5,724,000	10	0	7	9	129
1817	11,530,000	6,918,000	11	2	10	11	102
1818	11,702,000	7,890,000	13	4	11	3	118
1819	11,874,000	7,531,000	12	7	10	4	105
1820	12,046,000	7,329,000	12	2	8	8	111
1821	12,218,000	6,947,000	11	4	7	10	143
1822	12,402,000	6,358,000	10	3	6	9	151
1823	12,586,000	5,772,000	9	2	5	5	160
1824	12,770,000	5,736,000	8	11	6	5	141
1825	12,954,000	5,786,000	8	11	7	9	115
1826	13,139,000	5,928,000	9	0	8	3	109
1827	13,344,000	6,441,000	9	7	7	4	130
1828	13,539,000	6,298,000	9	2	7	1	129
1829	13,734,000	6,332,000	9	2	7	6	122
1830	13,924,000	6,829,000	9	9	8	3	118
1831	14,161,000	6,795,000	9	7	8	0	119
1832	14,372,000	7,036,000	9	9	8	3	118

I understand the year for which the price of Wheat is given to end in March in each year, to correspond with the period at which the Poor Rate Accounts are made up. And (excepting the four decennial periods) the Amount of the Population is of course matter of computation and calculation only.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Ten Reports have been issued since our last publication. Their dates extend from the 2d of June to the 1st July; and the last is numbered the thirty-fifth.

	No of Petitions.	No of Sigs
Parliamentary.		
For Repeal of the Union	462	538,978
For Vote by Ballot	14	19,831
For elucidation of the Reform Bill	4	341
For Triennial Parliaments	3	1,332
Ecclesiastical.		
For relief of Protestant Dissenters	1,109	314,592
Against	376	26,823
Against the Bill for admitting Dissenters to the Universities	418	40,801
For the Bill	20	1,667
Against lay patronage in Scotland	241	109,988
Against alteration in Scotland	12	337
For relief of the Jews	13	36,180
For better Observance of the Lord's day	709	155,587
For Lord's day Observance Bill	352	40,810
Sabbath-day Observance Bill (Scotland)	13	16,353
In support of the Church of England	624	86,808
For Reform in the Church.		
For separation of Church and State	49	55,109
Against separation	183	25,951
In support of the Church of Scotland	33	11,293
Tithes for abolition	417	363,101
Against Tithes (Ireland) Bill	417	363,101
In support of the Church of Ireland	79	10,075

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn Laws	30	149,842
Against alteration	127	28,919
Beer Act, for repeal or amendment	98	15,753
——— against alteration	19	1,855
Church Rates, against the proposed measure	126	49,202
Against the Poor Law Amendment Bill	169	16,958
——— Stamp Receipt Tax	16	8,992
——— Reciprocity of Duties bill	43	6,372
Merchant Seamen, for relief from the tax to support Greenwich Hospital	17	8,079
Miscellaneous.		
In favour of the Dorchester convicts	69	216,915
Hand-loom Weavers for relief	77	63,690
Linen Weavers for relief	8	8,933
Against the General Registry Bill		
Agriculturists for relief	35	30,690
For Inquiry into the extent and cause of drunkenness	214	56,219
For inquiry into the state of Irish Fisheries	14	3,761
Against the employment of Children to sweep Chimneys	32	7,844
For Law Reform		
In behalf of the Polish Exiles	11	2,646
For amendment of the Laws relating to Friendly Societies	18	1,517
Against Friendly Societies' Bill	3	175
For protection against Trades' Unions		
In favour of Labourers' Employment Act	47	1,890
For inquiry into the state of the Medical Profession	24	950
Against Imprisonment for Debt	12	1,014
For mitigation of the severity of Criminal Laws	11	872
Schoolmasters, Scotland	38	401
Lancaster Court of Common Pleas	18	363
Cruelty to Animals	4	853
For compensation for destruction of Chapels in Jamaica	5	478
For Bankrupts' (Scotland) Bill	5	139
Miscellaneous petitions reported since our last Publication	121	5,823

Bankruptcy Analysis, from June 24 to July 25.—Beer Retailer, 1. Bombazine Manufacturer, 1 Bookbinder, 1. Builders, 6 Carman, 1. Carver and Gilder, 1. Cattle Dealer, 1 Chemists and Druggists, 3. Commission Agents, 2. Cook, 1. Corn Merchant, 1. Cotton Spinners, 2. Drapers, 3. Earthenware Manufacturer, 1. Factor, 1. Glovers, 2 Grocers, 6 Hatter, 1 Horse Dealer, 1. Hosier, 1. Ironmongers, 6 Lace Manufacturer, 1. Lighterman, 1. Linen-drapers, 2. Maltster, 1. Mariner, 1. Mercer, 1. Merchants, 3 Millers, 4. Needle Manufacturer, 1 Paper Manufacturer, 1. Plumber, 1. Pork Butcher, 1. Printer, 1. Saddler, 1. Scriveners, 2. Ship-chandler, 1. Shoemakers, 2. Silk Manufacturer, 1. Soap Manufacturer, 1. Stationers, 5. Stay-maker, 1. Surgeons, 2 Tailors, 7 Tallow Chandler, 1. Toymen, 3 Victuallers, 6 Wine Merchant, 1 Total, 96. Total from the commencement of the year, 598.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR AUGUST, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

OUR last Retrospect carried down the account of the proceedings in Parliament to the evening of the 26th of June. On the following day a matter, which for the moment excited considerable interest, was brought under the notice of the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. A paragraph had appeared in the 'Morning Post' of that day, charging his lordship, in the most distinct and, indeed, vehement language, with the extraordinary crime of having inserted in the journals of the House a false entry of one of the judicial decisions of their lordships. This attack probably deserves to be accounted the wildest extravagance into which any body has been hurried by the fury of party ever since the commencement of the present tempestuous state of the political world on the accession of Earl Grey's administration. The accusation was so improbable in every view of it, that it could only, one would have supposed, have been believed or deliberately advanced in a paroxysm of the most blinding passion. It appeared that the Chancellor had never so much as seen the entry which he was accused of having falsified, and that the entry, besides, was perfectly correct and in the customary form. It has been misapprehended by the ignorance and precipitation of the newspaper writer, who showed at the same time how far he could forget in his zeal all reason and common sense by his monstrous supposition that a judgment solemnly pronounced in public court, and especially in the presence of the parties most interested on both sides, or their agents, was an act which any one was likely to attempt to smother, or conceal from the world, by such an expedient as the one assumed to have been resorted to,—the false entry of it in the journals On the motion of Earl Grey, the House resolved that the article was a gross breach of its privileges, and the printer of the paper was ordered to attend at the bar on the following day. He appeared accordingly, but upon stating that he was merely the publisher of the paper, and had no control over its management, he was discharged; and the person whom he named as the editor was ordered to attend on Monday. The affair was terminated on the Wednesday following by the discharge of the editor from custody on payment of fees, after he had acknowledged that a breach of privilege had been committed for which he was responsible, and had been reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor.

The Dramatic Performances Bill was lost in the House of Lords on the 27th of June, on the motion of the Marquis of Clanricarde that the House should resolve itself into a committee. Only eight noble lords voted for the motion, twenty-two against it.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, the Report of the Committee on the Poor Laws Amendment Bill was agreed to without a division, after a debate of some length The House then resolved itself into committee on the Postage of Newspapers Bill, when it was agreed that, as an interior arrangement, foreign newspapers should be transmissible through the Post Office on payment of a postage of *2d.* for each.

On Monday, the 30th, the Bill for the Prevention and Punishment of Bribery at Elections was read a second time in the House of Lords, but was afterwards referred to a select committee. On this evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Littleton moved that the House should resolve itself into committee on the Irish Tithes Bill; but after some discussion, in the course of which Mr O Connell moved that the bill should be committed that day six months, the Right Honourable Gentleman consented to postpone further proceedings till the Friday following.

On the 1st of July the new Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances in Ireland, commonly called the Irish Coercion Bill, was proposed in the House of Lords by Earl Grey in a masterly and impressive address, and read a first time. The measure was the same with that passed last session, except that the clauses relating to courts-martial were omitted. In the House of Commons the third reading of the Poor Laws Amendment Bill was, after a protracted debate, carried by a majority of 187 to 50. The bill was then passed. On the following day, it was, on the motion of Earl Grey, read for the first time in the House of Lords. On that evening, in the House of Commons, several of the clauses in the Registry of Births Bill were discussed in committee and agreed to, after which the House resolved itself into committee on the Custom House Acts, and, on the motion of Mr Poulett Thomson, agreed to a series of resolutions reducing the import duties on certain articles of foreign produce 'The Bill for the Admission of Dissenters to Degrees in the Universities was then committed, *pro formâ*, on the motion of Mr. G W. Wood. In the course of a short discussion which took place, the Speaker took occasion to express himself as distinctly opposed to the principle of the measure, on the ground that its tendency was to overthrow the present system of instruction at the universities, and to introduce either acrimonious disputation or total indifference on the subject of religion. A motion for bringing up the report of the committee of the whole House on Mr. Poulter's Sabbath Bill was afterwards carried by a majority of 30 to 7.

In the House of Lords, on the 3rd, the Lord Chancellor presented a petition from the inhabitants of Hull for the repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers; and after stating that he had been lately examined on the subject before a committee of the House of Commons, intimated his inten-

tion of moving that a copy of the evidence taken before that committee should be laid on the table of their lordships' house.

This evening, in the House of Commons, an altercation arose between Mr. Littleton and Mr. O'Connell, which led to important results. It appears that the renewal of the Irish Coercion Bill, with the exception only of the clauses relating to courts-martial, had been determined upon in the Cabinet, without any dissenting voice, on the representation of the Marquis Wellesley, in April, that the measure was necessary for the good government of Ireland. After this resolution had been taken, however, Mr. Littleton, in concert with another member of the Government, whose name has not transpired, had written to Lord Wellesley in such terms as to induce him to believe that Ministers would experience great difficulty or embarrassment in attempting to obtain the consent of Parliament to that part of the measure which gave the Lord Lieutenant the power of preventing public meetings; and upon this his lordship, about the middle of June, transmitted a communication to Earl Grey, in which he expressed his willingness to attempt to carry on the government without being again armed with that power. But Earl Grey, who was now apprized for the first time of the correspondence which his two colleagues had been carrying on with Lord Wellesley, replied to his lordship's letter by intimating that he would not be expected to regulate his views of what the new bill ought to be by such considerations regarding the state of parties in this country as it appeared had been submitted to his attention; and accordingly the bill as has been mentioned above, was brought forward in the shape originally determined upon. Meanwhile, however, Mr Littleton, convinced, it should seem, that the concession which had been obtained from the Lord Lieutenant would lead to a change in the views of the Cabinet, had unfortunately entered into communication with Mr. O'Connell, and informed him that the clauses prohibiting public meetings would not be renewed, but that all that would be proposed would be merely a short bill for the suppression of agrarian disturbances. It is admitted, that in making this communication, the Right Honourable Gentleman had had the concurrence of Lord Althorp, who, however, advised him to be more cautious than he appears to have been; and that the proceeding was taken without the knowledge of Earl Grey. This recital, collected from statements made in the two houses at various times, brings us to the debate in the House of Commons on the evening of the 3d.

From the statements of Mr O'Connell and Mr. Littleton, although they were directly contradictory as to some minor points, it appeared the communication of the latter had been strictly confidential, and well understood to be so, but that upon finding the expectations which it had excited disappointed, the former had considered himself entitled to disregard his promise of secrecy, and had, in point of fact, divulged all that had been stated to him. The excuse which Mr O'Connell offered for this conduct, was, that he considered himself to have been intentionally deceived or cheated, and that Ministers had gained, or nearly gained, certain advantages over him by the mistake into which he had been led as to their intentions. He afterwards acknowledged that there were no grounds for imputing to Mr. Littleton any intention to mislead him. Meanwhile, on the following evening, the Coercion Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, on the motion of Earl Grey, Lord Durham alone objecting to the part of the measure prohibitory of public meetings. The same night a warm debate took place in the House of Commons, on occasion of Mr. Littleton's propositions in a committee of the whole House for the modification of the Irish Taxes Bill. The new scheme of the Government in regard to this matter, was denounced in particular by Mr. Stanley, in a speech of remarkable vehemence, and characterized as nothing better than a miserable compound of jugglery and spoliation. It was at the same time assailed on opposite grounds by Mr. Hume, who moved an amendment, which, on a division, was rejected by a majority of 354 to 71. The committee then divided on the resolution proposed by Mr. Littleton, which was carried by a majority of 235 to 171.

On Monday the 7th the Coercion Bill passed through the committee in the House of Lords in the form in which it had been originally brought forward. In the Commons, Lord Althorp, in laying upon the table some papers relating to the state of Ireland, intimated that Mr. Littleton had, on the Saturday preceding, tendered his resignation, but had been prevailed upon to remain in office on the earnest request of Earl Grey and his other colleagues. An animated debate then arose on an amendment moved by Mr. O'Connell to the effect that the papers should be referred to a select committee, which, however, on a division was rejected by a majority of 156 to 73. The avowed object of this proposition was, that the select committee might call for the entire correspondence between the Government and Lord Wellesley, and that it might thus be ascertained on what grounds his lordship had twice, as was alleged, changed his opinion as to the portion of the Coercion Bill referring to the suppression of public meetings, having been in favour of those clauses in April, opposed to them, or at least willing to dispense with them in June, and again in favour of them in July. The Ministers resisted the motion principally on the ground that the letters were private communications, and that it was unprecedented, and would be in the highest degree inconvenient, for such papers to be produced.

The latter part of this evening was principally occupied in debating a resolution moved by the Marquis of Chandos, for an address to his Majesty, representing the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, and requesting relief by a reduction of taxation. The motion, which was opposed by Ministers, was only rejected by a majority of 16, in rather a full House, the numbers being 174 for, and 190 against it. After this, the second reading of the Irish Tithes Bill was carried, against the opposition of Mr. Hume, by a majority of 181 to 106.

* The publicity, however, which had been given by the above-mentioned debate, to the fact that Lord Wellesley had at one time expressed his willingness, at least, to attempt to carry on his government, without the power of prohibiting public meetings, had convinced Lord Althorp and other members of the Cabinet that it would not now be possible to carry the Coercion Bill through the House of Commons while it contained the clauses conferring that power. The Ministers who agreed with Lord Althorp in this view, were afterwards stated to be Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Ellice, Mr Charles Grant, and Mr Spring Rice. The majority of the Cabinet, however, being still in favour of proceeding with the measure in its original shape, Lord Althorp conceived that he had no other course than to tender his resignation. On receiving intimation of this resolution of his noble friend, Earl Grey appears to have felt that the loss which his government was about to sustain, was so serious, that, considering especially his advanced age, and the injury his health had for some time been suffering from the cares and fatigues of office, there was no chance that he should be longer able to conduct the affairs of the country with satisfaction to himself. In these circumstances, he also formed the determination of resigning, and forthwith asked and obtained his Majesty's leave to retire from the public service. The first intimation which the public received of these events was from the postponement, on the 8th, in the House of Lords, of the report on the Irish Coercion Bill, and the second reading of the Poor Laws Amendment Bill, both of which stood for that evening. No allusion to what had occurred was as yet made in the House of Commons, where the principal business of the evening was the discussion of a plan for taking down the names of members on divisions, recommended by a committee which had been appointed to consider the best means of effecting that object. The proposition was adopted by a majority of 76 to 32; but after having been tried once or twice, the process was found not to answer, and the resolution which sanctioned it has been rescinded.

On Wednesday the 9th, Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Lord Althorp in the Commons, explained the reasons which had induced them to resign their offices. The most material circumstances which they detailed, have been embodied in the preceding narrative. Earl Grey's speech was one of the noblest and most affecting addresses ever delivered within the walls of Parliament, and formed a worthy close to the official life of a statesman whose whole political course has been a brilliant example of patriotism and unsullied honour.

The Ministry being thus deprived of its chief, a suspension of public business became necessary in order to afford time for the formation of a new Government. Accordingly, after the transaction of some business of minor importance, the Commons on the 10th, and the Lords on the day following,

adjourned to Monday the 14th. During this interval, Lord Melbourne was sent for by his Majesty, and an address, numerously signed by members of the House of Commons, was presented to Lord Althorp, begging him to retain office should his Majesty desire his services. On Monday it was announced in both Houses that Lord Melbourne had received his Majesty's commands to form a new administration; and the House of Commons again adjourned till Thursday, the 17th. On the 16th the Lord Chancellor stated in the House of Lords that the new Government was formed, and that Lord Melbourne as its head would be in his place on the following day. The arrangements that had been made were the following.—Lord Melbourne, as premier, had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Althorp continued Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Duncannon, created a peer by the title of Baron Duncannon, of Besborough, had become Secretary for the Home Department; and Sir John Cam Hobhouse had succeeded his Lordship as Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, with a seat in the Cabinet. A lively debate followed the announcement of these changes by Lord Althorp in the House of Commons on the day that body re-assembled.

But a much more acrimonious discussion arose in the Lords, when the new premier, in reply to a question of Lord Ellenborough's, informed their Lordships that it was not his intention to move the third reading of the Coercion Bill then before the House, but that another Bill would immediately be introduced into the House of Commons with the clauses about public meetings omitted. Ministers rested the defence of their change of procedure upon the consideration which has been already stated, namely, that after the disclosures which had been made of Lord Wellesley's willingness to attempt to carry on the government of Ireland without the extraordinary powers in regard to public meetings which the original bill conferred upon him, it would be impossible for the bill to be carried through the House of Commons.

This evening considerable opposition was made in the House of Commons to the motion that the House should resolve itself into committee on the Beer Act Amendment Bill; but, on a division, the motion was carried by a majority of 105 to 35. The most important clause of the bill—that compelling every person applying for a licence for the sale of beer to be drunk on the premises to produce annually a certificate signed by six inhabitants of the parish rated at 10*l*.—was afterwards carried by a majority of 77 to 51. The division was upon an amendment for omitting the word "annually."

On Friday, the 18th, both Houses were again chiefly occupied with the Irish Coercion Bill. In the Lords, Lord Wharncliffe moved for the production of the letter understood to have been addressed by the Marquis of Wellesley to Earl Grey which had occasioned the change of opinion in certain members of the Cabinet. The motion, however, after some discussion, was withdrawn. In the Commons, the new Coercion Bill was brought forward by Lord Althorp. The motion for leave to bring in the Bill was opposed by Mr. O'Connell, but was carried on a division by a majority of 140 to 43. This evening Mr. Poulter's Sabbath Bill, after having been read a third time by a majority of 57 to 24, was lost on the question that it should pass, the ayes being 31 and the noes 35. A clause, proposed by Mr. Cayley, had been previously carried, legalizing all games of exercise in the open air on Sundays, except during the hours of divine service.

On Monday, the 21st, the second reading of the Poor Laws Amendment Bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. His Lordship addressed the House at great length, and the measure was also strongly supported by the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Winchelsea, and other peers. On a division, the second reading was carried by a majority of 76 to 13. The clauses up to the 51st inclusive have since been considered in committee, and agreed to without any material modifications.

In the House of Commons this day a conversation of considerable interest arose on the subject of a petition presented by Mr. Tennyson complaining of the inhumanity of a late case of military flogging at the Charing Cross barracks. Mr. Ellice intimated that cases of violent insubordination in the army were on the increase, and that it was his intention to recommend to his Majesty to issue a commission to inquire generally into the existing code of military law with a view to its improvement where necessary. The order of the day for the second reading of the Coercion Bill was then moved, when Mr. P. Scrope moved a resolution intended to pledge Parliament to the introduction of a system of poor-laws into Ireland. The resolution was negatived by a majority of 89 to 34, and the second reading of the bill was then carried by a majority of 146 to 25.

After this division, Mr. O'Connell, as chairman of the committee appointed to inquire into the case of Mr. D. W. Harvey, brought under the notice of the House a statement which it appeared had been made by Lord Western in his examination before the committee, to the effect that at the election of 1831 a sum of 500*l*. had been transmitted by Mr. Ellice, then one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, to further the election of Mr. Mayhew, one of the reform candidates for Colchester. It was alleged, or at least left to be inferred, that the money was from the public treasury. Mr. Ellice, however, explained that it was derived from the funds of an association of the friends of reform, and he read several letters in corroboration of his statement. The subject was again brought forward on Wednesday by Mr. O'Connell, who moved that it should be referred to a committee of privileges; but the motion was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 114 to 34. After this business had been disposed of on Monday a grant of 60,000*l*. was voted by the House to be distributed among the officers and men who had been engaged in the battle of Navarino.

No business of importance was transacted in either House on the 22d, though both on that and the following day various bills were advanced one or more stages. On the 23d, Mr. F. O'Connor moved, in the Commons, that an address should be presented to his Majesty for the release of Mr. Grant and Mr. Bell, of the 'True Sun,' from the King's Bench prison; but after a debate of some length, the motion was negatived by a majority of 62, there being 46 for and 108 against it. The Irish Coercion Bill was afterwards carried through the committee, and the South Australian Colonization Bill was read a second time by a majority of 33 to 17. On Thursday, the 24th, the House of Commons did not meet in the evening.

On the 25th, the Great Western Railroad Bill, which had been sent up from the House of Commons, was, after some debate, thrown out in the House of Lords, on the second reading, by a majority of 47 to 30. The chief objection taken to it was that it proposed the formation of a railway only on two small portions of the line between London and Bristol, namely, from London to Reading at the one end, and from Bristol to Bath at the other. It was argued that so imperfect a scheme had no claim to the sanction of the legislature.

On Friday the 25th, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, after a conversation of some length had arisen on some remarks made by Mr. Goulburn in reference to the numerous new appointments made under the act for the grant of 1,000,000*l*. to the Irish Church and other recent measures, which led to explanations on the part of Ministers that were apparently to the general satisfaction of the House, Lord Althorp brought forward the budget for the financial year which has just commenced. His Lordship stated that the receipts for the year ending the 5th of July, 1834, amounted to 46,911,586*l*., and the expenditure to 44,737,556*l*., leaving a surplus of 2,177,030*l*., being the largest he had ever had the satisfaction of announcing. The receipts of the last year had also rather exceeded those of the preceding year (the difference was nearly 20,000*l*.), notwithstanding that reductions of taxation had taken place to the amount of a million and a half. On the other hand, the expenditure had been diminished to the extent of 650,000*l*. The supplies that had been either already voted, or had to be provided, for the year ending the 5th of April, 1835, were, for the army, 6,497,903*l*.; the navy, 4,578,009*l*.; the ordnance, 1,166,914*l*.; miscellaneous, 2,228,387*l*., and for the consolidated fund, 30,500,000*l*.; making a total of 44,971,213*l*. The diminution of supplies, as compared with last year, was only 149,274*l*. instead of 500,000*l*. as he had anticipated, but the deficiency was accounted for by the following charges which had unexpectedly arisen, or were peculiar to the year, namely, payment, according to arrangement, to the East India Company, 125,000*l*.; to the same for St. Helena, 99,000*l*.; grant to the officers and men at Navarino, 60,000*l*.; to encourage steam navigation to India, 20,000*l*., advanced to pay seamen, 100,000*l*.; in all,

404,000*l.* But for these payments, and one or two others of trifling amount still to be voted, the surplus would have been 661,584*l.* In looking to the means of providing the income for the present year, he enumerated the following as the reduction of taxation that had either been already made, or were intended to be proposed:—the house tax, 1,200,000*l.*; the reductions in the customs, stated some days before by Mr. Poulett Thomson, 200,000*l*; the duty on starch, 75,000*l.*; the duties on stone bottles and sweets, 6000*l.*; assessed taxes on shepherds' dogs: horses belonging to poor clergymen, dissenters as well as of the church; windows in small farm-houses, &c, 75,000*l.*; and duty on almanacs, 25,000*l.* He calculated that notwithstanding these reductions, if the sources of revenue that remained untouched should merely prove as productive as they had since last year, he would still have a surplus of receipts over expenditure, to the amount of about 400,000*l.* This being the case, he considered that he might safely venture, in addition to the reductions he had already proposed, to reduce the duty on Irish spirits from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* the gallon. He anticipated that the loss to the revenue from this source would not probably exceed 200,000*l*, so that he might still count upon a surplus of about as much more Such is the statement of the noble lord, in so far as we have been able to collect it from the only sources of information that have appeared up to the time at which we go to press—the reports in the newspapers There may be some inaccuracies, however, in these accounts, which we shall probably have the means of correcting in our next number.

FRANCE.

The royal ordonnance which summoned the Chambers for the 20th of August, has been superseded by another which convokes them for the 31st of July. The returns of the members of the Chamber of Deputies are then to be verified, and after sitting for a few days, a prorogation is to take place According to this mode of proceeding, the terms of the charter, which exact that France must never be left without a regularly constituted parliament, for more than three months, will be properly complied with. By the former ordonnance, an unconstitutional mistake would have been committed. Unless the state of Europe should become more troubled than it is, the Chambers, after their *pro forma* meeting at the end of July, will be prorogued till autumn.

The cabinet has been much agitated by the changes in our own, particularly during the days of uncertainty as to the extent of the changes likely to take place in our administration. The absolutists, not only in France but in every country in Europe, seem to have looked to the fall of Lord Grey and a succeeding Tory cabinet for the speedy realization of all their hopes This was only to be procured by new revolutions, sanguinary reactions, and something like a general war, but for these evils the legitimists were prepared.

Marshal Soult has quitted office, and has been succeeded as president of the council and minister of the war department, by Marshal Gerard, a more honourable but much less able man. Soult's fall is attributed by some to his having insisted on raising the standing army of France to 400,000 men, but the government journals endeavour to prove that his age and infirmities necessitated a retirement from the toils of office. It does not appear that this event will effect the slightest change in the spirit or views of the French government, nor, is it expected that Louis Philippe will consent to any reduction of his army as long as the great Northern Powers remain in their present attitude.

The arsenal and the dock-yards at Toulon have been kept in a state of extraordinary activity in preparing ships, the destination of which is said to be the Levant, where they are to join and act with the British squadron.

A marriage has been concluded between Louis Philippe's second daughter and (her cousin) a brother of the King of Naples. This union, it is contemplated, will strengthen the the King of Naples' adhesion to the quadruple alliance, for which treaty he has already expressed his affection. He has even intimated a desire of giving to his own states a moderate representative form of government—not a constitution like that established by the revolution of June 1820, but something more like the French charte, with an upper house of parliament, &c. It appears, however, to require all the exercise of French address and energy to remove the fear of Austria from before the young king's eyes.

At Paris considerable sensation has been excited by the arrest of M. Jauge, who announced himself as banker to his legitimate majesty, Charles V. of Spain (Don Carlos) and advertised a loan in his favour. According to the showing of some of the French journals, by a particular clause in their constitutional laws, the penalties attached to treason are extended to those who plot against or otherwise injure any ally of France. The ally, in this instance, is the recognized infant Queen of Spain.

The French troops that have been for some time gathering at the foot of the Pyrenees and near the Spanish frontier are now put in full campaign order, and are ready to march, should the armed intervention contemplated in the quadruple alliance be called for.

PORTUGAL.

It appears that Don Pedro did not ratify the quadripartite treaty, of which we gave the heads in our last monthly retrospect, without some delay.

The serious difficulty he raised was against the title of Infanta being preserved to his brother Don Miguel, which it was by the treaty! Out of the splitting of a straw like this he thought fit to make matter for long cabinet discussions and diplomatic correspondence.

Several sanguinary retaliations have taken place on the defeated partisans of Don Miguel, and on several occasions where they have had the opportunity the Pedrotes, taking the law into their own hands, have done summary execution on obnoxious members of the opposite faction. Private pique, jealousy, and enmity have not lost this opportunity for indulging themselves. We learn with pleasure that government has expressed its disgust at these personal excesses, and has taken measures to prevent their being repeated. We are told, however, at the same time, that the police is wretchedly deficient in its operation even at Lisbon, and that at the provincial towns and in the interior it is altogether inefficient, and scarcely makes a show of resistance to the will and passions of the party triumphant.

The decree we gave in our last Number, by which Don Pedro, without the concurrence of the Cortes or the nation, without any authority but his own temporary authority as Regent for his daughter, suppresses all the regular orders of monks in the kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies, and seizes their property, has caused indignation and horror in some quarters, and astonishment in all except in his own cabinet and the circle of his advisers. When the news first reached Rome, the capital of the Catholic world, it was not credited; but on being properly confirmed it made a deep impression on the Papal court, already sufficiently indisposed to Don Pedro. This sweeping measure will most assuredly prevent the Pope from recognizing Donna Maria as Queen, and in a country like Portugal that recognition is not to be despised nor forfeited without great risk

By the fourth article of the monastic suppression decree it is regulated that every monk who is not otherwise provided for shall receive an annual pension for his support, unless, indeed, he have in any way favoured the usurper Don Miguel Now, we are not at all surprised when we consider how wide and indefinite are the grounds of exception—how naturally men with the confiscated property in their hands, are disposed to invalidate the claims of those who are to receive any indemnity from it, and how remorseless are all commissions, especially when acting on behalf of a new government with a beggared exchequer,—we say, when we reflect on all these things, we are no ways surprised to be told, as we are from Lisbon and other parts of the kingdom, that nearly all the monks who have been driven from their homes and thrown upon the world have been left not wholly unprovided for now, but without any hope of future provision We are familiar with the history of monastic confiscation in Italy during the sway of the French republic. Then and there also it was agreed to allow the suppressed unhoused monks annual pensions for the support of life; but similar exceptions were also taken, and by asserting this friar to be a royalist—that a friend to the Bourbons, &c. &c., the names on the pension list were reduced to very agreeable financial limits. But even those left on the list rarely received the miserable pittance fixed by government. Every claimant was allowed to take precedence of them.

From about 12*l.* to 15*l.* sterling per annum was the maximum of the monastic pensions. Many of those to whom such an insufficient sum was allotted, particularly monks of the Benedictine and others of the higher orders, were men of noble birth, whose ancestors enriched the monasteries in which they had lived up to the days of the revolution. Their style of living, though certainly not always luxurious, was decent and gentlemanly in the extreme, and such as could not be maintained individually out in the world for less than 100*l.* or 120*l.* a year (even in Italy) for each monk. The sum fixed for them by the commissions on church property was less than the wages of the commonest servant, and even this, as we have already stated, was most irregularly paid to them.

We are also far from being surprised at the excessively low prices the confiscated monastic estates and other property fetch in the market. These estates are now selling in Portugal at a tithe of their value, and purchasers are few and reluctant even on these terms. We shall commit a mistake if we attribute this fact wholly to the impoverishment of the country and a want of capitalists. There is another cause at work. The Portuguese consider the tenure of such property, so seized and sold, *as insecure*, and the more devout among them regard the transaction as a sacrilegious spoliation. Self-interest might overcome the latter feeling, but only time and a firmly-rooted government can remove the worldly apprehension, that in buying monastic property they are not giving away their money for what will soon be taken from them by a return of the old system. In the same manner, particularly in the south of that peninsula, when Italian church property was brought to the revolutionary hammer, it was impossible to obtain a tenth part of its value for it; and even in after years, when every thing in Europe seemed to fall prostrate before the will of Napoleon, who guaranteed the rights of the purchasers of monastic and church estates, the popular notion as to the insecurity of such rights was never much altered. At every reverse sustained by the French who upheld the new system, the spirit of alarm flew abroad—the holders of church property wanted to sell, and only the very sanguine and better informed would buy, nor did such estates rise much in their marketable value, nor did their purchasers ever feel wholly secure in their title-deeds until the counter-revolution of 1815, when the old government was restored, and, unable to undo what had been done for so many years, recognized their rights with the tacit consent of the Pope.

But even now, after nineteen more years are past, in many parts of the kingdom of Naples the peasantry think that there is a curse attached to the church grounds in the hands of laymen. All this has *nothing* to do with our notions of monastic institutions and wealth, but *a great deal* with the ideas entertained on those subjects by the great body of the Portuguese people. This subject, with relation to such a country, is most important, and would require many pages of discussion. For the present, however, we will only allow ourselves one remark, which we give in shape of a wish but scarcely of a hope. May the Portuguese regency make a better use of the money procured by the sale of church property than did the French and Italian republicans!

A violent, and it was thought a dangerous, illness which Don Pedro has suffered at Lisbon, has given rise to some cabals and intrigues with reference to the formation of a new regency, but these have all been defeated by his recovery. The opening of the Cortes is finally to take place on the 15th of August. All the primary elections have been completed. It is expected that the Duke of Palmella will join the ministry, and be president of the Chamber of Peers when the Cortes assemble. In the mean time the regency has decreed that the money due from Brazils to Portugal, a sum amounting to about 1,600,000*l.* sterling, is to be applied to the payment of the British loans. It has also redressed some commercial grievances complained of by English merchants resident at Lisbon and Oporto. The meddling spirit and restless activity of the Regent, if left to themselves, will evidently leave little for the Cortes to do. Don Pedro's papers abound with fiscal and financial regulations. Is the Portuguese lower chamber, or house of commons, to have no faculty, beyond that of approving and confirming the measures and regulations he prescribes with so much confidence and with such a dictatorial air?

The beautiful and important island of Madeira, which during the whole of the long struggle between the two brothers remained *firm* in its attachment to the younger one, despising alike the invitations and flattering promises and the threats and warlike demonstrations of Don Pedro, surrendered without striking a blow as soon as it was known that Don Miguel and Don Carlos had capitulated. Alvaro da Costa, the governor, who had been created "Count of the Island of Madeira" by Don Miguel, was, at least as long as there was any hope, one of the most devoted adherents of that pretender; but seeing nothing better left for it, he changed his flag, took the oath, and himself swore in all the officers both civil and military to "fidelity to her Majesty Donna Maria II., and the constitutional charter granted by his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza to the Portuguese nation." In return for the acts of allegiance, Don Pedro, by a decree in a Lisbon paper, lowered the export duty on Madeira wine.

SPAIN.

THE approach of the cholera to Madrid, and the re-appearance of Don Carlos on the Spanish territory, have thrown the affairs of this country into fresh confusion. The important events to be narrated are, however, few.

At the rumour of the cholera, and before a single authenticated case of the malady had occurred in Madrid, the Queen Regent, panic-struck (it is said), fled with her infant daughter and court to the country palace, called La Granja, which was forthwith surrounded by a military cordon to prevent all ingress or egress. To supply men for this cordon, nearly all the troops were marched from Madrid, and the capital, at a season of great excitement and discontent, was left almost without any garrison. The moral impression produced was also very unfavourable to the Queen Regent and her government. Most of the ministers went with the queen, and the nobility generally fled in all directions. For several days, Madrid exhibited the appearance of a city about to be taken by a foreign conquering army. Carriages, carts, and waggons, filled with people and household goods were seen hurrying through the streets to gain the open country. The Infant Don Francisco de Paulo (Don Carlos younger brother) alone remained firm amidst this general court terror, and declared that he and his family were all determined to stay in Madrid and share in the dangers of their fellow-citizens. Of the cabinet, the Count Toreno, who has recently joined the ministry, seems to have been the only one who had courage to remain at his post. This thoroughly honest man, whose prudence, moderation, and true patriotism have long been tried, ought to be a valuable accession to the cabinet. His labours in arranging the distracted finances of the country and settling the basis of a new loan have, however, as yet been unaccompanied by success.

While the court was trembling at the cholera, the Carlist chief, the now noted Zumalacarreguy, was at least maintaining his ground, if not gaining advantages, in the revolted provinces of the north, and on the 9th of July, as it is now confidently asserted, Don Carlos, who was supposed by the Spaniards and every body else to be quietly living in London, threw himself *in propriâ personâ* among his adherents. By this bold step he has somewhat altered the estimation in which he was generally held, as an undecided, timid man. We can scarcely believe that he will be allowed to prolong the horrors of a civil war, or to triumph in his attempt against his infant niece; but the recommencement of his enterprise, and his expedition from London to Elisondo, are certainly touched with the interest and mystery of romance. With most people we were at first inclined to believe that the story had originated in the fertile imagination of the Stock Exchange, and even now we can scarcely venture on the details. According to the current account, however, he left London in secret, and in a most admirable disguise on the night of the 1st of July, passed through Paris (where he spent several hours in the house of M. Jauge the banker, and had interviews with several influential friends and partisans) on the 4th; reached Bayonne on the 8th; crossed the frontiers of Spain the next day, and proceeded as far as Elisondo, the seat of the junta of Navarre, without a single suspicion having been awakened during his passage from one extremity of the French kingdom to the other. Some rumours got abroad on the 10th, and in consequence of communications received through the same medium, Thiers, the French minister of the interior, is said to have transmitted a telegraphic dispatch to the sub-prefect of Bayonne, assuring him, on the authority of the

Spanish ambassador at Paris, that Don Carlos could not be in Spain as he was known to be in London, where he did not entertain the most distant idea of renewing the contest in person. There is, however, another report, according to which Don Carlos arrived in the neighbourhood of Bayonne by sea, and from England direct. Both accounts agree in describing his reception as very flattering, and the whole expedition as having been conducted with singular secrecy. Those who advocate his cause say, that "his presence excited an electric shock," and the 'Morning Post' is very happy to affirm that a letter dated Elisondo, in the Don's own handwriting, has been for some days in London. In this letter, he is said to speak with enthusiasm of the courage and constancy of his adherents in the Biscayan provinces and Navarre, "*who only want a supply of arms and money*." This only want is, to be sure, a rather important one; but on the same side it is asserted that *one* loan in Don Carlos' favour has already been raised in Germany, and that another will be concluded, on favourable terms, at Paris. With regard to the latter, it may be apprehended that Louis Philippe's summary way of proceeding with the unlucky Carlist banker, M. Jauge, who is still in prison, may raise some serious obstacles in the way of its fulfilment. In the mean time, the queen's faithful and successful general, Rodil, has been marching towards the central scene of the insurrection. He is said to have reached Logrono, a town in Old Castile, on the Ebro, on the 7th of July, with a well-appointed force of 10,000 men. If this and other *data* are correct, Rodil must have been in presence of the Carlists long before the end of July, but whether any decisive action has taken place we have yet to learn. He is represented by his friends as carrying every thing before him, and as being at Salva Tierra on the 18th of July, keeping in check Don Carlos, who had made demonstrations for moving upon Alava. But on the other side it is said, he has been obliged to shut himself up in Pampeluna, leaving the whole open country to the Carlists. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that Rodil's troops, whom Don Carlos expected to seduce, have remained firm and faithful. Another thing almost equally certain, is, that for the present the pretender's party is nowhere very strong or decided beyond the limits of the Biscayan provinces and Navarre.

As far back as February last we endeavoured to explain to our readers that the main cause of the discontents of those provinces was the apprehension that the new constitutional government, acting on the centralization and uniformity system, would invade the municipal rights and peculiar privileges which they have always heroically defended, and have enjoyed for ages, and we can now repeat, on the authority of an enlightened Spaniard, who knows his country well, that if the Queen Regent and her cabinet would remove the grounds of that apprehension, they would at once disarm those who are arrayed against them, and whose affection for Carlos arises solely out of the circumstance of his having solemnly pledged himself to respect all their ancient privileges. It is for this, and for nothing else, that they care for the Don, or prefer his rule to that of his niece.

Those municipal institutions to which we have alluded more than once as being the foundation and the bulwark of all civil liberty, long existed in Spain, and in no part of the kingdom in greater force than in the northern provinces. These provinces also were slightly taxed. It is perhaps but fair and right that they should be made to bear their proper portion of the public burdens, but this (particularly in times of dissension and trouble) might have been delayed for awhile and corrected by degrees, while their municipal institutions ought never to have been touched or threatened. The whole of the last-mentioned subject merits the attention of those who watch the march of the Spanish constitutionalists.

The Ayuntamiento, or municipal council of every provincial town and village in Spain, from the oldest times of the monarchy, was composed of all the resident fathers of families. They elected their municipal officers with the Alcalde or first magistrate at their head. These essentially popular institutions lasted till the time of Charles V., and in the encroachments then and in after years made upon them by the crown, is to be traced one of the sources of the decay of Spain. In the face of despotism men were no longer so disinterested or energetic as to aspire to places of little or no emolument and considerable danger. By degrees the crown appointed all the members of the Ayuntamientos of towns for life, and at last these offices became hereditary, and were even sold by the court and its creatures. These civil officers were thus the obsequious servants of the crown that kept to itself the entire disposal of the places of Alcalde, &c. In the villages and rural districts, however, where these places were not of sufficient importance to attract ambition, the old customs prevailed, and, indeed, still prevail in great measure. In the northern angle of Spain, now the seat of civil war, where they were secured by treaties between an obstinate and brave people and their sovereign, they were scarcely ever touched. The late King Ferdinand, not long before his death, issued a decree by which a certain number of new members for the Ayuntamientos were to be freely elected as of old, by every town or district, as a counterpoise to the court members, who, through the creeping abuses of ages, enjoyed their offices for life. This was a step towards the recognition of the old principle of popular municipal election, for which step Spain was indebted to the absolute Ferdinand VII.!

Now, the present government of the Queen Regent has since issued an ordonnance, by which peculiar qualifications are required in a member of the Ayuntamientos. A triple list is made of persons paying a certain quota of taxes, and out of three the sovereign chooses one. The old Spaniards, whether liberal or constitutional, deem this an innovation at variance with their national habits, and in those parts, as in the northern provinces, where the municipal spirit is strong and unbending, it is regarded with the utmost detestation.

TURKEY.

The Sultan, who continues arming as fast as the reduced state of his finances will permit, has been thrown into great alarm by the report that the English and French fleets in the Levant were receiving reinforcements and were about to concentrate near the mouth of the Dardanelles. An English squadron, with a small force of land troops, has been lying at Vourla, near the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna, for some time, to watch events, and probably to interfere in an amicable manner between the Greeks of the island of Samos and the Turkish force now blockading them. The massacres and atrocities committed by the Turks a few years since in the neighbouring island of Scio are hardly to be feared now for Samos; but still if these islanders hold out, as they seem determined to do, the Sultan may send some of his barbarous and undisciplined troops from the coast and interior of Asia Minor against them, and in that case plunder and bloodshed are sure to prevail. The Turks of Asia Minor have a long score against the Samiotes, who, from the beginning of the war of the Greek revolution to its close, incessantly harassed a long line of coast, and often penetrated far into the interior, carrying off flocks and herds, and destroying all the Mohammedans they met. Near the sea none but large towns were, indeed, safe from these hardy marauders. A fleet, sent against them by the Sultan, was destroyed or dispersed by Canaris, the best naval captain of the Greeks; and in consequence of this event, an irregular army of some fifteen thousand men that had been collected on the coast of Asia Minor, near to the narrow channel that separates Samos from the main, was checked in its progress, and left to perish of malaria fever in sight of the lofty island. The loss sustained by the Asiatic Turks on this occasion was enormous.

Though the Samiotes were among the most lawless of the Greeks, and though at times they just as willingly plundered the Greeks and other Christians resident in Asia Minor as they did the Mussulmans, still they were of incalculable service to the cause of Greek independence. When, however, the new Greek kingdom was formed, the allies, taking into consideration the geographical position of Samos, which is barely a mile and a half distant from the Turkish coast, determined that it should be among the Grecian islands (like Scio and many others) that were left to the Turks. As the Samiotes have resisted this arrangement, and have asserted, fairly enough, that it is hard that they who maintained their independence during the whole of the struggle should be given back to the Sultan, while many parts of Greece which had fallen beneath his arms have been included in the new Greek kingdom, it seems but fair that we should be at hand to prevent any sanguinary collision proceeding from a curious measure

in which we were a party. The moral effect of the presence of two or three British men-of-war in such scenes as these is always great; and we think the cause we have slightly mentioned quite enough to account for the stay of our squadron in the neighbourhood, without speculating on the forcing of the Dardanelles, and the alarming probability of an immediate war.

GREECE.

THE trial of Colocotroni, Kolliopulis, and the other conspirators against the government of the young king, has been brought to a conclusion. A general sentence of death has been commuted into imprisonment for twenty years, which, taking the age of the persons concerned in the plot, is equivalent to imprisonment for life. The Mainotes, who were always nearly independent of the Porte, even when its power in Greece was most perfect, and who only obeyed their Capitani or feudal chiefs, have been very slow in paying their contributions, and submitting to the new order of things established by the erection of the Greek kingdom. On more than one occasion they have also committed depredations on the peacefully disposed subjects of King Otho. In consequence of this state of things, government has sent a disciplined *corps d armée* into Maina. According to the last intelligence, these troops had behaved well, and reduced a considerable portion of the turbulent district to obedience —for the present.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

June 21. The inhabitants of Ripon in Yorkshire were alarmed this morning by a tremendous explosion, which shook the whole neighbourhood. On ascertaining the cause, it was found to have been occasioned by a convulsion of nature in a field about a mile from the town The earth had shaken to such a degree as to leave a fissure nearly 20 yards in width, and on plumbing the depth it was found to be 24 yards. It still remains in the same state.

24. One of the most sanguinary faction fights that ever disgraced Ireland took place this day at the races of Ballyheagh, 13 miles from Tralee, between two clans, the Cooleens and Lawlors, who have been at feud during half a century. The two factions appeared on the ground in great numbers, but remained quiet until the races were over at 3 o'clock; and then the appointed battle began in earnest on the river strand with sticks and stones The soldiers, who had been brought to preserve the peace, could do nothing to stem the torrent of fury and blows which raged on every side. At least 1000 men were engaged, for, in addition to the resident parties, numbers came from miles around to take part in the conflict against men whom they had never seen before. The magistrates present with the troops caused the Riot Act to be read, but nobody would listen to it. The very women were occupied in supplying their friends on both sides with stones, which they carried in their aprons. The battle soon spread over such an extent of ground, that neither the soldiers nor police could possibly interfere effectually to separate the parties. By the magistrates' orders they endeavoured to make individual prisoners, and it appears that about 20 were lodged in Listowell Bridewell, but they were not permitted to fire a shot. Indeed, the work of destruction was going on fast enough, no quarter was given, and ghastly wounds were given both to those who fell and to those who stood up. At length the Cooleens retreated to the river's brink, where many were driven in, and drowned. Several attempted to escape by swimming, but were still barbarously pelted by the victorious Lawlors It was full tide, and two sand-boats on the shore were afloat, into which numbers of the defeated party crowded, and pushed off across the ferry, but being overladen they sunk, and all on board perished. Four bodies were found next morning at this ferry, and 12 others, men and women, have since been taken up in other parts of the river. It is not yet accurately known how many have been sacrificed, either on shore or in the melancholy *noyades* that followed, but 8 or 10 lay dead on the strand of battle at the northern side of the river, and their friends on the southern dare not venture across to remove them Up to the 30th, the bodies of 18 men had been found in the river. The persons captured by the police had all been discharged or admitted to bail, and there seemed a very general reluctance to prosecute or to investigate the affair at all.—*Abridged from the "Times"*

25. A letter from Faenza of this date mentions, that two days before there had passed through the town two pieces of cannon and two howitzers, on their way from Ferrara to Rome. They were supposed to be a present from the Emperor of Austria to the Pope. On the 24th the representation of one of Alfieri's tragedies drew a great crowd to the theatre, when all the political allusions in the dialogue were loudly applauded. On quitting the theatre the young men who had been most forward in applauding were brutally assaulted by a numerous band of bravos, armed with sabres, daggers, and bludgeons. Twenty-two persons were wounded, two of whom are not expected to recover.

25. Admiral Napier with his family arrived at Portsmouth in the 'Braganza,' a fine frigate which he captured from Don Miguel. He was saluted as a Portuguese Admiral by the 'Victory,' the ship of the Port-Admiral, and when he landed was received with great enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Portsmouth, of which place we believe he is a native. The gallant Admiral has since left England on his return to Portugal.

28. Within the last few days a singular discovery has been made at Wheal Prudence Mine, St. Agnes. Some men employed in extending the adit found what was at first considered a communication with some old workings. Pursuing their researches, it was found that the bottom was as complete a beach as that over which the ocean rolls daily, but nothing in the shape of a communication with that element could be traced. So complete was the state of the internal beach, that had there not subsequently been discovered a variety of conic pillars of oxide of iron, varying from 6 to 18 inches in height (caused by dropping of water from the roof), it would have been conjectured that the barrier between the cavern and the sea had not been long formed, these cones, however, together with the hard irony incrustations of some particular portions of the sand, put it beyond doubt that the present obstruction to the sea's entrance has existed for many a long year. On proceeding southward about 120 feet, a very hard head of ground presented itself, which was at first considered the termination, but on stooping down a small aperture was seen, through which the captain of the mine groped, and on raising his eyes, one of the most magnificent excavations ever beheld expanded to his view—the whole extent of the chasm measuring longitudinally 200 feet, varying from 30 to 70 feet in height, and in width from 20 to 10 feet. Amongst other things found is the skeleton of a fish, measuring from the head to the lower extremity about two feet, the bones were apparently as perfect as possible, but the most trifling pressure would immediately crumble them to dust, with the exception of the skull, which was hard and firm. The whole distance from the sea to the southern extremity of the cavern is 400 feet —*Falmouth Packet.*

The shoemakers of Derby have struck for an advance of wages. The masters have determined to resist the demand, on the ground that neither the present prices of provisions nor the circumstances of the trade will admit of an advance of prices.

24, 26, 28, and *July* 1 Those days were distinguished by the grand musical performances in Westminster Abbey, in commemoration of Handel. The performances consisted of selections from the works of that great composer, and from those of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other eminent composers, performed with great effect by a numerous and splendid orchestra of able instrumental performers from all parts of the country; while several distinguished vocalists were employed to deliver the songs and recitatives. We cannot enter into the details, which are given in all the daily and weekly papers; but may mention that, on the eight days of rehearsal and performance, the attendance at the Abbey, notwithstanding the high prices of the tickets, is said seldom to have been below 2000 persons, and sometimes to have reached nearly 3000. The performances were attended by the King, the Queen, and other members of the royal family. The proceeds of the festival are said to have amounted to 20,000*l*, and as it is not calculated that the expenses will exceed 8000*l*, a large balance will remain to be applied to charitable purposes.

July 1 A few days ago, as the Regulator coach was on its way to Carmarthen and Tenby, near Dolgelly, a furious boar, which was in the middle of the road, attacked the leaders, and succeeded in throwing the off-side leader down, by which its knees were much lacerated. The savage animal then laid hold of the near-side horse, and bit it through a vein, which bled profusely, but being trampled upon, the boar ran away and made its escape over an adjoining hedge. The coachman was unable to procure bandages to stop the bleeding for some time, and the poor horses were obliged to go in that state two or three miles before he could get assistance.

2. This morning, about 9 o'clock, a serious accident occurred at Hallfield Colliery, near Bilston, owing to an explosion of fire-damp; when, unfortunately, out of 16 men down at the time, 7 were very seriously injured, and the lives of three of them at first despaired of, but we understand that hopes are now entertained of their recovery. The remaining 9 escaped with slight hurt. The pit had been tried with the safety-lamp on commencing work at 6 o'clock in the morning, and it is supposed that the accident arose from one of the men going unnecessarily into the old workings.—*Derby Mercury.*

4 Upwards of 340 female emigrants, under the direction of the Emigration Committee, embarked in the Hero steamer, at St. Katharine's wharf. The great majority of these females are young persons whose ages vary from 16 to 25, and among them were many whose personal appearance was certainly prepossessing. They are all young women of good character, and they are all obliged to furnish testimonials of their respectability before they are allowed to embark. There were in the whole fifteen agri-

cultural families. These emigrants are to be conveyed to Sydney, in Australia, at an expense to themselves of 5*l* a head, the Government paying the additional expense of their passage; and in cases where they are not in a situation to pay the 5*l*. immediately, time is allowed them to make the payment after their arrival at the place of their destination. They were all in the best possible health, but showed great sorrow at taking leave of friends and relations.

5. The Queen embarked this morning at Woolwich for the Continent, in order to visit her illustrious relatives at Meiningen. Her Majesty was accompanied by her brother, the Duke of Saxe Meiningen, and attended by the officers and ladies of her household. The Lord Mayor, accompanied by the other City authorities, attended the royal yacht to the limits of their jurisdiction at Southend, in the Magnet steam-vessel. Her Majesty landed at Rotterdam on the evening of the 6th. It is expected that six weeks will be the duration of her absence. Her Majesty travels incognito, under the title of 'Countess of Lancaster.'

6. The blind man, Edwards, and his associates in the attack on Mr. Gee, the solicitor, were tried at the Old Bailey, on a charge of demanding, by force and menace, the sum of 1200*l* from the prosecutor; but the court ruled that, as the prisoners had not taken money, the indictment could not be sustained, and they were acquitted. They were then indicted for demanding certain valuable deeds of Mr. Gee. On this charge they were also acquitted, as the court thought that there was no difference between this and the previous case. The check for 800*l*, to which they had obtained Mr Gee's signature, was not stolen from him, as he never had it; therefore the offence was no felony. The prisoners, however, with Mrs Canning, whose concurrence in the transaction was rendered probable by the evidence, will still be tried on the charge of conspiracy. But this indictment having been traversed by Edwards and his associates, the trial will not come on until the 14th of August.

A frightful event occurred at St Jugbert, in Bavaria Several children, from seven to eleven years of age, were playing together, when suddenly their joyful frolics were interrupted by the appearance of a wolf, which rushed upon them from the adjoining wood The ravenous animal seized a boy nine years old, and carried him off The pursuit, which soon after took place, was unsuccessful, and no trace of the child can be found Such an occurrence is quite uncommon, especially at this season of the year, when beasts of prey find abundance of food in the forests. Many are therefore of opinion that the wolf was in a rabid state from hydrophobia

8. Above 600 men paraded Thurles, preceded by a man carrying a loaf of bread on a pole, in a similar manner to the procession which took place in Clonmel and Fethard, in the same county. The half-famished creatures conducted themselves with great decorum, and said that they made the display in that peaceable manner for the first time, in order that the gentry and respectable and wealthy inhabitants of that town should timely take their wretched situation into consideration, but if their appeals either for food or employment were not attended to, they should have recourse to those means pointed out by the first law of nature A subscription on a large scale has been set on foot to provide provisions and work for them

Mr. Barrett, the editor of the *Pilot*, was liberated from Kilmainham gaol, after having suffered six months' imprisonment.

Mr. Purcell, a surgeon residing at Stockbridge, obtained a verdict in the Court of Common Pleas of 500*l* damages against the printer and editor of the *Christian Advocate* newspaper for a libel, in an advertisement in that paper, imputing to him gross misconduct as a professional man, in the treatment of a patient who was affirmed to have been subsequently cured by taking 'Morison's universal medicine'—Later in the month, a coroner's inquest, which was held at York, on the body of a young man named Richard Richardson, whose death was said to have been occasioned by the use of 'Morison's pills, pronounced a verdict of 'manslaughter' against Joseph Webb, the local agent for the sale of the pills, and he was committed for trial. In the course of the inquest the results of a chemical analysis of the pills were stated, and several medical men testified, that so powerful a drastic medicine, taken in the quantities administered under the direction of the agent, was alone sufficient to occasion death, independently of the disease under which the patient laboured. Mr. Webb has since been tried and found guilty; but recommended to merciful consideration, on the ground that he was ignorant of the injurious effects which the pills he administered were calculated to produce.

11. A large portion of the cliff directly in front of the Royal Crescent, at Ramsgate, consisting of several tons of chalk, fell with a tremendous crash, and, singular to relate, five or six men, who were at work at the foot of the cliff at the time, were most providentially saved from being buried alive by a small piece of chalk which fell first, hitting one of them on the back, who instantly exclaimed to his companions—"For God's sake, run for your lives." They had scarcely time to get out of the way, ere the whole mass fell, and buried the spot where they were standing, fifteen or twenty feet.

12. At Manchester, three of the 6th Dragoon Guards, who were in a state of intoxication, after insulting the wife of a workman, on the husband remonstrating, they took him into custody as a deserter, drew their swords and attacked the multitude, wounding twenty persons. They were at length secured by the courageous efforts of Daggett, a police-officer, and locked up.

The tea imported from Dantzic into Liverpool has not been seized, but allowed to be sold at Liverpool for exportation. The *Liverpool Times*, in noticing the advertisement of the sale, remarks, that it is the first tea-sale that has ever taken place there; but hopes it will not be the last by many hundreds.

14. Mr. Beauclerk and others have gained the suit which they instituted in the Court of Première Instance at Sancerre, by which they claimed that the Aubigny estates in France, of the late Duke of Richmond, should not be retained by the present Duke, but should be divided among the plaintiffs, according to the French law of inheritance. The court would, however, only allow them the profits of the estate from the date of the commencement of the suit, not from that of the demise of the late Duke of Richmond, as they claimed.

A dreadful accident, attended with loss of life, occurred at Manchester. About a quarter before one o'clock, the front of a pile of empty buildings, lately occupied as shops, at the corner of Duciestreet, Long Millgate, fell with a tremendous crash into the street, burying in the ruins several children and young persons who were playing in the street, or passing along it at the time. In a few minutes the spot was surrounded by crowds of persons, and the most exaggerated rumours were circulated as to the number of the individuals buried; but after the most diligent inquiries, it was ascertained that only one youth was killed on the spot, and that five others, three boys and two girls, were seriously hurt, one of whom, a girl about thirteen years of age, died at the infirmary, in about four hours afterwards, of concussion of the brain

A desperate ruffian, named Young, was sentenced to death for a robbery on the premises of Mr. Crockford, at Basingstoke. He has since confessed that he was one of the parties engaged in the murder of Mr Richardson at Epsom, which occasioned so strong a sensation a short time since.

15. Knockton Hall, the splendid mansion of the Earl of Ripon, situated five miles from Lincoln, on the Sleaford road, was reduced to a heap of ruins by a fire, which commenced this night at eleven o'clock, and continued to burn until six the following morning No lives were lost.

16 The Right Hon Michael Angelo Taylor, M.P., died this day, in his 77th year. Since the retirement of Mr. Coke, he has been the father of the House of Commons, having been a member of that assembly for fifty years His death creates a vacancy in the representation of the borough of Sudbury, and in the recordership of the borough of Poole.

North Tawton, Devonshire, again fell a victim to the same dreadful calamity that occurred there two years since, when forty houses were burnt down. This frightful number of sacrifices was exceeded on Tuesday, the flames having levelled to the ground from sixty-five to seventy houses. The fire commenced at about half-past eleven o'clock, and in less than one hour thirty houses presented but one mass of fire, the sight was awfully grand. Among the buildings burnt down is the workhouse, and all the poor, aged, halt, and blind, who escaped only with their lives, are at present in the church for shelter.—*Plymouth Journal.*

17 *Islington Cattle Market.*—The Committee of the House of Commons on the Islington Market Bill, having reported 'that the preamble to the bill introduced has not been proved,' the measure is for the present at an end. At a meeting of the Common Council of the city held this day, Mr Hale (the Chairman of the City Lands Committee) brought up the report relative to the bill. He stated the proceedings up to the period when the House of Commons' Committee resolved that the preamble was not proved, and the bill was consequently lost, and it recommended the immediate enlargement of the market in Smithfield, to suit completely the convenience of the public. It recommended that several houses on the north side, and some property in Long-lane, should be purchased to increase the size of the market, the expense to accomplish which would, according to estimate, amount to 71,000*l*, upon an additional toll of 2*d* per head on oxen, and 4*d*. per score on sheep, lambs, &c, being granted, by way of indemnity, to the extent of 50,000*l* It concluded with recommending that application should be made to Parliament for the necessary powers to have the same effected forthwith, and for raising the additional toll, and with expressing the grateful sense of the services of those city members who resisted the proposed measure in the committee. After some conversation, in which the immediate necessity for the enlargement of Smithfield Market was strongly enforced by Mr. Hale, Mr Hicks, and other members, notices were ordered to be sent to the House of Commons, and the report was ordered to be printed. We are happy to understand, however, that the proprietor of the new market is not at all discouraged, but purposes to renew his application to Parliament in the next session. He has taken care to explain that he does not, and never did, contemplate demanding higher tolls than those which are at present paid in Smithfield Market.

Salaries of Scotch Judges.—The salaries of the Judges in the Court of Session in Scotland are to be increased, those of the heads of the two inner courts to 5000*l*. each, and those of the other

judges to 3000*l.*, all the judges to do duty as Lords of Session, Justiciary, and Jury Court. It is also proposed that any judge of the age of 75, who has done duty for fifteen years, shall be allowed to retire on full salary. The following judges may, and very likely will, avail themselves of this privilege: Lord President Hope, Lords Glenlee, Balgray, Gillies, and Cringletie.—*Edinburgh Paper.*

Duration of Ministries.—Lord Grey held office as Premier for three years, seven months, and twenty-two days, his predecessor, the Duke of Wellington, not so long by nearly a year and a half. Since 1754, only four Premiers have held office for a longer period, namely, the Duke of Newcastle eight years, Lord North twelve, Pitt upwards of seventeen, and Lord Liverpool nearly fifteen years.

French National Guard.—By the law establishing and organizing the National Guard in France, foreigners having establishments therein are liable to the duties and service the same as Frenchmen. An Englishman, established in Paris, lately refused to mount guard, though regularly summoned at different periods, and, in consequence, was condemned to one day's imprisonment. From this sentence he appealed to the Cour de Cassation (the Supreme Court,) and pleaded, amongst other grounds on which he relied to be entitled to exemption, that he was a Quaker, and all military services were contrary to his religion, and repugnant to his conscience. The court overruled this objection, because it had not been pleaded in the courts below. It is to be presumed that this gentleman will again refuse to mount guard, and being again sentenced to imprisonment, will plead, in the first instance, his religion in bar of liability. We shall then see whether the Cour de Cassation will grant him relief. We fear not. This, however, is an important question for all our Quaker countrymen who have established themselves in France, or think of doing so.

Sweden.—A petition, signed by upwards of 2000 persons of distinction, has been lately presented to the king of Sweden, praying for a reform in the representation of that country.

Portuguese Prize-money.—130,000*l.* have been allotted to the Queen of Portugal's fleet as the value of the Miguelite ships captured in the gallant action of the 5th of July, 1833, of which the admiral receives one-eighth, equal to 16,000*l.*; captains and commanders 2000*l.* each; lieutenants, 800*l.*; surgeons, &c, 500*l.*; midshipmen, &c, 300*l.*; sailors, 200*l.* Besides the above, the officers and men of the queen's fleet are promised a share of captured merchant vessels, to the admiral, 4000*l.*; to lieutenants, 200*l.*; and to the others in like proportion.

Trade of Antwerp.—The merchants and shipowners of this place have just addressed a petition to the Chamber of Representatives The petitioners point out the progressive decline of its commercial navy, which is still farther endangered by the fetters which are imposed upon it. Under the preceding government, they say, the port of Antwerp had 120 ships; now it has only 39, and of 78 ships which entered the port in 1833, from the coasts of France, there were only eight under Belgian colours.

Madeira.—On the 28th May, the Don Pedro, a 64-gun frigate, arrived here with despatches for the governor (which he refused to accept), desiring him to give up the island in favour of Donna Maria. They put the island under a rigorous state of blockade, and on the following Sunday a schooner of war arrived to assist them. The governor still refused, and they informed us by signals that Miguel was completely driven from Portugal, and on Thursday, after a great many councils of war, the governor quietly gave up the island, and hoisted Donna Maria's colours on the palace and all the forts The schooner left yesterday for Lisbon, and they will shortly send a new governor here—till then the former still holds his office. Amongst the first things they did was to make a regular 'gaol delivery.' It was a very affecting sight to see the poor prisoners, many of whom had been confined for several years, and mostly for political offences; but they made no distinction between them and the common criminals

Steam Navigation to India.—The Committee on Steam Navigation to India have made their report to the House of Commons, giving it as their opinion that a regular and expeditious communication with India by the means of steam-boats, is an object of great importance both to Great Britain and India, and accompanying this opinion by recommending a Parliamentary grant of 20,000*l.* for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability and expense of such communication by the line of the Euphrates. This route, in the opinion of the committee, besides having the prospect of being ultimately less expensive, presents many other advantages, physical, commercial, and political, over that by the Red Sea, justifying therefore the proposed outlay in bringing it to the test of a decisive experiment.

Goa.—The 'Bombay Gazette' contains a proclamation by the viceroy of Goa. The editor states that the viceroy is nearly connected by blood with both the contending princes, and he now spontaneously proclaims his adhesion to the cause of Donna Maria and the constitutional charter of the monarchy. On the occasion of the publication of the proclamation, the troops at Goa, amounting to 5000, burnt Don Miguel in effigy, and they have supported the change with great enthusiasm. A brig of war has sailed from Goa with a military force under Captain De Gama, who has received orders to [illegible] the government of Damaun, the governor of that settlement being still in the interest of Don Miguel. He will no doubt be compelled to submit.—*India Gazette.*

Ibrahim Pacha.—A letter from Aleppo, dated May 18th, states, that Ibrahim Pacha is occupied at this moment in bringing the Arabs of the Desert to reason. Those of Koram and Zara have been completely beaten, and are entirely dispersed. These last especially, who comprise nearly 3000 families, after having defended themselves in a wood against 1500 irregular cavalry, have been cut in pieces by a reinforcement of 400 regular infantry, who, came to join the former. The sudden increase of the waters in the woods where these Arabs were, assisted to hasten their ruin. Forty thousand head of cattle and considerable booty have been the fruit of this attack, provoked by the complaints made by the Shah of Persia to Mehemet Ali, on the subject of a caravan of Persian pilgrims, who, on their return from Mecca, had been plundered. The damage is estimated at more than 2000 purses (300,000 francs), as well in goods as specie. Ibrahim Pacha, by the orders of his father, after having in vain employed all mild means, resolved to attack them. This general has taken for his share of the booty 8000 sheep and 1600 oxen. The troops shared the remainder which they are selling at low prices. It is said that a great deal of specie was found in the tents of these Arabs. The wandering hordes which have been thus destroyed are the same who pillaged, about a year ago, a caravan coming from Lattaquia, and in which the European merchants in Syria suffered a loss of nearly 400,000 frs. A few days ago an expedition was made against the Anezian Arabs, who occupy all the desert between Damascus and Bagdad. We flatter ourselves that it will also be attended with complete success.—*French Paper —Times.*

Cape of Good Hope.—The slave-owners had a meeting on March 31st, and resolved that the slaves when free should work as they do now (same hours), and become all free together at the expiration of five years Commissioners have been appointed to make a valuation of the slaves, and it is proposed that a sum of 400,000*l.* should be immediately advanced to pay off mortgages, which, if not granted, must ruin many families At the Mauritius all is quiet.

New South Wales.—Accounts from Swan River speak favourably of the growing prosperity of the colony It was in contemplation to establish a company for creating a medium of exchange, by opening a mart, or general store, for the reception, purchase, and sale of goods of all descriptions. The company was to issue its own notes, payable on demand, in exchange for all goods brought for sale It was expected this would put an end to a system of monopoly by which, on more than one occasion, the colony had been greatly inconvenienced.

By a return made of the imports and exports from the port of Launceston during the year ending the 5th of January, 1834, it appears that the value of imports from Great Britain was 70,225*l.*, from New South Wales 23,457*l.*, and from other ports 9400*l.*, showing a total of 103,082*l* The exports to Great Britain amounted to 15,798*l.*, to New South Wales 17,000*l.*, other ports 8198*l.*, being a total of 71,086*l* The exports of greatest value to Great Britain were in wool, valued at 33,504*l.*, the same commodity to New South Wales amounted to 9027*l.*, and to other ports 4950*l.*, showing that the export in wool alone amounted in value to 48,481*l* The principal imports from Great Britain were in ironmongery, which is stated at 11,316*l*

Municipal Regulations in Van Diemen's Land.—The recent act for [illegible] the towns of Hobart Town and Launceston, and [illegible] preventing nuisances therein, seem formed, in general on the model of acts for similar purposes in this country Nevertheless, it necessarily contains some provisions which result from and therefore indicate, the peculiar circumstances of that interesting colony and its towns We select the following from the summary which is given in the 'Hobart Town Courier.' The Surveyor General is to define the limits of the towns of Hobart and Launceston, and a penalty of 5*l.*, for the first offence, is to be paid by any one defacing the boundary marks Persons wishing to flag their own door must give notice to the town surveyor and receive his instructions A person dragging timber along a road or street may be apprehended and made to pay a penalty of 5*l* Persons permitting their dogs to roam at large are liable to a penalty of from 1*s* to 5*l* As the operation of this regulation is not limited to particular seasons, we presume it is the result of the panic occasioned by the wild dogs No swine are to be kept within 10 yards of the road. Persons wishing to blast rock within the limits of the towns are to give notice to the town surveyor. Persons having wells between their houses and the street, or in any public place, must have them closed up, and must only draw water from them with pumps, under a penalty of 2*s.* 6*d* each day. The Justices in Quarter Sessions are to fix the rates and fares of porters, boatmen, and carmen, which are to be published in the Gazette, and in a newspaper at Launceston, *if such there be.* Convicts, whether holding a ticket of leave or not, or assigned or not in the public works, must not be out after eight o'clock at night, or before day-break. Drunken persons, and persons swearing and using obscene and indecent language in the streets, may be apprehended and fined 5*s.*, and if they do not pay it in an hour, they are to be put in the stocks for six hours. The Editor of the paper from which this is taken expresses a hope that

the constables will take care to enforce this regulation. Sailors without a pass from the captain, or producing their discharge, after nine o'clock, are to be locked up. It appears, from other documents, that the judges represented this provision to be repugnant to the laws of England; the operation of the act was therefore suspended until the Governor, who continued to feel the necessity of the measure, was enabled to bring it before the Legislative Council, the decision of which is final in such cases. The Governor thus stated the necessity of the measure to the Council:—"The discipline of the convicts requires that they should, as much as possible, be deterred from ever even attempting to escape from the territory, which, of course, can only be accomplished by water; and it is matter of fact that these men, when endeavouring to get on board of vessels for the purposes of concealment, are generally dressed as mariners. It is therefore most important that constables should always be enabled to distinguish between sailors and convicts disguised as such; and it will be evident that the precaution of requiring all manners, passing along the streets after dark, to be provided with passes, or written permissions, for the purpose of proving their identity when questioned, will tend greatly to enable them to do so." The council seems to have been satisfied of the expediency of the measure, as the majority of seven to three decided that the Act should be adhered to in its original form. We may mention, by the way, that on each of the three days preceding this decision, the Legislative Council did no business, "there not being ten members present at half-past two o'clock." One of the items of the Act provides, that the informers are to have one half of the penalties, and that the other half is to be applied towards the expenses of repairing the roads.

Hayti.—Advices from Hayti give a very unfavourable account of that island. The determination of the French government to enforce payment of the 5,000,000*l* sterling of indemnity, continued to cause much embarrassment. All the splendid sugar estates in the north, in and about the plains of the Cape, which formed so valuable a constituent part of the national domains in the time of Christophe, were almost entirely abandoned for all foreign commerce.

Demerara.—Advices of the date of May 28th from Demerara, state that the Commission appointed for ascertaining the value of negroes, had finished their labours, and forwarded the documents to England. The average value of the slaves by their return, is, for Demerara, 121*l.* 5*s* sterling per head, and, for Berbice, 113*l* 4*s*; consequently, the colony of British Guiana will be entitled to a large portion of the 20,000,000*l*.

West Indies.—Jamaica papers, to the 17th of May, state that the House of Assembly was expected to meet on the 3rd of June. The accounts from the country are neither flattering nor disheartening. Some residents seem to dread the approach of the 1st of August, while others anticipate happier times. It is pleasant to hear that the police force is organising with a greater rapidity than was expected, yet some complaint of the inadequacy of pay, &c. When the House meets their first duty will be to settle this question.

The following is the Proclamation which has been addressed by the Marquis of Sligo, the Governor of Jamaica, to the Negro population of the island:—"To the Negro Population throughout the Island of Jamaica.—My Friends—Our good King, who was himself in Jamaica a long time ago, still thinks and talks a great deal of this island. He has sent me here to take care of you, and to protect your rights, but he has also ordered me to see justice done to your owners, and to punish those who do wrong. Take my advice, for I am your friend—be sober, honest and work well when you become apprentices; for should you behave ill and refuse to work, because you are no longer slaves, you will assuredly render yourselves liable to punishment. The people of England are your friends and fellow-subjects—they have shown themselves such by passing a Bill to make you all free. Your masters are your friends, they have proved their kind feeling towards you all by passing, in the House of Assembly, the same Bill. The way to prove that you are deserving of all this goodness, is by labouring diligently during your apprenticeship. You will be on the 1st of August next no longer slaves, but from that day you will be apprenticed to your former owners for a few years, in order to fit you all for freedom. It will therefore depend entirely upon your own conduct, whether your apprenticeship be shorter or longer, for should you run away, you will be brought back by the maroons and police, and have to remain in apprenticeship longer than those who behave well. You will only be required to work four days and a half in each week, the remaining day and a half in each week will be your own time, and you may employ it for your benefit. Bear in mind that every one is obliged to work—some work with their hands, others with their heads, but no one can live and be considered respectable without some employment. Your lot is to work with your hands, I pray you, therefore, do your part faithfully; for if you neglect your duty, you will be brought before the Magistrates whom the King has sent out to watch you, and they must act fairly and do justice to all, by punishing those who are badly disposed. Do not listen to the advice of bad people; for should any of you refuse to do what the law requires of you, you will bitterly repent it, when, at the end of the appointed time, all your fellow-labourers are released from apprenticeship, you find yourselves condemned to hard labour in the workhouse for a lengthened period, as a punishment for your disobedience. If you follow my advice, and conduct yourselves well, nothing can prevent your being your own masters, and to labour only for yourselves, your wives, and your children, at the end of four or six years, according to your respective classes. I have not time to go about to all the properties in the island and tell you this myself—I have therefore ordered this letter of advice to be printed, and read to you all, that you may not be deceived, and bring yourselves into trouble by bad advice or mistaken notions. I trust you will all be obedient and diligent subjects to our good King, so that he never may have cause to be sorry for all the good he has done for you.

"Your friend and well-wisher,
"SLIGO, Governor of Jamaica."

SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

We have the pleasure to announce the formation of a Society from whose labours we anticipate the most beneficial results. In that anticipation we have readily consented to place our own publication under their Superintendence, in the conviction that the good which we may have been enabled to effect with our individual means will be proportionately increased when we have the advantage of the co-operation of a Responsible Body, the names of whose Members will be a Pledge both for the opinions which we shall continue to support and for the mode in which we shall exhibit them. It is scarcely necessary for us to add more than that our next Number,—that of September 1,—will be issued "under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge." We subjoin a Prospectus of the nature and objects of the Society, which is now first published.—

Prospectus.

An Association has been formed for the purpose of effecting, for the Science of Politics, the same sort of good that has been accomplished, in another direction, by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. What that Society has done towards making the stores of general learning and taste accessible to the humblest person in the community, is now proposed to be imitated with reference to subjects upon which the mind of the people has been too long accustomed to be excited rather than to be instructed. It is proposed to advance Political Knowledge by the diffusion of those facts and opinions upon which most men are agreed who consider public questions with calmness and the love of truth, and by discussing any questions which involve differences of opinion with the candour which can alone lead to the discovery and establishment of what is extensively and permanently beneficial.

In several of the larger divisions of Political Economy and Jurisprudence, men of all parties, who have studied Politics as a science, have a common agreement, and yet, upon many of these topics, men who have now to a very considerable degree the direction of the public mind choose to lead it in a course entirely adverse to the opinions of the best informed, and affect to despise those principles which the reasoning politician has long ceased to treat as matter of controversy. The evil of this course is evident. Opinions based upon error are not without their influence even upon Legislation, and therefore a foundation of knowledge must, if possible, be laid in place of a groundwork of prejudice.

Upon subjects of Political Science it has now become necessary that the people, without distinction, should be educated. Their want of political knowledge places them under the influence of leaders,—in most cases uninformed,—often imprudent,—and sometimes corrupt; their share of political power renders this want of knowledge practically dangerous to the community. With a keen desire to improve their position in society, but without a due consideration of the permanent and unalterable conditions upon which social happiness is based, they engage in unavailing struggles, or surrender themselves to hopeless indifference. The advocates of a separation of interests between the labourer and the capitalist

are working mischievously in one direction,—the upholders of Pauperism in the other. In the one case, their disciples lose their natural sense of justice; in the other, they abandon their self-respect. The advancement of Political Knowledge will naturally lead to the increase of social happiness, by the destruction of those factious prejudices which are fostered by too many public writers.

It is intended by this Society to endeavour to effect the objects which they have in view by issuing, in the first instance, two Periodical Works, at a cheap price.

The Society have made arrangements for the future publication, under their superintendence, of the 'COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.' This work, which has already a large circulation, has, under its past management, accomplished some of the designs which the Society have in view. It proposed "carefully to examine those materials which the writer of the day has not always leisure to consult; and to bear in mind those comprehensive principles of political philosophy by which every passing question must eventually be tried." This intention the 'Companion to the Newspaper' is well calculated to realize; and the Society hope to increase its usefulness, by adding to its materials and extending its circulation. Some of its principal objects will be, as they have been, to present the fullest information upon subjects of statistics; to watch the progress of legislation; and to collect such facts upon commercial questions as may lead to sound and practical conclusions.

The other work, which the Society propose immediately to publish, is one which is greatly wanted in a country where the people are extensively intrusted with the management of their own affairs; and in which their collective opinions, even without responsibility, have a great influence on legislative proceedings. It cannot be denied that the bulk of the people have little precise instruction on the performance of their social duties. The Citizen comes into a Court of Law as a Witness or a Juror with very imperfect helps to direct his understanding and confirm his integrity:—he is appointed to important offices—Constable, Overseer, Surveyor, Churchwarden—without a fit preparation of knowledge;—he sometimes exercises that most important trust of an Elector without such an education as will enable him to select the best Representative. Again,—even the commonest private duties and social relations require to be placed upon a foundation of knowledge:—Master and Servant, Husband and Wife, Parent and Child, Landlord and Tenant, Debtor and Creditor, have rights and duties which ought to be clearly defined and understood;—while in the more complicated relations of Guardian, Executor, Trustee, Assignee, &c., a very accurate notion of obligation is equally essential, and, for ordinary purposes, may be attainable. Under a more perfect expression of the Law than we yet possess, such instruction would be less needed than at present; but still the legal responsibility of particular situations would need to be made plain to the understanding of those concerned. And, further, all persons, and especially those in the humbler walks of life, require to be instructed in the operation of new laws affecting themselves,—whether to yield them obedience or to assist in their enforcement;—and in cases where judicious enactments are capable of being resisted and misrepresented, it is necessary to exhibit their whole bearings clearly and impartially. With these objects, therefore, it is intended to publish a second periodical work, to be entitled 'THE CITIZEN.'

In both these works, Supplementary Numbers will occasionally be given, devoted to the complete elucidation of an important subject. The Society will bear in mind that, on all occasions where a portion of the popular feeling is taking a wrong direction, as in the case of machinery, it will be their duty at once to endeavour to clear up the mistakes which lead men into temporary hostility to the laws.

The two works thus intended to be immediately undertaken by the Society will be adapted to a very large and general circulation amongst all classes of the community, but especially the working classes. Much good, however, remains to be effected by additional means. One important object for the Society will be that of preparing the public to understand any large measure of legislation, by putting into a popular shape the evidence that may have been officially collected for a right judgment upon it. The REPORTS of Parliamentary Committees, and of Commissions, require to be more generally diffused. In several isolated instances, these Reports, and the evidence upon which they have been founded, have been already distributed in a cheap form with signal advantage; and that such a preparation is of great importance in carrying changes into effect is sufficiently apparent. It will be the duty of the Society to bear this principle constantly in mind, and to do systematically what has proved of so much public benefit, even when casually performed. Another object, which they will endeavour as soon as possible to realize, will be to follow the course of Legislation, so as to make every new enactment intelligible to all, but especially to those who, professionally or otherwise, assist in carrying its provisions into effect; and this will probably be attempted by a Publication of the STATUTES, with *Notes*.

The future operations of the Society will be determined by circumstances,—amongst others, by the public opinion of its usefulness.

The SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE consists of the following Members:—

THE LORD CHANCELLOR.
CHARLES HAY CAMERON, ESQ.
EDWIN CHADWICK, ESQ.
WILLIAM COULSON, ESQ.
J. W. COWELL, ESQ.
G. L. CRAIK, ESQ
LIEUT. DRUMMOND, R.E. F.R.S
SAMUEL DUCKWORTH, ESQ.
LORD EBRINGTON, M.P.
W. EWART, ESQ., M.P.
HENRY GAWLER, ESQ.
I. L. GOLDSMID, ESQ., F.R.S.
GEORGE GROTE, ESQ., M.P.
M. D. HILL, ESQ., M.P.
EDWIN HILL, ESQ.
ROWLAND HILL, ESQ.
DAVID JARDINE, ESQ. A.M.
HENRY B. KER, ESQ.
GEORGE C. LEWIS, ESQ
THOMAS BARRET LENNARD, ESQ., M.P.
SAMUEL JONES LOYD, ESQ.
GEORGE LONG, ESQ., A.M.
J. W. LUBBOCK, ESQ., F.R.S.
D. LE MARCHANT, ESQ.
JAMES MILL, ESQ.
JAMES MORRISON, ESQ., M.P.
GEORGE WARDE NORMAN, ESQ
WILLIAM H. ORD, ESQ., M.P.
SIR HENRY PARNELL, BT., M.P.
REDMOND PILKINGTON, ESQ.
E. ROMILLY, ESQ. M.P.
NASSAU W. SENIOR, ESQ.
SUTTON SHARP, ESQ
JOHN SMITH, ESQ., M.P.
EDWARD STRUTT, ESQ., M.P.
H. WAYMOUTH, ESQ.
JOHN WROTTESLEY, ESQ., A.M. F.R.S.

All future Members will be elected by Ballot. The number of Acting Members is limited to Sixty.

When a number of persons associate together in publishing a series of works containing arguments and statements, a uniform agreement in opinion is manifestly impossible. The Society, therefore, does not consider any individual member as pledged to any particular doctrine contained in its publications, or to anything beyond a general concurrence in principles friendly to peace, to rational liberty, and to the great cause of human improvement.

In addition to the Acting Members of the Society, Honorary Life Members will be elected, consisting of those who may desire to advance the objects of the Society by Donations of Ten Guineas or upwards; or of the Authors of gratuitous Treatises, published by the Society.

The Society will promote the formation of Local Committees throughout the United Kingdom, principally with the view of obtaining information upon facts connected with Political Science. With the same object, they will be ready to elect a few Honorary Members from foreign countries.

The business of the Society will for the present be conducted at 13, Pall-Mall East, to which place all Communications may be addressed to Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

The COMPANION TO THE LIBRARY AND THE NEWSPAPER, Part VI., containing "The Printing Machine, or Companion to the Library," Nos. X. and XI., and the present Number of "The Companion to the Newspaper," is now issued, price 1*s.* sewed in a Wrapper.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 21. SEPTEMBER 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE.
The Diffusion and Advancement of Political Knowledge . .	169	Claims of the Calcutta Bankers on the King of Oude . . .	180
The Session of Parliament . .	170	Education in England . . .	181
Public General Acts	174	Pensions and Compensations .	181
Private Bills of the Session of 1834	176	Canton de Vaud (Switzerland)	183
Report of the Lords' Committee on Oaths	176	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	183
Poor Laws Amendment Bill .	178	Trade, Statistics, &c. . . .	185
Abstract of the Central Criminal Court Bill	178	Public Petitions	185
Sale of Beer Act Amendment Bill	179	New Members of the House of Commons .	186
Bankrupt Estates' Bill . . .	179	Political Retrospect for September — Great Britain, Spain, France, Portugal, Syria . .	186
		Chronicle of Events	190

THE DIFFUSION AND ADVANCEMENT OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

In Mr. Austin's admirable 'Lectures on the Province of Jurisprudence,' the connexion between the *diffusion* and the *advancement* of ethical science (of which it is scarcely necessary to say *political* knowledge forms a most important branch) is distinctly and forcibly put:—

"The *diffusion* of ethical science amongst the great bulk of mankind will gradually remove the obstacles which prevent or retard its *advancement*. The field of human conduct being infinite or immense, it is impossible that human understanding should embrace and explore it completely. but, by the general diffusion of knowledge amongst the great bulk of mankind—by the impulse and the direction which the diffusion will give to inquiry—many of the defects and errors in existing law and morality will in time be supplied and corrected."—(Sect. iv.)

This "most cheering truth," as Mr. Austin expresses it, is more distinctly worked out in the third lecture:—

"The diffusion and the advancement of ethical truth are certainly prevented or obstructed by great and peculiar obstacles; but these obstacles, I am firmly convinced, will gradually disappear. In two causes of slow but sure operation, we may clearly perceive a cure, or, at least, a palliative of the evil. In every civilized community of the old and the new world, the *leading principles* of the science of ethics, and also of the various sciences which are nearly related to ethics, are gradually finding their way, in company with other knowledge, amongst the great mass of the people; whilst those who accurately study, and who labour to advance these sciences, are proportionally increasing in number, and waxing in zeal and activity.

"Profound knowledge of these, as of the other sciences, will always be confined to the comparatively few who study them long and assiduously; but the multitude are fully competent to conceive the *leading principles*, and to apply those leading principles to particular cases; and, if they were imbued with these principles, and well practised in the art of applying them, they would be docile to the voice of reason, and armed against sophistry and error. There is a wide and important difference between ignorance of principles and ignorance of particulars or details. The man who is ignorant of principles, and unpractised in right reasoning, is imbecile as well as ignorant. The man who is simply ignorant of particulars or details, can reason correctly from premises which are *suggested* to his understanding, and can justly estimate the consequences which are drawn from those premises by others. If the minds of the many were informed and invigorated, so far as their position will permit, they could distinguish the statements and reasonings of their instructed and judicious friends, from the lies and fallacies of those who would use them to sinister purposes, and from the equally pernicious nonsense of their weak and ignorant well-wishers. Possessed of directing principles—able to reason rightly—helped to the requisite principles by accurate and comprehensive inquirers—they could examine and fathom the questions which it most behooves them to understand; though the leisure which they can snatch from their callings is necessarily so limited, that their opinions upon numerous questions of subordinate importance would continue to be taken from the mere *authority* of others."—(Sect. iii.)

The preceding passages so clearly define the good which is aimed at by "the diffusion of political knowledge," that what we have to add upon the occasion of issuing the first work of a society formed for that object, will be little more than an elaboration of the principle thus laid down.

A people in the condition of political ignorance are plastic tools in the hands either of rulers or of demagogues. In the *infancy* of good government, the commonest elements of political knowledge can scarcely be said to exist: to fear and to obey is the only law of the popular mind. In the *childhood* of free institutions, the same fear becomes blended with fierceness and obstinacy: the terrors of the governors are met by the violence of the governed. In the *manhood* of freedom and law, obedience is built upon reason: the principle of utility supersedes the contest for right; the alternations of popular violence and terror are no longer to be dreaded or despised. No people on earth have yet completely reached this glorious manhood: the most free and the most discreet still wear the school-boy shackles, and still exhibit the school-boy passion and caprice.

One of the main causes of this tedious nonage of states is the belief that was once so diligently kept up by governments, and is still so carefully spread by the "weak and ignorant well wishers" of the people, or by "those who would use them to sinister purposes," that in politics there is nothing to learn: that to feel and to act—to dash at an object through thick and thin—to follow some *leader*, careless where he leads them—to set up an idol one day, and pull him down the next—that these are the rights and duties of a free people, and that those who would establish their rights and duties upon a foundation of knowledge are closet dreamers, or, to use the more common jargon, cold-blooded and hard-hearted political economists. Doctrines such as these are mainly to be found in some of the leading newspapers of our day, whose conductors do not perceive that a great change is working in public opinion—that there are times when men will *rush* towards the attainment of a good, and others when they will steadily advance upon it, with a purpose which is not to be hurried or kept back even by the remoteness or indistinctness of the object which they seek—that the partial attainment of a great advantage has a tendency to make honest and reflecting people tolerant and even minded—that a state of constant political warfare is not of itself to be desired, and is not desired by any intelligent and prosperous community—and that the cry of "boot-and-saddle" of newspaper trumpeters is an ignorant and somewhat ludicrous call, when a people were diligently to set about improving the field they have won. We dare say these "doctors" will seek wisdom in time; and, "having bandied their fustian phrases, and bawled till their lungs be spent," will apply themselves to learn a few of the *leading*

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

principles of political science, in common with the rest of the world.

The ignorance and the imbecility of certain newspapers—their packed opinions and their personal animosities—their sudden loves and virulent hatreds—their utter contempt for consistency even in their prejudices—are no proof to us that the public mind is not advancing in the knowledge of political *principles*. The people are beginning to value their *facts* while they despise their *opinions*. Even the popular estimate of the characters of public men has ceased to be formed upon newspaper authority. It has become perfectly evident that the most miserable private motives almost invariably determine their friendships or their enmities. The public, therefore, have no faith in their angels, and no fear of their devils. It is their vocation to call names for the amusement of the crowd; and, indeed, it is rare pastime. No one, now-a-days, is weak enough to take it in earnest.

> "The coxcomb bird, so talkative and grave,
> That from his cage cries cuckold, fool, and knave,
> Though many a passenger he rightly call,
> We hold him no philosopher at all."

The disposition of the people to cast off their newspaper shackles is to us a decided proof of the advance they have made in political knowledge. We have no doubt that this onward step has been the effect of the diffusion of the leading principles of political science. Within a few years, the debates of parliament have lost much of their old party character; and several important measures have been supported or opposed pretty much, if not altogether, with reference to fixed principles of jurisprudence or political economy. The diffusion of the debates has taught the people to look in the same direction. Nor have publications been wanting, upon particular questions of popular interest, which have sought to direct the public mind to right conclusions from accurate premises, by grappling with the principles which the most enlightened student of political science takes for his guidance, and making them comprehensible by all. We have already seen what powerful effects have been produced in the instance of the amendment of the poor-laws, by the diffusion of the facts which were necessary for a right understanding of the complicated evils of pauperism, and of the principles which showed how these evils were to be remedied. Without this diffusion, there would have been little or no advancement in this particular case. The people would have been unable to "distinguish the statements and reasonings of their instructed and judicious friends, from the lies and fallacies of those who would use them to sinister purposes, and from the equally pernicious nonsense of their weak and ignorant well-wishers." As it is, parliament, with the consent and approbation of the people, and in spite of clamour such as was never before raised by those whose vocation it is to make their believers rave instead of reason, has legislated for the poor upon principles of political science. The diffusion of the science has clearly, in this case, removed the obstacles which prevented or retarded its advancement.

"The Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge" is desirous of accomplishing the great good which Mr. Austin has so clearly pointed out—to furnish the great body of the people with "directing principles," so that they may be "able to reason rightly" upon premises supplied to them "by accurate and comprehensive inquirers." The leisure which they can snatch from their callings is undoubtedly limited; but this only renders it the more necessary that they should be provided with unerring tests to enable them rapidly, but not carelessly, to examine "the questions which it most behooves them to understand." There may be many opinions of subordinate importance which they must continue to take from the *authority* of others; but then the knowledge of principles, and of details in the larger questions, will enable them to choose their authorities discreetly. They will not be led, as they have been, by the watchwords of party—by the blues or the reds of a borough or a county—by the declamation of the hustings—by the sneers or foul names of the newspaper—when they have the power of comparing the progress of legislation, and the course of public events, with the standard which they have established by careful investigation. To this salutary end we may contribute something *directly*, but we shall do more *indirectly*. It is possible to give a more sober and healthy tone to discussion, by showing that honesty is the one thing needful in public men of all ranks, whether legislators or writers. Writers especially, the recklessness of character and contempt for truth, which are too commonly exhibited, is one of the most disgusting features of our times. Those who ought to be the instructors of the people are far behind them. They too often forget the deep responsibility of all those who deal with the press, and shamefully cast away the restraints of honour and decency by which the intercourse of private life is regulated. What difference is there between a lie of the pen and a lie of the tongue, except that the one is infinitely more dangerous than the other? It has been said that one murder makes a villain—millions a hero. Upon the same principle is it that a printed lie goes by the gentle name of a figure of speech—that a dirty scandal, well circulated, is called a good joke—that foul language, spread over ten thousand sheets, is eloquence—that the daily threats of an anonymous bully are held for courage? These things stand in the place of political knowledge; for the people have been long accustomed to the garbage, and the old fillers of the trough know not where to cater for better food. The people, however, are tired of their purveyors; and that being the case, they will very soon command a change of diet.

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

In the present article we propose to take a survey of the proceedings of parliament during the session which has just been brought to a close, with the view of endeavouring to ascertain and sum up the amount of advancement in our laws and institutions, for which we have to consider ourselves indebted to the year's labours of our legislature. The monthly summaries which we have given in preceding Numbers may be referred to for a detail of the matters which came before both Houses, and the discussions which arose upon them, in their chronological order.

The newspaper outcry raised on the alleged do little character of the session of 1833 (in which were carried through the measures for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland—for the reform of the Church, and the commutation of tithes in the same country—for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery—for the establishment, upon another and more liberal basis, of the government of India—and for the re-chartering of the Bank of England—besides many others of inferior, but still of considerable, importance) has been renewed against the session of 1834, and, it must be confessed, with somewhat greater plausibility. Indeed, of all the sessions which the history of parliament records, that of 1833 is nearly the last against which such a reproach as that alluded to, could, with any fairness, be brought. It was a session distinguished not more by the length of time over which it extended—by the extraordinary number of days, and of hours in each day, during which the Houses, especially the House of Commons, sat—than for the magnitude of the questions which were discussed and settled in the course of these prolonged and arduous deliberations. The chief thing which is likely to make the session of 1834 seem to have been one of small performance, is the circumstance of its having been immediately preceded by a session of such unexampled activity, and the proceedings of which were of such vast moment.

We think, however, it will appear, upon a fair review, that, measured by any other than this trying standard, the last session is also entitled to be ranked, for the work done in it, among those not the least worthy of remembrance. But our object and intention is to state facts, and not to get up a case; and therefore we will proceed to a plain exposition of what has been actually accomplished by the legislature since the commencement of its sittings on the 4th of February. We shall mention, at the same time, what has been attempted without being accomplished, and also what has only been promised, and neither accomplished nor attempted.

The votes of the House of Commons for the last session—that is to say, the daily published enumeration of the matters discussed by the House, and of its decisions in regard to them—extend to the number of 1278 pages folio. Among the earliest articles in the huge volume, is a list of notices of motions given by different members on the first day of the session: they amount to sixty-one in all. It will be remembered that the number of notices standing in the order-book at the close of the preceding session, was a hundred and thirty-four; so that here were very nearly two hundred propositions announced for discussion during the coming six months, before the first four or five hours of that

talking-time had passed. If we even suppose a few of the new notices to have been repetitions of those formerly given, the number of distinct announcements will still be very great; and every day that the session lasted made an addition to the list. There must have been, we should think, at least two hundred more notices given in the course of the session. If so, there must have been in all about four hundred projects of reform or innovation waiting for the consideration and decision of the House in this one half year.

It is needless to say, that of this mob of unborn schemes of legislation, a large proportion has never yet seen the light. We shall not be expected to enumerate, one by one, the whole multitude of threatened motions which have never been so much as brought forward; but two or three of the more remarkable of those which stand in this predicament, we may mention by way of illustration. Mr. Bish, for instance, has not found time this year to submit his plan of an itinerating parliament; nor Mr. O'Connell his, of one which should rise every day before dinner. Nothing more has been heard of Mr. Finn's threatened tax upon Irish absentees. Colonel Williams has suffered the repeal of the Royal Marriage Act to stand over for a few months longer. Most persons will probably think that the patrons of such speculations as these have acted wisely in deferring their several propositions till they may have a chance of receiving a little more attention than would probably be bestowed upon them in these busy times. However, we find that all the motions we have mentioned (with the exception only of that of Mr. Finn) are still threatened for the next session. The votes for the present year conclude with a list of a hundred and two notices which now stand in the order-book. We shall mention the most important, or otherwise remarkable.

Mr. T. Duncombe is to call the attention of the House to a more direct prohibition of the interference of peers, prelates, or lord-lieutenants, in elections. Mr. Ward is to revive the question of giving publicity to lists of the divisions. While Mr. O'Connell is to move that the House adjourn every evening at eight o'clock, Mr. Ewart is to propose that it shall never sit later than twelve. Mr. Ruthven, in a more moderate spirit of reform, is only to contend that no petitions shall be received after the last mentioned hour. Mr. Ward is, very early in the session, to "call the attention of the House to the state of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and to the necessity of so remodelling it, upon the death of the present incumbents, as to afford permanent and substantial relief to the Roman Catholic population."

A resolution for an increase of the duties on foreign ribbons is to be moved, with but little chance or expectation of success, we should suppose, by Mr. Dugdale. Mr. Young having failed last session in persuading the House to repeal the Reciprocity of Duties Act, will attempt, in the next, to obtain a select committee to inquire into the state and prospects of British navigation, in the hope, probably, of reaching his old object by that new and more circuitous road. Mr. Lyall, however, frankly announces his intention to propose an inquiry into the effects produced by the recent modifications of the old Navigation Acts. Mr. Ewart is to ask for a committee to examine into the state of the Royal Academy: and Mr. Slaney is to bring in a bill for the securing of open spaces as public walks (why walks, and not places for sport and exercise generally?) in the vicinity of large towns. Mr. Ewart is also to move an address to his Majesty praying for the appointment of a number of peers for life, "with a view to promote the harmony between the different branches of the legislature." But Sir Samuel Whalley hopes to effect the same object more completely, as well as more directly, by means of a bill which he is to bring in for the abolition of the hereditary peerage altogether.

The entire and immediate abolition of military flogging is to be the subject of a motion by Major Fancourt. A bill for the relief and employment of the destitute poor in Ireland - that is, a measure for the establishment of a system of poor-laws in that country—is to be proposed by Mr. Poulet Scrope. Something apparently of the same kind is to be attempted by means of a select committee, by Mr. O'Dwyer; and Mr. Law Hodges also gives notice of a "motion relating to the poor of Ireland, with the view of adopting some mode for their relief." Mr. Lynch, too, is to move for a committee "to consider whether, for the better employment of the labouring poor in Ireland, the powers of the commissioners of the present board of public works in that country ought not to be enlarged." Mr. O'Reilly, again, announces an address to his Majesty, praying him to recommend to the House the grant of 120,000*l.* next year, to assist in building Roman Catholic churches and chapels in Ireland. The better to enable the public to spare this sum, the same honourable member is to move a second address, praying his Majesty to abolish the office of lord lieutenant.

The present exclusive system of the English universities is to be assailed from various quarters. Colonel Williams is to move an address to his Majesty, for an order to Oxford and Cambridge no longer to demand from students who "take any degree in schools," either subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, or any declaration that they belong to the Established Church. Another address is to be moved by Mr. Tooke, beseeching his Majesty to grant such a charter of incorporation to the University of London as shall enable that institution to confer all academical degrees, except degrees in divinity. Mr. G. W. Wood is again to bring forward his bill to permit students to be matriculated and to take degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, without either subscription to the Articles, or other religious test. And Mr. Wilks is to propose, not only a select committee "to consider the expediency of establishing one or more national universities in the metropolis, or other places in England and Wales," but also an address for a commission of inquiry into the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. Buckingham is to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the laws against drunkenness; and Colonel Williams is boldly to move a resolution, "that from (a time to be fixed) the distillation of ardent spirits from grain should be at once and entirely prohibited." A bill to abolish grand juries is announced by Mr. Pryme. The present state of the education of the people in Scotland—the establishment of a system of registration of births, marriages, and deaths, in the same portion of the United Kingdom—the repeal of so much of the Copyright Act as enjoins the delivery of eleven copies of every new book to the public libraries—the prevention of prize-fighting—the collection, into a manual, of the several rules and orders of the House—the reduction of the expenses of elections—and the erection of a new House of Commons—are the subjects of other notices.

The last entry in the list, is the notice, by Mr. Halcomb, of a motion, that all bills, both public and private, which shall have passed through any or all their stages in the House, and shall not have been rejected, may, by leave of the House, be resumed in the next session of the same parliament, without passing through the same stages a second time; a fortnight's notice being given of the motion for such leave. The adoption of the arrangement here proposed would certainly tend to facilitate the business of parliament; but the introduction of so important an innovation into the present system of procedure, might possibly be attended with greater difficulties than are apparent at first sight. The plan might also be found objectionable in some respects. For one thing, it probably would have the effect of making it much more difficult than it now is, to get the House to allow bills which had not the advantage of a strong feeling in their favour, to be read a second, or even a first time; and how far that change would be desirable may be matter of question.

If this prospectus of work for the next session shall be followed up by anything like a proportionate amount of performance, the business done will far exceed what has been accomplished in the session that has just terminated. The parliamentary campaign of 1834 will be eclipsed by that of 1835, in a far greater degree than it can be considered to have been by that of 1833. But it is evident enough that we have here occupation in abundance for many sessions. Even if all that is really good in this long roll of projected innovations could be accomplished in a single six months, or in a single day, it may be doubted whether it would be advisable to venture upon so many changes with so much precipitation. At all events, there is a necessity of more deliberate procedure imposed by the very nature and forms of such a constitution as ours. It is part of the price which we pay for our public freedom—for the right which we assert and exercise of canvassing to the utmost all public measures, and of suffering nothing to be done by the state, until every thing that can be urged for and against the act shall have been brought to bear upon it in repeated discussions. The jealousy of the constitution may, it is possible, have provided somewhat over amply for this thoroughness of examination which it has been one of its great objects to secure;

or the established forms, though not more than sufficiently rigorous in general, might, perhaps, admit of being relaxed with advantage in particular cases. But it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to lay down any rule which should limit their application, so as to suit precisely the exigencies of each individual case. And admit even that the spirit of caution in which they are conceived is upon the whole in excess; still the evil is slight compared with the good. The presence of this spirit and of the securities which it generates, is one of the things that mainly distinguish a free constitution from a despotism. As to mere convenience, if that were the only consideration to be looked at, the latter form of government has many advantages over the former. But in a free constitution these advantages are willingly sacrificed for the sake of what is better than any degree of convenience.

We shall commence our review of the proceedings of parliament during the late session by stating shortly the matters with which the two Houses were chiefly occupied during each month.

In February there was not much actual business done; but in the House of Commons, several interesting and important debates took place. Besides that on the address on the first night of the session, there were those on Mr. Hill's speech at Hull, on the charges against Baron Smith, on Mr. Harvey's motion respecting the Pension List, on that of the Marquis of Chandos respecting the distress of the Agricultural Interest, on the prosecution of the Pilot newspaper, and on Sir William Ingilby's motion for the Repeal of the Malt Tax. In all these cases the vote of the House was not followed by any further proceedings; and in one sense it might therefore be said that the time of parliament had been spent to no purpose. But if we are to have a parliament—an assembly for the discussion of matters of public concern,—at all, it is clearly impossible that such questions as those just enumerated, should not be brought before it and occupy a large portion of its attention. Such an assembly is not to be regarded as having no other use except to make new laws or to mend the old ones. They are appointed, not only to make laws, but to watch over their administration; and even to take cognizance of many things affecting the rights and liberties of the subject, or the general welfare of the realm, which lie altogether beyond the province of the law. In England, the parliament is no mere legislative chamber, in the strict sense of that expression, but a high court for the hearing and determination of all complaints respecting public grievances, and even of all matters appertaining to the interests of private individuals (and there are, and must be many such) into which the regular courts of law have no commission to inquire. It is more than all this. Here the voice of public opinion finds at once its most legitimate and its most effective means of expression on all affairs, both of domestic and of foreign policy. Is it to be contended that no effect is ever produced by such declarations of the national heart and judgment, not only making themselves heard to the remotest corners of the land, but ringing through all Europe,—except when they are embodied in a statute? The statute-book is indeed the most conspicuous monument of its labours which parliament has raised; but we are not sure that that bulky pile is the best thing which it has produced. If this admirable contrivance for the free utterance of the popular sentiment upon all topics, and at all times, has preserved the liberties of the country from being destroyed either by anarchy on the one hand, or despotism on the other, here, we apprehend, are we to look for its chief glory and the best service it has performed for us.

Some business, however, in the ordinary sense of that word, was also done during this first month. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained his financial plans for the year. Both the navy and the army estimates were brought forward by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretary at War. The plan of the Government for the extinction of the Tithe System in Ireland, was propounded. And a measure was submitted for the amendment of the Marriage Law, with a view to the relief of the grievances of the Dissenters.

In March the subjects of the most remarkable debates in the Commons were the Abolition of Impressment in the Navy, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Ejectment of the Bishops from the House of Lords, the practice of Flogging in the Army, the Repeal of the Malt Tax, the conduct of Russia, the relief of Dissenters from the payment of Church Rates, the Amendment of the Law of Libel, and the Cambridge petition for the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the Universities. Upon this last subject there was also an animated debate in the House of Lords. In the Commons, ministers brought forward their plan for the reform of the Court of Exchequer; and the ordnance estimates were moved. In the Lords, the Lord Chancellor submitted and explained his bill for the establishment of a new central court in place of that of the Old Bailey.

In April, the miscellaneous estimates were moved in the House of Commons; and the plan of the government for the commutation of tithes in England was laid before the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There were debates on the state of the Canadas, and on the admission of dissenters to the universities; and the month was concluded by the discussion, which lasted for six days, on the Repeal of the Irish Union.

In May, the Lord Chancellor laid on the table of the House of Lords, two bills for the prevention of pluralities and of non-residence in the church. In the Commons there were brought forward the bill for the amendment of the Poor Laws, and other bills for establishing a General Registry of Deeds, for a General Registry of Births, for the Amendment of the Sale of Beer Act, for the Removal of the Disabilities of the Jews, and for the Abolition of Arrest on Mesne Process. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also announced his plan for the reduction of the interest of the four per cent. annuities. There were discussions on different bills previously brought in, and likewise on a proposition for making it unnecessary that Members should vacate their Seats when they accepted Office, on a motion for a Revision of the Pension List, on the Repeal of the Act preventing Clergymen from holding Seats in the House, on the case of Mr. Harvey and the Inns of Court, on Shortening the Duration of Parliaments, on the Abolition of the Newspaper Stamp Duty, on different Bills for the Better Observance of the Sabbath; and lastly, on Mr. Ward's motion for the further reduction of the Irish Church.

Various matters of interest came before the House of Lords in the course of the month of June. Among them were the question of Secondary Punishments, the Prohibition of Foreign Ribbons, the Bill for the Removal of the Disabilities of the Jews, that for the Regulation of Dramatic Performances, and that for the Prevention of Bribery at Elections. Towards the close of the month the libellous attack of the 'Morning Post' on the Lord Chancellor was the subject of several discussions. In the Commons, among the matters debated, were the Establishment of a System of General Education, the Repeal of the Reciprocity of Duties Act, the Distress of the Hand-Loom Weavers, and the Reform of the Post-Office. The Bills for the Amendment of the Poor-Laws, for the Relief of the Jews, for the Commutation of Irish Tithes, for the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities, and others which had been previously introduced, also underwent more or less of further discussion.

The New Irish Coercion Bill was submitted to the House of Lords by Earl Grey on the 1st of July, and the Bill for the Amendment of the Poor-Laws was brought up from the Commons on the day following. Both were repeatedly discussed in the course of the month. The reconstruction of the Cabinet, and the circumstances connected with it, gave rise to several debates in both Houses. In the Commons the great subject of discussion was the Irish Tithe Bill, and the new shape which it now assumed. There were also debates on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interest, on Flogging in the Army, on the case of the 'True Sun' Newspaper, and various other matters. The Irish Coercion Bill was received from the Lords, and carried through both the second reading and the committee. The Budget was brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Bills for the Reduction of the Custom-house Duties by the President of the Board of Trade.

During the first two weeks of August, which formed the last fortnight of the Session, the two Houses were chiefly occupied in disposing finally of different bills which had been previously introduced. Among these were the Dissenters' Admission to the Universities Bill, the Beer Act Amendment Bill, the Irish Tithe Bill, the Poor-Laws Bill, the House of Commons Offices Bill, the Warwick Borough Bill, the Inclosure Bill, the County Coroners' Bill, the Bribery Bill, and the Capital Punishments Bill. Many of these measures were rejected, but most of them underwent ample

h

discussion. There was also a debate in the House of Lords on the foreign policy of the government; and the estimates for the miscellaneous services were agreed to by the House of Commons.

This rapid detail, in which, from the multiplicity of questions that came before the two Houses, we have touched only upon those of most prominent importance, will show that at least the six months and a half during which the parliament remained assembled, were not spent in inaction. Of the whole time, very few days passed in which some measure of greater or less public moment was not proposed or discussed. That many of the measures which were introduced were not passed into laws is true: this is unavoidable in the business of legislation, conducted according to the free and popular forms of such a constitution as ours. But we are not to suppose that nothing has been gained by those discussions, the objects of which have failed for the present. If the object is a right one, we may be sure that every discussion of it, be the immediate result what it may, will work towards its eventual realization. It is in this way that all our great reforms have been carried. How many years, for instance, were spent—how many debates took place in both Houses—how many hard struggles were followed by mortifying defeats—before the great victory of Catholic emancipation was won? It was the same with negro emancipation. In all such cases, an impression is made by the debate, which the vote, be the majority as overwhelming as it may, is powerless to remove. The argument may be all on one side, though the vote is on the other; and whenever this is the case, woe, in the long run, to the cause that has the uppermost of it for the moment. The spoke that now stands highest in the revolving wheel is not more sure to be brought to the opposite position by the natural operation of the forces that are acting in the machine of which it forms a part, than such a cause is, ere long, to sustain a similar depression. Only let the friends of improvement not stand still; every pull they make, be the effect for the moment what it may, is bringing things round to the desired state. There can be no doubt that many of the measures which did not succeed in forcing their way through parliament in the last session, have nevertheless been most effectively advanced by that mere agitation of them which seemed at the time to end in nothing. By such agitation, many a feeling of opposition, resting on ignorance, is dissipated in one quarter—many a rooted prejudice shaken in another—much interested hostility intimidated in a third—public enthusiasm is roused to might and potency for another occasion—all bad influences are weakened—all good influences encouraged and strengthened—the victory is not gained, but all the preparations for it are hastened.

The whole work of the session, however, has been by no means that of preparation for the future. Some most important and valuable reforms have been effected; and these we shall now proceed briefly to notice.

First in order, because by far first in magnitude and in moment, we place the Poor-Laws Amendment Act. This is a reform enough alone to signalize the session, had nothing else been accomplished in it. It would not be easy to reckon up many sessions having each to boast of any achievement so memorable or so useful. This act may be said to rebuild and set up anew an extensive portion of the social fabric which had all but fallen into ruins. In one sense, indeed, it may be said to place the whole of society in this country on a new foundation. It brings at least a combination of forces, altogether new, to bear upon the condition of the class which forms the basis of the community, and which, occupying that position, is the most important of all classes—the labouring population. We shall not here return to the task of defending the measure against either the argument or the abuse and misrepresentation of its opponents. It is now in action as the law of the land, and we shall soon have facts, which are better than any reasonings, whereby to form our judgments. But assuming its provisions to be—what we firmly believe they will prove—the best adapted for the exigencies they are intended to meet, we may pronounce it to be, viewed in every way, one of the very greatest reforms ever undertaken and carried through by the government of this or any other country. Regarded as a mere experiment, it is one of the boldest in the history of legislation. The urgency of the question had been long felt; it had been growing more pressing every year; but the courage to encounter its difficulties was nowhere found. Much honour, therefore, is due to those who at last took it up, and manfully faced not only all the intrinsic difficulties of the subject, but all that risk of popular opposition which had chiefly frightened others from the attempt. It has turned out, it is true, that the apprehensions entertained on this latter score had been much greater than there was any ground for; there has been no popular opposition to the measure; every effort has been made to excite such an opposition, and made in vain. The people, the very poorest classes of the people, have shown their good sense and their right feeling in refusing to be made the instruments of the agitators who would gladly, if they could, have defeated the measure even at the cost of a general insurrection of the industrious orders. But it might have happened otherwise, or at least, it seemed to many, we may say to most people, that there was great danger of less enlightened views obtaining the ascendency in the minds of some considerable portion of the population. Then, in its scope and its anticipated effects, the measure is also one of the very greatest magnitude. When brought fully into operation, it will probably save the country an expenditure of not less than two or three millions annually. It will put that much into our pockets, or, which is the same thing, it will leave that much there which would otherwise have been abstracted from them. But that is the least part of the benefit which it promises. Its moral effects—its tendency to elevate the habits of the people, and to improve their condition generally, must be accounted vastly to transcend in importance even the large saving of the pecuniary resources of the country which may be expected to result from it. It proposes to diminish the expense of maintaining the poor by diminishing the amount of pauperism. The saving of the money is to be accompanied by the lessening of the evil which occasions the present outlay. If the class of rate-payers is to be benefited by the former of these two things, the classes paying no rates are to be still more benefited by the latter. The industrious labourer is to be sustained in the prosecution of his honest industry, and prevented from sinking into a pauper. The pauper is to be restored to the condition of an independent labourer. The tide of recklessness and profligacy that is fast overspreading so many of our parishes is to be stayed. The virtues which the administration of the old poor-law has well nigh withered up in many parts of our land, we may hope to see springing once more into life under the better system now established. We ask again, is not a measure which is to do all this, well worth, even if it stood alone, a hundred acts of an ordinary session?

Another important act, which was passed early in the session, was that for the reform of the Exchequer. The pecuniary saving effected by this measure, when it comes into full operation, will not be less than 30,000*l.* a year. Along with this we may mention the House of Commons Offices' Act, which, by abolishing certain sinecures, and limiting salaries and emoluments in other cases, greatly reduces the expense of the establishment of the House.

Something has also been done in the reduction of taxation. The house tax has been entirely repealed, and the country thereby relieved to the extent of 1,200,000*l.* per annum. The other reductions that have been made may not be much felt in regard to the mere pecuniary pressure which they remove: but some of them put an end to annoyances which are often more irksome than a considerable pecuniary pressure, and others will tend to clear the channels of trade and commerce, and in that way do more than larger remissions of taxation sometimes can do in augmenting the national wealth, by simply allowing the fertilizing stream that creates it to flow in freedom. This latter effect we may anticipate, for instance, from the abolition of the duty on almanacs,—a concession which is also in a high degree valuable in another point of view, as being the extinction of one of the most objectionable of all taxes, those upon the diffusion of knowledge. We trust that another session of Parliament will not pass before all the remaining taxes of this description shall have followed the fate of the duty on almanacs. And here let us notice certain other votes with which we are as much pleased as we are with that abolishing the almanac duty, although they do not go like that to diminish taxation, but rather in a slight degree, to increase it. Their character, however, is the same in the more important respect, that their object is the advancement of popular intelligence, the only sure foundation of good government, or of permanent national prosperity. We allude to the second grant of 20,000*l.* in aid of local

subscriptions for the building of schools in England; to a grant for the first time of a sum of 10,000*l.* for the same object in Scotland; and also to the vote of 11,500*l.* for the purchase of the two Correggios for the new National Gallery. We do not enumerate various other liberal grants which were also voted for the support of the British Museum, and the purchase of articles to be deposited there, and for the promotion of education in Ireland, because such grants have long been customary. In the others, the legislature may be said to have entered upon a new course: they constitute a proud distinction of the two first sessions of a Reformed Parliament.

Among the measures of economy of the last session, we ought not to forget the reduction of the four per cent. Annuities, by which it is calculated that a saving of above 50,000*l.* per annum will be effected; and among the new facilities given to the diffusion of knowledge should be mentioned the arrangements that have been made for the admission of foreign newspapers into the country, and their transmission at a small charge through the Post-Office.

Among acts amending the law may be mentioned that removing all the penalties imposed by former statutes on the celebration of marriages in Scotland by Roman Catholic priests, or other ministers not of the Established Church; and that abolishing capital punishment in case of returning from transportation. But the most important reform connected with the law is that effected by the act for establishing a new court for the trial of offences committed in the metropolis, and parts adjoining, which was brought in by the Lord Chancellor. We have given an abstract of this act in another place. The measure has been universally received as a great improvement in the administration of justice, and must tend to repress crime, both by diminishing the expense of prosecutions and by otherwise facilitating the conviction of offenders.

The last measure of the session which we shall notice, is the act for the colonization of South Australia, on a principle which appears to promise a very superior result to that by which experiments in colonization have hitherto been usually attended. If this new scheme shall be followed by the success which its projectors anticipate, it is impossible to over rate the extent and importance of the social amelorations to which it may lead the way.

In reckoning up the parliamentary work of the year, that done by select committees of the two houses ought not to be forgotten. Among the committees appointed last session by the House of Commons, and most of which have made reports, while all have investigated to a greater or less extent the subjects with the examination of which they were charged, may be mentioned those on Sinecure Offices; on the Law of Libel; on the grievances complained of by certain of the inhabitants of Lower Canada: on the cases of Mr. Harvey, Mr. Buckingham, the Baron de Bode, and Mr. Gurney; on Steam-Navigation to India: on Medical Education; on the Tea Duties; and on the general State of the Education of the Poor in England and Wales.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS

Passed in the Second Session of the Eleventh Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 4 and 5 Gul. IV.

1. An act to explain and amend an act of the last session of parliament, for regulating the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom.

2. An act to apply certain sums to the service of the year 1834.

3. An act for raising the sum of fourteen millions by Exchequer bills for the service of the year 1834.

4. An act for the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

5. An act for continuing to his Majesty, until the 5th of July, 1835, certain duties on sugar imported into the United Kingdom for the service of the year 1834.

6. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

7. An act to repeal, at the period within mentioned, so much of an act passed in the fifth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled 'An act to alter the rates of postage, and to amend, explain, and enlarge the provisions in an act made in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne,' and in other acts relating to the revenue of the post office, as authorizes the taking of certain rates of inland postage within his Majesty's dominions in North America.

8. An act to amend an act passed in the last session, for consolidating and amending the laws relative to jurors and juries in Ireland.

9. An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March, 1835; to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attorneys and solicitors to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary term, 1835; and to allow persons to make and file such affidavits, although the persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their annual certificates.

10. An act for continuing, until the 1st day of June, 1836, the several acts for regulating the turnpike roads in Great Britain, which will expire with the present or the next session of parliament,

11. An act for continuing to his Majesty, until the 5th day of July, 1835, certain duties on offices and pensions, for the service of the year 1834; and to appropriate any sums arising from the redemption of the land tax.

12. An act to apply a sum of seven millions, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the service of the year 1834.

13. An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of parliament, for the prevention of smuggling, as authorizes magistrates to sentence persons convicted of certain offences to serve his Majesty in his naval service, and to alter and amend the said act.

14. An act to repeal so much of several acts as authorizes the issuing any sums of money out of the Consolidated Fund for the encouragement of the raising or dressing hemp or flax.

15. An act to regulate the office of the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster.

16. An act to abolish the office of recorder of the great roll or clerk of the pipe in the Exchequer in Scotland.

17. An act to indemnify witnesses who may give evidence before the lords spiritual and temporal on a bill for preventing bribery and corruption and illegal practices in the election of members to serve in parliament for the borough of Warwick.

18. An act to indemnify witnesses who may give evidence before the lords spiritual and temporal, on a bill to exclude the freemen of Liverpool from voting at the election of members of parliament for that borough.

19. An act to repeal certain duties on inhabited dwelling-houses.

20. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, to regulate the conveyance and sale of fish at first hand.

21. An act for amending certain provisions of an act of the thirty-sixth of George the Third, for regulating the buying and selling of hay and straw.

22. An act to amend an act of the eleventh year of King George the Second, respecting the apportionment of rents, annuities, and other periodical payments.

23. An act for the amendment of the law relative to the escheat and forfeiture of real and personal property holden in trust.

24. An act to alter, amend, and consolidate the laws for regulating the pensions, compensations, and allowances to be made to persons in respect of their having held civil offices in his Majesty's service.

25. An act to alter and extend the provisions of an act passed in the eleventh year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for amending and consolidating the laws relating to the pay of the Royal Navy.

26. An act to abolish the practice of hanging the bodies of criminals in chains.

27. An act for the better administration of justice in certain boroughs and franchises.

28. An act to amend the laws relative to marriages celebrated by Roman Catholic priests, and ministers not of the Established Church, in Scotland.

29. An act for facilitating the loan of money upon landed securities in Ireland.

30. An act to facilitate the exchange of lands lying in common fields.

31. An act for transferring certain annuities of four pounds per cent. per annum into annuities of three pounds and ten shillings per cent. per annum, and for providing for paying off the persons who may dissent to such transfer.

32. An act for reducing the tonnage rates payable in the port of London.

33. An act to repeal so much of several acts as requires deposits to be made upon teas sold at the sales of the East India Company.

34. An act to repeal the laws relating to the contribution out of merchant seamen's wages towards the support of the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, and for supplying other funds in lieu thereof.

35. An act for the better regulation of chimney-sweepers and their apprentices, and for the safer construction of chimneys and flues.

36. An act for establishing a new court for the trial of offences committed in the metropolis and parts adjoining.

37. An act to prohibit any further lotteries under an act passed in the first and second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the improvement of Glasgow.

38. An act to continue, under certain modifications, to the 1st day of August, 1835, an act of the third year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland.

39. An act to give costs in actions of *quare impedit*.

40. An act to amend an act of the tenth year of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to friendly societies.

41. An act to regulate the appointment of ministers to churches in Scotland, erected by voluntary contribution.

42. An act to facilitate the taking of affidavits and affirmations in the Court of the Vice-Warden of the Stannaries of Cornwall.

43. An act to authorize persons, duly appointed, to act as justices of the peace in the islands of Scilly, although not qualified according to law.

44. An act to regulate the conveyance of printed newspapers by post, between the United Kingdom, the British colonies, and foreign parts.

45. An act to amend an act of the present session, for altering and consolidating the laws for regulating the pensions and allowances to persons in respect of their having held civil offices in his Majesty's service.

46. An act to amend an act passed in the fifty-eighth year of King George the Third, for establishing fever hospitals, and to make other regulations for relief of the suffering poor, and for preventing the increase of infectious fevers in Ireland.

47. An act for preventing the interference of the Spring Assizes with the April Quarter Sessions.

48. An act to regulate the expenditure of county rates, and funds in aid thereof.

49. An act to amend, and render more effectual, two acts of the fifth and sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, relating to weights and measures.

50. An act to amend an act passed in the forty-ninth year of the reign of King George the Third, for amending the Irish road acts.

51. An act to amend the laws relating to the collection and management of the revenue of excise.

52. An act to amend an act of the twentieth year of his Majesty King George the Second, for the relief and support of sick, maimed, and disabled seamen: and the widows and children of such as shall be killed, slain, or drowned, in the merchant service; and for other purposes.

53. An act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, several acts relating to the importation and keeping of arms and gunpowder in Ireland.

54. An act to continue for five years, from the 5th day of April, 1835, and to amend, the acts for authorizing a composition for assessed taxes.

55. An act to amend three acts, made respectively in the seventh year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, and in the first and second years and in the second and third years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the uniform valuation of lands and tenements in the several baronies, parishes, and other divisions of counties in Ireland; and to provide for the more effectual levy of grand jury cess.

56. An act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, the acts for the relief of insolvent debtors in Ireland.

57. An act to repeal the stamp duties on almanacks and directories, and to give other relief with relation to the stamp duties in Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

58. An act for raising the sum of fourteen millions three hundred and eighty-four thousand seven hundred pounds by Exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1834.

59. An act to extend the term of an act of the first and second years of his present Majesty, for ascertaining the boundaries of the forest of Dean, and for inquiring into the rights and privileges claimed by free miners of the hundred of St. Briavel's, to the 21st day of January, 1835, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament.

60. An act to amend the laws relating to the land and assessed taxes, and to consolidate the boards of stamps and taxes.

61. An act for the more effectually providing for the erection of certain bridges in Ireland.

62. An act for improving the practice and proceedings in the court of Common Pleas of the county palatine of Lancaster.

63. An act to defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain and Ireland; and to grant allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, paymasters, quartermasters, surgeons, assistant-surgeons, surgeons mates, and serjeant majors of the militia, until the 1st day of July, 1835.

64. An act to suspend until the end of the next session of parliament the making of lists and the ballots and enrolments for the militia of the United Kingdom.

65. An act for the more effectual administration of justice at Norfolk Island.

66. An act for empowering the commissioners of his Majesty's woods, forests, land revenues, works, and buildings, to pay the net proceeds of the tolls of the Menai and Conway Bridges into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster, to the account of the Consolidated Fund.

67. An act for abolishing capital punishment in case of returning from transportation.

68. An act to authorize an advance out of the general fund of monies belonging to the suitors of the courts of Chancery and Exchequer in Ireland, towards the purchasing of ground, and building thereon offices necessary to the courts of justice in Dublin.

69. An act for placing the Mumbles Head lighthouse in the county of Glamorgan under the management of the corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond.

70. An act to regulate the salaries of the officers of the House of Commons, and to abolish the sinecure offices of principal Committee Clerks and Clerks of Ingrossments.

71. An act to repeal certain provisions of two acts of his Majesty King George the Third, affecting the printers, publishers, and proprietors of newspapers in Ireland.

72. An act to amend several acts for authorizing the issue of Exchequer bills for carrying on public works and fisheries and employment of the poor; and to authorize a further issue of Exchequer bills for the purposes of the said acts.

73. An act to grant relief from the duties of assessed taxes in certain cases.

74. An act to continue until the 5th day of March, 1835, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, an act of the fifty-fourth year of his Majesty King George the Third, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

75. An act to repeal the duties on spirits made in Ireland, and to impose other duties in lieu thereof; and to impose additional duties on licences to retailers of spirits in the United Kingdom.

76. An act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales.

77. An act for repealing the duties on starch, stone bottles, sweets or made wines, mead or metheglin, and on scaleboard made from wood.

78. An act for the amendment of the proceedings and practice of the High Court of Chancery in Ireland.

79. An act to amend the law relating to insolvent debtors in India.

80. An act to provide for the repayment to the Gowsy of and Company of the Bank of England, of one-fourth ration of the debt due from the public to the said Company ate and suance of an act passed in the last session of parlia

81. An act to amend an act of the third year of King George the Fourth, for regulating turnpike roads in England, so far as the same relates to the weights to be carried upon waggons with springs.

82. An act to amend and extend an act of the second year of his present Majesty, to effectuate the service of process issuing from the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer in England and Ireland.

83. An act to amend an act passed in the third year of his present Majesty, intituled 'An act for shortening the time required in claims of *Modus Decimandi*, or exemption from or discharge of tithes.'

84. An act to apply a sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund and the surplus of grants to the service of the year 1834, and to appropriate the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

85. An act to amend an act passed in the first year of his present Majesty, to permit the general sale of beer and cider by retail in England.

86. An act to explain certain provisions in an act of the third and fourth years of his present Majesty, to provide for the election of magistrates and councillors for the several burghs and towns of Scotland, which now return, or contribute to return, members to parliament, and are not royal burghs.

87. An act to explain certain provisions of an act of the third and fourth years of the reign of his present Majesty, to alter and amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of the royal burghs in Scotland.

88. An act for the more effectual registration of persons entitled to vote in the election of members to serve in parliament, in Scotland.

89. An act to amend the laws relating to the customs.

90. An act to amend an act made in the third and fourth years of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled 'An act to alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the Church of Ireland.'

91. An act to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, the several acts, for regulating the turnpike roads, which will expire during the present, or before the end of the next session of parliament, and to amend the several acts regulating the post roads, in Ireland.

92. An act for the abolition of fines and recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple modes of assurance in Ireland.

93. An act to amend the laws relating to appeals against summary convictions before justices of the peace in Ireland.

94. An act to enable his Majesty to invest trading and other companies with the powers necessary for the due conduct of their affairs, and for the security of the rights and interests of their creditors.

95. An act to empower his Majesty to erect South Australia into a British province, or provinces, and to provide for the colonization and government thereof.

PRIVATE BILLS OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, 1834.

I.—*Numerical Abstract of the Petitions and Private Bills for the Session*, 1834:—

Petitions presented to the Commons, or Bills brought from the Lords	235
Bills read first time	175
Bills read second time	158
Bills read third time	146
Bills which received the Royal Assent	143

The number of petitions presented, or bills brought from the Lords, during the session just terminated, exceeds that of last session by twenty-three; while the number of bills which, after going through the various stages, received the royal assent, is exactly twenty-three less.

II.—*Comparative classification of Bills passed.*

Agriculture	18
Companies	7
Improvement of Towns and Districts	54
Internal Communications	31
Navigation	9
Private Regulation	21
	143

III.—*Abstract of Petitions and Private Bills in Parliament, Session*, 1834.

	Petitions.	Passed.	Not passed.
I.—AGRICULTURE.			
1. Inclosures	23	16	7
2. Draining	3	2	1
II.—COMPANIES.			
1. Alliance Marine Assurance	1	1	0
2. British American Land	1	1	0
3. British Iron	1	0	1
4. Clyde Marine	1	0	1
5. Leicestershire Insurance	1	0	1
6. London and Westminster Bank	1	0	1
7. New Brunswick Land	1	1	0
8. Newcastle-upon-Tyne Insurance	1	0	1
9. Ocean Assurance	1	1	0
10. Suffolk Insurance	1	1	0
11. United Kingdom Life Assurance	1	1	0
12. West of England Life Insurance	1	1	0
III.—*Improvements of Towns and Districts.*			
1. General Improvement	34	19	15
2. Churches, Gaols, Bridges, &c.	24	18	6
3. Local Water-works	10	7	3
4. Local Gas-works	6	5	1
5. Regulation of the Poor, &c.	10	5	5
IV.—*Internal Communications.*			
1. Roads	50	16	34
2. Railways	18	13	5
3. Canals	8	5	3
V.—*Navigation.*			
1. Harbours, &c.	15	9	6
2. Pier	1	0	1
VI.—*Private Regulations.*			
Estates, Naturalizations, Divorces, &c.	21	21	0
	235	143	92

REPORT OF LORDS' COMMITTEE ON OATHS.

EVIDENCE is the reason or ground on which, in consequence of the conviction it produces, we assent to the truth of a statement or proposition. Testimony is a species of evidence: its object is the production of assent: it is a ground of conviction. Testimony is the report of another. In the absence of the evidence of our senses, when personal observation and experience have not furnished us with materials for the formation of our belief, because either time or distance have removed the case from our cognizance, the testimonies of others, in the shape of documentary or parole narrations of the facts, become the only grounds on which we can found our opinions and conduct. The number of these cases is necessarily immense, and their importance embraces all the interests of man. Hence the importance of testimonial evidence is of course commensurate; deciding the lives and characters of individuals, the laws and government of communities, and forming the basis of every thing history imparts for our good. Testimonial evidence has all the importance which the interests of science and society can give it, while, as the pillar of revelation, it affects the destimes of futurity for ever. The credibility of testimony depends on circumstances. It is the creature of every thing that affects the character of a witness; which, along with the mode and circumstances of its delivery, determines the credence it is to receive. The knowledge, veracity, and competency of a witness—the ingenuousness, clearness, and corroboration of his testimony,—and the solemnity, formality, or indifference with which the testimony is delivered, combine in ascertaining the amount of credence due to it. Hence the credibility attached to the testimony of a dying or a sworn witness. Worldly interests, it is thought, lose their power of seducing us to falsehood when time pales its ineffectual fires before the light and truth of the world to come. The cause of the importance of oaths is similar. The shame of falsehood is changed into the ignominy of perjury in the case of a false testimony affirmed by an oath. The awful facts of religion are outraged: they are at once recognised and contemned. Perjury has peculiar and severer punishments than falsehood.

It is acknowledged that a righteous Omnipresence is reading the heart of the witness,—he declares his accountability, and appeals to an infallible tribunal,—the pledge of his infinite interests is given to the truth of his testimony, so that the supposition of falsehood loses its likelihood in proportion to the impression and importance of these truths. This is the cause of the weight which has been almost universally attached to oaths. Anxious to adopt every possible means of securing the confirmation of testimony, the legislators of almost every country have enjoined the solemnity of an oath in innumerable cases as a means of securing the statement of truth and the performance of duty.

Into the question of the total abolition of oaths it is not our intention to enter: we are merely considering their nature. It is said that oaths suppose a motive to mendacity. This is a one-eyed view of their nature. An oath is a circumstance of testimony, added to it for the purpose of increasing its weight and credibility. It is certainly only a ceremonial circumstance induced by law; it does not happen like the circumstances of a dying testimony, and it is not essential, like the veracity and information of the witness. But still, if it supposes a motive to falsehood, it more evidently supposes the existence and conviction of motives to veracity. The supposition, if at all, is on both sides. If it were otherwise an oath would be a legal affront. An oath is a confirmation of testimony, and makes, in fact, no supposition whatever as to the moral character of the witness, except that he feels the impression of the circumstances which we express by the words Deity, Eternity, and Judgment to come.

Strip an oath of the impression of these circumstances, and it loses its character as a confirmation. The form is nothing. The weight is not in the ceremonial. If the solemn facts we have mentioned cease to make any impression on the mind, instead of being confirmed, the testimony is weakened by the ceremony. Indifference to serious things begets a suspicion of the witness. The violation of sacred things, in turning a solemn rite into a mere form, shows the absence of some of the strongest motives to truth. Irreverence in regard to truths so awful,—a thoughtless appeal to infinite interests,—degrades the character of the witness, owing to the desecration in which he has taken a part, and instead of confirming, casts an imputation and a suspicion on, the testimony. If, therefore, we were to continue blamefully indifferent to the profanity of taking oaths indecently, a regard merely for the purposes for which oaths are administered,—the discovery of truth, and the performance of duty by the confirmation of testimony,—would at once compel a wise legislature by every means to maintain inviolate the solemnity of an oath.

It is notorious that this country is disgraced in no common degree by the desecration of oaths. Required in innumerable petty and trivial occasions, they are made cheap in the minds of the people: persons who do not understand what they swear to,—others who swear to what they cannot possibly know,—and some who swear to the performance of what is impossible,—are cases of actual and frequent occurrence, which have disgraced the moral character of the nation, and attached no little guilt to those whose legislation has enjoined such proceedings.

It is truly gratifying to find that the Lords' Committee appointed to inquire into this subject have felt the nature of the evil, and propose measures for its abatement. We shall extract from their Report the recommendations which they have made for the removal of this national blot. They recommend—

"1. That the Lords of the Treasury be empowered to authorize and direct the substitution of a declaration in lieu of an oath, if they shall think fit, in all cases, not being of a judicial nature, relating to any of the public departments.

"The committee feel it incumbent upon them to recommend that for the future this point should be specially attended to, and that no bill should be suffered to pass your Lordships' house, requiring the administration of an oath, except in cases where it shall manifestly appear that the security sought for cannot be attained by means of a declaration, with penalties attached to falsehood. 'Let the law,' to use the words of an eminent writer, 'continue its own sanctions; but let it spare the solemnity of an oath. And where, for want of something better to depend upon, it is necessary to accept men's own word or own account, let it annex to prevarication penalties proportioned to the public mischief of the offence.'

"In restricting the use of oaths within its proper limits, we must be careful not to remove nor weaken any real security for the discovery of truth, or the performance of public duty. The committee have, therefore, abstained from entering upon the subject of oaths employed in the administration of justice, although they are of opinion that this class of oaths would admit of some diminution in number, and of great improvement as to the form in which they are conceived, and the mode in which they are too frequently administered. They have abstained also from going at large into the question of oaths taken on admission to offices and franchises of various kinds, although they are persuaded that, upon a careful inquiry, but little objection will be found either in principle, or from past experience, to the abolition of by far the greater number of those which are at present administered.

"The committee entertain the same opinion with respect to oaths which bind the parties who take them to the observance of local statutes and customs.

"The act of 1 and 2 Will. IV., c. 4, has very considerably lessened the number of oaths taken in the department of customs, by substituting a declaration for an oath, except in certain cases specified in the act. It has appeared to the committee that in some, if not all of the cases so excepted, a declaration or satisfactory proof would be sufficient.

"In regard to persons receiving pay or pensions for services in the army or navy, the Committee think it highly desirable that the oaths which are not considered to be necessary in one branch of the service should, if possible, be dispensed with in the other. But they have deemed it on the whole most prudent, with respect both to these and to other public departments, to content themselves with recommending, in the first instance, that authority should be given to the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury to dispense with oaths in all cases where it may appear to them that it can be done without prejudice to the public interests. An opportunity will thus be afforded of ascertaining, by actual experiment, how far it will be safe to proceed, and of mitigating the existing evil step by step.

"2. That the same power be given to the Universities, to all corporations, and chartered bodies.

"Looking to the difficulty and hazard of interfering, by any legislative measure, with the statutes and customs of corporate and collegiate bodies, the committee are inclined to recommend that a general permission be given to all such bodies to substitute, at their own discretion, declarations or affirmations in place of the oaths now required by their own charters or statutes respectively, and to alter the subject matter of such oaths, so as may be requisite to obviate the necessity of calling upon any person to affirm that which is not literally and strictly true, or to promise that which he will not be able to perform.

"3. That no accounts should be required to be verified by oath.

"They are prepared to express a decided opinion, that neither on these occasions nor on any other ought accounts of receipts and expenditure to be verified upon oath, because, if they are properly kept, they admit of a much more satisfactory and less objectionable proof by examination and comparison with vouchers.

"4. That a declaration be substituted for the oath now taken by churchwardens, according to a form to be settled by the dean of the arches and the king's advocate general.

"Although the committee have for the present abstained from considering the numerous class of oaths which are required of persons entering upon an office or franchise, yet there is one of that description which seems to demand immediate alteration. Churchwardens are now compelled upon entering into office to swear that they will faithfully perform all its duties according to law; and yet it is perfectly well known that some of these duties are such as it is not possible for them to discharge, in the present state of society, without the most serious inconvenience. Accordingly they are not only not expected to observe their oath in these particulars, but they are sometimes expressly cautioned not to do so; and the consequence is, that little or no respect is in too many cases paid to the obligation of their oath in other branches of their official duty which are essentially important and easy of performance. The committee recommend that a declaration be properly drawn up with reference to the actual state of practice of the ecclesiastical law.

"5. That the penalties which are now by law attached to perjury shall attach to wilful falsehood, in the case of false declarations or affirmations substituted for oaths.

"The impropriety and inexpediency of leaving the occasion of administering an oath to the discretion of a magistrate are so manifest, that the committee cannot hesitate to recommend that the practice should be positively prohibited, and that a penalty should be laid upon every person who shall administer or take any oath not warranted by law.

"6. That all persons administering or taking any oath not warranted by law be subject to a penalty.

"And the committee have directed that the evidence taken before them, with an appendix and index thereto, be laid before your Lordships."

POOR-LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

We have stated in former Numbers of the 'Companion to the Newspaper' the more important provisions of the Bill for the Amendment of the Poor-Laws, and we have also noticed the alterations the measure received in its passage through the Committee of the House of Commons. We shall now mention the further modifications to which it was subjected before becoming what it now is—the law of the land.

Before the bill finally left the House of Commons it received two alterations, with the consent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the motion for the third reading. The first consisted in the addition of a clause providing that, in case of frivolous grounds for the removal of a pauper, or for repeal against removal, being stated by a parish, it should be discretionary with the magistrates to oblige such party to pay the whole or part of the costs incurred by the other party in disputing such grounds. The other alteration consisted in the omission of a clause for the restriction of actions against the commissioners acting as a Board.

In the House of Lords the bil' underwent some alterations, although not any that affect essentially the principle of the measure. The following are the most important.

It had previously been directed that the commissioners should keep a record of their proceedings. It is now provided that the record shall furnish very minute and complete information, which once a year, or oftener if required, is to be submitted to one of the Secretaries of State.

An amendment on the thirteenth clause directs that it shall be deemed perjury to give false evidence upon any examination under the authority of the act.

The clause concerning religious instruction in workhouses occasioned some discussion in the House of Lords. In the progress of the bill through the Commons, a clause was introduced providing that the inmates of workhouses should attend whatever religious services they pleased; that pauper children should not be brought up in any other religious belief than that which their parents preferred; and that dissenting ministers should be at all times admitted to afford religious assistance to paupers of their own persuasion, or instruction to their children. This clause was withdrawn in the House of Lords, and this withdrawal was the only amendment of the Lords at which the Commons demurred when the amended bill was sent back to their House. They desired a conference, and the result is that the original clause now stands part of the bill.

In the original bill both owners and occupiers were to have cumulative votes, to the number of six, according to the amount of the property they owned or rented. In the Commons' Committee this privilege was limited to owners, but in that of the Lords it was decided that rate payers under 200*l.* should have only one vote; above 200*l.* two votes, and of 400*l.*, or more, three votes.

By other amendments the powers of justices of the peace, in ordering relief, are extended somewhat more than the original bill contemplated. It is now provided that in unions, but not in separate parishes, any two justices of the peace may order out-door relief to aged and infirm persons whom one of the said justices shall certify, from his own knowledge, to be unable to work. Also, in other cases, overseers are empowered to grant, and justices of the peace to order the grant of, medicine and articles of absolute necessity, whether to parishioners or not, in cases of extreme and urgent want.

The clause of the bill by which the system of allowances to able-bodied persons in employment was ordered to be discontinued from the 1st of June, 1835, except in those cases in which the commissioners might permit the practice for some time longer, has been altogether omitted; and a power is simply given to the commissioners to determine, in each particular case, to what extent and for what period such relief may continue to be afforded.

In the original bill the age of sixteen was proposed as that at which paupers might receive relief in their own names. This was afterwards changed to twelve; but the Lords have restored the original age of sixteen.

The non-eligibility for relief of the wives and families of substitutes in the militia has been extended to balloted militiamen. The clauses relating to settlement have undergone considerable alteration. As it now stands, settlement by apprenticeship is retained, except in the case of sea-apprentices; an illegitimate child is to follow the settlement of its mother until the age of sixteen; and settlement by possession of estates is limited to the period during which the person shall inhabit within ten miles of the parish.

The amendment of Mr. Miles, in the House of Commons, on the bastardy clause of the original bill, was expunged by the Lords. Strong efforts were, however, made to restore the liability of the father to maintain his illegitimate child; and the law, as it now stands, takes a middle path between the provision of the original bill and Mr. Miles's amendment. The liability of the mother is still affirmed; but if the child becomes chargeable to the parish, the parish officers may pursue the putative father, and the question of his paternity must be decided—but not on the evidence of the mother only—at the Quarter Sessions. The father cannot be required to maintain the child after it has attained the age of seven years; and that part of the old law which rendered the mother of a bastard liable, as such, to be imprisoned or otherwise punished, has been repealed.

ABSTRACT OF THE CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT BILL.

The object of this Bill is explained in its title, which is, "An Act for establishing a New Court for the Trial of Offences committed in the Metropolis and parts adjoining."

1. After declaring it expedient, that for the more effective and uniform administration of justice in criminal cases, offences committed in the metropolis and its vicinity should be tried by justices and judges of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in the city of London, the first clause enacts that the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Chancellor, the Judges, the Aldermen, Recorder, and Common-Sergeant of London, and such others as his Majesty may appoint, shall be judges of a court, to be called the "Central Criminal Court."

2. The second clause declares that the jurisdiction of this court, commissioned to try all treasons, murders, felonies, and misdemeanours, shall extend over offences committed in London and Middlesex, and certain enumerated parts of the counties of Essex, Kent, and Surrey. The enumeration is so framed as to include all places within ten miles of St. Paul's Cathedral; and it comprehends in Essex the parishes of Barking, East Ham, West Ham, Little Ilford, Low Layton, Walthamstow, Wanstead St. Mary, Woodford, and Chingford: in Kent, the parishes of Charlton, Lee, Lewisham, Greenwich, Woolwich, Eltham, Plumstead, St. Nicholas, Deptford, and that part of St. Paul's, Deptford, which lies within the county of Kent, the liberty of Kidbrook, and the hamlet of Mottringham: and in Surrey, the borough of Southwark, the parishes of Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Christchurch, Clapham, Lambeth, St. Mary Newington, Rotherhithe, Streatham, Barnes, Putney, the Surrey part of St. Paul's Deptford, Tooting Graveney, Wandsworth, Merton, Mortlake, Kew, Richmond, Wimbledon, the Clink Liberty, and the district of Lambeth Palace.

3. This new district is to be considered as one county for all judicial purposes.

4. The sheriffs of London, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, are subject to the orders of the court, which may summon juries from London or from the counties, or from both indiscriminately, to try all offences cognizable by the act.

5. His Majesty may, by order in council, appoint the places of confinement for prisoners; of these (6) the Penitentiary, at Milbank, is to be one; and (7) to it persons sentenced to imprisonment beyond the limits of this act may be removed; and (8) the regulations in all penitentiary acts

shall apply to prisoners confined there under the authority of this act.

9. Convicted persons may be imprisoned either in the county gaol or in Newgate. If committed to Newgate, the sheriffs of London are to execute judgments, the same as if the offences had been committed in London.

10. Justices and coroners within the limits of this act in Essex and Kent, are to commit offenders to Newgate; and justices and coroners in Surrey to Horsemonger Lane.

11. The court, or any two of its magistrates, may order the removal of prisoners from the Surrey county gaol to the prison of Newgate, if committed for offences cognizable by this court, without a writ of Habeas Corpus.

14. The court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen may contract with the justices of Essex, Kent, and Surrey, for the support of their prisoners in Newgate. If they cannot agree, the Judges are to settle the amount.

15. The court shall hold its sessions, in London or its suburbs, twelve times at least in every year.

17. The courts of general or quarter-sessions, within the limits of the act, are restrained from the trial of offences cognizable by this court; but (21) the present measure does not affect the existence of such courts.

18. Parties entering into recognizances to prosecute, are to receive notice of any change of court which may have been effected by this measure.

22. The court is authorized to try offences committed on the high seas.

23. The rights and privileges of the Lord Mayor and the corporation of London are in nowise affected by this act, which (24) is to come into operation on the 31st of October.

SALE OF BEER ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

The bill passed in the session lately terminated, to amend the act of 1830, permitting the sale of beer and cider by retail, has very materially altered the character of that measure, as will be seen by the following statement.

The preamble of the amending bill declares that much evil has arisen from the manner in which the houses authorised under the former act to sell beer by retail have been managed and conducted: it therefore directs that while licences shall continue to be issued for the sale of beer, ale, porter, cider, or perry, by retail, the persons obtaining them shall not be authorized to allow the liquor to be drunk on the premises, unless they are expressly licensed to do so. Persons desiring to be so licensed must, in addition to the requirements of the former act, annually produce to, and deposit with, the commissioners of Excise, a certificate of good character from six inhabitants of the parish, rated at six pounds each; and that they are so rated must be attested by the certificate of the overseer. The duties on beer licences under the former bill are repealed, and new duties are imposed, of one guinea for a licence to sell beer not to be drunk on the premises, and of three guineas for a licence authorizing beer to be drunk on the premises where sold.

Permitting beer to be drunk in a neighbouring house, or in any shed, &c., with intention to evade the provisions of the act, will be deemed drinking on the premises.

The provisions in certain acts respecting the billeting of soldiers in victualling houses, are not to apply to the houses in which beer is not sold on the premises.

Justices of the peace are to regulate the time of opening and closing houses, but in no case is a house to be opened earlier than five in the morning, or kept open later than eleven at night.

Constables and police officers are fully empowered to visit the houses licensed to sell beer on the premises, when, and as often as they think proper; and any person licensed under this or the former act, is obliged, on the demand of any two justices of the peace, to produce his licence for their examination.

The provisions of the present bill are not to affect the amount of duty on licences to sell cider and perry only, but such licences must state whether the cider or perry is to be drunk on the premises or not.

No person having a licence under this or the former act is thereby authorized to hold a licence for the sale of wine or spirits; and he incurs a penalty of twenty pounds by having such brought to his premises to be drunk or consumed there. The penalty for selling beer or cider without a licence is 20*l.* if drunk on the premises, and 10*l.* if not drunk on the premises. On the board over the door, after the words "Licensed to sell Beer by Retail," is to be added either "Not to be drunk on the Premises," or "To be drunk on the Premises," according to the tenor of the licence.

As doubts have been entertained as to what is a selling of beer or cider or perry by retail, it is declared that the sale of a less quantity than four and a half gallons is to be deemed a selling by retail.

Certificates, however, as qualifications for licences to sell beer on the premises will not be required in London or Westminster, or within the bills of mortality, or within any city or corporate town, or place returning a member to parliament, provided that the population of such cities, corporate towns and boroughs, exceeded 5000 at the last census. But in such situations a licence cannot be granted for the sale of beer in a house which is not of the annual value of 10*l.*

The act of 1830 is still in force unless so far as altered by the present bill, which will come into operation on the 10th of October.

HOUSE OF COMMONS' OFFICES AND FEES.

In the 12th Number of the 'Companion' (Dec. 1833), an abstract was given of the Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the fees, salaries, emoluments, &c., received by the officers of the House of Commons. The recommendations of the committee were there stated in detail. During the late session, an act, founded on these suggestions of the committee, has been passed, entitled 'An Act to regulate the Salaries of the Officers of the House of Commons, and to abolish the Sinecure Offices of principal Committee Clerks, and Clerks of Ingrossment,' of which the following is an abstract:—

The Speaker.—The annual salary of the speaker is fixed at five thousand pounds, to commence upon the next election of a speaker of the House of Commons. The present speaker is, however, specially exempted from the operation of the act, should he hereafter be again elected to fill that office.

Speaker's Secretary.—The speaker's secretary is to be paid five hundred pounds yearly, in lieu of all former fees, salary, and perquisites. The office of secretary to the Commissioners of the Fee Fund of the House is to be held in conjunction with the office of speaker's secretary.

The Clerks of the House of Commons.—The clerk of the House is to be paid the net annual sum of two thousand pounds; the clerk-assistant, one thousand five hundred; and the second clerk-assistant, one thousand pounds per annum.

The Sergeant-at-Arms.—The sergeant-at-arms is to be paid, in lieu of all former fees, perquisites, and salary, the annual sum of one thousand five hundred pounds; and the deputy-sergeant, eight hundred pounds.

The present holders of these several offices are all specially exempted from the operation of the act, which, of course, only comes into operation as vacancies occur.

Committee and Ingrossing Clerks.—These offices, as intimated by the title of the act, are abolished. Compensation is to be made to the present holders, but the amount is not specified, being left to the Commissioners of the Fee Fund, who are to consider the circumstances of each individual case.

There is also a saving clause in favour of the present clerk-assistant, and second clerk-assistant, of the House of Commons, should either of them be promoted to the offices of principal clerk or assistant-clerk. In that case, they are to receive the same salary as they would have enjoyed had they been promoted before the passing of this act.

BANKRUPT ESTATES' BILL.

A select committee having been appointed by the House of Commons to consider the bill bearing this title, presented a report, which, together with an appendix of evidence, has been printed by order of the House.

This evidence shows the very great advantage which has resulted from the establishment of the New Court of Bankruptcy. By the appointment of official assignees, the assets of bankrupts divided amongst the creditors has been largely increased, while the declaration and payment of dividends have been much accelerated; and very great losses, arising from the fraud, neglect, and insolvency of assignees,

solicitors, and accountants, have been obviated by the immediate deposit of assets in the Bank of England. To the labours also of these functionaries the public are indebted for the means of making available the funds derived from bankrupt estates, the amount of which is stated as follows:—

On the 26th of April, 1834, there were standing at the Bank of England, in cash and securities, in the name of the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, to the credit of bankrupts' estates, the following sums:—Cash, 362,385*l.* 9*s.* 10*d*; bills of exchange, 15,758*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*; Exchequer bills, 247,600*l.*; Bank three per cent. annuities, 26,328*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*; Bank three and a half per cent. annuities, 52,449*l.* 19*s.* 11*d*; reduced annuities, 7680*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; balance on the dividend account, 142,202*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

The first item constitutes the account of general unemployed cash belonging to bankrupt estates, in number about 1200, under the administration of the Court of Bankruptcy, which has gone on gradually increasing every month since the establishment of the Court on the 11th of January, 1832; and the other securities stated were either part of the bankrupts' estates, which were found invested at the time of their bankruptcy, or which have been invested at the instance of the assignees or creditors.

When an investment is desired, the Court makes an order for the purpose, and the interest or dividends arising are carried to the credit of the particular bankrupt's estate; and when a dividend is declared, the amount ordered to be divided is taken from the general cash and carried to the credit of the particular estate in respect of which it is directed to be divided, and made subject to the drafts of the official assignees, payable to the several creditors. The actual unemployed cash belonging to the bankrupts' estates at the period referred to, was 504,618*l.* 9*s.*, the use of part of which is taken by the Bank of England as compensation for keeping the several accounts, and making the several payments; and a sum is reserved to meet the continual claim for dividends and for the general expenses of bankrupts' estates. The committee on the bill recommended that of this unemployed cash 300,000*l.* should be invested in the purchase of three per cent. consolidated or three per cent. reduced Bank annuities, for the purpose of being made available as a permanent fund, in the best possible manner, for the benefit of the creditors of the several bankrupts whose estates are administered under the authority of the Court, the interest and dividends arising from such investments to be applied to pay the general expenses of the Court of Bankruptcy. This was thought to be a better mode of relieving bankrupts' estates generally, than to go to the trouble and expense of dividing the interest amongst individual estates.

The committee recommend the appointment of an accountant-general for matters of bankruptcy, distinct from the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, with a salary not exceeding 1200*l.*, to be paid out of the interest and dividends arising from the proposed fund. This it is thought would facilitate greatly the transaction of bankruptcy business, and by simplifying the accounts, and attaching official responsibility, diminish both the time and expense hitherto required.

The committee are also of opinion that the six commissioners of bankruptcy have been sufficient for the discharge of the duties of the Court, without any important assistance from the judges; that three judges were therefore sufficient for the Court; and that in the event of the appointment of an accountant-general of bankruptcy, there should not be more than two registrars, and one deputy-registrar, in addition to the six deputy-registrars attached to the commissioners.

CLAIMS OF THE CALCUTTA BANKERS ON THE KING OF OUDE.

As this is a subject which has lately occasioned some discussion in the House of Commons, we shall abstract a statement of the facts connected with it from papers published by order of the House.

Oude is one of the provinces of Hindostan, in the northern part of the country, lying between Agra and Delhi on the west, and Bahar and Nepaul on the east, with Allahabad on the south. It is a British dependency, and the nominal sovereign (styled Vizier of the Mogul Empire and Nabob of Oude) resides at Lucknow, a very ancient and formerly very populous city.

In the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, the then nabob of Oude, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, being in want of money, owing partly to his own misrule and mismanagement, and partly to a subsidy of fifty lacs of rupees * which he had to pay to the East India Company, negociated loans with various individuals, Europeans and natives; among others, with the banking houses of Duarka Doss, and Monhur Doss, natives, and resident inhabitants of Calcutta and Benares, on the security of bonds, bearing interest at 36 per cent. These bonds are seven in number, and were given in consideration of the sum of 1,061,700 sicca rupees, advanced at different periods of the years 1794 and 1795. From that period to the present year, the re-payment of the principal, with interest, has been a constant source of litigation.

Asoph-ul-Dowlah, who appears to have been an indolent and luxurious man, was repeatedly urged by the government of India to put his finances into better order, with a view to the discharging of his numerous debts. An inquiry was instituted by the resident at Lucknow, Mr. Cherry, in the year 1796, and a list of the Oude creditors transmitted to Lord Teignmouth, among whom appear the names of the native bankers. On the completion of this inquiry, Asoph-ul-Dowlah proposed a compromise; the terms of which were, that instead of compound interest at 36 per cent. per annum, only 18 per cent. should be allowed up to a certain period; the Europeans to be paid by instalments in five years, the natives in six. Ultimately, the European creditors acceded to other arrangements for the discharge of their debts, and the native creditors accepted a compromise for payment in six years, with the exception of the bankers, who, claiming to be British subjects, rejected the terms offered, and demanded the same treatment as Europeans.

In 1797 Asoph ul-Dowlah died. Saadut Ali was elevated to the musnud (throne); and in the draft of a preliminary treaty between the Company and him, there was inserted a paragraph, stipulating that the unliquidated portion of the late vizier's debts should be paid off in three years. This paragraph Saadut Ali had the address to procure to be omitted from the definitive treaty, and on the faith of it refused to acknowledge the validity of his predecessor's debts.

The grounds on which the representatives of Monhur Doss and Seetal Baboo pursue the claim as against the East India Company, are, that Asoph-ul-Dowlah was only the nominal contractor of the debt; that he was the vassal of the Company; that the demands of the Company on his treasury necessitated him to effect loans, and that, in fact, they were effected through the secret negociations of the Company's agents; that, therefore, the Company are bound to do one of two things—either to compel the king of Oude to settle the amount, or else take the payment upon themselves.

The Company have uniformly resisted the claims, on the grounds that the king of Oude was an independent ally of the government; that to interfere in the matter would be a departure from a fixed and uniform rule, hitherto strictly observed, of carefully avoiding interference between individuals and allied princes; that it was a *bonâ fide* transaction between the vizier and the bankers, for which the Company is in no way responsible, and interference in which would afford a most mischievous precedent.

In 1832, after a period of nearly forty years, the subject was finally decided upon by the Board of Control. It had previously been referred, in 1822, to a committee of the House of Commons, but the session closed without any decision having been come to. The Board of Control directed the Court of Directors to transmit instructions to the Governor-general in Council, to interfere directly and formally with the present king of Oude, and to require a prompt settlement of the debt, the amount of interest being compromised, and the mode and details of payment being left to negociation. This order the Court of Directors refused to obey, unless compelled by law; and after an interval employed in remonstrance and explanation, the Attorney-General moved, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 31st of January, 1834, for a rule *nisi* for a mandamus, to compel the Court of Directors to obey the decision of the Board of Control, which was of course granted; but the application was subsequently withdrawn. The court still

* A sicca rupee is valued at present at two shillings and a halfpenny; a lac is an hundred thousand.

resisted the order, on the plea that to enforce payment of a debt contracted forty years ago, and which with interest was now supposed to amount to a million sterling, would be an unjust and illegal act, and involve the king of Oude, a sovereign ally, in irretrievable ruin, by legalizing other claims of a similar kind, well known to be of an enormous amount. Various directors, however, dissented from the decision of the court, and assigned as their reasons, that they were bound to submit to law, and that, having used every legal means to prevent the transmission of the 'obnoxious dispatch,' they considered that they were under an obligation to affix their signatures to it ministerially, the entire responsibility of the measure resting with the Board of Control.

On the 28th of July last the subject was brought before the House of Commons. Mr. Grant, the President of the Board of Control, defended the view he had taken of the justice and policy of the Indian government pressing the liquidation of the long-standing debt on the attention of the king of Oude, but denied that he contemplated or recommended the use of force. After a brief conversation, the matter was dropped, and nothing further appears to have been done.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

A PAPER has been printed by order of the House of Commons, giving an account of all the sums of money granted in pursuance of an act passed in the session of 1833, in aid of the erection of schools in England. This document gives copies of the Treasury minutes, lists of the various applications for aid, and other information relative to correspondence with the British and Foreign, and National School Societies. The following is a brief abstract of the paper:—

Twenty thousand pounds were granted, in 1833, to his Majesty by parliament, for the purpose of being issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schools for the education of the poorer classes in England.

In appropriating this money, the following rules were laid down:—1. That no portion of the sum be applied to any purpose whatever except for the erection of new school-houses; and that, in the definition of a school-house, the residence of masters or attendants be not included. 2. That the amount of private subscription be received, expended, and accounted for, before any issue of public money for such schools be directed. 3. That no application be entertained, unless a sum be raised, by private subscription, equal to at least one-half of the total estimated expenditure. 4. That no application be complied with unless upon the consideration of such a report, either from the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, as shall satisfy the Board that the case was one deserving of attention, and that a reasonable expectation existed that the school might be permanently supported. 5. That the applicants, whose cases met with favourable attention, be required to bind themselves to submit to the Board, when called on, statements of their accounts, and reports of the schools. 6. That, in considering all applications made to the Board, a preference be given to such applications as come from large cities and towns, in which the necessity of assisting in the erection of schools is most pressing; and that due inquiries should also be made before any applications be acceded to, whether there may not be charitable funds, or public or private endowments, that might render further grants inexpedient or unnecessary.

In March, 1834, the sums granted amounted to 8280*l.* 14*s.*, in aid of 62 schools, containing 12,191 scholars, in a population of 402,045, and the undisposed applications before the Board amounted to a sum of 31,016*l.*, to meet which there only remained of the fund, 11,719*l.* 6*s.* In making selections, in order to dispose of their limited means, the Board granted to schools in connexion with the British and Foreign School Society, 4754*l.*, and to the National School Society, 7450*l.*, exceeding their funds by 484*l.* 14*s.* At the same time, there were applications for sums amounting to 24,526*l.* in favour of 236 new schools, calculated for the instruction of 55,168 scholars, and local and charitable funds were subscribed in aid of them to the amount of 66,492*l.* 6*s.*, the operation of which would be amongst a population of 1,110,830. Under these circumstances, the Board recommended the application to parliament for a further sum of 20,000*l.*; and a grant to that amount has since been voted.

PENSIONS AND COMPENSATIONS.

THERE has just been printed a return to an order of the House of Commons, containing, first, an account in detail of all pensions granted under the head of compensation, or otherwise, on the abolition of, or for sinecure offices in the different branches of the revenue, and in other departments of the state; and, secondly, an account of all pensions granted under the head of compensation for other civil offices abolished in the same departments, with the periods of service in each case. The document, extending to thirty-five closely printed folio pages, is of course too long to be given entire; and, at the same time, a mere statement of the amount paid under each of the heads enumerated would scarcely convey any information of interest or value. We shall, therefore, in addition to such a summary, present a selection from the list of cases, confining ourselves to those that either best illustrate the principle of calculation upon which the compensations appear to have been granted, or are the most remarkable on any other account.

Under the first head, that of 'Customs, United Kingdom and Colonies,' we find, among others, the following pensions granted for abolished sinecures:—

OFFICE.	NAME.	AMOUNT.*	DATE.
Collector, Outward	Duke of Manchester	£2,928	1811
Patent Searcher	Rev. Geo. Burrard	1,100	1812
Searcher at Gravesend	Nathaniel Well	620	1812
Inspector of Prosecutions	Earl of Abergavenny	1,545	1811
IRELAND.			
Storekeeper	H. Barré Bereford, and L. Claudius Beresford	4,315	1811
Examiner of Customs	Thomas Staples	782	1828
Searcher, Packer, &c.	Earl of Leitrim	935	not known.†
Craner and Wharfinger	Lord George Seymour	1,251	1825
Searcher, Packer, and Gauger, Port of Cork	Lord Avonmore	679	1810
Do. Donaghadee	Earl of Donoughmore	69	1811

There are, besides, enumerated under the subdivision of 'Plantations,' the abolished offices of Naval Officer at Grenada, Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Newfoundland, St. Vincent, St John's N. B., Antigua, Halifax, Dominica, Tobago, Prince Edward Island, Miramichi, St. Kitt's, Bahamas, and Montserrat: the holders of which, under treasury orders dated in 1827 and 1828, have received pensions varying from 91*l.* to 570*l.* The lowest of these two sums is granted to the late Naval Officer at St. Kitts, and the highest to the late Naval Officer at St. John's, N. B. Most of the other grants run from between one and two to between three and four hundred pounds.

The next head is entitled, 'Offices in the Colonies,' not included in the preceding list. It contains the additional particulars of the date of each individual's appointment to his office, and the amount of salary and emoluments in respect of which compensation was granted. Among the cases enumerated are the following:—

R. R. Wood, appointed October 1809 to the office of Vendue Master, Malta, now abolished, the emoluments of which are described as uncertain, has received since June, 1813, an annual compensation allowance of 1000*l.*

Adam Gordon, appointed March 1801 to the office, now abolished, of Naval Officer at Trinidad, the emoluments of which were 858*l.*, has received since January 1826 a compensation of 572*l.* This grant, it will be observed, is the highest made to any "Naval Officer." It is stated to have been made in "compliance with instruction of Secretary of State, for carrying into effect the regulations of act 6 Geo. IV. c. 105, abolishing the appointments of Naval Officers." The other grants to this class of public servants were, as mentioned above, by Treasury orders.

W. D. Farr, appointed December 1806 to the office, which he has relinquished, of First Marshal, at Demerara, worth 1,400*l.* per annum, has received since January 1801

* Fractions of a pound are omitted.

† Application for payment of this pension has not been made during the last four years.

a compensation allowance of 1,000*l.* J. A. Sullivan, appointed December 1803 to the office of Secretary and Registrar in the same colony, worth 4,200*l.*, having relinquished it, is stated to have received a compensation since March 1833 of only 100*l.* Unless Mr. Sullivan has been appointed to some other office, the contrast between his treatment and that of Mr. Farr appears strange.

In the other cases mentioned in this list, the full amount of the salary and emoluments of the office has been granted to each individual, with the exception that Mr. James Chapman, appointed in October 1802 to the offices of Island Secretary, Clerk of the Council, Secretary to the Cabildo, and registrar of deeds, at Trinidad, worth in all 1,500*l.* per annum, has received since his retirement in May 1831 a pension of only 1,000*l.* The pensions in the other instances vary from 200*l.* to 700*l.*

The third head is entitled 'Ordnance.' In this department the only compensation appears to be that of 521*l.*, granted to Lord Mountsandford as Barrack Master, Royal Barracks, Dublin, an office which his lordship holds by patent, but which is to be abolished on his death.

Under the fourth head, entitled, 'Excise,' the only case mentioned is that of Mr. Richard W. Duff, late Comptroller of Excise, Scotland, who, after thirty-three years' service, receives a compensation of 312*l.*

In the establishment of the 'Mint Office,' which makes the fifth head of the account, the only entry is "John Tekell, Comptroller of the Mint—289*l.* 10*s.* per annum." It is stated in a note, that the comptroller's office was regulated in 1815, and that on the termination of Mr. Tekell's interest the present office of deputy comptroller is to cease by the act 57 Geo. III., and the deputy, who is at present performing the duties, to become principal.

In the 'Audit Office' (the sixth head), the only case of compensation is that of Lord William Bentinck, who receives 340*l.* annually, as having been holder of the abolished office of clerk of the pipe.

The seventh head is entitled, 'Late Chamberlain's Office, Exchequer,' and contains the names of Montagu Burgoyne, Esq., late Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and John Penwarne, his deputy, the former of whom, after a service of fifty years, receives 2,000*l.*, and the latter, after a service of five years, 130*l.* per annum, being in each case the full amount of the salary of the office. Mr. Penwarne's allowance ceases upon the death of Mr. Burgoyne.

The 8th head is entitled 'Offices in Scotland.' We may observe that the arrangement of this return is extremely immethodical and confused. Instead of any thing like a digest being attempted, the accounts appear to be merely printed without order, as they were received from the different clerks or other officers who were applied to for the information. Thus, after the Irish and Scotch offices already mentioned, we have, first, this new general title of 'Offices in Scotland,' under which the only cases enumerated are those of the Hon. George Elliot, late Governor of the Mint of Scotland, who appears to receive his full salary of 300*l.*, as well as an additional sum of 49*l.* 10*s.*, in lieu of apartments which he had in the Mint, and that of Henry Scott Alves, late Master Worker, whose salary and emoluments are strangely stated not to be known, the reason assigned being that they are payable in London; and then comes a catalogue extending to more than eight pages, forming the 9th account, of persons receiving compensation for 'Offices in Ireland.' We insert, in the first place, an abstract of this account, omitting, as usual, fractions of a pound in the sums:—

Compensations payable at 5th January, 1834.

	Of 100*l.* and upwards per an.	Under 100*l.* per an.	Total.
CIVIL OFFICES.			
Late Receiver-General to the Exchequer	£553		£553
Late Auditor of Foreign and Imprest Accounts	923		923
Late Alnager of Ireland	500		500
Irish Compensations	14,433	1,666	16,100
Chief Secretary's Office	4,664	117	4,781
Privy Council Office	259	89	349
Treasurer's Office		68	68
Irish Treasury	2,945	382	3,328
Auditor-General	2,700	30	2,730
Late Clerk of the Pells	£3,283		£3,283
Late Muster-Master General's Office	166	10	176
Late Military Audit Office	2,425	1,266	3,691
Late Civil Audit Office	1,383		1,383
Late Linen Board	1,287	898	2,185
Late Board of Works	836	212	1,048
Late Lottery Offices	276	193	470
Late Inland Navigation Board	300		300
Late Pratique Master Port of Dublin	200		200
Officers late of Courts of Justice	32,497		32,497
Kingston Harbour		80	80
Total Civil Offices	69,635	5,115	74,651
MILITARY OFFICES.			
Board of General Officers	130	92	223
Military Infirmary	276	75	352
Office of Lieutenant-General Commanding	276	37	313
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham	680	30	710
Yeomanry Department	1,431	99	1,530
Late Military Agents	1,052	60	1,112
Adjutant-General's Office		98	98
Quartermaster-General's Office		27	27
Hibernian Military School		50	50
Commissariat Department	100	292	392
Total Military Offices	3,948	863	4,812

'We add a few of the particular cases comprised in this summary:—

The Earl (now Marquis) of Westmeath receives during his life, and the Marchioness during her life, should she survive him, 923*l.* as compensation for the abolition in 1798 of his office of Auditor of Foreign and Imprest Accounts, granted to him in 1789. The emoluments of the office consisted of fees, together with a salary of 6*s.* 8*d.* per day.

Among the largest sums received for loss of emoluments by the Union, are the following:—1290*l.* by the Earl of Mayo, who was Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords; 846*l.* by the Earl of Limerick, who was Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper; 1015*l.* by John and William Foster M'Clintock, as having held the office of Serjeant-at-Arms, in the House of Commons; 2091*l.* by Sir George F. Hill, who was Chief Clerk of the House of Commons; 3685*l.* by Sir A. B. King, namely, 335*l.* on account of his office of King's Stationer, 850*l.* on account of that of Printer to the House of Commons, and 2500*l.* to compensate him for the revocation of his patent as King's Stationer; 1107*l.* by the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, who was Master-General of the Ordnance; and 935*l.* by William Henry Freemantle, namely, 587*l.* for his office of Joint-Resident Secretary in London to the Lord-Lieutenant, and 348*l.* for that of Joint-Secretary in London for the Revenue of Ireland.

The Earl of Roden has, since the abolition of his office of Auditor-General in 1822, which he had held for twenty-two years, received an annual compensation of 2700*l.*, the emoluments of the office having been 3667*l.*

The Earl of Shannon, who for twenty-three years held the office, now abolished, of Clerk of the Pells, has, since the same date, received the full emoluments, being 3133*l.* per annum.

Lord Manners, since his retirement in 1827 from the office of Lord Chancellor, which he held for twenty years and a half, and the emoluments of which were 10,000*l.*, has received an annual compensation of 3692*l.*

Lord Avonmore, who, as already mentioned, draws 679*l.* on account of another office, receives 4199*l.*, being the full emoluments of Registrar of the Court of Chancery, which was abolished a few years ago.

Four retired Six Clerks of Chancery receive compensations severally of 1088*l.*, 619*l.*, 948*l.*, and 1348*l.*

Lord Ranfurley and the Honourable Vesey Knox, on account of the office of Prothonotaries of the Common Pleas, abolished in 1821, receive an annual compensation of 7150*l.*, being the average value of the fees for seven preceding years.

The Marquis Wellesley and Richard Wellesley, on ac-

count of the office, abolished in 1823, of Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, receive a compensation of 5387*l.*

We shall give an abstract of the second part of the paper in our next Number.

SWITZERLAND. (CANTON DE VAUD.)

WITH reference to an article on the "Civil and Political Dissensions in Switzerland," which appeared in our last Number, we have received some interesting notes from a correspondent who signs himself "A Vaudois," or citizen or native of the Canton of Vaud. Paying a compliment, which we well know our writer deserves, "that he appears to be well acquainted with his subject," the warm-hearted Swiss takes objection to his having represented the Canton of Vaud as a poor canton.

The author of the article, alluding to the late rash attempt made from the territory of Switzerland on Savoy, by certain foreign refugees, says, "All this business, we are told, has cost the Canton de Vaud 80,000 Swiss livres, nearly 5000*l.* sterling, which the canton can but ill spare, being a poor canton, and already burdened with a great number of its own destitute citizens." On this our correspondent observes, that he cannot admit that the finances of the Canton de Vaud are at so low an ebb. In proof of his statement of the comparative wealth and resources of his canton, he refers to a case which occurred in 1832, and called for great sacrifices.

"The political dissensions," he says, "which broke out in Switzerland in 1830, and continued through 1831 and part of 1832, obliged the Canton de Vaud to take precautionary measures at an expense of 251,280 livres. Yet this sum, though considerable for a small community of 177,797 inhabitants, which only dates its political existence from the year 1803, and though treble that said to have been incurred in putting down the attempt of the refugees, was liquidated in the course of 1832, without a single sou of additional taxation, by charging 63,000 livres on the budget for 1832, and 188,280 on the reserve fund which government has at its disposal.

"This may appear incredible, but you will be still more surprised to learn that that fund, which was found so useful upon that occasion, has *also* enabled the government to provide for, still without any additional tax, and over and above the ordinary expenditure of the country,

1,715,576 livres deficit on the extraordinary expenditure since 1803,

76,143 for placing the monetary system on a sounder footing,

996,716 for the construction of new roads, in addition to the sum annually voted for that purpose,*

299,959 for completing the general registry of landed property,

100,000 various incidental expenses.

3,188,393 livres; and that it has now at its disposal about 1,000,000 livres to provide for emergencies.

"I am not sufficiently versed in political economy to judge how far it may be wise for a government to keep up such a surplus; but this I shall maintain, that the system which enables a small Swiss canton to provide for an annual expenditure of more than one million livres, and an extraordinary one of seven or eight millions spread over the short period of thirty years, and to be not only without a national debt, but to have one million francs in reserve, cannot be very defective, and that the people which has such resources cannot be said to be poor."

But, after all, the author of our article and our correspondent are scarcely at issue. The first of these gentlemen, knowing Switzerland most intimately as he does, had no notion of representing the Canton de Vaud as being destitute and poverty-stricken—he only intimated that from its extent and population it could not have a large revenue, and that, like every other state, large or small, it had its own proper burdens to support. And surely, even according to our correspondent's showing, it is a fair subject of regret to see eighty thousand livres, out of one million, or nearly a twelfth part of the whole meritorious savings of the Pays de Vaud government, sacrificed at one blow, and in such a manner. We do not doubt that the economical administration and the industry of the citizens of the canton will make up the amount, but, in the meantime, an important part of a valuable reserve has been irretrievably lost.

Our correspondent goes on to say, "I cannot conclude without gratifying my national feelings by furnishing further proof of the fast-improving condition of the Canton de Vaud, by stating that the post-office, which for the three years 1804, 1806, and 1810, (I have no returns for the intermediate years,) brought in only 61,690 livres, produced for 1828, 1829, and 1830, 273,852 livres, although, during the latter period, government, with its usual enlightened liberality, made considerable reductions in the charges, (in some instances as much as fifty per cent.,) at the same time giving increased accommodation to the public.

"From 1803 to 1814 the customs produced annually, on an average, only 59,300 francs, whilst with a small increase only on the duties of some articles, they produced from 1815 to 1830, on an average, annually, 128,525 livres. The produce for 1831 was 173,521 livres."

Our correspondent assures us that all these statements "are grounded on official information." No one, not a native or immediately concerned in the affairs of the country, can rejoice more than we do at the progress thus stated to have been made by the Canton de Vaud.

* 315 miles of roads have been improved or constructed since 1803.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

MANUFACTURE OF PAPER.—A return has been laid before the House of Commons, which shows the weight of all the paper made in the United Kingdom, and the duty paid thereon, during the three years, 1831-2-3. It appears by this document that the following quantities were fabricated in those years in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, viz.:—

	1831 Pounds	1832. Pounds.	1833. Pounds.	Increase in 2 years.
England and Wales	51,149,069	52,923,096	55,912,774	4,763,705
Scotland	8,351,509	8,836,780	9,088,014	733,506
Ireland	1,771,827	2,179,363	2,397,080	625,253
	£61,275,404	63,909,109	67,397,868	6,122,464 nearly 10 p. cent.

Duty paid.

England and Wales	£566,629	600,250	622,933	56,304
Scotland	94,559	100,061	102,556	7,997
Ireland	19,212	24,303	26,785	7,573
	£679,400	714,623	752,274	72,474 above 10½ p. cent.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	
Exports for the whole Empire	2,371,210	2,529,693	3,161,483	Increase lbs 818,573
Duty returned on Exports.	£28,325	30,534	38,055	9,730

The proportion between the papers of the first and second class is as 3 to 1 in favour of the *first* class. About one-ninth of the whole quantity is manufactured in the metropolitan County of Middlesex. The next largest quantity is made in *Kent*, which produces somewhat more than one-tenth of the whole.

CUSTOMS DUTY.—The gross receipt of Customs Duty at the following ports of the United Kingdom, for the year ending 5th January, 1834, is:—

London	£8,692,898	2	7	Leith	£398,910	6	11
Bristol	1,083,323	4	6	Glasgow	166,913	3	3
Liverpool	3,733,132	0	1	Port Glasgow	161,894	5	10
Hull	624,057	7	11	Aberdeen	57,830	4	1
Plymouth	108,997	7	1	Dundee	48,608	4	8
Portsmouth	59,348	9	7	Dublin	654,754	19	7
Falmouth	21,491	17	0	Belfast	229,144	17	9
Dover	92,702	8	8	Cork	193,056	14	6
Newcastle	288,777	13	2	Limerick	117,783	18	1
Sunderland	81,610	4	4	Waterford	116,045	6	4
Whitehaven	86,383	19	2	Londonderry	72,671	17	8
Greenock	459,425	9	7	Newry	43,426	19	7

MALT.—The number of bushels of malt imported or brought from England, Ireland, or Scotland, respectively, to each of the three countries, in every year from 5th January, 1831, to 5th January, 1834:—

Number of Bushels of Malt.

Years.	Imported into England		Imported into Ireland		Imported into Scotland	
	From Scotland	From Ireland	From England.	From Scotland.	From England.	From Ireland.
1832	6,901	87,103	708	2,305	1,008	
1833	20,474	64,353	5,245	2,944	2,387	1,814
1834	4,520	54,01[illegible]	296	2,516	2,278	2,120

BRITISH SPIRITS.—Total number of proof gallons of spirits distilled in the United Kingdom, with the amount of duty paid, during the year ending 5th January, 1834.

	Gallons.	Duty paid.
England	7,717,303	£2,893,988 12 6
Scotland	5,988,556	988,092 13 4
Ireland	8,168,596	1,361,432 13 4
Total for United Kingdom.		
Gallons	21,874,455—Duty	£5,253,513 19 2

THE NAVY.—Total number of officers in the navy on 1st January, 1834, distinguishing those employed afloat:—

	No. of each rank.	Employed afloat.		No. of each rank	Employed afloat.
Admirals	44	2	Commanders	867	59
Vice-Admirals	51	4	Retired Commanders	100	0
Rear-Admirals	64	5			
Retired Rear-Admirals	34	0	Lieutenants with the rank of Retired Commander	176	0
Retired Captains	9	0			
Captains	783	53	Lieutenants	3,160	372

Board of Health, Ireland.—The amount of the expenditure of the Central Board of Health for Ireland, from its formation in March, 1832, to its dissolution in May, 1833, was 2,581*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*

Fish condemned.—The total number of fish seized and condemned as unfit for food, in the city or port of London, during the last three years, amounts to 492,538. This number comprises the various descriptions of fish commonly exposed for sale, salmon, turbot, cod, herrings, mackerel, lobsters, crabs, &c. In addition to this number, there were seized and condemned, 3,525 bushels of sprats and small shell-fish, and 126 kits of pickled salmon.

Northern Lighthouses.—The commissioners of northern lighthouses have given an abstract of their accounts for the year ending June, 1834. The receipts amounted to 34,037*l.* 10*s.*, and the expenditure to 29,345*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* There was a debt from last year of 25,030*l.* 15*s.*, which is now reduced to 20,338*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*

Expenses of Church Building Commissioners.—The expenses of the Church Building Commissioners for the year ending March, 1834, are as follow:—

Salaries	2,642 9 9
Rent and taxes	200 15 5
Various disbursements	764 9 4
	£3,486 10 0

Caledonian Canal.—The total amount of tonnage-rates levied from vessels navigating the Caledonian Canal, from May, 1833, to May, 1834, is 2,077*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* The expenditure, during the same period, amounted to 3,802*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* The revenue of the canal has remained nearly stationary during this period; but the intercourse carried on by its means, between the ports of Glasgow and Inverness, has been nearly doubled.

Private and Joint-Stock Banks.—The aggregate amount of notes circulated in England and Wales by private banks and joint-stock banks, and their branches, between the 29th of March, and the 28th of June, 1834, is:—

Private Banks	£8,875,795
Joint-stock Banks	1,642,887

Assessed Taxes.—Statement of the number of persons who compounded for their assessed taxes, with the amount, during the years 1820, 1825, and 1830:—

	No. of Persons.	Amount of Taxes compounded for.
1820	47,689	£716,353
1825	60,575	485,363
1830	43,978	374,764

Cotton Goods and Sugar.—The quantity in value of cotton yarn, cotton goods, and refined sugar, exported from the United Kingdom, from the 5th of January to the 5th of July, 1834, is as follows:—

Cotton yarn	£2,348,655
Cotton goods	7,395,193
Refined sugar	421,215

Retired Allowances.—The amounts of retired allowances for 1833, are—

	£	s.	d.
Army	2,735,891	16	5
Navy	1,600,551	18	6
Ordnance	336,803	0	0
Civil departments	521,330	2	2
Total	£5,194,576	17	1

Grain.—Total quantity of foreign wheat that has paid the duty for consumption in Great Britain, under 9 Geo. IV. c. 60, since the act came into force in 1828, till the 5th of July, 1834, with the amount of duty, and the quantity of corn, meal, and flour, imported from British possessions out of Europe, with amount of duty:—

Foreign Corn, Meal and Flour.	Quantity. Quarters.	Duty.	Corn, Meal, and Flour, imported from British Possessions. Quantity. Quarters.	Duty.
Wheat	4,834,796	£1,605,414	419,594	£75,803
Barley	1,074,986	248,517	313	23
Oats	1,463,336	433,170	8,973	294
Rye	142,626	26,667	—	—
Pease	221,628	80,278	5,540	519
Beans	184,959	96,831	—	—
Indian corn	102,216	18,823	211	26
Buck wheat	35,122	10,546	—	—
	Cwts.	£	Cwts.	£
Wheat—meal and flour.	1,894,591	183,173	368,744	26,834
Oatmeal	6	2	1,843	78

Compensation to the Servants of the East India Company.—The following statement is abstracted from papers printed by order of the House of Commons:—The Court of Directors, with the sanction of the commissioners of the affairs of India, have resolved, first, that an offer of transfer to the civil establishment of India be made to each of the civil servants on the China establishment, and such of them as shall accept that offer shall be entitled to annuities from the Company of the amount allowed by the Civil Service Annuity Funds, viz 1000*l.*, provided that the aggregate residence abroad in the service as members of the China Factory, and as Indian servants, shall not in any case be less than twenty-two years; and, secondly, that in consideration of the present and prospective loss sustained by the China servants through the change of the scene of their service, the amount of fine and subscription which, if they were members of the Indian Annuity Fund, they would be called upon to pay upon becoming annuitants, be not required from them.

The court seems to think it probable that the tea inspectors will find beneficial employment in China on their own account. In this view they have ordered each of them, on their final relinquishment of the Company's service, a gratuity equal to one year's salary. The clerks and factory servants are to be discharged, and to receive each three months' pay as a gratuity.

In the Home Service a uniform proportion has been fixed as to the amount of compensation for all officers and servants in the several departments who have been ten years in the service. This is fixed for each at two-thirds of the salary and emoluments. Those who have been less than ten years in the service, are to be paid gratuities in the following proportion:—

For a less service than three years, one year's pay and allowed emoluments.

For three, and less than five years, two years' pay and emoluments.

For five, and less than eight years, three years' pay and emoluments.

For eight, and less than ten years, four years' pay and emoluments.

The court reserve to themselves the liberty, whenever farther reductions in the Home Service are determined on, to effect exchanges between persons in the offices ordered to be reduced, and persons in the offices to be retained.

As the reductions on the service may materially affect the fund for the benefit of the widows of officers, clerks, and others of the Home establishment, should that fund be hereafter inadequate to meet the payments provided for by the existing regulations, the court has determined that the difference shall be paid as compensation. And if the capital and incomes from interest and subscription should be more than sufficient for the permanent charge of pensions, the excess is to be appropriated, so far as it will go, to repay the Company the advances which they make under this arrangement with interest.

The scale of remuneration which was proposed by the Court of Directors for the maritime servants of the Company, has been since rejected by a majority of the proprietors, and the following substituted in its place:

All officers, being commanders, who have been ten years in the service, to be paid 250*l.* per year; chief mate 160*l.*; second mate 140*l.*; surgeon 140*l.*; third mate 100*l.*; purser 100*l.*; fourth mate 70*l.*; assistant surgeon 70*l.*; fifth and sixth mates 50*l.*; midshipman 30*l.*; and boatswain and gunner 25*l.* per year. Widows to have half their husbands' pensions during widowhood, and children the usual provision. Those who have not been ten years in the service to receive gratuities computed according to their rank and time of service. And reasonable compensation to be given to those commanders whose term of contract has not expired.

Compensation and retired Allowances of Exchequer.—The total amount of compensation and retired allowances charged upon the Fee Fund of the Exchequer, by virtue of the act of 23 Geo. III. c. 82, is, at present, 8323*l.*

Prosecutions for Political Libel, Sedition and Blasphemy.—There

have been one hundred and three individuals prosecuted in England for blasphemy, political libels, and seditious conduct, between the year 1821 and 1833. The number of informations filed by the Attorney-General during the same period, against persons accused of blasphemy and sedition, is ten. Of the one hundred and three prosecutions, fifteen were in the Court of King's Bench (one of the individuals was a female (Susannah Wright), sentenced to pay a fine of 100*l.*, to be imprisoned in the House of Correction eighteen months, and to give security for good behaviour for five years more); fifteen at the Old Bailey, and the remainder on the different circuits.

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Italy: Military Force.—According to the most recent official documents, the military force of the independent States of Italy amounted to 27,490 men, without including the civic guards. These states, although under the Austrian influence, have their nominally independent governments and separate budgets. The military force is recruited by voluntary enrolments; and the advancement to the rank of officers is limited to persons of birth or consideration. On the 1st of April, 1834, the above force was thus proportioned:—

States of the Church	17,800
Grand-duchy of Tuscany	5,500
Duchy of Parma	1,380
Duchy of Modena	1,860
Principality of Lucca	800
——— Massa	100
Republic of St. Marino	50
Total	27,900

The artillery and the cavalry together, in the above States, does not exceed 3,400 men.

Annual Expenses of a Parisian.—A table has been drawn up by the Prefecture of the Seine, which ascertains the approximate and average value of the consumption of the several articles of food by a single inhabitant of Paris, of the middle class, in one year. The following are the results of this calculation:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Bread	2	8	4	Vegetables, and fresh and dried fruits	0	13	0½
Flour for other purposes	0	5	2¼	Salt	0	1	8½
Butcher's meat	2	19	3	Cheese	0	1	7½
Fowl and game	0	8	9	Olive oil	0	1	8½
River-fish	0	0	7	Vinegar	0	1	4½
Oysters and shell-fish	0	0	10½	Brandy and spirits	0	10	2¼
Fresh sea-fish	0	4	3	Wine	3	3	9
Salted sea-fish	0	1	8¾	Cider and perry	0	0	3
Fresh and melted butter	0	10	9½	Beer	0	0	6½
Eggs	0	4	8½	Sugar	1	0	10
Milk, cream, whey, and cream-cheese	0	8	2	Coffee	0	8	4
				Tea and cocoa	0	0	10
				Spice, honey, &c.	0	2	1
Water, six quarts per diem, of which three are paid for					0	3	11½
Total					£ 14	2	11½

To this list we must add the following expenses, incurred by each inhabitant:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Lodging	3	16	0	Expense of conveyance	0	9	7
Repairs of houses	0	18	4	Tobacco	0	5	5
Dress	2	18	8	Baths	0	2	10
Fuel	2	0	3	Charitable purposes	0	9	6
Lights	0	16	6	Presents	0	1	5
Washing	1	10	0	Theatres	0	5	11
Repair, or renewal of furniture	2	18	4	Expenses of lying-in	0	0	10
Education of children	2	6	5	——— children at nurse	0	3	1
Servants' wages, &c.	1	18	4	Physician and physic	0	9	8
Horses	1	4	6	Subscription to the public press	0	2	11
Carriages and harness	0	2	10	Imposts, taxes, &c.	5	13	4½
Grand Total					£ 42	17	8½

These details are, in part, drawn up from a general survey of the population of Paris, and the receipts and disbursements of that population, calculated according to official documents; in other respects, the statements are an approximate estimate.

French Taxation.—The direct taxes of France, in 1833, amounted to 211,847,373f. 3c.; the Department of the Seine, which pays the most, is stated at 9,384,371f. 26c.; that of the Seine Inférieure, the next, at 6,415,193f. 51c.; and the average for each department is 2 463,341f. 54c.

French Colonies.—Slaves.—The number of slaves emancipated in the four French colonies of Martinique, Guadaloupe, French Guiana, and Bourbon, between the end of the year 1830, and the end of May last, is 21,262.

Resources of Spain.—According to an official document drawn up by the Cortes in 1822, the following are the disposable resources of the country:—

Property of Establishments of Piety and Confraternity	540,000,000fr.
Ditto of Commanderies of Military Orders	108,000,000
Ditto of the Jesuits, remaining unsold	6,700,800
Ditto of the Inquisition, abolished	13,500,000
Ditto of Suppressed Convents	540,000,000
Ditto of the Secular Clergy, deduction made of one-tenth belonging to bequests	540,000,000
Ditto of the Crown, so far as disposable, and including the monopolised manufactories	27,000,000
Valley of Alcudia	4,800,000
Moiety of Communes (Baldios) of the Crown	540,000,000
Total	2,322,000,000fr.
Namely,	
In Ecclesiastical Property	1,750,200,000fr.
In Royal Domains	571,800,000

If doubts are entertained of the valuation of this property, the following facts would prove that it is far from being exaggerated. In 1820, property belonging to the convents of Malaga, Saragossa, Oviedo, and Valencia, was sold for 19,573,000 rials, or nearly five millions of francs; the valuation was only 8,695,000 rials. In Catalonia and Cadiz, the price realised was more than twice the amount of the valuation; and at Seville the increase was twice and a half. If we generalise this excess in value, it will be seen that now that the state of Europe is far more favourable to Spain than in 1820, the 1,750 millions, arising from disposable ecclesiastical property, may rise to more than three thousand millions. It should also be remarked, that the above table is far from containing the account of all the resources possessed by Spain in national property. It includes none of that belonging to the Crown, which is more valuable and extensive than any where else. It only disposes of one-half of the communes nominally possessed by the Civil List. Finally, it only gives 1,750 millions for the ecclesiastical property, whereas the valuation was made to amount to 3,125,000,000 by Cabarus on detailed research. Without in any respect disposing of this property, we may nevertheless consider it a part of the public wealth, which adds to the two thousand three hundred millions of disposable property, a guarantee of equal amount, securing the integral payment of the debts of the State.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Seven Reports have been issued since last publication. Their dates extend from the 4th to the 29th of July; and the last is numbered the forty-second.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sig.
Parliamentary.		
For Vote by Ballot	20	20,854
Ecclesiastical.		
In support of the Church of England	1,062	136,533
" " Scotland	50	18,927
" " Ireland	198	21,607
Against separation of Church and State	309	40,261
For ditto	57	64,628
Against lay patronage in Scotland	244	110,434
For Relief of Protestant Dissenters	1,125	350,209
Against	486	34,535
Against Universities' Admission Bill	433	41,705
Tithes, for abolition	421	367,032
For better observance of Lord's Day	719	156,731
For Lord's Day Bill (Scotland)	29	17,798
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn Laws	37	152,618
Against Alteration	146	32,382
Beer Act, for repeal or amendment	101	15,965
For alteration of ditto	33	10,746
In favour of Sale of Beer Amendment Bill	9	3,313
Against ditto	63	17,101
Against Poor Laws' Amendment Bill	172	18,157
For repeal of the Duty on Malt	116	26,123
For repeal of Export Duty on Coals	10	13,625
For repeal of Assessed Tax, Window Tax, &c.	2	543
Against Reciprocity of Duties Bill	45	6,507
Against Church Rates' Bill	137	50,999
Against Turnpike Roads Bill (Ireland)	6	272

Miscellaneous.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
For inquiring into the causes and extent of Drunkenness	222	57,701
For Relief from Agricultural Distress	56	47,703
Hand-loom Weavers, for Relief	80	64,728
For mitigation of severity of Criminal Laws	17	955
In favour of Scotch Bankrupt Bill	17	662
Against Imprisonment for Debt	13	1,210
For amendment of Laws relating to Friendly Societies	19	1,520
Against Friendly Societies' Bill	8	4,594
In favour of Dorchester Convicts, and against Trades' Unions Prosecutions	70	221,517
Schoolmasters, Scotland	44	1,131
For compensation for destruction of Jamaica Chapels	6	600
In behalf of the Polish Exiles	11	2,646
For repeal of the duty on Olive Oil	5	862
Miscellaneous Petitions reported since our last publication	55	1,834

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

NEW MEMBERS.

	New Members.	In the room of.
Chatham....	G. S. Byng, Esq.	Col. Maberley, M. G. Ord.
Cirencester ..	Lord R. Somerset, K.B.	Lord Apsley, peer.
Gloucest. (E.)	— Codrington, Esq.	Sir W. B. Guise, dec.
Finsbury	T. S. Duncombe, Esq. ..	Right Hon. R. Grant, Governor of Bombay.
Monaghan, co.	Ed. Lucas, Esq.	H. W. Westenra, invalidat.
Nottingham..	Sir J. C. Hobhouse ...	Lord Duncannon, peer.
Sudbury.....	Sir E. Barnes	Rt. Hon. M. A. Taylor, dec.
Thetford	Lord Euston	Lord James Fitzroy, dec.
Wexford, co..	C. Waddy, Esq.	R. S. Carew, Esq. peer.

Bankruptcy Analysis, from July 26 to August 24.

Basket-maker, 1; boot-maker, 1; bricklayer, 1; builder, 1; carman, 1; coal-dealers, 2; chemists, 2; clothes-salesman, 1; coach-maker, 1; coach owners, 2; drapers, 3; dry-salter, 1; feather-merchant, 1; furniture-warehouseman, 1; grocer, 1; innkeepers, 2; ironfounder, 1; laceman, 1; lodging-house-keeper, 1; miller, 1; merchants, 6; ostrich feather merchant, 1; potato salesman, 1; saddler, 1; scrivener, 1; silversmith, 1; soap manufacturer, 1; stationers, 2; surgeon, 1; stockbroker, 1; shipowner, 1; tailors, 4; victuallers, 4; wine merchants, 2,—total, 53. Total from the commencement of the year, 651.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR SEPTEMBER, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

FOR the purpose of forwarding the Irish Suppression of Disturbances Bill, both houses of Parliament met on Saturday, the 26th of July, the Commons in the morning, and the Lords at a later hour. In the former, the third reading of the bill was carried, after a short debate, by a majority of 82 to 21. The House divided again on the question, 'that the bill do pass,' when the numbers were, 60 for the motion, and 20 against it. In the evening, the bill was brought up to the House of Lords, and read a first time on the motion of Viscount Melbourne.

On Monday, the 28th, the bastardy clauses of the Poor Laws Amendment Bill were discussed at great length and with much animation in the House of Lords. The debate was followed by a division, when the numbers appeared to be, for retaining the clauses, 34, and for throwing them out, 13. In the House of Commons, after a discussion on the claims of the Calcutta bankers against the king of Oude, in which the conduct of the Board of Control, in ordering the claims to be paid by the East India Company, was complained of by Mr. Herries and defended by Mr. Charles Grant, the order of the day was read for the third reading of the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities' Bill. After a debate of considerable length the house divided, when the bill was read a third time by a majority of 164 to 75.

On the following day, the third reading of the Irish Disturbances Suppression Bill was moved in the House of Lords by Viscount Melbourne. It had been agreed that the debate on the measure should be taken at this stage. Besides the Premier, the Earl of Ripon, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Wicklow, and the Lord Chancellor, addressed the house; but the discussion turned almost entirely on the conduct of the government in abandoning the former bill; and it terminated without a division. In the House of Commons, at the morning sitting, the South Australian Colonization Bill was considered in committee, after a motion for its rejection had been negatived by a majority of 72 to 7. In the evening, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer moving that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the Irish Tithes' Bill, Mr. O'Connell moved an amendment that the bill should be committed that day six months. The original motion, however, after some debate, was carried, on a division, by a majority of 154 to 14. On the following evening, however, when it was moved in committee that the third clause should stand part of the bill, Mr. O'Connell, in place of the more complicated scheme of commutation therein proposed, moved an amendment, to the effect, that, in all cases, the tithe should be at once commuted on the principle of giving the landlord a bonus of 40 per cent. Lord Althorp opposed this amendment; but the House having come to a division, it was carried by a majority of 82 to 33. In consequence of this decision, the bill was re-modelled in conformity with the views which Mr. O'Connell and his friends had suggested. It was afterwards stated in the House of Lords, by Viscount Duncannon, that the modification of the measure thus adopted had been the proposition of a body of the Irish landlords; and his lordship at the same time stated, that, for his own part, he was glad his colleagues had been defeated in their resistance to it. The bill was further considered in committee on the 31st, after a resolution moved by Colonel Davies against making any payment in order to carry its provisions into effect out of the Consolidated Fund had been rejected by a majority of 78 to 14.

On Friday, the 1st of August, the second reading of the bill for the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities was moved by the Earl of Radnor; and the motion gave rise to a protracted debate. On a division taking place at near one o'clock in the morning, the votes in favour of the bill were found to be only 85, including 47 proxies, and those against it 187, of which 85 were proxies. It thus appeared, that had there been only a single member of the majority present in the house, he might have outvoted the whole array of his opponents.

This evening, after some more clauses of the Irish Tithes' Bill had been considered in committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained to the House of Commons his plan for the re payment to the Bank of the debt of 3,671,700*l.* due to that establishment in October next. He proposed to make the payment by transferring to the Bank 3 per cent. stock to the amount of 4,080,000*l.*

At a morning sitting of the House of Commons on Saturday, several bills were advanced a stage. Among the rest, that for the colonization of South Australia was carried through committee.

On Monday, the 4th, the Poor Laws Amendment Bill was considered in committee in the House of Lords; and, in the Commons, after the report on the Irish Tithe Bill had been agreed to, the House having resolved itself into a committee of supply, several grants for miscellaneous estimates were voted without much discussion. Among them were a vote of 24,000*l.* to defray the expenses of the Municipal Corporation Commissions for England and Ireland, during the past year; another of 12,750*l.* for the re-erection of the Baptist and Wesleyan chapels which had been destroyed in Jamaica; and another of 20,000*l.* for promoting steam-navigation to India. The House of Commons Offices' Bill was also read a third time and passed, by a majority of 37 to 22.

On the 5th, the Warwick Borough Bill was thrown out in the Lords, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Radnor, who had taken the charge of the measure

since the Earl of Durham left town, opposing that its promoters had not shown grounds sufficient to enable the House to proceed with it. The Commons, however, have since resolved, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that no writs shall be issued for the boroughs of Warwick, Hertford, or Carrickfergus, before the 20th of February next. The remainder of the evening was spent by their lordships in discussing a motion of the Marquis of Londonderry, for copies or extracts of correspondence or information relative to negociations for concluding a treaty between his Majesty, the Queen Regent of Spain, Louis Philippe, king of the French, and the Duke of Braganza, signed in London the 22nd of April, 1834. After the conduct of the government, in relation to Spanish affairs, had been attacked by the Duke of Wellington, and defended by Viscount Melbourne and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the motion was negatived without a division. In the House of Commons, after the Common Fields Inclosure Bill had been thrown out, on the motion for its committal, by a majority of 34 to 14, a short conversation took place on the Drunkenness Committee Report, which was brought up by Mr. Buckingham. The notion upon which the report seemed to proceed, that sobriety could be enforced by act of parliament, was received by the generality of honourable members with no little incredulity and ridicule. The motion, however, for printing the report was carried, on a division, by a majority of 63 to 31. The Irish Tithe Bill, the Foreign Enlistment Repeal Bill, and the South Australian Colonization Bill, were all afterwards read a third time and passed. The first-mentioned measure was warmly opposed by Mr. Shaw, and other honourable members; but they did not divide the House.

On the 6th, several bills which had passed the Commons were brought up, and read a first time in the House of Lords. The Marquis of Westminster deferred till next session his motion for abolishing the practice of voting by proxies. In the House of Commons, the Customs' Bill, the Assessed Tax Relief Bill, and the Beer Act Amendment Bill, were all read a third time and passed; and on the motion of Lord Althorp, it was resolved that a conference should be had with the Lords on the subject of the clause in the County Coroners' Bill, constituting the coroner's court an open court, which their lordships had struck out. The Lords, however, adhered to their amendment; on which the Commons declined to pass the bill, which is accordingly lost.

In the House of Lords, on the 7th, the report on the Poor Laws Amendment Bill was brought up and agreed to. In the Commons, Lord Althorp presented a message from his Majesty, recommending that measures should be taken to enable the proprietors of estates in Ireland, forfeited by attainder, and where the reversion or attainder is vested in the Crown, to bar such reversion or attainder. The Bribery at Elections' Bill, and the Roman Catholic Marriage Bill were withdrawn; the former, on the ground that the alterations made in it by the Lords were too extensive to be taken into consideration at that late period of the session: and the latter, in order that a more complete measure, including all descriptions of dissenters, might be introduced next session. The Lords' amendments on the Capital Punishments' Bill were agreed to. Lord John Russell then made the motion already noticed, respecting the several boroughs in which corrupt practices are alleged to have taken place. A division took place on that respecting Warwick, when the numbers were, 67 for the motion, and 18 against it.

On the 8th, the bastardy clauses, in the Poor Laws Amendment Bill, underwent another ample discussion in the House of Lords, on a motion of the Bishop of Exeter for their removal from the bill, which had previously been read a third time by a majority of 45 to 15. When the House again divided on the Bishop of Exter's motion, the numbers appeared to be, for the motion, 71, including 31 proxies; and against it, 82, including 40 proxies. An amendment was afterwards introduced into the bill, on the motion of the Duke of Wellington, giving the parish a claim upon the putative father of a bastard child, to the extent explained in a previous page in our abstract of the act. The bill was then passed. No business of importance was transacted this evening in the House of Commons.

On Monday the 11th, the second reading of the Irish Tithes Bill was moved in the House of Lords by Viscount Melbourne, and gave rise to a debate which was protracted till nearly two o'clock in the morning. The result was the rejection of the measure by a majority of 189 to 122. Of the peers present, 61 voted for the bill, and 85 against it. Lord Ellenborough, who led the opposition, declared in his speech, that had ministers adhered to the measure in the form in which it was originally brought forward, it would have received the support of himself and his friends. The circumstances which had led to the modification of the plan appear to have been partly the changes in the cabinet occasioned by the secession of Mr. Stanley and his friends and the subsequent retirement of Earl Grey, and partly a proposition made to the government by a powerful body of the Irish landlords. In the Commons this day, the Lords amendments on the Poor-Law Bill were agreed to, after which the House adjourned to Wednesday.

The Lords met on the 12th, when, among other measures which were advanced a stage, the South Australian Colonization Bill was carried through committee. On the following day, the report was agreed to, and their Lordships, after a conference with the Commons, also agreed to the restoration of the clause (the 18th) of the Poor-Law Amendment Bill, providing for the admission of dissenting ministers into workhouses, which they had formerly struck out.

On the 14th, after several bills (among others that for the colonization of Southern Australia) had been read a third time by their Lordships, and passed, the Lord Chancellor brought in a bill for reforming the mode in which the appellate jurisdiction of the House has been heretofore exercised. Of this bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed, we shall take an early opportunity of giving an account. In the House of Commons, the Lords' amendments to the South Australian Bill, and to the Beer Bill, were agreed to: although Mr. Hume divided the House on the clause which had been introduced into the latter, giving constables the power of visiting beer-houses at all hours. The clause was carried by a majority of 29 to 12.

On Friday the 15th, his Majesty came in state to the House of Lords, and delivered a speech, in which he stated that he continued to receive from all foreign powers, assurances of their friendly disposition—that he had still to lament the continued postponement of a final adjustment between Holland and Belgium—that he had derived the most sincere and lively satisfaction from the termination of the civil war in Portugal, and that he rejoiced to think that the quadripartite treaty had materially contributed to produce that happy result—that events had, however, since occurred in Spain, to disappoint, for a time, the hopes of tranquillity in that country—that to these events he would, in concert with his allies, give his most serious attention—that the peace of Turkey remained undisturbed, and that he trusted no event would happen in that quarter to interrupt the tranquillity of Europe. His Majesty then, adverting to domestic questions, observed that he had had much satisfaction in giving his assent to the act for the amendment and better administration of the poor-laws, and that it would be his duty to provide, that the authority necessarily vested in the commissioners should be exercised with temperance and caution. The establishment of the new central criminal court, he trusted, would improve the administration of justice within the populous sphere of its jurisdiction, and afford a useful example to every other part of the kingdom. "To the important subject of our jurisprudence, and of our municipal corporations," proceeded his Majesty, "your attention will naturally be directed early in the next session." Having thanked the Commons for the supplies, he concluded as follows:—"It gives me great satisfaction to believe, that, in returning to your several counties, you will find a prevalence of general tranquillity, and of active industry, among all classes of society. I humbly hope that Providence will vouchsafe a continuance and increase of those blessings; and in any circumstances which may arise, I shall rely with confidence on your zeal and ability; and I rest satisfied that you will inculcate and encourage that obedience to the laws, and that observance of the duties of religion and morality, which are the only secure foundations of the honour and happiness of empires." The Lord Chancellor then intimated that the parliament was prorogued to Thursday the 25th of September next.

SPAIN.

We related in our last retrospect the mysterious re-appearance of Don Carlos in his native country. His proceedings since then have been reported in our own and the continental newspapers in the most contradictory manner. According to one party, he has been very successful, whilst another represents him as having failed in all his attempts. We have no very positive information from the scene of action to enable us to decide between the two; but as even his warmest partisans cannot claim for him any decisive blow, or important progress, we are inclined to believe his expedition will prove a failure. If his presence was of any value to his cause among the insurgents in the northern provinces, or the mal-contents in the rest of the kingdom, it would have been felt and produced its effects at once. But he has now been in Spain nearly six weeks, and after some paltry military operations, attended with little loss of life on both sides, matters seem to remain much as they were before he went there. The great talent of the Don appears to be in maintaining the mystery of his "whereabont.:" when he was in Portugal, nobody but his immediate adherents knew for some months in what part of the kingdom he actually was, or whether he was not concealed within the Spanish frontier; and since his last expedition, he has been equally happy in defying conjecture as to his precise places of abode. We need not therefore be surprised that some newspapers venture to say that he is at this moment at Paris, and that others *conjecture* he has never been in Spain at all. For ourselves, we think we may repeat an opinion we gave some six months back—that he is not a man likely to find his way to a throne through great difficulties.

The cholera has been more active than Don Carlos. At its breaking out in Madrid, where its progress was at first fearful, the ignorant and superstitious populace imagined that the public fountains had been poisoned by malignants, and rising most furiously in nearly every part of the city, destroyed a number of human lives. This ebullition is not the first of its kind by many, and, thanks to the popular ignorance in so many parts of the world, it is not likely to be the last. When the Spaniards held Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples, the plague visited those countries, where the people, the poor Spaniards created and propa-

Laws A[illegible] people thought the Spa[illegible] gated it by scattering pestiferous powders in the air, and in consequence of this belief a good many Spaniards were murdered. But this, to be sure, was some two centuries ago. In the present instance, however, considering the character the Spanish populace has borne, there is something remarkable in the choice of their victims, who seem all to have been monks and priests. Several monasteries were broken open, and altogether about seventy men are said to have perished by this madness. These riots lasted from the 17th to the 19th of July.

Notwithstanding her dread of the cholera and the popular disturbances, which was by no means peculiar to that princess, the Queen Regent came to Madrid, and the Cortes, as newly constituted, assembled on the 24th of July, the day previously appointed by a royal decree.

Her opening speech was long, circumstantial, and on the whole, satisfactory. The drawbacks were the continuance of civil war, and the financial difficulties of the country.

In announcing the amicable relations existing between her and her allies, the French and English kings, and the Queen of Portugal, she added,

"I could have desired that every other government had answered in like manner to the amicable disposition of the Spanish cabinet; but although none of them have manifested any intention or desire of interfering in our domestic concerns, some have delayed, to this moment, the recognition of my daughter as Queen of Spain. The laws of the monarchy have raised her to the throne—the will of the nation sustains her—reason and time will render due homage to the *conservative principle of legitimacy*."

After congratulating herself on the tried fidelity of the army, the Regent dwelt on the necessity of a prudent and severe economy, adding,

"Publicity—the intervention of the Cortes in all matters of expense, and in the imposition of contributions, will conduct us in a short time to the desired term of equalizing the ordinary resources of the nation with its necessities. This hope is the better founded, as it will be sustained *by an arrangement of the whole foreign debt, compatible with our actual* [illegible] supported by frankness and good faith, which are the principles of my government, as well as by an amelioration of the interior debt, and its progressive extinction, facilitated by the resources which will be applied to it with a prudent reserve, and after a profound examination."

An enumeration of the various reforms which have already been made in different branches of the administration, is followed by a passage which ought to be constantly present to that party in Spain who would build a new Rome in a day. "It cannot be concealed from your circumspection and prudence, that it is not possible to remedy in a few months the accumulated evils of many ages; and that the very desire of man to operate what belongs to time, has frequently led to a bad issue, and compromised the welfare of nations. The Royal statute has provided the cement—it belongs to you, illustrious peers and signors deputies, to concur that the edifice shall rise with that regularity and concert which are the only guarantee of stability and firmness."

Contemporary with the meeting of the Cortes was the detection of an ultra-liberal conspiracy in Madrid, at Tortosa, and Valencia, in which Palafox, the celebrated defender of Zaragossa (who had been created Duke of Zaragossa only a few days before), Van Halen, who seems to be half Spaniard and half Belgian, Alpuente, and some other well-known individuals were implicated. The object of this plot is said to have been the substitution of the essentially democratic Cortes of 1820, for that now established. As it appears, however, that several of the leaders arrested have been already set at liberty, we may conclude that the association was neither so dangerous nor so lawless as had been supposed by the Queen Regent's cabinet.

Both chambers of the Cortes have been much occupied since their assembling by the subject of the foreign relations of the country. M. Martinez de la Rosa has given in explanatory documents, consisting chiefly of the new treaty with the United States of America, fixing at 12,000,000 reals the compensation due by Spain to that power for injuries inflicted on her shipping and merchandise during the French occupation, and the prevalence in Spain of the Berlin and Milan decrees; the late quadruple alliance treaty; the diplomatic notes addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Spanish ambassadors at Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh, on the subject of the delay on the part of the three northern powers in acknowledging the young [illegible] together with a like note addressed to the queen, Isabella; to the pope's nuncio at Madrid.

The Chamber of Deputies has also been engaged in examining the report of a committee appointed by the Minister of Justice, to prepare a new penal code. A finance committee has for some time been sitting every day, so that we may expect soon to learn the fate of the former Cortes' bonds, and the faith, or rather, perhaps, the degree of ability of the Spanish government towards the foreign creditors of the State.

A long, and, we think, scarcely necessary exposition of the abolition of the law excluding females from the throne, and of the new order of succession, together with statements of facts and correspondence between the late king Ferdinand, and his brother Don Carlos, has been submitted by ministers to the Chamber of Peers. These papers contain no facts that were not already well known, and offer no arguments that are the least likely to make any impression on the Carlist faction, or affect in any way the question now at issue between the infant Queen and the Pretender.

FRANCE.

The session of the French Chambers was opened on the 31st of July, by the King in person. In his speech Louis Philippe praised the liberal and moderate policy adopted by previous Chambers, and rejoiced that the national cause has been uniformly successful against those who have made criminal attempts against it. The effects of this were seen in the increasing prosperity of the country. In relation to the affairs of the peninsula, he said, "The internal dissensions of Portugal are over. I have entered with the King of Great Britain, the Queen of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, into a treaty which has already produced the most salutary influence in favour of the re-establishment of peace in the Peninsula. Always intimately united with England, I am engaged in concert with my allies, by the present situation of Spain, where new difficulties have arisen, which

call for serious attention on the part of the powers which signed the treaty (the quadruple) of the 22nd of April." He described the aspect of affairs in the East as tranquillizing, and asserted, with emphasis, that every thing promises that the peace of Europe will not be disturbed.

The speech had a favourable effect on the Bourse.

There is, however, no appearance for the present of any reduction in the immense standing army of France, and the activity in the dock-yards and arsenal of Toulon still prevails. A small squadron, consisting of two frigates and a brig, has been sent to cruize off the northern coast of Spain, and it is said the large squadron for the Levant is in readiness.

Little other business has been done in the Chambers, except in the Deputies the verification of the election of its members, the nomination of its president and vice-president, and, by both, the voting of the usual address in reply to the King's speech. On Saturday the 16th of August, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the return of the deputation that had been to present the address to the King, his Majesty's reply was read, and then the Minister of the Interior announced, from a royal ordonnance, that the Chambers were prorogued till the 29th of December next.

It appears that it is impossible to keep together at this season of the year a number of deputies sufficient to form a Chamber. The period fixed for their re-assembling is, however, later than was expected.

Many newspaper writers both in France and England attach great importance to the nature of the deputies' address, which, by some of them, is considered as equivalent to a vote of censure on the ministry, and betokening a certain change in the cabinet. These, however, are rather speculations than facts. A more pleasing conjecture, and one which, if verified, will be of immediate advantage to the now allied countries, is, that in the Chamber of Deputies returned by the last election, there will be a majority of members in favour of the free-trade system, or at least a nearer approach to it than is acknowledged at present.

In a great many of the assemblies called *Conseils Generaux*, resolutions have been already adopted entreating the government to employ itself seriously, and without loss of time, to a revision of the Custom-House laws and tariff, with a view to a reduction of duties, and an entire removal of prohibitions on foreign commodities. The Minister of Commerce has announced that he is preparing important modifications.

PORTUGAL.

Don Pedro is said to be pursuing a rigid plan of economy, reducing not only the army and navy estimates, but retrenching the expenditure of the royal household.

Without taking into consideration the very near approach of the meeting of the Cortes of the nation, the Regent, who likes to do every thing himself, and of himself, decreed, on the 23rd of July, that the circulation of paper money should be suppressed and a currency in specie established.

According to Article 1 of this decree, "Paper money shall cease to be circulated after the 31st day of August next. After that period all payments shall be made in specie current in this kingdom."

By Article 2nd, from the 31st of August all holders of paper money may receive, at a discount of twenty per cent. (!) its amount in specie, from the Lisbon bank.

Articles 3 and 4 provide that the holders of paper money, who do not wish to exchange it in the mode pointed out in the foregoing article, may receive from the Public Treasury bonds for the nominal value, which will be payable in specie at the said Treasury within the first fortnight of the month of January, 1838, and will be received from the 1st of January, 1837, as current money for any payments in the departments of the Public Treasury. In addition to these arrangements, the holders of paper money are empowered to take from the Treasury certificates for the full nominal value, payable in specie, within the space of one, two, three, four and five years, and the two first certificates will be immediately receivable by government as current money in the sales of national property. (The property here alluded to is the confiscated monastic property, which, as we hinted last month, hangs heavily on hand.)

By Article 5, English sovereigns, from the 31st of August next, will pass as current coin at the value of 4180 reis, and the dollars of Spain and Mexico will circulate at the value of 870 reis.

But by Article 6, English sovereigns, and Spanish and Mexican dollars, are to be coined in and exchanged at the Mint for Portuguese coin, at the rate and value fixed by Article 5.

This decree, like that for the suppression of monasteries, and like so many others, was merely signed by Don Pedro and his favourite minister, Carvalho. Standing on the threshold of the constitution, the Regent has continued to act, to all intents and purposes, like an absolute king, and the nearer the inevitable meeting of the Cortes has approached, the more he has hurried to dispose of the great questions of government.

Though his last measure is unexceptionable in the abstract, inasmuch as a fixed and sound monetary system is preferable to a system of bank notes, particularly in a country like Portugal, where paper was ever fluctuating in value, still serious objections are made to the sudden and unconstitutional character of the provisions. The bankers and merchants, on whose outstanding operations, which were commenced under the old system, the new measure will operate retrospectively and most injuriously, are loud in their complaints against it, and assert, with great reason, that it is illegal, both in itself and in its source, the provisional Regent Don Pedro having no faculty to enact such laws without the concurrence of the Cortes. But in the same manner the monastic decree and twenty others are illegal.

Intelligence has just reached England of the meeting of the Cortes. The Chambers were opened on the 15th of August, by Don Pedro, who delivered a very long speech on the occasion. After congratulating "the worthy peers of the kingdom, and gentlemen deputies of the Portuguese nation," on the arrival of "the day of glory and happiness," he went into a very unnecessary history of his royal rights—his efforts in favour of a constitution, and his abdication of the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter. This was followed by abuse of the Absolutists, whom he styles "a rebellious and fanatic faction; and of Don Miguel, whom he calls "an ungrateful and degenerate brother." He then described his own glorious exertions in council and on the field of battle, and his final miraculous success. In alluding to the means by which he found money for his expedition, he said, "I must not omit to state that the pecuniary resources, as indispensable as difficult to be obtained, were procured by a singular contract, in which the success of the enterprise was the only pledge, my signature the only surety. The zeal and the confidence of the party which gave, and that which received, were equally frank and unlimited."

In speaking of the foreign relations of the country, he said that the Queen's government has been formally recognised by England, France, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, and Denmark;—that *all other nations* are at peace with it;—and that he expected, from their justice, policy, and good faith, a speedy re-establishment of the ties which formerly united them with Portugal. He named none of the northern powers that have as yet withheld their recognition of Donna Maria: but with respect to the Papal government he was more explicit.

"The court of Rome," he said, "will certainly not be the last in taking so just and wholesome a resolution (*the recognition*), since we boast of not being the last to respect and venerate in its head the common Father of the Faithful and the centre of Catholic unity, to show we are indissolubly united by the sacred bonds of faith and religion."

Among his "many and very important measures," he took credit to himself for having given a new form to the judicial power, and to the public administration in its different branches—for having organized the army—for having erected Lisbon and Oporto into free ports, and made proper regulations for the extension, liberty, and security of trade—and for having suppressed "all the families and associations of religions of every denomination and order." On this head he was sufficiently vehement. He said, "These establishments, considered with respect to religion, were totally alienated from the primitive spirit of their institution, and almost exclusively governed by love of the temporal and worldly interests which they professed to despise; and, considered in a political point of view, they were like denationalized bodies, indifferent to the good or evil fortune of their fellow-citizens, and zealously serving a despotic or tyrannical government, if they expected from it favour and consideration. To their influence over individuals and

families, which was the more dangerous in proportion as it was secret, Portugal owes, in a great degree, the evils which it has just experienced. There are, indeed, in the individual members honourable but rare exceptions."

After alluding to the pains taken to establish and increase the public credit,—the result of which, he says, is that "the creditors of the state have been paid both in and out of the kingdom, with the most scrupulous punctuality; and the Queens' government has acquired a respectable name on the Exchanges of Europe, being equal in this point to the most prosperous and pacific nations;"—he said a very few words about the paper currency, which is to be extinguished by his recent decree.

After some further remarks about the assiduous and important labours his government had been employed in, he came to what he styled "the two principal objects which now call for, in preference, the attention of the Cortes" and which he recommended to their zeal. The first of these objects was put in the form of a query, and was this—

"Whether the regency ought or ought not to be continued during the remainder of the Queen's minority?"

The second object was—

"To take the proper steps that her Majesty may marry some foreign prince."

He said he expected that the Cortes, with their consummate wisdom and prudence, would "deliberate and decide upon both points with the discretion which may be expected from the union of so much knowledge, and the happy association of the most estimable virtues."

Towards the end of his speech he alluded to the re-appearance of Don Carlos in Spain—an event that would render necessary the maintenance of a stronger army than that contemplated for a time of peace.

In concluding, he recommended to the attention of the Cortes a great variety of subjects, among which are "Laws regulating the liberty of the press and the responsibility of the ministers and public officers;" "the organization of public instruction in all its branches;" the "pious and charitable establishments," and "laws for the protection and promotion of manufactures, commerce and arts, and of agriculture, which is the queen of them all."

The number of peers admitted into the Upper Chamber seems to be only fourteen, as no more could be found who had not acknowledged Don Miguel as King, or who could be held by the present Regent as noblemen imbued with the spirit of constitutionalism. But even this small body did not meet entire. According to the correspondent of the 'Times,' only ten out of the fourteen were present on this solemn occasion. The correspondent of the 'Morning Herald' says there were eleven. In the Lower Chamber only fifty deputies met! We certainly should have expected a fuller attendance in the latter case at least, and have been amused at the reasons assigned for the absence of so many members. The news-collector for the 'Times' says, plainly, "The reason in both cases, that all of them did not attend, is simply this,—their robes and court suits were not yet finished by their respective tailors." The 'Morning Herald's' "own correspondent" gives precisely the same reason, only being a more ambitious writer he expresses it in finer words, and lays the blame on other artisans besides the worshipful tailors of Lisbon.

SYRIA.

INSURRECTIONS, provoked, it is said, by the rapacity and severity of Mehemet Ali's government, have broken out in this country. The Syrians pretty generally received Ibrahim Pasha and the Egyptian army as liberators when they first advanced to drive the Turkish pashas from their territory, but it is probable that by this time many of them may have regretted the change of an oppressive, but a wavering and indolent government, for one whose policy may be somewhat more enlightened, but whose oppression is systematized and constant in its operation. Ibrahim himself seems to have committed the mistake of irritating, by his uniformity of plan and government, that singular, half-Christian and half-Mussulman, half-independent and half-tributary race, the Druses of Mount Lebanon, whom the Turkish pashas, knowing how little was to be gained by hostile conflicts with them, generally left undisturbed in their mountains to the enjoyment of certain exclusive privileges and immunities. The Druses are a fierce and warlike people, but from their numbers, their want of organization and military discipline, we question whether they are equal to the task, which some writers now confidently give them, of driving Ibrahim Pasha out of Syria. This commander may derive a sort of *prestige* from his name. Another Ibrahim Pasha, acting for Sultan Amurath III., fully succeeded in repressing the Druses, who at that time (towards the end of the sixteenth century) had descended from their mountains, and fallen on the plains of Syria.

Some reports we have seen in the newspapers, stating that part of the Egyptian army has sustained some reverses at the hands of the Druses, in the mountain-passes of the country, between Jerusalem and Nablous, may be correct enough, but we can scarcely credit the assumptions that the same victorious general and army that so lately marched from St. Jean d Acre to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, are on the point of being dispossessed of Syria almost by a single blow.

Indeed, what bears the character of an official document, has appeared at Alexandria, of a date almost as recent as the letters from Constantinople, announcing Ibrahim's critical position; and, counting the distance, intelligence from Syria must always be several days later in reaching the Turkish capital than Alexandria.

The document is in the form of a circular addressed to the consuls of the different European powers in Egypt, and it bears the signature of Boghos Joussouff, the minister and drogoman of Mehemet Ali. It is dated, Alexandria, 25th Fafar (the 25th of Fafar, or Saphar, corresponds to our 4th of August). The following are the important paragraphs:—

"Gentlemen,—I hasten to communicate to you the contents of a letter received from Ibrahim Pasha, dated 17th Fafar, 1250 (of the Hegira), the original of which was sent to Jaffa, but a copy of it reached the representative of the viceroy to-day by a courier from Damascus.

"The chiefs and inhabitants of the mountains of Nablous, Jerusalem, and Djebil Khalib, have come to implore pardon. The grace which they have asked has been granted to them; their submission, as on former occasions, received, and they have all returned to their homes."

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

July 11.—Tula, one of the largest, handsomest, and most populous provincial capitals of Russia, was this day desolated by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in a private house. Nine churches, six hundred and seventy private buildings, the wooden dwelling-houses of the numerous masters and workmen of the celebrated manufactory of arms, the tallow magazines, the fish market, and the butchers' market, were in a short time reduced to ashes.

— About the same period a destructive fire broke out at Moscow. It began in a private house, and taking the direction of the wind, communicated to three hundred others, which, being built of wood, were speedily consumed. Some buildings of stone were also destroyed. The damage is estimated at several millions of roubles. [Russian towns are built of such combustible materials, that the wonder is that such fires are not more frequent.]

24.—A farewell dinner, given to General Mina, at the Albion, was attended by all the principal Spaniards in London. Don Augustin Arguelles was in the chair, who passed a most eloquent and well-deserved eulogium on the past services of General Mina, and gave a brilliant sketch of the good he might yet confer on his country. None of the toasts excited greater enthusiasm than "A close and an eternal alliance between England, Spain, and Portugal."

27.—Earl Bathurst died at his house in London. He was Colonial Secretary for several years subsequently to 1824. The Order of the Garter, which he held, has been given to the Duke of Norfolk.

— Upwards of six hundred vessels (exclusive of boats) passed Greenwich Hospital, bound to the port of London.

29.—In consequence of the explosion of a steam carriage three miles from Glasgow, thirteen persons were more or less hurt; one of whom died from concussion of the brain, and another from fracture of the thigh.

August 1.—A public dinner was given at the Freemason's Tavern, to celebrate the termination of slavery throughout the British colonial possessions. The Earl of Mulgrave, the late governor of Jamaica, was in the chair, and the most active public supporters of emancipation were present, as were also several gentlemen of colour from the West Indies. The dissenters generally throughout the country celebrated the same event in their several

chapels. At Hull the first stone of the Wilberforce testimonial was laid.

— The blind man Edwards, and the other parties concerned in the remarkable affair with Mr. Gee, were this day brought up to take their trial at the Middlesex sessions. The trial lasted thirteen hours, and terminated in the delivery of the following verdicts and sentences:—John Edwards, guilty of conspiring to imprison Mr. Gee—sentence, two years' imprisonment in Newgate. Peter Lacassayne, guilty of a common assault—six months' imprisonment. Jeremiah Weedon, guilty of conspiring to imprison Mr. Gee—twelve months' imprisonment in the House of Correction. Maria Canning—not guilty. Subsequently a question at law was raised between the chairman of the sessions and the governor of Newgate, who refused to receive Edwards into the prison on the order of that magistrate.

5.—In the vicinity of Birmingham this evening, the whole line of the turnpike roads was inundated with the waters; and the meadows in the low lands presented the appearance of one vast lake. The valleys on the Warwick-road were almost impassable, in consequence of the height to which the flood had risen; the water, in many instances, rushing through the interior of the carriages, to the no little annoyance of the numerous passengers who were on their way to the Warwick assizes. Between Rowington and Hatton the road was still more completely inundated. The fields, in common with the turnpike road, were for some miles completely deluged; and the corn-crops, to the serious loss of the farmers, entirely laid waste. Near Radford a whole crop of turnips was washed into a neighbouring wheat field. At Saltsford, adjoining Warwick, the furniture of the first floors of the houses between the gas-works and the turnpike-gate was to be seen floating in the streets. The gardens in the neighbourhood were three feet under water; and the canal overflowing its banks, washed the stacks of coals situated in the wharfs into the public highway. A wall, forty feet in length and ten feet high, was likewise washed down by the flood. At Kenilworth, near the bridge, the water rose to the height of the second-floor windows of the houses; indeed, the country people from the higher part of the country state that a more tempestuous or destructive storm has not occurred in the memory of man. At the termination of the tempest, the roads, from the dust and upper material having been washed off by the heaviness of the rain, appeared like the dry channel of a river covered with white pebbles; and, from the ruggedness of the surface, in some places were absolutely unsafe for the travel of horses. This is merely a specimen of the effects of the flood in the midland counties. At the village of Glossop, near Manchester, some lives were lost on the occasion; and the total of the losses sustained in the Glossop Dale is computed at 20,000*l.*

— At the Chester assizes, two men, named Garside and Mosley, were indicted for the murder of Mr. Thomas Ashton, on the 3d of January, 1831. The murdered person was manager of a mill at the period when there was a dispute between the masters and men at Werneth. He was killed by a shot while passing through a lane on his way to the mill. The principal witness against the prisoners was the brother of Mosley, who was himself a party in the murder, but was admitted king's evidence against the others. It transpired on the trial that the prisoners had no personal ill-will to Mr. Ashton, but had undertaken the assassination in consideration of receiving 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d* each—ten pounds for the three—from the Trades' Union, to which Mr. Ashton had become obnoxious. The prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to death; but have not yet been executed in consequence of a dispute between the sheriffs of the county and those of the city of Chester, each party contending that the duty devolved on the other of seeing the sentence carried into effect. Meanwhile Scholefield, the man charged with having paid the money for the murder, has been apprehended, and inquiries are in progress which it is hoped will still further elucidate this most atrocious affair.

8. The foundation-stone of a new receiving-house of the Royal Humane Society was laid by the Duke of Wellington, in Hyde-Park.

11. At the Lancashire Assizes, a Mr. Driver obtained 500*l.* damages for the injuries sustained by the overturning of a mail-coach, the horses belonging to which had started away in the absence of the coachman, who had got down at the door of an inn without leaving any person in charge of the horses.

10. General Sir John Doyle, K.G.C.B., died in his 78th year.

— The Glasgow turn-out calico printers, after a nine months' struggle, have found it their interest at last to yield to their employers, and take work at whatever they can obtain from them. This strike has cost the employed 12,000*l.* to support the idlers.

14. At Dublin, in the great circular room attached to the Mansion House, a meeting of about 5000 persons, consisting chiefly of Protestant nobility and gentry, was held for the purpose of expressing their attachment to the Established Church, and their determination to face all peril in its defence. The Lord Mayor was in the chair.

16. At about half-past ten o'clock this night a fire broke out at Liverpool in the yard of Messrs. Clarke and Nixon, ship-builders. It appears to have originated in the stove, and as the place was surrounded by chips, boards, and dry timber, it quickly extended to a large house or shed at the extremity of the yard, filled with pitch, tar, cordage, and other inflammable materials. In less than ten minutes the whole place was on fire. A new ship, on which 5000*l.* had been expended, lay on the stocks alongside the shed, and the flames reached it, but were subdued by the engines, though badly supplied with water, before any considerable injury was done to the vessel. Before one o'clock all danger of further mischief was removed; but the fire was not wholly got under until after five o'clock on the following morning.

18. This being the day appointed by the master builders of the metropolis to offer the declaration against Unions to their men for signature, meetings of the operatives were convened in all parts of the town on Saturday evening, when it was resolved that the workmen should fetch away their tools early this morning. This resolution was carried into effect, and upwards of 10,000 are calculated to have struck on the occasion. Many of the men, finding the masters firm, have since returned to their work and signed the declaration; but in general, all extensive building operations are at a stand in the metropolis.

19. Mr. Hancock's steam-carriage, which ran between Pentonville and Finsbury-square during part of last autumn, has resumed its operations on the same road, and will now continue to ply regularly between Moorfields and Paddington. The carriage is capable of carrying ten or twelve passengers, besides the persons required in its management. The rate of travelling, exclusive of stoppages, is exactly twelve miles an hour. Great crowds were attracted to all parts of the route which the steam-carriage took to witness its performance, and great numbers went away disappointed at not being able to obtain a seat in it. Mr. Hancock has stated that it was rather his object to show the public that they might depend on his steam-carriage as a safe and steady means of conveyance, than to exhibit an extraordinary, and, as it would be on so crowded a road, a dangerous degree of velocity. The facility with which the carriage was managed, guided, and checked, is asserted to have been fully equal to that of the best driven horse-coach.

20. There was a general strike this morning among the artisans employed by Government. All of them were offered employment if they would sign a declaration that they did not belong to any Union. Only a very small number signed, and the rest have relinquished their work.

— Her Majesty the Queen returned to England from her visit to Germany, and disembarked at Woolwich, where she was received in the most flattering manner by many thousand spectators who were assembled to witness her disembarkation.

There is this year a great diminution of Irish labourers employed in getting in the harvest. We trust with the 'Globe,' that this augurs well for the state of home labour in Ireland, while it restores to the English labourer an advantage of which he has for many years past been deprived.

Several large seizures of machinery, about to be illegally exported to France and Holland, have been recently made by the revenue officers, and it is believed that the practice has been carried on to a very large extent.

The Right Hon. Thomas Frankland Lewis, John George Shaw Lefevre, Esq., and George Nicholls, Esq., have been appointed the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales. Mr. Chadwick has been appointed Secretary to the Board.

Railways.—The works of the Greenwich railway are more than half completed, the greatest difficulties connected with them having already been surmounted. The railway proceeds, according to the plan of Colonel Landmann, in an almost direct line from Bexley-place, Greenwich, between the Kent-road on the one side, and the river Thames on the other, and will terminate in the immediate vicinity of St. Thomas's Hospital, where the London entrance is to open; the distance will be rendered two miles shorter than it is by the present road communication. The grounds through which the railway will pass are nearly all occupied by market gardeners, and lie so considerably below the level of the points of communication that it was necessary, in order to obtain a plane, to erect a long train of arches in the intervening space on which to form a carriage-way. They are being constructed upon a principle of great strength, and running at an elevation of fifteen or twenty feet above the surface of the earth, with a secure battlement on either side. It is calculated that the carriages with their heaviest loading will perform the journey from London to Greenwich in the short space of ten minutes or a quarter of an hour; the foreign mails, by being landed at Greenwich, will arrive an hour sooner in London. Besides the railway, the Company are occupied in forming two lines of road from London to Greenwich, running close to the base of the work, and parallel with it—that on the one side being intended for equestrians, ordinary carriages, &c.; and that on the other (which is to be shaded with trees) for pedestrians.

The utmost activity prevails among the French engineers between Calais and Paris, in completing the surveys for a railway between those places, in connexion with the London and Dover Company.

A company is in course of formation for the construction of a railway from London to Norwich. The line is intended to be

through Romford, Brentwood, Ingateston, Chelmsford, Witham, Colchester, Ipswich, and Bury.

Notice is given in the papers of an application to Parliament next Session for a Bill authorizing the formation of a railway from London to York, by way of Bishop's Stortford, Cambridge, Peterborough, Stamford, Grantham, Lincoln, Gainsborough, and Selby, with branches to Bury St. Edmund's, Thetford, Norwich, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Hull. This road, if formed, will be from 300 to 400 miles in length.

The old ship the Discovery, in which Captain Cook sailed round the world, was some time since removed from Woolwich, and is now moored off Deptford as a receiving ship for convicts.

At the great annual sheep fair lately held at Britford, near Salisbury, upwards of 80,000 sheep and lambs were sold; lambs fetching 30*s.*, ewes 34*s.*, and wethers 35*s.* each.

State of Trade in Lancashire.—The silk-weaving and dyeing in towns ten miles round Manchester have within the last three weeks manifested a better prospect: hands are now fully employed. Masters are wanting weavers of all sorts. No alteration in the wages has taken place within the last eighteen months. The fancy or figured weavers can earn from 14*s.* to 16*s.* per week, while the weavers of plain sarcenets cannot earn more than 10*s.* or 11*s.* per week. The cotton hand-loom weavers at Oldham, Ashton, and other neighbouring towns are fully employed, but at miserably low wages; the hand-loom weavers cannot earn on an average more than 6*s.* or 7*s.* per week. The cotton-spinning at Oldham, Rochdale, and Heywood, is very brisk; spinners can earn 24*s.* per week, but on an average not more than 22*s.* per week; power-loom weavers can earn from 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week, and some more The woollen trade at Rochdale and Rossendale is brisker; yet since last September a great number of hands have commenced working in cotton factories. The flannel business seems to be reviving, but wages are low. Woollen weavers cannot earn more than 9*s.* or 10*s.* per week, and spinners about the same.

Between the 15th and 31st ult. the number of deaths by cholera at Madrid amounted to 5231. The cholera has broken out with great violence at Gottenburg, in Sweden.

There have been extensive conflagrations of the forests of Lithuania and the north of Prussia, which probably have been caused by the very dry weather.

Last month the Emperor of Russia gave a gold medal set in diamonds, with the riband of St. Andrew, and a caftan of honour, to the elder Sultan of Orusk, Lieut.-Colonel Kunu Kuldscha Chu dai Mendin, while he was at St. Petersburgh, as a reward for his fidelity and attachment to the Russian throne; he also ordered a sum of 5000 rubles to be paid him from the imperial treasury. Another Sultan, Bulchar Saren, and several persons of inferior rank, received also gold medals and caftans of honour.

Belgium. Mons, Aug. 17th.—The trial of the persons implicated in the disgraceful riot, and destruction and pillage of property, that occurred at Brussels in the month of April last, has ended, to the great surprise of most people, in the acquittal of all the prisoners; who, between actors and instigators, amounted to seventy-seven. Two hundred and twenty-eight questions were read to the jury, who, after retiring for six hours, pronounced the accused not guilty on all and every the 288 questions. A subscription was opened at Mons, where the trial took place, to assist the prisoners set at liberty with the means of returning to Brussels.

Poland.—The *Frankfort Gazette* publishes a list of 450 Poles, whose property had been confiscated by the Russian Government in the province of Wilna alone. The court-martial sitting in Warsaw had condemned to death the five members of the Polish Revolutionary Government (including General Serzynecki). The only one of the five actually in Poland, however, is Vincent Niemojowski.

Poles in America.—An American paper states that the greater part of the Poles who were taken to New York by an Austrian frigate have resolved to settle together in the interior of the country. They intend not only to found a free colony for themselves, but to keep it open for their countrymen dispersed in Europe, who may perhaps be soon obliged to follow them. This plan is much approved; and they have sent deputies to Washington, to petition Congress to give them land and means to found a colony for themselves and their brethren. There is little doubt that their petition will be granted.

United States.—New York papers to the 17th of July have been received. During three successive nights the inhabitants of that city were kept in alarm by the mob, who proceeded to various acts of violence, one of which was the destruction of the house of Mr. Tra[illegible]nich they set fire to. The advocacy of the question of the immediate emancipation of the slaves and their intermixture with the whites appears to have been the cause of this ferment among the populace. On Saturday, the 11th of July, the riotous proceedings had entirely ceased, and energetic measures had been adopted by the civil and military authorities to prevent their return.

At the present moment, when the exportation of specie to the United States is an object of much interest, the following statement may be useful:—

	Dollars.
The importations of specie and bullion during the year ending Sept. 30, 1833, beyond the exports, amounted to about	5,000,000
From October 1, 1833, to June 11, 1834, over	10,000,000
Brought by emigrants not less than	2,500,000
Gold produced in the United States	2,500,000
Increase of bullion and specie since Jan. 1, 1833	20,000,000

The whole amount of specie in the country, previous to these importations, amounted by estimation to 20,000,000 dollars. Credit was partially recovering, and the banks discounted short notes rather liberally; but confidence was not sufficiently strong for transactions in long bills. Business is slowly improving, but freights at New York were still very dull.

Canada.—Canada papers to the 4th of July state that the number of emigrants which have arrived at Quebec to the 28th of June last amounted to 17,637. The emigration to the same province in 1833, was 10,399.

Papers to the 13th of July last state that a grand oratorio, the first ever known in Canada, was announced for the 26th at Quebec, under the patronage of the bishop and civil and military authorities; the proceeds to be appropriated to the support of the Emigrant Society. A vessel, name unknown, with 280 passengers, from the west of England, had been cast away, and only seven saved.

Jamaica.—By his Majesty's packet Spey, letters and papers have been received from Jamaica to the 30th of June inclusive. At that period the colony was very tranquil, though some few affected to apprehend the coming of the 1st of August, apparently without cause. In consequence of the rejection of several Bills by the Council and the Executive, the House of Assembly was prorogued on the 25th of June until the following day, when, after addresses and counter addresses to and from the House of Assembly and the Governor had been made, the Bills were reintroduced in an amended form, and were got through on the 28th, the House being expected at the above date to rise in a few days.

New South Wales.—The *Sydney Gazette* of the 13th February says, "The Launceston papers contain the most alarming accounts of the state of that part of Van Diemen's Land, from the almost daily outrages committed by armed bush-rangers. The outrages of these desperate banditti are not confined to nocturnal attacks on the lonely settlers, but are frequently committed in the open day, and in populous places—even in the very town of Launceston. Armed robbers show themselves in the streets, walk into people's houses, tie the inmates to chairs or tables, and then deliberately sit down to regale themselves in their presence! Why, in the worst days of bush-ranging here, we have had nothing like this; and yet, if the public journals at Launceston are to be credited, the authorities seem to be all but quietly looking on."

Sydney papers to the 4th of March mention that intelligence had been received from Norfolk Island of another mutiny, attended with the loss of several lives, in that settlement. The mutiny took place on the 13th of January. One hundred and seventy of the convicts engaged in it have been punished by being compelled to work in heavy chains.

Penang.—It is stated, in accounts from Penang, that a serious mutiny has taken place in his Majesty's 41st Regiment, at Moulemin. The grenadiers and light companies quitted their quarters with their arms and ammunition, and retired to the jungles in a state of open revolt; where, it is said, they were surrounded by a regiment of native infantry, and taken into custody.

The Indus.—Agra papers, of the 10th of March, state a report that Shah Shuja, the king of Cabul, had offered to open the navigation of the Indus, on condition that the Company would assist him in his war with the Ameers of Sinde.

Koords.—Letters from Erzeroom bring intelligence, that a caravan, with 680 loads of goods, chiefly English, had, on its way to Persia, been plundered by a Koordish tribe. After a short, but bloody engagement, the travellers and the troops that escorted them, finding further resistance useless, took to flight. Four hundred and fifty loads were taken by the enemy; the want of beasts of burden obliged them to abandon the rest.

Persia.—Accounts from this country mention, that the son of the late Prince Royal Abbas Meerza has been adopted as successor to his grandfather, the reigning monarch. This is deemed a favourable settlement for English interests. It was feared that a prince of an unfriendly family would have been selected.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 22. OCTOBER 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Cotton Trade	193	House of Commons' Library	204
Monopoly in the Supply of Salt to India	198	Orders in Council relative to the China and India Trade	205
Tonnage of Ships	199	Steam Communication with India	206
New Post Office Arrangements	201	Stamp Duties on Newspapers	206
Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenue Inquiry	202	Parliamentary Abstracts	209
Chimney Sweepers Act	203	Trade, Statistics, &c.	210
Friendly Societies Amendment Act	203	Public Petitions	210
Knights of the Bath	204	Political Retrospect for October	212
		Chronicle of Occurrences	214

THE COTTON TRADE.

In some preceding Numbers of 'The Companion to the Newspaper' we have given accounts of the present state of different branches of our trade and manufactures, principally founded upon the voluminous evidence appended to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of the session before last on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping. Our Fourteenth Number contained an article on the Shipping Interest, Number Fifteen, one on the Iron Manufacture; and Number Sixteen, one on the Hardware Trade. In the present paper we shall endeavour to present the substance of the most important statements to be found in the evidence on the subject of the Cotton Manufacture, now by far the greatest branch of industry prosecuted in this country. As in our former articles, we shall avail ourselves as we go along of the information afforded by other authorities, whenever that contained in the Report of the Committee may not be sufficiently full or precise.

The history of the cotton manufacture, interesting as it is, has been so often detailed, that it is probably familiar to nearly all our readers, and we shall only therefore, for more convenient reference, note down in their order its principal epochs.

The spinning and weaving of cotton, which appear to have been known in the East from the remotest ages, are supposed to have been for the first time practised in Europe about the close of the fifteenth century. It was probably more than a hundred years later before the manufacture was introduced into England. The first mention that has been discovered of its existence at Manchester, its most antient and still its principal seat, occurs in a tract published in 1641, the *Treasure of Traffic*, by Lewis Roberts. Roberts speaks of it as if it had been for some time established among the inhabitants of that town. He says, "they buy cotton-wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same, and perfect it into fustians, vermilions, dimities, and other such stuffs, and then return it to London, where the same is vented and sold, and not seldom sent into foreign parts, who have means at far easier terms to provide themselves of the said first materials." It is to be observed that cotton fabrics, the produce of the looms of the East, had been known and in use in this country, as well as in other parts of Europe, long before this period, and we even find mention repeatedly made in very ancient acts of parliament and other writings of cottons of domestic manufacture; but these were really made of wool, and received the name of cottons merely as being imitations of the foreign fabrics.

The English cotton manufacture made very slow progress for more than a century after the time when Roberts wrote. At the commencement of the last century the importation into the kingdom of cotton-wool scarcely exceeded a million of pounds annually. And down to about the year 1760, the manufacture, if it could be called by that name, was entirely carried on by weavers scattered over the country in cottages, who purchased what wool they wanted each on his own account, got it spun into thread by their wives and children, and plied their looms only during part of the day, the rest of which was spent in digging their gardens. About 1760, the system was begun by the Manchester merchants of distributing supplies of wool among the weavers by means of agents, who travelled over the country for that purpose at stated times. It is said, also, that it was not till this time that the fly-shuttle, which had been in use in the woollen manufacture for more than twenty years, was introduced into the weaving of cotton. Whenever the web exceeded a yard in width, the process of weaving employed two persons, who, standing on opposite sides of the loom, threw the shuttle to one another. There cannot be a more striking evidence of the backward and languishing state in which the business was.

But, in point of fact, no goods entirely composed of cotton had as yet been manufactured in England. In what were called cotton cloths, it was only the weft, or thread introduced transversely by the shuttle, that was of cotton; the longitudinal thread, or warp, was always of linen yarn. It had not been found possible to spin the cotton into thread sufficiently strong and hard for the latter purpose. The spinning, too, was entirely carried on by the distaff and spindle; the spinner drawing out only a single thread at a time.

This was so slow a process that, insignificant as the extent of the manufacture was, considerable difficulty appears to have been long felt by the weavers in procuring cotton-thread in sufficient quantities. So early as the year 1733, the ingenuity of a Mr Wyatt of Litchfield is stated to have been successfully exerted in obviating this inconvenience. He invented a machine for spinning many threads at the same time, which he put up both at Birmingham and Northampton; but his speculation seems to have eventually failed, and his contrivance to have been forgotten. From late researches it appears that, in conjunction with a Mr. Paul, he took out a patent in 1738 for his invention, the principle of which was in fact the same with that many years after proposed and put in practice by Arkwright, namely, the drawing out of the thread by means of two successive pairs of rollers, revolving with different degrees of velocity. In 1753, also, a Mr. Lawrence Earnshaw, of Mottram in Cheshire, is said to have invented a machine for the same purpose, which, however, he declined bringing into use, in the notion that it would deprive of their bread those who were then employed in spinning cotton on the distaff.

Soon after the year 1760, the manufacture of cotton cloths began to show a decided tendency to advance and extend itself. A demand for the goods sprung up both on the Continent and in America, and considerable quantities were exported to both these quarters. The supply of thread obtained from the distaff became more and more inadequate every day. At last, in 1767, the spinning-jenny, which at once enabled eight threads to be spun at the same time by a single individual, was invented by James Hargraves, a carpenter of Blackburn. It does not appear, however, that these machines were generally introduced for some time. Hargraves is said to have been driven out of Lancashire by the popular opposition to his invention, and

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

to have died at Nottingham in poverty, after having been obliged to abandon the prosecution of it.

The contrivance of the spinning-jenny, however, was speedily followed by Arkwright's production of the greatly more important machine which, from water having been the power at first generally employed to set it in motion, he called the water-frame, or throstle. Arkwright himself acknowledged that he had been preceded by Hargraves in the spinning of cotton by machinery, but he claimed as his own the much more ingenious method of spinning a thread of any required degree of fineness by making the cotton pass in succession through two pairs of rollers, the second pair revolving three, four, five, or any other number of times faster than the first. He described this as the principle of his invention. Whether or no he was aware that the same principle had been applied thirty years before by Wyatt is doubtful. If he was aware of that fact, he seems to have been the only person of his day who knew it: for, although his claim to the invention of the apparatus in question was repeatedly contested in courts of justice and elsewhere, and his patent was at last overthrown by the verdict of a jury, who were induced to believe that the true inventor was a person of the name of Highs, or Hayes, the name of Wyatt was never mentioned in the course of the controversy. It is only very recently that Wyatt's patent has been discovered.

Arkwright took out his patent in 1769, and immediately, in conjunction with Mr. Need, erected his first mill at Nottingham. From this date the English cotton manufacture assumed altogether a new character.

Cloth was now for the first time woven entirely of cotton, the thread spun by Arkwright's machinery being strong enough to serve for warp as well as woof. This important innovation in the manufacture was introduced in 1773. The greater cheapness of production encouraged the consumption of the article both at home and abroad. Numerous factories were established in which Arkwright's frame was employed, at first in many cases by evasion or in open defiance of his patent; and at length, after the great trial in the year 1785, by which the patent he then held, the second he had obtained, was declared void, by any parties who thought proper so to invest their capital. After this event, also, the mule-jenny, a combination of Hargraves's spinning-jenny and Arkwright's water-frame, which had been some years before invented by Mr. Samuel Crompton, of Bolton, came into general use. Arkwright's patent had, of course, so long as it was held to be valid, prevented the adoption of an apparatus, one material part of which consisted of his protected invention. It is only by the mule that cotton thread of the finest qualities can be spun.

The extraordinary facilities that had been thus given to the spinning of cotton had not only raised that particular process, long in so rude a state, to a point of advancement equal to that which the process of weaving had attained, but had carried the former far beyond the latter. As for some time the difficulty had been to find thread enough to feed the looms, so now it seems to have been apprehended by some persons that it would be impossible to find a sufficient number of weavers to work the thread that was spun. Dr. Cartwright, the inventor of the power-loom, relates, in a statement which has been published of the circumstances that led to his invention, that, happening to fall into the company of some gentlemen of Manchester at Matlock, in the summer of 1784, one of them observed that, as soon as Arkwright's patent expired, so many mills would be erected, and so much cotton spun, that hands would never be found to weave it. In that case, indeed, the large quantity of thread would not long have continued to be produced, any more than bricks would continue to be made in greater numbers than were required for building, or than quartern loaves would continue to be baked if there were no mouths to consume them. The Manchester philosopher's notion, however, though somewhat curiously expressed, was not without meaning when properly understood. He intended to intimate merely that the extent and prosperity to which the cotton manufacture might be carried by the great improvements that had been made in the spinning process would be prevented or seriously impeded unless a method should be found out of weaving by machinery also. This great desideratum, as we have just noticed, was soon after supplied by the ingenuity of Dr. Cartwright. He took out a patent for his completed invention in 1787. Owing to a variety of unfavourable circumstances, however, it was not till about the commencement of the present century that his power-loom came into general use. It was extensively adopted as soon as it became public property by the expiration of his patent; and both the spinning and weaving of cotton are now, for the most part, effected by machinery. Many improvements, and some of them of great value, have, within the last thirty years, been made both upon the spinning frame and the power-loom; but these, in so rapid and general a sketch as this, we cannot notice.

We will now subjoin a few numerical statements respecting the extent of the cotton manufacture at different periods, which will afford a view of the progress it has actually made.

During the first five years of the last century the total quantity of cotton wool annually imported averaged only 1,170,881 lbs.

By the year 1720, the average annual importation had only increased to 2,173,287 lbs.

It was nearly fifty years before this comparatively small amount was doubled; for during the five years ending with 1775 the annual importation was only 4,764,589 lbs.

From this date, however, the increase has been progressive and rapid. The average importation for the five years ending with 1780 was 6,766,613 lbs.; and that for the next period of the same length 10,941,934 lbs. In 1784 the amount was 11,482,083 lbs.; and in 1785, the year in which Arkwright's patent was cancelled, it was 18,400,384 lbs. It never afterwards fell below this amount.

The following account of the annual imports in various years since 1785 is extracted from tables printed in Mr. M'Culloch's 'Dictionary of Commerce,' 2d edition. "These tables," says Mr. M'Culloch, "have been partly taken from official documents, and partly from the accounts of merchants of great experience. We believe they may be relied on as approaching as near to accuracy as it is possible to attain to in such matters."

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lb
1786	19,475,020	1812	63,025,936
1789	32,576,023	1814	73,228,000
1792	34,907,497	1815	96,200,000
1793	19,040,929	1816	97,310,000
1799	43,379,278	1817	126,240,000
1800	56,010,732	1818	173,940,000
1802	60,345,600	1823	183,700,000
1807	74,925,306	1825	244,360,000
1808	43,605,982	1827	264,330,000
1809	92,812,282	1831	280,080,000
1810	132,188,935	1832	270,690,000
1811	91,576,535		

According to the official tables published by the Board of Trade, the total quantities of cotton wool imported in 1831 and 1832 were, in the former year, 288,674,853 lbs., and in the latter, 286,832,525 lbs.

It is calculated by Mr. M'Culloch that the value of the cotton goods annually manufactured in Great Britain is now not less than 34,000,000*l.* sterling, and that the total number of persons directly employed in the different departments of the manufacture is about 800,000; to which may be added about 100,000 to whom it gives employment as engineers, machine-makers, iron-founders, smiths, joiners, masons, bricklayers, &c. The amount annually paid in wages to these different descriptions of persons is supposed to amount to 21,000,000*l.* sterling. In 1760 the entire value of all the cotton goods annually manufactured in Great Britain is estimated to have amounted only to 200,000*l.*

The different countries from which the cotton wool imported into Great Britain is derived, and the proportion of the entire quantity received from each, will be best shown by the following extract from one of the official tables published by the Board of Trade:—

Cotton wool imported into Great Britain from	In 1831. lbs.	In 1832. lbs.
United States of America	219,333,628	219,756,753
Brazil	31,695,761	20,109,560
Turkey and Egypt .	8,081,024	9,113,890
Other foreign Countries .	697,691	598,048
East Indies and Mauritius	25,805,153	35,178,625
British West Indies, the growth of . . .	2,228,927	1,708,764
„ Imported from Other British Possessions	172 758	331,664
	659,911	35,221
Total Quantities .	288,674,853	286,832,525

It appears, therefore, that of the whole quantity imported, above three-fourths are supplied by the United States. Before 1790 we imported none from America. Of the whole quantity of cotton-wool now exported from the United States, England takes considerably more than two-thirds. The finest cotton brought to this country is what is called the *Sea-island* cotton, which grows on the shores of Georgia.

According to the Official Tables, of the cotton imported into Great Britain in 1831 and 1832, there were re-exported in the form of wool, in the former year, 22,308,555 lbs., and in the latter 18,027,910 lbs. The quantities retained for home manufacture therefore were, in 1831, 273,249,653 lbs., and in 1832, 259,412,463 lbs. In an account printed by Mr. M'Culloch from 'Burns' Glance,' a tabular statement annually published at Manchester, and which he says is admitted to be drawn up with great care, the total quantity spun in Great Britain in 1832 is estimated at 277,260,490 lbs., producing, after making allowance for 1¼ oz. per lb. lost in spinning, 246,935,124 lbs. actually spun into yarn. Deducting from this quantity 24,338,217 lbs. for yarn spun in Scotland, there remains 222,596,907 lbs. as the total quantity of yarn spun in England. This is calculated to have been disposed of in the following manner:—

Exported in Yarn during the year .	71,662,850 lbs.
„ Thread . . .	1,041,273
„ Manufactured Goods .	61,251,380
Estimated quantity of Yarn sent to Scotland and Ireland . . .	5,700,000
Exported in mixed manufactures not stated in the above named articles, consumed in cotton banding, healds, candle and lamp wick, wadding, and loss in manufacturing goods . . .	12,000,000
Balance left for home consumption and stock	70,941,404
Total	222,596,907

The total export of British cotton manufactures in 1831 was of stuffs, 421,385,203 yards, of the declared value of 12,163,513*l*.; of hosiery, lace, and small wares, to the value of 1,118,672*l*.; and of twist and yarn to the value of 3,975,015*l*. Cloths and yarn, therefore, to the value of above seventeen millions sterling, or about half the entire quantity manufactured, are annually exported. The yarn is sent principally to Germany, Russia, the Netherlands, Italy, and the East Indies; and the hosiery and lace chiefly to the United States, the Netherlands, and Germany. The following are the countries to which the greatest quantities of the stuffs were sent in 1831:—

To the United States of America .	68,587,893 Yards.
East Indies and China . .	43,385,852
Germany	41,520,616
Italy	38,164,564
Brazil	26,271,527
Turkey and Continental Greece .	24,565,580
Portugal	23,377,245
British West Indies . . .	21,975,459
British North America . .	15,618,106
The Netherlands . . .	13,285,524
Chili	12,793,220
Mexico	12,150,426
Cuba and other foreign West Indies	11,569,441

The first witness examined before the Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping, whose evidence referred especially to the cotton manufacture, was Mr. Kirkman Finlay. Mr. Finlay states that he was still engaged in business as a general merchant, both in London and in Glasgow:—that, until within the last few months, he had had establishments also at Liverpool, at Charlestown, in the United States, at New York, and at New Orleans;—and that he was connected with manufactories of cotton-spinning or power-loom weaving, at Catrine, in the county of Ayr, at Deniston in Perthshire, and at Balfron in the county of Stirling. His examination, taken on the 16th and 21st of May, 1833, extends over seventeen or eighteen folio pages. The following are the most important statements he makes in relation to our present subject.

The cotton manufacture he considers to be characterized by great activity and rapidity of sale, but by very moderate returns of profit. As to the general health of the trade, he says, "I think that the stocks on hand are inconsiderable; that the payments are good; that if there is any thing unhealthy, it arises from a practice which has greatly prevailed of late years, of the manufacturer making large consignments of his productions to foreign countries, and receiving bills in advance, and discounting those bills with monied persons in London and other parts of the country, which has led to a greater extension of the trade than otherwise would have taken place." This system, the witness afterwards states, began about 1820 or 1821.

With this exception, he considers the state of the manufacture to be sounder and more healthy than it was some years ago. As to the condition of the workmen he says,—"The wages of the establishments with which I am connected, and I believe generally throughout the country, are quite the same now as they were many years ago; the employment at such establishments is regular and constant: it never varies; the prices do not vary; every body is paid according either to the work done by the individual himself, or according to the work done in the particular loom in which he may work, according to the nature of the employment: and therefore, the wages in such establishments being quite the same as they were many years ago, when the prices of provisions were a great deal higher than they are now, it follows as a natural consequence, that the labourers must be much better off now in such employment than they were at almost any period I can name for many years back." In consequence of the improvement of machinery, a great deal more work is now done than formerly, but certainly with fewer hands in proportion to the amount of production; yet, taking all their establishments together, Mr Finlay adds, he and his partners had increased the number of persons in their employment.

Within his own experience, this witness says, profits in the business of cotton-spinning were highest about the year 1802; but before that time they had been even higher. Up to the end of the war in 1814, the manufacturers of this country had no foreign rivals to compete with. They have now to bear up against an active and formidable competition in France, Switzerland, Austria, and elsewhere. We have already, however, given the principal statements of Mr. Finlay and the other witnesses upon this particular point, in our paper on Trades' Unions in the twelfth Number of the 'Companion,' and therefore shall not repeat them here. Mr. M'Culloch, we may observe, in his *Dictionary*, argues that the apprehensions expressed in this evidence, that the British cotton manufacture will have difficulty in maintaining its ground against the competition of the Americans, Swiss, Austrians, French, &c., are quite destitute of any real foundation.

To the question, Do you know the disadvantages of manufacturing in Scotland as compared with this country? Mr. Finlay answers "I think that there would not be such a fact in carrying on every operation of the work in Scotland, for a time at any rate, as there is at Manchester and in Glasgow, in a particular kind of goods that are made in each. We find, in practice, that it is impossible, with all the knowledge and the opportunities that we have at Glasgow, to transfer from Manchester to Glasgow the manufacture of a particular article. Now at Manchester again, efforts have been made to manufacture particular articles that they make at Glasgow and Paisley, and it is found impossible to do them with the same advantage; and therefore, unless there are very great advantages in those other parts, I think it would be a very long time before they could do it just as well as it is done at Manchester and Glasgow, in all the variety of the manufacture; but then they may seize some particular kind of goods, and make that equally well, or perhaps better."

There has been a very great fall of price in cotton goods since the peace; but one chief cause of this is the fall in the price of the raw material. "American cotton-wool," says the witness, "which three years after the peace was 18*d*. a pound, is now about 6*d*.; and other cottons in proportion." Now, taking a very common article made of such wool, the price of the cloth manufactured out of a pound of wool will be from 13*d*. to 14½*d*. So that the price of the raw material, in this instance, enters into that of the manufactured commodity to the extent of not much less than one-half. Of course, in the finer fabrics, the price of the cloth must be much less influenced by that of the raw material.

The following questions and answers occur towards the close of Mr. Finlay's first examination:—"Do you think 50,000*l.* laid out in a cotton mill ten years ago, conducted with prudence and industry, could now be converted into 50,000*l.* again?" "I think that if 50,000*l.* had been laid out well, by judicious parties who manage their business properly, ten years ago, it would long since have returned that 50,000*l.*, and perhaps another 50,000*l.* also; and that therefore, if the person had exercised due economy, he would now be in possession of his cotton-mill for nothing." "Have you known many cases of prudent men embarking in the cotton trade in the last ten years, and doing well?" "I think there are very few people what is called doing well, that is, making much profit, in the cotton spinning at present: I consider that for the last two years there is a great diminution in the profit, and I trust it is a temporary diminution. I have seen a great many overthrows in the cotton manufacture: in 1788 I thought it was never to recover; in 1793 it got another blow; in 1799 it got a severe blow, and in 1803 again, and in 1810; and, at particular periods, one would have thought that it was never to extend again, but at every time that it received a blow the rebound was quite wonderful."

A great part of the evidence given by Mr. Finlay, on his second examination, is directed to show that the wages of persons employed in the different branches of the cotton manufacture are as high in this country as in the United States; but the point does not appear to be by any means clearly made out. What he afterwards proceeds to state upon the subject of hand-loom weaving is more valuable. "I think," he says, "that a grand mistake exists in supposing that the power-loom supplants the hand-loom universally; the power-looms erected in Scotland manufacture a kind of goods in general, which the hand loom weaver of Scotland was not in the habit of working at all; and therefore they are only partial substitutes for the hand-loom. Before the power-loom weaving was introduced at all in Scotland, about the year 1814 or 1815, the kind of goods generally manufactured by them were not made at all in Scotland, or, at least, very few of them; and the number of hand-loom weavers in Scotland now, I apprehend to be much more than the number of hand-loom weavers in Scotland at the time that the power-loom was first introduced. I would also say that the hand-loom weaver can work a great many things which it would not be the interest of any power-loom manufacturer to make, especially all the finest goods, fancy goods of all kinds." The wages, however, it is admitted, of hand-loom weavers in Scotland, are lower now than they were when the power-loom was first introduced. It is understood that it requires a very good hand, and very hard work, to earn from 6*s.* to 7*s.* a week. At some kinds of work their average gains have lately been much lower. The number of hand-loom weavers employed by the Glasgow manufacturers in 1832 is supposed to have been about 32,000. This is probably about three-fourths of the whole number in Scotland. Mr. Finlay's own opinion is both that their numbers are increasing, and that they must increase.

Some important information on the condition of the cotton manufactures, both of this country and of the United States, is afforded by the evidence of Mr. Joshua Bates, one of the partners in the house of Baring, Brothers, and Company. Mr. Bates is an American by birth, but has been carrying on business in this country since the year 1817. He considers the state of British manufactures, in general, to be at present in the highest degree satisfactory;—we say, at present, for, although it is about sixteen months since the evidence before us was given, the circumstances upon which the inferences of the witness are founded remain the same as they were. "To my view," he says, "there never was so secure and healthy a state of things, whether you look to the present state of things here, or to the probable state of things for several years to come, supposing that every thing remains tranquil here, and that there is nothing to shake public confidence."

The prices of cotton-wool in the United States, Mr. Bates considers are not yet so low as they will be. While the prices have been falling, the culture of the plant has been extending: and it is understood that even 3*d.* a pound is a price at which the planters can gain money in the Valley of the Mississippi. The freight upon the importation of cotton from America has been greatly reduced of late years. During the war it was 3½*d.* or 4*d.* a pound; "from Amelia Island, and other neutral places, it is now a halfpenny to five-eights, sometimes a farthing, according to the greater or less distance of the port from whence imported." And by the improved system of ship-building, the ship-owners are making money at these rates.

The cotton manufactories in America are chiefly in Pennsylvania and the States to the north of that. The wool is brought by water from New Orleans, and other southern ports, to Boston, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia; the freight being about half what it is to Liverpool. The American machinery Mr. Bates considers to be rather superior to the English; it is made of better iron. The cost, however, is a great deal higher; some facts mentioned by Mr. Finlay would imply that many articles cost twice the money they do with us, and some even more. Mr. Bates thinks it probable that a good deal of cotton-machinery goes from this country to the United States.

The cotton goods manufactured in America are principally coarse fabrics; and the manufactories are generally worked by water-power. The cloths exported are chiefly sent to South America, but sometimes also to Manilla and China, and even to Calcutta. They have also been sent to various parts of the Mediterranean. The witness is even of opinion that the American manufacturers might send, not cotton gowns, but coarse cotton goods, to be sold in London as cheap as the English themselves could.

The next witness, part of whose evidence bears upon our present subject, is Mr. James Cook, of the firm of Trueman and Cook, colonial merchants. This gentleman, in the course of his examination, produces a letter from Mr. Henry Holdsworth, of Glasgow, containing the following statements:—"Every branch of trade and manufacture may be said to be in full health and vigour. The town itself is rapidly improving. The operatives and labourers are well employed, and wages are very generally even higher, compared with the prices of provisions, than in the good old times of war. I exclude the hand-loom weaver, whose miserable pittance would not indeed be the means of a wretched existence, were it not materially assisted by the employment found for his children in the factories. In the meantime preparations for extension of the cotton manufacture are in full activity. My own friends have just completed another large mill, and will immediately commence working; others are doing the same, and some large mills, which have not been occupied, are falling into the hands of new owners. By various successive improvements, large quantities of cotton are worked by the same power at decreasing expense, and the lower qualities are rendered more efficient, so that our India cotton is becoming of more importance."

The export trade in English cotton manufactures had become, according to Mr. Cook, duller than usual, but still the manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow were in a state of prosperity. Being asked, how he reconciles these two facts, he answers:—"It is in consequence of the immense increase of the home consumption of the country. I have a list of the exports of yarn and twist, showing a falling off in those two important branches, and in printed calicos also, yet there is an increase in the delivery of cotton of more than 17 per cent.; and I have stated that it arises from the internal consumption." He afterwards says, in reference to this increase of delivery:—"It is true that a manufacturer may buy cotton, and take it into his warehouse, and not use it, and then it is no test of an increase; but it is notorious *now*, that the quantity in the country, in dealers' hands and in the hands of manufacturers, never was so inconsiderable, and that the increase in the deliveries is actual and *bonâ fide*."

Some interesting information on the subject of the American cotton manufacture is to be found in the evidence of Mr. Timothy Wiggin, now a foreign banker in London. Our limits, however, will only permit us to quote the following statement:—"I think great care has been used in the United States to preserve the morals of females who work in their factories. It was thought by the founders of those establishments to be very important to take care of the morals and characters of the females so employed, as such labour could not be procured if the employment were disreputable; such females would not leave home if they supposed that their character would suffer in any way whatever. I understand that a young woman working in one of these manufactories is considered more respectably employed than when she remains in her father's family engaged in housework, and the work that is generally per-

formed in agricultural districts." Mr. Wiggin does not profess to be able to explain the contrivances that have been employed to produce the result here described; if they are really found effectual, although the consideration which appears to have suggested them does not operate in this country, they ought, as far as possible, to be adopted here also on higher motives. The most complete account of the cotton manufacture of the United States which the Report contains is given in the evidence of Mr. James Kempton, who was twice examined by the Committee; but the details into which he enters are too numerous to be abstracted. He states that the great proportion of the machinery used in the American factories would wear out sooner than that used in the English, owing to more wood being employed in the former. A list of prices which he gives confirms the statement as to the much higher cost of machinery in America than here quoted above from the evidence of Mr. Finlay. From inquiries made by a Committee of Congress, it appeared that the capital invested in machinery and buildings in the cotton manufacture in all the principal manufacturing States, which are the eastern and some of the middle States, amounted to 8,461,476*l.* sterling. To that sum it was thought might be added a third or a fourth more for the other parts of the Union. Within the district over which the inquiry extended, the number of spindles was found to be 1,246,503; the number of power looms, 33,000; the number of males employed, 18,539; the number of females, 38,927; and the number of children under twelve years of age, 4691. What the witness calls "the average wages," by which we suppose he must mean the entire sum paid as wages calculated from an assumed average, is stated at 2,087,400*l.* There are some other items in the account, but they are stated in such a way as not to be intelligible.

Some interesting information was communicated by Mr. Kempton, on his second examination, respecting the provisions made by the laws of the United States for the education of the children employed in factories. The following statement is curious, if correct:—"In this country," says the witness, "the girls tend two power-looms. I have asked manufacturers why they do not tend more, they have said that if they tended more they could not turn off so much. This objection would apply with more force to those in the United States, as they pay less wages and more for machinery. In America our girls tended generally four power-looms, some for years tended five power-looms, and some tended six power-looms for some time, and each of those power-looms turned off more cloth than I have found any power looms turn off in this country. Those girls tending six power-looms turned off forty yards per day of three-quarter cloth, at forty-five shoots per inch. I think the girls in America would manage four power-looms as well as those here do manage two. I found that those who tended six power-looms turned off as much in an hour at each loom as those that attend two power-looms here." It is probably in this way that we are to explain the assertion of Mr. Finlay and others of the witnesses, that wages in the cotton manufacture are higher in England than in America—an assertion which certainly seems incredible enough while left without any explanation. The fact appears to be that more money is paid in this country than in America to the spinner for the same quantity of work; but as the American spinner does more work than the English in a given time, the wages of the former are still as high as, or higher than, those of the latter. Mr. Kempton attributes part of the superior expedition of the spinner in America to the machinery employed there, which he thinks is better adapted than ours for the fabrication of the coarser descriptions of goods.

The next witness to whose evidence we shall advert is Mr. Henry Houldsworth, cotton-spinner, at Anderston, near Glasgow. This witness says that, from his own experience, he conceives cotton-spinning in Scotland had yielded little or no profit for three years past. He is not, therefore, we presume, the Mr. Henry Houldsworth, of Glasgow, whose letter, describing the trade as in so high a state of prosperity, was produced by Mr. Cook. As to the condition of the workmen, Mr. Houldsworth says, that although their wages have been nominally reduced since 1815, there has been no real reduction, inasmuch as they are paid by the piece, and the improvements that have been made in the machinery have enabled them to do more work in the same time than they did formerly. Their condition, therefore, the prices of provisions having so much fallen, must be upon the whole considerably improved. The great improvements in machinery, however, that have of late years been made in Manchester, have only been slowly adopted in Scotland. In Glasgow they chiefly spin the coarse numbers, from number 50 downwards. The nominal price of machinery, the witness allows, is reduced within the last twenty years, but the workmanship, he says, has increased at least fifty per cent., so that the trade of the machine-makers is not so good a one as it was. Then, as for the effect upon the manufacturer, "at present," he adds, "we are spinning twenty per cent. more upon the same number of spindles than in 1815, and at the same time the present mode of spinning requires fifteen per cent. more machinery in order to effect that improvement in quality which enables us to do this extra quantity." The price of coal, however, has in this interval fallen from twenty to thirty per cent.

Mr. Houldsworth thinks the hand-loom weavers are not so numerous in Glasgow as they were. "I cannot say," he continues, "that the condition of the hand-loom weavers is, generally speaking, very desperate apparently; they look decent, but, from the small wages they get, they must be very badly off." Their wages he states as ranging from 6*s.* or 7*s.*, to 12*s.* or 14*s.* a week. Those that make the highest wages work at least fourteen hours a day.

The next witness is Mr. William Graham, junior, of Glasgow, whose business comprehends both the spinning and weaving of cotton. He describes both branches as in a state of great depression at Glasgow. The main cause of this he considers to be the competition of both the American and the continental manufacturers. The duty on flour, Mr. Graham also states, falls very heavily upon the English manufacturer. In his own establishment, where about 25,000 lbs. of cotton are spun and manufactured in the week, the duty on the flour used comes to about 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year. Upon this matter Mr. M'Culloch, in his 'Dictionary,' remarks,—"The consumption of flour in the manufacture is much greater than any one not pretty well acquainted with it would readily suppose. The average quantity required for each loom is estimated at four lbs. per week, making the total annual consumption in England and Wales 42,301,584 lbs. or 215,824 barrels of 196 lbs. each!" The number of looms at present employed in England and Wales is supposed to be nearly 204,000. More flour, Mr. Graham states, is used in the courser than in the finer manufacture.

Women's wages, in the power-loom weaving, are described as averaging 8*s.* per week. The spinners, working sixty-nine hours in the week, earn from 35*s.* to 42*s.* clear of all deductions. From the trouble, however, occasioned by the combinations of the men earning these high wages, Mr. Graham and his partners, as well as other manufacturers, contemplated the introduction into their factories of the self-acting mule, which has been in use at Manchester since 1826. In this way they would be able to dispense with the spinners altogether, retaining only the two piecers whom each spinner has under him, and giving one of them a couple of shillings more than he received from the spinner.

A good many English cotton stuffs, it seems, have been sent abroad of late years, filled up with a paste of clay or some other material. This practice seems to have been introduced soon after 1814. In some markets, according to Mr. Graham, goods with a little of this filling are preferred. The practice, however, he acknowledges, has been abused to a great extent in white bleached goods. Foreigners into whose hands such goods have fallen, discovering after a while that the appearance of strength and thickness produced was fallacious, have naturally become prejudiced against stuffs of English manufacture generally. Yet the practice, the witness has no doubt, is increasing with the increase of trade. "We fill," he says, "a great many of our goods. In some markets they sell readily, and if we sent them without the clay they would not buy them at all." The expense of putting in the clay he describes as very trifling; the difference in the expense of bleaching cannot exceed 1½*d.* or 2*d.* a piece.

One statement made by Mr. Graham, who has known the trade since 1810, affords a curious illustration of the effects produced by the improvements that have been made in the cultivation of the plant on the one hand, and in the spinning and weaving machinery on the other. He remarks, that there are many articles of cotton manufacture which you can buy finished now for less money than you paid for the weaving of them formerly.

As to the general state of the business, he says—"I think, if the legislature will let us alone, there is no fear of the prosperity of our manufacture; I mean if they will take the taxes off the raw material, and do not interfere with the hours of labour; but if they do that, they will ruin us." The duty on foreign wool, imported from any part of the British dominions, is at present, and has for some time been, only 4*d.* a cwt. On foreign wool it was 5*s.* 10*d.* a cwt. from 1831 till 1833. But on the 17th of May in that year, a few weeks before Mr. Graham was examined, an act was passed lowering this duty to 2*s.* 11*d.* The loss to the revenue which this reduction would occasion was estimated at 300,000*l.* per annum.

[To be concluded in next Number.]

MONOPOLY IN THE SUPPLY OF SALT TO INDIA.

Both the manufacture and the sale of salt in India have been hitherto monopolized by the Company's government, which from that source draws more than one million and a half of its revenue. The salt in Bengal is made in what is called the Sunderbunds, being a low unhealthy tract of country at the mouths of the Ganges and the Hoogly, where the workmen, called the Molunges, are sometimes swept away in thousands by an inundation of the sea, and the produce of their labours for the season carried along with them. The article thus obtained is of the very worst quality, and even were it sold at its natural price would be very dear. But its cost to the consumer is immensely enhanced by the monopoly. In the interior of the country the purchaser often pays for it not less than ten or twelve times the prime cost, which is itself calculated to amount to about 16*d.* the bushel. He pays, therefore, 15*s.* or 16*s.* the bushel, of which exorbitant price little more than a fifth part forms the profit of the government. The rest consists of successive additions made in the passage of the commodity from dealer to dealer. Considering the low remuneration of labour in India, this price may be looked upon as making salt a luxury too expensive to be consumed at all by the great mass of the inhabitants. Accordingly, the quantity they generally consume is extremely small. The insipid vegetable food to which they are confined would require, to prevent it from being both insipid and unwholesome, a liberal addition of this condiment; and there can be no question that they frequently suffer severely from the privation to which the government thus subjects them. In the course of the session of parliament before the last, Mr. Wilbraham, the member for Cheshire, moved in the House of Commons, the addition of a clause to the new bill respecting the government of India, for putting an end to this monopoly. The speech by which he introduced his motion contained a great deal of curious information respecting the English salt mines. "The principal part of the salt of England," he said, "is made in the valley of the Weever in Cheshire. The rock salt, which is dry, from the vast caverns in that county, is principally exported to strengthen the brine which other nations use for their refineries. Other counties, such as Staffordshire, Worcestershire, &c., produce salt, but the greatest part of the salt for exportation, if not the whole, is made in Cheshire, and is conveyed by the Weever, which communicates with the Mersey, and consequently with Liverpool. This has long been a flourishing trade, and has tended much to enrich that part of the country. The facility of the manufacture has much increased from the ready and cheap supply of coals; and I am assured that the brine-springs are inexhaustible. . . . The cost of production of the Cheshire salt—the finest in the world—is about 3½*d.* or 4*d.* per bushel. . . . The vessels which come from India are always laden with heavy and bulky articles, such as indigo, rice, tobacco, tea, sugar, spices, &c. Our returns from this country are of a light nature, consisting of British manufactured goods; and though I know a good deal of cotton twist and even cotton piece goods are exported, still they do not occupy one half, or one quarter the space which the goods occupy in coming from India. Hence heavy goods are much desired for an outward bound vessel." Mr. Wilbraham then proceeded to show that after paying all charges and freight to Calcutta at the rate of 1*l.* per ton, the best salt could be laid down there at 1*s.* per bushel. But, he added, it might even be exported as ballast. Upwards of eighty thousand tons of Cheshire salt are annually so exported from Liverpool in the vessels of the United States of North America.

It is probable that the prohibition against the importation of salt into India will not be allowed to continue much longer, but that the article will be admitted on payment of a moderate duty, a plan by which there is every reason to believe that the government will obtain fully as large a revenue as it now draws. In the course of the debate on Mr. Wilbraham's motion, Mr. Grant admitted that the salt-tax was altogether indefensible, and one the permanent continuance of which could not be contemplated. "When I have admitted," he added, "that it is impossible to justify the principle of the tax, I trust that it will rather be considered as a question of time to get rid of it, and substitute some other less oppressive mode of raising the revenue." The government both at home and in India, he stated, had agreed that the tax should be removed, and were desirous of carrying into effect Mr. Wilbraham's views.

For the salt sent to India from England a return might be obtained in the exportation to England of sugar from India. The sugar at present manufactured in the latter country is certainly inferior in quality to that furnished by our West India colonies, but it is equally certain that this inferiority is not owing to the effects of soil or climate, which are as favourable to this branch of industry in India as in the Antilles. It would be more correct to attribute the difference to the illiberal regulations of the East India Company, which have kept the manufacture in the hands of incompetent natives, wanting alike in skill and capital, and to the equally illiberal and indefensible regulation of our own government, which has loaded the inferior sugar of India with a higher rate of duty than is charged upon the superior production of the skilful and wealthy planters of the West Indies. It does not need much of the spirit of prophecy to foretell that this invidious distinction must shortly cease.

In fairness to the East India Company we should state, that the monopoly in the manufacture and sale of salt did not originate with their government, but existed in India long before the commencement of their sway. It is a difficult matter in every country, even those the most enlightened, to bring about the substitution of one tax for another, although the alteration would be attended by a considerable amount of relief to the inhabitants; but this difficulty is greatly increased among a people who are so wedded to ancient customs as the inhabitants of Hindostan, and such a change may be considered, as regards them, to be next to impracticable. On the other hand, we conceive that so long as the necessity exists for raising a large revenue, there is not any article better fitted for the purpose than salt. The error has been, not so much in the nature of the tax as in its exorbitant amount, and in the oppressive means which have been used for its collection. There can be little question that had the business of salt-making in India been left to individual enterprise under regulations similar to those employed for the collection of the excise revenue in England, while, at the same time, the trade was left entirely free, and importation from England allowed under a fair rate of duty, the Company might, as we have already said, have realized as great or even a greater amount of revenue, while the price of an article which is certainly a necessary of life in India, would have been kept sufficiently low to bring a supply of it equal to his wants within the reach of every individual in the country.

Independently of the evidence afforded by many analogous cases, that in fiscal arithmetic 2 and 2 do not always amount to 4, we have a direct proof of this fact in the very case of the salt duty in India. The rate of this duty was raised in 1828 in the proportion of 105 to 75, by which means, if the consumption had remained stationary, the revenue would have been increased by the sum of 1,026,000*l.* per annum; while on the contrary, the treasury experienced an actual reduction in the two following years, amounting to more than 340,000*l.*, or upwards of 170,000*l.* per annum. In the face of this fact, which is furnished by the accounts of the East India Company, laid before a committee of the House of Commons in 1832, it would be absurd to argue, as some of the Company's servants have attempted to do, that the consumption of salt in India is not limited by the monopoly price below the wants and desires of the inhabitants. It appears, on the contrary, highly probable, from the testimony of several intelligent

witnesses who were examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1832 to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, that if, instead of the great addition made in 1828 to the rate of the salt duty, an equally considerable reduction had been granted, the actual receipt, from increased consumption, would have been more advantageous to the Company's treasury; while the difference in that case to the comfort of the inhabitants would have been exceedingly great, much greater than would be imagined by most persons in this country, where the diet of the people is not confined, as it is through the greater part of India, to an insipid vegetable.

Experience has always shown, that whenever governments take upon themselves the functions of manufacturers or traders, and clothe themselves with privileges as monopolists, the public is badly served, and the evil to the consumers is out of all proportion greater than the advantages derived by the governments. It is a fact, that in France, where the trade in, and the manufacture of, tobacco is the subject of a close government monopoly, the revenue which it yields is not equal in amount to that collected in this kingdom, although the population of France is much greater than our own, and the habit of using tobacco is far more general, while its price to the consumer is higher than in England. In India, the quality of the salt furnished by the Company is described as being exceedingly bad; so bad, that the higher classes, who can afford to do so, are in the habit of refining it for their own use; and it is notorious, that notwithstanding the obstacles opposed by its bulk, the article is smuggled to a very great extent, in defiance of the numerous body of police officers maintained by the Company, solely for the purpose of checking this illicit trade.

On the Coromandel coast, salt is formed very rapidly and abundantly upon the rocks by solar evaporation: and the temptation to the poor inhabitants to possess themselves of a necessary of life, thus offered to them by the hand of nature, must be almost irresistible. If, however, one of them should be detected in the act of gathering a handful of salt for his own use, he is immediately subjected to a heavy penalty. What heart-burnings must it not occasion to the natives to see this coveted production destroyed by the hired-servants of their foreign conquerors, in order to maintain the revenue by means of which their yoke is perpetuated! It would prove an interesting inquiry, and one which might afford an instructive lesson to many governments, could we determine the amount of misery that has been occasioned to communities through the mistaken views of their rulers on the subject of finance. It is a curious fact, and one which we would have the present governors of India to bear well in mind, that the feelings of disaffection by which the French revolution of 1792 was occasioned, were supposed to have been in no small degree derived from the intolerable oppression attendant upon the administration of the salt monopoly in that kingdom.

Parliament has thought it advisable, upon the recent renewal of the East India Company's charter, to incapacitate that body from pursuing commercial objects; and thus with the intention of securing the undivided attention of the directors and their servants to the good government of the eighty millions of subjects under their rule. Will it not then be absurdly anomalous to continue to that body the right of retaining perhaps the very worst feature in their commercial character—their monopolies of salt and opium? We are aware of the difficulties which attend the adjustment of this question, and would not have even a beneficial alteration undertaken rashly and without due consideration; but we know also, from experience, how prone persons in high stations are to stave off the consideration of difficult questions, and how necessary it therefore is that their attention should be continually recalled to their examination; a course which appears the more needful in this case, inasmuch as the desired reform has to contend against the influence of parties personally interested in perpetuating the evil.

TONNAGE OF SHIPS.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Lords' Commissioners of the Admiralty, at the request of the Lords of the Privy Council for Trade, to consider of the best mode of measuring the Tonnage of Ships.

IT is our boast, that in this country, science, in all its various branches, is cultivated with a degree of success, at least as great as that attained among any other people; and we are equally disposed to attribute the attainment of our proud position among the nations of Europe to our naval superiority. Under these circumstances it must appear a singular fact, that so important, and so apparently simple a matter as that of the rule established by law for the admeasurement of the capacity of shipping, should have been left to the present day in a state the most barbarously and absurdly incorrect that can well be imagined.

The method at present in use in Great Britain for computing the tonnage contents of shipping was established by the Act 13 Geo. III. c. 74, which provides, that "the length of the vessel shall be taken in a straight line along the rabbet of the keel of the ship, from the back of the main stern-post to a perpendicular line from the fore-part of the main stem under the bowsprit; that the breadth of the vessel shall be taken from the outside of the outside plank in the broadest part of the ship, either above or below the main wales, exclusive of all manner of double planks that may be wrought upon the sides of the ship. From the length taken as above, subtract three-fifths of the breadth, the remainder shall be esteemed the just length of the keel to find the tonnage: then multiply this length by the breadth, and that product by half the breadth, and, dividing by 94, the quotient shall be deemed the true contents in tons."

It would be difficult to bring forward any chain of reasoning as the grounds upon which this formula was adopted. It is said that the rule was given by a committee from the Trinity House appointed for the purpose, and that their method of proceeding in the execution of their commission was this:—They attended the loading of a ship with a general cargo, consisting of various goods, some light and others heavy; and when they considered the vessel to be sufficiently loaded, and with ample space still left for stores and for the accommodation of the crew, they held the quantity of cargo taken on board to be the tonnage of the ship, and taking her length and breadth, they thereupon founded their rule. In thus proceeding, they were, perhaps, one step in advance of the Chinese, who affect to determine the burden of ships by simply measuring the distance between the main and mizen masts. It may be doubted, however, considering that a correct computation may be as easily made by one as by the other method, whether the greater simplicity of the Chinese mode does not entitle it to the preference. To render the principle of the English method sound and good, it would be absolutely necessary that all ships should be built upon exactly the same model, and then the simpler method of the Chinese would be equally sound. Seriously, it is quite inconceivable, how persons occupying a station which pointed them out as being sufficiently enlightened to be entrusted with such a task, should have overlooked so material an element towards computing its contents, as the *depth* of the vessel; and it is equally hard to account for the blind negligence of the legislature, which could adopt and embody in an act of parliament, a recommendation which was so palpably ridiculous.

The practical consequences resulting from the adoption of so absurd a rule have been very seriously mischievous. A great part of the charges to which trading ships are liable are computed upon the tonnage measurement borne upon their registers, and it has, therefore, been an object with owners of ships to give such a form to them as would enable them to carry the greatest possible amount of cargo, while their registers should bear the smallest amount of tonnage. Under this system, the greater part of our merchant vessels are the most unsightly in Europe; and what is of far more consequence, sail badly, and are exceedingly unmanageable in bad weather and on a lee-shore. As to the first of these qualities—that of sailing it is notorious, that while a vessel of American build is to be found in port, not one of our merchants or manufacturers will ship a bale of goods in any ship of English build, it being, of course, a great object that consignments should reach their places of destination with all possible expedition, not only that advantage may be taken of the state of markets, but also to ensure those quick returns which are so essential to profitable commerce. Goods put on board an American vessel in Liverpool for New York will usually have arrived at their destination, have been sold, and the remittances in payment be half-way across

the Atlantic before an English vessel that may have sailed from the same port at the same time will have reached America. This, it will be acknowledged, is a serious evil; but the bad qualities of our merchant vessels as sea boats, an evil which is altogether owing to the plan followed for their admeasurement, cause far more serious disasters. We have been assured by a gentleman much connected with shipping in the northern part of the kingdom, and who takes considerable interest in this question, that if it were thought advisable to petition the House of Commons on the subject, he should have no difficulty in procuring such a petition, very numerously signed, and where every petitioner should stand in the relation of a widow or orphan to persons whose lives have fallen a sacrifice to the unmanageable qualities of what are called "burdensome" ships, in situations where vessels built of a different form would have been perfectly safe.

The evils attending the present state of the law have been long well known, nor is this the first attempt that has been made to remedy them. A Committee, of which Dr. Young was Chairman, and Messrs. Davies Gilbert and Kater were members, was appointed by the Admiralty in 1821, to consider the question of the measurement of the tonnage of ships; and after the examination of about fifty ships, of different sizes and descriptions, declared it as their opinion, that the weight of goods which a ship is capable of carrying, exceeds the measurement tonnage, on an average, in the proportion of four to three. This Committee proposed a method of measurement and computation, which would have considerably diminished the errors of the present system; but their recommendation was not adopted, and it has been understood that the reason for this neglect was founded upon the admission, that the proposed method did not ensure absolute mathematical correctness,—the Government of that day preferring to continue a system universally acknowledged to be absurdly erroneous, rather than to make what at least would have been a considerable approximation to the truth, and by which the motives which have rendered our commercial marine a disgrace to the country would have been removed. The old system has since been continued, and we cannot doubt that it would be found to involve a startling censure upon the parties chargeable with this supineness, could any correct estimate be formed of the loss of capital and of human life which have been the result.

The Report now before us was drawn up by a Committee, the constitution of which affords sufficient assurance that the subject has been thoroughly examined, and is ably handled. The signatures of the accomplished Chairman, Mr. Davies Gilbert (who was a member of the Committee of 1821), and of Captain Beaufort, the able hydrographer to the Admiralty, attest that the important question submitted to them has undergone a complete investigation, both scientific and practical. Their Report was presented to the House of Commons as long ago as last February, and we had indulged confident hopes that the Session would not have been allowed to close without the passing of an act, by which the methods recommended by such competent authorities would have been made to supersede the disgraceful system now in force. In these hopes we have been disappointed, but we trust that the importance of the subject will ensure for it the early and efficient attention of the President of the Board of Trade in the ensuing Session.

We now proceed to give a short analysis of the Report. Rejecting the principle adopted by the Trinity House Committee, as already explained, it is now recommended to take the *whole* capacity of the hold as the fairest standard of measurement, and to ascertain that capacity by means of *internal* measurements. In order to obtain the necessary data, the Committee obtained the dimensions and actual capacities of a considerable number of vessels, of various sizes and forms, as well as an account of the several methods of admeasurement employed in foreign countries. They further received communications on the subject from many practical and scientific gentlemen conversant with shipping, and, after a careful examination of the relative merits of the plans submitted, they determined upon recommending the adoption of the following rule for the measurement of vessels for register tonnage:—

1. Divide the length of the upper deck, between the after part of the stem and the fore part of the stern-post, into six equal parts.

2. *Depths.*—At the foremost, the middle and aftermost of these points of division, measure in feet and decimals the depths from the underside of the upper deck to the ceiling at the limber strake.

(In the case of a break in the upper deck, the depths are to be measured from a line stretched in a continuation of the deck.)

3. *Breadths.*—Divide each of these three depths into five equal parts, and measure the inside breadths at the following points, viz.—at one-fifth and at four-fifths from the upper deck of the foremost and aftermost depths, and at two-fifths and four-fifths of the midship depth.

4. *Length.*—At half the midship depth measure the length of the vessel from the after part of the stem to the fore part of the stern-post.

5. Then to twice the midship depth add the foremost and the aftermost depths, for *the sum of the depths.*

6. Add together the upper and lower breadths at the foremost division, three times the upper breadth and the lower breadth at the midship division, and the upper and twice the lower breadth at the after division, for *the sum of the breadths.*

7. Then multiply the sum of the depths by the sum of the breadths, and this product by the length, and divide the final product by 3·500, which will give the number of tons for register.

8. If the vessel have a poop or half-deck, or a break in the upper deck, measure the inside mean length, breadth, and height of such part thereof as may be included within the bulk-head; multiply these three measurements together, and dividing the product by 92·4 the quotient will be the number of tons to be added to the result as above found.

9. In order to ascertain the tonnage of open vessels, the depths are to be measured from the upper edge of the upper strake.

10. If it be required to find the real capacity of a vessel, multiply the total register tonnage by 92·4, which will give the contents in cubic feet.

In recommending the adoption of this rule, the committee expressly state, that it is not intended to show the real capacity of the vessel, though bearing towards it nearly the same proportion which would result from the average of a large number of cases, on the application of the old and imperfect rule; for it appears to the committee, that the annual return of registered tonnage has been so long employed as a comparative index of the increase or decrease of British shipping, that it will be highly expedient to preserve the relative value of this index, as far as possible, unaltered. In order to accomplish this object, the committee have had recourse to *an arbitrary divisor.*"

With all possible respect and deference for the opinion of the committee, we cannot allow the propriety of this adoption of an arbitrary mode of computation in a case of this importance, and when the true mode can as readily be applied. This partial continuance of the old error, which resulted from the faulty mode of computation, requires some more weighty argument for its justification than has been put forth by the committee. Surely it would not be difficult for the public officer charged with the duty of making the return of registered tonnage, to explain in his tables the amount of the difference occasioned by the adoption of the correct method, and by this explanation the value of the return as a comparative index would be preserved, while the registers of ships would be made to exhibit a true statement of their capacity. The present arbitrary divisor is recommended, because it will furnish a result similar, on the average of a large number of cases, to that furnished by the present absurd rule. The average amount of error is, therefore, found to be in the proportion which the proposed arbitrary divisor bears to what should be the true divisor, and by a very simple computation of this kind the whole advantage proposed by the committee could be secured, without any departure from accuracy. The committee might have used as an argument in favour of the employment of their arbitrary divisor, or rather against the adoption of a true divisor, that as the real tonnage of ships is greater than that now shown by their registers, this would be to subject vessels newly measured to heavier charges for tonnage duties, lights and harbour dues than are paid by ships measured according to the old plan. This evil, which would only

be temporary, might be effectually remedied by a clause in the act of parliament declaring the proportion in which those charges shall be paid by vessels newly measured, and which, as already explained, should be in the ratio which the proposed arbitrary divisor bears to the true divisor.

It is a recommendation of the committee "that as all British vessels have been constructed on the faith of the permanence of the present law of tonnage, so the tonnage of every vessel now registered shall be allowed to remain unchanged, unless application be made by the owner to have it re-measured according to the new process." This recommendation is perfectly just; but we apprehend that, if the suggestion we have ventured to make regarding the payment of dues should be adopted, shipowners, in most cases, would have no inducement to abide by their present erroneous measurements, and thus uniformity might be attained at an earlier period than is likely to be ensured by the recommendation of the committee.

The committee further recommend "that, in registering the tonnage of steam vessels, instead of deducting the length of the engine-room, according to the present mode, an allowance shall be made of one-fourth of the whole tonnage, as obtained by the rule given;" but a remark is added to the effect that the tendency of every improvement being to diminish the space occupied by the engine, some legislative provision might now be made to enable his Majesty's government to alter the allowance of this proportion hereafter.

Our space will not admit of the insertion of the recommendations offered by different parties to the committee, or of the measurements and computations which they have given in the Appendix to their Report; neither would these particulars be interesting to our readers generally. Nautical men, and students of naval architecture, will however find much to interest them in a careful perusal of the whole Report.

NEW POST-OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS.

Among the many evidences of social improvement afforded by the present times, may be mentioned the great and growing desire of spreading useful information, as a powerful means of advancing the happiness of the great family of mankind. This desire, which is every day growing in force, and stimulating more and more both individuals and collective bodies, has not been without its good effects upon the governments of France and England. We have already had occasion to notice (see 'Companion,' vol. i. pp. 64, 93) the arrangements concluded in this spirit by those two governments, whereby the post-office communications between the respective countries have been facilitated and made more frequent. We may further mention the exchange that has been made of their records by the legislative bodies of both nations, and also the convention which provides for the gratuitous transmission to either country, of all the literary productions of the other. This arrangement, the effect of which will be to place in the Public Library at Paris, and in the British Museum, copies of all works published in the two countries, will serve to exhibit, in the most useful manner, the scientific and intellectual progress of each, and this knowledge cannot fail to be greatly and permanently useful to the instructed classes, and through them to the people generally. A further step in this march of liberal improvement has been very recently made by our government in the removal of one-half of the duties chargeable on the importation of foreign books into the United Kingdom. But a still more important advance has been effected by the Act of the last Session (cap. 44), which regulates the conveyance of printed newspapers by post between this country, the British colonies, and foreign parts.

Under the provisions of this Act, which comes into operation on the day when our present Number is published, any newspaper, duly stamped, may be forwarded, free of postage, from any general post-office in the United Kingdom to any of his Majesty's colonies and possessions beyond the seas; and on the other hand, newspapers printed and published within such colonies or possessions may be forwarded by packet-boats to Great Britain or Ireland, and delivered by the general post within the United Kingdom free of the duty of postage.

By the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 68, stamped newspapers might be sent to the colonies through the post-office upon payment of one penny half-penny each; and colonial newspapers might be received through the general post at a rate of three-pence each. This was a considerable reduction of the previous expense, which, although very heavy to the colonial purchaser of English newspapers, produced nothing to the revenue, as all the newspapers then forwarded through the post-office to the colonies were franked by certain privileged officers, who made a charge to those whom they thus accommodated.

The fourth section of the new Act regulates the transmission of newspapers to and from foreign parts. As it makes its own precedent, we are desirous of stating its provisions fully and accurately, and we do not think that we can do this better than by quoting the words of the Act.

"IV. And be it further enacted, that from and after the said 1st day of October, 1834, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty's postmaster-general for the time being, and his deputy and deputies in Great Britain and Ireland, to receive at any general post-office printed newspapers liable to the stamp duty, and duly stamped for conveyance by packet-boats from Great Britain and Ireland to any port out of the United Kingdom, other than his Majesty's colonies and possessions, and to forward the same accordingly free of the duty of postage; and that newspapers printed in any kingdom or state beyond the seas, other than his majesty's colonies and possessions, and brought into the United Kingdom by packet-boats, shall and may (if printed in the language of the foreign kingdom or state from which the same shall be forwarded, but not otherwise), be delivered by the general post within the United Kingdom free of the duty of postage: provided always, that before any newspapers to or from any foreign port shall be permitted to be conveyed or delivered free of postage, under the provisions of this clause, satisfactory proof shall have been laid before the postmaster-general for the time being that printed newspapers sent from Great Britain or Ireland, addressed to any person or place in any foreign kingdom or state, are allowed to pass by the post within any such foreign kingdom or state free of postage, and also that newspapers addressed to any person or place in Great Britain or Ireland from any such foreign kingdom or state are allowed to pass by the post within such foreign kingdom or state free of postage; and it is hereby further declared, that as to every newspaper put into any general post-office within Great Britain or Ireland for conveyance by packet boat, addressed to any person or place in any foreign kingdom or state in which printed newspapers from Great Britain or Ireland shall not be allowed to pass by the post free of postage, it shall be lawful for his Majesty's postmaster-general for the time being (until such satisfactory proof shall be laid before him as aforesaid), and his deputy and deputies, for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to demand, have, receive, and take for the conveyance of every such printed newspaper to any foreign port the sum of twopence, to be paid when the same shall be put into the post-office; and as to every newspaper addressed to Great Britain or Ireland, and brought into the United Kingdom from any foreign kingdom or state in which such printed newspapers shall not be allowed to pass by the post free of postage, it is hereby declared that it shall be lawful for his Majesty's postmaster-general for the time being (until such satisfactory proof shall be laid before him as aforesaid), and his deputy and deputies, to and for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to demand, have, receive, and take for the conveyance of every such newspaper by the general post the sum of twopence on delivery thereof by such post to the person to whom the same shall be addressed, over and above and in addition to any postage charged thereon by any foreign post-office, provided every such paper be printed and published in the language of the kingdom or state from which the same shall be forwarded."

The fifth section of the act provides for the re-imposition of the rate of twopence upon each newspaper sent to or brought from any foreign country, whenever it shall be deemed expedient by the Lords of the Treasury to do so; a provision no doubt intended to meet the case of the previous re-imposition by such foreign country of rates of postage upon newspapers received from or addressed to persons in the United Kingdom.

In all cases, newspapers, in order to be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this act, must be sent in covers

which are open at the sides, and permission is given to the officers of the post-office to examine whether attempts are made to take an unfair advantage of this indulgence by writing or making marks upon the cover or upon the paper itself, or by enclosing or concealing any other paper within the same, or by attempting to pass papers from the United Kingdom which are not duly stamped, or to introduce any into the kingdom which are not in the language of the place whence they are forwarded. In such cases it is provided, with regard to papers going out of the kingdom, that at the discretion of the post-office they may either be detained or charged with the duty of letter postage, and in the case of newspapers brought into the kingdom, that they shall be charged with treble the duty of letter postage. Another restriction in the act provides that every newspaper sent out of the kingdom through the post-office shall be put into a receiving office in Great Britain or Ireland within seven days after its date of publication; and where this rule shall be infringed, permission is given to the post-office either to detain the papers or to charge them with the full rates of letter postage.

By a clause in the act it is expressly declared that any person is at liberty to send printed newspapers to or from places beyond the seas in any manner they may find practicable or convenient, without confining themselves to the channel of the post-office.

Another provision of the act may be made very advantageous to the conductors of periodical works which are not required to be stamped. The postmaster-general is empowered to compound for the transmission of such works by the post, on payment of a fixed yearly sum for each publication, subject to the same rules and restrictions as are established for the transmission of newspapers, and which we have already detailed.

There is every reason to expect that this liberal measure will be met in a corresponding spirit by the governments of France and of other continental nations, so that the inhabitants of each country may receive the journals published in the others at the same price which they cost to subscribers in the countries whence they are transmitted.

At present and until the heavy stamp duty chargeable on English newspapers shall be removed, their cost is so far beyond that of the continental journals that we cannot expect any great number of our daily papers will be required by our neighbours; but we may confidently predict that, whenever this obstacle shall be removed, the means thus opened to the inhabitants of foreign countries, for obtaining an acquaintance with the institutions of our country and the character of its people, will be productive of the happiest effect in removing prejudices, and in drawing closer the social ties which should bind together the different members of the European family.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL REVENUE INQUIRY.

To the KING'S *Most Excellent Majesty.*

YOUR MAJESTY having been pleased to issue a Commission under the Great Seal, dated the twenty-third day of June, in the second year of your Majesty's reign, authorizing and directing the Commissioners therein named to make a full and correct Inquiry respecting the Revenues and Patronage belonging to the several Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees in *England* and *Wales* to all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and to all Ecclesiastical Benefices (including Donatives, Perpetual Curacies and Chapelries), with or without Cure of Souls, and the Names of the several Patrons thereof and other circumstances therewith connected; and your Majesty having been further pleased, on the expiration of the said Commission, to issue a second Commission, extending the period within which the Commissioners were required to make their final Report, and authorizing them to extend their Inquiries to the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the *Isle of Man*:—

We, your Majesty's Commissioners, whose hands and seals are hereunto set, humbly report to your Majesty, that in obedience to your Majesty's commands, we have proceeded to execute the duties committed to us.

In prosecuting our inquiries, we have, from the extent and complexity of the various matters to be investigated, encountered many difficulties, which, though not unexpected, necessarily required a considerable length of time to surmount.

We believe that we are now in possession of materials sufficient to enable us to make a full report to your Majesty on all the topics within the range of our Commission; but to arrange and digest into a tabular form so large a mass of returns, comprising so many different heads of information, and thus to present a distinct view of the whole revenues of the Church and their distribution, has been a work of no ordinary labour, which, though nearly completed, must still occupy some further time.

It would have been more satisfactory to us to have awaited the period when we could have completed our task by a final Report; but we are impressed with a conviction that it is expedient to lay before your Majesty, without delay, a statement of the total income of the Church, and of the manner in which it is divided between the archbishops, bishops, corporations aggregate and sole, and the incumbents and curates of benefices.

The total amount of the gross annual revenues of the several archiepiscopal and episcopal sees in England and Wales is one hundred and eighty thousand four hundred and sixty-two pounds, affording an average of six thousand six hundred and eighty-three pounds; and the total amount of the net annual revenues of the same is one hundred and sixty thousand one hundred and fourteen pounds, affording an average of five thousand nine hundred and thirty pounds.

The total amount of the gross annual revenues of the several cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales, together with the separate gross annual revenues of the several dignitaries and other spiritual persons, members of cathedrals or collegiate churches, is three hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and sixty-one pounds, and the total amount of the net annual revenues of the same is two hundred and seventy-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight pounds.

The total number of benefices with and without cure of souls, the incumbents whereof have made returns to our inquiries, omitting those which are permanently or accustomably annexed to superior preferments, and which are included in the statements respecting those preferments, is ten thousand four hundred and ninety-eight; the total amount of the gross annual revenues of which benefices is three million one hundred and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and fifty pounds, affording an average of three hundred and four pounds; and the total amount of the net annual revenues of the same is three million three hundred and ninety-three pounds, affording an average of two hundred and eighty-five pounds.

The total number of benefices with and without cure of souls in England and Wales, including those not returned to us, is ten thousand seven hundred and one; the total gross income of which, calculated from the average of those returned will be three million two hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-two pounds, and the total net income thereof will be three million fifty-eight thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds.

The total number of curates employed both by resident and non-resident incumbents returned to us is five thousand two hundred and eighty-two, whose annual stipends in the aggregate amount to four hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-six pounds, affording an average annual stipend of eighty pounds; and the total amount of the stipends of curates, if one hundred and two be assumed as the proportionate number on the benefices not returned, and the same be calculated on the average of those returned to us, will be four hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six pounds.

From a scale which we have prepared of the benefices with cure of souls returned to us, it appears that there are two hundred and ninety-four, the incomes of which are respectively under fifty pounds; one thousand six hundred and twenty-one of fifty pounds, and under one hundred pounds; one thousand five hundred and ninety-one of one hundred pounds, and under one hundred and fifty pounds; one thousand three hundred and fifty-five of one hundred and fifty pounds, and under two hundred pounds; one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four of two hundred pounds, and under three hundred pounds; one thousand three hundred and seventeen of three hundred pounds, and under four hundred pounds; eight hundred and thirty of four hundred pounds, and under five hundred pounds; five hundred and four of five hundred pounds, and under six hundred pounds; three

hundred and thirty-seven of six hundred pounds, and under seven hundred pounds; two hundred and seventeen of seven hundred pounds, and under eight hundred pounds; one hundred and twenty-nine of eight hundred pounds, and under nine hundred pounds; ninety-one of nine hundred pounds, and under one thousand pounds; one hundred and thirty-seven of one thousand pounds, and under one thousand five hundred pounds; thirty-one of one thousand five hundred pounds, and under two thousand pounds; and eighteen of two thousand pounds and upwards.

The number of sinecure rectories returned to us, and which sinecure rectories are included in the number of benefices above stated, is sixty-two; the aggregate gross annual revenues of which amount to eighteen thousand six hundred and twenty-two pounds, affording an average of three hundred pounds, and the aggregate net annual revenues of the same amount to seventeen thousand and ninety-five pounds, affording an average of two hundred and seventy-five pounds.

We regret that it is not at present practicable to offer a full explanation of the various items which compose the difference between the gross and net amounts; but, to prevent misapprehension, we think it advisable to observe, that no deduction is made from income on account of payments to curates, nor for the reparations of episcopal residences, or of glebe houses and offices, nor on account of payments of rates and taxes for the same, nor has any deduction been made on account of arrears due at the time of making the returns, or of any payments not being of a compulsory nature.

The returns of income have been generally made upon an average of three years, ending December the thirty-first, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one.

Received this day of June, 1834.

W. CANTUAR.	(L. S.)	C. W. W. WYNN.	(L. S.)
E. EBOR.	(L. S.)	J. NICHOLL.	(L. S.)
LANSDOWNE.	(L. S.)	N. C. TINDAL.	(L. S.)
HARROWBY.	(L. S.)	E. J. LITTLETON.	(L. S.)
C. J. LONDON.	(L. S.)	S. LUSHINGTON.	(L. S.)
J. LINCOLN.	(L. S.)	G. CHANDLER.	(L. S.)
C. BANGOR.	(L. S.)	CHR. WORDSWORTH.	(L. S.)
WYNFORD.	(L. S.)	JOSEPH ALLEN.	(L. S.)
W. S. BOURNE.	(L. S.)	CHAS. THORP.	(L. S.)
H. GOULBURN.	(L. S.)	HUGH C. JONES.	(L. S.)

Dated this 16th day of June, 1834.

CHIMNEY SWEEPERS ACT.

THE Act, 28 Geo. III., c. 48, for the better regulation of chimney sweepers and their apprentices, being deemed insufficient for its object, a new act has been passed in the late session, of which the following are the most important provisions:—

No child under ten years of age is to be apprenticed to a chimney sweeper; and all chimney sweepers who take apprentices are to be householders. The indentures of boys under ten years of age are to be void, unless executed prior to the passing of the act; and apprentices under fourteen are to be designated by a brass plate on a leathern cap, under a penalty, exigible from their masters, of not more than five pounds nor less than forty shillings: there are also penalties on chimney sweepers employing boys under fourteen, not apprentices: and persons persuading or compelling any one to ascend a chimney-flue for the purpose of extinguishing fire, may be indicted for a misdemeanour.

With a view to prevent or restrain the cruelties hitherto so common, it is provided, that all binding or assignment of children as apprentices to chimney sweepers, shall only take place with the consent of two justices of the peace. Boys are not to be let out on hire: but before being bound as apprentices, they may make trial of the business for any period not exceeding two months; and if, on being brought to be examined, they should express their reluctance to be bound, the justices of the peace are to withhold their assent to the signing of the indentures. *The streets are also not to be hawked or called, as they have been, by chimney sweepers, under a penalty of forty shillings.*

But the most important provision of the act, in so far as the public are concerned, is the eighteenth section, which relates to the future construction of all chimneys and flues. It is enacted, that in every chimney and flue which shall be erected or re-built after the passing of the act, the withs and partitions shall be of brick or stone, and at least equa half a brick in thickness; every breast, back, and with, or partition, is to be of sound materials, and the joints of the work well-filled in with mortar or cement, and rendered or stuccoed within; and every chimney or flue of greater length than four feet out of any wall, not being a circular chimney or flue of twelve inches in diameter, must be in every section not less than fourteen inches by nine; nor shall any chimney or flue be constructed with an angle less obtuse than one hundred and twenty degrees, while every salient or projecting angle is to be rounded off four inches at the least. The penalty on the builder for violation of these provisions is *one hundred pounds*. Chimneys or flues, however, may be built at angles with each other of ninety degrees, they having proper doors or openings not less than six inches square.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AMENDMENT ACT.

ON the 30th of July last, an act was passed, entitled "An Act to amend an Act of the Tenth Year of his late Majesty, George the Fourth, to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Friendly Societies." The act which is thus amended (the 10 Geo. IV., c. 56), was passed on the 19th of June, 1829. An abstract of its provisions may be seen in the 'Companion to the Almanac' for the year 1830.

The 10 Geo. IV., c. 56, established and defined the objects for which Friendly Societies may be formed. These were, the mutual relief and maintenance of the members, their wives and children, or other relations, in sickness, infancy, advanced age, widowhood, or any other natural state or contingency, of which the occurrence is susceptible of calculation by way of average. The amendment act *extends* these objects, by including the *nominees* of members, and adds, "*for any other purpose which is not illegal.*" But it provides, that when the rules of a Society furnish relief in any other cases than those of sickness, infancy, advanced age, widowhood, or other natural state or contingency, then *the contributions for such purpose shall be kept separate and distinct*, or else the expenses *defrayed by extra subscriptions of the members at the time such contingencies take place.*

Sections 4, 6, and 7 of 10 Geo. IV., c. 56, relating to the sanctioning and filing of rules of friendly societies, are repealed. In their stead, it is provided that two transcripts of all rules, signed by three members, and countersigned by the clerk or secretary, are to be transmitted to the barrister-at-law for savings banks, in England—to the Lord Advocate, or his depute, in Scotland—and to the barrister appointed by the Attorney-General, in Ireland, according as the societies are in either of the three kingdoms. The barrister, &c. is to certify both transcripts; one is to be returned to the society, the other to the clerk of the peace; and the justices are, as a matter of course, to confirm the rules. The clerk of the peace is to file the transcript transmitted to him, the rules being binding when certified by the barrister. This amendment simplifies and facilitates the former method of obtaining a legal sanction to the rules of friendly societies. It was formerly in the power of the justices to withhold their assent, if they did not think that the rules proposed could be adopted with safety to all parties.

Section 20 of the former act provided that "the executors, administrators, or assignees of bankrupts or insolvents, shall pay money due to friendly societies before any other debts." This is repealed; and it is enacted that executors, &c. of officers of friendly societies are to pay money due to the society before any other debt, *within forty days after demand.*

Section 30, which provided that the "funds of any friendly society may be subscribed into a savings bank," is also repealed; and it is provided that the funds of friendly societies may be deposited in savings banks, subject to the operation of the 9th of Geo. IV. c. 92, entitled, "An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Savings Banks," except so much as *restricts the amount to be invested by any society*, which restriction is repealed.

Sections 35 and 36 of the former act, requiring clerks of the peace to transmit certain returns relating to friendly societies to the Secretary of State, and imposing the penalty of forfeiture of privileges on any friendly society which did not make the returns, are repealed.

The returns of sickness and mortality are to be made to

the barrister or advocate by whom the rules have been certified, and by him transmitted to the Secretary of State.

If the rules of a society direct reference, in case of dispute, to arbitration, and the society refuse to grant arbitrators, justices of the peace may determine the dispute; and in case a member is expelled, the arbitrators or justices may order him or her to be reinstated, or award a compensation out of the society's funds.

Members of friendly societies may be witnesses in any cause respecting the property, &c., of any enrolled society. No fee is to be paid for oaths taken before magistrates, in order to obtain payment of sick money. Letters to and from barristers are to be free of postage; and provisions of former statutes are to continue in force as to societies established under them, until they shall conform to the provisions of 10 Geo. IV. c. 56, as amended by the present act, although they may not have conformed to them within the time limited. Also, if a society enrolled under acts repealed by 10 Geo IV. c. 56, be desirous of altering their rules, it may be done in conformity to that act.

KNIGHTS OF THE BATH.

A RETURN respecting the Knights of the Bath has been printed by order of the House of Commons, containing an account of the several sums charged against them, under the heads of salaries, fees, or emoluments of any description. The following is an abstract:—

Since 1812 there has not been any formal installation in Westminster Abbey; but the Sovereign has been pleased to issue warrants, dispensing with the rites and ceremonies directed by the statutes, and granting to the Knights-Grand-Crosses all the privileges which would have belonged to them if actually installed. But in the year 1820, a statute was issued by his late Majesty, George the Fourth, declaring the liability of the Knights-Grand-Crosses to the payment of the fees on their nomination to the order, and ordaining that the fees incidental to installation should be paid by every Knight-Grand-Cross whose installation should be dispensed with, in the same manner as if he had been personally installed, according to the prescribed rites and ceremonies.

The last ten Knights-Grand-Crosses who have been nominated to the order, have (with the exception of Lord Ponsonby, who is absent on the king's service at Constantinople) paid their nomination fees. These fees, in the case of each knight, amount to 164*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* They are apportioned as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
To the Dean of the Order	22	6	8
Genealogist	22	0	0
Bath King of Arms	22	0	0
Registrar	22	0	0
Secretary	22	0	0
Gentleman Usher	22	0	0
Messenger	18	13	4
Bath King of Arms, for the book of statutes	6	13	4
Secretary, for notice of election	6	13	4
Seal of the Order to the book of the statutes	0	10	6
	£164	17	2

The Dean of Westminster, as such, is Dean of the Order. He has no salary; and the above sum of 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is payable to him on the nomination of a Grand-Cross, is divided between the dean and prebendaries of Westminster, according to their ancient practice of dividing the fees. The dean and chapter also receive, at the installation of each knight, the sum of 6*l.* 11*s.*—viz., offering at the altar, 5*l.* 10*s.*, and for redemption of the sword, 1*l.* 1*s.*—which is given to charitable purposes. The knight also gives to the alms-men 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Genealogist and Bath King of Arms hold their offices by letters-patent. Their salaries, exclusive of fees, are—

	£	s.	d.
Genealogist, and Blanc-coursier Herald	103	8	4
Bath and Gloucester King of Arms	102	17	6

The offices of Registrar and Secretary are held by one individual: the united salaries amount to 150*l.* 15*s.*

The Gentleman Usher of the Red Rod, as such, holds also the office of Brunswick Herald, under letters-patent. He receives a salary of 93*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Messenger of the Order has a salary of 34*l.* This officer, being by the statutes directed to collect and distribute the fees, receives, in addition, five per cent. from the other officers.

The second and third classes of the Order of the Bath—viz., the Knights-Commanders and Companions—are charged, according to a regulation made when the order was enlarged, in 1815, the following fees: a Knight-Commander, 21*l.* 19*s.*; and a Companion, 6*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* These fees are apportioned as follows:—

Knight-Commander.

	£	s.	d.
For his escocheon, or plate of armorial ensigns, to be affixed in Westminster Abbey	8	0	0
For banner, emblazoned in silk, to be placed over the plate	5	10	0
Recording the pedigree of family, &c.	7	8	0
Copy of the rules and ordinances	1	1	0
	£21	19	0

Companion.

	£	s.	d.
For escocheon, or plate	3	0	0
Recording military services in the books	2	16	8
Copy of Rules	1	1	0
	£6	17	8

In addition to the Bath King of Arms, there is an officer of arms attendant upon the Knights-Commanders and Companions. There is also a secretary; but neither of these officers has any salary or fee.

In the event of a Knight-Commander not having his family pedigree previously entered in the College of Arms, he has to pay, in addition to the fees of 21*l.* 19*s.*, the sum of 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* to the officer of arms, whose business it is to record it.

HOUSE OF COMMONS' LIBRARY.

REPORT of the Standing Committee appointed on the 26th day of February last to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the Library; to whom were referred all matters relating thereto.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	The Lord Advocate.
Mr. Spring Rice.	Mr. Williams Wynn.
Sir Robert Peel.	Mr. Warburton.
Mr. Littleton.	Lord Viscount Clive.
Sir Henry Hardinge.	Mr. Stewart Mackenzie.
Dr. Lushington.	Mr. Wm. Ewart Gladstone.
Mr. Goulburn.	Mr. Tooke.
Mr. Frederick Shaw.	Colonel Fox.

Your committee feel great satisfaction in commencing their Report, by stating to the House the arrival of a large and valuable accession of books to their collection, as a present from the French government. The House will recollect that, in furtherance of a recommendation of the select committee of 1832, the journals and a set of papers printed by order of this House were transmitted to France, as the commencement of an interchange which it was considered desirable to establish and to maintain with the government of that country, with respect to the papers and journals ordered to be printed by the administrative and legislative bodies of the two kingdoms. The volumes, the receipt of which is now announced to the House, form the first return which has been made to England.

Your committee congratulate the House on the advantages derived by the enlargement of the space allotted to the library subsequently to the Report of 1832; by which Report, indeed, a still more considerable enlargement had been recommended. The library is now so much more frequented than at any former period, that the original room would probably have been crowded to a degree which would have rendered it comparatively useless.

The catalogue has been re-arranged; a measure rendered necessary by the great increase of books purchased in consequence of the recommendation of the select committee of 1832, and is now ready for publication.

A general index to the bills, reports, and accounts and

papers which have severally been ordered to be printed by the House of Commons from 1801 to 1832 has been printed, pursuant to the recommendation of the same committee. The general utility of such index, indeed, its absolute necessity, has been felt by almost every member who takes part in the business of the House. Your committee recommend that Messrs. Hansards be directed to pursue the same plan for the formation of a general index to the sessional papers printed by order of the House, as that followed by the librarian in regard to the general index to the journals; so that, at any period, when the papers ordered to be printed by the House shall have assumed such a bulk as to be difficult of reference by annual indexes, a similar publication may be ready for printing; and thus when such convenience may be deemed expedient, the delay otherwise incident to the completion of a general index may be found to have been avoided.

Considerable progress has been made in the index to the local and personal acts; the completion of which index was also recommended by the committee of 1832. It is probable that by the close of next session it may be in such a forward state as to be ready for the press.

The value of the arranged series of reports from 1801 to 1826 has been so generally appreciated, that your committee have directed that this series should be completed to the end of the present session. As in these reports (to quote the words of the committee of 1832) 'there is much valuable information rendered unavailable, from the absence of any means of reference to the appendixes thereto, your committee recommend that an index to such materials from 1800 to the close of the present session be compiled, similar to that subjoined by Messrs. Hansards to the collection of reports dated prior to 1800, and printed in 15 vols. folio.' This index, extended to the present session, might be accompanied by such notices of the reports themselves as would form a general means of reference to the whole series, comprehending not less than 200 volumes.

Your Committee are induced to state, that by a recent arrangement all papers presented in pursuance of orders or of addresses to the House, are deposited in the library during the current session, in order to facilitate access to such as are not at once ordered to be printed. This regulation is particularly offered to the attention of the House, as the ready inspection afforded by this arrangement may frequently either prevent the printing papers which do not contain the information sought, or may present the opportunity of abstracting from bulky returns all which may be necessary for the use of the House. This plan, it is hoped, has already had some effect in diminishing the quantity of printing.

Your Committee have come to the following resolutions in respect to the future management of the library, and of the rooms appropriated to it:—

1st, That no other committee, except the Committee of Privileges, be, under any circumstances, permitted to sit in the library.

2d, That no strangers be, under any circumstances, permitted to be in the library, from the time when Mr. Speaker takes the chair to the rising of the House; peers not being included in this restriction, nor strangers under special permission in writing from Mr. Speaker.

3d, That memoranda of works which members may think desirable for the House to possess, be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose by the librarian; and that no book be received into the library except such as may be presented by or through his Majesty's government, or through the Library Committee.

The reasons against the present almost indiscriminate admission of strangers are obvious: the library, instead of being restricted to its legitimate purposes, has sometimes been used for the assembling of deputations: and with respect even to individual strangers, it is difficult to enforce the existing rule (which directs, that parties introduced by one member into the library, shall leave the rooms with him), since they have often addressed themselves to other members, with whom they were unacquainted, for the purposes of requesting permission to continue in the rooms under their sanction: and, there is reason to believe, that the conversations incident to the admission or the presence of strangers, is itself an inconvenience to the majority of members; since, without reference to any other consideration, the rooms, notwithstanding the enlarged accommodation lately given, are sometimes scarcely sufficient for members themselves. Your Committee have directed that a copy of these rules be left with the messenger of the library, and that he be directed to enforce the same.

The Select Committee of 1825, which recommended the building of the existing library, determined also, in the plan on which they decided, that the librarian should have some accommodation in part of the proposed building. This arrangement was not adopted, a different plan altogether being preferred on other grounds entirely irrespective of the expediency or inexpediency of granting this accommodation to the librarian.

In consequence of the necessary attendance of the librarian from the hour of ten in the morning till the final rising of the House, at whatever hour that may be; and of the library not being closed during the recess of parliament, except for the period of two months, during a portion of which time his presence is likewise necessary; it is the opinion of your Committee, that apartments or a house in the immediate vicinity should be provided for his residence, partly as a reasonable convenience on account of the severity of his duties, and partly to insure his presence at any moment when his attendance may be considered necessary, such accommodation being afforded to the librarian of the House of Lords, for similar reasons.*

Your Committee, in closing their First Report to the House, feel it to be their duty to express their entire satisfaction with the conduct of Mr. Vardon, as librarian; his diligence, punctuality of attendance, and efficient discharge of all his duties in that office, having contributed greatly, in their judgment, to the public usefulness of the establishment.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL RELATIVE TO THE CHINA AND INDIA TRADE.

THESE orders, issued by his Majesty in conformity with the provisions of the late Acts for the regulation of the government and trade of India, are four in number, as they appear in a return printed among the parliamentary papers; but the fourth merely goes to rescind the second. The first, which is dated 9th Dec., 1833, prescribes regulations for the government of the king's subjects at Canton. It is ordered, that all the powers and authorities which, on the 21st of April, 1834, shall be by law vested in the supra-cargoes of the East India Company, over the trade and commerce of the port of Canton, shall be thereafter vested in the superintendents for the time being, appointed under the Act of Parliament which declares the trade free. The various regulations, penalties, and forfeitures enforced by the East India Company's supra-cargoes are to continue in operation under the superintendents, unless specifically interfered with or abolished by the Act of Parliament. The superintendents are to compile and publish these regulations for the information of all concerned; and on the arrival of any British ship or vessel at the port of Canton, are to cause a copy to be delivered to the commander or principal officer.

This order is declared to be provisional, and only to continue in force until further arrangements can be made.

The second order, bearing the same date (9th Dec. 1833), related to the imposing of duties on tonnage and goods in British ships trading to Canton, but, as has been mentioned above, it has been set aside by a subsequent order.

The third order, also of 9th Dec., 1833, creates a court of justice at Canton. By the act for regulating the trade to China and India, it is provided that it shall be lawful for his Majesty in council to create a court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offences committed by his Majesty's subjects within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and the ports and havens thereof, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China; which court may be held at Canton, or on board any British ship or vessel in the port of Canton.

The practice and proceedings of this court, it is declared in the present order, are to be similar to what obtains in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery, in [illegible] land, regard being had to difference of local circumstances. Trials are to take place before the chief superintendent for the time being, and a jury of twelve men, [illegible] learned—if are to be examined, *viva voce*, in open court, [illegible] opinions for [illegible] for them, not according to the [illegible] ople, but according to the [illegible] for this purpose. [illegible] sts, which may,

* The Committee on Official Houses have

and most probably will, be contrary to that of the people at large. The best security for a government like this, for the legislature, for the crown, and generally for the public peace and public morals, is, that the whole community should be well informed upon its political as well as its other interests; and it can be well informed only by having access to wholesome, sound, and impartial publications. Therefore they will and ought to read the news of the day, political discussions, political events, the debates of their representatives in Parliament, and of the other house of Parliament; and on not one of these heads can any paper be published, daily or weekly, without coming under the stamp law; consequently the people at large are excluded, by the dear form in which alone the respectable publishers can afford it, while they pay the duty. They can only have it in a cheap form by purchasing of publishers of another description, who break the revenue-law by paying for no stamps, and also break all other laws by the matter they publish. If, instead of newspapers being sold for 6*d.* or 1*s.*, they could be sold for 1*d.*, I have no manner of doubt there would immediately follow the greatest possible improvement in the tone and temper of the political information of the people, and therefore of the political character and conduct of the people. It is my decided and deliberate opinion, from very long and anxious consideration, that the danger is not of the people learning too much, but knowing too little. It is no longer a question whether they shall read or not; it is no longer a question whether they shall be instructed or not; it is no longer a question whether they shall be politicians, and take part in the discussions of their own interests, or not; that is decided long ago. The only question to answer, and the only problem to solve, is, how they shall read in the best manner; how they shall be instructed politically, and have political habits formed the most safe for the constitution of the country, and the best for their own interests. I can devise no other means than making that accessible at a cheap rate which at present they must have at a rate they cannot afford, without having it bad as well as cheap. I wish to give it them both cheap and wholesome.

"Would, in your Lordship's opinion, increasing the severity of the law against unstamped periodical works have a tendency to suppress them?—I think, if it had a tendency at all, it would be a contrary tendency; I think it would be *brutum fulmen* if it were made a capital felony, as I have seen it not very wisely proposed in some quarters; no jury would convict at all. You cannot discover them, and they will never convict them.

"Has it fallen under your Lordship's observation whether taking off the stamps from newspapers would seriously injure the revenue?—That is undoubtedly the great difficulty, and I have reason to think that is one of the two only difficulties which prevent the measure from being adopted; the other is the apprehension, that when this impediment is removed, there will spring up an unlimited increase of penny publications of a profligate description, on political and religious subjects. My opinion decidedly is, that no such consequence would ensue; a great number would spring up, and a great number would speedily fall. An established newspaper has a great advantage over the new comer; the 'Morning Chronicle' or 'The Times,' the 'Morning Herald' or the 'Morning Post,' coming down to 3*d.* would have infinite advantages over any other; they have possession of the field; the proprietors are men of credit, and I am sure they are actuated by a feeling too liberal to wish to put forward their claims to anything like monopoly. But in the next place, though a great number of new papers would arise, I cannot conceive that more libellous, blasphemous, or obscene publications would or could arise than exist at present; for those publications have already been established, and the tendency of the change could only be to raise a competition against those publications, that is, the competition of respectable writers. At present I should say those publications have a better chance than they could under a law abolishing the stamp; for at present they have the means of excluding, by their lawless habits, respectable men from all competition with them; they have therefore the benefit of the stamp; the others do not wish to run the risk of a breach of the revenue laws, and therefore abstain from that competition; so that the stamp operates to narrow the competition, and so give the lawless trader a monopoly in the market of blasphemy, treason, and ribaldry. I hold it to be as clear a proposition as any in finance, that if you abolish the stamp on newspapers, instead of increasing the facility to set up libellous publications, you greatly lessen it by increasing the number of good publications, and by destroying the monopoly in the hands of reckless men, who neither mind the old law of the land nor a breach of the stamp laws. Then, the other observation to which my attention is directed is a very material one. I cannot give so decided an answer to that—namely, the injury to the revenue; but after much attention, my opinion is, that there would be no very material injury to the revenue. In the first place, there would be a great increase of publications, that must of course increase the amount of the excise on paper; but that which is at present a great injury to commerce, the expense of advertisements, would be greatly diminished; for the increased number of papers would tend beyond all question to diminish the price of advertising. No newspaper at present can avoid exacting, and according to the amount of circulation of these great London publications they do exact, large sums for inserting advertisements. The stamp is now only 1*s.* 6*d.*; it is not, consequently, this tax which obstructs advertisers; but if you take a paragraph to a well-circulated newspaper, they make their own bargain; they take a couple of guineas for an advertisement of one size, and a guinea or half-a-guinea for a very small advertisement. No doubt taking away the stamp may perhaps not be very beneficial to those great newspapers, but I think they would gain in other ways as much as they lost in this; and at any rate I must look to the interest of the consumer, and not of the grower. In America, where no stamp exists, the proportion of newspapers to the population is twenty or thirty to one more than in this country; and in the Norman islands in this Channel, where they have no stamp, it is fifteen to one. We should have papers in something of that proportion; I think that it would tend to diminish the expense of advertisements, and therefore greatly increase the revenue derived from thence; nobody will grudge the 1*s.* 6*d.* expense to government.

"Have not those persons who have had the monopoly of the newspaper circulation, who have circulated their papers without stamps, all failed, while those who have circulated their papers with stamps have almost all succeeded?—I believe so; and I am happy to think that is the case. I found that of the great number I have referred to, in six months there were not more than a very few; but then I must say this in fairness, that where one goes down another rises up; for the thing which prevents such a newspaper going on is the Stamp-office account, which is heavy, being a ready-money account, and they are not able to meet it. So far as the carrying it on depends upon their own exertions they can get on, but the Stamp-office exacts ready-money most rigorously. They have no doubt a ready-money trade to meet that; but then they buy a greater number of stamps than they can sell; they may buy 500 stamps and sell 250 papers, and that is a dead loss; therefore those persons are constantly starting new papers who have no stamps to burden them. I have seen a great number of these papers officially; as I have sometimes been asked whether they ought not to be proceeded against; and the first thing I look at is the number, whether it is No. 50, or No. 10,000; but they seldom come to 100; they are generally under 50; and hence it follows, as they are weekly publications, that they have not often lasted out the year.

"There is a disregard of property by these persons, who are in the nature of smugglers.—They are persons almost as reckless of their own interests as of the rights of others.

"Your Lordship has had some experience of the state of mind of the labouring classes of the people of England. Supposing good matter, wholesome matter, put before the people, and at the same price, and no lower and no higher than bad matter—blasphemy, obscenity, and so forth—does your Lordship's knowledge of the education and state of mind of the people enable you to say which they would prefer?—I have not a doubt about it. It is in vain to say that some persons would prefer obscene matter, and some ribaldry, and some blasphemy: it would be but an insignificant portion of the whole country. The bulk, who are innocently and morally disposed, are more or less respectable, and would be ashamed to bring this trash to their cottages where their wives and children are; nay, I believe that they would not desire to read it themselves. I have had much intercourse with the people of all ranks, from the lowest to the middle ranks; I never entertained the least fear of them, even when most excited; I never have

known things in a state in which I had any fear of the people, either of their morals or their loyalty, or their peaceable disposition, which is natural to Englishmen; and those only can be afraid of them who, unfortunately for both parties, are exceedingly ignorant of the people. Those who know them as much as I do, must know that they are very much the reverse of an object of dread, or distrust, or suspicion; that they are generally morally and peaceably disposed, and I should say very much disposed to respect and submit to those above them. Even the trades' unions do not offer, to my mind, any material exception; for I believe they have in many cases had grievances to complain of, and that they have erred in not taking the right way to get redress, by trusting to selfish, dishonest leaders, and by being imperfectly informed upon their own interests. I state my opinion as the result of a large practical experience, having had an intimate knowledge of the people in every way, and the more I have known, the less apprehension I have had about them. I have therefore not a doubt in answering the question in the affirmative. I must also add, that I am quite certain if the stamp were taken away, where we circulate useful information to the extent of thousands, we should circulate useful information to the extent of millions; for we have been trying to get useful publications not only into parts of the country where men are gregarious—the manufacturing districts, in which they naturally and easily read—but into farm-houses and cottages, where the case is different. The great difficulty is to get the peasants to read—first, because they do not work together; and next, because people working in the open air are sleepy when they come home; but in long winter nights, when they are not so hard worked, and have much more spare time, it is particularly desirable that they should not have recourse to beer-shops or to bad publications. It would be of great advantage if we could furnish them with publications that have a tendency to make men good members of society, rather than those which are now propagated and are read by great numbers, teaching them that the most infamous of characters—a man, for instance, who is about to be executed for the foulest murder—from the moment he becomes converted to some particular spiritual doctrine, is safe from retribution in another world. I cannot conceive a more pernicious doctrine; and all which is said about absolution in the Catholic church is not one whit worse, even in its abuse, and I know it is very much abused. Those publications which are in farm-houses, to my knowledge, for want of better, teach that if a man commit murder, and will only afterwards become a fanatic, he is in acceptance with Heaven, and his murder forgiven him! If a man can have in his cottage, at a cheap rate, accounts of the debates, which they look to with great interest, and which it is their duty as well as their interest to read,—the proceedings in courts of justice, which they also are delighted with reading,—if, in addition to these departments, commonly called the news of the day, we could circulate four pages more, which could be done for a penny without that pernicious stamp duty, we might give the cottager for a penny a newspaper with wholesome general information, which might be of use to him in various ways, besides giving him all the intelligence of the week. I am quite certain that this would be the effect of repealing the stamp."

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

East India Accounts.—In the 'Companion' for August, we gave an abstract of the revenues and charges of India, for four years preceding the year 1833. We now give an abstract of the last annual account, made up to 1st May, 1834, with some additional particulars respecting compensation to the Company's servants, &c.

Annual Account made up to 1st May, 1834.

Receipts.	£.	s.	d.
Political and Territorial branch:—viz., Bills from India on account of supplies to the public service, net produce of bullion received from India and China, &c.	1,028,732	13	4
Commercial branch:—viz., Company's Goods, Charges and Customs on private trade, and numerous other items	6,888,817	2	8
Realization of Commercial Assets	1,881,492	14	1
Balance in favour, 1st May, 1833, (exclusive of Duty on Tea)	2,460,048	1	1
Total	£12,259,090	11	2

Payments.			
Territorial:—viz., Bills of Exchange from India for principal and interest of India Debt, Military, Civil Establishment, &c. &c.	2,806,777	12	11
Commercial:—Customs, Freight, Charges General, &c.	3,679,411	8	1
Paid into the Bank of England, for the formation of the Security Fund, for the redemption of the Company's dividend	2,000,000	0	0
	£8,486,189	1	0
Balance in favour, 1st May, 1834, (exclusive of Duty on Tea)	3,772,901	10	2
Total	£12,259,090	11	2

Estimate of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Home Treasury of the Company, for the year, 1st May, 1834, to 1st May, 1835:—

Receipts.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of Cash (exclusive of Duty on Tea) Amount expected to be realized from commercial assets within the year, Remittances from India through his Majesty's Government, &c. &c.	8,213,821	0	0
Disbursements.			
Charges, Customs, &c, including Extraordinaries, Compensations, St. Helena, &c. &c.	6,016,838	0	0
Balance in favour, 1st May, 1835	2,196,983	0	0
	£8,213,821	0	0

Statement of the Debts and Assets of the Company, made up to 1st May, 1834:—

Debts.	£.	s.	d.
Debts classed under the head of territorial and political	6,226,005	0	0
N.B. There are claims in dispute, which, if adjudged against the Company, would add to this balance a sum of 200,000*l.*			
Debts classed under the head of Commercial	662,987	0	0
Home Bond Debt, charged upon the revenues of India, by the 9th sec. of the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, principal and interest	3,538,654	0	0
Total Debt	£10,427,646	0	0

Assets.			
Assets, Political and Territorial:—viz., unshipped Stores, Bills of Exchange drawn in the Company's favour unpaid, value of East India College at Haileybury, and Seminary at Addiscombe, floating property, &c.	586,972	0	0
Commercial:—Balance of Cash, Goods sold, not paid for, value of Ships, Sloops, East India House, and Warehouses, &c. &c.	16,877,073	0	0
Security, or Guarantee Fund of the Company, value of Stock, and amount of Cash	2,031,502	0	0
Total Assets	19,495,547	0	0
Total Debt	10,427,646	0	0
Excess of Assets over Debts	£9,067,901	0	0

Compensation.—In addition to the particulars given in last month's 'Companion,' relative to compensations and pensions, we add the following, abstracted from a parliamentary paper, which had not then been printed. The Company's *hoymen*, who are to be discharged, are to receive pensions on the following scale:—

To those having served 10 years, and less than 15,	6*s.* 0*d.* per week.
15, and less than 20	7*s.* 0*d.* ditto.
20, and less than 25	8*s.* 0*d.* ditto.
25, and less than 30	10*s.* 6*d.* ditto.
30, and less than 35	11*s.* 0*d.* ditto.
35, and upwards	11*s.* 6*d.* ditto.

To those hoymen who have served less than ten years, the following gratuities are to be given:—

To those whose service exceeds 6 years	50*l.* each.
Less than 6 years, and more than 2	30*l.* ditto.
Under 2 years	20*l.* ditto.

The seamen of the Company's pilot-sloop, *Diligence*, on being discharged, are to receive pensions and gratuities as follow:—Those who have served ten years, pensions of 6*l.* each per annum, and the remainder, gratuities of 15*l.*, 5*l.*, and 2*l.* 10*s.*, according to the length of their services.

The housekeepers' establishment, in Leadenhall Street, is re-

duced to two. The two housekeepers who retire are allowed pensions of 75*l.* and 50*l.*

Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies.—The sums received and paid on account of Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies, in Great Britain and Ireland, from 6th August, 1817, to 20th November, 1833, inclusive; made up pursuant to 9 Geo. IV. c. 92, s. 48.

From Aug. 6, 1817, to Nov. 20, 1833.	Amount of all sums received from Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies, including interest placed to their credit.	Amount of all sums paid to Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies, including interest.	Amount of interest received by the Commissioners.	Amount of interest paid to Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Great Britain	21,219,912 18 4	6,857,825 2 2	5,401,114 16 4	6,404,700 0 4
Ireland	3,331,577 13 7	1,953,322 2 0	346,143 8 5	427,365 11 0
Total .....£	24,551,490 11 11	8,811,147 4 2	5,747,258 4 9	6,832,065 11 4

The sums paid in, and drawn for, by the trustees of Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies, in Great Britain and Ireland, from 9th February, 1833, to 1st March, 1834, amount to:—Principal paid in, 1,100,999*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; Principal drawn, 588,591*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

Russian-Dutch Loan.—An account of the sums paid and applied within the year 1833, on account of the Russian-Dutch loan:—

1833. Dr.	Interest in Florins.	Total in Florins.
Jan. 1. To balance due this day		20,750,000
June 30. To half a year's interest on 250,000 florins, the amount of sinking fund paid 4th July, 1833 . .	6,250	
Dec. 31. To one year's interest to this date on 20,500,000 florins, remaining due after payment of 250,000 florins sinking fund on the 4th July, 1833 .	1,025,000	
Florins .	1,031,250	20,750,000
1833. Cr.		
July 4. By amount of remittance to Messrs. Hope and Co. of Amsterdam, agents of the Russian government . . .		250,000
By half a year's interest on 250,000 florins	6,250	
Dec. 24. By amount of remittance to Amsterdam of one year's interest at 5 per cent. on the 20,500,000 florins due	1,025,000	
By balance due on 1st Jan. 1834 .		20,500,000
Florins .	1,031,250	20,750,000

The amount of the preceding remittances, according to the rate of exchange when the remittances were made to Amsterdam, was in sterling money	£106,770 16 8
Paid Mr. Pemberton, as agent, for paying the Russian-Dutch loan	300 0 0
	£107,070 16 8

Stationery and Printing.—Statement of the several arrangements made by the Treasury, in 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834, in regard to the charges made by the king's stationer in Ireland, the king's printer in England, the printers for the two Houses of Parliament, and by the king's printers and stationers for Scotland; and in regard also to the expense of printing at the printing press of the Excise Office. This is the title of a parliamentary paper, of which the following is a brief abstract:—

King's stationer in Ireland. Arrangements were made in the beginning of the year 1830, with Sir A. B. King, the king's stationer in Ireland, for the surrender of his patent, and for placing the supply of stationery under the control of the Stationery Office in London. For the three years preceding the surrender of the patent, the annual expense was 22,263*l.*, and during the three years which followed, it did not exceed 7488*l.* annually.

At the beginning of the year 1831, an inquiry was instituted into the expenses of printing for the Government Offices and the two Houses of Parliament. It appeared that the parliamentary printers supplied the paper required, and added the expense of commission to the first cost. It was, therefore, directed by the Treasury, that the paper should thenceforward be supplied by the Stationery Office, and a saving has been effected in consequence, during the two years which have succeeded the arrangement, to the amount of upwards of 32,000*l.*

Arrangements were entered into with the king's printers for Scotland, for the surrender of that part of their patent which conferred the right of supplying the public departments in that country with acts of parliament, stationery, printing, and binding. This negociation has been completed, and the supply of the articles hitherto furnished under the patent was transferred from the 1st January, 1834, to the Stationery Office, London. The annual amount of the supplies under the patentees had been 10,500*l.*; but the vote for this head of service, in the present session, was only 4500*l.*, and as it is supposed that this will completely cover all charges, it is estimated that the saving effected will amount to 6000*l.* yearly.

The whole of the charges made for the different descriptions of printing work, have undergone revision, which has been a work of difficulty and complexity. A new adjustment of prices has been effected, by which, during the sessions 1832 and 1833, a saving was accomplished on the charges for printing the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons, to the extent of 40 per cent. The effect of the new arrangement on the bills of the king's printers for the House of Lords, and of the printers for the House of Commons, during the same period, was only partial; but on their accounts for the present session, it will effect a saving of 20 per cent. on those of the former, and 25 per cent. on those of the latter.

The arrangements that have been made will considerably reduce the cost of acts of parliament, both to the government offices and to the public at large. Indeed, all acts of parliament, of whatever dates, will now be procured at one-half of the former prices. The acts of parliament promulgated in 1832 amounted to 1,088,141 sheets, and were charged at the old prices at 12,295*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* The acts promulgated in 1833 amount to 1,100,877 sheets, and were charged, according to the reduced scale of prices, at 6335*l.* 7*s.* 1¾*d.* This shows a saving of 5960*l.* 9*s.* 11¼*d.*, notwithstanding an increase of upwards of 12,000 sheets.

Other regulations have been established, and arrangements entered into, for further reductions: such as the transfer of the printing work of the Customs, Post Office, and Ordnance Office at the Tower; to the private printing establishment of the Excise Office; and the stopping the practice of purchasing articles of stationery, printing, and binding, for the use of the public departments, from private retail tradesmen, who charged double the price at which they could be procured by the Stationery Office. Papers, also, which are presented to parliament by command of his Majesty, are to be printed under the superintendence of the Stationery Office, which will effect a saving of 25 per cent., even upon the reduced charges.

Soap.—The gross revenue derived from soap, from the time of the reduction of the duty until 5th January, 1834, in Great Britain, is 617,015*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*

Loans of Exchequer Bills for Public Works.—There have been allotted for public works, by three different acts of Parliament, the sum of 4,500,000*l.* Of this sum 200,000*l.* is to be deducted for Ireland, leaving 4,300,000*l.* to be distributed in Great Britain, of which 4,230,350*l.* has already been appropriated, leaving in the hands of the commissioners, 69,650*l.* to meet applications to the amount of 385,300*l.* The sum appropriated has been apportioned as follows:—

Canals, rivers, drainage . .	£1,298,100
Harbours, docks . . .	308,000
Bridges, ferries	214,300
Fisheries	33,700
Waterworks	27,000
Roads and railways . . .	905,400
Improvement of cities and towns .	701,050
Collieries and mines . .	303,700
Churches and parish relief . .	69,700
Colleges	108,000
Law courts, gaols, asylums, &c. . .	241,400
	£4,230,350

There has been received on account of principal £1,907,677 11 4
Interest 820,899 14 10

£2,728,577 6 2

The principal outstanding, repayable by instalments, and transferable with interest, from time to time to the Exchequer, amounts to 2,226,372*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Popular Representatives.—The first admission of burgesses and citizens into Parliament occurred with ourselves, as is generally believed, in 1265; the period when deputies were first admitted from the imperial towns into the German Diet, was the year 1293; and the earliest admission of civic representatives into the States-General dates in France from the year 1303. Spain, however, took the lead very considerably in this respect; for we find the admission of deputies from towns in the Cortez of Castille, mentioned as early as in the year 1188. For instance, the Cortez held at Burgos, by Alphonso VIII., consisted of 2 archbishops, 2 bishops, 13 nobles, and 50 *majores* deputed from the various cities and towns in Castille.

Bank of England.—Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, on the average of the quarter, from the 3rd of June to the 26th of August, inclusive.

Liabilities.	
Circulation	£19,147,000
Deposits	15,384,000
	£34,531,000

Assets.	
Securities	£28,679,000
Bullion	8,272,000
	£36,951,000

Post Office Steam-Vessels.—A Parliamentary Paper states that there are 24 steam-vessels in the service of the Post Office, which are thus stationed:—4 between Liverpool and Dublin, 300 tons each, and 140-horse power; 6 between Holyhead and Dublin, 235 tons each, and 100-horse power; 4 between Milford and Waterford, 189 and 237 tons, and 80-horse power; 2 between Portpatrick and Donaghadee, 110 and 130 tons, and 40-horse power; 3 between Weymouth, Jersey and Guernsey, 154 and 156 tons, and 40-horse power; and 5 between Dover, Calais, and Ostend, of 119 tons each, and 40 and 50-horse power. These perform 2293 voyages annually, and consume 30,000 tons of coal.

Oaths.—A Return, laid before the House of Commons, states the number of oaths taken before the Board of Customs, in 1830, to be no fewer than 101,595, and before the Board of Excise 194,612.

French Specie.—A table of the circulation of specie in France, between the years 1661 and 1832, presents the following facts:—

		Francs.
1661, under the Ministry of	Colbert	600,000,000
1708,	Nicholas Desmarets	800,000,000
1754,	De Sechelles	1,600,000,000
1780,	Necker	2,000,000,000
1797,	Ramel	2,200,000,000
Empire,	Mollien	2,300,000,000
1828, Restoration		2,713,000,000
1832,		3,583,000,000

French Clergy.—According to the 'Royal Almanack,' the clergy of France, on 1st January, 1834, were classed and numbered as follow:—Titulary and honorary canons, 1121; rectors, 3241; assisting priests, 24,517; curates, 6289; chaplains, 449; almoners, 943; *prêtres habitues*, 439; priests, directors of seminaries, 1158; total clergy in active service, 40,447.

Population of Wurtemberg.—According to the last census taken in Wurtemberg, the population amounts to 1,578,140 souls, of whom 768,365 are males, and 809,782 females. There are 484,376 Catholics, 1,082,233 Lutherans, 1,338 of the Reformed Church, and 10,670 Jews. Wurtemberg contains, upon an average, 4394 persons for each square mile.

Army of Wurtemberg.—The army of the small kingdom of Wurtemberg consists of 6,977 men as a peace establishment, and 17,349 upon a war footing. It is recruited both by constrained and voluntary enlistment. All the soldiers are eligible to any advancement which may be merited by long and honourable service, or by brilliant actions in time of war. The army is at present organized as follows:—

	Peace.	War.
General Staff	106	142
Infantry, eight regiments	4,440	11,792
Cavalry.		
Staff	11	3
Body Guards	168	180
Chasseurs	50	80
Four regiments	1,416	2,700
Artillery.		
One regiment	522	1,175
Train	132	1,127
Pioneers and Staff of the Quartermaster-general	70	140
	6,977	17,349

The kingdom of Wurtemberg furnishes 13,955 men to the forces of the Germanic Confederation, of which 3,139 form the reserve. These troops are commanded by a general-officer of the nation, and form a division of the 8th Corps of the federal army.—*Mémorial Encyclopédique et Progressif des Connaissances Humaines.*

Specie (United States).—The amount of specie imported into the United States, between the 1st of December, 1833, and the 12th of August, 1834, is 12,653,691 dollars 82 cents; the amount exported is 950,815 dollars 85 cents. This is exclusive of what has been brought in by passengers, or in any other way not entered in the manifests of vessels.

Episcopal Statistics (United States).—Since the Revolution, there have been 30 bishops; 14 are dead, and 16 are now living. Of this number 3 were consecrated in England, 1 in Scotland, 1 by Bishop Provost, and 25 by Bishop White. There are 65 students in the general theological seminary. The Missionary Society has 8 missionaries in the United States, and 2 in Greece. A mission is to be established in China. The number of clergy has increased during 40 years, between 1792 and 1832, from 192 to upwards of 600. In the diocese of New York, the number of clergy is 183, and the congregations 190.

Coinage in India.—The total value of the coinage at the four mints, Calcutta, Benares, Furukhabad, and Saugur, for the period of 31 years, has been 53,322,000 rupees. When the establishment of the New Calcutta Mint was arranged in England, in 1820, it was calculated that a daily coinage of 200,000 pieces would provide for the whole currency on that side of India. That calculation has been found not at all excessive; for the coinage of the Bengal presidency, for the last 18 years, has been 150,000 per diem for 200 working days, and that exclusive of copper money, which would add, in value, nearly 50,000 pieces.

Trade of New South Wales.—The *Sydney Herald* states that 209 vessels, of all classes, employing 3749 men, arrived at the colony with cargoes during the year 1833; and that 192 vessels, employing 3323 men, had been engaged in exporting the produce of the soil and of the fisheries to the mother country and Van Diemen's Land.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

The Select Committee on Public Petitions have issued during the session forty-seven Reports, the last of which is dated August 15, 1834. The following enumeration gives the entire number of the petitions, with the amount of signatures in each case.

	No of Petitions.	No of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
For Vote by Ballot	21	21,652
For Triennial Parliaments	3	1,332
For elucidation of the Reform Bill	4	341
For repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland	462	538,978
Ecclesiastical.		
In support of the Church of England	1,184	155,783
——— ——— Scotland	61	21,839
——— ——— Ireland	320	52,909
Against separation of Church and State	336	49,051
For ditto	63	72,274
Protestant Dissenters, for Relief	1,134	352,910
Against their Claims	495	35,212
Universities Admission Bill	24	2,564
Against ditto	445	41,810
For alteration of Lay Patronage (Scotland)	246	110,699
Against ditto	12	337
For relieving the Bishops from sitting in the House of Lords	5	1,307
Against Tithes (Ireland) Bill	10	10,067
Tithes, for abolition	421	367,032
———, for alteration	10	1,028

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Tithes, Stay of Suits	2	129
———, Commutation Bill, against	6	718
——— on Fish	2	212
For better observance of Lord's Day	722	157,419
For Lord's Day Observance Bill	354	46,994
——— (Scotland)	29	17,798
For Relief of the Jews	13	36,180
Glebe Houses (Ireland)	5	175
Taxes.		
For repeal of the Corn Laws	37	152,819
Against alteration of	148	32,787
For repeal or amendment of Sale of Beer Act	103	16,303
For alteration of	35	50,962
Against Sale of Beer Act Amendment Bill	65	21,007
Spirit Licenses, against increase of duty	17	946
Malt, for repeal of duty on	120	26,508
Against Poor Laws' Amendment Bill	172	16,157
Against Church Rates Bill	144	51,815
For repeal of Assessed Taxes, Window Tax, &c.	11	547
Merchant Seamen, for relief from the Tax to support Greenwich Hospital	19	8,751
Against Stamp Receipt Tax	16	8,992
Against Taxes on Knowledge	5	6,840
Against Reciprocity of Duties Bill	45	6,507
In favour of Poor Laws for Ireland	4	447
For repeal of the Duty on Olive Oil	5	862
Against reduction of Duty on Irish Spirits	2	149
Miscellaneous.		
For inquiry into the causes and extent of Drunkenness	225	57,940
For relief from Agricultural Distress	60	49,117
Hand-loom Weavers, for relief	80	64,728
Linen Weavers, for ditto	8	8,933
For mitigation of severity of Criminal Laws	18	1,001
In favour of Scotch Bankrupt Bill	26	769
Against	3	3
Against Imprisonment for Debt Bill	6	306
In favour of ditto	2	67
For abolition of Imprisonment for Debt	13	1,210
Against Friendly Societies' Bill	9	4,600
For amendment of Laws relating to Friendly Societies	19	1,520
Against Tonnage of Vessels Bill	4	11
Against Merchant Seamen's Registration Bill	4	273
Against Clause in Customs' Bill respecting Bonding of Goods	7	2,540
In favour of Dorchester Convicts, and against Trades Union Prosecutions	70	221,517
For protection against Trades' Unions	87	1,609
Against Naval Impressment	9	13,449
Against Military Flogging	2	8
For abolition of Corporal Punishments in Army and Navy	5	2,267
Schoolmasters, Scotland	48	1,165
For inquiry into the state of the Medical Profession	25	969
In favour of Labourers' Employment Act	48	1,924
Complaining of Beer-houses	4	207
Complaining of Protestant Officers and Soldiers being compelled to attend Mass, &c., in the Colonies	15	806
For compensation for destruction of Jamaica Chapels	6	600
From the inhabitants of Lower Canada	4	78,503
For encouragement of Fisheries	4	595
For inquiry into the state of Irish Fisheries	15	3,856
Against Disturbances Suppression Bill (Ireland)	4	255
Against the employment of Children to sweep Chimneys	32	784
In behalf of the Polish Exiles	11	2,646
For Law Reform (Scotland)	5	3,348
Against the jurisdiction of the Benchers of the Inns of Court	3	2,839
For inquiry into the Pension List	2	522
Arrestment of Wages (Scotland)	2	220
Against Lancaster Court of Common Pleas Bill	6	225
For restrictions on Emigration	6	1,560
For abolition of National Debt	1	59
Corporations, for inquiry	8	12,312
Real Estates (India)	2	740
Trial by Jury (India)	2	503
Hackney and Stage Coach Bill	2	160
Improvement of the port of Limerick	3	606
Against Civil Bill Courts' (Ireland) Bill	1	22
Miscellaneous Petitions, reported since last publication	46	924

Bankruptcy Analysis from August 26 to September 23.

Apothecary, 1; axletree-maker, 1; baker, 1; basket-maker, 1; blank tray-maker, 1; bookseller, 1; brush-makers, 2; builders, 3; calico-printer, 1; cattle-salesmen, 2; clothier, 1: coal-dealers, 2; comb-maker, 1; coach-maker, 1; chemist, 1; cheese-factors, 4; currier, 1; die-sinker, 1; drapers, 3; drysalter, 1; flour-dealer, 1; fringe-manufacturer, 1; grocers, 3; hatters, 2; hardwareman, 1; inn-keepers, 4; iron-founders, 2; linen-drapers, 3; mason, 1; miller, 1; merchants, 6; painter, 1; paper-manufacturer, 1; provision dealer, 1; saddler, 1; salt-merchant, 1; skin-merchant, 1; stock-broker, 1; table-knife manufacturer, 1; tailors, 3; timber-merchant, 1; upholsterer, 1; watch-maker, 1; wine-merchants, 4; woollen-draper, 1. Total, 74. Total from the commencement of the year, 725.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR OCTOBER, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE temporary cessation of legislative proceedings and party contests by the rising of Parliament has left little to make up the political history of the past month.

The most important event in the domestic politics of the month has been the festival held at Edinburgh on Monday, the 15th, in honour of Lord Grey. Probably no minister, in the zenith of his power, ever before received so magnificent a tribute of national regard, as has been paid on this occasion to one who has not only retired from office, but retired from it for ever. The popular enthusiasm manifested both at Edinburgh and wherever else anv of his majesty's ministers have shown themselves since h vorogation of parliament, is a curious commentary on the statements of certain of the London newspapers, who, for some time past, have been day after day assuring us that the recent proceedings, both of the government and the legislature, had excited, all but universally among the people, only feelings of disappointment and indignation.

There has been in the course of the month a good deal of party agitation in Ireland, carried on both by speechifying and through the press. Mr. O'Connell has addressed his countrymen in several long letters; and the members of the Orange, or, as they seem now to prefer calling themselves, the Conservative party, have assembled in considerable force at meetings in Dublin, and delivered themselves of large quantities of very hot and turbulent eloquence in support of order and religion. Meanwhile the Marquis of Downshire has announced his intention of taking upon himself the payment to the clergy of the tithes due from his estates; and a considerable number of other landlords, among whom are several Catholics, have followed the example thus set.

The 'London Gazette' of the 18th of September contains the details of some hostile operations in which the forces of the East India Company had been engaged in March and April last against the Rajah of Coorg. They ended in the complete reduction of this petty potentate, and the annexation of his principality to the dominions of the Company.

SPAIN.

THE discussions in both Chambers of Cortes cannot be accused of having been deficient in animation. The opposition or liberal party has formed in great strength, and has, on one or two occasions, out-voted ministers. Martinez de la Rosa's cabinet is consequently said to be shaken and

about to fall. Whilst admitting the reasonableness of some of the objections to ministerial measures taken by the liberals, it strikes us that the party, as in former times, is somewhat over vehement, impatient, and theoretic, and that it does not sufficiently bear in mind the general sense and feeling of the Spaniards—a people about the least fit in Europe, for sudden changes. The Spaniards are but in their rudiments, and the liberals would treat them as if they were accomplished and natural scholars in political wisdom. We hope, however, that the lessons of experience will not be wholly lost—that it will be remembered that ultra-liberalism contributed almost as much as ultra-royalty to the downfall of the Constitution of 1820, and retarded the progress of national freedom for ten years.

On the 14th of August, Moscoso, the Minister of the Interior, laid a Report on the Condition of the Country before the Cortes. His picture was in some respects rather flattering than correct, but a stricter representation might have been impolitic at the moment, as encouraging enemies and dispiriting friends.

It was made the subject of a severe attack by the opposition, who afterwards accused him of retaining declared Carlists in the subaltern places in his department, to the great embarrassment and injury of the good cause all over the kingdom.

On the following day, the Minister of War presented his official report, which was received with general satisfaction. He stated that since the death of Ferdinand, the military force had been nearly doubled, and that now, including provincials and militia, the Queen has 115,000 men in her service. After reading his report, he informed the Chamber that he had received favourable dispatches from Rodil, importing that Don Carlos had been driven from Navarre to Biscay, and was expected every hour to give up the hopeless contest. The Minister of Marine was under the painful necessity of exposing the miserable, dilapidated state of the Spanish navy. This picture was a most melancholy one. Even so late as 1818, Spain counted sixty-five sail—her fleet now only amounts to twenty-two! Ferdinand bought eight Russian ships, but instead of being kept in a state of efficiency, they were allowed to rot. There are only three ships of the line, and one of these is scarcely sea-worthy. There are four frigates, all old except one, and three sloops of war. The remainder are small craft. The arsenals and dock-yards are in ruins, and unprovided with the materials of naval architecture, &c. There is a want of proper officers, sailors, ship-builders, and of all classes essential to the creation and management of a navy. Such is the present condition of this once great maritime power.

On the 28th of August, the Procuradores or Commons agreed in a petition which may be considered as the basis of a Spanish Bill of Rights. The following are the heads of the twelve articles of which it consists:—

Art. 1. Insures and protects individual liberty.

Art. 2. Establishes the liberty of the press, without a censorship.

Art. 3. Enacts that no Spaniard is to be arrested, prosecuted, or punished, except by proper course of law.

Art. 4. That ex-post-facto laws and special commissions are to be abolished.

Art. 5. That a Spaniard's house is to be sacred.

Art. 6. That the law is to be equal to all Spaniards—not meaning, however, hereby that the privileges of the Proceres or Peers are to be interfered with.

Art. 7. That all Spaniards are to be eligible to places, both civil and military, without any exclusion on the grounds of their not being nobly born.

Art. 8. That all Spaniards shall equally pay taxes, in proportion to their means.

Art. 9. That confiscation be abolished, and property declared sacred;—the two following obligations remaining however in force: 1, that fines legally imposed are to be paid; 2, that individuals are to give up their property to the state in case public utility should require it, on their receiving a just indemnification for the same.

Art. 10. That public functionaries shall be held responsible for all acts against the freedom and rights of individuals.

Art. 11. That ministers shall be responsible.

Art. 12. That the militia urbana (or national guard) shall be increased and organised throughout the kingdom, in conformity with regulations which shall be discussed and approved of by the Cortes.

Government would have modified some of the clauses, but were beaten on every division.

On the 30th and 31st of August, the Procuradores were occupied with a plan proposed by government to extinguish or greatly alter the quarantine and sanitary regulations, and in discussing the subject of the Voto di San Jago. This voto, or vow, which is, in fact, a tax paid to the clergy in certain districts, originated in a legend. Ten centuries back, a Christian king of Castile, was made victorious in a great battle with the Moors by the assistance and personal presence of St. Jago (James, the apostle). In his gratitude the king vowed that Spain should thenceforward pay an annual tribute to the apostle, to be raised on the agricultural produce of the country. The priests of course claimed for the apostle, and an imposition, peculiarly irksome, it appears, from the way in which it was levied, has continued down to our days.

Martinez de la Rosa declared his scepticism as to the legend, but was anxious to preserve the vested rights of the church entire. He and his colleagues would have granted other allowances of a certain limited extent to those who had hitherto divided the voto revenue among them, but they were out-voted, and the tax abolished without compensation, by a large majority.

On the 30th of August, there was laid on the table of the Proceres or Peers, the unanimous report of the commission, confirming the project of the ministry for the exclusion of Don Carlos and his heirs for ever. The peers, on the 3rd of September, came to a vote on the subject, without any division. One peer only, the Count de Taboado, declined voting—he said his personal obligations to Don Carlos prevented him.

An additional article was proposed by the Marquis de Quadalcazar, to prohibit the return to the country of Don Carlos and all his line male, and was carried by the same majority. The House was very thinly attended. The peers agreed to the proposition, that such of their body as were in the kingdom, and did not take their oaths and their seats within one month, and those out of the realm within two months, should forfeit their rights as peers. It should appear, however, that the two terms have been extended to three months for the recusant or dilatory peers at home, and to four for those who happen to be abroad.

The Finance Committee, to which we alluded in our last number, and the proceedings of which have been watched by many in France and in this country, with much more anxiety than all other Spanish measures and events, was at length delivered of its report on the 11th of August. The majority, of five to four, advised the recognition of the Cortes' loans from 1820 to 1823, or from the rise to the downfall of the last constitution; and the entire rejection of the French loans, as well as of the debt to France secured subsequently to 1823, by treaty. The minority, on the other hand, would have recognised all the debts—the Ferdinand loans, as well as those raised by the Cortes: and this, as it appears to us, would have been both more just and more politic.

On this point we are of course at variance with a large portion of our *enlightened* newspapers, who applaud and uphold a decision which will embarrass the march of the Spanish government, and which is altogether at variance with the established practice of nations. The government *de facto* is the only government that the money-lender can look to. *Now* it was represented by Ferdinand—*now* by the Cortes—*now* by Ferdinand again—and *now* again by the Cortes; but in this alternation the pecuniary and other obligations of the governments for the time being could not be affected. These governments might change, and utterly pass away, but the country remained responsible for the obligations of one and all of them. That the country should remain in this position of responsibility, is essential to the existence of international relations of all sorts. By doing away with it, after the fashion of the majority of this finance committee, we should introduce confusion into every department of European affairs: treaties—commercial, or of whatsoever nature—might be overturned at every change of a cabinet; the evils inflicted by war, invasion, or seizure of property, might pass without indemnity, if one government were allowed to insist that because those evils were not inflicted by itself, but by another government that preceded it, the country that had been represented both at home and abroad by *both* these governments, was not liable under the one for what had been done under the other. But the court of Spain and the cabinet, as now constituted, in

the recent arrangement with the United States of America, have been obliged to allow this always existing responsibility of the country, and to a most painful, and, we should think, *almost to an extreme extent*. By this new treaty, Spain engages to pay twelve millions of reals, as compensation for injuries inflicted on American shipping and merchandise on the Spanish coast, during the forcible and odious occupation of the Peninsula by the French, and the imposition therein of the Berlin and Milan decrees. In short, the country is made answerable even for what was done in it under a foreign usurpation! In the same manner, the Bourbons of Naples have paid the Americans for the seizures and detentions ordered by Joseph Buonaparte and Murat, who had driven them (the Bourbon dynasty) from Naples to Sicily, and kept forcible possession of their throne. Surely, therefore, it becomes contradictory and absurd to plead the non-responsibility of Spain with regard to loans raised by King Ferdinand. The transactions differ in many points, but the principle that ought to regulate them is the same. When Ferdinand denied the faculty of the Cortes (an illegal, rebellious body, in the estimation of his party), to contract debts in the name of the nation, and when he refused any settlement with the holders of the Cortes' bonds, a general outcry against his injustice ran through the liberal press of Europe. Precisely the same arguments that were used *then* against Ferdinand may be turned *now* against the majority of the Constitutional Committee. We repeat, that the country remains responsible under all governments and circumstances, and that any attempt made to destroy this liability, whether proceeding from liberals or absolutists, will be equally odious, and in the end futile.

The civil war in the north still lingers on—in a succession of marches and counter marches, skirmishes and indecisive battles. The Queen's general, Rodil, has succeeded in clearing most of the passes of the Pyrenees and valleys running into France; and altogether, it appears *probable* (and we can say no more) that the insurgents are weaker now than they were when Don Carlos first joined them.

PORTUGAL.

DON PEDRO was confirmed in the Regency by the Chamber of Peers, on the 25th of August. Thirteen peers out of the fifteen (all that had as yet taken their seats) voted on the subject, nine being in favour of his continuing to head the government, and four against it. His royal prerogative being thus legalized by the Cortes, he proceeded at once to create twenty-four new peers.

In the lower house it was decided, by a majority of sixty-seven to twenty-seven, that the young queen Donna Maria, should be united to a European prince, and that the faculty of choosing her husband should remain with her father, the regent.

The minister of finance, Silva Carvalho, has presented his official report to the Chambers: it was well received, as the prospect he drew of the resources of the country was exceedingly flattering. Carvalho was afterwards attacked in the lower house by some members who seem to have had more patriotism than financial knowledge, and who complained of his having contracted loans with foreigners, when he ought to have given his own countrymen the benefit of such transactions as lenders. The minister's reply was certainly to the point: he told them that his countrymen lacked either the power or the will to lend—or both; that even after the triumphant entrance of the liberating constitutional army into Lisbon, he could not borrow so much as two hundred thousand pounds from the Portuguese bankers and merchants of the capital, and that he was therefore forced on the foreign money market.

It was announced on the 8th of September, that the supplies of gold (rendered necessary by the alteration in the currency) that had already been received at Lisbon were quite sufficient for the present.

Don Miguel seems likely to have the advantage of that best of all correctives to men of his stamp—viz., poverty. The Cortes have determined to consider as an authentic document a certain protest, which has appeared in Miguel's name, against the treaty he signed after his surrender, and previously to his departure from Portugal. As he is therefore held to have broken his part of the agreement, the other party, being no longer bound to keep theirs, will make him no payment on account of the pension for which the Don stipulated. His brother, the regent, has been for some time in a very precarious state of health.

On the whole, the debates of this new Portuguese Cortes have been rather deficient in interest. We observe that some of the correspondents to our daily papers complain of a want of "good speakers" among the members. These Englishmen are possibly not the best judges of Portuguese oratory, and *good speaking* is not the thing most needful. Had it been so, the poor Neapolitan parliament of 1820-1, instead of being the laughing-stock, would have been the admiration of Europe. But the same reporters tell us some things that bear most unfavourably on decency and constitutional dignity: as, for example, that the mob admitted into the galleries hiss and hoot the members obnoxious to them—and that the said members, instead of turning to the speaker and demanding a clearance of the galleries, are apt to turn round to the mob and address them. These scenes disgraced and hurried the downfal of the last Portuguese Cortes. May they be stopped in time to prevent the discredit, if nothing worse, of the present.

FRANCE.

DURING the recess of the French Chambers, and the state of tranquillity which seems happily restored to the country, there is little to relate of our nearest neighbour. The French creditors of Spain in the loans rejected by the Spanish committee, have petitioned Louis Philippe, praying him to interfere and obtain the recognition of their claims. The King's reply was, that he had directed his ambassador at the court of Spain to make strong remonstrances, as had been done by the minister of England. This petition was numerously signed.

We regret to say that the license of the French newspapers, and the imprudent prosecutions of them by Government, still continue in full force.

Confining ourselves as we do in this brief retrospect, to the notice of events that are not only well authenticated, but likely to produce important effects, we have little to add this month. Both in the east of Europe and the north, speculation might indulge in a vast field; but the only positive facts seem to be, that in the former part of the world the Sultan has prepared a naval force, the destination of which is unknown, and that there has been one more unsuccessful attempt at an insurrection in Greece; whilst in the northern corner the King of Holland has at last dismissed to their homes the schuttery (or militia), who are described as being none the better for three years' estrangement from their ordinary, industrious callings.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

March, 19. Bombay papers to this date state the interesting fact, that the first native who had ever acted as one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, took his seat on the bench, at the opening of the Quarter Sessions in that city.

April, 10. The peace of India has been disturbed by the revolt of the Rajah of Coorg. After a skirmishing but severe warfare of upwards of a week, between the British forces under Colonel Lindesay, and those of the Rajah, the latter were defeated on all points, and the prince himself surrendered unconditionally. He is to be deposed, and his dominions annexed to the Company's territories.

The following is the grand total of the loss of the British in killed and wounded:—Europeans, 14 commissioned officers, 139 non-commissioned, rank and file. Natives—2 commissioned officers, 144 non-commissioned, rank and file and dressers. Total, Europeans and natives: 16 commissioned officers, 283 non-commissioned, rank and file and dressers.

August, 1. Leghorn was opened as an entirely free port, by the cessation of the duty of one per cent. upon merchandize by sea.

17. Osman Noureddin Pasha, the Egyptian Admiral, who last winter quitted the service of Mehemet Ali for that of the Sultan, died of the plague at Constantinople. The superiority which travel, study, and experience, had given to this person, causes his loss to be severely felt by the Sultan, from whom he had received many marks of high favour.

20. The cholera is committing fearful devastation in Sweden.

Out of a population of 23,000 in Gottenberg, it has swept away nearly 2000; and the mortality at Stockholm, and in other towns, has been in a corresponding proportion.

The Spanish General Moreno, who appears to have left England (to which he came with Don Carlos), from the fear of being called to account for the murder of Mr. Boyd, was arrested by the police at Paris. He will be conveyed to the Swiss frontier and there discharged from custody.

22. This day a serious affray took place at Chatham, between some soldiers of the 88th, and a number of sailors and other persons. It arose from an assault, stated to have been made the preceding day by the military upon the people, who were enjoying themselves on the Chatham lines after the races. We do not learn that any person was killed on either occasion; but many were more or less wounded—a few very badly. The inhabitants of the town have held a public meeting on the subject, and have since applied successively to the colonel, to the commander-in-chief, and to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with the view of procuring the discontinuance in Chatham of the practice of private soldiers wearing side-arms when off duty. They have not succeeded in their object; but it is evident that something must, ere long, be done to preserve unarmed people from the intemperance of armed men.

23. Don Miguel and suite were publicly insulted by the populace at Parma; at which their stay was therefore very short.

27. Several of the principal Jews in London presented a handsome piece of plate to Sir Robert Grant, previously to his departure for Bombay, as a testimony of their gratitude for his exertions in behalf of the British Jews.

Two ruffians were brought before the magistrates of Hatton Garden Office, on the charge of stabbing two respectable females in Plumtree-street the previous evening. Mr. Rogers fined one of the men 5*l.* and the other 20*s.*; a sentence, the inadequacy of which has been very strongly animadverted upon in the papers.

While the Cameleon, a large revenue cutter, was lying-to off Dover, she was run down by the Castor frigate (Lord John Hay), then on its way from the Downs to Portsmouth, and going at the rate of from 12 to 14 knots an hour. The cutter went to the bottom; and of 19 persons on board, only five were saved. As it was broad day-light, and the cutter was perfectly in sight, this distressing accident was attributed to the culpable neglect of the watch on board the frigate, the officers of which were, on the 5th of September, brought to trial before a court-martial at Plymouth. The trial terminated at one sitting, and the sentence of the court was, "that the loss of the Cameleon was occasioned by her coming in collision with the Castor; that it would not have occurred had a proper look out been kept; that a proper look out had not been kept on board the Castor; that the fault was that of Lieut James M'Cleverty, the officer of the watch at the time of the accident; and that therefore he was, by the judgment of the court, dismissed his Majesty's service; and that Captain, the Right Hon. Lord John Hay, the remaining officers and the crew of the Castor, were acquitted."

28. A meeting of shopkeepers, resident in the western district of St. Pancras, was held at the 'London National Labour Exchange,' Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, to take into consideration the case of the operative builders now out of employment in consequence of the strike. The resolutions passed on the occasion stigmatized the conduct of the masters, and pledged the meeting to assist the workmen through their struggle. T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M. P., was in the chair.

The manufacturers of Rheims, in France, having lowered the wages of their workmen, many of the latter refused to work at the new prices. On the 26th, a considerable number repaired to the town-hall to petition the local authorities on the subject. The magistrates addressed the workmen, advising them to return to their employments: many of them promised to do so, and the crowd quietly dispersed. But on the following day they again assembled, and resolved to compel the workmen who were not of the combination to leave their work. This intention was prevented by the military, who arrested several of the ring-leaders. This day many of the men returned to their work, and public tranquillity appeared to be restored.

29. At the Dublin Sessions' Court, a man named Thomas Malone was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for unlawfully taking away from a churchyard a dead body, with intent to dispose of it for money. This is believed to be the first prosecution under Mr. Warburton's act.

— The mill-house and granary of the Lochrin distillery, near Edinburgh, were destroyed this afternoon by a fire produced by the friction of the mill-stones. Ten thousand pounds is the estimated value of the property destroyed.

— Re-appearance of cholera in the north of England; but not in nearly so serious a form as two years since.

— Two mineral springs have lately been discovered at Harrowgate.

September 1. The coal-porters, whose strike has perhaps been attended with more circumstances of individual violence than any other, returned to their work. Their fund had become so nearly exhausted, that the allowance to each man was reduced to 4*d.* a day.

2. Donna Francisca, the wife of Don Carlos of Spain, and sister to Don Pedro and Don Miguel of Portugal, died this afternoon at Alverstoke Rectory, near Gosport. The immediate cause of her death is variously stated.

3. A struggle at Manchester against the halfpenny church-rate terminated this evening in the refusal of the rate, by a majority of 7019 to 5897. Great excitement prevailed at Manchester during the contest, which was a very warm one. A somewhat similar opposition to the grant of a church-rate in the parish of Clerkenwell, London, terminated on the 8th, in favour of the rate, by a majority of 700 to 385. Subsequently, at Wakefield, the amendment for a threepenny rate instead of a ninepenny one, which was required, was negatived by a majority of 864 to 694.

— The trial of "the great will cause" at Lancaster, before Baron Gurney, which lasted ten days, terminated in a verdict for the defendant, Mr. Wright, whose claim to the property, amounting to 7000*l.* a-year, bequeathed by the late Mr. Marsden, was disputed by Admiral Tatham, the heir-at-law, on the ground of the mental imbecility of the testator.

— Slight shock of an earthquake at Portsmouth, which occasioned a good deal of apprehension, but did little damage.

— The stone-masons at Newcastle struck early in September—not for higher wages, but because the masters persisted in employing men who were willing to work on terms which were not approved of by the unionists. The masters have determined not to employ in future any men who belong to the union.

4. Mr. Duncombe, M.P. for Finsbury, was bound over, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each, to keep the peace towards Mr. Fraser, the bookseller, to whom he had sent a challenge, in consequence of certain imputations on his private character, which had appeared in 'Fraser's Magazine.'

— Matthew Quin, a soldier belonging to a regiment stationed at Chatham, was sentenced to transportation for life for insubordinate and threatening conduct to his serjeant and officers, one of whom he threatened to shoot. Another private of the same garrison has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment and hard labour. We trust that these precedents of civil punishment for military offences will hereafter be followed, to the exclusion of such instances of severe flagellation as have recently excited so much disgust.

5. A private soldier of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards was drummed out of that corps this morning, in the Wellington Barracks, St. James's Park, for repeated misconduct.

— The Sessions commenced at the Old Bailey with the usual formalities. Extensive alterations have been made in the Old Court to meet the access of business which the Central Court Bill will bring to the Old Bailey. The inconvenience of the new arrangements of the interior produced very general complaint from every person engaged in the court. The New Court is also to undergo alterations; and the erection of a third court is understood to be in contemplation.

9. A meeting of small masters and workmen in the building trade, and of other persons interested in the question in dispute between them and the extensive masters, took place in the theatre of the Mechanics' Institute;—T. S. Duncombe, Esq. M. P., in the chair. The bearing of the speeches and resolutions was chiefly against the monopoly exercised by the extensive masters and contractors. Mr. Robert Owen, who was present, said he was an enemy to all monopoly; but did not see what good would result from such proceedings as the present. The fault was not with the masters but with the system; and, in his opinion, there was not a man present who would not be a monopolist if he could. This plain-speaking was not well received by the audience. We feel that in this *strike* there are extenuating circumstances which scarcely apply to any other which we have had occasion to record; but it has given us much pain to find that such an institution as the Mechanics' Institute, should in any way mix itself up with such questions—even so far as by the loan of its theatre for a public meeting on the subject. A very large proportion of the men who originally struck have now obtained employment without subscribing to the conditions demanded by the extensive masters. It is said, that not more than between 2000 and 3000 now remain unemployed, out of about 14,000 who struck at the commencement of the dispute.

— This evening a respectable man, a native of Germany, named Steinberg, residing in Southampton Street, Pentonville, committed suicide, after having destroyed the woman with whom he cohabited, and four children, of which they were the parents. This crime appears to have been the result of greatly embarrassed circumstances, and it produced a strong sensation in the metropolis.

10. The Old Bailey Sessions terminated. Seven men were sentenced to death:—three for robbery on the person; one for stealing a letter from the Post Office; two for receiving a bank-note from the above letter; and one for maliciously wounding. Eleven were sentenced to transportation for life; ninety-one for seven years; and others to various terms of imprisonment.

11. In the Insolvent Debtor's Court an insolvent was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for contracting debts without reasonable or probable means of paying them.

13. Sir John Leach, the Master of the Rolls, died of erysipelas

seen in motion for either agricultural or manufacturing purposes; the land is well cultivated; there is every appearance, in short, of life and industry. But after you have crossed the Ebro and have advanced into Castile, the cottages and gardens disappear, the fields lie uninclosed, the villages, few and far between, look melancholy and desolate; hardly any trees are to be seen; the roads are neglected and insecure, and the *posadas* or resting-places (they can hardly be called inns) are proverbially wretched.

The Señorio of Vizcaya, or Biscay Proper, is the most western of the three provinces. It extends for about sixty miles along the coast of the Atlantic. Its principal towns are Bilbao and Orduña; it reckons besides twenty more small towns, seventy-six villages and hamlets, and about 145,000 inhabitants. It is a mountainous country, and the numerous streams descending from the highlands turn about 600 mills. There are numerous iron-works, although most of them on a small scale; and in most of the villages are manufactories of iron-ware, locks, muskets, bedsteads, horse-shoes, &c., which they export to the interior provinces of Spain. The principal iron-mines are those of Somorrostro, west of Bilbao. There are coal-mines in the neighbouring province of Asturias, at Gijon and Aviles, but the coal on the spot is double the price of English coal at Newcastle. The iron trade of Biscay has much declined of late years, owing to several causes—the interruption of the intercourse with South America, the suspension of the works in the royal dock-yards, and the additional duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem* levied on iron in bars since August, 1819, besides which the custom-house duties on its introduction into the other Spanish provinces are twenty per cent. more. Tanning is another branch of Biscayan industry, and fishing and navigation also give employment to a great number of the inhabitants. Biscay produces some corn, and abundance of fruit, especially grapes, from which good wine is made. The land is not naturally fertile, but is rendered productive by assiduous labour. The mountains abound with timber trees. Game is plentiful, and the sea abounds with fish. Most of the lands are cultivated by the proprietors themselves, and the rest by tenants who pay rent generally in money, and to the amount of about one-third of the produce.

We find señores and condes, or lords and counts of Biscay, mentioned in history as early as the eleventh century; they were elected by the states or assemblies of the provinces; and it would appear that they acknowledged the kings of Leon and Castile as their suzerains. We find that Alonso VI. appointed a count of Biscay as his governor for the neighbouring province of Guipuzcoa. In the thirteenth century the powerful family of Haro began to hold the lordship of Biscay by order of succession, and after it the house of Lara, who were connected by intermarriages with the family of Haro. Marriages also took place between these families and the royal houses of Castile and of Aragon, which however did not prevent frequent ruptures and wars. At last Pedro I. of Castile, called "The Cruel," invaded Biscay after the death of Count Nuño de Lara; he barbarously put to death the relatives of the deceased, and took possession of the Señorio. His brother Henry having defeated and killed him, succeeded to the throne of Castile in 1369, and he appointed his son Don Juan, afterwards King John I., Lord of Biscay. Don Juan was himself descended from the Lara family through the female line. In 1371 Don Juan made his entrance into Biscay, and solemnly swore to maintain the liberties and laws of the country. Ever since Biscay has remained annexed to the crown of Castile, whose kings have always respected its franchises, and the Biscayans have proved, on their part, loyal subjects to the crown.

The *fueros*, or laws and constitutions of Biscay, were not originally a code framed by the assembly of the states under the famous tree of Guernica, as some writers have fancied, for it is proved that the Biscayans borrowed, on several occasions, from the fueros of Logroño and other places out of their own country. But in the struggles between various pretenders to the lordship, various charters and privileges had been granted, when, in 1342, Don Juan Nuñez de Lara, and his wife, Doña Maria Diaz de Haro, in the general assembly at Guernica, agreed to thirty-seven articles which were presented to them, and which defined the relations between the señor and the people, and also regulated the administration of justice. These articles were afterwards sworn to by the Infante Don Juan already mentioned, who gave besides, in January 1372, a fresh charter, recapitulating all the old fueros or laws of the country. The judicial legislation, however, was still partly written and partly consuetudinal or traditional; some of the laws applied to the whole country, others to peculiar districts only; and this state of things continued till 1452, when a general code was formed, which being afterwards recast and enlarged by a commission of learned men appointed by the Junta, was presented to Charles V. in 1526, and was immediately confirmed by him, as it has been since by all his successors. The most essential points of the constitution of Biscay are the following:—Biscay has its legislative assemblies called "Juntas Generales," which meet every two years, or oftener if required. Every *pueblo*, township or village, has a vote, and sends one or more *apoderados*, literally "entrusted with powers," to the Junta. At the appointed time they all meet round the tree of Guernica, near the village of that name, between Bilbao and Bermeo. The permanent deputation, the corregidor and syndics, seat themselves on a bench under the tree, and the secretaries verify the writs of each of the representatives. After this ceremony and a short prayer, they adjourn to a spacious hall in a neighbouring convent, founded by an ancient corregidor of the Señorio, where the portraits of the old lords of Biscay, till its annexation to the crown of Castile, are seen looking down upon them from the walls. In the sacristy of the adjoining church are the archives, which however, it seems, contain no very ancient documents. The juntas hold their sittings with open doors, and no one is refused admittance. The decorum of these assemblies, chiefly composed of rustics, is said to be admirable. The juntas enact laws and regulations for the order and welfare of the country; they listen to all messages from the king, and decide on the answer to be returned; they examine the accounts, vote the supplies, and elect the officers of the state, namely, the two deputies, the regidores, and the syndics, who are generally from among the chief people of the country. The corregidor is appointed by the king, and he and the two deputies and syndics constitute the permanent deputation, or the administrative and executive power, which resides at Bilbao, and which forms also a judicial court of appeal from the local magistrates. Each pueblo or village has its own alcalde or magistrate, who is appointed by the *ayuntamiento*, or municipal council of the place, which administers the revenues of the commune, and employs them for local purposes, laying afterwards the accounts before the corregidor or his lieutenant, on his annual visit round the country. The general accounts of the country are made out by the permanent deputation, which lays them before the next general junta for examination.

The supreme tribunal is that of the Juez Mayor de Vizcaya, who is appointed by the king, and who, with his *oidores* or assistants, holds a distinct court in the Chancellery of Valladolid, both for criminal and civil matters. The natives of the three Basque provinces cannot be tried before any other court.

By their fueros or constitutions the people of Biscay pay no other taxes to the king but those they paid to their former lords, and which consist of a small house tax, a duty on iron wrought in the province, tithes upon certain lands, and a tribute from the towns. No other taxes, such as excise, customs, stamps, licenses, &c., exist in Biscay. Foreign goods pay no duty on introduction except certain fees levied by the consulate and municipality of Bilbao. There is no line of custom-houses between the three Basque provinces and the French frontiers. The Spanish custom-house officers are placed on the inner limit between the provinces and Castile. For the same reason Biscay does not belong to any of the administrative intendencies into which Spain is divided for fiscal purposes. The junta, however, in cases of urgent request from the king, grants *donativos* (free gifts) for the service of the kingdom, the amount of which they raise by assessment among themselves. With regard to military matters, the three Biscayan provinces have their own militias for the security of the country, and they defend themselves in case of war against foreign invasion. No Spanish troops are, at least by law, allowed to be garrisoned in the country, and the provinces furnish no recruits to the royal army. But Biscay has always supplied the Spanish navy with numerous volunteers, who were reckoned among the best seamen of Spain. In consequence of all this, there are no royal offices of administration in Biscay, except that of the couriers or mails.

Since 1820 there is a Captain General, or military chief, residing at San Sebastian, in the province of Guipuzcoa, and

whose jurisdiction in military matters is considered to extend over the three Basque provinces.

The clergy of Biscay have very moderate incomes; the Abbot of Zenarroza, the richest in the province, has not quite 200*l.* a-year. In general, the Biscayans are not rich, but few of them are very poor; they are frugal and laborious; honest, cheerful, and courteous without flattery; easily managed by kind treatment, but obstinate and inflexible if they feel themselves wronged. Gonzalo de Cordoba, the great captain of the sixteenth century, used to say that he would rather be a keeper of lions than have the charge of refractory Biscayans. These people are derided by the other Spaniards as being boastful; they pride themselves on their antient independence, and not without some reason; it is also one of their privileges, that a native of Biscay is reckoned as noble, *hidalgo*, in any other parts of Spain.

The King of Spain styles himself Señor (Lord) of Biscay, and his dispatches are addressed "to my very noble and very loyal Señorio and County of Vizcaya," and are forwarded to the permanent deputation of the state.

The other two provinces, Guipuzcoa and Alava, do not differ materially in their institutions from Biscay; they enjoy nearly the same liberties, have each their juntas, quite distinct from, and independent of, those of the former. They are styled, however, *provincias*, and not Señorio, as Biscay is. The inhabitants are of a kindred race, and speak the same language. Guipuzcoa, the smallest of the three, though the most populous in proportion, borders immediately on France, from which it is divided by the river Bidassoa. It has two towns, St. Sebastian and Tolosa, sixty-five smaller towns or villages, about 200 parishes, and 135,000 inhabitants. It has some good harbours; that of Pasages is one of the finest in Spain. The Guipuzcoans have always been the boldest navigators of Spain; they at one time monopolized the Newfoundland fishery, until the treaty of Utrecht deprived them of this great branch of trade. They discovered the Canary Islands, the Philippines and the Marianas. The country of Guipuzcoa is very mountainous; it has iron mines and iron works, like Biscay.

Guipuzcoa acknowledged at one time the kings of Navarra as its suzerains. But Alonzo VIII., of Castile, in his wars against Navarra, having conquered the neighbouring province of Alava, Guipuzcoa submitted voluntarily to him, Alonzo confirming at the same time the antient liberties, fueros, and customs of the country, which were afterwards compiled into one volume, and approved of by Henry II. of Castile, the successor of Peter the Cruel, above mentioned.

Guipuzcoa is divided into townships and villages, called *universidades* and *alcaldias*, every one of which sends one *procurador* "representative," to the junta, which meets once a year. The junta appoints four Deputies General, one of whom holds the executive power, but the four assemble twice a year, to consult together on public affairs. There is also a corregidor appointed by the king for three years. He is the high judicial authority, and presides over the junta, but has no vote in it; he is also the medium of communication between the king and the local authorities. The corregidor and the deputation reside by turns at St. Sebastian and at Tolosa. The alcaldes are elected by the *ayuntamiento* or common council of each town and village, and they judge suits in the first instance; appeals lie from them to the corregidor. The roads in this province are the same as in Biscay, being maintained at the expense of the country: the high road from Bayonne to Madrid crosses the province. The police is good, and crimes are of rare occurrence.

Alava, the third Biscayan province, lies to the south of Guipuzcoa, and borders on Old Castile and Navarra. It is almost entirely enclosed by several ramifications of the Pyrenees, and its boundaries are strongly marked. Alava contains one city, Vittoria, 72 small towns or villages, 434 communes, and 93,000 inhabitants. The fine valley called the *Concha de Alava*, about 20 miles long and 10 wide, is the most fertile part of the province. The province is divided into six *quadrillas*, which contain in all 53 *hermandades*, or communities, and every one of these sends its *apoderados*, or representatives, to the general junta, which assembles twice a-year. The junta appoints a deputy general, who resides at Vittoria, and is changed every three years. He executes the orders of the junta; he is the supreme judge, as well as military chief of the province, and to him all messages from the king or ministers are addressed. He presides over the junta, but has no vote in it. Every hermandad elects its own alcalde, or magistrate, for one year. The people of Alava cannot be taxed by the crown, any more than those of the other two provinces, but they pay a yearly sum of 1,700*l.* as an equivalent.

In former times the juntas of Alava, called "de la Confradia del campo de Arriaga," consisted of the nobles, the *ricos hombres* or gentry, and the clergy, presided over by the Bishop of Calahorra, and even the ladies of Alava had seats in the junta. They elected four alcaldes general for one year, one of whom was the chief justice. They also elected a señor or count, who was their military leader. Sometimes they elected one of the infantes of Castile, sometimes the Lord of Biscay, at other times a nobleman from the neighbouring states. No king exercised sovereignty over the land, except in the town of Vittoria, which was considered as subject to the crown of Castile. Alonso VIII. having conquered Alava, appointed Diego Lopez de Faro count of the province, and his descendants after him. At last, in 1332, the people of Alava renounced formally their right of appointing their señor, and in the time of Alonso XI., of Castile, acknowledged the King of Castile for their perpetual lord. They at the same time "renounced the juntas of Arriaga, and made themselves *realengos*, or royal." Such is the expression of the Spanish chroniclers, which seems to mean that they submitted to the royal jurisdiction, instead of the baronial and clerical jurisdictions under which they had before lived. Alonso at the same time granted them a charter declaring them "free from all taxes, they and their properties for ever." From that time the actual division of the country into *hermandades*, and the form of the present juntas, seem to date.

Such are the institutions under which the Biscayan provinces have lived for ages past, and which have been respected by the most absolute monarchs that have reigned over Spain. The despotism of the Philips, the Charleses, and the Ferdinands, was hardly felt by the Biscayans. At the epoch of the first French revolution, in 1793, the French republicans, fancied from the vague notions they had of the Biscayan independence, that it would be an easy matter to detach those provinces from Spain, and that the inhabitants would willingly join the great republic, "one and indivisible," the frontiers of which would by this means have been extended to the Ebro. But the Biscayans preferred retaining their privileges under the protection of the crown of Spain, to being merged into an immense republic, and losing thereby their nationality and their actual provincial liberties. The conduct of the Biscayans, on various occasions since that epoch, is explained by the same feelings. They opposed Napoleon's invasion; on the return of Ferdinand they recovered their franchises, and remained therefore quiet. The Cortes of 1820 wanted to assimilate their country to the rest of Spain, and to subject them in every respect to the central administration; they therefore revolted against the Cortes, and assisted in the overthrow of the constitution of that epoch; and now having been threatened by the queen's government with the abolition of their fueros and juntas, and with the establishment of custom-houses, provincial taxes, a general police, the conscription, and all the other burdens which weigh on the rest of Spain, they have followed the banner of Don Carlos, expecting from him, in case of success, the maintenance of their privileges. Ignorant or careless of general politics, they see nothing in all this but the immediate interest of Biscay. Were the Basque provinces to be confirmed by the present Cortes in the possession of their local liberties, which perhaps might not be incompatible with their allegiance to a central constitutional government, such a measure, we believe, would lead more than any other to the pacification of the country, and the end of a lamentable struggle in which a spirited and free-minded people find themselves involved under the banners of absolutism.

These last remarks apply equally to Navarra. That country has retained, though in a more limited degree than Biscay, its separate administration, and fueros or laws. The Cortes or legislative assemblies of Navarra date of the twelfth century; they are composed of three *brazos*, or estates, namely, the nobles, the clergy, and the *universidades* or towns, which are thirty-four in number. The crown of Navarra was at first elective. The old kings of Navarra, who were possessed of territories also on the French side of the Pyrenees, were constitutional sovereigns. Don Juan Labrit having sided with Louis XII. against Ferdinand the Catholic, the latter sent an army into Navarra, took Pamplona, and drove Don Juan beyond the Pyrenees in 1512. The

rest of the country submitted, and Ferdinand promised to maintain their fueros and liberties. The Cortes continued to meet once a-year, being convoked by the viceroy in the name of the king. By degrees, they have been convoked less frequently, and only on particular occasions, but they have never been suppressed. There is a permanent deputation elected by the Cortes, from the three estates of the kingdom; their business is to maintain the laws and protect the interests of the country; they can lay on or take off certain taxes, allow or prohibit the exportation of grain, grant letters of naturalization, &c. The viceroy, on taking possession of his office, swears before the deputation to respect the privileges of the kingdom. There is a Consejo Real, which is the supreme court of justice of Navarra, and which resides at Pamplona: its members are appointed by the king. In the towns and villages the *alcaldes ordinarios*, or local magistrates, are appointed by the *ayuntamientos*, or common councils. The natives of Navarra are not amenable to any tribunal out of their country.

Navarra pays the rentas generales, which the Basque provinces do not pay, and which include customs, stamps, post-office, and the royal monopolies of salt, tobacco, and gunpowder; but it is not subject to the provincial taxes, which are the most burdensome, and it pays an annual fixed contribution in lieu of them.

In conclusion, the privileges of Navarra are more circumscribed than those of the three Basque provinces; still they are sufficient to constitute a separate administration, and to ensure certain rights to the people. The *fueros*, or laws, of Navarra are nearly the same as those of Aragon. The population of Navarra is about 290,000. In the present civil war, all the northern districts, which may be called the highlands of Navarra, consisting of the upper valleys of the great Pyrenean chain and its numerous ramifications, and the inhabitants of which speak the Basque language, have taken the same side as their neighbours of Biscay.

With regard to the municipal administration of the towns and villages generally in all Spain, it ought to be observed that it was once everywhere free and elective, as it is still in Navarra and Biscay. All the heads of families of any one town elected their alcalde and the *regidores*, or aldermen, and other municipal officers. These being presided over by the alcalde, formed the *ayuntamiento*, or municipal council. All the members of the ayuntamiento were renewed at fixed times, according to the custom of each place. The alcalde was the political as well as judicial head of the place; to him all orders from the government were addressed, and he, with the other members of the ayuntamiento, assessed the inhabitants in their share of the taxes, contributions, and other services required by the state. The ayuntamiento likewise administered the communal property and revenues, regulated the expenditure, maintained the police, inspected the charitable foundations, &c. The authority of the alcalde was very great, and was respected by the ministers, and by the king himself. In course of time, however, disputes occurred in various towns between the candidates for the municipal offices: reclamations were sent to Madrid, and the king, to settle the question, appointed the alcalde, and by degrees also the regidores and other members of the ayuntamientos. Under Philip IV., during the administration of the famous Count Duke Olivares, the treasury being in great want of money, the minister sold to the highest bidder the offices and dignities of the state: and among the rest, the seats in the ayuntamientos of the towns, which then not only became permanent during the lives of the holders, but passed to their heirs and descendants. The king also, by another innovation, appointed for each of the principal towns a corregidor with a fixed salary, who was a member of the law profession, and was not a native of the place, as the alcalde and regidores were, and this new magistrate took away from the alcalde the judicial authority, and appropriated it to himself. The alcalde and the regidores retained only the administrative and civil functions. These changes, which took place in the first part of the seventeenth century, totally altered the municipal system in Spain, at least in the towns; and, taken along with the suppression of the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they serve to explain that complete absolutism which we have seen existing in Spain in our days, but which is, after all, of a modern date. The Cortes of Castile, being reduced by Charles V., as we have said above, to a mere shadow, (the procuradores of certain cities,) were assembled by the king only on rare occasions, such as to acknowledge the heir to the throne, and then dismissed without entering into any further deliberations. There was, however, at Madrid, a permanent deputation, called "deputacion de los reynos," consisting of members from the different provinces and chief towns, who were appointed by the respective ayuntamientos, and who enjoyed a salary. This deputation was consulted by the king or cabinet on the occasion of any new ordinances, and especially of any new tax or impost to be levied, and it may be easily supposed that they were not found, in general, an obstacle to the wishes of the crown. This was done, it seems, to save appearances, as the fundamental written laws of Spain positively said that the king could not impose any tax without the consent of the Cortes. But under Charles IV. and the favourite Godoy, at the beginning of the present century, the minister of the day, in causing a new edition of the *Recopilacion*, or collection of the laws of Spain, to be printed, deliberately tore out the leaf on which the obnoxious law stood recorded, and the reprint appeared without it. This was too barefaced an act to pass unnoticed, even in Spain, and it probably contributed not a little to the clamour which was raised against Godoy, and the subsequent events of 1808.

The late Ferdinand VII., not long before his death, made a change in the formation of the ayuntamientos, which was a step towards a restoration of their original independence. He doubled the ayuntamientos, allowing the existing members to remain for life, but ordering that an equal number of new members should be elected by the householders from among those who paid a certain rate of taxes, and that they should be renewed from time to time, according to the old elective forms.

The changes we have stated as having taken place at various times in the formation of the municipal council of the towns have not affected, however, the villages and rural districts. There the places of alcalde, &c., not being an object of ambition, have remained elective as of old; the crown has not meddled with them; and the spirit of independence exiled from the cities has taken refuge among the rural population, which constitutes the bulk and the main strength of the Spanish nation. The Spanish peasantry have not, in consequence, felt the full weight of despotism; and any one who has resided some time in the rural districts of Spain must have seen that the look, bearing, and address of a Spanish peasant are anything but the look, bearing, and address of a slave. The difference between their appearance and that of their Portuguese neighbours is very striking. The Spanish peasantry have been styled the finest in Europe, and we think with some reason. This may serve to explain, better than the commonplace remarks about superstition and priestly influence, why the Spanish peasantry have shown themselves little inclined to innovation. They did not feel the same want of it as the people of the towns. They knew of no authority but their alcalde, who was one of themselves, and elected by themselves; and their *cura*, or parish priest, who, generally speaking, was to them like a father. Of king, minister, or captain-general they knew but little, and still less of any political system or machinery of the government.

THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

No. II.

IN treating of this subject, if we were to confine ourselves to ascertained and undisputed facts, our task would be a very short one. The number of such facts properly belonging to a general account of the present condition and prospects of the cotton manufacture (descriptions of the mechanical processes, and the other technical details, being of course excluded) is extremely limited. The statements we have already given from official documents, or other sources of acknowledged authority, of the quantity of the raw material imported, the proportions in which it is obtained from different foreign parts, the description, amount, and value of the produce annually manufactured, and the manner in which it is disposed of, would nearly exhaust all the information of this character which it is possible to furnish. But all this would leave many matters of the highest interest untouched, and would afford only a very meagre and unsatisfactory exposition of the state of the great branch of industry about which we are writing. In order to present

anything like a view of it in all its parts and relations, it is necessary to add to the few more distinct details that admit of being exhibited in figures, much, that to a great extent can only as yet be considered matter of opinion, and as to which, indeed, the opinions of the most intelligent persons, and of those having the best opportunities of observation, still differ more or less widely. In regard to particulars coming under this latter head, the only plan that we can well follow is to give so much of the testimony of the various authorities as seems of any value or moment, that by comparing one statement with another, where they disagree, the reader may form his own judgment. The multiplicity of minute points which are thus referred to, is so great, that we have found it impossible to arrange them under any convenient number of separate titles; and in analyzing, therefore, the voluminous evidence appended to the Report of the Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping, we have in general, as the simplest and most intelligible method, contented ourselves with taking the various topics, as to which the witnesses are examined, in the order in which they there occur. We believe that a more correct impression of what the evidence really amounts to, is conveyed in this way, than if it were cut up, and the fragments displaced from their original and natural position, in an attempt to readjust them on some principle of greater regularity.

The next witness to whose evidence we shall proceed, is Mr. George Smith, one of the partners in the firm of Messrs. James Massey and Son, cotton-spinners, and hand-loom calico manufacturers, at Manchester. Mr Smith had raised himself by his own exertions to his present condition, from having been originally a workman. The general bearing of his evidence is directed to make it appear that the different branches of the cotton trade are at present declining and unprofitable.

The firm have no power-looms, but are extensively engaged in the hand-loom calico manufacture, employing altogether between 1300 and 1400 hands. The witness states the result of calculations which he has made to be, that in 1820, they had for labour, expenses, and profit, at making one piece of calico, 4*s.* 1½*d.*; in 1821, 4*s.* 5½*d.*; in 1822, 3*s.* 9¾*d.*; in 1823, 3*s.* 6½*d.*; in 1824, 3*s.* 1½*d.*; and in 1825, 2*s.* 11*d.* In 1826, in which year they began to spin their own yarn, they had for the labour of spinning, expenses, and profit of one piece of calico, 2*s.* 3¾*d.*; in 1827, 2*s.* 2*d.*; in 1828, 2*s.* 1*d.*; in 1829, 2*s.* 2*d.*; in 1830, 2*s.* 1½*d.*; in 1831, 2*s.* 0½*d.*; in 1832, 1*s.* 10½*d.*; and in May 1833, 1*s.* 9*d.* These last-mentioned sums are obtained by deducting the cost of cotton and weaving from the prices for which the goods sold. They constitute, therefore, if we rightly understand the statement, the gross profits on the article, or the whole difference between the sum received for it by the manufacturer, and that which he had expended in purchasing the raw material, and in paying the wages of the spinner and the weaver. They do not therefore exhibit the rise or fall of the net or real profits on the capital employed, which will depend, besides, on the quantity of work that can now be done, as compared with that which could be done formerly in the same time, and with the same outlay in machinery and other expenses. The same remark is applicable to another statement of the witness, which goes to show that the cost of cotton deducted from the price of twist, which left the manufacturer 10½*d.* in 1818, only left him 3½*d.* in the first half year of 1833. It is quite possible, nevertheless, that the same capital might be making more ample returns in the latter period than it did in the former. It is perfectly evident, at least, that the decline of 66 per cent. in prices cannot be taken as a measure of the decline of profits.

Mr. Smith afterwards acknowledges that, although he considers the trade in cotton-spinning to have been generally unprofitable since 1826, it has not been universally so. "I think," he says, "that those houses which labour under the disadvantages of having to purchase the material on credit, or who have old machinery, have not got a profit." This is no more than might be expected to be the case. It is simply what must happen, be the general state of the trade what it may. The manufacturer who is obliged to purchase his material on credit, cannot in the nature of things contend on equal terms with him who carries on business with a more adequate supply of capital. Neither can the instrument of inferior, cope with that of superior productive power. The ordinary rate of profit, in a case where there is no monopoly, and competition is perfectly free, being necessarily regulated by the lowest cost of production, those who are so circumstanced as not to be able to command this lowest cost, must of course fail to realize the ordinary profit. But the evidence of the witness, when he is more closely examined upon this point, is after all, to say the least of it, extremely loose and inconclusive. He admits that in spinning, he and his partners, working with machinery of modern erection, and constructed upon the best principles, have derived a small profit every year since they commenced that department of the manufacture; and he afterwards states that he thinks both spinning and power-loom weaving had been profitable down to the middle of the preceding year, in all cases where the two branches were carried on together. It has accordingly, he adds, become usual of late years to unite the two.

In their manufacture of hand-loom calicoes, Mr. Smith allows that his house have generally made a profit. A considerable portion of his evidence is occupied with details as to the manner in which this branch is conducted. He and his partners, as already mentioned, had in their employment last year about 1200 hand-loom weavers, some of whom were men, but the greater part women and children. From the 1st of January to the 29th of June, they had manufactured 97,688 pieces of calico, on which they had paid in wages 6,224*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*, being at the rate of 4*s.* 3*d.* per week to each person employed. There being upon an average two looms in each family, the entire earnings of the family may be taken as usually amounting to about 8*s.* 6*d.* in the week. Children become capable of managing a loom at the age of ten or twelve, and at fourteen or fifteen Mr. Smith conceives a boy will do more than half as much as a man. He calculates that, counting men, women, and children, there may be about 30,000 weavers in the district comprehending the north part of Lancashire and the north part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. He afterwards estimates the total number of hand-loom weavers in England and Scotland at 200,000. He gives the following table of what he calls the average prices paid per piece of a certain description of cloth for hand-loom weaving from 1802, having premised that no improvement has during that period been made in the loom, by which the weaver is enabled to do more work than formerly in the same time; so that, except in so far as the labour of women and children has been substituted for that of men, the prices afford a correct measure of the amount of earnings in each year. The average in

		s.	*d.*			*s.*	*d.*
1802	was	8	7	1818	was	3	3
1803	. .	7	0	1819	. .	2	5
1804	. .	6	0	1820	. .	2	7
1805	. .	5	8	1821	. .	3	2
1806	. .	5	5	1822	. .	2	7
1807	. .	4	9	1823	. .	2	2½
1808	. .	2	9	1824	. .	1	10
1809	. .	2	6	1825	. .	2	2½
1810	. .	6	2	1826	. .	1	5
1811	. .	3	9	1827	. .	1	5
1812	. .	4	7	1828	. .	1	8
1813	. .	5	7	1829	. .	1	1
1814	. .	5	10	1830	. .	1	5
1815	. .	4	1	1831	. .	1	7
1816	. .	2	10	1832	. .	1	3½
1817	. .	2	8	1833	. .	1	4½

At the end of July, 1833, the price was advanced to 1*s.* 6*d.*

Many additional particulars respecting the earnings and the general condition of the hand-loom weavers are also to be found in the evidence of Mr. William Stocks, junior, of Huddersfield, Mr. James Grimshaw, of Barrowfield, near Colne, in Lancashire, (who reckons the whole number of operatives of this description in the kingdom at about 250,000,) Mr. Joshua Milne, of Crompton, near Oldham, and other witnesses; but as their statements merely go to confirm the undoubted fact of the low rate to which wages have descended in this particular department of the cotton manufacture, it is unnecessary to attempt any analysis of the mass of details which they present. We shall only extract a table given in by Richard Needham and William Pilling, hand-loom weavers at Great Bolton, of the prices that have been paid in the month of June in each of the last thirty-eight years, for weaving what is called 6-4ths 60 reed cambric, 120 picks in one inch, which it is stated forms

a sort of standard regulating all the plain fabrics in the cotton-trade. This table may be compared with that quoted above from the evidence of Mr. Smith, in so far as the latter extends. The object of both is to exhibit a measure of the progressive decline of the wages of weaving; and it is stated than one such piece as that referred to in the table below is as much as a man can finish in a week, working "as hard as any man in any other trade;" so that the price put down against each year may be taken as the week's wages of the weaver for that year. From this sum, however, is to be deducted threepence in the shilling, which he has to pay for winding, size, and loom-rent. In 1795 and 1796 the piece measured only twenty yards; since then it has measured twenty-four yards. The witnesses say that although the sizing is better now than it was in 1800, and also the twist, in the opinion of some, yet they cannot weave a piece in less time now than they could do then:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
1795	35	3	1815	14	0
1796	33	3	1816	12	0
1797	29	0	1817	9	0
1798	30	0	1818	9	0
1799	25	0	1819	9	6
1800	25	0	1820	9	0
1801	25	0	1821	8	6
1802	29	0	1822	8	6
1803	24	0	1823	8	6
1804	20	0	1824	8	6
1805	25	0	1825	8	6
1806	22	0	1826	7	6
1807	18	0	1827	6	0
1808	14	0	1828	6	0
1809	16	0	1829	5	6
1810	19	6	1830	5	6
1811	14	0	1831	5	6
1812	14	0	1832	5	6
1813	15	0	1833	5	6
1814	24	0			

We now come to the evidence of Mr. William Rathbone Greg, of the firm of Messrs. Greg and Sons, cotton-spinners and power-loom manufacturers at Bury, and various other places in Lancashire and Cheshire. The Messrs. Greg employ, at their different mills, about 1900 hands in all, and spin about 60,000 pounds of cotton per week, being at the rate of 3,000,000 per annum. This is about 1¼th per cent. of the entire quantity spun in the country, and is believed to be more than is spun by any other house in the trade. In a visit which he had paid to some districts in Derbyshire, Mr. Greg found hand-loom weaving carried on to a considerable extent in some of the villages by the females of the family, where the men were employed in the lead-mines; and he was told by the cottagers themselves that their earnings at the loom were from 9*s.* to 11*s.* per week. "I went to a good many of their cottages," says the witness, "and saw their condition. Those that I saw were remarkable for their healthy appearance, to a degree which I could not have believed possible, compared to the heavy time they stated they worked. One girl that I saw, who said she had been working fifteen hours a day, was the very picture of health." He states also that at Kendal there had recently been, and so far as he knew there continued to be, up to the time at which he was giving his evidence (the beginning of August, 1833), so great a demand for hand-loom weavers of cotton goods, that many of the men employed in their mill at Lancaster, when they proposed to work short time, had gone, and many more had threatened to go, to hand-loom weaving at Kendal. In ordinary circumstances, however, the transference is in the opposite direction. "The power-loom factories," says Mr. Greg, "have, to a very considerable extent, given employment to hand-loom weavers. I have myself, at the mill near Bury, had frequent applications from hand-loom weavers; and, where my own arrangements permitted, I have taken them in, partly from consideration of their condition, and partly because they made the best hands. At another establishment near Macclesfield we have employed them a good deal as dressers; and, generally speaking, I prefer taking the hand-loom weavers for the power-loom weaving to taking workmen from any other occupation." He adds, that the same thing is usually done by other mill-owners. It is found that men from the age of twenty-five to forty make the best weavers, especially for fustian goods.

This witness adverts to a difficulty of a peculiar kind, which is experienced from the natural desire of the persons employed in manufactories to escape from the lower to the higher departments of the work, at which more money may be earned. "The piecers," he says, "generally endeavour to get wheels if they can, and if not, both there and in the carding, they are very desirous to get employment as weavers, to such an extent that I have made a rule that no person employed in the previous processes shall go to weaving, because otherwise they would be all for going, and I should have the preparation-rooms entirely empty." He mentions that having recently wished to turn out a number of young hands, and to replace them with older piecers, he had sent to Bolton, Oldham, and other places, to procure them, and found it impossible; he was told that there was a great demand for all hands except mule-spinners, and that those might be had in any quantity. In fact, the improvements which are constantly making in the machinery used in the various departments of the cotton manufacture, bringing the combination of dead wheel-work every day nearer to the condition of a living and intelligent agent, are enabling us to dispense with skilled, and creating employment for comparatively unskilled labour, in such a manner as to form one of the most remarkable and interesting phenomena attendant upon the progress of this great branch of our national industry. Upon this head, however, we shall at present only remark that the course which the manufacture has taken in this respect has been undoubtedly the most fortunate thing that could have happened for the hand-loom weaver. It has lent him a helping hand in two ways—both by opening a new occupation for himself into which he has peculiar facilities of entering, and also by enabling him in many cases to eke out his own scanty earnings by those of the younger members of his family, for whom the cotton-mill is providing more and more employment every year. Mr. Greg intimates that it is becoming difficult to procure a sufficiency of hands for the mills. "At Bollington," he says, "we have had considerable difficulty in procuring piecers; and at Bury I have lately made great exertions to procure water spinners, and I have only been enabled to do it to a limited extent."

The only other witness examined before the Committee on Manufactures, to whose evidence we shall refer, is Mr. James Thomson, calico-printer, at Primrose, near Clitheroe, in Lancashire. Mr. Thomson, who employs about 800 men, women, and children, considers the print trade to have been, from about the beginning of 1832, in a much more prosperous state than during any portion of the preceding four or five years. "There is," he says, "a more steady demand, and fair remunerating prices; there is better employment for all the persons engaged in it." Up to the year 1831 a duty of 3½*d.* per square yard was levied from all printed calicoes of whatever quality. The absurdity and oppressiveness of this exaction were almost without parallel. In the first place, such were the cost of collection and the charges for drawback on exportation, that while the gross amount of the tax exceeded 2,000,000*l.*, the net amount which found its way into the Exchequer scarcely reached 600,000*l.* Then, there was the strong objection that, owing to the distinction of the quality or value of the prints being entirely disregarded, the tax, which formed a comparatively small addition to the price of the finer articles, fell with most disproportionate and burdensome weight upon the coarser sorts,—in other words, was a light tax upon the goods consumed by the rich, and a heavy tax upon the goods consumed by the poor. Every tax, indeed, must be lighter to the rich and heavier to the poor; but this actually amounted to a much larger per-centage upon the same sum when expended by the latter, than when expended by the former. In addition, however, to these obvious considerations, which gave irresistible force to the demand for the repeal of this duty, Mr. Thomson describes some other effects that have followed its removal, which afford so striking an illustration of the indirect mischiefs such imposts are apt to produce, that the passage well deserves to be quoted at length. Being asked if any collateral advantages have arisen from the repeal, he says,—"In the first place, it gives to the consumer the article from thirty to forty per cent. cheaper than it could be had before; for instance, a very useful and respectable dress can be had for half a crown for a poor woman, which would have cost nearly four shillings before the repeal of the duty. I consider that the

advantage to the consumer is not merely the amount of the duty, but it goes even beyond that, for the manufacturer has been greatly benefited by the repeal in other respects. The competition between the fraudulent manufacturer and the honest one, which was very injurious, and which it appears greatly exceeded what we ourselves suspected, is now done away. The advantage of being freed, in a manufacture requiring great skill, and often possessing important secrets, from daily and hourly supervision, is important, for it is well known that many improvements have been carried off from manufactories by the officers. There is also the advantage of being perfectly master of your own time, and of your own apparatus. We can print now at any hour that we receive the order, whereas before we were often obliged to wait for the arrival of the officer to measure cloth; and we can pack our goods the moment they are ready, without being obliged to wait till they have stamped them, an operation that was attended with extreme inconvenience and delay; in fact, we wonder now how we have supported the chain that we wore so long. There is also another advantage; needy persons very often printed calicoes, and exported them, in order to raise a capital by the drawback. These were sent to markets often for which they were quite unsuited; and there again arose very ruinous competition with the honest merchant; goods sent unfit for the market, and obliged to be sacrificed, affecting very grievously the prices of other goods; so that altogether we consider the advantage arising from the repeal of the duty to be very considerable." Since the repeal of the duty, Mr. Thomson adds, there has been a very visible increase in the demand, especially for the cheap goods which are worn by the lower classes.

In a subsequent part of his evidence, the witness gives the following sketch of the history of calico-printing in this country: — "Its origin dates from about the year 1690, when a small print-ground was established on the banks of the Thames, at Richmond, by a Frenchman, who in all probability was a refugee after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The first large establishment was at Bromley-hall in Essex; it stood No. 1 in the Excise books when the duty was first imposed, showing that it was at that time the most considerable manufactory of printed calicoes near London. There was a lead pump there some years ago, when it was still a manufactory of printed calicoes, with the date 1710 upon it. The trade gradually increased in the neighbourhood of London, and about the year 1768 or 1769 it was carried into Lancashire, where it is now one of the great and leading branches of the cotton manufacture." It is supposed that there are now not less than 230,000 individuals employed in, and dependent upon, the print trade*.

The first interference of the legislature with the trade went to impose — not a duty, but a penalty, upon the fabrication of calicoes. "The wear of Indian calicoes printed in Britain, both in apparel and household furniture," says Anderson, in his *Origin of Commerce*, under the year 1721, "was at this time become so universal, as to be a great detriment and obstruction to both the woollen and silk manufactures of the kingdom. This had occasioned several riots and tumults of the weavers in London, &c. It was therefore found necessary to redress a grievance in which so many thousand families were greatly interested. An act of parliament was therefore passed in this seventh year of King George I. cap. vii.—'to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures, &c.,' which absolutely prohibited the wear thereof, under the penalty of 5*l.* for each offence on the wearer, and of 20*l.* on the seller." It was in this same session, we may remark, that another act was passed, absolutely prohibiting the wearing of buttons or button-holes made of cloth or other stuff, with the view, also, (as it was expressed) of encouraging the consumption of silk and mohair yarn. The prohibition against printed calicoes was so far relaxed in 1736, that they were permitted to be worn, provided the warp was entirely of linen—a description which would comprehend all cotton cloths then manufactured in England, and would exclude only such as were imported from India. At last, in 1774, soon after the fabrication of cloths entirely of cotton had been introduced in this country, the prohibition was wholly repealed, and instead of a penalty upon the wearing of calicoes, a duty, as already mentioned, was imposed upon every square yard which should be printed. The duty was, at first, 3*d.*, and was raised to 3½*d.* in 1806.

As illustrating the fall that has taken place in the prices of prints, Mr. Thomson mentions that an article which in 1795 cost 2*s.* 3*d.* a yard, may now be bought for about 8*d.*; and that the cloth for which he had paid a guinea the piece in 1811 may now be bought for 7*s.* or less. This fall of price he attributes to the great degree in which the mechanical processes and the skill of the manufacturer have been improved, and to the great reduction in the cost of the raw materials. Of course, the same causes which have brought down the price of cotton goods generally, must have contributed to reduce those of printed calicoes.

The witness complains of the duties on oils, and on dyeing drugs, particularly that on madder, as forming now the chief impediments to the further extension of the printing trade. Both these classes of duties have been materially reduced since this evidence was given. The duty on madder, which a few years ago was 18*s.* per cwt., was reduced last session from 6*s.*, which it then was, to 2*s.* per cwt. The former duty, Mr. Thomson affirms, had entirely destroyed one branch of trade—the dyeing of Turkey-red yarn, in which the quantity of madder employed was so considerable, as to form at least 60 per cent. of the cost of production. The Turkey-red yarn consumed in Russia is English yarn, but it is dyed at Elberfeld; and even that which is required for our own consumption in this country is beginning to come from the same place; the English yarn is sent out to Elberfeld to be dyed, and then brought back to England.

In the course of his evidence Mr. Thomson gives some interesting information on the subject of patterns. The expense of employing artists for the invention and production of new patterns, forms, he says, a very important charge in the large printing establishments. These artists have generally served an apprenticeship as drawers in the manufactory. There are, however, only about half-a-dozen houses in the trade that go to the expense of preparing original designs. The others are in the habit of merely copying the patterns produced by the larger establishments as soon as the short protection of three months, which is all that the present law allows, has expired. They not only in this way escape all the expense of producing the design, but they also avoid the risk and occasional loss attendant upon the production of patterns which do not happen to suit the market; they select for imitation only such as have had a great run and are sure to sell. Mr. Thomson intimates that the manufacturers by whom the patterns are originally produced, would be satisfied if the term of the protection were extended to six months. It is difficult to see upon what principle such a claim can be resisted; for it amounts to no more than a demand, on the part of the producers of the new designs, that another set of persons should not be allowed to seize upon what is of right their property, at least until its value has been in some moderate degree depreciated. To the question, Do you consider that we are before or behind the French in the invention of tasteful patterns? Mr. Thomson answers, "It is difficult to give an opinion upon that. One of the first calico printers in France left London one or two days ago; he came here expressly in search of ideas for next spring; he has visited all the shops in London, and has gone home well satisfied. I went to Paris three weeks ago for the same purpose." He had stated before, in reference to the manufacture generally, as carried on in the two countries, that the French are greatly inferior to us in mechanical skill and in manual dexterity—that they produce much less in the same time than we do—and that even in the matter of chemical skill and knowledge, although the science of chemistry is cultivated by every calico printer in France, and there is not a ground without its laboratory, or without its working chemist, whose business it is to carry on experiments with a view to improve the processes (which in England is the case only on some of the more important grounds),—yet the fact is, that during the last thirty years the chemical discoveries affecting the manufacture which have been made in England, are much more important than those which have been made in France. As to any superiority which the French may have in regard to brilliancy of colours, "they enjoy," says Mr. Thomson, "that advantage which a superior climate gives them, but that is [the] only one; they can expose their cloth with more certainty; they have a finer sun than we have; and in the fine muslins, where great beauty of execution is so important, they certainly have an advan-

* Macculloch's 'Dictionary of Commerce,' (2d edit.) p. 213.

tage." He adds, however, that after all, he does not attach any great importance to these circumstances.

We have now presented, with as much fulness as our limits would permit, all that is most material in the statements respecting the various branches of the cotton trade to be found in the evidence taken before the Committee, confining ourselves, however, principally to the distinct facts mentioned by the different witnesses, and leaving for the most part unnoticed the mere opinions and speculations in which some of them indulge. The mode of examination pursued by a Parliamentary Committee, though often successful in extracting much highly valuable information, is subject to certain disadvantages which prevent the evidence obtained by means of it from being relied upon in all respects with perfect confidence. The witnesses, in the first place, are generally known partisans of some particular class of opinions, who either spontaneously present themselves to support their own views, or are sought out and brought forward by some member of the Committee of the same way of thinking. Their testimony, therefore, is to be taken with the abatement necessary in the case of that testimony which is given not without some degree of partial purpose. But even supposing the witness to be free from any party bias, the circumstances in which his evidence is given make it almost impossible that it should deserve to be, in all respects, depended on as correct. Many of the questions which he is asked are of course unexpected, and his answers, therefore, must often be only the hasty suggestions or vague recollections of the moment. There can be no doubt that many both of the opinions and the statements as to matters of fact which are drawn forth in these circumstances would have been materially modified, if the witnesses had been allowed more time for deliberation, and could have made the necessary inquiries before expressing themselves on points with which they were not perfectly acquainted.

A Commission is an instrument of investigation much more efficient than a Committee. By means of a commission the facts of a case may, in general, be examined not merely through the medium of testimony, but by direct inspection. The testimony that is received consists usually of answers deliberately prepared to queries for the consideration of which ample time is given. These answers serve to check one another, so that neither error nor misrepresentation on the part of any individual among those by whom they are returned is likely to pass unnoticed. The information, moreover, for which a commission trusts to testimony, commonly consists of details which admit of being stated either in figures, or in some other form nearly as precise; so that all vagueness of statement, and most of the other ordinary chances of error, are precluded.

The late commission which was appointed by his Majesty to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, and as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of their labour, have in their several reports presented a vast mass of interesting and valuable information on the subject of the cotton manufacture. Their report, entitled "Supplementary Report, Part I.," in particular, contains by far the most minute and authentic details on various points of this subject that have ever been laid before the public.

We shall, in our next Number, proceed to abstract the substance of the most important among the papers appended to this report, and shall have particularly to direct attention to the preface by Mr. Cowell, explanatory of the tables extracted by Mr. Stanway from the returns to certain forms circulated among the manufacturers of the Lancashire district. We shall, of course, confine ourselves to those parts of the papers that relate to the cotton manufacture.*

FREE TRADE IN TEA.

THE act which opened the tea trade was passed on the 28th of August, 1833, and came into operation in April of the present year; from which period it has been lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade with any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan.

Whilst the monopoly of the East India Company existed, the quantity of tea put up for sale was evidently not measured by the demand or the wants of the population; for we find that in 1824 very nearly the same quantity was brought forward as in 1801, although the population had increased in the mean time three millions and a half. The competition amongst the buyers to obtain their portion of this inadequate supply raised the price of tea 25 per cent., and in some instances 50 per cent., above the price at which it was put up by the Company, which price was what they considered a remuneration for the cost. Meanwhile the Company, looking to their own immediate interests, were accustomed not to declare for sale more tea than they could sell at those extravagant rates; but the nation suffered in the ratio of their inordinate gains. The abuse at length excited public attention, and, in deference to the loudly expressed opinion of parliament and the people, the quantity of tea put up for sale was gradually increased from twenty-six million to thirty-two million pounds per annum. The larger quantity found ready purchasers, at a reduction in price, it is true, of about 10 per cent., but without any diminution of the revenue, and most probably, also, without loss to the aggregate profit of the Company. It might naturally be supposed by those who have not investigated the power of consumption which exists in this country at prices affording a mercantile remuneration to the producer and importer, that the consumption of coffee would have diminished in the ratio of the increased consumption of tea; but how stands the fact? About the period at which the Company put up for sale the larger quantity of tea, Mr. Huskisson reduced the duty on coffee from about 200 per cent. to 100 per cent.: at the former duty the consumption was eight million, and at the latter the consumption now exceeds twenty million pounds per annum.

The effect of the monopoly of the East India Company, however, was not confined to the home consumption of tea. So long as the quantity supplied by the Company was inadequate to the home consumption, the consequent high price drove foreigners to seek for supplies at a cheaper rate, and to import it for themselves, or through the medium of the United States. The prices of tea at Hamburg and New York were, on the average, 50 per cent. lower than in this country. If, instead of the state of things which actually existed, the peace of 1815 had found this country with a free trade to China, the supply of tea to the continent might possibly have devolved to our merchants. In the first or second year after the peace, the orders from Holland were so large in one sale, that tea sold dearer than at any period of the war. As soon, however, as the Dutch could import tea for themselves, we heard no more of their purchases at the East India Company's sales.

Such was the state of the tea trade when the expiration of the East India Company's charter called upon Parliament to provide for the collection of the duty to be levied on tea, when the importation should be thrown open to individuals in every part of the kingdom. Under the management of the Company it was levied *ad valorem* on the prices at their quarterly sales, and collected by the Company with trifling expense to Government. Under the new order of things this system was impracticable, and it became necessary to transfer this branch of the revenue from the Excise to the Customs. A fixed scale of duty was therefore to be selected; and it was proposed that for the future the duty on Bohea should be 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. instead of 96 per cent.; on the middling qualities of black and green, 2*s.* 2*d.* per lb.; and on the fine descriptions of black and green, 3*s.* per lb. in lieu of the 100 per cent. *ad valorem* on those sorts. It was not until the third reading of the bill in the House of Commons that any serious opposition was attempted by the trade to the proposed scale, and although so late in the session, Ministers acceded to the desire for a select committee on the tea duties. The report of that committee is as follows:—

"Resolved, that it would be manifestly unjust to the merchants who have ordered teas from China to alter the laws, so far as to affect the duties on teas so ordered, and therefore any change, supposing such desirable, could not take effect for some time to come; and as experience of the working of the present law must be had before the next session of parliament, your committee are of opinion that it is advisable to receive the benefit of such experience before the legislature determines upon the expediency of any prospective alteration in the duties on tea."

* In our former article on the Cotton Trade, in the last two sentences of the paragraph referring to the evidence of Mr. K[illegible], ('Companion,' p. 197, col. 1,) the term "spinner" has b[illegible] times inadvertently used for "weaver."

From the minutes of evidence, printed by order of the committee, there appears to exist a great difference of opinion upon the question, whether officers of customs can discriminate between the better qualities of low teas and the inferior qualities of high-priced teas; but this difference, like many others, appears to turn chiefly upon the meaning which each party affixes to the same terms.

It is also asserted by the opponents of the scale, that its professed object in imposing a lower duty on tea chiefly consumed by the poor, will not be obtained; but upon the most attentive consideration of the evidence, it appears to us that their deductions are based upon the prices, of which they only have any experience, under the system of monopoly, and which cannot be admitted as a criterion of what prices probably will be under the free-trade system.

It is impossible to foretell, with certainty, the whole of the consequences which may follow the throwing open a trade of such vast extent, but we can hardly doubt that the ultimate result must be a reduction in prices. The capital of England has, in many instances, supplied foreigners with the means of carrying on the trade in tea, and the same funds, and as much more as may be required, will be forthcoming for our own benefit. In that case, it may be expected that the scale of duties adopted by Government will furnish the lowest tea at 6*d.* per lb. cheaper; the middling qualities as cheap, and the higher qualities 1*s.* per lb. dearer than a fixed duty on all sorts of 2*s.* per lb., for which the trade contended.

Two cargoes of tea have already arrived in the Thames from Sincapore, to which the commodity had been brought by Chinese junks; another cargo has just arrived in the Clyde from Canton direct, with, it is understood, a good assortment of the various qualities. Several private sales have been held in London, at which the prices ranged rather higher than at the East India Company's sale in June, notwithstanding that another Company's sale is to take place in December. These prices cannot, however, be considered as any criterion for the future, as larger arrivals are daily expected, and the tea will, of course, be immediately brought into consumption. It will no doubt be some time before the public derive the full advantage in the reduction of price consequent upon the free trade.

If we now turn our attention to the prospects of increased exports to China in exchange for tea, here, also, we may anticipate, in course of time, very important effects from the new arrangement. The exports of the Company were very trifling: remittances from India in money, or the raw products of our possessions there—such as cotton, pepper, &c.—supplied the funds for the purchase of tea, and will continue to do so in a large proportion. Supposing, even, that the increased quantity of tea which we shall require should be provided for by the same means, without any great addition to our direct exports, the advantage to our commerce and manufactures would not be the less; because a demand for the productions of India, from whatever quarter, will furnish the natives with the means for the purchase of our manufactures, the consumption of which is only limited by their power of obtaining them. But without the gift of prophecy, there is no hazard in predicting, that in a few years a more intimate knowledge of the wants of the Chinese will open an extensive field for our manufactures, knowing, as we do, that no people under the sun are more keenly alive to their own interest. At present our intercourse with China is confined to one port—that of Canton, situated at the extremity of the empire, and without the facility of water-carriage enjoyed by many of the other provinces. It has been ascertained that the people in the northern portions of that vast empire are quite as anxious to encourage our intercourse with them as the people of Canton, from interested motives, are to prevent it. It is natural, however, to suppose that the mandarin, or governor, of Canton, will be induced, for the sake of the advantage which he personally derives from our intercourse, to increase the facilities and reduce the port charges upon our vessels.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE SEWERS OF THE METROPOLIS.

The state of the drainage and sewers of a city so vast as London must always be a subject of very great importance. In all crowded communities, the health, the happiness, and the morals of the public are liable to be affected to a large extent by the want of cleanliness and free ventilation; and the truth of this has been at times fearfully demonstrated in the visits of pestilence and disease. The subject engaged the attention of a Committee of the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament; and their Report, accompanied by minutes of the evidence taken by them, has since been printed. The document forms a folio volume of considerable bulk. We shall, in the present paper, give an abstract of the evidence contained in it, as far as our limits will permit.

The metropolis and adjacent districts, within a circle of ten miles from the Post Office, are divided into seven Trusts or Boards of Commissioners, for the purpose of maintaining the sewers, gutters, ditches, streams, watercourses, &c., in their respective districts, each having a separate and independent jurisdiction of its own. Five of these commissions are administered under local acts, but two of them take as their guide the old law of sewers, dated so far back as the 23rd of Henry VIII. In the administration of these commissions there are numerous defects, arising from the system under which they operate, and which, notwithstanding the spread of civilization and the great increase of improvements in the metropolis, do yet operate most unfavourably, and produce inconveniences and losses which are severely felt by the inhabitants generally.

The provisions of the old law of Henry VIII. are quite inadequate to the complicated wants of modern times. The only thing which appears to have been in the contemplation of the legislature at that early period, was the surface-drainage; and yet, singular as it may appear, this law, up to the present day, cripples the powers of the commissioners, and retards beneficial improvements and alterations. Equally unsuited to modern times is the want of publicity and responsibility, which characterizes the system established by the old statute. No real responsibility can possibly exist, where the right of the rate-payers to inspect the accounts is not admitted, and where the actions of the commissioners cannot be controlled by those whom they tax. These defects, coupled with the want of uniformity in the administration of the law, and the want of combination in Boards acting independently of each other, call loudly for remedy. Of this want of uniformity and of combination, striking and forcible instances are given. A man having property in Finsbury and in Westminster, or in the city and the Tower Hamlets, will find himself under the operation of different and contrary rules, and may be led, from a knowledge of the regulations of the one district, to violate those of the other. A single instance will demonstrate the injury and inconvenience produced in consequence of the want of combination. Part of the sewage of the Holborn and Finsbury district is conducted through the city into the Thames. The sewers of that district having been greatly improved and enlarged, the volume of water carried to the river became so great as to render the sewers of the city inadequate to carry off their contents, which, in addition to the waters from the high lands of the neighbouring trusts, were absolutely forced back into the houses, from the quantity which occupied the main sewer, and thus, after each fall of rain, the houses in the vicinity of the river were regularly inundated. This has now been remedied at a great expense to the City of London district, and by dint of much time and labour; but if anything like combination had existed, the improvements of the one Board of Commissioners would not have been injurious to the other, and much inconvenience and heavy expense would have been avoided.

The principle on which the sewers' rates are collected is simply this—that all houses are liable to them which either receive a benefit from the sewers or avoid a damage. Now, as either directly or indirectly all are benefited by the surface-drainage, all are liable to pay the rates. This was a fair principle so long as the surface-drainage of the town was alone contemplated; but with the increase of civilization, the sewers have become applicable to many other purposes, conducive to the convenience and health of the public, in addition to the surface-drainage; and it appears unjust that the same rate should be levied upon houses enjoying the advantage of an underground communication with the sewers, and upon houses which possess no such advantage. Nor have the Boards acting under the old law the power of making additions to such houses, for that law does not authorize them to make rates for the construction of new sewers, or for covering in old open sewers, nor does it

enable them to compel builders to provide new districts with proper access to the main lines of sewers, or to rate old property for the construction of new sewers in districts where there are none at present, even in cases in which the consent of a majority of the householders interested might be obtained.

In consequence of these defects in the law, the health of several old and populous districts of the metropolis is affected, and very great inconvenience experienced, from the want or imperfect state of the sewage. The inhabitants of those districts are rated for sewage which either does not exist, or from which they derive very partial advantage. An unequal and unjust tax is imposed, and the dissatisfaction which it excites is aggravated by its being paid to irresponsible bodies. The Committee, indeed, express their satisfaction, that whatever may be the defects of the existing laws on the subject, they appear to have been administered with good faith and integrity on the part of the commissioners. No charge of malversation, it is said, in the management of the funds intrusted to them during late years has been substantiated; and where any just ground of complaint has arisen on the part of the public, it would appear to originate in the faults of the system, and in a consequent want of power in the commissioners. By the law of Henry VIII. the commissioners are allowed 4*s.* a day. This allowance has been generally dropped, but the commissioners of most of the trusts, in lieu of it, dine together on their quarterly days of meeting; the expenses of which are defrayed from the funds in their possession. The number of members of each commission is far too large—in the Westminster and part of Middlesex Board, they amount to upwards of two hundred. The act of Henry VIII. constitutes six a quorum; and in a statement given of the meetings of the Westminster Trust during 1833, the average attendance was about a dozen. The actual annual expenses of the establishment of this trust are as follows:—

Clerks, assistants, and messengers	£1045	0	0
Surveyor's salary	400	0	0
Clerks of works, and labourers	945	14	0
	£2390	14	0

The receipt and expenditure for the last ten years is exhibited in the following table:—

Year.	Receipt.	Expenditure.
1824	£29,981 16 11	£24,168 1 1
1825	28,837 10 10	24,360 4 1
1826	22,740 19 6	29,410 10 0
1827	28,375 17 11	23,505 17 10
1828	19,209 2 6	27,340 15 3
1829	39,424 1 10	33,998 13 9
1830	28,009 17 9	30,427 8 11
1831	35,394 19 7	23,643 0 11
1832	11,274 12 3	19,724 12 10
1833	37,546 3 2	33,410 3 7
	£280,795 2 3	
Balance carried to the account of 1833		10,805 14 0
		£280,795 2 3

This large receipt and expenditure has reference to the following parishes, either wholly or in part under the jurisdiction of the commissioners:—

St. Clement Danes	Wilsden (part)
St. Mary le Strand	St. Mary-le-bone
St. Paul, Covent Gardon	St. Mary, Paddington
St. John Baptist, Savoy	St. George, Hanover-square
St. Martin-in-the Fields	St. James, Westminster
St. Ann, Westminster	St. Margaret, Westminster
St. Giles in the Fields (part)	St. John the Evangelist, do.
St. George, Bloomsbury (part)	St. Luke, Chelsea
St. Pancras (part)	St. Mary Abbots, Kensington
St. John, Hampstead (part)	All Saints, Fulham (part)

There are other parishes named in the commission, but not included in the local act under which the Board administer. From a return, given in evidence by Mr. William Fowler, it appears that the quantity of feet of open and covered sewers built at the cost of the commission since 1807, is 9578, while, during the same period, the public, at their private cost, and without any assistance from the sewers' rate, built 91,708 feet.

Mr. Nathaniel Stallwood gave in the following statement in reference to the expenses of the Holborn and Finsbury Trust:—

Expenses charged by the Commissioners of the Holborn and Finsbury Trust during Twenty Years, from 1814 *to* 1833, *both inclusive.*

Tavern expenses	£7,935	0	0
Rent of offices, repairs, &c.	8,858	0	0
Petty cash to 1827	2,427	0	0
Stationery and printing	4,450	0	0
Furniture	264	0	0
Clerks and messengers	15,737	0	0
Surveyors and inspectors	14,928	0	0
Parliamentary expenses and law	4,315	0	0
Stamps and brokerage	486	0	0
Five per cent. to collectors	10,260	0	0
	£69,600	0	0

This statement is commented on by Messrs. Stable and Lush, the joint clerks of the Holborn and Finsbury Trust, and they explain many of the items which Mr. Stallwood had pointed out as being of a very questionable character. The sum charged for tavern expenses appears to be, on an average, 50*l.* yearly less than the original sum of 4*s.* a day allowed by the old law; while the expenses of superintendence, which Mr. Stallwood had averaged at 50 per cent. upon the money expended—144,375*l.*,—have to be extended not merely over the works executed at the cost of the Commission, but also over the works executed by private individuals under the sanction of the Board. The total amount expended in 1833 by this Trust on their works, was 7337*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*; the entire amount expended, including salaries, and remuneration to individuals who had suffered damage, was 11,992*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*

The commissioners of the city and liberties of London division have within their jurisdiction about 17,600 houses, the rental of which, assessed to the sewer-rate, is 792,904*l.* This comprehends, either wholly or in part, 113 parishes, of which the population is estimated at 122,316. The number of commissioners is 107; seven constitute a quorum; and the average number who attend the meetings is from twenty-five to thirty. The salaries of the officers only amount to 570*l.* per annum; and since the year 1756, about 114 new sewers have been built, wholly or in part. Very great improvements have taken place of late years in the management of this Trust; and the sewers are, generally speaking, in an unobjectionable state. Complaints have been made by several of the inhabitants, who have large and valuable properties in the most crowded parts of the city, of the want of drainage in their neighbourhoods—a deficiency which not only produces serious inconvenience, but has been prejudicial to health. But there are obstacles of considerable magnitude in the way of the necessary improvements. To construct sewers of sufficient depth to drain the properties in question, would endanger several buildings,—one or two of them ecclesiastical structures,—and produce considerable risk of loss and damage; and the commissioners have hitherto, in consequence of their defective powers, and misunderstanding with the individuals who complain, refrained from interfering.

The amount received and expended by the City of London division for the last ten years is as follows:—

Year.	Received.	Balance in hand, after defraying Expenses.
1824	£5,643 0 0	. . . . .
1825	7,500 19 10	. . . . .
1826	9,281 11 2	£77 13 10½
1827	12,430 7 5	701 18 5
1828	13,006 14 3	1199 13 3
1829	18,307 14 1	2787 18 7
1830	14,983 7 9	2822 13 7
1831	10,068 10 6	. . . . .
1832	12,041 5 11	. . . . .
1833	17,718 9 4	4379 1 11

It will be unnecessary to enter more into detail respecting the seven metropolitan sewage Trusts. These specimens indicate sufficiently the manner in which the different Commissions are administered, and point out the necessity which exists for an enlargement of the powers, a consolidation of the operations, and a due and efficient control over the actions of those who are invested with the care of the health

and cleanliness of the metropolis, and who, for the accomplishment of the purposes of their Trusts, have the power of levying an arbitrary tax upon the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the large sums which have been levied and expended, the state of the metropolitan sewage is very far indeed from accomplishing the objects proposed. Complaints from every quarter were forwarded to the Committee; and though these complaints were met by counter-statements which threw the onus off the different boards, in so far as a tolerably fair administration of the Trusts is concerned, they yet exemplify in a striking light the evils of the present system. Several scientific men were examined, in order to ascertain what might be done towards removing nuisances proceeding from the sewage, and affecting the health of the metropolis. A Mr. Fuller, seconded by several medical men of eminence, proposed a plan for purifying the air, by erecting furnaces communicating at intervals with the main sewers; and also suggested the closing of the gully-holes, as they are termed, with traps, so as to prevent the escape of noxious effluvia. The expense of erecting these furnaces would be considerable, and as no successful experiment had been made which would seem to warrant the risk of the expense, the Committee decline pronouncing an opinion on the plan, especially as Mr. Faraday, though he approved of it as one likely to succeed, was cautious and guarded in expressing his opinion. The minor improvement of traps for diminishing the admission of foul air from the gully-holes has already attracted the attention of the commissioners in several of the Trusts, and appears to have been applied with success.

The changes which are suggested by the Committee in the law of sewers are inconsiderable. They see so many objections to a central board superseding wholly or in part the local trusts—a change which they think would be unpalatable to the inhabitants of the respective districts—that they cannot recommend it, without further consideration, and the intermediate trial of smaller improvements. They therefore recommend that, as the composition of the Trusts has given much and general dissatisfaction (because, although consisting of respectable individuals, a great majority of them have neither the time nor the inclination to attend the courts), whenever a commissioner has absented himself from a majority of the meetings held for his district within the year, he shall be considered as having voluntarily resigned. It is also suggested that the number of commissioners should be fixed; and that vacancies should be filled up, in the city of London by the Common Council, as at present, and in the other Trusts by the vestries of the parishes in the respective districts, by rotation, and in proportion to their relative population and rental. And in addition to this improvement (which would, of course, give the rate-payers a control over the boards, and tend to destroy the close corporate system pursued), it is recommended that the interpretation of the law in the different Trusts should be uniform, instead of being, as at present, confused and contradictory: that the courts should meet at fixed times, and be thrown open to the public; and that the accounts should be subject to general inspection, publicly audited, and submitted annually to Parliament, copies being furnished to all rate-payers, on demand, at a reasonable price. They suggest that works of all kinds should be performed by public contract, with due notice given, but with the understanding that they are to be subjected to the approbation of the commissioners; there being no public works in which the inspection of responsible officers is so essential as in those connected with sewers, where defects, concealed easily, if not at once detected, are sure to be brought to light by entailing upon the district subsequently a load of vexation and expense.

The practicability of varying the amount of the rates according to the extent of the advantages enjoyed is attended with considerable difficulties. The principle on which a uniform rate was originally established has been already explained; and as long as the sewage was confined to the surface-drainage it was perfectly just. It certainly is now an unreasonable thing to impose precisely the same amount of rate on streets and houses which have no private underground drains, because there are no sewers within reach into which to conduct them, as upon other streets and houses amply provided with the accommodation of public and private drainage. But how to apportion the expense has been left undecided by the Committee; as has also been the other important point, of how best to secure combination and co-operation among the different boards.

There is also a great difficulty in fixing the limits of *indirect* advantage where there is no underground communication with the sewers. For instance, in the Holborn and Finsbury Trust, the inhabitants of the high lands about Hampstead and Highgate are exempted from the payment of sewers' rates, although they are, unquestionably, benefited indirectly by the sewage of the lower districts between them and the river, which are forced to provide a passage for their superabundant waters. But a court of law has decided that they are not liable, and no rate has been levied by the commissioners, for many years, beyond a certain line.

The sewers' rate is regarded as a landlord's rate, but is paid, in the first instance, by the occupying tenant. It would be expedient, where there is not a special agreement to the contrary, that a receipt given by the commissioners to the tenant should be in all cases a legal set-off against the rent; while houses untenanted for any length of time, and consequently not contributing to the wear and tear of the sewers, should be allowed a temporary exemption from the rate. This improvement would be a great relief to the inhabitants, as by the existing law the houses are liable for the rate, without regard being had to the recent entrance of the occupants, or the length of time a particular house has been unoccupied.

Whatever doubts exist as to the jurisdiction of the commissioners should be completely removed. Power should be given them, in all cases, to cover in, enlarge, widen, or otherwise improve open sewers; to compel builders to provide new districts with adequate communications with the main lines of sewers; to rate old property for the construction of new sewers; and to oblige the owners of all houses thus rated to form communications with the sewers when built.

SUPPLY OF WATER TO THE METROPOLIS.

Considerable dissatisfaction having been expressed on the part of the inhabitants of the metropolis, in and about the year 1828, relative to the quality of the water supplied for their use and consumption, by the different joint-stock companies incorporated for that purpose, and a petition on the subject, numerously signed, having been presented to Parliament, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, in July of that year, to inquire into the matter. This committee, after examining several scientific men, and inquiring into the system pursued by the different water companies, made their report to the House, in which they stated it as their opinion "that the then present state of the supply of water to the metropolis was susceptible of, and required improvement; that many of the complaints relative to the quality of the water were well founded; that the supply ought to be derived from other sources than those then resorted to; and that it should be guarded by such restrictions as would at all times ensure the cleanliness and purity of an article of such prime necessity."

Having given this opinion, the committee proceeded to recommend that Mr. Telford should be instructed to make such surveys as he should think necessary, in order to enable him to recommend a practicable and efficacious plan of supplying the whole of the metropolis with pure and wholesome water.

This recommendation of the Committee not having been acted upon for some months after their report was made, and the public dissatisfaction continuing to be strongly manifested, the matter was taken up by Sir Francis Burdett, as one of the members for the City of Westminster; and in consequence of his urgent appeals to Government, commenced in February 1829, and continued during two years, an order was at length given in March 1831, directing Mr. Telford "to make a survey, and report upon the best mode of supplying the metropolis with pure water:" this order was not, however, issued, until an offer had been made by Sir Francis Burdett, and accepted by the Lords of the Treasury, to secure the Government from any expense in the matter. This stipulation, so honourable to the public spirit of Sir Francis Burdett, was subsequently abandoned by the Treasury, upon the ground that it was the duty of the Government to give effect to the recommendation of the Committee of the House of Commons." To this position we doubt not our readers will cordially assent. It appears indeed surprising to us, how any hesitation could have been for a moment entertained by Government upon the subject.

The health of nearly a million and a half of people is surely an object of sufficient importance to warrant the outlay of a few thousand pounds, and it is not always that we have been accustomed to see so much regard paid to saving, on the part of those who have the custody of the public purse in this country.

The business could not have been placed in better or more competent hands than in those of the late Mr. Telford, whose eulogium will be read by many succeeding generations, in the works of grandeur and utility which he has left to attest his genius. The report which that accomplished engineer made to the Lords of the Treasury, of his proceedings and observations during the investigation which he was instructed to make, was presented on the 26th of March, in the present year, to the House of Commons, and was subsequently referred to a select committee, who have reported to the House the further evidence which they have collected, bearing upon the subject.

Mr. Telford states in his Report, that the water of the Thames being strongly objected to, in consequence of the impurities with which it is contaminated, he perambulated the district on each side of the valley of the Thames, and examined the streams which fall into that river in the vicinity of London.

In the result he found an abundance of pure, transparent water, within the distance of sixteen miles on the north, amply sufficient for the supply of three of the present water companies on that side of the Thames; and within ten miles on the south, he found as ample a supply for the three water-work companies on the south side of the river, both sources of supply being at a sufficient elevation for high and low services, without any necessity of having recourse to filtration, or indeed to pumping, except for a small portion of the high services.

The six companies here alluded to are, on the north side of the Thames, and supplying the north-western part of the town,—the Grand Junction, West Middlesex, and Chelsea; and on the south side, the Lambeth Company, South London, and Southwark. Besides these six, the New River, and the East London Companies, supply the north-eastern part of London with water drawn from the River Lea, the purity of which is considered to be satisfactory.

The total quantity of water distributed *daily* by these eight companies, to 191,046 houses, is stated by their directors to amount to the enormous quantity of 20,829,555 imperial gallons; of this quantity the north-western district receives 9,000,727 gallons, the southern district 4,134,000 gallons, and the north-eastern 7,694,828 gallons. The object undertaken by Mr. Telford was, therefore, to discover whence a daily supply of upwards of 13,000,000 of imperial gallons of pure water could be procured, so as to avoid the necessity on the part of the inhabitants of the north-western and southern parts of the metropolis, for using the impure and noxious compound now supplied to them from the Thames.

In the course of his survey, Mr. Telford examined the capabilities of the River Colne, which passes Uxbridge, after having received at Rickmansworth the waters of a considerable stream called the Chesham. He found that, unless after heavy rains, the Colne is an insignificant stream, quite inadequate to the purpose required, and when swollen by rains, that the water was unfit for domestic use, on account of its muddiness. About half way between St. Alban's and Watford, the Colne joins the Verulam, a transparent stream which occupies the St. Alban's valley. At Watford Mill, in the autumn of 1833, being the driest season, as regards the supply of rivers, experienced during the last half century, the Verulam river produced upwards of thirty cubic feet of water per second, or 16,200,000 imperial gallons daily, a quantity amply sufficient for the purpose, although new buildings in the north-western district should for many years continue to spring up as numerously as we have seen them rise during the last five-and-twenty years.

About two miles above Watford, the valley of the river Verulam affords a commodious situation for extensive reservoirs of water, and for allowing it to settle, if such should be deemed requisite. From this place, Mr. Telford proposes to convey a covered aqueduct, to descend with an uniform inclination of eighteen inches per mile to Primrose Hill, north of the Regent's Park, terminating there in a set of extensive receiving and distributing reservoirs at the height of 146 feet above high water in the River Thames. From those reservoirs each of the three companies supplying the north-western district, might be supplied separately and in any proportions that might be determined.

In order to deliver the water into the reservoirs at Primrose Hill, as pure as it leaves the Verulam, it is proposed to convey it through a covered aqueduct, at such a depth beneath the surface of the ground as to be secured from the effects of frost and from external injury, while it would not be subject to mixture with surface water. To remedy the unavoidable interruption occasioned by cleansing and repairing, Mr. Telford suggests the necessity of constructing the aqueduct with a double watercourse, separated by a footpath through its whole length; and to provide an adequate supply in the probable event of an increased population, he suggests that the aqueduct should be made sufficiently large to convey the whole quantity of thirty cubic feet per second furnished by the Verulam. The analyses of this water, which have been made by persons of adequate chemical knowledge, as well as the adduced testimony of various persons residing in or near Watford, leaves no reason to object in any way against the purity and excellence of the water which it is thus proposed to adopt.

The quantity of water required for the supply of the inhabitants south of the Thames, is, as we have seen, not one half so great as that needed for the north-western district. In the summer, when the largest quantity of water is required by the inhabitants, the supply need not amount to quite ten cubic feet per second.

To provide this quantity, Mr. Telford has proposed to draw a supply from the river Wandle, at a sufficiently high elevation, which is found on the Croydon branch of that river, at the east end of Beddington Park, ninety feet above high water in the River Thames. From this place an aqueduct, similar in its construction to that already described, may be carried in nearly a direct line to Clapham Common, and there terminate in the requisite number of reservoirs, at a height of eighty-two feet above the highest level of the Thames, and which, with the sole exception of Brixton Hill, exceeds the height of delivery now accomplished by any of the three companies supplying this southern district.

The main branch of the Wandle takes its rise in a singularly copious spring in the vicinity of Croydon, and after pursuing a westerly course for about three miles is joined by the Carshalton branch, which likewise derives its origin from several plentiful springs in that neighbourhood. The water of this river possesses at all times an uncommon degree of purity, regaining its transparency after the heaviest rains in the course of a few hours.

The quantity of water flowing down the Carshalton branch of the Wandle in the extraordinarily dry season of 1833, was at the rate of thirteen cubic feet per second, while the quantity discharged by the Croydon branch was at the rate of seventeen feet per second; there can therefore be no doubt of the adequacy of the source whence Mr. Telford has proposed to draw the supply of water necessary for the inhabitants of the southern part of the metropolis.

It seems unnecessary here to go into any description of the means possessed for the same purpose, as regards the north-eastern district, by the New River and East London Companies, both because it is not proposed to make any material or immediate alterations in their present arrangements, and because the necessary particulars may be gathered from other sources. There can be no reason for doubting the adequacy of the river Lea for the purpose of supplying, if such a necessity could arise, the whole northern district of London, since we are told, on the authority of Mr. Telford, that in the month of November, 1833, the quantity of water flowing down that river was found to be 110 cubic feet per second, *after supplying the New River*. Some suggestions are made in the Report, by adopting which the original purity of the water of the Lea would be preserved more completely than at present; but a description of these plans involves merely technical details, which would hardly be interesting to our readers. It may, however, be well to mention, that the water of the Lea is originally of the same quality as that of the Verulam, the sources of both being from the great chalk ridge which intersects Hertfordshire.

To effect the objects proposed by Mr. Telford, of conducting the waters of the Verulam and the Wandle for the supply of London, a considerable outlay of money would be required. An estimate of the cost of the various works is

given, showing an amount, for the north side, of £.785,965
and on the south side, of . . 391,875

Together . £.1,177,840

a very large sum of money, undoubtedly, and which being beyond the means possessed by the existing companies, must in the outset be advanced by Government. This consideration should not, however, be allowed to stand in the way of accomplishing so important, so necessary an object, as the supply of wholesome water to the metropolis, and especially as means have been pointed out whereby the interest could be paid upon the outlay without adding in any way to the public burdens. The plan for this purpose was proposed by the Directors of the Grand Junction Waterworks Company, and was to this effect—that the Government having advanced the sums required to bring the water to the spots whence the companies could receive it into their respective works, these establishments should each pay their proportion of interest according to the quantities of water respectively used by them, the rates of the companies being pledged to the Government as security for the payment of the interest. On the other hand, it was proposed that the companies should be authorized to make such an addition to the rates charged to their customers as would compensate them for this payment, taking into consideration that their constant annual outlay for pumping and filtration would be materially lessened by the adoption of the plans proposed. To this additional charge the public could not fairly object, the advantage of securing a plentiful supply of pure water being sufficiently great to compensate for the small additional charge that would be necessary for the purpose.

DISTRIBUTION OF DIRECT TAXES.*

The returns of payments of assessed taxes exhibit a curious body of facts which afford materials, though of course imperfect, for a more accurate view of the condition to which society has arrived, and the steps by which its progress has been made, than could well be obtained through any other medium. The materials for the following classification are obtained from official sources.

Houses and Rent.—The rental charged to the assessed taxes in Great Britain amounted to 10,261,334*l.* in the year 1821: to 11,106,237*l.* in 1826; and to 12,629,980*l.* in 1832, but in estimating the proportion which these sums bear to each other, it should be recollected that, in 1825, the tax upon houses rented under 10*l.* was repealed. This produced, in the year previous to the repeal, the sum of 1,171,667*l.* The total amount is distinguished into classes, which, for the year 1832, may thus be stated, together with the number of houses to which the amount was charged:—

	Rent.	Houses.
£ 10 and under £ 15	£1,653,481	146,828
15 „ 20	1,312,948	79,745
20 „ 25	1,103,281	53,159
25 „ 30	707,775	27,477
30 „ 35	970,892	31,869
35 „ 40	653,932	18,280
40 „ 45	848,206	20,994
45 „ 50	357,933	7,870
50 „ 55	662,812	13,183
55 „ 60	182,356	3,295
60 „ 65	583,178	9,674
65 „ 70	136,952	2,086
70 „ 75	355,703	5,064
75 „ 80	104,353	1,384
80 „ 85	385,467	4,797
85 „ 90	45,754	533
90 „ 95	181,926	2,017
95 „ 100	30,950	324
100 „ 110	417,126	4,149
110 „ 120	117,465	1,055
120 „ 130	235,633	1,953
130 „ 140	119,533	914
140 „ 150	96,385	685
150 „ 160	176,695	1,175
160 „ 170	81,788	508
170 „ 180	57,461	335
180 „ 190	91,158	505
190 „ 200	25,365	133
200 „ 220	220,250	1,094
220 „ 240	66,655	293
£240 and under £260	£101,727	410
260 „ 280	35,220	133
280 „ 300	23,400	83
300 „ 350	114,199	373
350 „ 400	66,026	185
400 and upwards	309,973	529
Total	£12,629,980	443,090

* There are two or three apparent errors in the totals in this article, arising from the omission of fractional sums.

Exemptions for 1832.—Houses used for trade, offices, or counting-houses, 2,463; cottages, 1,138,705 (in 1824); farm-houses, 139,536.

The number of inhabited houses, the rent of which does not amount to 10*l.* and which were formerly assessed, is, of course, not included under the total of the last column. The number of such houses amounted to 130,959 in 1821, and to 181,872 in 1824, swelling the total for these years respectively to 447,543 and 546,932. If, therefore, we strike from these two years the houses under 10*l.*, we find that the total of 1832 affords an actual increase of 126,406 on the parallel total of 1821, and of 79,090 on that of 1824. Cottages are excluded altogether from the account.

Windows.—The following account classes the houses according to the number of windows they contain, and shows the amount of duty obtained from each class in the year ending 5th January, 1834:—

Houses having 8 to 10 windows	£153,301
„ 11 15	277,298
„ 16 20	218,146
„ 21 30	255,104
„ 31 39	101,159
„ 40 44	39,507
„ 45 49	26,263
„ 50 59	35,734
„ 60 69	22,420
70 and upwards	72,736
	£1,201,968

The following separate statement not only notices the amount of duty, but the number of windows, in the several years 1820, 1826, and 1832:—

	1820.	1826.	1832.
Number of windows	968,008	353,181*	380,195
Amount of duty	£2,578,580	£1,199,804	£1,273,918

Male Servants.—Under this head we are furnished with much curious information. The *number* of male domestic servants, with the amount which the tax on them produced, was as follows in the specified years:—

	Number.	Duty.
1820	85,344	£319,087
1823	85,731	158,630†
1826	90,061	167,167
1829	96,671	177,169
1832	103,381	187,280

These are the totals of a statement which shows the number of servants kept by persons distinguished as "bachelors" or "not bachelors," and classed so as to exhibit the number of servants, from one to eleven and upwards, in the employ of individuals, with the amount of duty contributed under each head. This information, so far as relates to the year 1832, may thus be quoted:—

	Not kept by Bachelors.		Kept by Bachelors.	
	Number.	Duty.	Number.	Duty.
By persons keeping 1	45,909	£55,090	6,468	£14,229
„ 2	14,965	22,110	1,929	4,918
„ 3	9,295	17,660	1,065	3,088
„ 4	5,985	13,017	731	2,320
„ 5	3,746	9,177	447	1,542
„ 6	2,581	6,646	382	1,365
„ 7	1,828	4,798	261	946
„ 8	1,484	4,155	166	630
„ 9	990	3,019	81	328
„ 10	615	2,044	70	302
„ 11 & upwards	4,639	17,744	444	2,148
Total	91,337	£155,465	12,044	£31,815

The above statement refers strictly to those who are properly called domestic servants, but employers are also subject to taxation for a numerous body of men, described under the comprehensive title of "other descriptions of

* The difference between this account and the preceding is occasioned by the exemption granted in the interval to houses under ten pounds.

† The difference between this sum and the preceding is explained by the reduction of duty which took place in 1822.

servants and male persons." As the duty has, in several instances, been repealed since 1820, an abstract will be rendered the most satisfactory by making it include the years 1820, 1826, and 1832.

Other descriptions of Servants & Male Persons.	1820. No.	1820. Duty. £	1826. No.	1826. Duty. £	1832. No.	1832. Duty. £
Under and occasional Gardeners	39,401	19,700	Repealed.			
Under Game-keepers	345	172	480	240	579	289
Travellers or Riders.—Where one is kept	1,307	3,921	1,871	2,356	1,766	2,649
,, two or more	357	1,758	729	1,822	852	2,130
Total	1,664	5,706	2,300	4,179	2,618	4,779
Clerks, Book-keepers, or Office-keepers, where one is kept	11,774	23,548	13,755	13,755	15,904	15,904
,, two or more	19,437	58,311	22,676	34,014	28,155	42,232
Total	31,211	81,859	36,431	47,769	44,059	58,136
Stewards, Bailiffs, Overseers, or Managers, or clerks under them	9,643	19,286	9,174	9,174	10,110	10,110
Shopmen, Warehousemen, Porters, and Cellarmen	34,081	68,162	36,556	36,556	50,191	50,191
Waiters in taverns, coffee-houses, lodging-houses, &c.	3,003	9,009	3,339	5,008	4,198	6,297
Occasional Waiters.—for six months	312	624	Repealed.			
,, for less than 6 mths.	931	931				
,, in private families	352	352				
Persons employed by stable keepers to look after race-horses	293	586	Repealed.			
Persons retained for husbandry or trade, and occasionally employed as servants	74,537	37,268	Repealed.			
Male persons, not being servants to their employers, and employed occasionally as such by them						
Employer charged for Carriage or Servant	503	1,207	750	900	1,766	2,199
Ditto not so charged	3,260	3,476	3,839	1,919	5,515	2,757
Coachmen, Grooms, Postillions, or Helpers, to be let for hire	427	1,067	502	627	1,312	1,677
Stage-coachmen&Guards	1,774	4,435	2,790	3,487	2,720	3,400
Total	201,734	253,625	96,161	109,861	123,098	139,757

Exemptions in 1832 of servants and other male persons, 38,301.

Horses.—The information under this head is very complete. The following abstracts refer, like the preceding, to the years 1820, 1826, and 1832, which we have selected as affording a tolerably sufficient view of the whole period, the account for every year in which is furnished in the original tables. The first and second statements refer to riding and carriage horses.

Horses used for riding or drawing carriages.	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £.	1826. Number.	1826. Duty. £.	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £.
Persons keeping 1	119,444	343,401	118,726	170,668	123,668	177,772
,, 2	28,564	134,964	28,406	67,109	31,073	73,409
,, 3	11,067	57,668	10,462	27,331	10,740	28,058
,, 4	6,388	35,134	5,890	15,950	5,845	16,078
,, 5	3,405	18,982	3,350	9,087	3,210	8,947
,, 6	2,514	14,581	2,280	6,612	2,138	6,200
,, 7 and 8	671	15,959	2,240	6,692	2,204	6,584
,, 9	257	3,991	576	1,749	532	1,615
,, 10 to 12	600	10,795	1,368	4,333	1,354	4,298
,, 13 to 16	1,798	3,812	545	1,737	719	2,291
,, 17	568	435	119	380	51	153
,, 18	72	464	54	174	126	406
,, 19	95	617	133	432	76	247
,, 20 and upwards	1,124	7,418	1,102	3,636	1,142	3,768
	178,337	648,236	175,068	315,895	182,678	339,830

The following statements refer to *other* saddle or carriage horses, horses chargeable to modified rates of duty, and therefore discriminating their several qualities and uses.

	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £.	1826. Number.	1826. Duty. £.	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £.
Horses let to hire	1,500	4,312	2,006	2,833	2,073	2,979
Race horses	647	1,937	704	1,012	997	1,433
Horses, used for riding or drawing carriages, not exceeding 13 hands high.	8,699	18,267	20,237	21,248	24,689	25,870
Horses rode by farming bailiffs.	858	2,145	1,278	1,597	1,438	1,797
Ditto by butchers, where one is kept	2,882	8,142	3,044	4,375	3,364	4,835
Ditto, where two are kept, for the second horse	491	725	1,108	581	1,213	1636
Total	15,257	35,530	28,377	31,699	33,724	37,550

The next account, which refers to horses employed in labour, is more complete for the year 1820 than for any subsequent year, except 1821, when most of the duties were repealed. We therefore state separately the account for 1820, giving the single item retained in following years in a note.

	Number.	Duty.
Horses not wholly used in husbandry *	138,124	£145,029
Mules under 13 hands carrying coals, ore, &c.	2,611	391
Small farmers, under 20*l.* rent, keeping not more than two horses, &c.	43,887	6,583
Horses used bonâ fide in husbandry, 13 hands high	435,512	380,989
Under 13 hands, for husbandry or other purposes of labour	29,928	4,489
On farms under 50*l.* rent, (livelihood principally gained thereby)	68,336	10,250
Ditto 70*l.* rent, 13 hands high, and livelihood solely gained thereby	82,360	12,353
Ditto 70*l.* and under 100*l.*	59,737	14,933
,, 100 ,, 150	72,161	27,055
,, 150 ,, 200	51,055	26,779
	983,711	628,874

Exemptions. The number of horses exempted in 1832 was 645,959.

To the above information respecting horses, we may add, that the number of *horse-dealers* in Great Britain in the year 1832, was 1042, who paid duty to the amount of 14,025*l.*: 80 of the number belonged to the metropolis. The number of horse-dealers has, since 1820, decreased in London, from 111 to 80, and increased in the country from 890 to 962. The number of exempted horse-dealers was 1027, in the year 1832.

Dogs.—The information under this head, from the exemptions from, and evasions of, the duties, must necessarily be incomplete, and can only be understood to refer to the superior descriptions of dogs, kept by opulent persons.

	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £.	1826 Number.	1826. Duty. £.	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £.
Greyhounds	21,297	21,297	21,090	21,090	15,850	15,850
Pointers, hounds, setting dogs, spaniels, terriers, lurchers, or where persons keep two or more dogs.	105,149	73,604	113,358	79,350	106,316	74,421
Dogs, not being greyhounds, hounds, &c. and the person keeping one only.	185,865	74,346	205,335	82,134	215,795	86,318
Total of dogs, exclusive of packs of hounds	312,311	169,247	339,783	182,574	337,961	176,579
Packs of hounds	74	2,592	74	2,664	77	2,772

Exemptions.—52,414 is stated as the number of dogs exempted in 1832

Carriages.—Carriages have been so subject to taxation in every form, that the returns under this head leave little information to be desired. The number of four-wheeled carriages kept by private persons, with the amount of duty paid thereon was as follows in each of the years specified:—

	Number.	Duty.
1820	17,341	£212,888
1823	18,434	113,322†

* This is the retained item. 1826: number, 114,764; duty, 60,251*l.*—1832: number, 124,076; duty, 65,139*l.*

† The rate of duty was reduced in 1822, which accounts for the difference between this amount and the preceding.

	Number.	Duty.
1826 . .	24,058	£147,657
1829 . .	30,228	185,889
1832 . .	24,830	153,416

These numbers and sums are the totals in an "Account of the number of persons assessed for one four-wheeled carriage and upwards, for private use, specifying the number and the amount of duty charged in each class." From this account, we extract the statement for the years 1820, 1823, 1829, and 1832; introducing the year 1829 for the purpose of showing how the high number attained in that year was composed.

Four-wheeled Carriages	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £.	1823. Number.	1823. Duty. £.	1829. Number.	1829. Duty. £.	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £.
Persons keeping 1	13,689	164,268	14,855	89,130	23,284	139,704	18,163	108,978
—— 2	2,820	36,660	2,792	18,018	5,510	35,815	5,213	33,884
—— 3	597	8,358	618	4,326	1,027	7,189	1,007	7,049
—— 4	156	2,340	136	1,020	219	1,642	236	1,770
—— 5	65	1,023	75	590	91	716	115	905
—— 6	6	98	18	147	53	434	36	295
—— 7	..	..	..	..	16	136	14	119
—— 8	8	140	..	..	8	70	8	70
9— and upwards	..	..	10	90	20	181	38	344
	17,341	212,888	18,434	113,322	30,228	185,889	24,830	153,416

Concerning other four-wheeled-carriages which could not be included in the above statement, the following is the account for the years 1820, 1826, and 1832.

	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £.	1826. Number.	1826. Duty. £.	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £.
Additional bodies .	65	409	66	207	21	66
Carriages let to hire .	344	4,198	404	2,424	602	3,612
Postchaises and carriages	5,064	53,172	6,117	32,114	6,761	35,495
Public stage coaches .	1,654	17,367	2,954	15,508	3,146*	16,516*
Four-wheeled carriages drawn by ponies, oxen, mules or asses :—						
	1820. Number.	1820. Duty.				
Drawn by one pony, &c., without springs	62	89	repealed.			
Ditto with springs, not metallic .	49	134				
Ditto with metallic springs . .	4	26				
Ditto with two or more ponies, &c.	27	234				
Carriages drawn by 1 horse					11,951	53,779
Ditto with wheels of less diameter than 30 inches drawn by ponies between 12 and 13 hands high . . .					742	2,411
Ditto used by common carriers					317	792
	7,062	74,667	9,475	50,046	20,373	96,090

The following is a similar statement with respect to two-wheeled carriages; but as from the repeals and re-organization of duty which have taken place since 1820, it is difficult to bring the numbers for different years under the same denominations, we shall state the accounts for 1820 and 1832 separately.

1820.	Number.	Duty.
Two-wheel carriages drawn by one horse	29,221	£189,936
Ditto drawn by two or more horses	700	6,300
Taxed carts without springs . . .	6,462	9,369
Ditto with springs not metallic .	12,857	35,356
	49,240	240,962

1832.	Number.	Duty.
Two-wheeled carriages, as described in 2 and 3 William IV. chap. 23, No. 1.	9,496	£14,244
Ditto common stage carts, No. 2. .	4,981	7,471
Drawn by one horse	47,250	153,562
Ditto by two or more horses . . .	269	1,210
Let to hire	2,625	8,531
Used by common carriers	661	826
	65,282	185,846

Exemptions. 2,602 was the number of carriages exempted in 1832.

The state of the duties up to 1825 enabled it to be ascertained how many carriages were made and sold every year, together with the other particulars stated in the following account, which refers to the year 1824:—

* This number and amount is for 1831, as the statement for 1832 is not given.

	Number.	Duty.
Persons licensed to make or sell carriages	835	£393
Four-wheel carriages made for sale .	1,780	2,225
Two " " . .	2,211	1,381
Taxed carts for sale	584	87
Four-wheel carriages sold by auction or on commission	185	231
Two " " .	313	195
Taxed carts	80	12
Total of four and two-wheel carriages and taxed carts made for sale, &c.	5,153	4,133

Game Certificates.—This account distinguishes the persons by whom certificates were taken out, with the usual statement of the amount of duty.

	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £	1826. Number.	1826. Duty. £	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £
Persons in their own right	36,102	132,674	40,184	147,676	36,474	134,041
Gamekeepers not being assessed servants	1,890	6,945	1,730	6,357	1,033	3,796
Gamekeepers being assessed servants .	3,445	4,306	3,948	4,935	3,276	4,095
	41,437	143,926	45,862	158,968	40,783	141,933

Hair Powder and Armorial Bearings.—These two items give no occasion for particular remark, unless that the comparison of the numbers in the first of the two affords an indication of the rapid decline of an old usage.

	1820. Number.	1820. Duty. £	1826. Number.	1826. Duty. £	1832. Number.	1832. Duty. £
Persons wearing hair-powder	29,199	34,308	18,327	21,534	10,512	12,351
Persons charged for Armorial bearings	22,627	44,843	25,179	51,190	29,139	59,758

Summary; for the year ending 5th January, 1833.

Total Assessed Taxes	* £4,056,438
" Land Tax	1,161,312
Total receipts .	5,217,750

* This includes 24,598*l.* for composition duties.

THE QUARTERLY ACCOUNT OF THE REVENUE.

INCOME for the year ending 10th Oct. 1834, as compared with that ending 10th Oct. 1833.

	1833. £	1834. £	Decrease. £	Increase. £
Customs . .	15,240,027	16,225,261	—	985,254
Excise . .	14,542,957	13,946,348	596,609	—
Stamps . .	6,499,529	6,601,884	—	102,355
Taxes . .	4,986,180	4,726,195	259,985	—
Post Office .	1,400,000	1,362,000	38,000	—
Miscellaneous .	64,816	45,518	19,298	—
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	294,903	434,634	—	139,731
	43,028,392	43,041,840	913,892	1,227,340
Deduct Decrease . .				913,892
Total Increase on the year .			£	313,448

Revenue for the Quarter ending Oct. 10th, 1834, as compared with that ending Oct. 10th, 1833.

	1833. £	1834. £	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Customs . .	4,272,449	4,950,500	678,051	—
Excise . .	4,771,309	3,924,785	—	846,524
Stamps . .	1,681,726	1,659,008	—	22,718
Taxes . .	652,129	508,714	—	143,415
Post Office .	371,000	366,000	—	5,000
Miscellaneous .	4,394	1,712	—	2,682
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	87,303	99,527	12,224	—
	11,840,310	11,510,246	690,275	1,020,339
Deduct Increase . .				690,275
Total Decrease on the Quarter . .			£	330,064

The Revenue, as stated above, shows
An Increase on the year ending 10th Oct. 1834 of £313,448
A Decrease on the quarter „ „ 330,064
compared with the corresponding periods of the year 1833.

In consequence of the trade in Tea being thrown open on the expiration of the East India Company's charter, the duty, formerly collected by the Excise, was transferred to the Customs in the quarter ending 10th Oct. 1834.

This duty, in the Oct. quarter, 1833, amounted to about £900,000
„ „ 1834, „ „ 850,000
Decrease £50,000

In order to draw a comparison between the produce of the Customs and Excise, in 1833 and 1834, it is necessary to transfer the Tea duty, in the Oct. quarter, *from* the Customs *to* the Excise of 1834.

The Customs on 10th Oct. 1834, being		£16,225,261
	Deduct Tea duty	850,000
		15.375,261
Ditto	„ 1833	15,240,007
	Actual Increase on the year	£135,254
The Excise, on 10th Oct. 1834, being		13,946,348
	Add Tea duty received by Customs	850,000
		14,796,348
Ditto	„ 1833	14,542,957
	Actual Increase	£253,391

On the year, therefore, the Increase in the Customs and Excise is £388,645; but the value of the Increase is not accurately measured by that amount, because, in the Session of 1833, the following duties were repealed or reduced:—

Excise on Soap equal to	£593,000
„ Tiles „	37,000
Customs on Cotton „	300,000
	£930,000

Now three-fourths of these duties were collected in 1833 and none in 1834; therefore the revenue has recovered that deficiency of three-fourths, viz. £700,000; which, added to the present excess, is the measure of the real increase of consumption from lower duties, and of the augmentation of the industry and comfort of the people.

Pursuing the same rule with the *quarterly* account, it will stand thus:—

The Customs on 10th Oct. 1834, being	£4,950,500
Deduct tea duty	850,000
	£4,100,500
Do. 10th Oct. 1833	4,272,449
Actual decrease on the quarter	£171,949
The Excise, 10th Oct. 1834	£3,924,785
Add tea duty	850,000
	£4,774,785
Do. 10th Oct. 1833	4,771,309
Actual increase on the quarter	£3,476

It thus appears that the real decrease in the Customs is £171,949.

The reduction of duty on fruits at the close of this session may be estimated to have occasioned a loss to the Customs in the last quarter—

On currants,	of about £20,000
„ raisins and other fruits,	„ 20,000
To these sums may be added—	
Less duty paid on foreign spirits	„ 20,000
„ tallow	„ 20,000
„ tea	„ 50,000
	£130,000

The greater part of the deficiency is therefore accounted for, and we have no doubt the remainder might be traced partly to some temporary effect produced by reductions in other duties, and partly to the great scarcity of money during part of the last quarter. As the average payments to the Customs and Excise exceed half a million per week, it is evident that a slight holding back in paying duties would produce a very considerable effect on the receipts of the quarter. Of the duties paid on all the most important articles of import, almost every one shows a considerable increase on the year.

It must always be borne in mind that there are two or three circumstances attendant on a reduction in duties, which operate, in the first instance, to prevent the full benefit being felt by the consumers. Those who have stocks are anxious to get rid of them without loss, and for that purpose endeavour to maintain the full price; the producer, whether foreign or domestic, endeavours to share with the public by an enhanced profit; and in many instances the public, after being long deprived of an article by an excessive duty, take some time to acquire the habit of using it.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

New Churches.—The Fourteenth Annual Report of his Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches is dated August, 1834. Since the previous Report (see 'Companion,' No. 20, p. 156) there have been ten additional places of worship completed, which gives a total of 208 churches and chapels erected under the act, affording accommodation for 279,049 persons, which includes 153,568 free sittings for the use of the poor. The Exchequer Bills issued up to the date of the Report amount to 1,500,000*l.*

The commissioners have, since their last report, afforded, or expressed their willingness to afford, facilities, without any aid from the parliamentary funds, for obtaining additional burial-ground for the parishes of Handsworth, Yorkshire; Ringly, Lancashire; Sanky, do. Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire; Tynemouth, Northumberland; Carshalton, Surrey; Whitley, ditto; and also for obtaining sites for new churches and chapels at Summers Town, city of Oxford; Holdenhurst, county of Southampton; Stockton-on-Tees, Durham; Slad, Gloucester; Upleatham, Yorkshire; Tilstock, Salop; Loughborough, Leicester; Winterbourne, Gloucester; Levens, Westmoreland; and Islington, Middlesex. They have also, under the provisions of the 58 Geo. III. c. 45, divided St. Martin's, Birmingham, into two distinct parishes; and formed ecclesiastical districts out of the parishes of Great Budworth, Chester; St. Giles, Oxford; Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey; and assigned a district chapelry, under the 59 Geo. III. c. 134, to the new chapel at Enfield, Middlesex.

Five churches and chapels are in progress of being built; plans for two chapels have been approved of, and grants are proposed in aid of ten churches and chapels. In the following cases, being within the jurisdiction of the commissioners, they propose to grant the perpetual patronage of chapels to the persons by whom they were built and endowed under the 1st and 2nd William IV. c. 38:—At Bude, Cornwall; Farcham, Hants; Mincham, Stafford; and Leven, Westmoreland. And to George H. Cherry, Esq., they have granted the perpetual patronage of the chapel at Denford, parish of Kintbury, Bucks, he having built and endowed it.

Persons Lost or Destroyed by Choke Damp and Fire Damp in Mines and Collieries.—A return has been made to the House of Commons of the number of persons lost by choke damp and fire damp in the mines and collieries of the different counties of England and Wales since 1810, so far as the same can be ascertained by the clerks of the peace, from the coroners' registers. The returns, however, are not perfect, as one or two clerks of the peace, mistaking the order from the Home Office, instead of applying to the coroners of their respective counties, have simply stated that no documents were in their possession from which to supply the requisite information; and several of the coroners who have been appointed in different years subsequent to 1810, have only given the returns from the date of their entering on office. The following is a list of the lives lost, in so far as stated in the returns obtained.

Chester	7	Salop	89
Cumberland	140	Stafford	104‡
Derby	19	Warwick	3
Lancashire	135*	York (North Riding)	29
Monmouth	3	York (West Riding)	116§
Northumberland	77†	Brecon	18
Nottingham	18	Flint	39

State Lotteries.—From the year 1807 to 1823 there were forty-eight contracts entered into with the Government by lottery speculators, under the name of state lotteries. There were three in each year, except in 1817, when there were two, and in 1818 when there was only one. The average number of tickets in each contract was 20,000, with the exception of the year 1817, when, in order to bring up the yearly number to 60,000, one contract had 40,000 tickets;—so also the one in 1818 had 60,000. The highest price at which the tickets were charged was 32*l.* 5*s.*, which was in 1823, when state lotteries were abolished; the lowest price 13*l.* 8*s.*; the average price was about 15*l.*

British Colonies.—A return has been made to the House of Commons of the establishment of the customs in each of the British

* The return from Lancashire is from 1827.
† The return from Northumberland is from 1814.
‡ The return from Stafford is from one of the coroners for the county who resides at Wolverhampton.
§ In addition to the above number there were 230 killed in mines and collieries, but it is not stated if from choke or fire damp.

colonies, as it stood on the 5th January, 1834, stating the salary of each officer, and whether any reductions have been proposed to be made, with the amount of contingencies in each office and colony. The following is an abstract of the totals in each establishment:—

Island or Colony.	Salaries.	Contingencies.	Reductions to be made as opportunities occur.
	£.	£.	£.
Barbadoes	5150	1127	1400
Antigua	4120	783	650
St. Kitts	2990	597	350
Nevis	1050	242	
Montserrat	800	183	150
Grenada	3350	582	650
St. Vincent	2900	526	650
Dominica	2000	391	350
Tortola	1000	230	200
Trinidad	3880	302	1150
Tobago	1700	300	350
St. Lucia	2200	522	200
Demerara	4500	381	1250
Berbice	1550	222	150
Jamaica	18,450		4190
Bahamas	2390	106	150
Bermuda	2300	171	300
Newfoundland	2950	53	800
Nova Scotia	6948	309	1450
Cape Breton	850	84	100
Prince Edward's Island	650	137	100
New Brunswick	6946	622	1100
Quebec and Montreal	5760	553	950
New South Wales	4300		950
Van Diemen's Land	3700		500
Sierra Leone	1000	158	
Mauritius	3792	559	

The Trigonometrical Survey of Ireland.—The trigonometrical survey of Ireland was commenced in the year 1825. The principal triangulation was begun in the summer of that year, and was completed in 1832. The secondary triangulation was begun also about the same time, and extends nearly over one-half of Ireland. At the end of 1825, a less minute survey was commenced, and had attained a progress of 1,800,000 acres per annum, when it was superseded, a more minute and detailed survey being determined on. This more minute and accurate survey was commenced in 1830; the number of acres surveyed on the 1st of June, 1834, was 3,036,452; and the amount of money expended from the commencement to the 31st March, 1834, was 298,435*l.*, to which may be added about 5500*l.* for the months of April and May.

A committee appointed by the Board of Ordnance to examine into the survey in September, 1833, estimated that, with the present establishment, (the expense of which is about 35,000*l.* per annum,) it would require twelve years to complete it. Lieutenant-Colonel Colby, who superintends the survey, is of opinion that if additional funds were allowed, such augmentations of the establishment might be effected as would enable the survey to be finished as accurately in seven or eight years, or less. The following are the numbers of persons employed on the establishment during the years 1833 and 1834:—

	1833.	1834.
Officers	26	23
Civil assistants	171	229
Royal sappers and miners	227	215
Labourers	220	290
	644	757

Tea.—A return of all the Company's Tea sold in June, 1834:—

Canton Bohea, from 1*s.* 11½*d.* to 2*s.* per lb.	700,000 lbs.
Fokien ditto, from 1*s.* 11½*d.* to 2*s.* 0½*d.*	800,000
Congou, from 1*s.* 5½*d.* to 4*s.* 1*d.*	4,394,000
Campoi, from 1*s.* 10½*d.* to 3*s.*	148,000
Twankay, from 1*s.* 8½*d.* to 2*s.* 11*d.*	1,323,000
Hyson skin, from 1*s.* 9½*d.* to 2*s.* 10*d.*	27,000
Hyson, from 2*s.* 11½*d.* to 8*s.*	341,000
Total lbs.	7,733,000

A return of all Private Tea sold in June 1834:—

Congou, from 1*s.* 7½*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.* per lb.	398,083 lbs.
Caper Congou, from 1*s.* 7½*d.* to 2*s.* 7*d.*	170,118
Souchong, from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*	43
Pekoe, from 2*s.* 11½*d.* to 5*s.* 7*d.*	47,131
Orange Pekoe, from 1*s.* 7½*d.* to 5*s.* 4*d.*	173,914
Hyson, from 4*s.* 2½*d.* to 4*s.* 5½*d.*	1,673
Gunpowder, from 6*s.* 9½*d.* to 8*s.* 8*d.*	6,837
Total	797,799

Money voted by Parliament for Canals, Improvement of River Navigation, Roads and Bridges, in Scotland, Ireland, and Canada.

Scotland.—From the year 1770 to 1813, a yearly sum was granted for military roads and bridges in Scotland, varying from 4000*l.* to 6000*l.*, with the exception of the year 1785, when the sum granted was only 800*l.* The total sum granted during that period was 241,918*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*; and for *Highland* roads and bridges there was granted, in 1803, the sum of 20,000*l.*, and grants of either 20,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* were given down to 1821, (with the exception of the years 1819, 1820,) when the sum total amounted to 250,752*l.* 2*s.* The first grant in aid of the Caledonian Canal was made in 1803, when 20,000*l.* was given, which was increased in 1804 to 50,000*l.*, and a grant was continued regularly down to 1829, (with the exception of four years,) when the sum total amounted to 953,638*l.* 2*s.* The entire amount granted for these objects in Scotland has been 1,447,308*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*

Ireland.—In 1818 there was voted for making a line of canal from Lough Allan to the river Shannon, 15,000*l.*; in 1819, 4000*l.* was given for the same object; and in 1820, 2023*l.* was voted for defraying the expense of a survey of the River Shannon. The total amount granted was 21,023*l.*

In addition to the sums voted by Parliament, advances have been made by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, on account of works on the Shannon.

Canada.—In the year 1826 a grant of 15,000*l.* was given for canal communication in Canada, (Rideau and Ottawa Canals,) which was increased in 1827 to 56,000*l.*, in 1828 to 135,000*l.*, in 1829 and 1830 to 163,000*l.*, in 1831 to 296,000*l.*; and in the three subsequent years the grant has been successively 81,300*l.*, 40,000*l.*, 28,000*l.* Total from 1826 to 1834, 977 300*l.*

Scotland	£1,447,308
Ireland	21,023
Canada	977,300

STATISTICS, TRADE, &c.

Great Britain and Ireland.—The following statistical table is extracted from the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Sale of Corn:—

	Extent in Statute Miles.		Area in Square Miles.	Population at different periods.				Increase of Population from 1801 to 1831.
	Length.	Breadth.		1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	
England	425	300	50,210	8,331,434	9,538,827	11,760,565	13,091,005	4,759,571
Wales	150	60	8,125	541,546	611,783	717,106	806,182	264,636
Scotland	280	30 to 150	27,794	1,599,068	1,805,688	2,092,014	2,365,114	766,046
Ireland	235	182	30,370	. .	. .	6,846,949	7,767,401	920,452
Army and Navy	. .	. .	. .	470,598	640,500	310,300	277,017	

Population in Great Britain and Ireland, including Army and Navy, in the year 1831, 24,306,719.

Turnpike Trusts in Great Britain.—

	Number of Trusts.	Distance of Roads. Miles.	Annual Income from Tolls and Parish Composition. £	Annual Expenditure. £
England	956	18,244	1,051,311	990,342
Wales	69	2,631	37,456	34,782
Scotland	190	3,666	187,584	181,028
Total	1,215	24,541	1,276,351	1,206,152

County Rate.—The amount received in England and Wales for county rate in 1833, was 720,498*l.*

Liverpool Trade.—A return, obtained through the Treasury, gives the average number of passengers, chiefly individuals engaged in commerce, who sail yearly by the New York line of packets, at between 5000 and 6000. The average passage of the New York packets out, from land to land, is forty-one days; and from New York to Liverpool only twenty-five. It is supposed that 7000 letters per packet leave Liverpool for New York: this comprehends all the English, and a great deal of continental correspondence. The number of vessels that entered the port of Liverpool during 1833 is—British, 1790—tonnage, 408,984; foreign, 662—tonnage, 209,627. The amount of dock duties for the same year was 191,729*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*

Falmouth.—The average yearly number of passengers, who sail by the Government packets from Falmouth to all parts of the world, is 250.

Metropolitan Police.—The number of individuals taken into custody by the Metropolitan Police during 1833, on various charges, amounted to 69,959. Of this number there were 29,880 taken up charged with drunkenness, of whom 18,487 were discharged when sober by the superintendents, and 11,393 were taken before the magistrates.

Consumption of Wheat and other Grain in the United Kingdom.—The consumption of wheat and other grain in the United Kingdom has been estimated by Mr. M'Culloch as follows:—

Time.	Wheat. Qrs.	Other Grain. Qrs.	Total. Qrs.
A year	12,000,000	40,000,000	52,000,000
Six months	6,000,000	20,000,000	26,000,000
Three months	3,000,000	10,000,000	13,000,000
Six weeks	1,500,000	5,000,000	6,500,000
One month	1,000,000	3,333,333	4,333,333
Two weeks	500,000	1,666,666	2,166,666
One week	250,000	833,333	1,083,333
A day	35,714	119,048	154,762

London, Edinburgh, and Dublin.—Table showing the population, and the number of beer-shops and public houses, in each of these metropolitan cities, at the close of the year 1833. (From the papers in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Drunkenness.)

	Population.	Public Houses.	Beer Shops.	Total.
London	1,511,728	4073	1182	6255
			Grocers licensed.	
Dublin	232,362	1019	67	1086

The number of public houses in Edinburgh is not filled up; but the number of individuals brought before the magistrates on charges arising from drunkenness, amounted, in 1833, to 3289, of whom 448 were imprisoned, 714 held to bail, 1268 were dismissed, 850 were fined, and the produce of the fines was 513*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* The population of Edinburgh by the last census was 137,000.

Nux Vomica, Cocculus Indicus, and Paradise Grains.—A Return of the Quantities of these Articles entered for Home Consumption during the last five Years.

	Years.	Quantities entered for Home Consumption.	Amount of Duty charged	Rates of Duty charged.
		lbs.	£ s. d	
Nux Vomica	1829	6,862	631 4 2	2s. 6d. per lb.
	1830	1,528	191 0 0	
	1831	2,547	2290 7 3	
	1832	1,477	184 12 6	
	1833	4,142	517 15 0	
		Value.		
Extract of Nux Vomica	1829	..	..	75*l.* per cent. ad valorem.
	1830	£2 7 0	1 15 8	
	1831	..	..	
	1832	..	..	
	1833	8 lbs. 12 oz.	4 7 6	5s. or 10s. per lb.
		lbs.		
Cocculus Indicus	1829	1,118	139 15 0	2s. 6d. per lb.
	1830	2,471	308 17 6	
	1831	3,541	442 12 6	
	1832	3,663	457 17 6	
	1833	4,559	569 19 5	
the quarter.	1829	18,035	1,803 10 0	2s. per lb.
of import, almo	1830	18,098	1,809 16 0	
year.	1831	8,722	872 4 0	
It must always b	1832	16,738	1,673 16 0	
cumstances attend	1833	40,411	3,191 2 2	
the [illegible] stance,				

Bank of England.—The liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, on the average of the quarter from 1st July to 23d September, 1834:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£19,126,000	Securities	£28,691,000
Deposits	14,754,000	Bullion	7,695,000
Total	£33,880,000		£36,386,000

Emigration to Upper Canada.—The number of emigrants who entered Upper Canada during the year 1833 is estimated by the Governor at 21,000. The amount of money expended by Government in encouraging emigration to that province during the years 1831, 1832, and 1833 was 23,434*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*

Emigration to New South Wales.—During the years 1832 and 1833 there arrived in New South Wales 2569 emigrants, on their own resources; and in addition to this number, there were 1784 free persons for whom Government made advances or gave bounties, to the amount of 13,901*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* The total number of emigrants in 1832-3 is 4,353.

New Suspension Bridge in Hungary.—On the post road to Karansebes, near Lugos in Hungary, an iron suspension bridge, of an entirely new construction, 60 feet in length and 23 feet wide, has been recently completed. Instead of the towers, which generally act as supports, cast-iron arches are here employed. The two superior chains of suspension are omitted, but the chains on which the bridgeway rests are firmly united to these arches by means of hanging iron rods and pillars, so that all the different parts forming a compact whole, scarcely any tremulous motion can arise. The mode of construction is less costly than that ordinarily employed in suspension bridges. For the purpose of putting its capabilities to the test, eight waggons, loaded with bricks, to each of which two horses were attached, besides sixty men, forming altogether a weight of about eight tons and a half, were placed on the bridge, and it supported the pressure admirably. It has been named after the Emperor Francis, and the following inscription has been placed upon it:—"*Magamon Függok*;" I am dependent on myself.

New Plough.—A new plough has been invented at Loches (in the department of the Aube), which is almost self-acting. It requires no one behind it to direct the share, and a single man, or even a youth, may at the same time drive two or three horses, each of them attached to a separate plough. In mechanism and arrangement it does not at all resemble Granger's, and is less complicated: although entirely constructed of iron, it is lighter, and the draught for the horse is diminished by one-fourth in comparison with ordinary ploughs. It has neither lever, nor balance, nor pressure, nor springs. By means of a very simple helm, the breadth and depth which it is wished to give the trench are determined. No deviation is occasioned by the steepness or stonyness of the surface, or even by the roughness of fresh-cleared land. It has the additional advantage of clearing the extreme ends of the ridge, which has never yet been done by the lever system. It will not be more expensive than a common plough.

Russian Currency.—An ukase has been issued by the Emperor of Russia on the subject of the value of foreign coins, which it states, both gold and silver, and others of good alloy, were circulated last year among the people, and not only have been received in many of the governments for more than their value, but in others have caused considerable embarrassment in monetary transactions. It then declares the following table to be the value at which foreign monies hereafter designated will be received in the treasuries of Government from the 1st of September, 1834, to the 1st of September, 1835:—

		Intrinsic value. Silver Roubles. R.	c.	Paper Roubles. R.	c.
GOLD MONIES.					
France	40 francs	9	69	35	36
	20 francs	4	84	17	66
Sardinia	20 lires	4	80¾	17	54
Prussia	10 thalers	9	99¾	36	27
	5 thalers	4	96¾	18	13
Saxony	10 thalers	9	98½	36	7
	5 thalers	4	93¾	18	2
Spain	Doubloon	19	34½	70	60
SILVER MONIES.					
Holland	Thaler	1	33½	4	80
France	5 francs	1	24	4	46
Prussia	Thaler	0	91¼	3	28
Saxony and Bavaria	Thaler	1	27½	4	59
Sweden	Thaler	1	41½	5	9
Denmark	Thaler	1	38¼	4	97
Brabant	Thaler	1	39	5	0
Austria	Thaler	1	28¼	4	61
Spain	Piaster	1	33	4	78
Germany	Zwanziger, or 20 kreutzers	0	17¾	0	63

UNITED STATES.—*Army and Navy.* The army of the United States, as now constituted, consists of, dragoons, 363; artillery, 1778; infantry, 3225; unattached soldiers and recruits, 678; total, 6,054. Militia, according to the late returns, 1,346,116.—*Navy.* Vessels in commission: one ship of the line, three frigates, fifteen sloops of war, and six schooners. In ordinary: six ships of the line and six frigates. At the different depôts have been delivered frames of live oak for four ships of the line, seven frigates, and four sloops. Contracts have been made for the frames of one ship of the line, and one sloop of war.

Commerce.—The exports of the United States have been estimated, for the years 1831, 1832, and 1833, as follows:—

	1831. Dollars.	1832. Dollars.	1833. Dollars.
Domestic articles,	61,277,057	63,137,470	70,317,698
Foreign articles,	20,033,526	24,039,473	19,822,734
Total	81,310,583	87,120,943	90,140,432

The aggregate value of the imports is estimated for the same years, at

Dollars, 103,191,124 101,029,266 108,118,311

The imports include 1,806,529 barrels of flour, and 276,978,884 lbs. of cotton, in 1831; 864,919 barrels of flour, and 322,215,122 lbs. of cotton, in 1832; 955,788 barrels of flour, and 324,698,604 lbs. of cotton, in 1833. Among the items of import in 1832 were 14,634,822 lbs. of tea; 15,698,050 gallons of molasses; 99,955,020 lbs. of coffee; and 85,689,944 lbs. of brown sugar; with 11,999,089 lbs. of white sugar

The imports of the United States average more than 100,000,000 dollars per year, the exports more than 86,000,000, and the raw cotton more than 31,000,000 dollars. Last year the whole value of domestic products and manufactures of every description amounted to 70,317,698 dollars, and raw cotton to 36,193,005 dollars.

The tonnage of registered and licensed shipping was, in 1831, 1,191,176 tons; in 1832, 1,276,846 tons; in 1833, 1,439,450 tons.

The arrivals at New York, in 1833, were 1350; in the first 8 months of 1834, 1398. The passengers in 1833 amounted to 41,752, being only 1856 more than have arrived during the first 8 months of 1834.—*New York Paper.*

Bank of the United States.—(Copied from the Analysis laid before the Stockholders at their triennial meeting, Sept. 1, 1834.)

	Doll.	Cts.	Doll.	Cts.
Capital stock paid in			35,000,000	00
Notes in circulation	19,270,817	90		
Less notes in transitu	3,972,240	00		
			15,298,577	90
Deposits, public	2,155,212	60		
——, private	6,854,182	70		
			9,009,395	30
Dividends unclaimed	..		139,253	98
Contingent fund to meet losses	..		5,901,955	87
Discount, exchange and interest and foreign exchange	..		1,162,831	56
Profit and loss	..		3,167,708	64
Fund for extinguishing cost of banking houses	..		976,019	59
Balances due to offices charging notes in transitu	..		2,232,674	58
			72,888,417	42

	Doll.	Cts.			
Loans on personal security	30,289,331	72			
Loans on Bank stock	1,117,766	53			
—— other securities	3,456,238	30			
—— domestic bills of exchange	12,196,172	10			
Foreign bills of exchange	77,171	08			
Mortgages, &c.	87,591	29			
Debts chargeable to contingent fund	3,826,108	12			
			51,050,369	09	
Funds in Europe			3,782,649	89	
Real estate			1,824,733	78	
Expenses, &c.			222,225	57	
Banking-houses			1,215,943	44	
Notes of state banks	1,329,425	39	..		
— less balances due to state banks	400,827	73			
			928,597	66	
Specie			13,863,897	99	
					72,888,417 42

SAMUEL JAUDON, Cashier.

Spain.—The amount of the foreign and domestic debt of Spain, by the official document, 1st May, 1834:—

	Principal.	Interest and Sinking Fund.
Foreign debt	£20,996,000	£1,345,000
Ditto, without interest	4,444,000	—
Domestic debt	9,130,000	555,000
Ditto, without interest	38,430,000	—
Total	73,000,000	1,900,000
Supposed balance of Cortes' loans	17,000,000	
Arrears of interest due on same	10,000,000	
Grand total	£100,000,000	

Paris Savings' Bank.—The Savings' Bank of Paris received on Sunday the 3d of October, from 3,026 persons, of whom 589 opened new accounts, 278,103 francs (15,124*l.*) Notice was given of intention to withdraw 180,000 francs (7,200*l.*).

(From the *Gazette de France.*)

Budgets of the State from 1801 *to* 1835.

1801,	Under the Consulate	fr. 549,620,160
1802,	Bonaparte, First Consul	499,937,885
1803,	Idem	632,279,523
1804,	Napoleon, Emperor	804,451,555
1805,	Idem	700,000,000
1806,	Idem	902,148,490
1807,	Idem	731,723,686
1808,	Idem	772,744,445
1809,	Idem	786,740,204
1810,	Idem	785,060,443
1811,	Idem	1,000,000,000
1812,	Idem	1,006,014,060
1813,	Idem	975,453,797
1814,	Reign of Louis XVIII.	609,394,624
1815,	Idem	798,590,859
1816,	Idem	895,577,205
1817,	Idem	1,036,810,582
1818,	Idem	1,414,433,736
1819,	Idem	868,312,572
1820,	Idem	675,542,252
1821,	Idem	882,321,254
1822,	Idem	949,174,982
1823,	Idem	1,092,093,703
1824,	Reign of Charles X.	901,992,280
1825,	Idem	946,098,442
1826,	Idem	942,518,757
1827,	Idem	980,534,715
1828,	Idem	939,343,700
1829,	Idem	975,703,027
1830,	Reign of Louis Philippe	981,510,000
1831,	Idem	1,511,000,000
1832,	Idem	1,100,508,512
1833,	Idem	1,120,394,804
1834,	Idem	1,018,146,435
1835,	Idem	1,067,449,547

Marseilles—Trade with Greece.—From 1829 to 1833 there sailed and arrived at Marseilles to and from Greece the following number of vessels:—

Year.	Arrived.	Sailed.
1829	100	21
1830	18	20
1831	19	42
1832	27	48
1833	20	21

The 20 vessels that arrived in 1833 measured 4355 tons; the 21 that sailed, 5057 tons.

Bankruptcy Analysis from September 26 to October 23.

Agent, 1; apothecaries, 2; auctioneer, 1; banker, 1; beer-brewer, 1; bookseller, 1; boot-maker, 1; brush-maker, 1; button-manufacturer, 1; builder, 1; cabinet-makers, 2; calico-printer, 1; canvass-manufacturer, 1; carpenter, 1; chemist, 1; clothier, 1; coal merchants, 4; corn merchant, 1; cotton-broker, 1; cotton-spinner, 1; draper, 1; druggist, 1; farmers, 2; fustian-manufacturer, 1; gardener, 1; glass-merchant, 1; grocers, 7; hair-dresser, 1; harness-maker, 1; hatters, 5; horse-dealer, 1; inn-keepers, 3; insurance-broker, 1; iron-monger, 1; jeweller, 1; joiner, 1; lodginghouse-keepers, 2; linen-drapers, 2; maltster, 1; millers, 2; merchants, 6; oilmen, 2; paper-dealer, 1; plumber, 1; printers, 2; scriveners, 3; silk-warehousemen, 3; silk-manufacturer, 1; stationers, 2; surgeons, 4; straw-hat-manufacturer, 1; stone-merchant, 1; tailor, 1; timber-merchant, 1; tea-dealer, 1; upholsterers, 3; warehouseman, 1; wheelwright, 1; wool-broker, 1;—total 97. Total from the commencement of the year, 822.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR OCTOBER, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE destruction of the two houses of parliament by fire, on the night of the 16th (the particulars of which will be found in another place), deserves to be noticed as a public event. It is also, we think, to be regarded as a great public calamity; for however desirable it might have been that the two legislative bodies should be both more conveniently and more splendidly accommodated than they were in the apartments in which they lately met, there was no necessity that the new building should rise literally out of the ashes of the old one. Of that, indeed, which to some is the only thing that makes a building worth caring for—mere architectural beauty—but little has been destroyed by this catastrophe. The loss of property, however, has been very great; and we fear that many documents, books, and other articles, have also fallen a sacrifice to the flames, the price of which is not to be named in money, since they are what no money can restore. But for the sake especially of the proud and venerable recollections associated with the buildings now in ruins, we lament the sad visitation that has thus suddenly levelled them with the ground. They were by far the most interesting historical monuments which our land possessed; and as monuments we would have had them preserved, even after they had been superseded in their other uses by more commodious and more imposing structures. Who would not grieve to hear that some convulsion of nature had thrown down the Acropolis of Athens, or obliterated the Roman Forum? That ancient pile was our Forum and Acropolis. In the room that was the House of Commons—now presenting only a heap of rubbish, enclosed by bare and roofless walls—English liberty had, for nearly three centuries, its chief seat and temple—

> "Hic illius arma,
> Hic currus fuit;"

and if any spot can be hallowed by patriotism and eloquence—by memorable events, and words and acts mighty in their consequences—this is one which, even when the building that once covered it shall be utterly swept away, will never be looked upon without emotion by the nobler order of minds, while the name of England shall endure. "It is in vain," as the 'Examiner' has eloquently observed, "to strive to disregard the scenes or the memories of the past. We cannot do it. The present, in which we live, is made up mainly of them, and the experience they have bequeathed to us. Men are we, says the poet, and must grieve when even the shade of that which once was great has passed away."

Parliament, which on the 25th of September had been prorogued to the 23d of October, was on that day further prorogued to the 25th of November. The Lords Commissioners met for this purpose, along with the representatives of the Peers and Commons, in the Library of the late House of Lords, which was fitted up with benches, a representation of the throne, &c., for the occasion.

SPAIN.

THE financial embarrassments of the country have continued to occupy the attention of the Cortes. After several reported "final arrangements" in the Chamber of Procuradores, or lower house, which were upset and succeeded by other "last settlements," giving room in the mean time to much speculation on the Stock Exchange of Paris, where many persons have been utterly ruined, the following plan relative to the national debts was decided upon by the Procuradores.

There was to be a recognition of all foreign loans, contracted before and since 1823, with the exception of one of the French loans, called, from the directing banker, "Guebhard's loan." But this was followed up by a proposed division of all these debts into two portions, or two-thirds active, and one-third passive. At the end of a year, dating from the passing of the plan into a law, the active debt was to be converted into a new capital at five per cent. This was followed by a promise (and nothing more satisfactory) that means shall hereafter be found to sink and pay off the passive debt, and that there shall be created a sinking fund, at one-half per cent. per annum, for the gradual redemption of the active portion of the debts.

This plan excited great indignation in the monied interest, and a reasonable complaint was made, that the statements of the Cortes financiers were deficient in clearness, and their promises wholly unsupported by tangible securities. This project has been brought up to the Proceres, or Peers, *who have resolved to petition in favour of Guebhard's loan.*

In the lower house, Count Toreno, the Minister of Finance, expressly stated that both the English and the French ambassadors had urged the propriety of respecting the rights of the shareholders of Spanish obligations in general, and of such as were their own countrymen in particular. He also declared that the present revenue of Spain was scarcely sufficient to defray her in-door and every-day expenses—that paltry reductions in the allowances to the court, &c., would go for nothing—and that it was absurd to think of forcing a sale of national or church property at such a moment as the present. He repeatedly urged that Spain could not show her face as a borrower, in one of the money markets of Europe, unless she preserved unspotted faith with all her former creditors. It is now said, however, that a new loan for 400,000,000 of reals is in process of formation for the Cortes. Against this constitutional loan, the pretender Don Carlos, who is trying to raise a loan for himself, has protested through the means of a legitimate banker called De Haber, who informs the European public by newspaper advertisements, "that this loan of 400,000,000 of reals, or any other loan that may be decreed by the authorities at Madrid, *will never be acknowledged by his majesty Charles V.*"

The Spanish Cortes are placed in a situation of difficulty which might perplex and confound much better financiers and more experienced men of business than they consist of. They seem, however, to have thrown away a claim to respect and sympathy, which they might easily have retained. Instead of adopting a simple, honest, straight-forward line of conduct, they have endeavoured to better or conceal their case by ingenuity and manœuvres.

On the 8th of October the procuradores unanimously voted the draft of a bill excluding Don Carlos and his descendants from the throne, and expelling them from the soil of Spain for ever. The debate lasted three days, but did not elicit any new points either of fact or argument. It would be more serviceable to the cause of the young Queen, if, instead of votes, the Cortes could send proper reinforcements of troops to the revolted provinces of Biscay and Navarre, to expel the pretender and put an end to the horrors of civil war. The state of that unnatural contest seems to have varied little since we last wrote. It was confidently asserted, and for some days believed in certain quarters, that the Carlists had taken the important city of Bilboa, but it now appears that nothing but a mere demonstration was made before a suburb of that town—that the insurgents were driven back with loss—and, finally, that the Carlists are wholly unprovided with proper artillery and other means for the capture or siege of fortified towns.

No military operation of any consequence has taken place. Rodil has been removed from the command of the Queen's forces in the north, and the gallant, but now aged, Mina appointed to succeed him. We have not yet received the intelligence of Mina's joining the army, which remains *ad interim* under the orders of Lorenzo. On receiving his dismissal from the command, Rodil protested that all his plans had been thwarted by the government at Madrid, who left him insufficiently supplied with men, money, provisions, clothes, &c., and that it was not in the power of man to do more than he had done with such means as were placed at his disposal. In his anger and disgust he threw up all the honours and titles he had received, not even reserving to himself his rank of procere, or peer.

According to recent letters, reinforcements for the Queen's army in the north have reached Vittoria; but winter, meanwhile, is setting in, and that season is felt with extreme severity among the Pyrenees and mountain-passes that are mainly the scene of this protracted warfare. In a preceding part of the present Number of the 'Companion,' our readers will find more ample explanations of several features in the old internal government of Spain, which we have from time to time alluded to in our Monthly Retrospect.

FRANCE.

This country has been fortunately tranquil, and without any stirring event. Some discontents, manifested by workmen and members of clubs and unions at Lyons, have been grossly exaggerated for party purposes. A new sedition and general riot, with fighting in the streets of the city, as in April last, which were described in some of the continental papers, were in fact merely petty police affairs, originating in misunderstandings between the workmen and their employers.

The Chamber of Peers is specially summoned for the 15th of November, for the purpose of trying the persons now detained in prison for political offences. It is said by many that this will be nothing but a form; and that an amnesty, if not general, yet almost so, will be made public before any of the individuals charged with political crimes be brought to the bar. There has been some quarrelling between these prisoners and the jailers and turnkeys that have charge of them, but such an event is usual and natural enough.

King Louis Philippe has perfectly recovered from a trifling indisposition, which, as a matter of course, was set down in certain quarters as an incurable disease.

Count D'Erlon, the newly-appointed Governor of Algiers, has addressed a proclamation to "all Arabs high and low," living in that part of the world. He tells them, "*above all, not to lose sight of the fact that the French will never abandon the African soil.*" To impress them with a lofty idea of *their* and *his* master, Louis Philippe, he describes him as "that powerful monarch, whose force is invincible, whose troops are as numerous as the grains of sand in the deserts of Sahara, and whose ships plough through every sea." After this pompous preamble, he tells the Arabs that the King of the French "wishes to reign over them by his favours alone." Knowing what we know, and have explained,* of the unjustifiable conduct and violent aggressions of the French in the country subsequently to the surrender of Algiers by the ex-Dey, we were rather startled by a part of the proclamation in which Count D'Erlon promises "to throw a veil of indulgence over all the former offences of the Arabs." Although we do not much admire the bombastic tone of the Count's address, we sincerely hope, for the well-being of all parties, that he may establish the firm yet humane system of colonial government he promises; that he may free the natives from the vexations and atrocities of badly-disciplined troops and immoral and rapacious *employés*, and so put an end to mutual retaliation and cruelty. He will be a good and very clever man if he can undo the mischief that has been done by, or under the rule of, his predecessors in Algiers.

PORTUGAL.

We mentioned in our last Retrospect the alarming state of Don Pedro's health. In less than a fortnight after the Cortes had almost by acclamation decided that he should retain possession of the regency during the remainder of his daughter's minority, without any restriction of the royal authority as conferred on the sovereign by the national charter, he was obliged to restore to the same chambers the power they had sanctioned or delegated to him. On the 17th of September, being conscious of his approaching end, he received extreme unction, or the last consolations of the Catholic religion; on the 18th, he addressed a letter to the Cortes, stating that he had "complied with the solemn duties of a son of the church;" that his health prevented him from continuing "the due administration of public affairs;" and begging them, under such circumstances, to provide a proper remedy. The Cortes immediately voted Donna Maria, who is now fifteen years and six months old, to be of age, and fully competent to take upon herself the administration of affairs. In the Chamber of Deputies this measure was adopted unanimously, and without discussion, but in the upper house it was opposed by six peers. On the 19th, the Duke of Palmella, at the head of a deputation of the Cortes, waited on the young Queen at Queluz, informing her of the vote passed, which called her to the immediate exercise of royal authority. In her answer, Donna Maria deplored the cause that had necessitated the measure; promised to do every thing in her power to maintain the constitution of the kingdom, and to endeavour to imitate the virtues, and follow in all respects the example and advice, of her august father. On Saturday the 20th, she repaired to Lisbon, and, going in state to the Cortes, took the oaths prescribed by the charter. Her first important act was a change in the ministry. She appointed the Duke of Palmella Prime Minister and Secretary of State, with Senhors Vasconcellos, Carvalho, Terceira, Villa Real, and Agostinho Freire, for a cabinet. On the 24th of September her father expired.

Only four days before his demise, and when death was hourly expected, his daughter wrote him a letter, with the preamble, "I, Donna Maria, by the Grace of God, Queen of Portugal, the Algarves and its dominions," &c. &c., to compliment him with "the decoration of Grand Cross of the ancient and very noble order of the Tower and Sword, of Valour, Loyalty, and Merit." We pity the intellect of those, whoever they were, that suggested this solemn foolery!

Most of the foreign correspondents of our newspapers, who cannot conceive so difficult a case as a prince's dying by natural means, have taxed their ingenuity to prove how Don Pedro may have died of "slow poison." 'The Morning Herald's' "own correspondent" distinguishes himself as usual. His language is worthy of his philosophy. "The mode," says this enlightened critic of foreign nations and proceedings, "in which this infernal purpose is said to have been effected, was (if the propagators of the story are to be believed) by eggs boiled in poisoned water, diluted with a solution of arsenic, or other metallic poison, some minute particles of which would be absorbed through the pores of the shells, *and slowly cause death six or eight months afterwards, but with fatal certainty.*" After telling us, what none but the ignorant mob of Lisbon ever believed, that Don Pedro's old father, John VI., was poisoned by some monks at Belem, he adds, "The identical poison-mixing Jeromite friars, of eight years ago, may still survive, masters of their craft, and bearing a far more intense hatred to Don Pedro, for his wholesale abolition of all monastic orders, than they ever did to his father."

It is said that the public tranquillity of Lisbon was not in "the least interrupted" by the death of Don Pedro: but immediately after this information, we are told that Miguelite cries and songs were heard in the neighbourhood of the capital: that a poor porter was massacred in the streets of Lisbon for saying Don Miguel was coming: that a Miguelite guerilla chief narrowly escaped with his life, by taking refuge in a guard-house, in front of which, and almost under the windows of the Minister of Justice, who had taken no notice of the affair, there lay the corpse of another Miguelite of some note, who had been recognized, in spite of his disguise, in one of the squares of Lisbon, where a number of individuals *in the garb of gentlemen* killed him with *pen-knives, pocket-knives, and sticks;* that the next day another victim of the same party was assassinated by an officer, in the corn-market; and in short, that scarce a day passes without the murder of some *real* or *suspected* Miguelite. "In every other respect," say our news collectors, with a *sang-froid* we scarcely envy, "the most profound tranquillity prevails, and is likely to prevail; every movement is *in favour* of the Queen, and the maintenance of the constitution." But surely such movements as these can never favour the establishment of justice and good government; nor can they fail, if not speedily stopped, to draw down disgrace on a cause which, otherwise, is endeared to the sympathies of all liberal minds.

At the same time the dispossessed friars, to whom a decent subsistence was promised out of their own confiscated property, receive nothing from the government, and are driven to the desperation of starvation. This host of malcontents is swelled by the discharged employés of the late government, who are also left without any provision. As we foresaw, it is more difficult to sell church and monastic property than to declare it confiscated. Few purchasers appearing in the market, a project of law on the sale of national property, and the means of facilitating it, has been laid before the Cortes. According to this plan, "the industrious classes and persons of small means" are to be allowed to make purchases by paying one-fifth in ready money, and the remaining four-fifths in sixteen equal instalments, in sixteen years. All the landed property, moreover, *is to be divided into the greatest number of parts possible.*

The Duke of Leuchtenberg, brother to Don Pedro's widow, son of Eugene Beauharnois, and grandson to

* See Companion for June, 1834. No. XVIII.

Josephine, the first wife of Napoleon, is said to be the husband selected for Donna Maria. Meanwhile reports are abroad, that Don Miguel, taking advantage of his brother's death, is about to renew his struggle for the throne. According to some accounts, indeed, he has quitted Italy, and is already in the Peninsula; but this, though possible, is scarcely probable.

TURKEY.

THE recent arrival in England of another ambassador from Sultan Mahmoud has again turned public attention in the direction of Turkey, and re-awakened speculation and surmise. Our political alarmists continue to add darker and darker shades to their picture of the East, and to dwell on the imminent risk of a war; but at the same time we learn that the Sultan has dismantled his fleet, has ceased to press the levies for his army, and has been giving himself up to the enjoyment of unusual festivities, showing every sign of confidence and tranquillity. If he has ever been tempted, by the troubled aspect of things in Syria, to aim at regaining his lost authority from Mehemet-Ali, it is probable that the Egyptian's energy and success in rapidly putting down the late insurrection have disabused him of such vain hopes for the present. We feel happy that it should be so, for we are confident he has more to gain by attending to the improvement of the government of the extensive dominions that still remain in his undisputed possession, than by renewing a war, the success of which must be very doubtful, for the recovery of territories that for the greater part were never properly subjected to himself, or to any of his predecessors on the Ottoman throne. The distant and powerful pashas of Syria were constantly in a state of revolt, setting the authority of the Porte, whose revenues they appropriated, at defiance. Even in their more tranquil times those pashaliks contributed but very little to the financial means of the empire. The Turks and Arabs, though both Mohammedans, and of the same sect of that faith, and though both (nominally at least) for so long a period under one government, differ very materially in character, interest, and views. The great chain of Mount Taurus is the natural line of separation between the two races. South of that line the Arabic language, and Arabic manners and customs, prevail almost universally, whilst north of it the very different idiom and manners of the Osmanlis or Turks obtain. Few travellers, we believe, have gone through the gorges of Mount Taurus from Syria, into Asia Minor, or *vice-versâ*, without being struck by this most evident and decided demarcation. This important fact ought to be present to the minds of all who speculate on the affairs of the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt.

We have been accustomed of late years to hear the Turkish empire described as being in the last stage of weakness and decrepitude; but at the same time several writers who have travelled and lived in the country have undertaken to prove, not only that the malady is not so far advanced, but that Turkey possesses within herself the means of speedy cure. The most successful of these advocates is Mr. Urquhart, the author of an interesting volume called 'Turkey and its Resources,' published in London last year. Many of his facts and premises are curious and correct; but from our own personal observation, both in European and Asiatic Turkey, we should be inclined to say that in the conclusions he draws from them, he has been occasionally hurried away by his wishes, and a sanguine temperament.

Mr. Urquhart very properly attaches great importance to the existence, in a great portion of the empire, of municipal institutions, but he forgets to mention that these local councils have been perpetually controlled or thwarted by arbitrary power—that their votes have been prescribed or rescinded by the divan of Constantinople, or by the Pasha nearest at hand; and that Sultan Mahmoud himself, by his destruction of the Ayans and provincial gentry, struck a fatal blow at such institutions, by depriving them of their best supports and ornaments.

It is said that during the last two or three years the Sultan has done much to strengthen these municipalities, and to circumscribe the powers of pashas, and other governors in the provinces, and we certainly have written evidence to this effect. But unfortunately it is much easier to issue a decree at Constantinople, than to enforce its execution at the ends and corners of the empire. Certain vices are slow of cure, and among these we may safely class the long-confirmed habits of oppression, rapacity, and corruption.

In nations and masses of men, we can expect no sudden changes; and it is only by the progress of civilization, and the enlightenment of the people, that pashas, mutzelims, and aghas, will cease to oppress on the one hand, and the poor Turkish and rayah subjects to tremble and obey on the other. In this respect Mahmoud has gone the right way to work. He has established numerous schools, and out of his hampered and embarrassed resources he has contrived to give encouragement to the writing, printing, and diffusing of many elementary and other works. He has also taken a newspaper into his pay, and the Turks are now instructed as to the views and wishes of their government by the columns of the 'Moniteur Ottoman,' which is published weekly at Constantinople, in the Turkish and French languages, and contains the public ordonnances issued in the name of the Sultan. The paper has now been in existence for some two years; but with newspapers as well as with disciplined troops, the Pasha of Egypt preceded the Sultan by several years. A journal in Arabic and Italian was published on the banks of the Nile as early as 1827.

Though some of our readers may have incidentally heard of the Constantinople paper, we believe few of them can have seen any extracts from it. Our news-caterers for the daily papers have neglected this source, which, if not always authentic, is always a curious one. Occasionally the editor pleads the cause for which he is retained with considerable ability, and the state papers he lays before the public are really official and interesting documents. This editor, a Frenchman of the name of Blacque, formerly conducted a paper at Smyrna, which was among the most violent opponents of the cause of Greek independence. It was called the 'Spectateur Oriental,' and was supported by the Franks of different nations settled in the country, and published only in the French language. Except in a very few cases the paper was a dead letter to the Turks, but notwithstanding this, the Pasha of Smyrna was said to patronize it to a valuable extent. It advocated in all things the cause of the Sultan, and the local interests of the Frank merchants, which were supposed to be diametrically opposed to those of the emancipated Greeks. It not unfrequently exceeded the limits of moderation and propriety, and on one occasion (at the beginning of 1828) the French authorities at Smyrna thought fit to stop it, to seize the types and press, and to confine M. Blacque for some hours on board a French man-of-war then at anchor in the bay. Other types, however, were found, and the paper was continued under the altered name of 'Le Courrier de Smyrne.' A friend of M. Blacque's brought this matter before the French Chamber of Deputies, but they passed to the order of the day, declining to take any notice of it. It was pleaded in extenuation of the summary mode of proceeding of the French authorities, that the liberty of the press could not be accorded to one man alone in a country and on subjects where and on which, free discussion, *pro* and *contra*, could not be indulged in,—where, indeed, there was no one to reply or check the torrent of invective and dogma,—where such replies, moreover, which must advert to Turkish vice and folly, could not be published with safety.

The gratitude of the Turks, however, recompensed M. Blacque: and when the Sultan determined to set up a paper of his own, he was invited from Smyrna to Constantinople, where a good house with offices, and a handsome salary, were assigned him as editor. To assist him in his labours a *bureau* was formed, consisting of persons well versed in the French and Turkish languages. It will be understood from the few words we have said, that the 'Moniteur Ottoman' is to be regarded as *ex parte* evidence, and the voice of those who govern, rather than that of those who are governed. But even in this sense, the paper is as deserving of attention as the gazettes and journals of the despotic states of Europe, or as those German newspapers which are notoriously sold to Russia. It also becomes us, both in justice and policy, to hear both sides of the question. We shall therefore mention a few of the important subjects which, from time to time, have appeared in the columns of the Constantinopolitan paper in the course of the present year.

No. 78,—22nd January, contains a proclamation for the purpose of protecting the people against oppression and unauthorized exactions of the pashas and government officers, and a private letter from Adrianople, exemplifying the benefit derived there from the publication of the 'Moniteur Ottoman,' as a check upon misrule, and an incentive to

good. Also a review of Mr. Urquhart's book on 'Turkey and its Resources.'

No. 79,—29th March, contains the annual nomination of the pashas to their respective provinces, from which we extract the following curious particulars, more immediately relating to the individual who now rules Egypt; nominally as a tributary of the Sultan, but virtually in defiance of his authority.

"The Sultan in the decree confirms Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, Aleppo, Safed, Sayda, Beyroute, Tripoli in Syria, and the Island of Crete, Governor of Candia and Egypt, Sandjak, Jerusalem and Nablous, Canée and Retimo. His son Ibrahim is also confirmed as Governor of Djedda, and Pasha of Adana. Some important inferences may be drawn from the decree, regarding the relations of Turkey with the Barbary States, over whom she still claims the supremacy. Hussein is appointed Pasha of Tunis, Yussef of Tripoli, and the name of the Pasha of Algiers is left blank. The government of Tunis has been long exclusively Moorish and hereditary; those of Tripoli and Algiers, Turkish, but independent. The government of Tripoli has lately undergone a change by the abdication of Yussef in favour of his younger son Ali, but his eldest brother disputes the title, and our own government is now engaged in protecting British interests during the conflict of the two parties. The sanction of the Turkish government appears therefore, not to have been given to the abdication of Yussef, which is represented not to have been altogether voluntary, but influenced by a continental power in close alliance with the Pasha of Egypt. Whether Mehemet Ali has views of aggrandizement in the west, as well as in Syria, a little time will probably develope. The appointment to the Pashalik of Algiers being left blank, sanctions the report that the embassy from Turkey to France has some relation to the claim of the Sultan on that old dependency of his empire."

No. 80,—12th April, contains a report upon, and regulations of, the department of architecture; and a petition from the rayas of Varna, who had fled in 1828 and 1829, during the Russian war, to be allowed to return to the dominions of the Sultan, together with the general amnesty, and the address from the rayas in grateful acknowledgment of the clemency exercised towards them.

No. 81,—26th April, contains an important decree, declaratory of the rights, privileges, &c., of the rayas, or inhabitants of the empire not Mussulmans, (exhibiting the most unrestricted toleration); the amount of contributions which may be legally required of them: and the severest penalties affixed to exactions by pashas and others.

No. 82,—10th May, contains a decree for fixing the value of the specie in circulation, for the restoration of which, on fixed principles, the government expresses great solicitude: and also the following most important decree for the organization of the Ottoman militia. As this last document is a very novel one for Turkey, we will give its principal clauses.

Although the defence and preservation of the vast provinces of the empire and frontier towns require a considerable number of regular troops, yet the government is thoroughly convinced that to adopt the resolution of uniting this number of men under its banners, and to lodge them in barracks, in order to hold them as a disposable force at all times, would deprive agriculture of many necessary hands, which would in consequence suffer grievously: the contributions thus spread over a smaller number of cultivators would become too burdensome, and the various trades equally forced to contribute a larger portion to the wants of the state would also suffer severely.

With the double aim, therefore, of securing the defence of the empire by a sufficient military force, and at the same time not diminishing the resources of agriculture, his Highness has decreed that there shall be a militia or national guard established under the denomination of Redifi Asakiri Mousourei Mouhammedigé, and has likewise ordered the Seraskier Pasha to make, without delay, every necessary arrangement for the general organization of this militia. The regular troops actually serving under the banners receive in times of peace as in war, their pay, their food, and clothing; they are quartered in barracks, and entirely maintained at the expense of government; because they are looked upon as always engaged in active service. The militia now ordered to be established will not be constantly employed like the regular troops, but is intended to co-operate with the troops of the line, for the defence of the territory, in case a war should break out. When once under the banners, the militia corps will receive with the army their pay, food, clothing, and every necessary, according to the prescribed rules for supplying the wants of the troops. Excepting in time of war, the militia-men will apply themselves as usual to agriculture or their various trades, at the same time not neglecting military exercises.

It is a duty imposed by his religion on every Mussulman to acquire the means of defending his country, his family, and his property, and to attain, according to the improvements of each successive age, a degree of skill and capacity that shall render him nowise inferior to his enemy. The good of his country, then, as well as his individual interest, impel him to neglect no opportunity of perfecting himself in the art of war. There can be no doubt that all Mussulmans filled with these sentiments will appreciate the advantages of this organization, and be emulous to enrol themselves in the new militia, which service will offer no obstacle to their usual pursuits, or molestation to the tranquillity of their lives; neither will it, without the most urgent necessity, call them from the bosom of their families.

So long as a system of general organization was wanting, the precipitation with which the levies were made rendered it impossible to make any choice of the men destined to be immediately sent against the enemy, whether young or old, fitted for military service or not. They were marched off indiscriminately, though they might never have borne arms or even known the use of those intrusted to them. They were taken without examination, the only important object appearing to be to complete the number required, and despatch them to their several destinations. The arms were furnished by the people of each district at their own cost, so that amongst troops raised in this disorderly manner, it often happened that young and robust warriors, who knew how to handle their arms and longed to distinguish themselves, for the glory of the empire and protection of their own firesides, literally perished in the heat of battle for want of proper arms to defend themselves. Others experienced the same fate from want of practice in wielding the weapon placed in their hands. Many again sunk under toils unfitted for their years. All these troops, uselessly led out to war, presented but an insignificant force for the defence of the country, while their inglorious loss left a sensible void in the population.

Formerly, when the order was given to levy troops in a district, from the day of enlisting until the time of departure, enormous expenses for removal, food, arms, equipment, whether of infantry or cavalry, weighed upon the inhabitants of the district, who, thus ruined, or grievously burdened, gave utterance to loud and legitimate complaints. It is to shield the people from these overwhelming charges, this disastrous depopulation, and, at the same time, to ensure the integrity of the Ottoman territory, by an imposing number of well-disciplined troops, that his Highness has determined that in future every Mussulman in the vigour of youth shall be instructed in the use of arms and military tactics, at the same time devoting only his moments of leisure to these exercises without being required to quit his native town or the labours of his profession. The Council is actively employed in regulating the basis of this new system, and determining the necessary measures of detail for carrying it into execution.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

It may be mentioned as an indication of a kindlier feeling having taken place between the governments of Holland and Belgium, that a considerable trade is now permitted to be carried on between the subjects of the two kingdoms.

Dutch vessels pass through the interior waters of Holland, and convey goods to the Belgian frontier near Batz, where they are put on board Belgian vessels and conveyed to Antwerp.

On the other hand, goods are taken in Belgian vessels from Ghent to Ter Neuse, to be thence conveyed in Dutch vessels to Holland.

Some direct trade is likewise carried on between the two kingdoms in vessels under the Kniphausen flag, which take goods from Ghent, and, passing down the Scheldt to the sea, proceed to Rotterdam.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

September 24. Don Pedro, Regent of Portugal, died this day at half past two o'clock, P.M. He had resigned the regency a few days before his death.

25. Three men, unionists, were prosecuted by Messrs. Grissel and Peto, the builders, for exciting a riot at the North London Hospital, and obstructing the operations of the workmen. They were sentenced to be imprisoned and kept at hard labour for periods of ten, eleven, and twelve months each.

27. Carlile, the well-known publisher of deistical works, was charged at one of the police-offices by his former friend, the *Rev.* Robert Taylor, with an assault. The charge arose out of remarks which Taylor made while lecturing at the 'Rational Lecture Room,' which provoked Carlile to strike him. The defendant was fined three pounds.

28. Dr. Grey, the Bishop of Bristol, and the author of several theological works, died this day. He was in his seventy third year.

30. The annual inauguration dinner of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex took place on the evening of this day. The Lord Chancellor and a number of eminent persons were present. One of the sheriffs (Sheriff Raphael) was formerly a Jew, but is now a Roman Catholic.

Towards the end of the month of September, several failures occurred in London, which produced considerable excitement among the merchants of the city. That of W. and T. Raikes and Co., one of the partners of which was the Governor of the Bank of England, was the most remarkable, and produced some alarm lest he had used his influence in involving the bank in any of the speculations of the firm; but for this apprehension there was happily no foundation. Another firm, Bentley, Dear and Co., of Cheapside, doing business to the amount of 400,000*l.* yearly, were rendered bankrupt by the forgeries and subsequent disappearance of Bentley, the principal partner. The other partners were not at all implicated.

October 2. Hutchinson, the private in the Guards, whose case of flogging attracted considerable attention at the time, was tried for desertion. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for six months, and kept at hard labour.

4. His Excellency Namik Pasha, who comes to this country on a special mission from the Ottoman Court, landed at Dover.

7. The Dublin mail packet, Thetis, took fire while lying at Liverpool, and the flames reaching a small barrel of gunpowder, caused an explosion. The principal part of the vessel, which cost originally 17,000*l.*, was destroyed.

8. A bark of about 350 tons burden, named the Elizabeth of London, caught fire while lying in the basin of the London Dock Company, and was completely burned down to the water's edge.

— A young man, eighteen years of age, a midshipman in the navy, the son of a naval captain, and entitled to property when he became of age, was apprehended for various robberies committed at Sir Charles Forbes's, and other houses where he was on habits of intimacy. He was subsequently tried, and pleaded guilty.

— *Birmingham Musical Festival.*—This grand festival was held in the new town-hall, a most magnificent structure. The receipts of the first day amounted to about 3000*l.* It ended on the 10th, when the entire proceeds had amounted to nearly 14,000*l.*

— A meeting of the merchants, brokers, and others interested in the tea trade, was held in London, for the purpose of proceeding with the sale of the first cargo of teas brought from Singapore, in the Colombia, since the abolition of the Company's monopoly. Part of the tea was discovered to be trash, and was, with unanimous consent, withdrawn from sale.

— The Duke of Wellington presented the 93rd Highlanders, lying at Dover, with a pair of new colours. A banquet was afterwards given to the officers and men.

10. A fire occurred at Liverpool, in extensive warehouses, the upper rooms of which were filled with cotton, the lower with hogsheads of sugar, while in the cellars were upwards of 200 hogsheads of rum. It was got under, after destroying property amounting to nearly 20,000*l.*

— A soldier in the Tower, convicted of attempting to shoot his serjeant, was sentenced to perpetual drill.

15. A petition, signed by upwards of 32,000 persons, praying for the release of Mr. Webb from the remainder of his confinement at York, (he was convicted of manslaughter, caused by administering Morison's pills,) was delivered to Mr. Rice, Acting Secretary of State for the Home Department, to be laid before his Majesty.

16. This evening, soon after six o'clock, a fire broke out in some buildings near the lower end of the House of Lords, and raged so fiercely as to render it quite impossible to save the edifices from total destruction. The wind was high, and increased the conflagration, but being from the south-west it contributed to save Westminster Abbey from sharing the fate of the Houses of Parliament. This event has been the most stirring and extraordinary of the month. It has called into operation all the grandiloquence of the reporters to the newspapers, who have vied with each other in their descriptions of the scene, and has created an intense interest throughout the country. Though the cause of the fire is not yet clearly ascertained, and an investigation is going on, there seems to be little doubt that it was accidental. By immense exertion, and at great risk, Westminster Hall was saved from sharing the fate of the rest of the buildings, and the various courts of law, with all their deposits, were preserved; but the fire, though thus confined, burned nearly the entire night, destroying the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Painted Chamber, part of the Speaker's residence, the house of Mr. Ley, the Chief Clerk, and leaving only a few rooms standing amid the ruins. There was no disturbance whatever amongst the immense crowd which the scene brought together, but a great many accidents occurred to firemen and others, by the falling of portions of the ruins, and from the melting lead pouring down upon them. The libraries of the two Houses of Parliament were saved, and a great portion of the valuable furniture of the Speaker; but the extent of the damage and loss in the papers and records will not be ascertained for a considerable time. These official papers and records were dragged out in the confusion, and conveyed away in carts, cabs, and by individuals, in any way in which they could be laid hold on, and carried off to houses in the neighbourhood, especially to St. Margaret's church, opposite, the floor of which was covered with them, while the gardens attached to the Speaker's house, fronting the Thames, were strewed with books, furniture, and papers of every description. Many eminent persons exerted themselves, at great personal risk, during the night of the fire; and for several successive days the crowds who visited the scene of destruction were immense. Their Majesties visited it on the afternoon of the 18th.

20. Imputations having been thrown upon the military who were engaged in assisting at the fire, as having broken open the cellar of the Speaker's house and made free with the wine, a strict inquiry was instituted, when it appeared that the imputation was entirely groundless, the conduct of the military having been exemplary and praiseworthy.

22 and 23. Cabinet Councils were held for the purpose of inquiring into the origin of the fire, when a Mr. Cooper swore positively to his having heard of the fire within two or three hours after it broke out (and when it was raging most fiercely) at Dudley, 120 miles from London. But no other person confirmed the extraordinary circumstance, though Mr. Cooper seemed to have no doubt whatever of the fact. From inquiries that have since been made, it appears clearly that he must have been mistaken.

23. This day being the day appointed for the re-assembling of Parliament, the ruins of the houses presented a singular appearance. The library of the House of Lords, which is standing, was selected as the temporary place of meeting. A quantity of books were placed in an irregular manner on the shelves; a gold-burnished chair was mounted at the extremity of the room, to represent the throne; a seat or form was placed for the Lords Commissioners, and a miniature representation of the wool-sack; benches and cross-benches were erected, and all covered with scarlet cloth; a table was placed in the centre; and the clerks and official persons present were wigged and robed in the usual manner. The Lord Chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the 25th of November; after which the individuals in attendance representing the Lords and Commons, with several ladies who were present, proceeded to view the ruins. On the same day one of the labourers employed on the ruins was accidentally killed.

17. One of the subordinates in the Liverpool Custom-house, who had been reduced on account of intemperance, in a drunken fit of revenge, shot William Southgate, Esq., the Surveyor of Customs, while standing in the Custom-house yard. The unfortunate gentleman died on the 19th. The assassin, on being examined before committal to prison, was found to have a small phial of laudanum suspended from his neck, under his clothes.

— A dinner was given to Sir George Murray, at Perth, by his constituents, Lord Stormont in the chair.

18. A reporter, who had been excluded from the Marylebone Police-Office, by the sitting magistrate, on account of some dispute relative to a report alleged by the magistrate to be false, was reinstated, by order of the government authorities.

21. A number of individuals who had been taken up on charges of theft at the burning of the Houses of Parliament, were examined. Many of these individuals were highly respectable, and had been tempted to possess themselves of papers and articles of small value, as relics. Several were committed for trial, and others were discharged.

— Death of the Earl of Derby, grandfather of the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley, the late Secretary of the Colonies. He was in his eighty-third year.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 24. DECEMBER 1, 1834. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Cotton Manufacture. No. III	241	Trade, Statistics, &c.	258
Police of the Metropolis	247	Political Retrospect for November—Great Britain—France—Spain—Portugal—Belgium—Holland—Germany	259
Report of the Select Committee on the Sale of Corn	250		
On the Political History and Statistics of the Italian States	253	Chronicle of Occurrences	266
Parliamentary Abstracts	256		

THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

No. III.

THE Supplementary Report (Part I.) of the Factories Inquiry Commission is dated the 15th of February, and was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 25th of March last. It is itself a short and very general statement; but the papers appended to it form a considerable volume. Of these the first is a report from Dr. James Mitchell, the actuary, containing a digest of the answers obtained from various factories in different districts of the kingdom to certain queries circulated by the commissioners.

Our notice of Dr. Mitchell's calculations must here, of course, be confined to those of them that refer to the cotton manufacture. Their principal object is to present a view, first, of the proportion of males and females employed in the manufacture at all different ages; and, secondly, of the average weekly wages obtained by them. They are arranged into 10 tables, according to the districts from which the returns they are founded upon were obtained.

We shall give a short abstract of these tables; but we must express our opinion that the information they afford—at least, upon one of the two points to which they refer, the earnings of the operatives—is of very little value. In the first place, the term "*weekly* wages," even if *wages* and not *net earnings* were what it was desirable to ascertain, is a great deal too vague to furnish the grounds of any useful conclusion; for the length of time which the operatives work in a week varies not only in different districts, but in different factories in the same district, and even, from the occasional occurrence of holidays, at different periods of the year. The rate of wages can only be correctly exhibited by taking, not a week, but a certain number of hours, as the basis of the calculation. The most material defect, however, in the returns upon which Dr. Mitchell has proceeded, is their apparent neglect of any distinction between skilled and unskilled labourers,—two classes, the one of which is so differently circumstanced from the other, that they cannot be mixed up together without wholly vitiating the estimate. The effect is visible on the slightest inspection of the present tables. Take, for example, the column headed 'Average weekly wages of males,' in the table respecting the cotton factories of Lancashire. Here we have 6 persons, at the age of 51, receiving each 14*s.* 11*d.* weekly; immediately under them, 7 persons at the age of 52, receiving each 24*s.* 4*d.*; and then again, 6 persons at the age of 53, receiving only 10*s.* 11½*d.* each. We should certainly draw a very wrong conclusion if we were to infer from these entries that there were any peculiar qualities in persons of the age of 52 which made it the interest of cotton manufacturers to pay them so much higher wages than they paid to persons either a year younger or a year older: or that, in point of fact, the rates stated were those at which labourers of any of the ages in question were generally paid. It is evident that if the labour of a man of 53 is to be had for 10*s.* 11½*d.* per week, and that of a man of 51 for 14*s.* 11*d.*, it cannot be customary to pay labourers of the same description, aged 52, so much as 24*s.* 4*d.* In the same manner, when we find three men, aged 62, earning 20*s.* each, while in the next line it is stated that two men of the age of 63 earn only 7*s.* 9*d.* each, and, a little lower down, that one man, of the age of 67, receives only 7*s.* 3*d.*, while two men, a year older, are paid 14*s.* 6*d.* each, we shall not be expected to take these figures as recording anything more than so many local and temporary accidents, which as elements for a calculation of averages are of no use whatever. The comparatively high rate of wages represented to be received by persons of the ages of 52 and 62 is doubtless to be accounted for by the circumstance of some of the factories chancing to have clerks or other high-salaried servants of these ages, whose earnings being taken into the general account, have swelled those of all the workmen who happened to be born in the same years with themselves. Results deduced from such returns must evidently be to a great extent delusive. Dr. Mitchell, indeed, seems himself to be aware of this. 'I have one observation,' he says, 'to make on what will appear, perhaps, an anomaly in the tables. In some instances, and more particularly at the advanced ages at which only very few are employed, the average wages will sometimes appear very high, and sometimes the contrary. Where there is only a very small number, all averages are liable to such irregularity: and in the present case, if it happen that there are a few of any particular age in offices of trust and confidence, the high wages which they receive produces the high average. I felt bound to include every individual, and have made the return in every case as I found it, and did not feel at liberty to make any allowance or deduction on any account whatsoever. It will be observed also that, in some instances, the average of wages is unusually low, which arises in a similar manner where there are only a few at a particular age, and some of them, from debility or other causes, only earn wages less than usual.'

Dr. Mitchell's first table refers to Lancashire, the district in which the English cotton factories are chiefly situated. At the factories in this district, from which returns were obtained, there were employed, in all, 3770 males and 3844 females. Of the males there were 246, and of the females 155 below the age of 11; the former earning, on an average, 2*s.* 3½*d.*, and the latter 2*s.* 4¾*d.* per week. The number of males from the age of 11 to 16 was 1169, earning each 4*s.* 1¾*d.* per week, and of females 1123, earning 4*s.* 3*d.* each. The males from the age of 16 to 21 were 736, earning each 10*s.* 2½*d.*, and the females 1210, earning 7*s.* 3½*d.* From the age of 21 to 26 the males were 612, earning 17*s.* 2¼*d.*, and the females 780, earning 8*s.* 5*d.* each. Beyond this age the numbers of either sex were comparatively small: of males from 56 to 61 there were only 28; and of females from 46 to 51, only 23. The highest wages of the males were those earned by operatives between the ages of 31 and 36, being 22*s.* 8½*d.* per week: among the females, the highest wages were earned by those between the ages of 36 and 41, but they only amounted to 9*s.* 8½*d.*

The second district comprehends Glasgow, and the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Stirling. Returns were received from mills in this district at which were employed 4631 males and 7445 females. The females appear greatly

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke Street, Lambeth.]

to preponderate from about the age of 11 to beyond 30. Under the age of 11 the males were 283, and the females 256; but from 11 to 16 the males were 1519, and the females 2162; from 16 to 21 the males were 881, and the females 2452; and from 21 to 26 the males were 541, and the females 1252. The average weekly wages of the males below 11 were only 1*s.* 11¾*d.*, and those of the females only 1*s.* 10¼*d.* As in the case of Lancashire, the males who obtained the highest wages were those between the ages of 31 and 36; they earned, on an average, 20*s.* 9*d.* per week. The maximum average of wages obtained by females was also earned by those of this age, and amounted to 7*s.* 4½*d.* Comparatively few males were employed in the factories after the age of 51, and few females after that of 41.

In the third district, that of Aberdeen, the disproportion of males and females appears to be still greater than at Glasgow, the number employed of the former being only 56 to 383 of the latter. While there were 22 females below the age of 11, there were no males below that age. The wages of these 22 females averaged 1*s.* 9½*d.* per week, and the highest average wages of females were 6*s.* 3*d.*, which were obtained by those between the ages of 31 and 36. The maximum average of male wages was 17*s*, being that of the operatives between the ages of 36 and 41.

Returns were also obtained from two cotton factories at Belfast, the results of which are arranged in a fourth table. The total number of male operatives here was found to be 217, and of females 470. Of the weekly wages of the males, the lowest average was 1*s.* 9*d.* for those below the age of 11, and the highest 21*s.* 5*d.* for those between the ages of 36 and 46. The females below 11 earned only 1*s.* 6½*d.* each, on an average; and, except that one woman of the age of 64 appears to have been paid 12*s.* a week, the maximum of female wages was 5*s.*, which was obtained by those between the ages of 21 and 26, and also by those between the ages of 36 and 41.

It thus appears, that while in the cotton factories in Lancashire the males are to the females as 100 to 102, in those of Glasgow and the neighbourhood the males are to the females as 100 to 160. 'The cause of this remarkable difference,' observes Dr. Mitchell, 'does not appear, and I am unable to say whether it arises from any difference in the physical condition and superior hardihood and strength of the Scottish women, as seems to be indicated by the reports of Sir David Barry; or whether it be that, from the great number of factories in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Lancashire, the same proportion of females cannot be obtained, and the manufacturers are therefore driven to employ a greater proportion of the more expensive labour of the males. If the Scotch manufacturer get the females to work as well as the males, he must derive a great benefit from their labour being much cheaper.' We shall have occasion to return to this subject in the sequel. The great diminution of female operatives of the age of 21 is no doubt to be ascribed to the circumstance that at that age they for the most part get married, when the care of their families necessarily withdraws them from the labours of the factory.

The small amount of the wages of very young children employed in the factories, Dr. Mitchell justly considers to be anything rather than a matter of regret. 'There will be,' as he remarks, 'the less loss to the parents if they be withdrawn altogether from the factories, and sent to receive education, as they ought to be at that period of life.' He is also disposed to regard it as a fortunate circumstance, that the wages of females are so much lower than those of males. 'Nature,' he observes, 'effects her own purposes more wisely and more effectually than could be done by the wisest of men. The low price of female labour makes it the most profitable as well as the most agreeable occupation for a female to superintend her own domestic establishment, and her low wages do not tempt her to abandon the care of her own children. Nature thereby provides that her designs shall not be disappointed.'

We shall now proceed to the Tables calculated by Mr. Stanway from the returns made by the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire to a series of queries issued by the commissioners appointed for that district, and the explanatory Preface introducing them by Mr. Cowell, one of those commissioners. The most important results of Mr. Stanway's calculations are arranged in their natural connexion, and their mutual bearings traced and illustrated, in Mr. Cowell's preface: and we shall therefore follow, for the most part, the course of that paper in our abstract.

[redacted]st article on the cotton manufacture (see *Companion*, No. 22), we noticed a calculation of Mr. M'Culloch, according to which the number of persons directly employed in the different branches of the manufacture throughout the United Kingdom was estimated at about 800,000, besides about 100,000 more employed as engineers, machine-makers, &c. The amount paid in wages to this vast body of persons was rated in the same statement at about 21,000,000*l.* sterling.

In regard to this calculation, it is to be remarked that it rests mainly upon the two following assumptions: first, that the value of the cotton goods of every description annually manufactured in Britain amounts to about 34,000,000*l.*; and secondly, that the average rate of wages of the persons employed in the manufacture does not exceed 22*l.* 10*s.* a year. If the value of the manufactured goods should turn out to be less than is here assumed, and the average rate of wages to be higher, each of these circumstances (the other elements of the calculation remaining as Mr. M'Culloch has taken them) would go to reduce the estimate of the number of the persons employed.

Now, it is admitted by Mr. M'Culloch himself that Mr. Kennedy, 'to whose opinion,' he justly remarks, 'on a matter of this sort, the greatest deference is due,' considers the annual value of the British cotton manufactured goods as rated a great deal too high when supposed to amount to 34,000,000*l.* sterling. And, on the other hand, it appears from Mr. Stanway's calculations, that, taking the whole number of operatives, male and female, young and old, in England (exclusive of Scotland and Ireland) who are employed in cotton-working by *power*, their net annual earnings average not less than 27*l.* 2*s.* for each.

These considerations alone would lead to a suspicion that Mr. M'Culloch's estimate considerably overrates the number of persons employed in the manufacture. And this conclusion is strengthened by another result of Mr. Stanway's calculations, which is that the whole number of operatives in England earning "a livelihood in cotton factories *moved by power*, and employed in carrying on the preparing, spinning, weaving, and accessary mechanical departments within the walls of them," amounts only to 212,800, exclusive of clerks and warehouse hands, of whom the former may be nearly 600, and the latter between 3000 and 4000.

If this number be near the truth, although it applies, in the first place, to England only, and comprehends those operatives alone, who habitually work in cotton factories, to the exclusion of course of "hand-loom weavers, printers, bleachers, dyers, cotton-thread lace-makers, (an enormous and growing branch of the cotton manufacture,) and many other branches of manufacture either arising out of, or immediately dependent upon, the spinning of cotton by power," we may be satisfied that Mr. M'Culloch's estimate is greatly exaggerated. The extension of the survey over Scotland and Ireland, and the addition of the various classes, large as some of them are, to which Mr. Stanway's statement does not refer, certainly would not raise the 212,000 to 900,000. As for the grounds on which Mr. Stanway's calculation rests, we can here only state generally, that it is deduced from a comparison of the quantity of cotton yarn ascertained to be annually spun, with the number and description of hands returned as employed during a certain space of time in three spinning mills assumed to be of average capabilities, and known to produce at a certain rate. The total numbers of weavers and other workmen are estimated according to the proportion which these classes appear to bear to the spinners in the factories from which the returns were obtained. These returns comprehend 67,819 persons: and of these 42,401 were engaged in preparing and spinning cotton, 23,920 in the weaving department, and 1,498 as engineers, mechanics, and roller-coverers, &c. Of the whole 212,800 persons employed in cotton factories, it is estimated that no fewer than 86,623 are under the age of eighteen.

One primary object of the queries circulated by the Manchester commissioners, and of the tables constructed upon the returns to these queries by Mr. Stanway, was to ascertain exactly the average net earnings of the cotton worker. "The features," says Mr. Cowell, "which peculiarly distinguish the Lancashire forms of inquiry from the generality of statistical inquiries are, that they distinguish wages from net earnings, and that they do not seek to ascertain the latter by the day, week, month, or year, but *by the hour*: a method which is not only the most precise that can be imagined, but which the prevalent system of daily re-

gistering the number of hours and minutes which the mill works, and other customs which obtain in cotton-making, rendered of easy adoption.* Had the question in the Lancashire forms of Inquiry related either to "weekly wages," or "weekly net earnings," the reply would have been vague, and the tables uncertain. Weekly wages are subject to various deductions for gas, for oil, for pay to assistants, for fines, for steam, &c. &c., and even in some cases for a portion of the rent of the mill itself. Some manufacturers, in making their returns, would have made these deductions, others would not; some would have made certain deductions, and not others. It would have been impossible to distinguish between these cases, and no certainty could have attached to the averages and calculations deduced. Again, had the query related to "weekly net earnings," much vagueness would still have attached to the answers, for a week may comprehend forty, fifty, sixty, or one hundred hours work; but as the query related to the hours themselves, the time employed in each mill to realize a certain amount of net earnings, is accurately defined."

Returns to the queries were obtained from about 300 cotton factories, and 50 silk factories; and of the former 151 were approved of as being both accurate and complete, and 70 more as being accurate as far as the answers extended. From these 221, and from 4 returns from nightmills, Mr. Stanway constructed his tables, which accordingly exhibit the actual state of things relative to 225 cotton-mills, as it was in the month ending 4th of May, 1833, all the returns being made with reference to that particular period of time.

The first of Mr Stanway's tables relates to the 151 mills from which complete returns were obtained. The following are the most important general facts which this table establishes. The number of hours during which each mill worked in the month ending 4th of May, 1833, appears to have varied from 207 to 315. The total number of persons employed in the 151 mills, was 48,645, of whom 31,414 were engaged in preparing and spinning the cotton; 16,040 in weaving it; and the remaining 1,191 as engineers, mechanics, roller-coverers, &c. Their total net earnings amounted to 100,971*l.* 18*s.* 11½*d.*, and the average weekly net earnings of each individual, calculated for 69 hours, appears to have been 71.93 pence at the mill where it was lowest, and 167.70 pence at that where it was highest; the general average being 125.13 pence, or somewhat under 10*s.* 6*d.* per week.

From a supplementary table it appears, that of the 48,645 hands employed as above stated, 13,710 were adult males, and 14,821 adult females, (that is, had completed their eighteenth year,) and that of those under eighteen years of age, 10,294 were males, and 9,790 females. Of the males under eighteen, however, there were in the direct employment of masters only 3,585, while 6,557 were in the employment of operatives. Of the females under that age, on the contrary, 6,091 were in the employment of masters, and only 3,511 in that of operatives. Taking all the persons employed, the average number of hours worked by each during the month appears to have been 271.6.

A third table distributes the 48,645 hands into eight different branches or departments of cotton-working in which they were engaged. From this it appears that of the adults there were employed in the mule spinning 5,103 males, and only 1,189 females: but in all the other branches (with the exception of the department of engineering, and other mechanical operations,) the females were greatly more numerous than the males. Of the children, the males preponderate over the females, in the department of cleaning and spreading the cotton, as well as in that of mule-spinning, but in no other. Of the children employed in weaving there were only 1,631 males, while the females were 3,674. The number of hours worked by each person during the month, varied very slightly in the different departments of the manufacture; being (with the exception of roller-covering, in which it was 278, but where only 170 persons were employed) 275.8 in cleaning and spreading, where it was highest, and 271.7 in throstle-spinning, where it was lowest. Calculating the week at 69 hours, the average weekly net earnings of each individual in the different branches, were, of the engineers, firemen, and mechanics, 246.01 pence; of roller-covering, 145.31; in weaving, 135.78; in mule-spinning, 127.57; in carding, 110.26; in cleaning and spreading, 98.85; in reeling, 95.26; and in throstle spinning, 93.06.

From another table, it appears that of the whole number of persons under 18 years of age, 10,541 were children under 14, of whom 5,941 were males, and 4,600 females. The average weekly net earnings of these children varied from 37.27 pence to 59.24 for each; and the general average was 46.35, or somewhat more than 3*s.* 10*d.*

Upon the whole number of 48,645, the proportions in the hundred were, of adults, 58.71, and of non-adults, 41.29; of males, 49.40, and of females 50.60; of adult males, 28.24, and of adult females 30.47; of males, above fourteen and under eighteen, 8.95, and of females 10.67; and of male children under fourteen, 12.21, and females, 9.46.

We present the next table as it stands, with the omission of only two of the columns, because it presents within a small space, a complete view of the principal branches of the business of cotton-working, and of the sex, age, and actual earnings of all the various descriptions of operatives by whom they are carried on. It is founded, like the other tables already noticed, upon the returns from the 151 mills:—

Denomination of process in which employed.	Class of operatives.	Classification as respects sex and age.	Total number of persons employed	Average number of hours worked by each person employed each.	Average Net Earnings of each individual calculated for sixty-nine hours
					Pence.
Carding	Carders or overlookers	Male adults	676	275.2	227.06
	Lookers-on Piecers	Principal female adults	540	275.8	225.98
	Feeders to frame tenters	Do.	915	270.4	80.34
	Drawing tenders	Do.	1,331	273.6	9.76
	Overlookers	Do. adults	145	273.9	350.35
Mule-spinning	Spinners	Male and female adults, but principally the former	2,757	275.3	307.91
	Piecers	Male adults	5,103	274.4	64.73
		Female adults, but principally the latter	1,189	272.6	34.68
		Male and female non-adults	1,417	272.6	26.31
	Scavengers	Male adults	112	272.8	69.30
	Overlookers	Principally male adults	49	273.0	315.36
	Slubbers	Male and female adults, male	842	270.0	147.80
	Overlookers	Principally male adults	49	273.0	315.36
	Warpers	Male and female adults, male	10,171	270.7	129.87
Weaving	Weavers	Chiefly female non-adults	8,6	270.0	133.69
	Dressers	Male adults			

From subsequent tables, however, it appears that the net earnings, both in these and in the other branches of the manufacture, vary considerably at different mills, or in different neighbourhoods. For instance, they are per week of 69 hours, in cleaning and spreading at Tintwistle, Glossop,

* It is fair, however, to state that the forms circulated by the Central Board of Commissioners (from the returns to which Dr. Mitchell's tables were drawn up) contained inquiries as to the *usual* number of hours each day during which persons above and under the age of 21 were employed in each mill, the greatest number of hours that the mill had been worked on any day in the preceding year, the total number of hours that it had been worked in the year, and a variety of other similar particulars. (See the Forms, as printed in the First Report of the Commissioners, Queries 17 to 27.) Returns to all these queries were obtained, which are preserved, although they have not been made use of by Dr. Mitchell in his summary, the variations in the working hours not being deemed by him considerable enough to affect large averages, while their insertion in the tables would have been very inconvenient. It is plain, indeed, that these returns could not have afforded the information which is the peculiar distinction of Mr. Stanway's tables.

&c., (where none but adults are employed in this department) so high as 267.69 pence; at Stockport and Heaton Morris, 174.14; at Manchester, 84.68; and at Warrington, so low as 67.27. In throstle spinning they are at Duckenfield and Stayley Bridge 108.07 pence; at Manchester, 93.67; and at Warrington only 58.02. In roller covering they are 176.50 pence at Oldham; 145.87 at Manchester; and only 86.18 at Tintwistle, Glossop, &c. But the total average again, though still varying somewhat, is not marked by nearly the same degree of inequality; being at Hyde, Brinnington, &c., 136.28 pence; at Stockport and Heaton Norris, 132.02; at Duckenfield and Stayley Bridge, 127.39; at Oldham, 127.09; at Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood, 122.64; at Tintwistle, Glossop, &c., 120.89; at Bolton, 111.50; and at Warrington, 108.79.

It seems, at first sight, not very easy to account for two facts which these statements establish; the first, that the earnings of the same description of operatives differ so considerably in places at no great distance from each other; and the second, that the rate of earnings in different branches at one place bears so varying a proportion to its rate at another place. The two facts, indeed, to a certain extent, explain each other. If we compare, for instance, the earnings of the operatives at Duckenfield with those at Oldham, although we find that the jack frame tenters, the bobbin-frame tenters, the overlookers of mules, the scavengers, the throstle-spinners, and the weavers, make most at the former place, while those engaged in cleaning and spreading, the carders, the drawing-tenters, the mule-spinners, the piecers, the overlookers of throstles, the overlookers of looms, the warpers, the dressers, the reelers, the roller-coverers, and the engineers, mechanics, and firemen, appear to be best paid at the latter, yet the total average turns out to be very nearly the same at both places; being, as already mentioned, 127.39 pence at Duckenfield, and 127.09 pence at Oldham. Now in this way it probably happens that, taking the gains of all the members of his family together,—of himself, his wife, and his children,—an operative in a cotton factory will in general find himself much in the same circumstances at the one place as at the other. The matter is regulated by a principle of compensation, which, notwithstanding the inequalities of the separate items, produces a uniformity of result, that sufficiently satisfies the natural tendency of wages to settle at the same level in the same district and the same business.

But the question still recurs, how happens it that the inequality in the separate items is produced; that of two descriptions of operatives, for example, the average net weekly earnings of the one should be higher at Duckenfield, and those of the other higher at Oldham? The present tables do not enable us to refer to all the particulars necessary for the explanation of this circumstance; but it would probably be found that it has at least something to do with the proportions in which the different classes of operatives—children and adults, males and females—are employed in the same process at the different mills. Thus, when we find that the average weekly earnings of piecers are 74.03 pence at Oldham, and only 66.34 at Duckenfield, we may infer that a larger proportion of females and children is employed in this particular process at the latter place than at the former; and on the contrary, when we find that the average earnings of weavers are at Oldham only 125.51 pence, while at Duckenfield they are 135.17, we may infer that, in this branch, the proportion of these inferior operatives is greater at the former place than at the latter. The tables, however, as we have said, do not furnish us with the means of confirming these inferences.

There is, however, another cause, not generally attended to, which enters largely into the production of the inequalities in question; and the consideration of this particular leads us back to Mr. Cowell's preface, the most curious and important part of which is occupied in its illustration.

'Improvements in machinery in all that regards cotton-working,' Mr. Cowell remarks, 'are not stationary for a single moment. The machinery which to-day is the most perfect, becomes, to-morrow, second-rate, and very soon third rate. The cotton, in its progress from the hands of the porter of the mill, who unpacks the bale which comes from the merchant, to those of the overlooker of the mill who receives it from the spinner in the state of twist or yarn (and which is the first shape in which it becomes once more a marketable commodity) goes through a number of processes which it would be difficult to enumerate, and impossible to describe. Each of them has its peculiar system of machinery, and an improvement in that appropriated to any one of them affects directly the wages of labour in the process itself, and indirectly those in other correlate processes.'

The writer then states the following to be the principle upon which wages, or earnings, in cotton-working *by power*, depend:—'When the quantity of work executed by an operative in a given time is increased in consequence of an improvement in the machine on which he works, his remuneration *per hour* increases, his remuneration *per pound of work done*, decreases.'

This proposition would, perhaps, have been more correctly enunciated as a fact than as a principle; for the increase of the operative's remuneration *per hour* when an improvement is made in the machine on which he works, although it may be what hitherto has actually and constantly taken place, does not seem to flow as a necessary consequence from the circumstances of the case. For anything that appears, the effect might be different; the earnings of the workman, in a given time, might remain stationary notwithstanding the improvement of the machinery, or they might even be conceived to fall off.

The fact, however, that they have increased is completely made out by the calculations into which Mr. Cowell has entered. It would even seem that what is here called the principle upon which wages or earnings depend has been adopted, and is always observed, as the rule in fixing a list of prices, that is of the rates according to which the workman is to be paid. 'To illustrate,' says Mr. Cowell, 'the effect which an improvement in machinery produces on earnings, I will take an instance from the spinning department. It will hold good, *mutatis mutandis*, for every other department. The spinner is the leading and most important operative in cotton working. He is the one for whom every preliminary process (called 'the preparation,' and consisting of carding, &c. &c. &c. &c.), is performed. So much weight of prepared cotton is delivered to him, and he has to return, by a certain time, in lieu of it, a given weight of twist or yarn of a certain degree of fineness, and he is paid so much per pound for every pound that he so returns. If his work is defective in quality, the penalty falls on him: if less in quantity than the minimum fixed for a given time, he is dismissed, and an abler operative procured. The productive power of his spinning machine is accurately measured, and the rate of pay for work done decreases with (though not *as*) the increase of its productive power.'

The proof of the assertion that the rate of pay for work done does not decrease *as*, or in the same degree with, the increase of the productive power of the machine, is found in the published scales or lists of prices agreed upon by the masters and men. Of these, Mr. Cowell here gives two, the one actually in force at Manchester when he wrote, dated 5th March, 1831, and that which it had superseded, dated 20th March, 1829.

From an inspection of the first it appears that a spinner spinning twist of the fineness of 80 hanks to the pound on a mule having not more than 336 spindles, is paid at the rate of 1*d.* for every 80 hanks that he turns off; while if he spins on one having so many as 396 spindles, he is paid at the rate of 4*d* for turning off the same quantity. But the second machine turns off 33 pounds of yarn during the same time that the other is employed in turning off only 28 pounds; 336 being to 396 as 28 is to 33. Now 28 pounds at 4½*d.* gives 126 pence as the earnings made on the inferior machine, while the operative on the other earns 132 pence by the 33 pounds for which he is paid at the rate of 4*d.* per pound. He therefore on that quantity gains 6*d.* by the improved machine, the master, at the same time, saving a halfpenny upon each of the 33 pounds, or in other words, gaining 16½*d.* on the whole. And the result of the calculation would be similar if any other case were selected. Universally, 'the whole benefit arising from the improvement,' says Mr. Cowell, 'is divided between the master and the operative. Both the profits of the one, and the earnings of the other, are instantaneously increased by it.'

It is admitted, however, that in the case that has been supposed, 'the spinner does not appropriate the whole of the surplus 6*d.*; that in consequence of the increased magnitude of his machine, he requires additional juvenile aid, the payment for which is at his own private cost, and absorbs a part of his apparent gain.'

The consideration of this objection introduces certain

views as to the general effects produced by the application of machinery in manufactures, which are of the greatest interest and importance.

It is quite true that when the productive power of the mule is increased in the ratio of 336 to 396, it becomes necessary for the spinner to have a greater number of assistants or piecers. These are principally boys and girls. It is evident, therefore, that the first effect of the improvement is the substitution of labour, comparatively unskilled, for that which is more skilled.

If the process were to stop here, the improvement would necessarily be prejudicial to the more skilled labourers, or the spinners, properly so called. A smaller number of them would be required to produce the same quantity of yarn; some would be thrown out of employment; and this state of things would occasion a general reduction of wages.

But the improvement fortunately operates also at the same time in another direction, and thereby provides a complete corrective for this evil. By reducing the cost of production, it enables the manufacturer to offer his goods to the public at a lower price than before; this extends their consumption; the increased demand takes off an increased supply; a larger quantity is manufactured; additional mules are set up; and these require additional spinners. In this way all those whom the improvement - enabling the former quantity to be produced by a smaller number of hands—has, in the first instance displaced, are re-absorbed, and find employment at the new mules.

The entire re-adjustment, therefore, is as follows. The number of adult operatives employed is the same as before. The number of boys and girls employed is greater than before. The earnings of the adult operatives are augmented; and they have the additional advantage of more employment being provided for the younger members of their families. At the same time, the public are supplied with the manufactured goods at lower prices than before. And finally, the profits of the manufacturer are also increased. But in the case above supposed, the 16½*d* which he gains while the operative gains 6*d*., is distributed into three portions, only one of which finds its way into his own pocket. One part of it goes to repay the outlay that has been undergone in the erection of the new machinery; another part is given to the public in the diminution of the former price of the article; the remainder only is the manufacturer's real profit. The relative proportions of these three parts must vary with circumstances. It is only necessary in all cases to the success of the operation, that after the deduction of the first (which is of course of definite amount), there should be a remainder, however small, to form the second and the third.

Such is the benefit diffused in all directions by an improvement in machinery. Such an improvement is, in truth, essentially a boon conferred on mankind of the same nature as would be a more generally plentiful supply sent down directly from heaven of any of those things which are prized as being among the accommodations of human existence. A certain amount of labour has hitherto been required to produce a certain quantity of some article of this description. By the application of machinery, or the improvement of that already in use, the same quantity of labour is enabled to produce twice as much of the article as before. Is not the world the richer on this account? Is not the general advantage that is gained the same, at least in its first effect as would follow from such an alteration of the laws of nature as should cause the additional supply to be showered down upon us from the clouds?

In its whole operation the improved machinery is far the greater blessing of the two. The shower from heaven would only displace human labour; the improvement in machinery, as we have seen, provides for the re-absorption of all the labour it displaces. In the cotton manufacture it has at least hitherto constantly done so. Mr. Cowell, indeed, admits that "if any check were given to the cotton manufacture, nay, if its continual expansion shall not prove sufficiently great to re absorb those adults whom it is continually casting out, then the improvements in machinery might be said to have a tendency to lower wages;" and "could we suppose," he adds, "that machinery were suddenly to reach a degree of perfection which dispensed altogether with adult labour, while no greater number of adolescents and children than are at present employed would be required for turning off the quantity of work now executed, it is clear that the adults would be forced to compete with children in the labour market, and that their earnings would be regulated by those of children." Nothing of this kind, however, has yet taken place, or in the nature of things can be expected to take place. "Fortunately," proceeds the writer, "for the state of society in the cotton districts of England, the improvements in machinery are gradual, or at any rate, brought very gradually into general use. Hence the fall in the price of the manufactured article is gradual, and the extension of the demand for it arising from the decrease of price, bringing it continually within the range of the means of greater numbers of consumers is likewise gradual, and keeps up the demand for adult labour, and thus counteracts the effect of the improvements of machinery which operate to displace it. Hence no diminution of earnings for adults has thus far arisen."

In order to meet directly the objection taken to the estimate of the spinner's increased gains on the ground that he has to employ and pay a greater number of assistants when the productive power of his mule is increased, Mr. Cowell goes into a minute examination of a variety of cases which afford the means of comparing the condition of the operative before such a change, with his condition subsequent to it. Of these it will be sufficient to give the following. It is admitted that, to a certain extent, the objection is founded in fact. In the case supposed above, the spinner will not appropriate the whole of the additional 6*d*. which he receives in a given time, on exchanging a mule of the power of 336 for one of the power of 396; but it is asserted that his net earnings will still be much increased.

"In the year 1833," says Mr. Cowell, "in two fine spinning-mills at Manchester, which I need not name, and while I was in the town, a spinner could produce 16 pounds of yarn of the fineness of 200 hanks to the pound, from mules of the productive fertility of 300 to 324, working them 69 hours; and the quantity that he turned off in 69 hours more frequently exceeded 16 pounds than fell short of it. These very mules were being replaced by others of double power while I was at Manchester. Let us examine the effect on the spinner's earnings. In the early part of last year, he produced 16 pounds of yarn of number 200, from mules of the power of 300 to 324 spindles. Consulting the list of prices, I perceive that in May he was paid 3*s*. 6*d*. a pound; this gives 51*s*. for his gross receipts, out of which he had to pay (I will put the amount high) 13*s*. for assistants. This leaves him with 41*s*. earnings. His mules have their productive fertility doubled; they are converted into ones of the power of 648. He is now paid 2*s*. 5*d*. a pound instead of 3*s*. 6*d*.; but he produces 32 pounds of yarn of the fineness of 200 hanks to the pound in 69 hours. His gross receipts are immediately raised to 77*s*. 4*d*. I will now admit that he requires *five* assistants to help him, and, averaging their cost at 5*s*. a piece, their labour will cost him 25*s*., and to avoid all cavil, I will add 2*s*. extra. Then, deducting 27*s*. from his gross receipts, there remains a sum of 50*s*. 4*d*. for his net earnings for 69 hours' work, instead of 41*s*."

It is added in a note that, from information since received of the actual working of a pair of mules spinning No. 200, and carrying 360 spindles each mule, the amount of the spinner's additional earnings, in consequence of the improvement, appears to have been underrated in the above calculation.

We quite agree with the writer in considering it of the utmost importance that these facts and reasonings should be made generally known among our manufacturing population, and we gladly lend our aid in their diffusion. "The misconceptions," says Mr. Cowell, "as to the real effect of machinery on the price of labour which the operatives entertain are the causes of turn-outs and strikes; they produce rankling discontent towards their masters, and I regret that I have not had the opportunity of giving them a fuller exposure. . . . If these considerations should induce operatives to hesitate before they combine and turn out against new machinery, before they again cabal for shortening the hours of work, in order to counteract the (fancied) injurious effect upon wages of improvements in machinery, and lead them to neglect the instances of those who urge them "to strike for eight hours' work, and twelve hours' earnings" (and this is the advice they have lately received) my purpose will be answered. The generality of the operatives in cotton-working are well-meaning, respectable, shrewd, and sensible; and I believe that if the real effect of machinery in augmenting the actual rate of their earnings, and in enabling a greater number of persons to benefit

by the augmented rate, could be fairly set before them, and rendered familiar to their minds, it would have a most beneficial effect upon their actions as members of society."

The remainder of the Preface is chiefly devoted to the consideration of the differences that appear to exist between the rates of wages and earnings in the cotton-manufacture both in different parts of England, and in England generally as compared with other countries. But on these difficult points Mr. Cowell acknowledges his inability to throw any well-defined and general light from the inquiries he was enabled to make during the few weeks he was engaged in investigating the subject, although he thinks that the returns he obtained from the 151 mills, if strictly analyzed, exhibiting as they do the proportions which infant, adolescent, and adult labour bear to one another in each, might afford the means of determining the limits within which the rate of payment for work done really ranges in this country. He considers it certain however that this rate, after all requisite corrections, would still be found to differ somewhat in different parts of the cotton district. As for the various statements that have been produced with the object of exhibiting a comparison between the rate of wages in England and the rate in different parts of the continent, he regards them as nearly worthless, and we think shows satisfactorily that it is impossible such a comparison can be accurately made. "When I reflect," he says, "that I was unable, with the utmost care, to form any general and well-defined conclusions concerning the rate of payment for work done in the cotton manufacture in England, or in any district, I cannot attribute much weight to the comparisons which are so confidently instituted respecting the comparative rate of wages in foreign and English cotton working. In cotton working the rates alleged to prevail abroad (putting out of consideration that they are never stated with reference to hours, but merely relate to periods comparatively vague, such as a day, a week, a month, a year) convey no information of the quantity or quality of work turned off in a given time, to realize a given sum of money. They amount, in fact, to nothing more than this, viz., that since 10*d.* is less than 2*s.* so the rate of wages in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany, is lower than in England; and then by confounding the 'rate of wages' with the 'payment for work done,' it is asserted or implied that the rate of payment for work done is likewise lower abroad than at home." Add to this, that in all these estimates the capabilities of the machinery, and the proportions in which the labour of adults, of adolescents, and of children, is employed in the different manufactories, circumstances which, as we have seen, affect so materially the rates both of wages and of earnings in England, are of necessity altogether neglected. In short, the statement is founded upon a mere fragment of the case. By a judicious selection of particular cases, it would probably be equally easy to show either that wages were higher, or that they were lower in England than elsewhere, according as it suited the purpose of the person making the comparison.

We shall conclude our abstract of this interesting disquisition by noticing some of the observations it contains on the proportions in which the two sexes appear to be employed in the cotton manufacture.

According to the calculation already given, it appears that of the whole number of operatives employed in cotton factories in England, the males under eighteen amount to 42,745, and the females under the same age only to 40,512.

It has been ascertained, Mr. Cowell remarks, that instead of the labour of males up to the age of eighteen costing more money than that of females up to that age, the case is precisely the reverse. "The value of the labour of a female up to that age is greater than that of a male, for their strength and activity is as great as is requisite for the work to be performed, and they are more docile and obedient. It consequently costs more." It is also to be remembered that "the superior demand upon females as domestic servants to that upon males in early life, will account in part for their obtaining higher wages in factories than males during that period."

Up to a certain age (somewhere between nineteen and twenty-two for both sexes) the earnings of operatives in factories, Mr. Cowell conceives, keep pace with their age. That is to say, in general all those of the same age and sex earn about the same amount. By the age of nineteen or twenty the operative "has passed through all the successive stages, and acquired all the elements of future skill. Accident then determines his future destiny and earnings."

"The principle," the writer continues, "which subsequently determines the differences of earnings realizable by adult males and females in cotton working, (as far as the state of things in the Lancashire district is concerned,) is, not that female labour costs less money than male labour, and that the master always takes it *in consequence*, but is this, viz., that adult males are fit for *every* species of occupation *in* factories requiring adults, while adult females are only fit for *some* occupations and not others in factories. Thus, a woman can spin, and many do, but she is not so capable of managing two mules as a man is; and consequently spinning by females has been on the decrease in the Lancashire district." A change in machinery, however, it is added, might bring them back to this occupation to-morrow. For all occupations, on the other hand, in which males and females are equally capable of engaging, there is a surplus of female labourers; and this surplus would be still greater were it not controlled by marriage, which, by confining females to their own houses, takes them out of the labour market. The greatest field for the employment of adult females, and that upon which the mass of them are thrown, is that of the power-loom weaving department for coarse goods; and the earnings of the females in general seemed to Mr. Cowell to be regulated by those prevalent in this department, which never mount higher than 16*s.* a week.

Mr. Cowell, in conclusion, expresses himself anxious that his observations should be understood as applying solely to what he saw himself in the Lancashire district. "I would not venture," he says, "to hazard any opinion concerning a different state of things, as in Scotland, Preston, Belper, or elsewhere. I should expect, *à priori*, that in Scotland females were more extensively employed in cotton-working than males, judging from what I understand to be the average quality of work done there in spinning, and the quality of the goods woven, but I should not be surprised at finding such an expectation erroneous. The counts spun in Scotland are of a higher average, I understand, than those spun in England, though they do not approach there to the finest Manchester spinning: hence I should infer that the average of their machinery was intermediate between that used for 'coarse' and that used for "fine spinning." If so, the spinner need not possess the physical strength of a Lancashire *coarse* spinner, nor the steady and perfect skill of a Manchester *fine* spinner, hence I should infer that women were more in demand as spinners in Scotland than in Lancashire." This conjecture, it may be remembered, has been verified by the returns forming the foundation of Dr. Mitchell's Tables, from which it appears that in the cotton factories of Glasgow and the neighbourhood the females are to the males as 160 to 100. It may, however, be doubted if either Dr. Mitchell or Mr. Cowell has assigned the fact to its true cause. The author of the tract entitled 'Trades Unions and Strikes' accounts for it in a way different from both. It is explained, he conceives, by the effects of the Cotton-Spinners' Union in Scotland, and the greater violence and ferocity which the Scottish workmen have shown in their strikes than the Lancashire people, in consequence of which the manufacturers in Scotland have had machines made expressly for women, and have used all their endeavours to carry on business without the assistance of men.

We have now finished our review of what may be called, by way of distinction, the Arithmetical Statistics of the British Cotton Manufacture. The moral statistics of the subject—embracing, among other matters, the state of education among the operatives, and the policy of any legislative interference with the hours of labour—we cannot now enter upon. This great and most important branch of the investigation, indeed, would be most conveniently treated in the form of an inquiry into the condition of our manufacturing population generally; and in that form we may probably take it up on a future occasion. The various reports of the factory commissioners and inspectors furnish ample materials for such a survey; but extending as they do to many thousands of pages, it would be no easy task to reduce the vast mass of information supplied by these voluminous and undigested documents to an orderly arrangement, and to present an abstract of it within any reasonable compass. The value of these reports, however, as throwing a flood of light upon, by far, the most interesting questions that belong to the domestic politics of

the times in which we live, can scarcely be overrated; and we wish that what is most material in them were given to the public in a more popular and accessible form. Compared with the phenomena attending the rapid extension of our manufacturing industry, all the other subjects of political speculation connected with these kingdoms dwindle into insignificance. Mr. Rickards, the inspector of the Yorkshire and Lancashire district, in a report addressed to Lord Duncannon, and lately published, has drawn in a few words a striking picture of the dangers threatened by that plethora of our social system which has been thus induced, unless the necessary precautions shall be taken. 'In regarding,' he observes, 'the population of what is commonly called the principal manufacturing district, we are forcibly struck with its vast importance in a national point of view; its condensation within limited spots; its consequent means of free intercommunication; the intelligence, energy, and activity of many of its members, with the coarse low habits of the general mass; from the want of sound moral and religious education, the slaves of vice, prejudice, and passion; easily excited by factious clamour as to real or supposed grievances; and formidable in all such cases from their numerical and united strength; the bond of union between masters and servants feebly knit, and resembling more the animosity of adverse interests, than the salutary influence of the one class, with satisfied subordination on the part of the other. Such is the apparent state of the manufacturing population of these parts; a population where the vicious propensities of the many keep pace with their augmented means of gratification (drunkenness, it is said, being greatly on the increase); a population, therefore, peculiarly fitted to be the instruments of seditious incendiaries, and whose means of organized association are too well known to be highly estimated. Of the state and circumstances of such a people it is of no small importance that his Majesty's Government should be at all times minutely advised; and more especially as the probability of increased commercial intercourse with the world at large, particularly with the East, justifies our confidence in a great extension of demand for the manufactures of these districts, consequently, for increased numbers of the same description of working hands, and with them a wider spread and more formidable array of those habits and propensities which may render them as dangerous on the one hand to the peace of society, as their labour on the other may, under due regulation, conduce to its advantage.'

These observations are of course not to be understood as implying that our manufacturing population either has become, or must become, more dangerous in proportion to the increase of its numbers. We believe the fact to be, that its intelligence has made a still greater progress than its numerical amount, and that the manufacturing population of 1834, for instance, is much less depraved and violent than that of 1817 or 1822. Still the mere increase of numbers, looked to by itself, must always be regarded as in so far an element of danger, so long as there remains anything whatever combustible in the mass—any of those tendencies which Mr. Rickards describes, and which, it will hardly be denied, do still to some extent, whatever it may be, characterize the population in question. In so far as they are ill-disposed, or are liable to be perverted and misled, their increased numbers certainly make them more formidable.

Vigilance, however, rather than interference, is here, as in most other cases, the true part of the Government. Our manufacturing system has now become one of the great foundations of the national wealth; that is to say, not only the strength of the empire, but the bread and the existence of millions of our population depend on it. An act of legislation, or any other cause, which should strike it with either total or partial paralysis—which should impair its natural energies and capacities of life and expansion—would derange the whole social economy of the country, and, if not by a sudden catastrophe, would, by a slower but equally sure blight, arrest and affect with a mortal shock the prosperity of all classes among us. Even the best intentions must not be suffered to intermeddle with such mighty interests as are here concerned, unless in the spirit of the deepest caution, and under the guidance of the amplest information and the clearest views. There are some persons whose hostility is particularly directed against the highest processes of the cotton manufacture, or who, thinking it a little thing to destroy, if such should be the result of their experiments, what they probably regard as merely the hotbed shoots superinduced upon its natural growth, would begin by restraining it in that direction. This description of intermeddlers are perhaps the most pernicious of all others. 'The fine-spinning mills,' remarks Mr. Tufnell, one of the commissioners for the Lancashire district, 'are, scientifically speaking, the glory of Manchester. Nothing can exceed the beauty, delicacy, and ingenuity of the machinery, the order in which it is kept, or the extraordinary results it is capable of producing. I have seen cotton spun in them of the number 350; in other words, a pound of cotton is stretched to the incredible length of 294,000 yards, or 167 miles, and is then sold for 25 guineas, the original cost of it having been 3*s.* 8*d.* It is the only part, too, of the cotton trade in which England is absolutely unrivalled, as, with the exception of some attempts that have been made in France, no other nation can approach us in this department of manufacturing. The export of fine yarn is increasing more rapidly than of any other description of cotton goods. It is impossible to keep the coarse spinning-mills in the same order as the fine, owing to the greater dust occasioned by the work, and the machinery not being required of equal delicacy. They have, however, other peculiarities which make them at least as worthy of attention. For instance, there is not unfrequently attached to them a department for power-looms, which are among the most extraordinary machines in a factory. I have stood by one of these looms, and minuted its operations with a watch, when I have seen it weave seventy-two square inches of cloth in a minute, without any human being attending to it. In factories thus furnished the cotton enters in a raw state, and comes out as cloth; and of the numerous machines through which it has to pass, including the steam-engine which moves them all, there is not one that does not seem to demand the utmost stretch of human ingenuity to bring it to its present state—not one that does not condense in its formation the result of at least 100 patents, or that has not required in its invention the united efforts of at least 100 minds. Yet this is the manufacture—a manufacture which comprises the most perfect and beautiful specimens of human art, and which employs 15,000,000*l.* of our capital, and the shipping of half the kingdom—of which the very existence is to be compromised by the indulgence of a mistaken philanthropy.'

POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS.

The present Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis, is dated 13th August, 1834, and is the last of a series of similar documents, to several of which we have already referred in the 'Companion.' The committee state that they "have considered themselves re-appointed to continue and complete the inquiry commenced in the previous Session of Parliament;" and in the fulfilment of their duty they have adopted the suggestions of former committees, with a view to the completion of an inquiry which, though not directed to precisely the same objects, has been carried on at intervals during sixty years.

The principal conclusion to which the committee have come, is that of a decided approbation of the new system of police. When we remember the strong prejudices which had to be overcome in the formation of this force, and the aversion with which it was at first regarded by many, we cannot but be satisfied that it is working well, to produce in so short a time so strong a reaction in its favour. The great majority of the witnesses who appeared before the committee express their decided conviction of its usefulness and efficiency. The state of things under the old system is thus characterized in the Report:—"The police was roused into earnest action only as some flagrant violation of the public peace, or some deep injury to private individuals, impelled it into exertion: and security to persons and property was sought to be obtained, not by the activity and wholesome vigour of a preventive police, which it is a paramount duty of the state to provide, but by resorting from time to time, as an occasional increase of the more violent breaches of the law demanded it, to the highest and ultimate penalties of that law, in the hope of checking the more desperate offenders." "The nuisance of West End Fair," says Mr. Wray, the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police, and one of the witnesses examined by the committee, "is within the recollection of most persons; and yet it will hardly be credited that within seven years or so, on the occasion of that fair,

people were robbed in open day, and females stripped of their clothes and tied to gates by the road side, the existing police being set at defiance. In St. Giles, Covent Garden, and Holborn, the streets exhibited on Sunday morning scenes of most disgraceful drunkenness and depravity, and which the old parochial authorities in vain endeavoured to repress. Among the old watchmen it was hardly possible to assemble a number sufficient to disperse a regular mob, and in no case were their efforts directed beyond the boundaries of their own parish." The necessity that existed for some alteration in our police system had long been evident; and if, therefore, it can be shown that in the decrease of crime, and in the minor but still important consideration of economy, much has been already gained by the new police, any objections which may still exist, will not point towards the system itself, but to such defects as the very short experience of its working has not yet enabled those under whose control it is to rectify.

The first and last years in which the new metropolitan police was in complete operation, were 1831 and 1833. The following table presents a comparative view of the number of persons apprehended for offences in the metropolis in these two years:—

Crimes.	1831.	1833.	Increase.	Decrease.	Per cent.
Common assaults	3,426	5,121	1,695	. .	50
Common larceny	6,953	7,862	899	. .	13
Burglary . .	133	104	. .	29	22
Larceny in dwelling houses	866	195	. .	671	77

From this statement it appears, as the committee remark, "that the more violent offences have already decreased, while the detection of the lighter offences has increased, which is precisely what was to be expected from a good system of preventive police. It is to be observed that, with reference to burglary and stealing from dwelling-houses, inasmuch as more preparation and more time is required for the perpetration of these offences, the parties attempting them are more likely to be of that class known to the police, who would therefore observe and progressively impede their operations. In other words, a good preventive police may directly check the commission of such crimes, and the number apprehended would therefore be less; but the case is different as to lighter offences, such as assaults, usually committed in the heat of the moment, and common larcenies, which may be committed by persons not previously known to be of bad character, and which can be effected in a moment, as by snatching any small article exposed in the street. It is obvious that it can seldom be in the power of the police, however vigilant it may be, by direct means to prevent the commission of such offences, and that it can only operate indirectly in producing this result by increasing the chances of detection, and thus bringing the fear of punishment to bear more immediately upon the minds of those who are disposed to break the law."

In addition to these considerations, it is also to be remarked, that the increase of apprehensions for common assaults and other minor offences may probably indicate no increase in the offences themselves, but only an increase in the vigilance of the police. The police here appears in the light in which it ought always to be considered, chiefly a preventive body, not merely detecting offenders, but opposing serious obstacles to the commission of crime. This is attributed to "the plan now systematically established, of maintaining a police in every respect the same, throughout the twenty-four hours, by which difficulties are presented as well to the planning of the robbery by day as to its execution by night."

The most obvious advantage in the new system of police—indeed that which gives it all its superiority and efficiency—is the concentration of its government and control under one responsible head or Board of Commissioners. The old system was divided into a great number of separate and independent jurisdictions, which frequently came into collision with each other, and frustrated the ends of justice. The new system has only been gradually coming into operation. It has been extended cautiously from a smaller to a larger field of operation, as experience seemed to point out its utility. A gentleman whose name is not given, but who states that for thirty years he has bestowed considerable attention on the subject of police generally, and who claims the merit of having been the original suggester to Lord Sidmouth of the plan which was afterwards adopted by Sir Robert Peel, observes, "Under the old police each separate office had, as it were, a separate jurisdiction, and the officers of each office seemed to feel a degree of jealousy towards each other, which I think was often productive of mischief in the attainment of justice or the prevention of crime; and I am inclined to think that a good deal of that description of jealousy has existed up to a very recent period, and that it very often happens that police officers of the old establishment, who remain connected with the different offices, are rather disposed to throw impediments in the way of the success of the new police in the pursuit of a criminal, or the discovery of crime, than to render them assistance, and that for the obvious reason, that jealousies will necessarily exist in the existence of two systems; those who have been longest in the performance of the duties, considering that they know much more than those who have recently come into similar duties, and being jealous of individuals taking from them the credit which long experience induces them to believe they deserve." On being asked if such cases had come under his own observation, he replies, "I have seen old offenders brought to the bar of a police office, and known old officers to be present when those persons were brought up as known bad characters, as reputed thieves, and those officers have evinced a disinclination to give evidence which would have assisted the new police in relieving the public from the imposition of these persons." He afterwards adds, "Until the new police acquire a knowledge of these characters, they cannot perform their duty with that degree of strictness and effect which they would do if they had acquired a knowledge of the men with whom they had to deal." The jealousy thus stated to exist, however, is affirmed, by two magistrates who were conjointly examined, to be very much on the decline. Mr. Serjeant Arabin, whose situation as judge at the Old Bailey gives him ample opportunity for forming an opinion, speaks in the most decided tone as to the manifest improvement of the new body over the old. He is corroborated by a number of magistrates, who all concur in declaring that the men composing the new force are, generally speaking, more active, more honest, and more intelligent than those who composed the old watch; and that in their general deportment, and in the clearness with which they communicate their evidence in cases of trial, the superiority is striking, and of the highest public benefit.

It appears that one serious description of crimes, that of the coining of base money, has increased since the establishment of the new police, and that offenders of this line are also more numerous than they were formerly within the district over which the jurisdiction of the metropolitan police commissioners extends. Upon this head, however, it is admitted by Mr. Field, an Inspector of the Mint, that 'there are many of the old officers who have been in the service all their lives, who are not aware of particular parts of the offence,' it being a peculiar one, and requiring skill and care in bringing home the charge; and that the failures of the metropolitan police are probably owing to the want of experience. We cannot conclude this part of the subject without extracting a passage from the evidence which is highly honourable to the commissioners, and shows that they take an enlightened, sound, and judicious view of the nature of their duties. Mr. Mayne, one of the commissioners, being asked, "Have you not reason to suspect that an objection is taken to your mode of managing the discovery of Mint cases; that you do not afford the facility for detecting the offenders by giving encouragement to their proceedings until they have completed the offence?" replies, "We conceive it is a sounder principle, *even of police*, to detect crimes in the earliest stage, rather than allow parties to go on until they commit a more serious or capital offence; for although you may perhaps in that way get rid of the individuals by having them hanged, yet we think, as soon as there is evidence against them for any offence, however slight, that they should then be proceeded against. By this system we are aware that, in some cases, those who are otherwise known to be very bad offenders may escape with less punishment than they deserve, yet we do not consider ourselves justified in waiting until they have the opportunity of committing a more serious crime.' This is quite in accordance with the sentiments of the Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed last year to inquire into a system of espionage alleged to exist in the management of the new police. In their report, which is

printed in the appendix to that before us, they solemnly "deprecate any approach to the employment of spies, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, as a practice most abhorrent to the feelings of the people, and most alien to the spirit of the constitution."

Many complaints were brought before the committee respecting the increased expense to parishes of the new police, as compared with the old watch. But it is to be observed in comparing the expense of the old watch with that of the new police, that many of the parishes now enjoying the services of the latter force were previously only partially watched, and many others were not watched at all. A return which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1831, of the expense of the nightly watch for the year preceding the establishment of the metropolitan police, distinguishes those parishes that were but partially watched and those not watched at all. Another return shows the amount levied in 1831, on all and each of the parishes for the maintenance of the metropolitan police. The average increase of the amount so levied is found to be twenty-one per cent. above the expense for the old watch in those parishes that were wholly watched. Twenty-one per cent., therefore, deducted from the amount now levied for the police on the parishes which were formerly partially watched, or not watched at all, will give the sum which the old watch would have cost in these parishes, if maintained at the same rate as it was in those that were wholly watched; and if we deduct from that sum so much as was expended in the places partially watched, we shall have the addition to be made on account of the new police to the total amount expended by the parishes for the old watch. The account will then stand thus:—

Amount now levied for the police from the parishes within the district .	£206,883	15	8
Amount of expenditure for the old watch, including the estimate for parishes which had no watch, or only a partial one . . .	163,112	2	10
Estimated amount of increased charge to the parishes for the police previous to the parliamentary grant, in 1833, of 60,000*l.* . . .	43,416	12	10
	£206,888	15	8

This is Colonel Rowan's estimate; and if the increase of expense be no greater than it thus appears to be, it is probably much more than balanced by the amount of property annually saved through the diminution of robberies and burglaries. Mr. Colquhoun, in his work on the Police of the Metropolis, estimates the loss arising from the burglaries, highway robberies, and small thefts, in London alone, at the enormous sum of 990,000*l.* The losses arising from the same causes in 1833, were under 20,000*l.* Mr. Colquhoun's estimate is doubtless exaggerated, though he deliberately adhered to it in subsequent editions of his work; and the great improvements introduced in the lapse of thirty years must necessarily be taken into account in determining the share of merit in the protection of property and prevention of crime to which the new system may lay claim.

Were the various police establishments of the metropolis all put under one directing and controlling authority, the saving which would thereby be effected would considerably diminish the expense to which the public is at present subjected for the maintenance of these several bodies. For instance, the city of London has a distinct police establishment of its own. This establishment has been recently very much improved; and Mr. Woodthorpe, the town-clerk of the corporation, gave in the following account of its expense:—

The day police for the year 1832 cost .	£.9,006	2	6
The nightly watch for the year 1831 cost .	36,201	2	7
	£.45,207	5	1

The commissioners propose to execute the same duties for the sum of 24,650*l.*, thus effecting a saving of upwards of 20,000*l.*

The mode in which parishes are rated for the support of the New Police, has been much misunderstood, and was a fertile topic of complaint on the part of many of the witnesses examined. It is thus explained by the Committee: 'The sum contributed by each parish towards the expenses of the police, or the police-rate, is founded on the assessment of each parish to the county-rate, and is calculated so as not to exceed 8*d.* in the pound upon the last county assessment. But the sum thus calculated is paid out of the poor-rate, which is founded in most parishes on arbitrary valuations of property, varying in different parishes of the same county; and it frequently happens that a sum, only equal to 8*d.* in the pound in the county assessment, will require 10*d.* or 1*s.* in the pound upon the parish valuation, which governs the payment of the poor-rate. Hence, as will be seen by the evidence, many of the parishes have supposed, looking only at their own valuation, that the sum demanded for the police is beyond the maximum rate of 8*d.* allowed by law.' The different rules observed in different parishes for determining what property is to be rated to the respective funds of the parish and the county, and how it is to be rated, certainly produce much confusion and irregularity, and the matter calls for the interference of the legislature. Disputes arising from this source already interfere seriously with the efficiency of the police system. It appears from the newspapers that the refusal of the overseers of one parish to collect the police rate has lately led to the withdrawal of the police and the shutting up of the station-house. 'As the matter now stands,' says Mr. Wray, in his evidence before the Committee, 'it is extremely inconvenient. There is a considerable power under the act of Parliament of levying by distress upon the goods and chattels of the overseers, or of the persons that belong to the select vestries, but it is a sort of power that almost defeats itself, and can seldom be carried into effect. We have upon one occasion proceeded against overseers, and received the money; but it seems a great hardship that those persons who often have not the money under their control, should be made personally liable for that which is not, in point of fact, their fault, frequently arising from disputes in the parish. We have a right to take possession of the goods and chattels of any member of the select vestry, but it is a sort of remedy that we could not make use of, without creating a feeling of its being an act of great oppression.'

Complaints were also brought against the New Police Force by various witnesses, on account of the reluctance of the men to interfere in cases of disturbance and disorderly conduct in public-houses, not involving the commission of any criminal offence, and in cases of assault where the act has not been witnessed by the constable, or the party assaulted does not bear visible marks of the aggression. 'Many persons,' observe the Committee, 'have assumed, and that assumption has been countenanced by the report of the Select Committee of 1822, that a good police could only be attained at the expense of the liberty of the subject, and that it necessarily involved some arbitrary principle, opposed to the free constitution of this country. In the words of that report, it was 'difficult to reconcile an effective system of police with that perfect freedom of action and exemption from interference which are the great privileges and blessings of society in this country. A full consideration of the evidence now presented to the House will dispel this apprehension; and looking at the establishment as a whole, it appears to your Committee that the metropolitan police has imposed no restraint, either upon public bodies or individuals, which is not entirely consistent with the fullest practical exercise of every civil privilege, and with the most unrestrained intercourse of private society.'

The following is a list of the different police establishments which still exist in the metropolis, in addition to the New Police:—

Bow Street, including the Horse Patrol.
Marlborough Street.
Hatton Garden.
Worship Street.
Lambeth Street.
High Street, Marylebone.
Queen Square.
Union Hall.
Thames Police.
City of London Police.

The Committee do not speak positively with respe[ct] the benefit likely to be derived from the union of all [the] bodies under one controlling head; but they speak d[ecidedly] and in regard to a few of them, and leave the others [to] ther investigation and consideration. The Fin[ance] mittee of 1798, when reporting on the expens[e] quality only from ality of his

of certain branches of police, say, 'It would be unfortunate, indeed, if any local jealousies, founded upon no just grounds, though entertained by very honourable minds, should continue to deprive even the inhabitants of the city itself, as well as those of the rest of the metropolis, of that security which a more permanent attendance, and a perfect intercommunity of jurisdiction in criminal matters, between magistrates in every part of the metropolis and of the four adjoining counties, could not fail to produce.' The Committee, therefore, for the purpose of ensuring that system of subordination and discipline which mainly depends upon obedience to a single and responsible superintending authority, and without which the metropolitan police can never be completely effectual, propose that the immediate general control over the constabulary force should be vested in the Commissioners. These gentlemen devote their entire time to the performance of their duties. Acting immediately under the Home Secretary of State, their business is to superintend, in the larger sense of the word, all the movements of the body under their control, to guide its operations, to provide for the security of the citizens, to attend to its financial details—in fact, to be responsible for all that comes within their department: they are ministers of police. In vesting them with their extensive powers, it is not proposed to curtail by law the powers which the magistrates of the several police offices possess as justices of the peace, or to define the exact boundaries by which the power of the Police Commissioners is to be separated from that of the police magistrates. It is thought that through the intervention of the Secretary of State, an understanding could be come to, sufficient for all practical purposes, by virtue of which the general control over the constabulary force may be reserved to those who are exclusively responsible for its order, good conduct, and efficiency, as a disciplined body. Many evils are proved to result from the distinct and separate jurisdictions of the police forces. In November, 1830, when the king intended to go into the city, and great and general disturbance took place in many parts of London in the evening, the metropolitan police prevented any assemblage of persons within their district: and when, in the night, all that were attempting to commit breaches of the peace were driven up the Strand, they assembled beyond Temple Bar, *whither the police could not follow them*. Mr. Mayne thinks that that riot would have lasted but a short time had the police been permitted to follow the rioters within the city, as the mob were actually pursued up to Temple Bar, and concentrated in Fleet Street. On occasion, also, of the fast-day riots of 1832, the police were in Finsbury Square, where a meeting was to be held; after some time, the mob began to pull up the iron railing, and throw stones at the passengers as well as at the police, when it became necessary to clear the square: this was done gradually, by the police driving the disorderly people before them, but the place being immediately on the verge of the city, the mob again assembled just across the street, within the city, and the police were kept there for some hours unable to act, and exposed to the same kind of annoyance. On this occasion several of the police were wounded.

The existence of so serious a defect in the police system of the metropolis might endanger the peace and property of the citizens in any time of public commotion, or at least render the assistance of the military necessary.

Of the suggestions offered by the Committee for the improvement of the police establishment, the principal are the consolidation of offices, such as the receivership of the city police and the receivership of the metropolitan police, into one; and the establishing of a fund for bestowing pensions on men who may have been maimed in the course of duty or lost their health by exposure to severe vicissitudes of weather. This latter improvement would hold out a strong inducement to able officers to continue in the service, and give to the Commissioners an ampler opportunity for the exercise of a strict discipline. At present, the only hold over a refractory or otherwise offending constable, except by fines, is dismissal; and from the number of resignations which are occurring of able men whom the Commissioners would have wished to retain, it is feared that this ultimate remedy is not effectual. The character which the force has to a large extent obtained may be judged of from the fact, that from its establishment up to the year 1833, a sum of 2000*l.* had been contributed by private individuals, in donations to the police, who stated their testimonies of gratitude for their services. This fund, the merit of which may be considerably augmented, and may lead to the complete abolition of what, under the old system, was considered a necessary evil, namely, the establishment of what were termed, in the cant language of the thieves, *flash houses*, where the police, intriguing with low and infamous characters, procured the restitution of stolen property for sums of money previously agreed upon.

The concluding sentence of the Report deserves to be quoted. 'Your Committee, however, do not rely upon any system of police, however perfect, for the diminution of crime, unless in connexion with an enlightened system of prison discipline and secondary punishments, and the still wider diffusion of moral and religious education, which are the great and the only means of permanently advancing the moral and social condition of the people.'

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE SALE OF CORN.

THE following are the material passages of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Sale of Corn.

. . . . . .

"The general result of the inquiries of your Committee, is, that the sale of corn is conducted upon three systems, contrary to, and, taken singly, incompatible with each other. By measure alone, by weight alone, by measure (to use the terms of the Report of the Committee of 1796) regulated by weight: or more properly speaking, by measure with a fixed weight per measure.

"There is a fourth system, namely, measure, with the actual weight per measure in each case; which is more or less adopted in all the districts where measure prevails. This last system will be found to be as perfect as the nature of things will permit, and may be adapted to either of the first two.

"The leading diversities or contrarieties above stated have been aggravated in their effects by other diversities connected with them. Thus in the districts where weight is used, it is often a tale or rate of weight different from that in use in other places where weight is used; and where measure is used, it is often a different kind of measure from that in use in other places: and different multiples of the same measure are used in different places.

"Sometimes all the above contrary systems, and sometimes several of the above species of diversity, exist in the same place, as at Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow.

"The principal evil is that which results from the use of contrary systems. for instance, corn may be bought in one place by weight, to be sold in another place by measure, which systems not being reducible into each other, from the want of a common point of relation, it is impossible to determine at what rate such corn should be sold, without the application of both of them combined, as will be hereafter shown. The same cause leads to constant disputes and misunderstandings, such as would occur in the commercial intercourse of men ignorant of each other's language.

"Owing to the dealings of different parts of the country being carried on by weight in one part, and by measure in another, it is sometimes thought necessary, in case of dispute, or apprehension of dispute, to weigh the whole, as well as to measure the whole, of a cargo of corn, in order that the result may be compared with that made out at the place where the cargo is shipped. In consequence of this, the labour of discharging the cargo is greatly increased. Of the evils produced by the diversities of the respective systems, the most general one is the occasional confusion experienced in the conduct of their business by persons whose skill does not enable them to calculate readily. There is, however, one evil of widely mischievous effect, which all the above enumerated contrarieties and diversities combine to produce; the *quotations* in the public prints of the *prices of corn* in the different markets of the kingdom, are thereby rendered unintelligible, and in a great degree useless. As the quotations are the only means within the reach of the farmer or small dealer, of learning the state of the markets, they become a matter of very general importance to that class of persons. The merchant and the large dealer having the benefit of extensive correspondence with persons engaged in the trade throughout the kingdom, do not so much require them.

"The value of a commodity being dependent on the state

of the supply and demand, and the value of different commodities also influencing the value of each other, all people are more or less interested in obtaining good information respecting them. Information of the state of the market in one district is not sufficient, for the state of that market may depend upon peculiar locality, as well as upon the general state of other markets: it is necessary therefore that the information should include all the markets that may influence each other. The facility of transit which now exists would bring most of the markets of the kingdom within this rule; for though some of them may not operate directly upon the particular market, the state of which it might be required to know in any case, yet as they do operate upon others which exercise an influence in that direction, they ought not to be left out of view.

"It is requisite in all cases that the statement of the quotations should be intelligible, and the points of comparison exhibited in parallel, so that the calculations and inferences deducible from them may be readily obtained.

"The quantities should be expressed in the same terms, and if the variations of price arise from any other cause than the state of the market, that cause should be indicated.

"Let these rules be applied to the commodity corn, and it will be found that the quantities are expressed in different terms; that the statements of price also vary accordingly; and that the variations of price on account of difference of quality are not stated at all. In short, none of the conditions of a good quotation are complied with under the present system.

. . . . . .

"To adjust and to prevent the recurrence of the existing diversities, it has been proposed, that the uniform standard to be established throughout the country, should be, 1. Measure alone. 2. Weight alone. 3. Measure combined with a fixed weight per measure, for each species of corn. 4. Measure combined with the description of the actual weight of corn per a given measure in the particular case.

"But, first of all, it must be assumed, that whatever standard may be prescribed by the legislature, it is to be good in itself, especially adapted to the subject, and complete.

"In the sale of corn, which is the subject, measure is not complete: weight is not complete: measure regulated by a scale of weights is not complete, measure combined with the description of the actual weight per measure, is complete.

"In the sale of corn, the object of the standard is twofold, to check the quantity and to give the quality: and, by a reference to the quotations of prices in other markets, to find the value.

"Measure alone will check the quantity; but it will not give the quality.

"Weight alone will check the quantity, but it will not give the quality.

"Measure combined with a fixed weight per measure will give the quantity; but not the quality.

"Measure combined with a description of the weight per measure, in the particular case, gives both the quantity and the quality.

"The quality of the corn must be ascertained in order to find the value. The quality, upon which depends the value, in respect of one parcel of corn in comparison with other parcels of corn, under the same state of supply and demand, is determined by the proportion of the bran to the flour. The bran and the flour exist in certain proportions in the corn, and the flour is of a certain degree of fineness, according to the total weight of a given measure of that parcel of corn, compared with the total weight of the same given measure of the same species of corn in general. Besides, more flour is produced from corn of greater specific gravity, and more bread is produced from such flour than from inferior corn, or inferior flour.

"These two ingredients, the weight and measure, are indispensable, then, to give the quality, on which the value or price chiefly depends.

"It has been said that weight and measure will not give the condition, and that the value depends a so upon condition; and that as the combination of measure with the description of the weight per measure does not give condition, it is incomplete, and at best a partial remedy. To estimate the value of this objection, condition and quality must be distinguished: quality implies the inherent properties of the corn—condition its accidental state. If corn be in good condition, then measure, combined with the description of the weight per measure, gives the quality of it; if it be in bad condition, then also the combination gives the quality of it, as compared with other corn in the same condition. But in the latter case, its condition must be stated; in the former, it need not be stated, because the condition is always supposed to be good, or the known condition of the particular growth of that species of corn, if it be not otherwise stated.

"And though quality is affected by condition, and therefore weight and measure will, so far, be at fault, yet the corn being sound, it tells all that any standard can tell.

"It is therefore complete, so far as any standard for the sale of corn in the present state of knowledge can be made complete. Whatever is requisite to guide the individual in his own transactions should form a part of the quotations for the general use of the public. Nor is it enough for the individual to know what the quality of his own corn is; he also requires to know what is the market value of corn of that quality.

"If the variation of quality be not stated with the variation of price, it cannot be known whether such variation of price has arisen from variation in quality, or from the variation in the state of the supply and demand, in reference to the corn in hand; or whether it has arisen from a change in the anticipations of the probable future state of the supply and demand, in reference to the coming harvest.

"As long as these causes of the fluctuations in price are mingled with the difference in price that arises from the difference in quality, it is impossible to reach the latter in any way but a guess?

. . . . . .

"Your Committee are sensible that any change must be productive of some degree of inconvenience, or even of injury; yet, as the operation of the present diverse and contrary systems is productive (and that as long as they continue) of the same, as well as of other mischiefs, your Committee are of opinion that the permanent character of the present evils should be put in comparison with the temporary character of the others; and that the amount of the latter at any one time should not be compared with the amount of the former at any one time: but the total magnitude of the one with the total magnitude of the other. And your Committee are also of opinion (looking at the whole of the evidence) that the objection to a system of measure combined with actual weight per measure, because it is unnecessary and impracticable, cannot be sustained.

. . . . . .

"The home trade is carried on between the farmer or grower, and the merchant: the foreign trade between merchant and merchant: of this nature is the Irish trade with Great Britain. Some portion of the home trade is also carried on in the same way.

"Whenever corn is brought at a distance, whether abroad or at home, contracts are made in the same way—that is, by a certain amount in measure or weight, at a certain weight per bushel, but this sort of trade is always carried on between merchant and merchant, or traders of the same description, and never between farmer and merchant.

"In the markets, however, corn is often bought by weight or by measure singly,—the purchaser satisfying himself by inspection and handling as to what will be the weight per bushel, and sometimes relying upon the statement of the seller. In many parts of the country there are two markets in the same place—one for the factors or merchants, the other for the farmers.

"Another difference on which are founded certain considerations of the respective merits of the systems of weight and measure is, that corn is conveyed, either by sea, coastwise, or by inland navigation, in bulks or in sacks, but generally the former. Corn is also sold in bulk by sample.

"The farmer sells to the factor, the merchant, the hoyman, the miller, the mealman, or the maltster. Sometimes he sells by sample, sometimes in the bulk. When the corn is sold in bulk, the whole quantity sold is threshed, winnowed, and cleaned, before it is sold;—when it is sold in sample, this is not always done, but a small quantity, sufficient to serve the purpose of a sample, is prepared.

"An objection has been taken to the use of weight and measure, that the farmer would be continually involved in disputes, from not being able to deliver corn of the quality he had bargained to sell. This inability can arise only from the following causes—namely, the unequal quality of his

corn, or from a change in its condition. Another cause has been assigned—namely, the difficulty of making the bulk equal to the sample.

"If the farmer sell his corn in bulk, this last objection cannot apply, because the corn being all cleaned before it is sold, there can be no variance between the sample and the bulk; or, in other words, between one part and another of the same bulk, if the sample be fairly taken. Nor does the objection apply, for this reason, because in the case supposed, the purchaser is cognizant of the quality of the entire bulk; or, having the entire bulk before him at the time of the purchase, he has the means of satisfying himself that the whole quantity answers to the seller's description.

"Where the farmer sells by sample before the corn is threshed, winnowed, and cleaned, it is not unlikely that the bulk may differ from the sample, because the latter has been cleaned with more care than the bulk. If, then, the farmer sell by a clean sample, and deliver an unclean bulk, which being seen at the time of sale, would not have fetched so high a price as the inspection of the clean sample procured, it is but common justice that the buyer should be able to annul the contract.

"The looseness in the manner of doing business by farmers is the real cause of disputes, and leads to other mischiefs from which they themselves are the chief sufferers. Your Committee are of opinion that the general introduction of a system of weight per measure would be of this farther important service to the agricultural interest (both landlords and farmers), that it would give rise to an active competition to produce better qualities of corn, and prepare it in a better manner. Districts and estates would by this means, from their reputed productiveness, gain an increased value; and farmers would obtain a higher character on account of their greater skill and enterprise.

"Reverting to the other causes assigned for the inability of the farmer to render his bulk equal to his sample, namely, the unequal quality of his corn, and the change in its condition:—the quality of the corn must be presumed to be known to the seller, for he has full opportunities of making himself acquainted with it, which the buyer has not. If, therefore, the buyer be induced to purchase on the representation that the bulk of the corn is of uniform quality with the sample, and the fact turn out to be that the corn is not throughout of equal quality with the sample, then there is the same reason for rejecting the purchase as if the condition had been misrepresented, or as if the bulk were not prepared as well as the sample had been.

. . . . . .

"If a farmer's barns be badly situated, ill constructed for their purpose, or out of repair, the corn deposited there will be more liable to be affected by changes in the atmosphere than corn deposited in buildings not so circumstanced. It is plain that the consequences of any change arising in the condition of the corn from such causes, between the time of sale and the time of delivery, ought to be borne by the farmer; and this view is conformable to the principle which requires that a man should deliver the whole quantity of corn which he has bargained to deliver, although a part of it may have been abstracted by theft between the time of making the contract and the time at which the corn was bargained to be delivered.

"Still a change in condition will sometimes unavoidably happen, notwithstanding the greatest care. This change will, however, be in such case so trifling, as not to affect the bargain with fair dealers. To provide against objection on the part of unfair dealers, a latitude of half a pound over or under the stipulated weight per bushel will be amply sufficient to meet any difficulty of this kind. In general, if the corn be properly housed and well taken care of, the change in condition will be on the side of improvement.

"The combination of weight and measure would soon teach the farmer the extreme range of difference produced by change of atmosphre generally, as well as the difference which might arise in his own case, from the situation, character, and state of his buildings. Having this knowledge, it would be in his power to protect himself, by suitable stipulations, from the risk of dispute on account of change in condition. In point of fact, disputes do now occur in consequence of the bulk being different from the sample; and it is probable that if, by means of the combined system, the attention of the farmer were awakened to the causes of such difference, it would have the effect of preventing instead of creating disputes.

"Disputes among merchants will arise upon the same points: viz., whether the condition of the bulk correspond with the condition of the sample; or whether the weight per measure, or quality of the bulk, correspond with the stipulated weight per measure; or whether the quantity delivered equal the quantity bargained for.

"It is the practice of merchants to mix different parcels of corn, so as to produce a bulk of an uniform quality; and corn so mixed will be desirable for some purposes, and unfit for others. It is, therefore, in most cases, a matter of some importance that the bulk delivered should correspond with the sample upon which the purchase was made; but with the view to obtain a higher price for an inferior article, the sample is sometimes selected from the better part of the corn, and only so much of the better part delivered as will be sufficient to cover the deception. The application of the test of weighing and measuring will detect this fraud. Unlike the case of the farmer, the dealer is aware of the cheat, because he has the corn in a state for the market before he sells. Even, however, in speculations where a party may have bargained to deliver a certain quantity of corn of a given quality, at a given time (not having such corn in his possession when the bargain was made), the case is not altered as regards the buyer, for the seller is equally bound in both cases to fulfil his contract; nothing, therefore, can be urged in these instances against the adoption of the simple test of weight and measure. It may, as in the case of the farmer, be necessary to allow a certain latitude, in order to meet changes in the quality, arising from those alterations in the condition which are produced by variations of the atmosphere.

. . . . . .

"In the course of the examination of several of the practical men who have given evidence before your Committee, a considerable difference of opinion has been expressed in regard to the relative merits of the different systems of weight and measure. Some have strongly urged the adoption of weight alone, while others have urged that of measure alone: again, others have contended for the use of one or other of those standards as the chief ingredient of a combined system; and all parties in the controversy have contended for the use of their favourite system, on the ground of its superiority over the rival one. . . . . .

"It must be borne in mind that both systems, weight and measure, being mere instruments, working by mechanical means, through the agency of man, they must be subject to all the imperfections that can arise through defect in the material or in the mechanism, or in the skill or honesty of the agent. It will be found, therefore, that the differences between weight and measure must turn upon one or more of the following considerations:—

"1. Which is most liable to fraud, in respect of defect in the machinery?

"2. Which is most liable to fraud, in respect of difference of skill and care?

"3. Which is truest in itself, being used by an honest person, and in the best way?

"4. Which occupies the most time?

"5. Which is the least laborious or irksome?

"6. Which is the most costly?

. . . . . .

"Of measure it is said, that it is liable to fraud by light and heavy measuring, and by false striking.

"Of weight, that there is the turn of the scale to counterbalance the objection to measure. . . . If there be, as was before stated, the variation produced between the light measuring of one man and the heavy measuring of another, (and this must be admitted, from the known difference that there is between the slowness or quickness, the lightness or heaviness, in the movements of different men,) there is in weight a corresponding difference in the turn of the scale, arising from the greater or less quickness of eye or attention in different men. . . . Whether corn be measured or weighed, it is commonly put into a sack, in order to be removed into the lighter, or on to the quay, or to be shot into the lighter; but when corn is weighed, instead of the sack being hoisted up, to be at once lodged in the lighter or on the quay, it is stopped in its way, in order to undergo the processes of weighing: these processes being additional to those employed in measuring, must to that extent occasion loss of time. . . . From what has been stated on the last point, it is clear that weight is more laborious than measure. . . . Which is the most costly? In this

point must be taken into account the original greater cost of the machinery, the cost of the wear and tear, the cost of the additional time, and the additional labour: in every one of which particulars weight is more costly than measure. . . . Besides the comparative advantage of measure over weight described in the foregoing parallel, the consideration that measure is more generally used in this country than weight, and that it is also universally used throughout the continent as the standard of quantity, presents the strongest reason for prescribing it as the standard of this country—either alone, or with the addition of weight also. Except in the internal trade of Ireland, even where measure is not commonly used as a standard, it is employed for occasional purposes. It is therefore more or less known everywhere, which weight is not. . . . The grand difficulty would be the substitution of measure for weight, in those places where weight absolutely, or measure with a fixed amount of weight per measure, has been used. . .

"If weight singly be used, then must a scale of weights, corresponding with the quantities contained in the measure now in use, be formed for the following purposes:—1. For the taking the averages;—2. For the collection of the duties;—3. For the corn-rents, or other transactions founded on the price of corn. This scale cannot be fixed on any accurate calculation, it being impossible to find the average weight of the corn grown in this country in any one season, or of the foreign-grown corn that enters into the transactions of the English market. If such average be obtained for one year, it will be untrue for other years. . . .

"Measure being used, and a standard scale of weights per that measure, a complication is induced; because, for the purpose of quotation, private or public, it is necessary to describe the extent of variation, (either in diminution or excess) from that standard.

"If measure and the weight of that measure be described according to the fact in the case, then the same result is produced with one means less, and the natural rule obtains, instead of an arbitrary one. When the same result is produced by different processes, it is good to use such different processes, because their results corresponding, there is assurance of correctness both ways. But it is not good to use a complicated method, having different and independent processes, which not only bear no relation to each other, but are alike different in their operations and in their results, because it does not conduce to greater accuracy, to effect which is the object desired. Hence the combination of measure, with the description of weight per measure, is good as a standard of quantity, because it reaches the same result, viz., the total quantity by different processes. But the measure being given, and an arbitrary scale of weight being given, the measure and weight not being correlative, the results as well as the processes of arriving at them are different. This kind of combination, therefore, does not form a better test of quantity than either weight or measure alone; nor does it give quality; for there is still another particular to be obtained, namely, the relation of the arbitrary quality to the real standard quality of that species of corn.

"The proposition, that the standard should be a combination of measure with the description of the weight per measure of the corn in each case, is free from all the difficulties that attend the others. It is alleged that three results are given; all that is sought, all that can be obtained, by any standard for the sale of corn; but that if weight alone, or measure alone, be used, only one is given.

"The combination gives the quantity, the specific and the actual weight. Measure gives but quantity in measure. Weight gives but quantity in weight. Weight and measure give the quantity in measure, the total quantity in weight, and the weight per measure on the quality. If for any reason a man desires to have his corn weighed, he can weigh it; so he can sell it by weight. If he desire to measure, or sell by measure, he can do so; and he has moreover the specific value of the corn. Illustrations of this are given in the returns from the Commissariat Department and Victualling Office.* The combination may be used, too, for the purpose of identification, and when nicety is required, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of that ingredient, of which it may happen to be employed as the standard of quantity. Nor is it necessary that the whole should be weighed as well as measured for the above purposes. If the corn be fairly shipped, or the bulk be of uniform quality, a single bushel, or even a single peck is sufficient; and in those cases where it is not fairly shipped, or the bulk be not of uniform quality, or these facts be not known, one bushel in ten, or even twenty, will be quite sufficient . . . . It has been objected to the use of weight and measure combined, that it would be to create a double standard; that it would be impossible to establish such double standard, and if possible, that it would be attended with no advantages, but on the contrary, that the increase in the number of particulars would give rise to greater risks of fraud and dispute. The standard is not twofold, but one, combined of the separate ingredients of weight and measure; it is avowedly employed by the most experienced and intelligent men of business, as an indispensable test of quality, and in fact, more or less by all persons, and the advantages resulting from it are comprised in its complete efficiency; nor does it give rise to fraud or dispute, but the contrary, since an ingredient error as to quantity in the one, may be detected by its failure in comparison with the other; and an error as to quality is subjected to a tangible test, a test that is intelligible and facile to all, and is therefore better than the mere judgment of the most experienced person.

"The following is an outline of what might be the leading provisions of a bill for establishing an uniform standard for the sale of corn by measure combined with weight:

"1. That all corn should be sold by the imperial bushel.

"2. That the weight per measure of corn sold should be returned to the inspectors with the quantity now returned, and by the parties, who are now required to make returns, whenever the weight per measure forms a part of the bargain.

"3. That a memorandum of the quantity sold, with the weight per measure should be given by the seller to the buyer.

"4. That the inspectors be required to give to any newspaper of the district willing to publish it free of expense, a copy of the total quantities of each kind of corn of each degree of weight per measure.

"5. That all shipments from Irish ports should be made in measure with the weight per measure, or in weight as now, with the weight per measure.

"6. That in the port of London, and elsewhere, the meters, being public corporation officers, shall not only measure the whole quantity of corn, or such portion of it as the buyer may require, but shall also weigh one part in —— of the quantity so measured, if the buyer shall require it, without any additional fee.

"7. That the buyer may require the whole quantity to be weighed as well as measured, at his own expense, except in those cases where disputes may arise as to the accuracy of measuring, and the return made by the meter may differ from the invoice or bill of lading; and that, in the latter case the expense shall be borne by the party who may appear by the result to have been in the wrong.

"8. That the act shall extend only to England, Wales, and Scotland, except as to the foregoing provision as to Irish shipments.

"9. That in all cases where the terms of a bargain do not include such latitude, or prescribe a different latitude, it shall be held to be a sufficient compliance with the bargain, if corn be delivered weighing one half-pound, or within one half-pound, per bushel, more or less than the sample, or than the weight per measure bargained for."

* In the Appendix to the Report.

ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY AND STATISTICS OF THE ITALIAN STATES.

THE political settlement of the modern Italian States may be considered as having begun with the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, after the war of the Spanish succession, and having been completed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. For the period of two centuries previous to the war of the succession, that is to say, since the conquest of Naples by Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1501, and the subsequent occupation of the Duchy of Milan by Charles V., the greater part of Italy had been deprived of all national independence; Naples, Sicily, the island of Sardinia, Lombardy, and the coast of Tuscany, were annexed to the crown of Spain, and administered by Spanish governors, whilst the republic of Genoa was under the protection and direct

influence of the same power. The only Italian governments that maintained a sort of independence were Venice, the house of Savoy, Tuscany, and the Pope. Those two hundred years were for Italy a time of the greatest depression, material and moral.

The war of the Spanish succession, and the peace of Utrecht which followed in 1713, put an end to the rule of the Spanish viceroys. One of the Italian States at the same time was raised to the rank of a kingdom. The Duke of Savoy assumed the title first of King of Sicily, and soon after by exchange, that of King of Sardinia, which his successors have retained ever since. Besides the acquisition of that important island, the House of Savoy acquired a considerable increase of territory on the side of Lombardy. By the same peace the duchies of Milan and Mantua were guaranteed to the German branch of the house of Austria, the Spanish line of the same family having become extinct. Naples passed likewise under the dominion of Austria.

In 1734, during the war between the houses of Austria and of Bourbon, on account of the Polish succession, the Infante Don Carlos, son of Philip V. of Spain, conquered the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, driving the Austrians away from them, after which he was proclaimed king, his father giving up to him and his successors all his rights to those fine countries. The treaty of Vienna of 1735 acknowledged Charles as King of Naples and of Sicily. Thus another Italian kingdom was revived, and restored to an independent rank among the states of Europe. When Charles was afterwards called to the throne of Spain in 1759, he resigned Naples and Sicily to his younger son Ferdinand and his successors, declaring the crown to be for ever detached from that of Spain. By the same treaty of Vienna, the succession to the grand duchy of Tuscany on the extinction of the House of Medici, was secured to Maria Theresa of Austria and her husband Francis of Lorraine. When Maria Theresa, by her father's death, came to the possession of his hereditary states in Germany, Tuscany remained under the sway of her younger son Leopold and his successors, as a separate and independent state.

Lastly, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which terminated the war of the Austrian succession, besides confirming all the above arrangements, secured the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, which had become vacant by the extinction of the male line of the house of Farnese, to the next heir Don Philip, Infante of Spain, and his successors. It also gave to the King of Sardinia a further increase of territory on the side of Lombardy and of Piacenza. The duchy of Modena was guaranteed to the House of Este. Venice, Genoa, and the Papal state remained untouched.

There were, therefore, in Italy in the eighteenth century, two kingdoms, viz.: Naples and Sardinia; three republics: Venice, Genoa, and Lucca; the Papal state; and three independent duchies, namely, Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. The duchies of Milan and Mantua belonging to Austria, were the only part of Italy annexed to a foreign crown.

The half century which elapsed from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle till the French revolutionary invasion of 1796, was to Italy a period of perfect peace, attended by considerable internal prosperity. The various states were administered by resident sovereigns, and by native ministers, instead of the former governors and generals sent from a distant court. And it also fortunately happened that these sovereigns and their ministers were almost all men of abilities and enlightened views. Charles Emmanuel III., King of Sardinia, and his minister, Count Bogino, Charles III. of Naples, and the Marquis Tanucci, Leopold of Tuscany, the Duke Philip of Parma, and his minister Dutillot, and at Rome the two Popes Lambertino and Ganganelli, are all known in history for their public merits as well as for their personal worth. Among the improvements they effected may be mentioned as most important—the total abolition of feudality in some states, and the restriction of its prerogatives in others; the gradual suppression of monasteries; the limitation of the right of asylum for criminals enjoyed by the churches; the compilation of judicial codes of laws; the extirpation of the highway robbers; the better administration of justice and of the police; ameliorations in the system of taxation; universities and colleges opened; men of science and of letters encouraged; new roads made; and the cities embellished. Much was done, and much which remained to be done was in progress of being effected. In order fully to appreciate what was done at that time, it would be necessary to examine the condition of the country, its people and institutions, during the two previous centuries. The states in which the amelioration was most marked were, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Tuscany. In Lombardy likewise, the administration of Count Firmian in the reign of Joseph II., proceeded perhaps further than that of any other Italian government in useful reforms, in the abolition of feudal privileges, in the establishment of equal justice, in the encouragement given to education and learning. One evidence of the favourable result of all this was given by the number of distinguished men in almost every branch of learning, who flourished in Italy in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was an epoch of general revival in that country.

The French invasion of 1796 totally subverted the political and civil system of Italy. Buonaparte took Milan and Mantua from Austria, drove away the Duke of Modena from his territory, and seized on the Legations or northern papal provinces. Out of these states he formed the Cisalpine, afterwards called Italian, republic. He overthrew the republic of Venice, and gave its territories to Austria, as some compensation for the loss of Flanders, Lombardy, and the districts Austria possessed on the left bank of the Rhine. The King of Sardinia he reduced to the condition of a tributary of France. Shortly after the French Directory drove that king away, and took possession of his continental states. The rest of Italy was likewise invaded in 1798, and all its governments were abolished, and several republics erected in their stead, which were all overthrown again in the following year. By the peace of Luneville in 1801, Tuscany was given to the Prince of Parma, and the latter duchy was taken possession of by France. After Buonaparte became emperor in 1804, he suppressed the republic of Genoa, and annexed that state to his own empire. The Italian republic likewise he transformed into a kingdom, of which he made himself king. A new war having broken out with Austria in 1805, he retook the Venetian states, and annexed them to the kingdom of Italy. Piedmont and Parma, and afterwards Tuscany, were united to the French empire. The little republic of Lucca was changed into a principality, and bestowed on one of Napoleon's sisters. And lastly, in 1809, Rome was likewise invaded, and the papal state dismembered, the northern provinces or marches being joined to the kingdom of Italy, while the southern ones, including Rome and Perugia, were annexed to France. Naples had been already occupied by the French armies, and given to Joachim Murat.

During the latter years of Napoleon's dominion, Italy was therefore divided with regard to its administration into three nearly equal parts, namely,—1, the so called kingdom of Italy, which comprised the north-eastern part of the Peninsula: 2, French Italy, which included Piedmont, Genoa, Parma, Tuscany, and Rome: and 3, the kingdom of Naples. The islands of Sicily and Sardinia remained under their old kings. Politically speaking, all the continent of Italy was merged into the system of Napoleon's universal military monarchy; but with regard to the internal administration, the two kingdoms of Naples and of Italy retained a sort of national existence, and many useful reforms were made in both, especially in the judiciary system. The last remains of feudality were likewise abolished.

By the overthrow of Napoleon, in 1814, the King of Sardinia was restored to his continental dominions with the addition of Genoa. Austria retook possession of the Venetian states as well as of Lombardy; Tuscany was restored to its Grand Duke Ferdinand, Modena to the heir of the house of Este, the Pope resumed his former territories, Parma was given to Maria Louisa, Napoleon's consort; and Lucca to the son of the former Prince of Parma. In 1815, Murat having declared war against Austria, was driven from his kingdom, which came again into the possession of Ferdinand of Sicily.

The difference between this settlement effected by the restoration, and that which existed before the French invasion, lies in these two main points: 1st, Venice, as an independent state, has disappeared, and by its annexation to Lombardy has doubled the extent of the former Austrian possessions in Italy, which are also thereby rendered contiguous to the German possessions of that power, which contiguity did not exist before, the Venetian territory being then interposed between Austrian Lombardy and the German territories of the same power. 2nd, The annexation of Genoa to the Sardinian kingdom has rendered that last state more compact, and has given it an important addition

of territory, a wealthy city, a long line of coasts, some good harbours, and a numerous seafaring and mercantile population. The other Italian states have been replaced within the same limits as they were before the French invasion. Tuscany has gained Piombino and several other points on the coast, and the whole island of Elba, of which it had only a part before.

The present Italian states are eight in number: four larger ones,—namely, the kingdom of Sardinia; the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which bears now the title of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom subject to Austria; and the Papal state; and four small ones,—namely, the grand duchy of Tuscany; the duchy of Parma and Piacenza; the duchy of Modena and Massa; and the duchy of Lucca. The diminutive republic of San Marino, with its 2000 souls, which has survived all political changes and revolutions, lies in the midst of the Pope's territories, and is under the protection of that power.

The extent and population of the Italian states, according to the latest statistical accounts, are as follows:—

	Square Italian miles, 60 to a degree.	Inhabitants
Sardinian monarchy	21,424	4,260,000
Kingdom of the two Sicilies	31,779	7,130,000
Lombardo-Venetian kingdom	13,640	4,279,000
Papal state	13,000	2,592,000
Grand duchy of Tuscany	6,320	1,300,000
Duchy of Parma	1,712	454,000
Duchy of Modena and Massa	1,468	350,000
Duchy of Lucca	320	152,800
Total square Italian miles	89,663	Population 20,817,800

The annual increase of population in all Italy is stated by Moreau de Jonnès to be at the rate of 205,000, or about one hundredth part of the population. The progress of increase is greatest in the continental part of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, in Lombardy, and in the small duchy of Lucca, which last is one of the most densely peopled territories in Europe, having 477 inhabitants to 1 Italian mile. Another peculiarity of the state of Lucca is its having 39,000 proprietors of land, or 1 proprietor to every 4 individuals. There is hardly a labouring man who is not a proprietor. This is considered to be in great measure the result of the abolition of *fidei commissi*, majorats, and ecclesiastical corporations and monasteries, and of the repartition of communal property, and the consequent minute subdivision of land which has taken place, and the operation of which is more visible in a circumscribed agricultural district than in more extended and wealthier countries. It ought also to be observed that a great number of young men from the country of Lucca emigrate annually in quest of employment, many go about the world selling images, and others proceed to the Tuscan Maremme, and to the island of Corsica, to work as labourers. Many of these emigrants, on their return home, bring back with them the produce of their savings.

The population of the cities and large towns has rapidly increased since the peace. Great part of this increase, however, must be attributed to fresh arrivals from the country districts. Turin, which in 1815 had 73,000 inhabitants, reckons now 117,000. Florence, from 70,000, has risen to 91,000. Rome, which in 1796, before the French invasion, reckoned 165,000, fell in 1810 to 123,000; it had risen again in 1820 to 135,000, and in 1831 to 150,000. Milan, which is by many supposed to have declined since the restoration, reckoned in 1810, 132,000, and it now reckons 130,000. Venice is perhaps the only city that has really and permanently declined; it reckoned in 1797, 150,000 inhabitants, it now reckons about 100,000. Naples reckons 358,000; and Palermo, the capital of Sicily, 171,000: Genoa, 80,000; Leghorn, 70,000: Bologna, 62,000: Messina, 60,000: Verona, 50,000; Catania, 45,000; Padua, 47,000; Parma, 36,000; Brescia, 34,000. Many towns have from 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, such as Bergamo, Vicenza, Mantua, Cremona, Alessandria, Asti, Ancona, Perugia, Ferrara, Ravenna, Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Siena, Pisa, Cagliari in the island of Sardinia, &c. A still greater number reckon from 10,000 to 20,000. Italy is of all continental countries that which has the greatest number of populous towns in proportion to its extent.

In all the Italian states the great bulk of the population is employed in agriculture. The proportion of agriculturists however is less than in France, being about two-thirds of the whole, while in France it is nearly three-fourths. The Italian States in which the agricultural population is greatest in proportion to the rest, are the kingdom of Naples and the Papal territory. The same class is least numerous in the territory of Genoa, more than one-half of the people there deriving their subsistence from trade and navigation. The greater part of the Riviera of Genoa is rocky and not fit for tillage. In the Papal State there are about 1,500,000 of people living by the land, and 700,000 employed in mechanical professions and trade.

The chief manufactures of Italy are silks in Lombardy, Genoa, Piedmont, Tuscany, Lucca, and Naples; coarse woollens in Genoa, Piedmont, Rome, and Naples; glass works at Venice; straw hats in Tuscany and Lucca. Paper is made in all the states, both for home consumption and exportation. In Lombardy manufactures of common cotton stuffs have been introduced of late years.

The principal productions for exportation consist of corn, rice, hemp, and silk in Lombardy and Piedmont; oil, silk, and potash in Tuscany; corn, rice, timber, charcoal, hemp, and salt in the Papal State; oil, silk, wool, corn, wine, fruit, and salt in Naples and Sicily. The greatest industry and skill in agriculture are employed in Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany, and the northern Papal provinces; the least in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The most fertile soils are those of Lombardy and of Campania in the kingdom of Naples. The system of irrigation prevails in North Italy.

With regard to the system of agriculture followed in the Maremme of Rome and Tuscany, it may be observed that it is of a peculiar nature, and perhaps the only one suited to the climate, and the thin population of those districts.

The principal iron-mines are, in the island of Elba, at Caneto in the state of Parma, in the Val d'Aosta, at Stilo in Calabria, and in the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia. There are copper-mines in the province of Belluno in the Venetian territory, and lead-mines in Savoy. The marble quarries at Carrara employ 1200 workmen, and afford a yearly revenue of about 30,000*l.* sterling. Coal is found in some valleys of Piedmont, in the province of Teramo, in Abruzzo, at Leffe near Bergamo, and near Rimini in the Papal State, but very little use has been made of it as yet.

The maritime commerce has rapidly increased since the peace. Italy now exports annually to the amount of about 10,000,000*l.* sterling, of which silk makes about 5,000,000*l.*, oil 2,000,000*l.*, and rice and hemp 1,000,000*l.* The silk is exported from the various states in the following proportions:—

	Livres (25 to £1 ster.)
Lombardo-Venetian kingdom	85,000,000
Sardinian kingdom	20,000,000
Parma	1,000,000
Tuscany	2,500,000
Lucca	200,000
Island of Sicily	4,000,000
Naples, Papal State and Modena	12,000,000
	124,700,000

This quantity of silk is purchased chiefly by France, England, and Germany. The operations connected with the production of the silk, the spinning of it, and the several manufactures of silk goods, give employment, in Lombardy and Venice alone, to 100,000 individuals.

Italy imports about 12,000,000*l.* sterling of foreign goods annually. Of these, 4,500,000*l.* consist of English goods, chiefly manufactures, besides colonial articles, salt fish, &c. Italy, therefore, consumes more English manufactures than any other country of Europe, Germany excepted. All the Italian states, except the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, are open to English manufactures. In Lombardy and Venice the duties on foreign manufactured goods are, in most instances, tantamount to prohibition, and this is for the purpose, as it is said, of encouraging home manufactures: however, a vast system of smuggling is carried on on the frontiers. By an ordinance of May, 1833, all sorts of cotton twist are now admitted into Lombardy, and the duty has been reduced one-half. About 50,000 individuals are now employed in Lombardy in the manufacture of common cotton stuffs and prints. Italy imports French goods to the amount of about 40,000,000 of livres annually, chiefly fine

woollen cloths, silks, and other articles of fashion and luxury. It also imports corn from the Black Sea, iron and copper from the north of Europe, tobacco from Portugal and America, &c. There is a curious fact observed in the custom-house entries of the little duchy of Lucca. The importation of foreign goods in the year 1831 amounted to 5,000,000 of livres, an amount too large to be accounted for either by the numerical population of the country or its resources and habits. The only plausible explanation is, that a considerable quantity of the goods thus imported into Lucca were smuggled over the mountains into the neighbouring states. The roads of Viareggio constitute the only seaport of Lucca, and some hundred small coasting vessels belong to that place. The duchy of Modena also touches the sea by means of its province of Massa and Carrara, and has some coasting vessels under its national flag. The duchy of Parma is the only Italian state having no sea-coast, but it has, as well as the neighbouring state of Modena, an outlet to the Adriatic by means of the river Po, and accordingly we find mentioned, occasionally, arrivals of Parmesan vessels in the harbours of the other Italian states. A steam-boat plies on the Po between Lagoscuro near Ferrara, and Venice. Steam-boats have ascended the Po as high as Pavia.

The maritime trade of Italy is carried on chiefly at the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Messina, Ancona, and Venice. In the year 1832 the arrivals at Genoa were as follows:—452 vessels from the Black Sea, 102 from the Levant, Egypt, and Barbary, 898 from the ports of Europe on the Atlantic and Northern Sea, 58 from America, and 1347 from the ports of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic; this last number consisting chiefly of vessels of small burthen. Of the whole number, 2283 were under the Sardinian flag. There are about 5000 vessels belonging to the different harbours of the Sardinian states, and chiefly to Genoa and the other seafaring towns on the Riviera, and 40,000 seamen. The Genoese trade directly with South America in their own vessels. Leghorn is, next to Genoa, the most frequented harbour in Italy, but its trade is carried on almost entirely under foreign flags, the Tuscans having but few ships of burthen. The arrivals at Leghorn in 1832 were, 239 vessels from the Black Sea, 231 from the Levant, Egypt, and Barbary, 159 from the ports of Europe on the Atlantic and Northern Seas, 49 from America, and 2356 from the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic: two-thirds of the whole number were coasting vessels or small craft. Of the larger vessels the most numerous were the English, next come the Austrian, the Russian vessels next, and the Greek, Sardinian, Swedish, and American vessels after in succession. In the port of Naples, during the same year, the arrivals were, 19 vessels from Egypt and Barbary, 128 from the ports of Europe on the Atlantic or Northern Seas, 4 from America, and 3226 (chiefly small craft) from the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. Of the larger vessels that arrived nearly two-thirds were English. The Neapolitans have about 2400 vessels, of which, however, the greater part are coasting traders. The most enterprising seamen are those of the coast of Sorrento, opposite Naples; they own about 200 vessels, many of them of considerable burthen, in which they navigate the Atlantic and the Northern Seas. They also proceed to America, where a Neapolitan flag was, we believe, a thing unknown twenty years since. In the port of Venice we find the arrivals in 1832 were, 15 vessels from the Black Sea, 21 from the Levant, 52 from Europe outside the Straits of Gibraltar, 4 from America, and 1204 from the Mediterranean and Adriatic. Of the whole number 1025 were small craft. Of the larger vessels 36 were English, and the rest chiefly Austrian and Sardinian. In the same year we find 33 English vessels to have arrived in the ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, in the Papal State.

The only Italian States which have a naval force are Sardinia and Naples. The Sardinian navy consists of 4 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 8 smaller vessels. Naples has 2 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 18 smaller vessels. The Venetian ships of war form part of the Austrian navy.

The public revenue of the Italian States is as follows:

Sardinian Kingdom	65,800,000 livres.
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies	84,000,000
Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom	83,000,000
Papal State	43,000,000
Tuscany	16,000,000
Parma	6,500,000
Lucca	1,900,000

Of the administration—civil, judicial, and economical—of the various Italian States, we shall give an account in another article.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

Taxes Remitted or Repealed since 1814.—The following is an abstract of a return to the House of Commons of all the taxes remitted or repealed since 1814, with a list also of those partially remitted or repealed, and the date of remission, &c.:—

GREAT BRITAIN.

CUSTOMS.—Taxes wholly repealed.

Date.	Nature of the Taxes Repealed.	Amount of Tax the year immediately preceding the Repeal.
1814	War duties and exports on coals, slates, and stones, coastways, and on shipping inwards and outwards	£.919,761
1815	War duties on cotton wool imported in British ships	214,650
1816	Duty on lead exported	40,967
1821	Duty on cotton wool of the British plantations in America	19,448
1822	Duty on shipping inwards and outwards	152,963
1823	Duty on stone brought coastways	24,543
1825	Quarantine duty on shipping	20,842
1831	Duty on coals and slates brought coastways	926,066

Taxes partially repealed:—

Date.	Nature of the Taxes partially Repealed.	Estimated Amount of Duty Repealed.
1823	Barilla	£.48,272
	Coals exported	19,000
1824	Raw, waste, and thrown silk	555,549
	Coals brought into London	241,412
	Rum	157,000
	Sheep's wool	381,450
1825	Wine	950,809
	Coffee and cocoa	211,702
	Cambrics	9,060
	Cotton manufactures, including yarn	26,837
	Iron unwrought	58,038
	Sheep's wool	8,000
	Tobacco	658,967
	Hemp	128,353
	Pearl and potashes	24,127
	Flax	13,405
	Indigo	19,085
	Madder and madder root	29,808
	Lamb skins undressed	13,052
	Kid skins dressed	9,480
	Olive oil	35,936
	Cochineal	8,389
	Rags for paper	9,804
	Small nuts	12,613
	Elephants' teeth	7,824
	Valonia	6,339
	Train oil	6,545
	Books	5,369
	Ostrich feathers	5,909
	Pimento	5,840
	Glass bottles	5,158
	Tar	5,884
	Quicksilver	8,818
	Thrown silk	56,558
1826	Rum	469,000
	Pepper	100,486
	Smalts	5,550
	Flax-seed and linseed	24,490
	Raw and waste silk	25,338
	Mahogany	30,854
	Oranges and lemons	19,077
	Rape seed	54,335
1828	Rice	7,410
1829	Barilla	14,162
	Raisins	6,488
	Thrown and waste silk	57,287
	Silk manufactures	24,827
1830	Barilla	11,431
	Sugar	488,303
	Molasses	19,240
1831	Coals exported	10,175
	French wine	23,283
1832	Almonds	10,867
	Cocoa-nuts and shells	8,555
	Gums	11,490
	Hemp, £.109,230, but deducting bounty on cordage exported, discontinued, is	£.103,743

Date.	Nature of the Taxes partially Repealed.	Estimated Amount of Duty Repealed.
1832	Mahogany	7,318
1833	Cotton wool	311,203
	Madder and madder root	14,386
	Shumac	5,637

Note.—The foregoing statement exhibits every instance of a reduction or repeal of duties by which the collective revenue of Great Britain and Ireland was affected to the extent of 5000*l.* or upwards. The insertion of the minor articles would have extended the return very materially, without sensibly altering the result.

Excise.—Taxes remitted or repealed :—

Date.	Nature of the Tax Repealed.	Estimated Amount of Duty Repealed.
1816	Malt war duties, 2*s.* per bushel	£.2,739,571
1822	Malt, annual duty, 1*s.* per bushel [These duties were granted under separate acts of Parliament, and the produce directed to be kept distinct for specific purposes. But in order to show the effect of the reduction upon the produce of the malt duty generally, the amounts have been ADDED to the account of taxes *partially* remitted or repealed.]	1,415,443
1825	Salt [Salt was reduced 13*s.* per bushel from January, 1823.]	233,722
1830	Hides and skins (duty and licenses) [The duties on hides and skins were previously reduced one half from July, 1822.]	381,878
	Beer	3,110,570
1831	Printed goods (duty and licenses)	2,109,282
1832	Candles (duty and licenses)	482,686
1833	Tiles	38,010
	Taxes partially remitted or repealed :—	
1816	Malt, reduced 2*s.* per bushel (war duties)	3,365,342
1818	Plate glass, reduced 1*l.* 8*s.* per cwt.	16,634
1822	Malt, reduced 1*s.* per bushel (annual duty)	1,142,632
	Irish spirits imported into England, reduced 7*d.* per gallon [In the year preceding the partial repeal the duty collected was 179,699*l.*, in the year subsequent it was 256,881*l.*]	
1822	Hides and skins reduced to one half the former rates	239,084
1823	Spirits for consumption in Scotland, reduced 3*s.* 9*d.* per gallon. [The duty collected in the year preceding the partial repeal was 530,356*l.*, in the year subsequent it was 5 4,758*l.*]	
1825	Flint glass, reduced 2*l.* 2*s.* per cwt.	223,631
	Licenses reduced (various rates)	108,896
1826	Spirits for consumption in England, reduced 4*s.* 8½*d.* per gallon [The duty collected in the year subsequent to the reduction was 2,055,027*l.*, and in the year subsequent 2,592,521*l.*]	
1830	Soap reduced to one half of the former rates	757,122

Stamps.—Total stamp duties repealed in

1824	£.180,000	1827		£.2,306
1825	1,000	1832		1,134
1826	67,300	1833		30,600

Stamp duties partially repealed in

1825	£.60,000	1828	£.12,500	1833 £.88,800

Post Office.—Taxes repealed :—

1819	Certain rates of postage on letters between Great Britain and the East Indies	25,000
1824	Packets containing re-issuable country bank notes, authorised to be conveyed at one fourth part of the rate on letters [No estimate can possibly be furnished.]	
1827	The separate and distinct rates of postage in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, on letters between Great Britain and Ireland	40,000
	The separate rates on merchants' accounts, bills of exchange, &c. &c.	40,000
1831	Twopenny rates on letters passing from the Inland and Foreign Offices, by extension of the general post delivery to the distance of three miles round the Post Office. The concession to the public estimated at	25,000

Tax Department.—Taxes remitted or repealed :—

1815	Property-duty, amount repealed	£.14,617,823
1817-1825	Duty repealed on houses and windows	303,453
	The amount of the duties reduced in respect of houses in trade and other houses, by the act of last session, cannot be ascertained, but it has been estimated at	250,000
1816-1833	Duty repealed on servants	210,920
1823-1833	Ditto on carriages [The amount of the duties repealed by act of last session on certain kinds of two-wheeled carriages cannot yet be ascertained.]	75,545
1816-1831	Duty repealed on horses	549,894
1824	Ditto on dogs	6,876
	The total of duties repealed in the Tax department of Great Britain since 1814 is	16,014,511
	The total amount of duties partially repealed in the same department during the same period is	2,473,852
	Total assessed taxes repealed or partially remitted	£.18,488,363

IRELAND.

Customs.—Taxes wholly repealed :—

Date.	Nature of the Taxes Repealed.	Estimated Amount of Duty Repealed.
1814	War duties on exports	£.12,164
1815	War duty on cotton wool imported in British ships	8,099
1821	Duty on cotton wool of the British plantations in America	184
1823-1825	Union duties on British manufactured goods imported into Ireland	153,769
1825	Duty on salt imported	12,411
1831	Duty on coals brought coastways	67,807
	Taxes partially repealed :—	
1819	Cotton wool	7,113
1823	Barilla	16,455
1824	Raw, waste, and thrown silk	3,786
	Rum	1,613
	Sheeps' wool	37
1825	Wine	60,904
	Coffee and cocoa	4,343
	Iron, unwrought	2,020
	Sheep's wool	125
	Tobacco	187,484
	Hemp	3,056
	Pearl and potashes	939
	Flax, indigo, madder, skins, olive oil, books, feathers, bottles, tar, &c., &c.	2,854
	Quicksilver	138
	Thrown silk	1,316
1826	Rum	1,203
	Pepper	5,043
	Smalts	142
	Flax-seed and linseed	6,597
	Mahogany	605
	Oranges and lemons	909
1828	Rice	114
1829	Barilla	7,024
	Raisins	4
	Thrown and waste silk	220
1830	Barilla	6,311
	Sugar	49,331
	Molasses	67
1831	Coals exported	88
	French wine	3,693
1832	Almonds	472
	Cocoa-nuts and shells	1,426
	Gums	5
	Hemp, £3944, but deduct bounty on cordage exported discontinued	3,501
	Mahogany	530
1833	Cotton wool	466
	Madder and madder root	296
	Shumac	236

Excise.—Taxes repealed :—

1830	Hides and skins (duty and licenses)	51,630

Taxes partially repealed:—

Date.	Nature of Taxes partially Repealed.	Duty in the year preceding.	Duty in the year subsequent.
1816	Malt, reduced 2*s.* per bushel	£.359,806	£.164,771
	Spirits for consumption in Ireland, reduced 6*d.* per gal.	1,037,185	1,012,747
1822	Malt, reduced 1*s.* per bushel	347,424	275,613
1823	Spirits for consumption in Ireland, reduced 3*s.* 2*d.* per gallon	624,819	803,148
1825	Licenses reduced (various rates)	171,510	168,059

STAMPS.—Taxes repealed:—

Date.	Nature of the Taxes Repealed.	Estimated Amount of Duty Repealed.
1819	Requisition or request note for any permit	£.24,000
1824	Certain duties on law proceedings	98,000
1832	Bill of costs taxed by any taxing officer	1,300
	Writ after judgment	4,800

[There are other Taxes repealed, especially on receipts for sums under 5*l.*, of which an estimated amount cannot be given.]

Duties partially repealed:—

Date.	Nature of Duty partially Repealed.	Amount collected in year preceding.	Amount collected in year subsequent.
1822	Bankers' notes under 5*l.* Irish, reduced from 3*d.* to 1½*d.*	£.4,085	£.1,559
1825	Bond in respect of duties of customs and excise, reduced one half	16,000	8,000
1828	Playing cards, reduced one half	1,006	244
	Protests on bills of exchange, &c.	6,797	4,709
1833	Advertisements reduced from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.*	15,248	No statement is given in the return.

[There are other duties partially repealed, of which a separate account cannot be given.]

POST OFFICE.

The amount of taxes repealed in the Irish Post Office department since 1814, is £.13,198

TAX DEPARTMENT.—Taxes repealed:—

1816	House tax	17,650
	Hearth tax	14,571
1823	Hearth tax	21,452
	Window tax	109,813
	Carriage duty	52,665
	Servant duty	31,984
	Horse duty	48,842

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Supply and Consumption of Cotton.—A statement has recently been published in New York of the crop of cotton in the United States during the year ending 30th of September last. The total quantity produced is stated to have been 1,205,304 bales, exceeding by about 135,000 bales, the crop of any previous year.

The exports of cotton from the various ports in the United States during the same period, viz. between 1st October, 1833, and 30th September, 1834, has also been published, distinguishing the counties to which the shipments have been made, as under, viz.:—

Ports of Shipments.	To Great Britain.	To France.	To North of Europe.	To other Foreign Ports.	Total.
New Orleans	289,169	101,253	9,742	1,384	401,548
Mobile	96,180	15,256	944	4,760	117,140
Savannah	144,804	17,638	544	1,227	164,213
Charleston	142,194	46,433	21,554	2,237	212,418
Virginia	19,749	9,144	1,764	388	31,045
New York	54,568	25,876	7,655	895	88,994
Other ports	9,627	833	1,068	1,065	12,593
Total to foreign ports	756,291	216,433	43,271	11,956	1,027,951
Same in year ending 30th Sept., 1833	630,145	207,517	23,840	5,953	867,455
Same in year ending 30th Sept., 1832	638,148	207,209	29,685	16,686	891,728

It appears from these statements, that seventeen-twentieths of the cotton produced in the United States is exported to foreign countries, and that very nearly three-fourths of the shipments are made to this country. The quantity sent to the United Kingdom in the annual period that expired on the 30th September last, exceeds that of the preceding twelvemonths by 126,146 bales, which is an increase of twenty per cent. Measured by the shipments of the annual period ending 30th September, 1832, the increase is 118,143 bales, or eighteen and a half per cent. Notwithstanding this augmentation of the supply, it does not appear that any accumulation of stock has been experienced in our markets. On the contrary, the estimated quantity remaining of all kinds of cotton in Liverpool, where the great bulk of the cotton business of this kingdom centres, was on the 14th of November just passed, considerably smaller than at the same period of 1833. The stock which was then (in 1833) 237,070 bales, is now reduced to 133,630 bales. In confirmation of this estimate, it may be stated that the quantity of cotton taken from the warehouses for consumption, during the nine months of 1834, ending with September, exceeded the quantity taken during the corresponding period of 1833, by twenty-five millions of pounds weight, affording thus a most convincing proof of the continuing prosperity of this great staple of British manufacture.

About four-fifths of the cotton imported into the United Kingdom is of the growth of the United States of America; the remaining one-fifth is brought from our possessions in India and the West Indies, from Brazil and from Egypt. The quantities imported altogether in the year 1833, amounted to 303,656,837 lbs., which were supplied in the following proportions, viz.:—

	lbs.
United States of America	237,506,758
Brazil	28,463,821
Turkey and Egypt	987,262
Other foreign countries	1,696,108
East Indies and Mauritius	32,755,164
British West Indies	2,084,862
Other British possessions	162,862
Total	303,656,837

The total quantity re-exported in the raw state was no more than 17,363,882 lbs, while the quantity taken for consumption in the year 1833 was 293,682,976lbs., being the largest quantity ever used in this kingdom, but which is sure to be considerably exceeded in the present year, the clearances from the warehouses being already beyond that quantity at the time when seven weeks of the year were yet unexpired.

North American Indians.—The following statements are extracted from the documents printed by order of the House of Commons relative to the aboriginal tribes in British possessions.

Expenses of the Indian Department, in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada.

Amount of the establishment for 1829:—			
Lower Canada	£2,486	18	4
Upper Canada	2,886	7	6
	5,373	5	10
The value, in 1828, of the various articles presented to the different Indian tribes of the Canadas, in lieu of lands ceded, or for services performed at former times, was, in sterling money	24,310	4	4
Total	£29,683	10	3

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury directed, in 1831, that in future the expense of this department should not exceed 20,000*l.* The charge for presents, in former years, used to be voted in conjunction with that for liberated Africans, convicts, &c.; and the salaries and pensions of the officers were paid from the military chest provided for out of the army extraordinaries. The amount of the presents have been reduced, since 1816, from 117,500*l.* to about 16,000*l.*, and the charge of the establishment and pensions from 16,200*l.* to 4400*l.*

It appears that the Indian department was formerly under the direction of the civil governors of Lower and Upper Canada; but from the inconvenience which resulted from that arrangement, it was placed under the commander of the forces, at the commencement of the late American war. The pay and allowances of the Indian department are issued by authority of the officer holding the military command, and the presents are delivered by the commariat.

Number of Indians of Upper and Lower Canada.—The following list was given by Major-General Darling to the Earl of Dalhousie:—

Lower Canada.

Tribe.	Residence.	No. of Indians.
Hurons	Lorette near Quebec	179
Algonquins	Three Rivers and Lake of the Two Mountains	437
	Carry forward	616

Tribe.	Residence.	No. of Indians.
	Brought forward	616
Nipissingues	Lake of the Two Mountains	250
Amalicites	Ristigouche	65
Iroquois	Three different Tribes at Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and the Lake of the Two Mountains	1597
Abenaquois	Becancour and St. Francis	459
Wandering Tribes, chiefly Micmacs	From New Brunswick and Nova Scotia	450
	Total	3437

The probable expense of settling these Indians in Lower Canada, in seven settlements, for the first five years, was estimated at 22,784*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* The number of Indian missionaries on the establishment of the Indian department of Lower Canada is 5. Their names and salaries are—

	Stations.	Salaries.
Rev. T. Cook	Lorette	£46 8 6
— J. Marcoux	Caughnawaga	46 8 6
— L. Amiot	St. Francis	46 8 6
— J. Vallé	St. Regis	41 15 8
— E. Foucher	Ristigouche	69 12 10

The Indians in Upper Canada, and on the shores of Lake Huron, and to the westward, amount, by the returns, to 13,700: 5000 of these reside in the surveyed districts of the province, and attend constantly to receive their presents at the time appointed.

Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, on the Average of the Quarter from the 26th of August to the 18th of November inclusive.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation,	£18,694,000	Securities,	£27,128,000
Deposits,	12,669,000	Bullion,	6,781,000
	£31,363,000		£33,919,000

Bankruptcy Analysis from October 27 to November 22.

Bakers, 2; baby-linen manufacturer, 1; bill-broker, 1; blacksmith, 1; booksellers, 2; book-binder, 1; boot-maker, 1; brewer, 1; builder, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; carpenters, 2; carpet warehouseman, 1; cattle-salesman, 2; cheese-factors, 2; china-man, 1; chair-maker, 1; clothiers, 2; coal-dealers, 2; coach-maker, 1; corn-factor, 1; draper, 1; dyer, 1; earthenware-manufacturer, 1; engineer, 1; feathers-merchant, 1; factor, 1; flour-factor, 1; grocers, 9; hatters, 3; horse-dealer, 1; hosiers, 3; inn-keepers, 2; jewellers, 2; lacemen, 2; lamp-manufacturer, 1; linen-drapers, 2; manufacturer, 1; mercer, 1; merchants, 5; millers, 2; money-scrivener, 1; perfumer, 1; picture-dealers, 2; preparer of patent medicines, 1; printer, 1; provision-dealer, 1; saddler, 1; ship-owners, 2; ship-builder, 1; shoe-makers, 2; soap-manufacturer, 1; stone-mason, 1; straw-hat manufacturer, 1; surgeon, 1; tailors, 3; tanners, 2; tavern-keepers, 2; timber-merchant, 1; victuallers, 3; watch-makers, 2; wine-merchants, 3; woollen-manufacturers, 2; woollen-drapers, 2; worsted-spinner, 1; underwriter, 1. Total, 108. Total from the commencement of the year, 930.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR NOVEMBER, 1834.

GREAT BRITAIN.

On the morning of Saturday the 15th an extraordinary sensation was occasioned by the announcement that the Ministry had been dismissed by the King. It appeared that Lord Melbourne had gone down to Brighton on Thursday to take his Majesty's commands as to the appointment of a new Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Lord Althorp, removed by the death of his father to the House of Peers; and that when he attended his Majesty on the following morning, he was informed that in the circumstances his Majesty considered the Administration to be dissolved. It is understood that this communication was accompanied by expressions of much kindness to Lord Melbourne, and that an earldom and the order of the garter were offered to his lordship, both of which, however, were respectfully declined. His lordship returned to town in the evening, bringing with him a message for the Duke of Wellington, who accordingly arrived at Brighton on Sunday afternoon. On Monday the King came to town and held a court, when their seals of office were delivered up by several of the members of the late Cabinet. On the Friday following, the great seal was delivered up by the Lord Chancellor. In the meantime, the Duke of Wellington had been appointed principal Secretary of State; and Lord Lyndhurst has since been sworn in as Lord Chancellor, retaining likewise his office of Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. The Duke of Wellington has also been Gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury. It is understood, however, that nothing beyond a provisional arrangement of the new Cabinet will be made till the arrival of Sir Robert Peel, for whom an express has been sent to Italy, and who may now be expected in London in the course of a few days.

These events, for which the public was so wholly unprepared, have produced, as was to be expected, no small degree of surprise and excitement in all parts of the country. Meetings have been already held, in many places, both by the friends of the new Administration and by their opponents, comprehending both the Whigs and Radicals, who in general have agreed to lay aside their differences at so great a crisis, and to unite their strength in support of what they consider to be a common cause—resistance to the ascendancy of the principles of Toryism and anti-reform. Meanwhile, all is uncertainty as to the course likely to be pursued by the new Ministry. The very composition of the Cabinet, as has been mentioned, remains to be arranged. It is not known, nor probably determined, whether the premiership will be eventually assigned to the Duke of Wellington or to Sir Robert Peel. No resolution appears to have yet been taken as to whether an attempt should be made to go on with the present House of Commons, or a dissolution of Parliament resorted to. No declaration has been made as to what will be the general policy, either domestic or foreign, of the new government; and, probably, that also is left in a great degree an open question, to be decided upon according to circumstances.

Meanwhile, Parliament has been further prorogued to the 18th of December.

FRANCE.

The last thirty days have been unusually fruitful in cabinet dissensions, dismissals or resignations of ministers and whole governments. Marshal Gerard, who had only been some three months at the head of the French Cabinet, sent in his resignation on the 27th of October. This resignation is said to have proceeded from a refusal on the part of the Marshal's colleagues to grant a general amnesty to political offenders.

The Moniteur, of the 30th of October, contained the royal ordonnance, countersigned by M. Persil, Minister of Justice, by which the resignation of Marshal Gerard was accepted, and Admiral De Rigny appointed to act in his place, *ad interim*, or until a proper successor to the marshal could be found. For some days this cabinet without a head was in a most embarrassing position. The writers in newspapers and other political speculators at Paris, indulged in surmises and assertions. According to them the premiership or presidency of the council, had been successively offered to, and refused by the Duke de Broglie, Marshals Mortier and Molitor, Count Molé, and even Marshal Soult. On the 4th of November, in their inability to find a premier anywhere, Admiral de Rigny, Messieurs Thiers, Guizot, Humann, and Duchatal, all sent in their resignations. The only remaining members of the old cabinet then, were M. Persil, the Minister of Justice, and M. Jacob, the Minister of Marine. On the 5th it was officially announced that his Majesty Louis Philippe had charged Count Molé with the recomposition of the cabinet, in which, it was rumoured, but not officially, that the king insisted M. Thiers should be included.

After nearly another week of conjecture, to the surprise of everybody, the Moniteur gave the official list of the new ministry, consisting, with two or three exceptions, of men unknown to the world, and little known to each other.

The Duke de Bassano (old Maret, an obsequious servant of Napoleon), President of the Council; M. Bresson (am-

bassador at Berlin) Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lieutenant General Bernard, Minister of War; M. Charles Dupin, Minister of Marine; M. Teste, Minister of Commerce; M. Passy, Minister of Finances; M. Persil retaining the Justice department. Until M. Bresson's arrival from Berlin, the foreign department was to be filled by General Bernard, the Minister of War, and M. Teste was to do the duties of Minister of Public Instruction, until the answer and acceptance of M. Sauzet, to whom the last-named place was set down, could be received from Lyons, where he was residing at the time.

The list and history of this extraordinary ministry, ought to be preserved as an historical curiosity. In all other respects it is valueless.

The same Moniteur that contained these almost incredible appointments, announced that the Chambers of Peers and Deputies were to assemble on the 1st of December, instead of the 29th of that month, the period fixed in August last.

On Thursday, the 13th, M. Sauzet's answer, being a refusal to join the new ministry, arrived; on Thursday evening Messieurs Teste and Passey resigned; on Friday morning M. Charles Dupin notified his retreat; and on Friday evening, on the same day, and nearly at the same hour that our King dismissed the Melbourne cabinet, the Duke de Bassano and General Bernard tendered their resignation to the King of the French. Louis Philippe quietly allowed all these retreats, and remained alone, with M. Persil, as the government of France. We have thus, at this moment, the novel spectacle of the two great constitutional monarchies of Europe (if we may still apply the term to France) left without any government, that can be properly so denominated.

It has been calculated that if M. Bresson accepted the invitation, left Berlin, and travelled diligently, he may have arrived at the French frontiers just in time to learn that the new ministry he was hurrying to take part in, no longer existed. The whole existence of the Bassano cabinet, indeed, fell short of four days, and has thus we believe, the unenviable distinction of being the shortest-lived cabinet that was ever created.

The Parisians, who are happy at nick-names, and fond of analogies and parallels of all kinds, have already christened it "The Ministry of Three Days."

The Duke de Treviso having been appointed President of the Council, MM. de Rigny, Duchatel, Thiers, Guizot, Humann, and Persil, have returned to their former offices, the departments of Foreign Affairs, Commerce, the Interior, Public Instruction, Finance, and Justice. The office of Minister of Marine is not yet filled up, but its duties are provisionally performed by Admiral de Rigny.

SPAIN.

THE last "final arrangement," of the long disputed foreign loan questions that has reached us, is, that the Procuradores, by a majority of eighty-five to thirty, have revived the Guebhard loan, and placed it with the rest, as a debt justly owing by the nation. Although there were certain facts connected with the mode in which this Guebhard loan was raised, that might set it somewhat apart from the general international law or usage that regulates debts contracted in the name of a nation, we cannot help thinking that in the circumstances in which they were placed, the Cortes ought to have come to this *last* decision *at first*, and not to have gone on shifting their ground, and changing their votes some nine or ten times, as they have done with respect to this said loan. With a full knowledge of the deplorable state of Spanish finances, and of the urgent need in which the government stands, of new foreign loans, the world now will never believe that this tardy recognition has proceeded from any other motives than fear and necessity. The last debate on the question was sufficiently loud and angry. The arguments of several of the Procuradores who voted in the minority, abstractedly considered, were right and just enough; but practical experience, and policy should have taught them that they were not in a position to rely upon abstract principles, and that they could not cause delay, and create an hostility in the money markets of Europe, without inflicting injury on their cause, and exposing their country to imminent risks.

The war in the north has lingered on with the same inglorious vicissitudes (on both sides) of indecisive skirmishes and retreats. One affair was announced of great military importance, but in a few days the battle of Abarzuza (near Estella) in which both parties claimed the victory, turned out to be one of the usual retail slaughters that lead to no great result. On the whole, however, it appears that Don Carlos has gained a little ground, and that his partisans have shown themselves beyond the frontiers of Navarre and the Biscayan provinces, at points where they were not expected. The news of the substitution of a tory for a liberal ministry in England, will however, do more for the cause of Don Carlos, than a hundred of Zumalacarreguy's forays. We may not believe that in its strict sense such a change will or can take place among us; but foreigners, led away by old names and associations, will most assuredly believe that the change has taken, or will take place—hence will proceed the discouragement of the constitutionalists and a revival of the hopes of the absolutists, from one end of the peninsula to the other,—in Spain as well as in Portugal.

The veteran Mina, who, as we informed our readers last month, was appointed to succeed Rodil in the command of the queen's forces in the north, entered Spain on the 30th of October, from France, where his long exile has chiefly been spent. He immediately promised to secure the communications between the French frontier and Victoria in a few days, and to free all that line of country from insurgents. From his head quarters at Pampeluna he issued an energetic proclamation on the 4th of November. We regret to see that he threatens to give no quarter to the Carlists. This experiment had already been tried by Rodil, who thereby only made the petty combats more sanguinary without rendering them much more decisive. "I offer them peace," says Mina's proclamation, "but should they refuse it, and oblige us to draw our swords, we *will pursue without quarter* all those enemies of their country, and will be as terrible in avenging the most trifling injury done towards us, as we will be indulgent towards those, who from this day shall repent, and become reconciled with their native land."

In another proclamation addressed to the people of Navarre, after reminding them that they are acquainted with his unflinching character, and fully aware that he never speaks in vain, he goes on to say, "Should you persevere in revolt, and compel me to bring into action the power of the army, and the other means placed at my disposal, when reduced to that extremity, neither prayers nor entreaties will avail to avert the rigour of the measures which I have meditated, and shall enforce without mercy. "*I therefore warn you that every individual the troops shall meet, from this moment, at a distance from the high road between the hours of sunset and sunrise, who shall not be able to give a satisfactory account of himself, shall be immediately shot.*"

These proclamations and menaces, like those of Rodil, have been met by their counterparts on the side of the Carlists. Meanwhile one slaughter is retaliated by another on both sides, prisoners and officers of distinction have been shot in cold blood, and the unnatural contest between countrymen seems more and more verging to a war of extermination.

Of course each side invokes legitimacy and right, and the protection of a just Providence. Zumalacarreguy's last proclamation states that, "setting aside all the delicate considerations he has hitherto observed towards the queen's troops, and availing himself of the law of reprisals, he now decrees,

1. "All prisoners taken from the enemy, of whatsoever rank or class they may be, shall be shot as traitors to their legitimate sovereign.

2. "In all the corps and battalions under my command the motto *Victory or Death* shall be adopted and used until the enemy recal their order for not giving quarter."

Some advantages which Mina is said to have gained in Navarre and Biscay, seem to be more than counterbalanced by the advance in Aragon of a strong body of Carlists commanded by Carnicer and other chiefs, and by a disposition shown pretty generally by the population of Catalonia to take up arms against the queen. It may be curious to remark that while in the old kingdom of Castile, no constitutional objection was ever taken to the succession of a female to the throne, in the old kingdom of Aragon, on the contrary, an opinion gained ground from the thirteenth century, that none but males could inherit the crown of that realm.

They knew that in the neighbouring kingdom of France women were excluded from the throne; they fancied or pretended that such was the case also in England, and this analogy is supposed to have had some influence in determining the Aragonese to adopt what is so vaguely called "The Salic Law." The question was first put to issue by Peter IV. of Aragon, who excited a civil war by attempting to settle the succession upon his daughter, to the exclusion of his next brother; precisely as the late king of all Spain, Ferdinand VII. named his daughter Isabella, to the exclusion of his brother Don Carlos. The opportune birth of a son to Peter IV., suspended the decision for the time; but it seems to have been tacitly understood that the Salic law should obtain. Indeed, at the end of the fourteenth century, when John I. died, his two daughters (his only children) were set aside to make way for their uncle, Martin, who ascended the throne, and remained upon it, though not without a civil war. On the death of Martin without children, there was a disputed succession. Four princes put in their claims; but those of the Count of Urgel, who possessed an extensive territory in Catalonia, touching on the Pyrenees (the same mountain district that now seems to incline to Don Carlos) entitled him to a precedence over the other claimants. The count, who was a brave and popular character, was in general favoured most enthusiastically by his countrymen the Catalans, who never forgave his exclusion from the throne. They joined him in a rebellion against the elected king, which was, however, unsuccessful, the Count of Urgel being defeated, about 1412, and lodged in a prison for the rest of his life. Yet fifty years after these events, the Catalans, whose disaffection was principally to be traced to what they considered a breach of the lawful succession, rose up in arms, and persevered, with inveterate obstinacy in a civil war for ten years. Now, it is not unreasonable to suppose that among a people like the mountaineers of the north of Spain, whose education, local attachments and notions, prejudices and other feelings, have undergone so little change since the end of the fifteenth century, these traditional recollections may still have some effect in favour of Don Carlos and in support of the Salic law. Be this as it may, in a kingdom formed in the process of ages by the gradual union and incorporation of separate kingdoms, principalities and seigneuries, nothing in that compound body ought to be overlooked, that tends to draw a line of separate interests or prejudices, between any part or parts of it. That such differences should exist is much to be regretted, but they *do* exist. Three centuries of despotism and undivided sovereignty could not change them, and yet the Cortes, pretending to work with liberal and constitutional means, would effect a change and a uniformity in a day. We believe, or we hope, that it may be yet in the power of these legislative bodies to detach the people in Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, and Catalonia, from the cause of despotism,—not by arms and massacres, and the burning of villages and peasants' cottages, but by concessions and pledges that their local privileges shall be preserved to them. There is, however, no time to lose, for a few weeks or months may bring forth events to retard the march of liberty and leave us to lament another abortive attempt at establishing a constitutional government for Spain.

The minister of war, Zarco del Valle, has been driven from office by the clamours the Cortes raised against the ill success of the war in the north, which ill success they attributed to his mismanagement. Martinez de la Rosa, the head of the cabinet, took the war portfolio *ad interim*, but intelligence has just reached us of De la Rosa's entire resignation of office, on the plea of bad health. If this last account be correct, Martinez de la Rosa has been succeeded by the Minister of Finance, the Count de Toreno, and Señor M. Remisa has taken the Count's place.

We perceive that our tory newspapers, with that kindness of heart which distinguishes them, are in an ecstasy of delight in contemplating the panic and confusion that the intelligence of the summary change in the British cabinet will carry into the court and councils of the young Queen, and into the ranks of the Spanish constitutionalists generally.

PORTUGAL.

Since the death of Don Pedro, the government has been managed by the Duke of Palmella, who has encountered much personal hostility and many difficulties in the discharge of his office. The members of his cabinet have been constantly quarrelling among themselves.

On the 1st of November the Chambers violently discussed the question regarding the legality or illegality of Palmella's appointment as president of the council of ministers. The question was decided in favour of the duke by a majority of eleven—fifty-three voting for his remaining at his post, and forty-two against it. The opposition, which is wholly of an ultra-liberal or radical character, is headed by a man of vehement passions, Marshal Saldanha, who has been deprived of his office of chief of the staff. This party is just as short-sighted and rash as it was in 1821, 1823, and 1826, at which several times the cause of constitutional freedom was chiefly sacrificed, and brought into disrepute with the people, through the utter madness of the ultra-liberals, who in Portugal, as elsewhere, are the worst enemies of real liberty. Uninstructed by the past, these men continue to fight the battle of the absolutists of Europe. They are all for sudden and extreme measures, when measures of caution and conciliation alone can offer any chance of enduring success;—they would pay no deference or respect either to the religious or political prejudices of the Portuguese people, which, confirmed by ages, are not to be changed at the will of theorists in a day, but removed only by the gradual progress of education. Were the consequences less fatal, we might laugh heartily at the proceedings of these novices in politics, who are constantly cutting blocks with a razor, and consuming that time which ought to be devoted to *practical* reform in administration, public instruction, and the general business of government, in weaving fine-spun theories, and devising a *beau-ideal* of a constitution for a people that are as yet incapable of understanding the simplest theory, or of catching the proper spirit of the most homely constitution.

The Duke of Palmella is supported in the cabinet by the frank and honest Duke of Terceira, the Count of Villa Real, and Joze de Silva Carvalho, the minister of finance: but at present it is matter of doubt whether he will be able to manage the Cortes, and check the progress of the movement party, by remaining in office.

Admiral Napier, whose extraordinary victory off Cape St. Vincent first gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the constitutionalists, has been quarrelling with the government about money, and the amount of the remuneration to which he considers himself entitled. According to the arrangement of the young queen's government, he was to receive upwards of 20,000*l.* for his share of the prize-money, and, as a gratuity on his quitting the service, two years' pay, or more than 7,500*l.* His name, moreover, was to remain on the Portuguese navy and army lists as admiral and major-general of marines. He claimed, in addition, half-pay as an admiral, half-pay as major general, and the same as inspector of dock-yards; and these being positively refused him, he struck his flag, and returned all his commissions and patents of nobility, with the desire that they might be laid at the queen's feet. After some disputing and corresponding, the business was settled by a compromise, Donna Maria signing a Carta Regia, allowing him half-pay as an admiral, and Napier waiving the rest of his claims. The Carta Regia, however, must be submitted to Cortes, and meet the approval of the legislature, before it is valid. In consequence of this arrangement, Napier has again taken up his title of Count Cape St. Vincent, &c. &c.

One of the great outcries of the opposition is that against honours and favours conferred upon foreigners. Some men there may be inclined to tax Portuguese gratitude rather heavily, but these ultra-liberals ought not to forget that but for foreigners Don Miguel would be still on the throne, and they themselves in prison or in exile.

Where the Don now is cannot be exactly ascertained. The Lisbon Official Gazette of the 25th of October contained a proclamation of General Salvador, Captain-general of Spanish Estremadura, dated Badajoz, the 20th of October, informing the inhabitants, that as it is ascertained that Don Miguel has joined Don Carlos in Navarre, and may possibly attempt an ingress into Portugal, he offers a reward of 1000 dollars to any person that shall take and hand Miguel over to the Spanish authorities, stating at the same time that if the captor should decline the pecuniary reward, the Spanish

government will confer some honourable one upon him instead.

This alarm was certainly premature, for the Don has been heard of in Italy since then. We can readily believe, that owing to the church and monastic decrees of his brother, Don Pedro, he was received with marked attention by the churchmen at Rome. It was rumoured in that city that he had addressed the great northern powers, in order to obtain assistance from them, and that he was about to be married to a daughter of the Duke of Modena—the least scrupulous, the most crafty and tyrannical of all the small Italian despots. On the same doubtful authority it is now stated that he has left Italy to throw himself into Portugal or Spain. No event is likely to encourage him more in such an enterprise than the change in the government of Great Britain, the news of which will soon reach him, be he where he may.

The Lisbon official paper of the 3rd of November contained an angry remonstrance and complaint about the unfriendly dispositions of the northern powers towards the constitution and new state of affairs in Portugal. "But," the said article concludes, "in spite of stratagem and imposture, and of the news of the arrival of Don Miguel in Spain, such is the discredit into which he has fallen, that no sign of hope has been manifested by his defeated and contemptible party, who have only had recourse to the invention of most wretched falsehoods, which are every where rejected by the good sense of the people."

As a serious drawback on these ministerial assertions, we have the undisputed facts that assassinations for political motives have continued to be frequent in Lisbon, and that many parts of the provinces are in a state of anarchy. We have also their own confession as to the ruinous condition of the Portuguese Exchequer, and the great public poverty and distress that have arisen out of the long disasters of the nation.

The sword of Don Pedro, as directed by his will, has been presented at Munich, by a Portuguese of rank, to the young Duke of Leuchtenberg, the husband elect of Donna Maria. It is said the duke will forthwith repair to Portugal, and that three days after his arrival at Lisbon the marriage will be solemnized.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the Cortes have unanimously voted the exclusion of Don Miguel and his heirs for ever from the Portuguese throne. We, in fact, greatly fear from the imprudence of the now prevailing party, and from a variety of other circumstances, that this question will again be tried by arms, to the increasing and indefinite misery of that hapless country.

BELGIUM.

THE Chambers were opened at Brussels on Tuesday the 11th of November. King Leopold, in his speech from the throne, assured them that his government was daily strengthened by the acknowledgment and friendly assurances of foreign powers. Since his last speech, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil had been added to the list. He declared the state of the finances to be highly satisfactory, but at the same time promised further economy, and a greater attention than ever to all laws and regulations having for their object the development of the agricultural and commercial interests of the country. Content and good order prevailed everywhere, and the king added his personal testimony to the prosperity of Belgium in all the provinces which he had recently visited. The following short clauses of Leopold's speech merit particular attention:—

"An arrangement recently concluded with the British Post Office has doubled the means of communication between England and Belgium, and holds out a prospect of advantageous results to commerce.

"The construction of our railroad proceeds with great activity. Up to this period there is reason to hope that the expense will be less than the first estimate."

The discipline and condition of the army, in all its branches, merited his Majesty's praise. The only cause of complaint was the trouble occasioned by certain ill-affected foreigners, who were thenceforth to be dealt with in a summary manner.

King Leopold did not let a word escape him on the subject of the prolonged disputes about the province of Luxembourg, and was equally silent on every other point of the still unsettled question between Belgium and Holland.

HOLLAND.

THE session of the States General was opened at the Hague on the 20th of October, by the King in person. In the first clause of his speech his Majesty was happy to inform their High Mightinesses that his relations with the foreign powers were, on the whole, satisfactory, and that he continued to receive from many of those powers testimonies of sincere friendship. He added, however, the following very unsatisfactory sentence:—

"I have been constantly deceived in my just expectation of a final arrangement of the rights and interests of Holland, which have been so undeservedly injured by the *Belgian insurrection.*"

His Majesty lamented the heavy expenses he had incurred in increasing his regular army and navy, and keeping the schuttery (militia) so long under arms. The militia and the volunteers on board the ships of war had, however, been permitted to return to their homes and their industrious vocations, which would materially decrease the expenditure of the ensuing year. There were the usual clauses about the winter damages sustained by the dykes and sea-banks—about prosperous trade and manufactures, and about the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and the East Indies, where, it was admitted, tranquillity had suffered interruptions in part of the island of Sumatra. The following clause will show that the complaints of the agricultural interests are not confined to England:—

"The low price of corn," said his Majesty, "has had an influence on the agriculture of Holland, and it participates in the fate which that branch of national prosperity experiences in other countries."

Projects of law "*for revising some part of the commercial code,*" and for the better regulation of maritime affairs, were recommended to the attention of the States General; and the speech concluded with a compliment to the Dutch people, who were praised for being "faithful and calm under unmerited sufferings, and alien from a love of political novelty."

GERMANY.

THE newspapers of this country have been for some time almost wholly occupied by the subject of internal trade, and a general Germanic commercial league. These matters, which have been actively pursued, and more particularly by Prussia, during the two last years, are as yet involved in some obscurity. It appears, however, that some final decision is at hand. Various German papers of the 1st, 4th, and 5th of November, assert that a congress, wholly commercial, and to be composed of envoys from all the states of the Germanic body, is to be assembled before the end of the present year at Berlin, in order to decide ultimately on the mercantile matters that were not touched or settled by the recent political congress at Vienna. The subject is one of primary importance; and as soon as a proper knowledge of it can be obtained, we will devote a separate article in the 'Companion' to its consideration. The object of the confederacy seems to be to lay greater restrictions on the trade with England, France, and other foreign countries, and to give greater liberty and facility to the interior trade of all Germany, and to the commercial relations with one another, of the numerous separate states into which that country is divided.

Destructive fires have prevailed to an extraordinary degree in different parts of Germany, and, as in the present shackled state of the press, there are few subjects the newspaper people daré handle, they seem disposed to make the most of this. Nowhere have these fires been so prevalent at at Berlin, where, from their number and extent, it is apprehended that the insurance offices will be unable to meet their engagements.

The latest German papers give a long account of the sitting of the Germanic Diet of the 30th of October, when Count Bellinghausen, the president, *in conformity with the decision of the Congress of Vienna,* produced a new system, or plan, for a Tribunal of Arbitration, which tribunal is to settle the differences that exist, or may hereafter occur, between the several governments and states of Germany.

The clauses and provisions are tediously long, and involved; but it appears to us that in this arbitrating, political tribunal, the interests and inclinations of the small and weak states must constantly give way to the will of the great states.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

October 26.—Seven individuals lost their lives owing to the confusion which unhappily ensued from the accidental extinction of several of the gas-lights in a chapel at Guernsey during divine service.

29. A great public dinner was given to the Earl of Durham at Glasgow. During the previous part of the day he was presented with the freedom of the city, and received a great number of addresses from various bodies. The numbers in the green or public park of Glasgow were calculated at from 100,000 to 150,000.

30. A public meeting was held at Hillsborough, in the county of Down, Ireland, for the purpose of expressing attachment to the Established Church and the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Earl of Hillsborough, high-sheriff of the county, was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Lords Downshire, Londonderry, Roden, Clanwilliam, &c. The numbers present were variously estimated by different reporters at from 27,000 or 28,000 to 60,000.

November 1.—The East India Company's Wharf at Blackwall was sold to Mr. Nicholson the tea-dealer for 25,000*l.*

— A placard affixed to the police station-house, Tottenham, intimated that in consequence of the refusal of the overseers of the parish to collect the police rate, the station-house would be shut up, and the police be withdrawn, which was accordingly done.

— The new metropolitan central criminal court was opened this day by the Lord Chancellor and the judges, attended by the civic functionaries. In the evening, an entertainment was given at the Mansion-house by the Lord Mayor, in honour of the event.

Incendiary fires have also occurred, with alarming frequency, in different parts of England. The 'Lincolnshire Chronicle,' 'Dorset Chronicle,' 'Cambridge Chronicle,' 'Birmingham Advertiser,' and 'Oxford Journal,' give details of fires in their respective neighbourhoods, from the 1st to the 8th instant, all of them supposed to be the work of incendiaries. In most of the cases the owners are insured.

2. The celebrated Archibald Hamilton Rowan died at Dublin, in his eighty-fourth year. The connexion of Mr. Rowan with the Irish rebellion, his trial, escape, &c., are well known. His private character was of the most amiable description.

— Messrs. Hunt and Co., who are extensively connected with iron-foundries in Cornwall, brought an action against an engineer named Radcliff, who carries on business at Paris. The case was tried before the Tribunal de Commerce. The action was for goods delivered, which the defendant refused to pay. The French tribunal decided that as Radcliff carried on business in the French dominions, and had received the goods there, he was amenable to the French law, and adjudged him to pay the money.

6. The attorney-general moved, in the Court of King's Bench, for writs of *certiorari* and *habeas corpus*, to remove the conviction recorded against Garside and Mosely, convicted of the murder of Mr. Ashton at Oldham, into that court, and to bring up the bodies of the criminals to abide the sentence of the law. The attorney-general produced various cases in order to show that the Court of King's Bench had formerly exercised the jurisdiction which he sought, among which was that of the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. The writs were granted, and the prisoners were brought up from Chester, and on the 20th they were brought into the Court of King's Bench, when the sentence of death under which they lay was ordered to be carried into execution on the 25th, by the marshal of the Marshalsea, aided by the sheriff of Surrey, which was accordingly carried into effect.

— An application was made in the Court of Exchequer for a new trial in the case of Cleave, who had been convicted of selling an unstamped newspaper called the 'Weekly Police Gazette.' The application was refused.

— In the Court of Common Pleas, a new trial was moved for in a cause between a person who had been confined for debt in Horsemonger-lane Gaol, and the late high-sheriff of Surrey, Sir Henry Fletcher. It appeared that while the former was in prison, information was communicated to the turnkey that an attempt would be made by him to escape, a ladder of ropes being actually making for the purpose. The turnkey, on this, removed him from the debtors' side, and placed him in a condemned cell on the felons' side of the prison. An action had been brought for the unnecessary rigour thus exercised, against Sir Henry's predecessor in office, in which the prosecutor was nonsuited, the turnkey refusing to name the individual who had given the information, and the judge justifying the refusal, on the ground of policy. On the second trial the informant was produced, and the prosecutor was again nonsuited. On the present occasion, counsel moved for a new trial on the ground of surprise, no intimation having been given of the intention to produce this witness, and affidavits had been since sworn to by the men who had made the ladder, that it was not intended for the prosecutor at all. As it appeared that the prosecutor had been rigorously confined for several months, and it being a case of considerable importance, a rule to show cause was granted.

— A destructive fire occurred at Rotherhithe, which consumed the Europa Inn, and twelve houses, principally inhabited by poor people. Three lives were lost. A subscription was commenced for the relief of the sufferers (there being nearly fifty families unhoused), to which her Majesty contributed 50*l.* Another fire has since occurred there, supposed to be the work of an incendiary.

7. In the Court of Chancery an injunction was granted at the suit of Messrs. Ridgway and Son, booksellers, to restrain another bookseller named Henderson, from pirating 'Edwards's Botanical Register.'

8. Two gentlemen of the name of Neale, one of them the author of 'Cavendish,' and other works of fiction, were charged by Captain Marryat, author of 'The King's Own,' and other productions, and editor of the 'Metropolitan Magazine,' with assaulting him in the street. They were held to bail to answer the charge at the sessions.

10. The new lord mayor of London (Alderman Winchester), attended by the various officers of the corporation, proceeded, according to annual custom, to Westminster, in order to be sworn before the barons of the Exchequer. The usual processions took place, and the inauguration dinner in the evening was attended by several of the ambassadors and ministers of state, the judges, and other persons of distinction.

— The boiler of a high pressure engine, in the foundry of Ayton and Read, in the vicinity of Hull, burst, and the explosion caused considerable damage. The upper part of the boiler was projected nearly 200 yards, and fell into the Humber, the steam-engine chimney was thrown down, some of the workmen were injured, and a youth employed on the premises was killed.

— A respectable master jeweller was charged at Hatton Garden with having unlawfully affixed a certain hall-mark of the Goldsmiths' Company to a gold ring. The solicitor of stamps attended for the purpose of prosecuting the prisoner for the forgery of the assay mark, which would have subjected him, had he been convicted, to the extreme penalty of the law. This course was afterwards abandoned, and he was held to bail on the lesser charge preferred by the Goldsmiths' Company.

— Earl Spencer died at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire. He had entered his seventy-seventh year. He was First Lord of the Admiralty during the period of the great naval victories of Camperdown, Cape St. Vincent, and the Nile. The latter part of his life was spent in retirement.

— Some ruffian having placed a large piece of wood across a particular spot on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, the engine, on coming in contact with it, was overturned, and the engineer, being jerked out, was crushed to death.

— The house and shop of a pawnbroker in Norton Falgate was consumed by fire. It is generally understood that the law provides no remedy against losses by fire of property pledged with pawnbrokers.

11. A petition was presented before the Vice Chancellor in Chancery from a tailor, praying for leave to bring an action against the executors of a late captain of the Life Guards, for clothes and money lent, to the amount of 3421*l.* The captain's account with the tailor was opened when he was only eighteen years of age. The items of the account comprehended 51 coats, 100 pairs of trowsers, 119 waistcoats, 8 great coats and cloaks, and 6 dressing-gowns, all of which had been ordered within a few years. The Vice Chancellor dismissed the petition with costs, remarking, Every person must be struck at this frightfully extravagant and ruinous sort of debt against a spendthrift young man. When an opportunity is given to tradesmen who are unprincipled enough to enter into such transactions with young men, the honest customer who will pay is defrauded by the advance of price to make up the losses occasioned by such speculations.'

— The papers state that a vessel is announced to sail from Liverpool on a voyage round the world, in which cabin passengers may be accommodated at 150*l.* each; and also that similar trips are to take place every six weeks!

— A reverend gentleman of the name of Small absconded from St. Alban's with a large amount of money with which he had been entrusted. A considerable part of it was the savings of industrious people in the neighbourhood, who were in the habit of depositing little sums with him, that he might place the money to their account in the savings bank at Hertford. Another portion consisted of the subscriptions for repairing the abbey, he having been treasurer to the committee for raising the abbey repairing fund.

13. It was stated in evidence before the magistrates of Bow-street, that upwards of 2800*l.* had been paid to common informers within twelve months, for the purpose of compounding informations against the proprietors of hackney carriages. The complaints against omnibus and cab drivers, &c. are not diminishing, and legislative interference is loudly called for, to protect the public from the consequences of the misconduct of these individuals.

— A conditional order for an attachment was granted in the Rolls Court, Dublin, against a Miss Lucinda Adamson, of Moate, who had told a process-server of the court that if he attempted to take her into custody he might get his coffin prepared, and arming herself with pistols frightened the man away.

15. In the Rolls Court, Westminster, an injunction was issued to restrain the agents in this country for the sale of a 'Catholic Penny Magazine,' published in Dublin, from selling any numbers of the work containing pirated copies of the woodcuts in a work entitled 'Scriptural Illustrations.'

— Lord Stanley was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. The opposing candidate was the Earl of Durham. The votes of the students stood as follow:—

	Lord Stanley.	Lord Durham.
Glottiana	125	63
Rothesiana	84	42
Londoniana	43	37
Transforthiana	46	21
	298	163
Majority for Lord Stanley		135

The first week in December is named for the installation of Lord Stanley, and it is said that the friends of the Kirk in Glasgow, and throughout the west of Scotland, intend to invite his lordship to a public dinner on the occasion.

17. A distressing scene occurred at Liverpool, arising out of an exhibition of a kind unfortunately not yet altogether put down—a pugilistic combat. Two individuals were to fight on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, opposite to the port of Liverpool. After the fight was over, a number of the spectators were returning in boats across the river, when one boat, which was overloaded, containing from forty to fifty passengers, was swamped and overset, and another boat, equally crowded, which came to render assistance, shared the same fate. It is calculated that about fifty persons were drowned.

— Notices were affixed against the church-doors along the intended line of road of the following extraordinary project, for which an application is to be made for the sanction of Parliament, during the next session. It is the formation of a tunnel for carriages and horses, to commence on the side of the hill at the western extremity of Oxford-street, and to be continued in a direct line under the whole length of Oxford street, under Holborn, and to emerge in or near Smithfield. To be continued thence above ground, by a rail-road to Aldersgate-street, when it is again to dip, and to worm a subterranean course through Whitechapel, and to terminate at the entrance to the Thames Tunnel. There are to be lateral tunnels, commencing under ground near Whitechapel church, leading to the East India, the West India, and the London Docks. The undertaking is to be maintained by tolls on carriages and merchandise passing along the tunnel. The notices are printed, but no name is subscribed, so as to afford a clue to the projector of this strange scheme.

— At the Perth Council meeting, the Lord Provost proposed that a rule should be adopted in Council, restricting each member to *one* speech only on any subject, admitting of a reply where necessary. This was unanimously agreed to.

— A public dinner was given to Mr. Cobbett in Dublin. Sir George Cockburn presided, and two or three Irish members of Parliament were present.

— Mr. Green, the well-known aeronaut, made a perilous ascent from North Shields, in a very large balloon. The balloon, from some accidental defect, could not be inflated sufficiently, so as to carry up along with it the car and other appendages. But the aërial voyager, being unwilling to disappoint the crowds who had come to witness the ascent, slung himself by a cord to the balloon, and essayed to ascend without car, grappling irons, or ballast. It rose only a few yards, and remained buoyant over the heads of the spectators, when Mr. Green threw off his hat, and it then ascended considerably. It was shortly afterwards observed to descend with alarming rapidity, and ultimately it came down on a deep part of the river Tyne with such velocity that Mr. Green was forced to the bottom (about nine feet and a half), and stuck in the mud. He had presence of mind, however, to retain his hold when he was extricated by the re-ascent of the balloon, and dragged along the water for about fifteen minutes, until he was picked up by a boat. Had the balloon fallen on the ground, it is very likely that the voyager's rashness would have cost him his life.

18. A fire broke out in the nunnery at Hammersmith, when an aged lady was burned to death, her body being found shockingly mutilated. It is supposed she had been reading in her room, and had accidentally set fire to her dress, and that the flames communicated to the apartment.

— The Earl of Hardwick died in his seventy-seventh year, at Tittenhanger House, near St. Albans. He was lord-lieutenant of the county, high-steward of the University of Cambridge, and a Knight of the Garter.

— A meeting of the parochial board of St. Clement Danes was held at the workhouse pursuant to a notice previously served on each member, "to consider and decide as to the visitations of Dissenting ministers to the inmates of the workhouse." A placard, headed "Bigotry and Intolerance," and imputing a design to exclude dissenting teachers, had been circulated during the day, but there appeared to be not the slightest foundation for such a suspicion, as the churchwardens and overseers, one and all, disclaimed any such intention. They explained that they had discovered, by accident, that four or five persons were in the habit of visiting the workhouse every Sunday, and preaching in the several wards to the sick and infirm, many of whom were in their beds, and others retiring to rest, the visits not being made until seven o'clock in the evening. These persons were very often of different persuasions, but were not ministers. They found four so engaged last Sunday, and on inquiring, found one to be a stonemason, another a shopman, and another a journeyman tailor; but certainly they were all persons of very excellent character, and so far there was no objection to them; but if persons were admitted indiscriminately, some evil-intentioned individuals might take advantage of it, and produce considerable mischief. It had been customary to allow preaching in the hall below on Sunday evenings, and that was continued, therefore they did not see the necessity of having preaching in each ward also, though they had no objection to individuals visiting the sick, but the visit should be made at an earlier hour. Mr. Woodward, the gentleman who felt most alarmed on the subject, expressed his satisfaction at the explanation given, and feeling that the churchwardens and overseers might avail themselves of the new Poor Law Bill to admit none but licensed Dissenting ministers, and then only at the request of an inmate, he cheerfully left the matter to the liberality they had evinced by their language. It was ultimately agreed to keep a book for all visiters to insert their names and addresses, and not to allow them up stairs after six o'clock, but to permit preaching in the hall below, without reference to sect or party.

— Two men lost their lives under the following circumstances: one of them, a plumber of considerable experience, and much respected, residing at Penshurst, was employed at a farm in the neighbourhood to repair the leaden pipes in a well, the mouth of which had been closed for years, and which had only been unclosed for an hour before his descent. On descending, the noxious effluvia overpowered him and he fell; his brother, who descended to rescue him, was also overpowered: and a third person who was let down with a rope round his waist, had to be drawn up without being able to render any assistance to the two men, having himself fallen into a state of insensibility. The bodies of the two sufferers were not raised for upwards of an hour afterwards.

19. A dinner was given to Earl Durham at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

20. A dinner was given at Ashford, in Kent, to commemorate his Majesty's late declaration 'to support the constitution in church and state.' The dinner took place at the Assembly-rooms, and was attended by nearly 200 noblemen, gentlemen, and inhabitants of the county. Sir Edward C. Dering presided, supported by the Earl of Winchilsea and Viscount Strangford.

21. A notice was affixed to the principal door of St. Nicholas' Church, Deptford, of the intention to apply in the ensuing session of Parliament for authorising the construction of a pier or jetty on the south side of the river Thames, in the parish of St. Nicholas, Deptford, for the embarking and disembarking of passengers, cattle, and carriages, and levying a toll on all passengers, cattle, carriages, woods, wares and merchandise.

A baronetcy has been conferred by his Majesty on Mr. Felix Booth. It will be recollected that it was this gentleman's munificent assistance which enabled Captain Ross to undertake his expedition to the Polar regions.

West Indies.—The 'Dominica Observer,' of September 24, gives an account of a most destructive hurricane which had visited the colony. The atmosphere had been unsettled for some days preceding, but on Saturday the 20th of September, the storm commenced with unusual violence even for the season of the year, and during the night destroyed houses, property, and lives to an extent unequalled since the great hurricane of 1813. Five sloops in the harbour were totally wrecked; many estates suffered immense damage; and many houses were blown down, or partially injured. The governor issued a proclamation throwing open the port to the free importation of provisions and other articles of immediate necessity, for six months, in order to avert the danger of famine. A subscription had been commenced in Barbadoes for the relief of the sufferers, to which the House of Assembly had voted 750*l.* currency. A subscription has also been commenced in London for the same purpose.

Papers from Hobart Town and Sydney announce that on the intelligence arriving there of a charter having been granted to the Australian Bank, it was resolved to establish branch banks at Sydney, Hobart Town, and Launceston. All government monies are to be lodged in these banks, and all colonial salaries to be paid through them. Four per cent. is to be allowed upon all deposits, even for a month.

The well-known Baptist Missionary, Dr. Carey, died at Serampore on the 9th of June last. He had lived forty years in India, translated the New Testament into upwards of forty Oriental languages or dialects, and into many of these dialects the whole of the Bible.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East.* *Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 25. JANUARY 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Rights and Duties of Electors and Representatives . . .	265	Reduction of Customs Duties. Session 1834	277
Changes of Administration and History of Parties. Part I.	268	Parliamentary Abstracts . .	278
Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Election Expenses	273	Political Retrospect for December—Great Britain—France—Spain—Portugal—Belgium—United States of America—Persia	280
Representative System in France	276	Chronicle of Occurrences . .	284

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF ELECTORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

At the moment while we write, the public mind continues to be excited by the prospect of an immediate dissolution of parliament, and a new election, which promises to exhibit perhaps as general and determined a struggle between the adherents of opposite political opinions as has ever occurred in our history; and even if this appeal to the people should not be made immediately, it cannot, in all probability, be very long deferred. But our present observations have neither any mere temporary nor any party object. We wish to suggest some considerations connected with the relation between a representative and his constituents, to which it can at no time be improper or unimportant to call the attention of Englishmen.

It is usual to explain the nature and reason of parliamentary representation by resting it simply on the ground of the impossibility or great inconvenience there would be in the people attempting to legislate in general assemblies composed of their whole number. It is said that, as in any country of considerable extent such an assembly evidently could never be convened, and, if it could be convened, never could be kept together, and, if it could be kept together, would be a mere mob wholly incapable of deliberation, it becomes necessary for the people to give up the notion of conducting their affairs after this fashion, and, instead, to delegate for that purpose a manageable number of representatives selected from their entire body. These representatives, meeting in parliament, are considered to form each the deputy, commissioner, or attorney of the section of the people by whom he has been sent thither—the single mouthpiece, as it were, by which the sum of their wishes and resolves is collected and expressed in one distinct and intelligible voice.

Now it is certainly possible to conceive a representative system of which this statement should be a complete account. The people, sensible of the impracticability of the direct exercise, by their whole body, of the legislative function, but still desirous to retain the full legislative authority in their own hands, might, in the way that has been supposed, appoint a certain small number of agents or factors to do their business for them. In the ordinary course of affairs, these persons, who would most probably require in all cases to be paid wages like any other servants, would be able to go on without much direction or actual superintendence. Their simple rule would be to give their best attention to the interests, or rather the presumed inclinations of their employers: and whenever circumstances seemed to call for such interference the latter could always issue specific instructions for their guidance and regulation. They would be little more than so many acoustic tubes, through which the inhabitants of the several districts of the country might blow their commands to the legislative chamber. According to this scheme it might be desirable that a representative of the people should possess such a measure of common intelligence as should enable him to pick his way when left to proceed at his own discretion; but as his position would rather be that of the horse than that of the rider, it does not appear that he would need to have any higher qualifications than those of a docile and sensible beast of burden, obedient to the bit in its mouth, and patient of the saddle on its back.

How such a system might work if it were anywhere actually set up as a machine of national government we shall not pretend to conjecture; we apprehend it has only existed as yet in the shadowy realms of theory. At any rate it certainly is not the representative system of the British constitution. What that is, as distinguished from this plan of pure substitution and proctorship, we shall now endeavour to explain.

Parliamentary representation, in this country, does not by any means stand entirely on the ground that business can only be conveniently transacted in a small assembly. No doubt, even if there were no other reasons for the adoption of the expedient of representation, this would be reason sufficient; but the contrivance may also be made, at the same time, to serve much higher ends than this consideration embraces. The design of the British parliament contemplates not merely the substitution of a small assembly for a great multitude, but, in addition, the selection for the members of that small assembly of those persons in the community who may be deemed the fittest, from their ability or other qualifications, to legislate for the state.

The general body of the people must, of course, in every state, be the original source of all political power. No power or authority can be legitimate, or be other than usurpation and tyranny, which has not either been actually conferred by the people, or at least sanctioned by their unequivocal acquiescence; but it does not follow from this that it would be wise in the people to retain all the powers of the state in their own hands. It might be for the general advantage that some of them should be transferred to other depositories for a limited time, and even that some should be so made over in perpetuity. Thus in this country the chief executive power of the state has been given away by the people out of their own keeping into that of a hereditary king; and the judicial power, or power of administering the laws, has been confided to certain magistrates nominated for life. In the American constitution the executive power has also been entrusted, though not quite so unreservedly as among ourselves, to a single individual, the people however resuming the trust at the end of every four years.

Even if a constitution were to be formed for a country in circumstances which made it unnecessary to attend to anything except the abstract principles of political science, a great variety of considerations would require to be taken into account in determining the best forms and conditions under which the several powers of the state should be distributed: but the question becomes still more complex when it has to be looked to, as it almost always has, with a reference also to many peculiar features in the situation of the country and the habits and national character of the people. In any circumstances, however, there is one powerful reason, besides the mere consideration of convenience already adverted to, for the people divesting themselves, to a large extent, both of the actual exercise of their inherent rights of

[WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke-street, Lambeth.]

self-government, and even of any direct control over their exercise when transferred to other hands. Power can only be safely exercised when it is either strictly limited in its amount, or subject to the check of responsibility; but in the case of power retained by the people in their own hands, there can, in the nature of things, be neither responsibility nor limitation. Even in the most absolute of other despotisms there is something beyond and above the nominal autocrat—dormant, it may be, and not to be very readily aroused, but still sufficient to inspire some apprehension, some caution, some forbearance from acts of extravagant enormity: but here there is no stronger force whatever, which, even as a mere name or imagination, might make the abusers of power pause in their career. The intoxicated man and the madman are not more free from all sense of restraint. Now a whole people can no more stand this perfect abandonment to the license of its own will than an individual can. History testifies abundantly to this truth. The possession of great power severely tries the wisest and strongest heads. Is it to be expected that a mixed multitude should not turn giddy and stagger when thus placed above all law, all check, all fear? A wise people, if lifted to such a perilous elevation for a moment, by some extraordinary crisis of their history, will hasten to descend to a more secure position—will endeavour, as speedily as may be, to encompass themselves again with those barriers which are fitted to be not more their restraints than their supports—will, in other words, part as soon as they can with the greater portion of the power that has been thrown into their hands, and give it up to be exercised by other depositories with whom it can be more safely lodged.

This is what the people of this country have done with their inherent right of legislating for, and of governing themselves. They have appointed not only a King to rule over them, but also a House of Lords and a House of Commons to share the government with the occupier of the throne. To each of these several authorities they have conveyed a certain portion of power which was originally in themselves. It is this arrangement which forms what is called the Constitution.

To the king and to the members of the House of Lords the people have given certain powers, not only to be held during life, but to be transmitted, in most instances, to the descendants of the holders for ever. This is the constitution as it at present stands. Of these particular powers, therefore, the people may be considered to have permanently divested themselves. They cannot be resumed except by a revolution.

With regard to those powers which are entrusted to the members of the House of Commons, the case is different. These are granted only for a certain term of years, or until the crown shall be pleased to dissolve the Parliament for which the members are elected.

From this limitation of the period for which these latter powers are granted, some very strange inferences have frequently been drawn. It has been conceived that in their case the trust is in other respects also much less full and unreserved than that which is given to the king and the members of the House of Lords. Neither the people, for instance, nor any body of them, ever think of forwarding instructions to the king as to when he ought to call the Parliament together, to prorogue it, or to dissolve it; nor instructions to individual peers as to how they ought to vote on any particular measure. To these quarters the people convey their wishes only in the form of respectful petition; and even if they are not attended to, it is not conceived that any particular obligation has been violated. To members of the House of Commons, however, according to certain politicians, their constituents are entitled, whenever they please, to address their commands as to how they shall vote, or at all events to insist that if they will not vote in a certain way they shall resign their seats. This notion, it appears to us, proceeds from a total misconception of the purpose for which members are sent to Parliament.

In so far as the functions exercised by the House of Commons are concerned, the power which under the constitution the people retain in their own hands, is simply that of withdrawing the trust they have confided from any member at the end of a certain term; or on the occurrence of any one of certain specified contingencies, such as his acceptance of office under the crown, or the dissolution of the Parliament. Of all other powers which may be exercised by him as their representative, they divest themselves entirely by the act of electing him to represent them. After his election it belongs to him, and not to them, to decide what course he shall adopt in regard to any measure which he may influence by his vote. They have themselves conferred upon him this right. It is for the purpose of exercising this right that he has been sent to Parliament, and he does not fulfil his duty if he refrains from exercising it.

Mr. Burke has placed this matter in a very clear light in a remarkable passage of the speech in which he returned thanks to his constituents immediately after his first election as one of the members for Bristol. Adverting to an opinion which had been expressed by his colleague in favour of the coercive authority of instructions addressed to a representative,—a topic which it seems had been much agitated in that city, he proceeded as follows:—"Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure: no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. My worthy colleague says his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of Will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior: but government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments? To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear, and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But *authoritative* instructions—*mandates* issued which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience. These are things utterly unknown to the laws of the land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution."

The mistake here spoken of, we will merely add, is one of an especially extraordinary sort to be made by the more zealous favourers of the democratic element of the constitution. It is by means of the House of Commons only that in the regular action of the constitution that element can make itself be felt. Whatever weakens the House of Commons as one of the powers of the state, diminishes the share which the people have in the Government. Over the Crown and the House of Lords they have preserved to themselves no means of direct control. The powers which they have bestowed upon both of these branches of the legislature have been bestowed not as a loan but as a gift, and are of course used not as a trust but as a possession. Revoked no doubt they might be by a revolution; but the case is as we have stated it, so long as the boundaries of the constitution are not overstepped. The periodical resumption, on the contrary, of the powers entrusted to the members of the House of Commons, necessarily keeps that house, at least to a certain extent, the organ of the popular sentiment. It is at any rate the only organ which the democratic principle has whereby to exert its force in the legislature. To lower, therefore, the authority and influence of the members of that house, by curtailing their liberty of independent action—to suffer them to be no more than a collection of puppets held in leading-strings by so many irresponsible bodies without the house, and incapable of moving except as they are jerked or twitched to the one side or the other by their masters behind their backs, while they have to sustain their position as the natural counterpoising and antagonist power to both the monarchical and the aristocratic principles of the constitution, strong as

both of these are in all the advantages of a perfect freedom from external control or interference—thus, we say, to fetter and enfeeble the representatives of the people, to take from them all dignity, all faculty of self movement, all real strength, would seem to be a singularly unreasonable political arrangement, viewed in whatsoever way it might, and is certainly one of the very last that ought to receive the admiration and patronage of any considerate friend of popular ascendancy.

The business of the people—their true interest as well as their duty—is to return to parliament only men in whose honesty, sound views, and ability they can place perfect confidence. The right of election, no doubt, is placed in their hands for the purpose of enabling them to impress what general tendency they may choose upon the course of the legislature and the government by the nomination of members holding the same sentiments with themselves. But if they ask for no more than this particular recommendation, they will make a very unwise choice. What object would any body of electors attain by returning as their representative a person who merely professed to be of their own way of thinking, if he was not also a person upon the honesty of whose professions they had sufficient ground for relying? or if, though sincere enough at the moment, he had so often and so lightly changed his opinions that there was good reason to apprehend he might some time soon do so again? or if, though neither to be suspected of duplicity nor of instability, he was so deficient in judgment and good sense as to be neither capable of advancing the credit and influence of any opinions he might hold, nor likely to conduct himself in his public character with ordinary discretion? A member of parliament ought, in all cases, to be a great deal more than merely a partisan of the same political creed with his constituents. That creed must be a very simple one if, in such a country as this, plenty of persons attached to it cannot be found who also possess the other qualifications fitting them to be returned to parliament. Is there any party among us ready to confess that it finds the political doctrines to which it is attached in this predicament? Let any one look around him, and does he not behold on all sides character, property, talent, knowledge, habits of business, public spirit, in an abundance probably never equalled in any other age or nation, and certainly, at all events, more than sufficient to supply with excellent members a dozen Houses of Commons? From this ample store of wealth and ability the people, if they really wish to be well served, will call to their service what is ablest and worthiest. The members of the House of Commons ought to be, in the highest sense of the word, the *elite* of the community—the picked men, as it were, of the popular force—the "excellence and flower" of whatever patriotism, cultivated intellect, aptitude for statesmanship, and public virtue or usefulness in any other form exists in those orders from which they are drawn. This capacity of constantly receiving fresh nourishment and regeneration from the richest qualities of the national mind is the great strength of an assembly so constituted; this, and not the manacling and weighing down of its members with conditions and authoritative instructions, is that which enables it to be more than a match for both royal prerogative and aristocratic privilege combined, and must eventually make it the controlling power in the state.

As for pledges exacted from candidates previous to their election, they certainly are not exposed to the same objection in point of principle that lies against mandates issued to members directing them how they are to vote after they have taken their seats. The exaction of pledges is not an interference on the part of the people with those duties which the constitution has assigned only to the members of the legislature; it is not an attempt to exercise any right which does not belong to them. In the mere choice of their representative they are entitled to the utmost freedom and latitude of judgment; they may determine not to return any other than a pledged member, just as they may determine, if so it should please them, not to return any other than a red-haired member, or a member six feet high. As with the assembled legislature, and with that alone, is lodged the power of making laws, so with the people alone is lodged the power of making the members who make the laws.

But in point of expediency the objections to the exaction of pledges from a candidate are, we think, so strong as to be quite decisive against the practice. It is no justification of it that it is an exercise of a right which does unquestionably belong to electors. It may be a very foolish exercise of a right. It is the right of the legislature to pass bad laws as well as good ones: but it is their duty for ever to pass only the latter. So in the part which the people have to perform, it is their right to return fools and knaves for their representatives if they choose; but nobody will say that they would exercise their right as they ought in so doing.

The object which a body of electors propose to themselves in demanding pledges from the person who wishes to become their representative is, of course, to lend the most effectual aid they can in the accomplishment of the measures which form the subjects of the pledges. Now, in the first place, if these measures really deserve to be carried, are they not certain, at any rate, to receive the support of a parliament composed as above described—of members selected not only because their sentiments are in harmony with those of their constituents, but because they are also the persons of greatest integrity, most penetrating sagacity, and most enlightened views to be found in the country? If the schemes in question do not commend themselves to the parliament in the same manner as they have done to the popular taste or judgment, the reason must be either that they do not deserve the approbation they have met with from the people, or that the parliament is not constituted as it ought to be. The proper preventive of the latter evil would have been a wiser choice of their representatives by the people. In that case the exaction of pledges would have been unnecessary. And the prevention of popular power which must be made use of to bind a representative by pledges would always suffice to return a good member instead of a bad one.

But it is not only that pledges are useless when a proper choice of members is made, and that they afford but a very slippery and insecure hold upon a member who is disposed to break away from them: for the law, of course, cannot enforce compliance with such engagements, and many instances testify how easy it is, whenever they are felt to be inconvenient, to find a plausible excuse for disregarding them. Such shackles are, besides all this, positive and most serious hindrances to right and effective legislation. The member who enters the House of Commons bound by a pledge to a particular line of conduct must be in various ways hampered and embarrassed by the obligation. His influence will be of necessity circumscribed by the taunts to which he will be exposed as having no right to vote except in one way on any thing, let his reason and conscience should impel him ever so strongly in another. And, indeed, it is difficult to see how he could well meet the objection that, committed as he was to a particular side of certain questions, he was no fit member of an assembly which professed, in regard to all questions that came before it, to deliberate ere it decided. It would not be enough that the pledge he had given to his constituents on the hustings should be admitted to have been perfectly conformable to his real opinions at the time: he was bound, it would be contended, however strong might have been his convictions, to keep his mind open to the operation of further discussion, and possibly additional information and more extended and matured views. As every honest and considerate man, nay, every man under no compulsion or inducement to act otherwise, evidently would prefer to hold himself thus far uncommitted, it would be said or insinuated that he had submitted to swallow the dose of degradation offered to him as the necessary act of subserviency by which his seat was to be purchased—that for that object he had basely sacrificed both his independence and his honour. Then, a member sitting with the halter of a pledge round his neck, will often find that, in the necessity of keeping to the letter of his vow, he is obliged to run the risk of flying in the face of its spirit and object. Let the proposition to the support of which he is bound be brought forward in any circumstances, however likely to ensure the humiliating defeat of the motion, and by any individual, however certain to injure rather than forward it by his advocacy—and he, too, in virtue of his unconditional compact, must throw himself into the vain and hopeless battle, and so far actually assist in exposing to discomfiture and shame the very cause he was specially commissioned to do his utmost to protect and advance. The discussion may have been forced on by an enemy of the measure in the

guise of an advocate, or with the view of impeding the progress of some other measure which both the pledged member and his constituents may deem of equal or still greater importance than the one thus interposed in its way; —no matter, the bondage to which he has bowed his back leaves him no alternative; he must still assist the trick with his vote, although mixed up, it may be, with the bitterest enemies, and deserted by every untrammelled friend, of his wonted politics.

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES. PART I.

At the present moment it may be interesting to review the fluctuations in the history of parties, as indicated by the successive changes that have taken place in the government since the settlement of the present constitution at the Revolution. In our present Number we shall only be able to carry forward such a retrospect as far as the accession of the House of Hanover: but this will conduct the history of the several great parties, springing out of the Revolution and the events that preceded it, from their origin up to the period when they may be considered as having attained full maturity and assumed each its distinct character and position. In subsequent papers the review will be continued to the present day.

1. Reign of William III. and Mary II. from 13th February, 1689, to 28th December, 1694, and thereafter of William III. to 8th March, 1702.

William, Prince of Orange, was called to the English throne by a coalition of all the parties in the state. With some comparatively unimportant differences as to the mode of procedure, the chief persons of all shades of opinion concurred in placing the government in his hands. Both in the convention, in point of fact, as appears by the votes of that assembly, and also, there is every reason to believe, in the nation generally, the two great parties of Whigs and Tories were pretty equally balanced. In these circumstances, as was naturally to be expected, the first ministry appointed by King William was of a somewhat mixed description. It contained, however, as Bishop Burnet observes, a majority of Whigs. The following were the principal members:—1. Lord President of the Council, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby (formerly Viscount Dunblane in Scotland, and Viscount Latimer in England, afterwards Marquess of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds): this nobleman had held the office of Lord High Treasurer in the reign of Charles II. from 1673 till 1679, when he was impeached by the House of Commons on the charge that by various acts he had endeavoured to subvert the government and introduce arbitrary power. He escaped, first by the intervention of his royal master in dissolving the parliament (the second of the two known as the Long Parliaments), and afterwards by withdrawing from the country. But "he had," says Tindal, "by his accomplishing the king's marriage with the queen, and heartily concurring in the Revolution from the very beginning, atoned in some measure for his proceedings under Charles II." He now professed to side rather with the Whigs than the Tories. The movements, however, both of this statesman and of many others of those times, were generally actuated as much by personal considerations as by those of principle, and are scarcely to be reduced under any distinct party description. 2. Lord Privy Seal, George Saville, Marquess (formerly Viscount and Earl) of Halifax, characterized by Hume as "a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but subject to inquietude, and fond of refinements." He had also been a minister, after the removal of Danby, under Charles II., having been one of the members of the new privy council of thirty nominated in 1679 on the recommendation of Sir William Temple. He had afterwards been Lord Privy Seal under the same king, and President of the Council under James II. In this last-mentioned reign he was considered the head of the small party known by the denomination of the *Trimmers*. "This man," says Hume in another place, "who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity of all employed in public affairs during the present reign (that of James II.), affected a species of neutrality betwixt the parties. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not, however, procure him the former character; and he was always regarded as an intriguer rather than a patriot." Lord Halifax, at the period of the Revolution, Tindal tells us, "for zealously promoting all the steps that were lately made for the king was hated by the Tories, and for his opposition to the bill of exclusion was not beloved by the Whigs." 3 and 4. Principal Secretaries of State, Charles Talbot, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Shrewsbury, and Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. Of all the ministers, Shrewsbury, says Tindal, "had the greatest share of the king's confidence. He had been educated a papist, but had renounced that religion upon a very critical and anxious inquiry into matters of controversy. He had no ordinary measure of learning, a correct judgment, with a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had so great a command of himself, that during all the time he continued in the ministry, no person was heard to complain of him, except for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased." Shrewsbury, designated by Pope "the wise and great," may be considered as having belonged decidedly to the Whig party. The Earl of Nottingham (son of the late Lord Chancellor Finch), on the contrary, was one of the Tory leaders. "He had stood," says Tindal, "at a great distance from the court all King James's reign, and, though a privy councillor, never went to the board. When the Prince of Orange's coming over was proposed to him, he first agreed to it, but afterwards refused to proceed any farther. However, he afterwards declared that though his principles restrained him so that he could not go on, his affection would make him wish well to the cause, and he would be so far a criminal as concealment could make him. Accordingly he opposed the settlement with great earnestness; but always said that, though he would not make a king, yet upon his principles he could obey him when made better than those who were so much for making one." The employment of the Earl of Nottingham was not resolved upon till after considerable deliberation: but it was at last thought advisable, with the view of conciliating his large and powerful party. 5. First Lord of the Treasury, Charles Mordaunt, Viscount Mordaunt, (afterwards Earl of Monmouth, but better known by the title of Earl of Peterborough, which he inherited from his uncle). Lord Mordaunt was at the Hague when the invitations came over for the Prince of Orange, and "pushed on the enterprise," says Hume, "with that ardent and courageous spirit for which he was so eminent." Tindal's character of this remarkable personage, afterwards so distinguished in another sphere, is amusingly expressed. "He was a man," says that historian, "of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse. He was brave and generous, but had not true judgment; his thoughts were indigested and his secrets were soon known." 6. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Booth, Baron Delamere (afterwards Earl of Warrington). This nobleman was also a staunch Whig, and had distinguished himself by his opposition to the court in the two preceding reigns. After James II. came to the throne he was tried on a charge of high treason, but acquitted. No Lord Chancellor was appointed for the present, the Great Seal being put in commission.

These persons, from the offices they held, must be considered as having been the chief responsible advisers of the crown; but it was not till a considerable time after this that the distinction between the members of the Cabinet and the other official personages was clearly established, or strictly attended to in practice. Even in modern times the composition of the cabinet, both in respect of the number of its members, and the departments of the government from which they are taken, is matter of temporary arrangement on every new construction of the ministry. Thus, while the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the three principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster are almost always cabinet ministers, there are a number of other offices, the holders of which sometimes have seats in the cabinet and sometimes not. Such are the offices of President of the Board of Control, President of the Board of Trade, Secretary at War, Paymaster-General, Postmaster-General, Master of the Mint, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, Chief Secretary for Ireland, &c. In 1806, Lord Ellenborough sat in the cabinet while holding the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and on the formation

of Lord Grey's ministry in 1830, the Earl of Carlisle was admitted to a place in the cabinet without holding any office. Formerly the policy of the government was far from being understood to be so exclusively regulated by the cabinet as it has now come to be considered. Even for some time after the Revolution the sovereign did not altogether cease to be his own prime minister. King William sometimes wrote both his messages and his speeches to parliament himself. And various great officers of the household, and even mere privy councillors, who held no office of any kind, were frequently more consulted by the crown than the ostensible ministers. Thus among King William's chief advisers during a considerable part of his reign were Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Lord Chamberlain, William Cavendish, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Devonshire, Lord Steward of the Household, (he indeed retained that place till his death in 1707,) and William Russell, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Bedford, the father of Lord Russell, the distinguished victim of the reign of Charles II. To these may be added William Bentinck, who had been gentleman of the bedchamber to William when Prince of Orange, and who was now appointed Groom of the Stole and Privy Purse, and made an English peer by the title of Earl of Portland. The king's chief personal favour, Tindal says, lay between Bentinck and Mr. Sidney, brother to the Earl of Leicester and the celebrated Algernon Sidney, sacrificed at the same time with Lord Russell. Mr. Sidney (afterwards Viscount Sidney and Earl Romney) was in the first instance made one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, but he subsequently occupied the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland and other high situations. The celebrated John Churchill was also at this time made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and raised to the peerage by the title of Earl of Marlborough.

No complete change of ministry took place during the reign of William; but, in conformity with the policy which he had originally adopted, the king repeatedly made partial modifications in the cabinet, either with the view of effecting a more even balance of parties, or in accommodation to what appeared to be the prevailing humour of the parliament or the public. We shall note the more important of these changes.

A new parliament having been returned in the spring of 1690, and the elections having run to some extent in favour of the Tories, the king dismissed both Mordaunt and Warrington, and made such other changes as that, according to Tindal, "Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed." Sir John Lowther (afterwards Baron Lowther and Viscount Lonsdale), who, on his Majesty's first coming over, had been appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty, was now made First Lord of the Treasury. This, however, was merely a temporary appointment, a new commission having been soon after made out, in which the name of Sir John Lowther was inserted as one of the Junior Commissioners, and that of Sidney Godolphin, Baron (afterwards Earl Godolphin), as the First Lord. Godolphin had been appointed to a seat at the Treasury Board when the king first came over, and had ever since enjoyed a large share of his Majesty's confidence. His being brought in gave great annoyance, Tindal tells us, to both Mordaunt and Warrington, hostile, as they were, to each other. "They soon saw," he says, "that the king considered him more than them both; for as he understood the Treasury business well, so his calm and cold way suited the king's temper." Godolphin, who had been brought up at court, had been one of the chief counsellors of Charles II., while the Earl of Sunderland was at the head of affairs; and he had also been Secretary of State for a short time in 1684, as well as one of the Lords of the Treasury in the reign of James II. Warrington's office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was filled by Richard Hampden, the great-grandson of the patriot.

Towards the end of this year farther changes were occasioned, first by the resignation of Halifax, and subsequently by that of Shrewsbury. The former, in consequence of some miscarriages in Irish affairs which were imputed to his mismanagement, became so unpopular with both the parliament and the nation, that he found it impossible to keep his ground. On leaving office he took his place in the ranks of the Tory opposition, with whom he ever afterwards continued to act. The Privy Seal, which he had held, was put, in the first instance, in commission, but was soon after given to Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had for some time previous held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. The Earl of Shrewsbury resigned in disgust at the indifference which the king showed about the passing of the Abjuration Bill, or bill to compel all persons to abjure James II. on pain of imprisonment. Seeing his Majesty indisposed to press this measure through parliament, from a wish, as he conceived, to conciliate the Tories, he thought that he could not hold office longer to any good purpose. "He saw the Whigs," says Tindal, "by using his Majesty ill, were driving him into the hands of the Tories; and he thought that these would serve the king with more zeal if he left his post. Besides, the credit that the Marquis of Carmarthen gained was not easy to him." His place was given to Viscount Sidney. About this time also several decided Tories were sworn of the Privy Council, and admitted to a large share of the royal confidence—especially Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, who had been Paymaster of the Forces under James II., and Sir Edward Seymour, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II. This latter person, who, although he had acquiesced in the Revolution, was all his life one of the most uncompromising adherents of the Tory party, was now made one of the Lords of the Treasury, and also admitted to a seat in the Cabinet.

In this state the principal appointments remained till the beginning of the year 1693. By this time the celebrated Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, so long the minister of Charles II. and afterwards of James II., and notorious for his intriguing disposition, and what Hume calls "the extreme duplicity, at least variableness, of his conduct through the whole course of his life," had obtained as great an influence over the mind of King William as he had enjoyed over that of his first royal master. It is now well known, that, even while he held the office of President of the Council under King James, which he did up to the time of that unhappy prince's abdication, he was in communication with the Prince of Orange. On the Revolution he fled, in the first instance, to Holland, but soon returned to England. Here, when he had established himself in the favour of the new sovereign, he openly declared himself for the party of the Whigs: and chiefly by his influence and management, such modifications were now made in the ministry as gave that party the complete ascendency. The Great Seal was taken out of commission, and confided to the Attorney-General, Sir John Somers, first with the title of Lord Keeper, but a few years after with that of Lord Chancellor, and a peerage. This distinguished person, as everybody knows, had, from the first, been one of the most zealous and active supporters of the Revolution. At the same time, Viscount Sidney having, some time before, gone over to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, Sir John Trenchard was made one of the Secretaries of State. He had been one of those who, in the former reign, were involved in the insurrection of the Duke of Monmouth, and he had on that account been obliged to fly beyond seas. "He was," says Tindal, "a calm and sedate man, and much more moderate than could have been expected, since he was a leading man in a party." The new character given to the administration was completed in the beginning of the following year by the dismissal of the Earl of Nottingham, who had become extremely unpopular owing to the recent ill success of the war with France, which was imputed to his incapacity or treachery, and by the recal of the Earl of Shrewsbury to fill his place. Sir Edward Seymour was now also removed from the Cabinet.

The ministry thus formed remained substantially the same for some years, the few changes that took place being chiefly in subordinate offices, or occasioned by the transference of the members of the cabinet from one office to another. In 1695, Charles Montague (afterwards Viscount and Earl of Halifax), an ardent Whig, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. The same year Sir William Trumball was made Secretary of State on the death of Sir John Trenchard. Trumbull had lived mostly abroad for some years before the Revolution, but had not for all that been inactive in the cause of the liberties of his country. Pope has made him the subject of some very laudatory lines, in which he describes him as a politician—

> "Fixed to one side, but moderate to the rest;
> An honest courtier, yet a patriot too;
> Just to his prince, and to his country true."

He remained in office till December, 1697, when he was removed, and his place given to Mr. James Vernon, who had for a number of years before been chief clerk to the Duke of Shrewsbury. In the course of the last-mentioned year, Sunderland, who for some years had been really Prime Minister, although without any office, was appointed to the place of Lord Chamberlain on the resignation of the Earl of Dorset, whose declining health unfitted him for longer employment. Sunderland held his office, however, only for a few months. He was so pressed upon both by the open hostility of the Tories, and the jealousy of his new associates the Whigs, that, apprehending he would be overthrown whenever an attack should be made upon him, through the violence of the former, and the feeble and reluctant defence he might expect from the latter, he resigned, "not only," says Tindal, "against the entreaties of his friends, but even the king's earnest desire that he would continue about him."

On the 14th of May, 1699, the ministry was extensively remodelled by the following alterations and new appointments. The public credit of the Duke of Leeds having been severely damaged by charges of bribery which had been made against him in parliament, although the protection of the court had screened him from impeachment, he was removed from the Presidency of the Council, and the Earl of Pembroke substituted in his room, the Privy Seal being given to Lord Lonsdale. At the same time another new member, Edward Villiers, Earl of Jersey, was admitted into the ministry, being appointed one of the Secretaries of State in the room of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been rendered incapable of undergoing the fatigues of business by a fall from his horse. Lord Jersey soon showed himself a zealous partizan of the Tories. Before the end of the same year, Ford Grey, Earl of Tankerville (formerly Lord Grey of Werk), was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, in the room of Mr. Montague, who was transferred to the Auditorship of the Exchequer. Montague's other office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was given to John Smith, Esq., who had had a seat at the Treasury Board for the preceding four or five years, Tankerville was a Tory, Smith a Whig.

Notwithstanding these changes, however, the Whig influence might still be considered as predominating in the government, the two persons by whom affairs were chiefly conducted continuing to be Lord Somers in the House of Lords, and Mr. Montague in the Commons. But things were nevertheless fast tending to a change. The session of parliament which commenced in November, 1699, was by far the most stormy that had been known since the Revolution. Although the two great parties were pretty equally balanced in the House of Commons, or, rather, although the Whigs were in general able to beat their opponents by a small majority on the vote, the Tories, by the formidable force they could muster, still had it in their power materially to impede the progress of public business, and upon this vexatious course of procedure they placed their reliance, as the means of eventually compelling the king to part with his present counsellors. Their chief efforts, in the first instance, were directed to effect the removal of the great stay of the government, the Lord Chancellor Somers; and here they were so successful, that, tired of the contest, his Majesty, in April, 1700, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade the Chancellor to resign, sent an order to him by Lord Jersey to deliver up the seals. They were soon after given, with the title of Lord Keeper, to Sir Nathan Wright, a Tory lawyer, "in whom," says Tindal, "there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had lately filled it." "The state of things at that time," says the same historian, "gave a melancholy prospect. The nation was falling under a general discontent, and a dislike of the king's government; and the king, on his part, seemed to grow weary of them and their affairs. The House of Commons, how much soever its power was advanced, yet was much sunk in its credit; very little of gravity, order, or common decency appeared among them. The balance lay chiefly in the House of Lords, who had no natural strength to resist the Commons." The Tories, in the mean time, severed in pushing their advantages. "This party," says Tindal, "had continued, from the king's first accession to the throne, in a constant opposition to his interests. They had been backward in everything that was necessary for carrying on the former war; they had opposed taxes as much as they could, and were against all such as were easily levied, and less sensibly felt by the people; and were always for those that were most grievous to the nation, hoping that by these heavy burthens the people would grow weary of the war and of the government. On the contrary, the Whigs, by supporting both, were become less acceptable to the nation. In elections their interest was much sunk. Every new parliament was a new discovery that they were become less popular; and the others, who were always opposing and disclaiming, were now cried up as the patriots. In the three last sessions, the Whigs had shown such a readiness to give the king more force, together with a management to preserve the grants in Ireland, that they were publicly charged as betrayers of their country, as men who were for trusting the king with an army. In short, they were accused of too ready a compliance with the humours and interests of courts and favourites, and were therefore generally censured and decried. And now, since they had not succeeded to the king's mind, some about him possessed him with this, that either they would not, or could not, serve him." In this state of things it is understood that, before setting out for Holland in July, his Majesty had come under engagements to the Tory leaders to make further changes in the government in favour of their party. Very soon after, accordingly, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (formerly Lord Hyde), second son of the great Earl of Clarendon, who had held in succession the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Lord of the Treasury, Lord President of the Council, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Treasurer, in the two preceding reigns, and who, although made a Privy Councillor by king William a few years after the Revolution, had never entirely relaxed his attachment to his original high prerogative principles, was employed to enter into negotiations with his party with the view of bringing them into power. Lord Lonsdale being dead, the Earl of Tankerville was now appointed Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Godolphin was brought in to succeed him as First Lord of the Treasury. At the same time the Earl of Jersey was made Lord Chamberlain, and his place of Secretary of State given to Sir Charles Hedges, one of the Judges of the Admiralty. Rochester himself was replaced in his old post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But the severest blow which was dealt to the Whig interest was the removal, from the House of Commons, of Mr. Montague, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Halifax. These arrangements being made, the new ministry determined to try if they could not gain an accession of strength from the chances of a general election, and the parliament was forthwith dissolved.

The result was such as fully to answer the expectations with which the scheme had been tried. In the new House of Commons, which met in February, 1701, there was a majority of nearly two to one on the side of the Tories. This was shown on the first day of the session, when the able and active Tory partizan, Robert Harley, Esq. (afterwards Earl of Oxford), was elected Speaker by a majority of 249 to 125. The confidence inspired by this great apparent strength, however, nearly proved the overthrow of the party which had thus suddenly obtained an ascendency. Their proceedings immediately came to be characterized by such violence as to disgust both the king and the nation. The new ministers, not satisfied with having obtained the dismissal of their predecessors from office, got the House of Commons first to address the king to remove them from his councils and presence for ever, and afterwards to vote articles of impeachment against them. In pursuing this headlong course, the Commons soon added to the other difficulties of their position by getting involved in a contest with the House of Lords. In this state of things the king determined again to dissolve the parliament. The new returns showed the change that in a few months had taken place in the public mind. Although many Tories were sent up from the smaller boroughs, most of the counties and great towns chose Whig members. The parliament met on the 30th December, when Mr. Harley was again elected their Speaker by the Commons, but this time only by fourteen votes more than were obtained by his opponent; and on all ordinary questions it soon appeared that the advocates of a moderate line of policy might count upon a sure majority.

The following alterations were now made in the ministry.

On the 27th of December, Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, was substituted for Lord Godolphin as First Lord of the Treasury. Some months before, the Hon. Henry Boyle (afterwards Earl of Carleton), who had for some years had a seat at the Treasury Board, had been made Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Mr. Smith. On the 4th of January, 1702, Charles Montague, Earl of Manchester, was made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges; and on the 18th of the same month, the Earl of Pembroke having been transferred from the Presidency of the Council, and made Lord High Admiral, Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was appointed to succeed him in the former office. Some months before, also, on the decease of the Earl of Tankerville, the Privy Seal, which he had held, was put in commission. The new members thus taken into the cabinet were principally the personal friends of the king. These appointments were the last made by King William.

2. Reign of Queen Anne, from 8th of March, 1702, to 1st of August, 1714.

The accession of Queen Anne was immediately followed by the appointment of a new ministry, composed almost exclusively of members of the Tory party. To this party she had always been attached: even the influence of the famous Sarah, Countess (afterwards Duchess) of Marlborough, who was appointed Groom of the Stole and Privy Purse, was exerted in vain to moderate her prejudices upon this head. Indeed, "the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin themselves," says Tindal, "would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of Tories. The truth is, both these Lords had been educated in the persuasion that the Tory party were the best friends to the Constitution, both of Church and State; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience."

Marlborough himself having been appointed Captain General of the Forces, both in England and abroad, Godolphin, who was his intimate friend and connexion, was declared Lord High Treasurer. The office of Lord High Admiral was conferred on Prince George of Denmark (the Queen's husband) assisted by a council of his own appointment. The Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges became again the two Secretaries of State. John Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby (afterwards Duke of Normanby and Buckingham) had the Privy Seal; and Sir John Leveson Gower (afterwards Lord Gower) the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Earl of Rochester was continued in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, from which King William had been about to recall him. The Earl of Jersey, Sir Edward Seymour, the Earl of Abingdon, Lord Dartmouth, and various other decided Tories, were appointed to places in the household, or sworn in of the Privy Council. "It was generally believed," says Tindal, "that the Earl of Rochester and his party were for severe methods, and for a more entire change through all subaltern employments; but the Lord Godolphin and the Earl of Marlborough were for more moderate proceedings; so that though no Whigs were put into any posts, yet many were kept in those which they had enjoyed during the former reign." The influence of Rochester, notwithstanding his near relationship to the Queen (whose uncle he was), was soon after found, on the question of the war with France (which he opposed) to be inferior in the council to that of Marlborough and Godolphin; and upon this discovery he retired from court. In the following July, among some minor appointments, the Earl of Pembroke was made President of the Council, and the Duke of Somerset Master of the Horse in his room. The Duke of Devonshire had been continued in his office of Lord Steward of the Household, and as one of the advisers of the Crown.

The new parliament, which met on the 20th of October, turned out of the same complexion with the ministry. "Her Majesty," says Tindal, "did not openly interpose in the elections, though, her inclination to the Tories plainly appearing, all people took it for granted that she wished they might be the majority. This wrought on the inconstancy and servility that is natural to multitudes; and the conceit which had been infused and propagated with much industry, that the Whigs had charged the nation with great taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, had so far turned the tide, that the Tories in the House of Commons were at least double the number of the Whigs." The Commons again chose Harley their Speaker.

The first change of importance which the ministry underwent took place in April, 1704, when the Earl of Nottingham, leaving, at the instigation of his party, the ultra Tories, endeavoured, without success, to induce the Queen to remove from the cabinet the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, threw up his office of Secretary of State. Upon this, Harley, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was appointed to the vacant office. At the same time Henry de Grey, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Kent, was substituted for the Earl of Jersey as Lord Chamberlain; and Sir Thomas Mansel (afterwards Lord Mansel) for Sir Edward Seymour, as Comptroller of the Household. The celebrated Henry St. John (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke) was now also brought in as Secretary at War. These new nominations, however, though they somewhat liberalized, did not essentially alter the character of the administration.

The Parliament, however, under the Triennial Act, being now near the term of its existence, was dissolved in April, 1705, and a new one summoned, which met in October following. The elections this time having run greatly more in favour of the Whigs than on the last occasion, the more liberal portion of the ministry acquired a considerable accession of influence. Godolphin, in particular, now began openly to declare for the Whigs. This state of things led, in the course of this and the following year, to various changes, of which the following were the two most important. Immediately before the meeting of Parliament the Lord Keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, was dismissed, and the eminent Whig lawyer, William Cowper, Esquire, appointed in his place. The Keeper was the following year made Lord Chancellor, and a peer, by the title of Lord Cowper. And in December, 1705, another Whig of distinguished ability, Charles Earl of Sunderland, the son of the minister of the late king, was appointed to the post of Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. The change in the character of the ministry was completed in the beginning of the year 1708, by the removal of Secretary Harley, who had for some time past been the almost openly declared competitor for the ascendancy in the Cabinet with the Lord Treasurer. While Godolphin and Sunderland were supported by the Duchess of Marlborough, Harley depended upon the good offices of her Grace's relation and rival in the favour of their royal mistress, Mrs. Abigail Masham (afterwards Lady Masham). For the present, however, the temper of the House of Commons, together with the suspicion and public outcry occasioned by the conviction of a person named Gregg, who had been a clerk in Harley's office, on the charge of having conveyed intelligence of certain State secrets to the Court of France, —although there certainly was no proof that Harley had had anything to do with the act of treason—decided the contest in favour of the Treasurer. Godolphin and Marlborough having declared to the Queen that if Harley was not dismissed they would leave her service, and there being reason to believe that the majority of their colleagues were prepared to follow the same course, her Majesty was with great reluctance compelled to insist upon the Secretary's retirement. He was succeeded by Boyle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. St. John and Mansel, and Sir Simon Harcourt (afterwards Lord Harcourt,) the Attorney-General, also retired on this occasion. St. John's place was given to the afterwards celebrated Robert Walpole, who had already greatly distinguished himself in the House of Commons. Before the end of the year the Earl of Pembroke was, on the death of the Prince of Denmark, advanced to the post of Lord High Admiral: and the two offices which he had previously held, of Lord President of the Council, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were given, the former to Lord Somers, and the latter to Thomas Wharton, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Wharton. Lord Wharton, who was a zealous Whig, took over with him the celebrated Mr. Addison as his secretary.

The ministry thus settled continued in power till the summer of 1710. The proceedings of the House of Commons, and the violence displayed by the Whig majority in the beginning of that year, in the famous affair of Dr. Sacheverel, had occasioned throughout the country an extraordinary ferment in the popular mind, and a strong re-action against the ministers, who in their treatment of the Doctor were conceived to have shown themselves the enemies of

once of the church and of the monarchy. Meanwhile, also, the persevering intrigues of Mrs. Masham had at length evidently succeeded in prejudicing the Queen both against the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the ministers in general. The first indication of the design that was in preparation was given by the appointment, about the middle of April, of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of Lord Chamberlain, in place of the Marquis of Kent. Shrewsbury had recently returned from Italy, where he had resided since the death of King William; but having married a Roman lady, who had once at least been a Catholic, and having also voted for the acquittal of Sacheverel, he was scarcely now considered as belonging to the Whig party. His present appointment, which was made in direct opposition to the remonstrance of Godolphin, was supposed to have been the result of a secret understanding into which he had entered with Harley. Two months after, the Earl of Sunderland was dismissed, and his place of secretary given to Lord Dartmouth, the son-in-law of the Earl of Nottingham. On the 8th of August Godolphin himself received his dismissal—according to one account the letter commanding his lordship to break his staff being sent to him by a servant in livery. The next day it was announced that Harley had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl Poulett First Lord of the Treasury, Sir Thomas Mansel and other Tories being associated with him in the commission. In the following month the Earl of Rochester was appointed President of the Council in the room of Lord Somers; the staff of the Lord Steward was taken from the Duke of Devonshire and given to the Duke of Buckingham; Secretary Boyle was removed and St. John put in his place; Lord Berkeley was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster instead of the Earl of Derby; and, finally, the Great Seal was taken from Lord Cowper, and after having been in the first instance put in commission, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt with the title of Lord Keeper, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Lord Chancellor and a peerage. The Parliament, which had been prorogued a few days before the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury, was then declared to be dissolved, and a new one called. Among the minor appointments made before it met, may be mentioned those of Matthew Prior, the poet, and George Granville, (afterwards Viscount Lansdowne,) also one of the most distinguished literary characters of the day. Prior, who had some years before deserted his original friends the Whigs, by whom he had been first introduced to public life, and joined the party of their opponents, was made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations: and Granville succeeded Walpole as Secretary at War. Lord Wharton was also recalled from Ireland, and James Butler, Duke of Ormond, (the same who had been the patron of Dryden, and to whom the poet dedicates his Fables,) was replaced in the office of Lord Lieutenant, which he had occupied before in the commencement of the present reign. Lord Wharton's recall of course also brought home his secretary, Mr. Addison; and to this release we probably owe many of the best papers in the Spectator and Guardian.

The result of the elections was favourable beyond even the most sanguine expectations of the new ministry. "By the first returns," says Tindal, it "appeared that amongst the new members the number of the Whigs was near equal with that of the Tories, which, as was then given out, answered the expectation and desires of the new managers. For, having gained their chief aim, which was to remove the late Lord Treasurer and his friends, it was by many believed that they designed to carry things even between both parties; and therefore wished only for such a majority of the High Church in the House of Commons, as might countenance the new scheme; and whom, on the other hand, they might easily check by means of their own creatures, if an unseasonable zeal for the Church should prompt them to make any motions against the toleration. If this was the real intention of the new ministry, or of Mr. Harley in particular, the chief author of the late changes, it soon appeared that they were either mistaken in their computation, or disappointed in their wishes, and that the new members of the High Church party far outnumbered those of the contrary side." In fact, although in Scotland the elections ran pretty equally between the two parties, there were only about a hundred Whigs in all returned for England. The Parliament met on the 25th of November, when Mr. Bromley, member for the University of Oxford, and a decided High Churchman, as may be supposed, was elected Speaker by acclamation.

Thus supported, the Queen and her new ministers went to work with a high hand. The Duchess of Marlborough having surrendered all her places, the Duchess of Somerset was appointed to succeed her as Groom of the Stole and Mistress of the Robes, while Mrs. Masham got the Privy Purse. In the beginning of May the sudden death of the Earl of Rochester removed Harley's most formidable rival in the royal favour. He was immediately after created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, made a Knight of the Garter, and appointed Lord High Treasurer, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer being given to Robert Benson, Esq. (afterwards Lord Bingley). Earl Poulett, who had been First Lord of the Treasury, was now made Steward of the Household, and the Presidency of the Council was conferred upon the Duke of Buckingham. Soon after, the Duke of Newcastle having died in consequence of a fall from his horse, his office of Lord Privy Seal was conferred upon the Earl of Jersey; but that nobleman having also died on the very day he received this appointment, the place was eventually bestowed upon Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol (afterwards of London). The ministers who composed the cabinet after these changes had been completed, were the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Buckingham, the Bishop of Bristol, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl Poulett, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Secretary St. John.

Meanwhile, the Tory majority of the House of Commons, eager to add the sweets of vengeance to those of victory, were pursuing various members of the late administration in a succession of votes of inquiry and denouncement. One of the first objects of their attack was the late Lord Treasurer Godolphin; but against that nobleman it was soon found that no plausible charge could be established. Walpole, the late Secretary at War, was less fortunate. On an accusation, very unsatisfactorily supported, that he had shared in the profits of a contract for the supply of forage to some cavalry stationed in Scotland, he was expelled the house and committed to the Tower. On the same day (the 30th of December) the Duke of Marlborough was deprived of all his employments, and soon after proceedings were commenced against him also on a charge of misapplication of the public money. On the day following, by an unprecedented exercise of the prerogative, twelve new peers, the friends of the ministry, were suddenly called up by writ at the same time to the House of Lords.

In the new arrangements made necessary by the removal of the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond was made Commander in Chief of all the Queen's land forces both at home and abroad; Richard Savage, Earl Rivers, was made Master General of the Ordnance; Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, Captain of the Band of Pensioners; and Brigadier Hill, brother of Mrs. Masham, Lieutenant of the Tower. In the course of the month of January, also, the Duke of Somerset, the moderation of whose politics was considered to make his presence at court inconvenient, was removed from his office of Master of the Horse; but the Duchess, although she also offered to resign, was continued in her places of Groom of the Stole and first Lady of the Bedchamber.

After this no further alterations of importance were made for some time. On the 5th of May, 1713, the peace concluded at Utrecht was proclaimed amidst the general rejoicings of the public, wearied of twelve years of the costly game of war. On the 8th of August the parliament, to whose temper unquestionably the nation had been mainly indebted for this blessing, and which has been therefore sometimes called the pacific parliament (Bishop Burnet says it was the worst he ever saw), was dissolved, after it had sat for nearly its full term of three years.

The new House of Commons, although, according to Tindal, "a far greater number of Whigs were chosen than was by many expected," was still decidedly Tory and ministerial. The relative strength of the two parties may be inferred from the vote which was come to on the 18th of March, on the proposal to expel Mr. Steele, which was carried by a majority of 245 against 152. The existing ministry therefore would certainly not yet have been driven from power by the want of parliamentary support. But even before the old parliament had been dissolved, a rivalry, which had for some time been maturing, between Harley and St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) began to show

itself in an almost open struggle for ascendancy. At first, the established influence of the Lord Treasurer succeeded in carrying the day. Bolingbroke's scheme, it is supposed, was to place himself and the Chancellor Harcourt at the head of a party consisting of the Ultra-Tories, the almost avowed enemies of the Hanoverian succession. Instead of this project taking effect, however, the Treasurer, immediately after the dissolution, succeeded in strengthening his position for the present by the following among other new appointments. The Duke of Shrewsbury was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Bromley, the Speaker, Secretary of State; the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State for Scotland; Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Benson, created a peer and sent as ambassador to Madrid; and Francis Gwyn, Esq., Secretary at War, in the room of Sir W. Wyndham.

Although defeated for the present, however, Bolingbroke employed his time so well that it was not many months before he had contrived to gain the advantage over his rival, both in the royal favour and in the cabinet. The quarrel between the two became an open rupture immediately after the termination of the first session of parliament, on the 9th of July, 1714; and on the 27th of the same month Lord Oxford received his dismissal. "It was said," Tindal writes, "that to soften his fall the Queen designed to bestow on him an annual pension of 5000*l.* for life, with the title of Duke of Newcastle; and upon his recommendation, to give the title of Earl of Clare to the Lord Pelham; but, contrary to his own, and indeed the general expectation, when he went to court on the 27th of July, the staff was taken from him, rather with mortifying than agreeable circumstances. It is certain that severe reproaches passed, in the Queen's hearing, between the falling minister and the Lord Chancellor, and the lady Masham, whom the Treasurer had disobliged some days before, by making a demur to a grant she had obtained of 15,000*l.* a year, and whom he looked upon as accessory to his disgrace." The Queen by this time was on her death-bed, the fatal progress of her illness having been accelerated, as she is said to have herself asserted, by these distractions among her ministers. The immediate prospect of a new reign, therefore, still farther complicated the calculations of the several contending parties in the state. Bolingbroke and his associates, there can be no doubt, would have at once avowed themselves in the interest of the Pretender, if they had seen any probability of being able to prevent the succession of the Elector of Hanover. In the circumstances, however, there is reason to believe that this aspiring and unscrupulous politician was preparing to make overtures to his old enemies, the Whigs, with the view of sustaining himself in power by their alliance. "It appeared plainly, however, soon after," says Tindal, "that whatever were the Lord Bolingbroke's thoughts and views at this time, the main design of the Whigs was to inflame the animosity between him and the Earl of Oxford, as the readiest way to ruin them both."

A strange scene now took place. On the morning of Friday, the 30th of July, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, having heard that the Queen was dying, took the bold resolution of repairing to Kensington Palace, where she was, and without being summoned, presenting themselves in the Council Chamber. Here they found the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Ormond, Bolingbroke, Bromley, and the Earl of Mar, (the three Secretaries of State,) the Bishop of London, and some others, in committee. The surprise manifested by some of these persons at the intrusion of the two Dukes was immediately met by an explanation on the part of the latter, of the reasons which had induced them to take the step they had done; on which the Duke of Shrewsbury returned them thanks for their readiness to give the Council their assistance in so critical a juncture, and they took their places at the board. It was then proposed that the physicians should be called in and examined, with the view of ascertaining if the Queen was still sufficiently sensible to nominate some person to fill the vacant post of Lord Treasurer; and their answers upon this head being satisfactory, the Chancellor and other members of the cabinet were ordered to attend her Majesty, and to lay before her the unanimous opinion of the Council that the office ought to be given to the Duke of Shrewsbury. Upon this she replied, that they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the Duke of Shrewsbury; and delivering the Treasurer's staff into his Grace's hands, she desired him to use it for the good of her people. This was the last appointment made by Queen Anne. She survived only till the morning of the following Sunday, the 1st of August. When she had given the Duke of Shrewsbury the staff of Lord High Treasurer, his Grace offered to return the Lord Chamberlain's staff, "but she desired," says Tindal, "he should keep them both; so the same person was at once possessed of three of the highest places of trust, honour, and profit, under the Crown of Great Britain, being Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Duke's advancement to the post of Lord Treasurer, immediately changed the face of affairs, baffled Lord Bolingbroke's scheme, alarmed the friends of the Pretender, and revived the spirits of the well-affected to the Hanover succession."

[To be continued in next Number.]

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON ELECTION EXPENSES.

On the 11th of February last, a very few days after the commencement of the Session of Parliament, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed "to inquire into the expenses charged by the returning officers at the election of members for counties and boroughs in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, at the last general election; and also to inquire into all other expenses attendant on the registration of votes, and at the election, with the view of fixing one uniform rate of charge." To this committee were afterwards referred various returns made to the House of Commons of the number of electors entitled to vote at the last general election, with power to report their observations thereon; and the committee having met from time to time, for the purpose of examining witnesses, and having called for a variety of returns bearing upon the questions referred for their examination, a report was presented to the House on the eve of its prorogation, and has only very recently been distributed to the members.

The second branch of the inquiry—that relating to the number of electors—being the most interesting and important part of the inquiry, especially at the present moment, we shall follow the example of the committee in their report, and direct to it the greater part of our attention. It is much to be regretted that in consequence of some persons who were required to make returns to the committee, having mistaken the objects of the order sent to them, a part of the returns are incorrect to a degree which makes it impossible for us to draw from them any precise or useful conclusions. In the statements which we shall now proceed to give, we shall endeavour to make the best use we can of those parts of the materials furnished which appear to be free from the objection just stated, and shall avoid those statements which are incomplete, or which bear the marks of incorrectness.

One of the strongest objections which has been, and which still continues to be brought forward against the qualification principle adopted by the Reform Bill, is founded on the assumption that it gives too great a preponderance to the inhabitants of populous towns and boroughs, in which, from the nature of the qualification fixed on by the legislature, the elective franchise is enjoyed by a class of persons lower in their station, and therefore less fitted for its exercise than those by whom it is possessed in other districts. The validity of such an objection, if even it were founded on fact, would meet with many opponents, who are of opinion that the qualification now fixed is not by any means fitly adapted to the great and growing intelligence of a very numerous body of men in these kingdoms, who are thereby excluded from exercising any voice in the choice of representatives. The returns given in the Appendix to this Report show, however, how unfounded in fact is the position taken up by the objectors. We pass over the statements given relative to the constituencies of counties, as having nothing to do with this question, and also because we believe the various qualifications adopted in the case of counties are altogether satisfactory to the opponents of the borough qualification.

Of the 500 members returned to Parliament by the 52 counties, and 199 represented cities, towns, and boroughs in England and Wales, 159 members are returned by the

counties and 341 by the towns. This division would, at the first glance, appear to give a decided majority of more than two to one in favour of the inhabitants of towns; but a very slight examination of the returns given in this Report enables us to see the fallacy of this apparent inequality.

It is notorious that a large proportion of the towns and boroughs in the kingdom have an entire community of interest with the constituencies of the counties in which they are situated, and that the members of their choice are as much the representatives of what is called "the landed interest" as the knights of the shires. This fact applies more particularly to boroughs with small constituencies, where, from various local circumstances, the influence of the great landed proprietors is even greater than it is in the divisions of counties.

According to calculations which we have made, founded on the abstract given in pp. 188 to 191 of the Appendix to the Report, it appears that 170 members for boroughs, being just one half of those returned in England and Wales, are elected by 49,153 persons, being on the average 1 member for every 289 electors.

Of these, 32 places whose constituencies do not exceed 300, return 44 membs.

23 places where the number of electors is between	300 and 400,	,, 34	,,
20 places where the electors are between 400 & 500,		,, 31	,,
13 ,, ,,	500 and 600,	,, 21	,,
16 ,, ,,	600 and 700,	,, 24	,,
10 ,, ,,	700 and 800,	,, 16	,,
114		170	

The borough included in the above statement, which has the smallest number of registered votes, is Thetford in the county of Norfolk. In that place 146 electors return 2 members. There are only four other boroughs, the numbers of whose electors are under 200. These are Ashburton with 198, Riegate with 152, Calne with 191, and Westbury with 185 electors. These places return only one member each.

It can hardly be thought that the system of representation has been rendered too popular, when it is thus shown that 170 members—being more than one-fourth of the total number of representatives for the United Kingdom—are returned by 49,153 electors, a number forming no more than the 118th part of the males above twenty years of age. At the same time that must be admitted to be a great improvement, which has transferred even to this comparatively small proportion of the people, a franchise which was previously exercised by a very few individuals, belonging chiefly to the aristocracy.

The objection which we have stated is principally pointed at the newly enfranchised boroughs in England and Wales, 42 in number, and which contain a gross population of 2,436,716 souls; but even in these cases it will be found that the 64 members which they return are sent to Parliament by only 81,991 electors, being at the rate of one member for every 1281 electors, while the 500 members returned for the whole of England and Wales are sent by 656,337 electors, which is at the rate of 1 member for 1313 electors. This is as near as possible to the general average for the whole of England and Wales; but if we examine these numbers according to the total population, we shall find that while the 500 members represent 13,897,187 inhabitants, or 1 member for 27,794 individuals, the 64 members sent by the new boroughs represent 2,436,716 inhabitants, or only 1 member for 38,073 individuals. If further examined by the test of property adopted in the Reform Act, we shall find that 341 members are returned by places having 427,760 houses of 10*l.* and upwards, annual value, or 1 member for 1254 houses, while the 64 members are returned by new boroughs which have 222,218 houses of the requisite annual value, or only 1 member for 3472 houses.

Our space will not admit of extending this examination to Scotland and Ireland, and we must close this part of the subject by calling attention to the following tables, in elucidation and proof of the correctness of our statements.

The following summary shows the population of Great Britain and Ireland from the returns of 1831; the number of counties, ridings, parts or divisions, cities and boroughs, returning members to serve in parliament, taken from the Boundary Reports; the number of members returned for each division of the kingdom; the number of electors enrolled previous to the general election in 1832, and the proportions they bear to the population; the number and proportion which the electors bear to the males of 20 years of age, and the proportion the representatives bear to the gross population and to the electors respectively; together with the number of houses worth 10*l.* a year and upwards, or assessed at 10*l.* a year and upwards, in the cities and boroughs of Great Britain.

	Number of Counties.	Population of Counties, Ridings, and Baroughs, exclusive of the Boroughs, Population.	Number of Representatives of Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, &c.	Population of the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, in 1831.	Total of Population of Great Britain and Ireland in 1831.	Number of Representatives. For Counties.	Number of Representatives. For Boroughs, &c.	Number of Electors enrolled previous to General Election in 1832. In Counties.	Number of Electors enrolled previous to General Election in 1832. In Boroughs, &c.	Total Number of Electors in Counties, Boroughs, &c.	Proportion of Electors in County Population.	Proportion of Electors in City, Borough, &c. Population.	Number of Males in Counties and Boroughs of 20 years of age and upwards.	Proportion of Electors to Male Population of 20 years of age and upwards.	Number of Electors in every 100 of the gross Population.	Per Cent.	Number of Electors in every 100 Males of 20 years of age and upwards.	Per Cent.	Number of Inhabitants to one Representative.	Average Number of Electors who return one Representative.	Number of Houses in Boroughs, &c., worth 10*l.* a year and upwards, or assessed at 10*l.* a year and upwards.
England.....	40	8,336,263	185	4,754,742	13,091,005	144	327	344,564	274,649	619,213	1 in 24	1 in 17	3,199,984	1 in 5	4.73		19.35		27,794	1,314	418,116
Wales.....	12	609,871	14	196,311	806,182	15	14	25,815	11,309	37,124	1 in 23	1 in 17	194,706	1 in 5	4.60		18.55		27,799	1,280	9,644
Scotland.....	30	1,500,107	76	865,007	2,365,114	30	23	33,115	31,332	64,447	1 in 45	1 in 27	549,821	1 in 8	2.72		11.72		44,624	1,215	35,386
Great Britain....	82	10,446,241	275	5,816,060	16,262,301	189	364	403,494	317,290	720,784	1 in 25	1 in 18	3,944,511	1 in 5½	4.43		18.27		29,407	1,303	463,146
Ireland.....	32	7,027,509	34	739,892	7,767,401	64	41	60,607	31,545	92,152	1 in 115	1 in 22	1,867,765	1 in 20	1.18		4.93		73,975	877	..
United Kingdom.	114	17,473,750	309	6,655,952	24,029,702	253	405	464,101	348,835	812,936	1 in 37	1 in 18	5,812,276	1 in 7	3.38		13.98		36,519	1,235	..

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER;

AND

JOURNAL OF FACTS

IN

POLITICS, STATISTICS AND PUBLIC ECONOMY

1834.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

MDCCCXXXV.

INDEX.

Acts, public general, of the session 1834, 174
Algiers, conquest and occupation of by the French, 102
American Statistics, 18
Australian, South, Association, 149

Bankrupt Estates' Bill, 179
Beer Act, Sale of, Amendment Bill, 179
Bills, private, abstract of, 40
——— of the session of 1834, 176
Budget for 1834, 39

Calcutta Bankers, claims of on the King of Oude, 180
Central Criminal Court Bill, abstract of the, 178
Changes of Administration and History of Parties, Part I., 268
Chimney Sweepers' Act, abstract of the, 203
China and Indian Trade, orders in council relative to the, 205
Chronicle of Occurrences:—For January, 24; February, 47; March, 71; April, 94; May, 120; June, 142; July, 164; August, 190; September, 214; October, 240; November, 263; December, 284
Church Reform Bills, 110
Coinage, French and English, 17
Commons, business of the House of, 131
——— House of, offices and fees, 179
——— library of, 204
——— new members of the House of, 62, 115, 186
Companies, municipal, of London, 1
Corn Laws, history of the, 75
——, report on the sale of, 250
Corporation Commission, 1
Cotton Trade, history of the, 193, 220, 241
Court of Session, Scotland, reform of the, 147
Credit, its good and its evil, 27
Customs Duties, reduction of, in the session of 1834, 277

Dissenters' Marriages, 55
——— education of, 81

Ecclesiastical Revenue Inquiry, report on, 202
Education, popular, in the Arts, 121
——— in England, parliamentary grant for, 181
Election Expenses, Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on, 273

France, statistics of, 18
———, state of crime in, 31
——— and England, commerce of, 97
French Tariff, proposed alterations in the, 25
Friendly Societies' Amendment Act, 208

Glasgow Lottery, 37

Hardware Trade, 57

India, steam communication with, 206
Iron Trade, 33
Italian States, political history and statistics of, 253

Jews, emancipation of the, 73

Knights of the Bath, fees of, 204

Marshall's Statistical Tables, 12
Metropolis, population and occupations of the, 83

Newspapers, stamp-duties on, 108
———, influence of, on public opinion, 151
Newspaper stamp-duties, Lord Brougham's evidence on the, 206

Oaths, Report of the Lords' Committee on, 176
Occupations of the metropolis, 83
Oxford Installation, 124

Parliament, approaching session of, 13
——— the session of, 170
Parliamentary papers, abstract of, 41, 61, 88, 111, 131, 153, 183, 209, 232, 256, 278
Parochial registration, 18
Pensions and Compensations, 181
Petitions, public, classification of, 40, 61, 90, 115, 135, 157, 185, 211
Police of the Metropolis, Report on the, 247
Political Knowledge, Society for the Diffusion of, 167
——— diffusion and advancement of, 169
Political Retrospect:—For January, 19; February, 42; March, 63; April, 90; May, 115; June, 136; July, 158; Aug. 186; September, 202; October, 236; November, 259; December, 278
Poor-Law Commissioners, Report of the, 49
Poor-Laws, Bill for the amendment of the, 82
——— Amendment Bill, legislative progress of, 127
——— as passed by the two Houses, 178
Poor Rates, 157
Population of the Metropolis, 83
Post Office, new arrangements, 201

Representative System in France, 276
Revenue Table, 17, 231
Rights and Duties of Electors and Representatives, 265

Salt to India, monopoly in the supply of, 193
Servia, 129
Sewers of the Metropolis, report on the, 225
Shipping Interest, 4
Ships, tonnage of, 199
Silk Trade, state of the, 126
Spain, on the provincial and municipal government of, 217
Statistical Tables, by Marshall, 12
Statistics, Trade, &c., documents relating to, 42, 62, 89, 134, 185, 211, 233, 258
Sugar Duties, 86
Switzerland, civil and political dissensions in, 145
——— note on, 183

Taxes, direct, distribution of, 229
Tea, free trade in, 224
Tithe Commutation Bill, 79
Tonnage of ships, best mode of measuring the, 199

United States, imports and exports of, 18
——— population of, 19

Water to the metropolis, supply of, 227

Statement of the Places which were first allowed to send Members to Parliament under the Reform Act of 1832—stating their entire Population, the number of Houses which they contain of 10*l.* per annum value, and the number of Electors enrolled previous to the General Election in 1832.

Names of Boroughs.	Number of Members	Population.	Number of Houses of 10*l.* and upwards annual value.	Number of registered electors in 1832.
Manchester	2	187,022	12,723	6,726
Birmingham	2	142,251	6,532	4,000
Leeds	2	123,393	6,683	4,171
Greenwich	2	63,172	6,142	2,714
Sheffield	2	90,657	4,383	3,308
Sunderland	2	43,078	2,528	1,378
Devonport	2	44,454	2,500	1,777
Wolverhampton	2	67,514	2,405	1,700
Tower Hamlets—Middlesex	2	302,519	66,777	9,906
Finsbury	2	224,839	23,266	10,309
Marylebone	2	234,294	27,888	8,901
Lambeth—Surrey	2	154,613	29,079	4,768
Bolton	2	42,395	1,612	1,020
Bradford	2	34,681	933	1,139
Brighton	2	41,994	2,763	1,649
Blackburn	2	27,091	623	626
Halifax	2	31,317	1,330	531
Macclesfield	2	30,000	1,000	718
Oldham	2	32,381	1,128	1,131
Stockport	2	41,000	842	1,012
Stoke-upon-Trent	2	52,946	1,450	1,349
Stroud	2	41,702	1,577	1,247
Ashton-under-Lyne	1	14,673	610	433
Bury	1	19,140	765	535
Chatham	1	19,000	1,174	677
Cheltenham	1	22,942	2,067	919
Dudley	1	23,043	800	670
Frome	1	11,240	450	322
Gateshead	1	15,177	750	454
Huddersfield	1	19,035	1,140	608
Kidderminster	1	16,000	500	390
Kendal	1	11,577	682	327
Rochdale	1	20,156	1,014	687
Salford	1	52,366	1,286	1,497
South Shields	1	18,756	987	475
Tynemouth	1	25,201	1,151	760
Wakefield	1	12,232	768	722
Walsall	1	15,066	800	597
Warrington	1	18,184	973	456
Whitby	1	10,399	444	422
Whitehaven	1	15,716	863	458
Merthyr Tydvil	1	23,500	830	502
Total of 42 New Boroughs	64	2,436,716	222,218	81,991

			Members.
In England 40 counties have	344,564	registered electors, and return	144
185 cities, boroughs, and towns,	274,649	" "	327
Total numbers for England,	619,213	" "	471
In Wales 12 counties have	25,815	registered electors, and return	15
14 districts of boroughs,	11,309	" "	14
Total numbers for Wales,	37,124	" "	29
In Scotland 30 counties have	33,115	registered electors, and return	30
76 cities, boroughs, &c.	31,332	" "	23
Total numbers for Scotland,	64,447	" "	53
In Ireland 32 counties have	60,607	registered electors, and return	64
34 cities and towns,	31,545	" "	41
Total numbers for Ireland,	92,152	" "	105
Total numbers for the United Kingdom	813,936	registered electors, return	658

One part of the Reform Act, which all parties are agreed in commending, is that which regulates the duration of the elections. In every case the polling is limited to two days, seven hours being allowed on the first, and eight hours on the second day. This regulation is found to lessen the expenses of the candidates, and what is at least of equal importance, it has in a great degree put an end to the shameless bribery which was formerly practised at contested elections, where venal voters kept back from the poll until near the time of its closing, in order to make the best market of their suffrages. This disgraceful practice, although greatly limited at present, is not wholly prevented; and one of the strongest recommendations offered to Parliament by the committee in its Report is, that means should be taken to limit the duration of the election to one day, in boroughs and cities, and possibly also in counties. On this subject the committee states:—

"Your committee, having well considered the evidence they have received, the returns of the number of voters polled on the first and second days of the election, and all the advantages to be derived from shortening the time, are unanimous as to the facility of reducing the time of polling, at borough elections, to one day; but there is some difference of opinion respecting its practicability at county elections. The majority, however, think that the election might also be made in counties, with perfect safety to the suffrage of the electors, in eight or nine hours, if the preparatory measures recommended by your committee should be adopted.

"It is well known that the time most favourable for bribery and corruption at contested elections is in the night between the first and second day's poll; and there are many electors who have regularly refused to vote on the first day, that they might be able, when the contest runs near, to make their own terms for the second day. Your committee, therefore, are of opinion that if there were no other advantage than the putting an end to such corrupt practices, an effort should be made to stop them; but they consider that the freeing the towns and counties from the excitement of a second day's poll, the saving of time, the lessening of expense to the candidates, and to all parties concerned, are also objects well deserving the attention of Parliament."

At the general election in 1832, the poll was over in many of the boroughs on the first day; and it appears probable that by the erection of a few more booths, and the appointment of additional polling places, the whole number of electors in the cities and boroughs might have been easily polled in one day.

In ten of the counties of England and Wales, which were contested at the same general election, 37,075 voters out of 44,551, or five-sixths of the whole number who voted, presented themselves for the purpose on the first day; and there can be no doubt that if an opportunity had not been given for choosing between one of two days, a very large proportion of those who presented themselves on the second would have done so on the first day of the election. It is certainly possible that some electors might be unavoidably prevented from attending if the election were to be begun and concluded on the same day; but as is remarked in the Report, "some inconvenience will be found from every course that can be adopted, and the question is to be decided on the balance of advantage to the public by the limitation proposed, it being expected that voters will generally accommodate their time to comply with the law."

One part of the Reform Act which has occasioned great vexation and disappointment, is the demand which it sanctions of one shilling from each county elector at the time of claiming to register his right, and from each borough elector at the time of registration, and on every year thereafter. These payments were required in order to defray the expense of making out lists or registers of electors, which expense must otherwise have fallen upon the parish rates. It was thought to be just that those who enjoy the franchise should pay the expense of the registration. Upon this point it is observed in the Report, that "the suffrage is for the benefit of the whole community, and that it is desirable to have as large a number of electors as possible enrolled, whence it becomes a fit question for consideration, whether, if the payment of the shilling operates against registration, and at the same time creates discontent, it ought not to be discontinued." Upon a review of all the circumstances, the Committee have recommended that these shilling payments shall cease to be demanded.

The sums paid to the revising barristers employed under the provisions of the Reform Act at the registrations of 1832 and 1833, and which were defrayed by the Treasury, amounted to 83,364*l.*

By reference to the statements given in the Appendix to the Report, it will be seen that the amount of the returning officers charges for 81 counties and divisions of counties in England and Wales, paid by candidates at the last general election, was . . . £23,289

Additional charges . . 3,707

£26,996

Being, on the average, £333 for each election.

The amount of returning officers' charges against the candidates for 185 borough

elections in England and Wales, was	£21,539	
Additional charges . .	3,273	
		£24,812
Being, on the average, £134 for each place.		
Total for England and Wales . .		£51,808
In Ireland, the amount of the returning officers' charges for the 32 county elections, was .		£7,148
For the 34 boroughs . . .		3,983
Total for Ireland, with the exception of Dublin University		£11,131

The election expenses charged to candidates in Scotland, were so small, as in the opinion of the Committee would "scarcely warrant their notice, unless to call the attention of the House to the expenses of the elections in Scotland as compared with those in England."

It is not pretended that the foregoing statement affords a correct view of the expenses incurred by candidates in England, many of whom undertook personally, or through their Committees, to defray various additional, and not strictly legal charges, of which the Committee could not obtain any account.

We believe it is not generally known, that, with reference to elections for members of parliament in Scotland, whether for cities or burghs, no qualification whatever of property is required on the part of the candidate; upon which fact the Committee has remarked, that "as no practical inconvenience appears to have arisen therefrom, they submit to the House whether the existing laws respecting qualifications of candidates in England and Ireland should not be reconsidered." We should cordially join in a recommendation for doing away with the qualification altogether; not because we would throw open the doors of parliament to needy adventurers, for, practically, the existing system is not found to place any obstacles in the way of such characters when they can prevail upon electors to return them as members. Every question of this kind may safely be left to the discretion of the electors, who should not be restrained from selecting a man in whose ability and integrity they can confide, because his estate is not of sufficient magnitude; and, on the other hand, it appears to be demanded for the sake of the respectability of the House of Commons itself, that all necessity should be removed for having recourse to a subterfuge, which, in other cases, might lay the parties open to the imputation of fraud.

REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM IN FRANCE.

THE following statement will exhibit the successive measures which have brought the system of representation in France to its present state:—

The constitutional charter given by Louis XVIII. on his return from England in 1814, established the system of representation in a form which has since undergone some considerable modifications, but has not essentially been changed. It prescribed that the Chamber of Deputies should be composed of deputies elected by the electoral colleges in the departments, but with very considerable limitations. It limited the elective franchise to those Frenchmen who, being not less than thirty years of age, pay at least 300 francs (12*l.*) a year in direct taxes. In 1820, it was found that the operation of this law restricted the elective privilege to 90,000 persons; and this number was, by the reduction of direct taxes, subsequently brought down to 80,000, at a time when the population of the country amounted to 32,000,000. It was declared that a citizen to be eligible for election as deputy should not be less than forty years of age, and should pay 1000 francs (40*l.*) a year in direct taxes, either in his own person, or by delegation for his mother, grandmother, or mother-in-law; but if there were not fifty persons of this description in a department, the fifty who paid the highest amount of taxes under 1000 francs were to be eligible. Under this law, which prescribed the qualifications of a candidate, it appears that there were about 20,000 eligible persons in the kingdom. Each elector was to receive an "electoral card" from the prefect; but it was the inscription on the list of voters which was to give the right of voting, and to decide in case of dispute. The presidents of the electoral colleges, who were appointed by the government, were, *ex-officio*, members of the college, but could not vote unless they had the legal qualification of voters. No armed force was to be allowed to be near the place of election, unless at the particular desire of the president; nor could any one, except an elector, whatever might be his station, demand admission into a meeting of an electoral college. The electoral college was to be provisionally organized by the president, who named the members of the provisionary board—that is, the four inspectors (*scrutateurs*) and the secretary. This, however, was merely preparatory to the final organization of the college by the voters, who were to elect four inspectors and a secretary. By laws, subsequent to the date of the charter, absolute secrecy in voting is required; and the following oath is directed to be taken by each elector:—"I swear allegiance to the king, obedience to the constitutional charter, and to the laws of the kingdom."

The "definitive board" being organized, the college was to proceed to the election of the deputy. On the first and second ballots, the candidate who had a majority of all the votes given in, provided it amounted to one more than one-third of the whole number of the electors of the college, was to be declared duly elected. If no election was made on the second ballot, the board was to make a list of double the number of deputies to be chosen, from the candidates who had the greatest number of votes on the second ballot, and the electors had not the power to vote for any candidate whose name was not in this list. Only a plurality of votes was to be necessary to a choice after the second ballot. When it happened that any candidates had an equal number of votes, the eldest was to be considered elected. After the termination of the election, the journal of proceedings was to be read in the presence of the electors, that any error might be corrected. These journals were to be transmitted to the Chamber of Deputies, which should decide on the right of the members to a seat. The electors were then to separate on the command of the president, who was first to destroy all the ballots in their presence.

Since the date of the charter, several alterations have been effected in the details of the system the elements of which we have exhibited. The various measures relating to the representation we shall now proceed to state only so far as they modified any regulation which existed at the time of their enactment.

In 1817, under M. Decazes, various detailed regulations were introduced with the view of diminishing the power of the emigrant party in the elections; and these regulations having been found to operate in facilitating the access of "the men of new France" to the Chamber, were popular in the country; but when, in 1820, the murder of the Duke of Berri was seized by the ultras as a pretext to overthrow the party of Decazes; the number of deputies was increased by the law of June 29, in that year, from 258 to 430. The old number were to be chosen, as before, by all the voters of the department; the additional 172 by the richest electors, that is to say, by one-fourth of all the voters consisting of those paying the highest taxes, who, after having voted with the whole body of electors of the department, were to elect separately, the number of additional deputies assigned to their department. They thus enjoyed a double vote, and the object of the arrangement was to give a preponderance, or at least a countervailing power, to the wealthier classes. Benjamin Constant, in his famous pamphlet, 'Des Motifs qui ont dicté le Nouveau Projet de Loi sur les Elections,' very strongly denounced this measure, which he considered in the light of a victory of the party of the old nobility, not only over the liberals, but also over the interests of the nation, the ministry, and the king personally. The continued influence of the same principles which had produced this measure, seems also to have been evinced in 1824, when, by the law of June 9, in that year, the deputies, instead of being elected for five years, one-fifth of the Chamber being removed every year, as was prescribed by the charter, were directed to be elected for seven years—the whole Chamber at once. As the law of elections stood at this period, the prefect of the department superintended the election, the government appointed the president of the electoral college, and as the members of the government are not ineligible as candidates, as in the United States, and a re-election was not, as with us, necessary on the acceptance of office, the crown, at that time, exercised so much influence over the elections, that it was very difficult, in ordinary circumstances, to get members sent up to the Chamber whose principles were opposed to those of the ministers.

As our object is only to indicate measures which have

been actually operative, we need not here dwell on the abortive attempt of the ministers of Charles X. to alter the law of election, after the elections of July, 1830, had terminated unfavourably to their party.

The Charter, as altered by the Chamber of Deputies after the revolution in July, 1830, deferred the organization of the electoral colleges for future consideration. Meanwhile it reduced the age of qualification for an elector to twenty-five years, and for a deputy to thirty; and directed that the presidents of the electoral colleges should be chosen by the electors themselves.

Before the ministry of M. Lafitte resigned in March, 1831, the new electoral law had been fully brought before the Chamber of deputies. The bill then presented by the government increased the number of persons who should be qualified to vote, but did not fix any particular amount, either of property or taxation, as a necessary qualification. The plan was to double the existing number of votes in each electoral college, and to take the whole number from those who paid the greatest amount of taxation, beginning at the highest in the scale, and gradually descending until the fixed number should be completed. There would under this system have been 188,000 electors. The committee, however, to which, according to the practice of the French Chamber, the bill was referred, rejected this mode of arranging the franchise, on the ground that the electors whom it would create would be in a very imperfect proportion to the wealth and population of the kingdom: that the scheme would render the electoral capacity extremely variable, might be rendered subservient to ministerial fraud, and was repugnant to the decided and unanimous opinion of the public. They resolved therefore to retain taxation as the rule, but to reduce the amount necessary to confer a qualification. The present amount was 300 francs. The committee assumed that experience had shown that this qualification had not introduced an improper class of electors, even when the rights and powers of a representative constitution were new to the country; it might therefore be concluded, that after sixteen years of constitutional education, the electoral qualification might safely be reduced to a point at least one-third lower.

Independently of such considerations, the qualification while apparently remaining fixed had actually been rising in consequence of other changes. The various reductions, which had favoured property since 1814, had produced this effect, that the independence of fortune formerly indicated by paying 300 francs, was now indicated by paying 240, or 250; so that the number of electors had been diminished. Besides, as the spirit of the French law was unceasingly to divide property, it was uniformly increasing the number of those who paid the impost on property, and just as uniformly reducing the number of larger quotas. Under the influence of these various considerations, the committee had at first resolved to propose that the qualification should be fixed at 200 francs of taxation; but the majority had afterwards come to the opinion, that it might be dangerous to make at once so great a change of which it was difficult to foresee the consequences; and that it would be safer and wiser to act progressively, and enlarge the qualification, if necessary, by degrees. The members, too, who formed this majority regarded with apprehension the number of electors that the reduction of the qualification to 200 francs might produce; they dreaded the confusion that might result from it, as well as the change that the real character of the election might receive. They were apprehensive of the action of parties, which must always be more strongly operative upon masses than upon a more limited and intelligent number. It was therefore proposed, that the electoral qualification should be fixed at 240 francs (about 9*l.* 10*s.*) in taxes, with this addition, that in all the electoral arondissements, where the number of electors possessing this qualification should not be in the whole one out of 200 inhabitants, those most heavily taxed beneath the qualifying amount should be included to make up the requisite number. The latter combination, it was calculated, would yield at first 162,000 electors: and, as in seventeen departments the number of electors paying 200 francs would exceed one out of 200 inhabitants, this difference would afford upwards of 29,000 electors more. Thus the system regarded as the best by the majority of the committee, would afford a total of 191,000 electors, more than double the existing number, deriving their qualification from the payment of a certain amount of taxes. Of this number Paris would furnish 19,000. The double vote and separate elections were also abolished. Members of the Institute and retired officers of the army and navy, enjoying half-pay to the amount of about 50*l.* a year, were to be allowed to vote on a qualification of only 100 francs, or 4*l.* The qualification for being elected was to be reduced from 1000 to 500 francs, or 20*l.*

The opinion of the majority of the committee, as to the qualification, was by no means satisfactory to the *mouvement* party in the Chamber, who succeeded in bringing back the franchise to the rate which the committee itself had originally adopted, namely, 200 francs of taxes instead of 240, and in getting it enacted that the next highest payers below that point should be included, not when the number of electors was smaller than one in 200 inhabitants, but when it was smaller than one in 150. It was expected that this reduction would raise the number of electors to considerably above 200,000 in a population exceeding 30,000,000.

From this statement it will appear that the changes which have taken place in the representative system in France, and the extension of the franchise have been much less considerable than might have been expected to result from the revolution of July, and, that though highly important in themselves, they still leave the Chamber of Deputies an assembly much less popularly constituted than the Reform Bill has rendered our own House of Commons.

REDUCTION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES.
SESSION 1834.

In our last Number we inserted an abstract of a return made to the House of Commons of all the taxes remitted or repealed since 1814, with a list also of those partially remitted or repealed, and the date of remission, &c. The return from which our abstract was made did not, and could not, include the reductions made in certain duties of customs, by the act 4 and 5 William IV., c. 89, which received the royal assent on the last day of the late session. We now proceed to supply the deficiency, showing in separate columns the rates of the old duties, and those on which the different articles may now be brought into consumption.

	Duty before the passing of the late Act.			Present Rate of Duty.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Apples dried, the bushel	0	7	0	0	2	0
Books in the foreign living languages, being of editions printed in or since 1801, bound or unbound, the cwt.	5	0	0	2	10	0
N.B. Editions printed before 1801 pay only 20*s.* per cwt.						
Bottles of earth or stone, empty, the dozen	0	3	2	0	0	6
„ „ the cwt.	0	5	0			
Bottles of earth or stone, full, the cwt.	0	5	0	free.		
Cassava powder or starch from any British possession in America, the cwt.				0	1	0
„ „ per cent.	20	0	0			
Currants, the cwt.	2	4	4	1	2	2
Figs, the cwt.	1	1	6	0	15	0
Grapes, for every 100*l.* of the value	20	0	0	5	0	0
Oil, animal, for every 100*l.* of the value	50	0	0			
„ „ the cwt.				0	2	6
Cocoa-nut oil, the cwt.	0	2	6	0	1	3
Olive oil, the ton	8	8	0	4	4	0
„ if brought from the dominions of the King of the Two Sicilies, the ton	10	10	0	8	8	0
„ in a ship belonging to the subjects of the King of the Two Sicilies	10	10	0	10	10	0
Palm oil, the cwt.	0	2	6	0	1	3
Palmetto thatch, from British possessions in America, the cwt.				0	0	1
„ for every 100*l.* of the value	5	0	0			
Plantains, dried, from British possessions in America, for every 100*l.* of the value	20	0	0	5	0	0

	Duty before the passing of the late Act.	Present Rate of Duty.
Pears, dried, the bushel	£.0 10 0	£.0 2 0
Plums, commonly called French plums, and prunelloes, the cwt.	1 7 6	1 0 0
Prunes	1 7 6	0 7 0
Raisins	1 0 0	0 15 0
Raisins from any British Possessions	0 10 0	0 7 6
Spirits, liqueurs, the produce of British possessions in America, of proof strength, the gallon	1 0 0	0 9 0

The same act likewise repeals the duty of 3*s.* 4*d.* the ton on coals, and of 2*s.* per ton upon small coals, culm, or cinders, when exported to any foreign port in a British ship; and it also reduces the duty from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* per ton when the shipment is made in a foreign vessel.

The greater part of the reductions here stated have been made upon the principle acted on by the late ministers during their continuance in office, of removing impediments which stood in the way of foreign trade, and of enabling our manufacturers to obtain the materials required for their various processes at a cheaper rate than heretofore, increasing by that means their power of successful competition with rival manufacturing countries.

The effect just mentioned has been produced by the repeal of half the duty upon oil, an article of high importance to the woollen manufacture; and this reduction has the further good effect of making us less dependent than we have been upon Russia for a supply of tallow, for which article oil may be extensively substituted. The duty on candles ceased on 1st January, 1832, and in May, 1833, (not 1830 as by a typographical error was stated in our last Number,) one half of the duty on soap was remitted; by which measures the demand for tallow has been so greatly increased that its price has risen nearly thirty per cent., an advance which has been principally to the advantage of the merchants of St. Petersburgh.

The reductions made in the rates of duties on currants, figs, and raisins, will place those articles more within the reach of the humbler classes of this country than they have hitherto been, and will at the same time tend to the encouragement of a branch of trade— that with Greece and Turkey —which already absorbs a considerable quantity of British manufactured goods. It is a singular fact that vessels are despatched loaded with the produce of the looms of England to ports in the Mediterranean, and either return home in ballast or proceed to the Baltic for cargoes of Russian tallow, while many other ships are every year sent out in ballast from England to St. Petersburgh for the last-mentioned purpose. We may now expect that the vessels which convey cargoes of British goods to the Mediterranean ports, will find a more direct way home loaded with the oil and fruits of that region.

The reduction of the duty on prunes, French plums, &c., if followed up by similar abatements upon other kinds of French produce, would be found productive of equally good results; for we consider it to be quite impossible for the government of France to uphold the interests of the few who desire to exclude our productions, against the feelings of the great body of the people who must desire to purchase those goods which we can give them so much cheaper and better than their own country affords, if we deprive the advocates for exclusion of the argument, of which they now so adroitly avail themselves, offered by the excessive duties levied upon the wines, spirits, fruits, and some other productions of that kingdom.

Some few of the articles comprised in the foregoing schedule are now for the first time admitted into our tariff— those are cassava powder or starch, palmetto thatch, animal oil, and dried plantains. The first and second of these articles are understood to have been so admitted at the instance of the colonists of the Bahama Islands, where their former staple, cotton, can no longer be profitably raised, and where some new branches of industry require to be fostered into existence for the employment of a numerous population, who have now but little settled or regular employment. Cassava powder may be very abundantly and cheaply produced by the labour of women and children, and is calculated for general consumption as a substitute for arrow-root. Palmetto thatch is the midrib of the leaf of the palmetto. It can be readily separated into thin *laminæ*, and used for the making of plat for coarse hats and bonnets. A good deal of this article has of late been purchased by American traders in the Bahamas, and used in the United States for the purpose here mentioned. It can be abundantly obtained likewise from the coast of Africa, and the introduction of additional incentives to industry in that quarter must be hailed with satisfaction by every friend of humanity. Animal oil has been admitted by name into our tariff, in order to encourage our trade with the States of the Rio de la Plata; and dried plantains will, it is thought, be found an agreeable ingredient at the dessert, where they may be eaten in the place of figs. These articles might all have been imported before the passing of the late act, as "unenumerated goods," upon payment of the high rates of duty set against each of them in our first column, but which in fact amounted to prohibition.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

BRITISH COLONIES.—*Actual Annual Cost to Great Britain, as Military Establishments, of the undermentioned Colonies, taken from the Returns of* 1832:—

Gibraltar	£.172,439
Malta	100,462
Cape of Good Hope	99,928
Mauritius	99,332
Bermuda	67,216
Heligoland	500
Ionian Islands	102,899
Jamaica, Bahamas, and Honduras	141,605
Windward and Leeward Islands	386,631
Lower and Upper Canada	208,248
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland	143,568
Sierra Leone and Gambia	28,002
Ceylon	116,844
Western Australia	3,481
New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land	90,339
Total	£.1,761,505
To this total must be added the following items:—	
Provisions and stores for troops on passage to the Colonies	18,119
Stores and other general charges	11,943
Which increases the amount to	*£.1,791,569

Number of Governors of Sierra Leone since 1816.—Sir Charles M'Carthy was appointed in 1816; killed in action with the Ashantees in 1824. Major-General Turner succeeded him; he went out in 1825, and died in 1826; his death may be attributed to his exertion in putting down the slave trade on that coast. The next appointment was Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, in June, 1826; he died in the year following, as it was supposed owing to anxiety in such a climate. The next officer appointed was Lieutenant-Colonel Denham, in 1827. Before that time he filled the office of superintendent of the liberated Africans. Having travelled much in the interior of Africa before his appointment, his death marks the pestilential nature of the climate of Sierra Leone. Major Ricketts, his successor, was obliged to come home from ill health in 1829; and Lieutenant-Colonel Findlay was appointed in 1830; he also came home, and Mr. Temple was appointed in June, 1833. [Mr. Temple is also dead. The present salary of the governor is 2000*l.*]

Cape of Good Hope.—The Cape of Good Hope was taken from the Dutch in the year 1795. It was ceded to Holland in 1803; and in 1806 it was again captured by an expedition sent out from England under the command of Sir David Baird. The amount of population is supposed to be from 120,000 to 125,000, but this is daily and rapidly increasing by emigration. The extent of the territory there in our possession is about 146,000 square miles. Distribution of military force on 1st February, 1834:—

Cape Town:—	Royal Artillery, rank and file	45	
,,	Royal Engineers	7	
,,	72nd Highlanders	484	
,,	75th regiment	7	
,,	98th ditto	484	
,,	Mounted Rifles	7	
			1,034
Graham's Town:—	Royal Artillery	27	
,,	Royal Engineers	20	
,,	75th regiment	482	
			529
Fort Beaufort:—	Mounted Rifles		226
	Total		1,789

* The apparent error in this total is occasioned by the omission of fractional sums.

The staff consists of eighteen individuals. The state of the finances at the Cape, during the last few years, has been such that the civil establishment could not be maintained by the colony, the deficit for 1831 and 1832 amounting to 7000*l.* The distance from Cape Town to Graham's Town is about 600 English miles. The following is a statement of the number of governors, with their salaries:—

1795.	General Craig, salary not stated.	
1797.	Lord Macartney . .	£.10,000
	and a table allowance of 2,000*l.*	
1799.	Sir George Yonge . .	10,000
1806.	Sir David Baird . .	7,400
	[During this governorship Major-General Grey drew a salary of 3000*l.* as lieutenant-governor.]	
1807.	Major-General Grey .	7,400
—	Lord Caledon . .	10,000
1811.	Sir John Craddock . .	10,000
1814.	Lord C. Somerset . .	10,000
1820.	Sir Rufane Donkin . .	5,000
1826.	Major-General Bourke . .	5,000
	[These two gentlemen were lieutenant-governors in Lord Somerset's absence.]	
1828.	Sir Lowry Cole . .	7,000
	with an allowance of 500*l.* for a country residence.	
1833.	Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban	5,000

Ceylon.—This island was taken from the Dutch in 1795; the arrison of Colombo, however, did not capitulate till February, 1796. It was transferred from the charge of the East India government to that of the British in 1798. The amount of military force employed on 1st September, 1833, was 3732. The present population of the island, according to the latest return in 1832, was 998,000. The salaries of the governors have been 10,000*l.*, with military allowances according to their rank, until the present governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, when the salary was reduced to 8000*l.*, and all future governors are to receive 7000*l.*

Emoluments of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar.—Lord Chatham was appointed to the government of Gibraltar on 5th March, 1820.

His salary as governor was .	£.2,800	0	0
Pay as commanding-officer .	3,500	0	0
Army ordinaries . .	691	19	7
	£.6,991	19	7

Besides the allowance of rations, &c. 700*l.*

During the governor's presence the lieutenant-governor received

Pay as lieutenant-governor .	£.365	0	0
Army ordinaries . . .	346	15	0
	£.711	15	0

with the usual allowances. But during the governor's absence, he received, in addition to the above pay, the pay of an officer commanding the garrison, 3500*l.*, which raised his emoluments to 4311*l.* 15*s.* His Majesty's government decided in 1831, that when the office of governor became vacant, the salary should be 5000*l.*, without any allowances whatever.

Malta.—The population of Malta is 99,000, without reference to troops, or accidental inhabitants. The annual revenue of the island is upwards of 100,000*l.* The governor's salary is 5000*l.*

Ionian Islands.—The Ionian States were placed under the protection of the British government, by an arrangement with the powers of Europe, and an article of the Treaty of Paris. The names of the islands, with the effective force in each, are, Corfu, 1524; Vido, 522; Paxo, 23; Santa Maura, 125; Cephalonia, 367; Zante, 304; Ithaca and Calamos, 50; Cerigo, 67; total effective force, 2982. The present Lord High Commissioner receives 5000*l.* yearly, without any allowances.

Table showing the relative health of the Troops in the following Colonies:—

Period.	Ceylon.		Ionian Islands.		Mauritius.		Jamaica.	
	Troops.	Sick.	Troops.	Sick.	Troops.	Sick.	Troops.	Sick.
June, 1831	3,979	116	3,133	112	1,750	137	2,882	93
Jan., 1832	3,940	120	3,077	76	1,754	169	2,659	118
June, 1832	3,827	98	3,069	89	1,714	149	2,797	114
Jan., 1833	3,689	128	2,983	85	1,794	165	2,957	228
August, 1833	3,933	117	3,023	120	2,243	182	3,397	225

Return showing the Annual Average Strength of the Black and White Troops on the West Coast of Africa, and the proportion of Sickness and Mortality, from 1827 to 1833.

Year.	Annual Average Strength.		Totals of Sick Treated.		Totals of Deaths.		Annual Proportion of Treated to Strength.		Annual Proportion of Deaths to Strength.	
	White.	Black.	White.	Black.	White.	Black.	White.	Black.	White.	Black.
1827	345.5	749.25	1,042	790	50	47	1 to 3.01	1,05 to	1 to 6 91	1 to 15. 94
1828	231.75	765.25	875	754	10	16	1 „ 3.77 „	1 „ 1,014	1 „ 23.17	1 „ 47. 82
1829	114.	487.	296	310	11	13	2.59 „	1 „ 1.57	1 „ 10.36	1 „ 37. 46
1830	9.	302.75	27	218	—	5	3 „	1 „ 1.388	—	1 „ 60. 55
1831	1.	328.5	4	279	1	21	4 „	1 „ 1. 77	1 „	1 „ 15. 64
1832	5.5	329.75	3	189	—	8	1 „ 1·85	1 „ 1.744	—	1 „ 23.625
1833	—	524.33	25	387	1	7	—	1 „ 1.354	—	1 „ 74. 85

Note.—The returns for 1833 are not complete.

Bankruptcy Analysis from November 26 to December 26.

Bill-broker, 1; booksellers, 3; brewer, 1; builder, 1; cattle-dealer, 1; carpenters and joiners, 3; coach-master, 1; clothiers, 4; colour-manufacturer, 1; corn-merchants, 2; drapers, 4; factor, 1; farmers, 2; flax-spinner, 1; grocers, 5; hardwareman, 1; hat-manufacturer, 1; horse-dealer, 1; innkeepers, 6; ironmonger, 1; insurance-broker, 1; law-stationer, 1; leather-seller, 1; lead-merchant, 1; linen-manufacturer, 1; linendrapers, 5; merchants, 9; mercer, 1; miller, 1; money scriveners, 3; nail-maker, 1; optician, 1; paper-maker, 1; plumbers, 2; printer, 1; printseller, 1; ribbon-manufacturer, 1; salt-broker, 1; scrivener, 1; seedsmen, 2; sheep-jobber, 1; ship-builder, 1; shoemaker, 1; silk-printer, 1; stable-keepers, 3; stationers, 2; stage-coach proprietor, 1; stone-masons, 2; surgeons, 4; tanner, 1; tavern-keeper, 1; tailors, 6; timber-merchant, 1; trimming-seller, 1; victuallers, 6; veterinary surgeon, 1; watchmaker, 1; wine-merchants, 5; wool-merchant, 1; woollen-cloth manufacturer, 1; woollendrapers, 2; wharfinger, 1—total, 121. Total from the commencement of the year, 1051.

In consequence of the insubordination of its pupils, the Polytechnic School has been partially suppressed.

The French Carlist or Absolutist newspapers hail the formation of a Tory cabinet in England with rapturous delight. They have, indeed, gone so far in expressing their hopes and expectations from this change, that our Ultra-Tory journals have been obliged to call them to order. The republicans, also, seem to hope for some good to their cause —in the way of confusion.

It is understood that Prince Talleyrand has declined returning as ambassador to London, and that the Duke de Broglie will have the appointment.

SPAIN.

It should appear that the veteran Mina has not, as yet, been able to do much in the revolted provinces in favour of the young Queen and the Constitution. It is certain, however, that he has received considerable reinforcements and some money, and, in spite of the frequent, but contradictory assertions of the Carlist faction, has gained rather than lost ground. There is now a talk at Madrid of confirming the Biscayan provinces and Navarre in the possession of their *fueros* and other ancient rights and privileges. Such a measure will be more likely to restore tranquillity to that northern corner of Spain (the centre and stronghold of the insurrection) than the sanguinary proclamations and military executions we alluded to last month. Had such a measure, indeed, been adopted at first, we doubt whether arms would ever have been taken up for Don Carlos. Until well-authenticated intelligence of some decisive operations reach us it is an idle loss of time to attend to this warfare. The rumours and statements so rapidly and confidently circulated are scarcely in a single instance to be depended upon. They are drawn up and coloured by one contending party or by the other; while many of them originate in the inventive imaginations of the Stock Exchange. It must be remembered that Don Carlos has loans in the market as well as the young Queen. M. Jauge, one of his bankers, or loan agents, has just been released from prison at Paris. The Baron Haber, another of his agents, has circulated proposals for a loan at Paris and Amsterdam, the terms being 65 for 100; 10 per cent. to be paid at once, 5 per cent. on the 10th of February, 1835, 10 per cent. in a fortnight after Don Carlos has been recognised as king at Madrid, and 40 per cent. in four monthly instalments afterwards. The information, that Martinez de la Rosa had resigned, was incorrect: the war portfolio, which he held *ad interim* on the retirement of Zarco del Valle, has been definitively given to General Llauder. Reports are, however, still current that Martinez de la Rosa's health must oblige him to quit office, and the Count de Toreno is again named as likely to succeed him as head of the cabinet.

The new Cortes loan, for 4,000,000*l.* sterling, has been contracted at 60 per cent. with 3 per cent., commission for one half; for the other half at 66, in case there should be a rise to a certain degree in the funds,—a rise that might very well take place from the cessation of civil war, and from moderation and wise conduct on the part of the Cortes and government. For the present, this new loan is but coolly viewed on our Stock-Exchange. The blunders of the Cortes in their frequently changed decisions about the former loans raised by Spain, if not wholly, have contributed largely to produce this effect.

According to letters from Madrid of the 8th of December, the budget was to be discussed on the following day. The finance committee proposed that the incomes allotted to the Queen and Royal Family should not exceed about 400,000*l.* sterling for the whole.

General Alava has been appointed to succeed Count Florida Blanca as ambassador to England.

Intelligence rather more interesting than usual has just been received from the seat of war. On the 12th, Mina defeated Erazo at Carrascal, and on the same day, Zumalacarreguy, with the main body of the insurgent army, was beaten by Lopez and Oraa at Sorlada.

The same arrivals also announce the following parti-

[redacted] Chamber of Procuradores at Madrid were engaged in debating several important questions. Seventeen members had presented a petition praying for the recognition of the independence of the South American States, citing the example of England in recognising the independence of the United States as one that ought to be followed, and showing that, by such a measure, the mother-country would be as much benefited as the emancipated colonies. Martinez de la Rosa declared that government was perfectly ready to enter into that question. The minister added, "An illustrious procer, just set out for London as minister for her Majesty (General Alava), in order to unite the more strictly the Cabinets of Great Britain and Spain, is the bearer of instructions on this important topic; and a commissioner from America, who has presented himself, being provided with sufficient powers, has received passports and a guarantee from the Spanish government in order to come for the purpose to this capital (Madrid), which in consequence of illness he has not yet been able to effect. As the Spanish government bears the device of making no mystery of its intentions, it has transmitted a manifest to some of its allied powers, declaring that it was resolved to proceed immediately to a definitive regulation on the question of America."

The budget had undergone some discussion, and the grant for the royal family had met with rather a violent opposition.

The capital remained perfectly tranquil.

PORTUGAL.

The last month's news from this country is even still less interesting than that from Spain. Two important facts may, however, be stated: no serious insurrection or even riot has broken out, and Don Miguel has not returned to renew the contest.

The Duke of Leuchtenberg, to whom Donna Maria has been formally and solemnly betrothed (her minister, Palmella, acting as proxy for the Duke,) had not arrived at Lisbon when the last mail left, but was expected in that city towards the end of December.

On the production of the Budget, there appeared a deficiency of about 700,000*l.*, but the Minister of Finance has stated that he shall be able to meet this without imposing any new taxes.

Some of the good people of Lisbon are said to complain bitterly of the heavy expenses they incur by their Cortes. In Portugal, as in the United States of America, and other constitutional countries, every member is paid a certain sum *per diem* during his attendance on the business of the State. It appears that a member of the Lower Chamber, or House of Commons at Lisbon, receives about 18*s.* a day. The work cannot be very hard—the Chambers open at ten in the morning and close at four (precisely) in the afternoon. Since their convocation the Chamber of Deputies or Commons may altogether have cost the Portuguese nation between five and six thousand pounds sterling—no great sum, even there, for four or five months of legislating. But ignorance is apt to be very stingy in these matters. When the Constitution was proclaimed at Naples, there were many who thought it meant no taxes, no duties, no imposts of any kind; and when they found out their mistake, these Neapolitans cared not what became of "*La Costituzione.*"

BELGIUM.

As soon as the unwelcome and unexpected news of the dismissal of the Whig Cabinet reached the capital of this beautiful little kingdom, Leopold considered himself under the necessity of instantly demanding more money from the States then assembled. On the 8th of December the Minister of Foreign Affairs went down to the Chamber of Deputies, and alluded to the change, "which had excited uneasiness in the friends of Belgium, and given a gleam of hope to the enemies of the independence of that country;" he, therefore, in the name of Government, proposed an addition of ten per cent., to be levied indiscriminately on all taxes. He said that Belgium had nothing to fear from a contest with Holland *alone*, but that it behoved her to reinforce her army in the same proportion the King of the Dutch was doing.

A vote of credit was also proposed, of which Government will make no use, unless circumstances render it necessary.

On the 12th of December the Chambers voted the Budget of Ways and Means to the full amount proposed by the Cabinet. Intelligence was received from Brussels early in December, that the Dutch troops on the frontiers of Belgium were receiving extraordinary reinforcements. From the advanced period of the year no immediate hostilities were expected; but, in the opinion of many of the Belgians, the hostile appearances would serve to explain how William I. of Holland understood the change in the ministry of William IV. of England. The embarrassing question of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg remains just as we left it at the end of last year. The Duke of Nassau is said to refuse pecuniary or any other kind of compensation for the sacrifice of his reversionary rights to the part of Luxembourg ceded to Belgium by treaty. It is asserted in some quarters that the overthrow of the whole system that arose out of the Brussels Revolution of 1830, and the breaking up of the New Belgian Kingdom, will begin with Luxembourg. That a protocol from the Germanic Diet will be presented to King Leopold's Government, stating, that the integrity of the territory of the Germanic Confederation must be preserved, and that the Belgians must evacuate the whole of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg without loss of time. And, further, that the King of Prussia will be named by the Confederation, and provided with a sufficient force drawn from the contingent of the different German States, to carry this protocol into execution. The Emperor of Russia has been consulted, and, it should seem, has given in his adhesion to this plan.

This whole question, which was always an embarrassing one, was left as a legacy to the Whigs by the Tories when they lost office in November, 1830. The Whigs were hampered from the beginning by difficulties that were not of their own creating—they had to bear the heavy and inevitable burden of the mistakes and faults of their predecessors in office. We can scarcely conceive how the Tories could ever have the unblushing countenance to revile and attack a Cabinet that manfully and dexterously bore the burden which *they* had put on its shoulders. If the Whigs did not effect a final and complete arrangement, they, year after year, narrowed the ground of debate, and had the merit of preserving a peace (which seemed altogether impossible when they entered on office) for four whole years. That the King of Holland, the Duke of Nassau, and other litigant parties are now less inclined to an amicable arrangement with Belgium than they were this time last year, is certainly not to be imputed to the Whigs, but to recent events. However, the riddle is now in the hands of those who helped to make it. We shall see *how soon* and *by what means* a Tory Cabinet will solve it.

The Belgians seem to have been alarmed by an assertion made by a journal of the Orange party, that a marriage had been arranged between the Princess Victoria of England and Prince William Alexander Constantine, second son of the Prince of Orange. We think the alarm premature, and the alliance a most unlikely one. At all events the days when royal marriages and family compacts exercised a paramount influence on the affairs of the world are gone by.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The elections have ended favourably to General Jackson and his party. The quarrel between the President and the National Bank, which bore an important and somewhat doubtful aspect at the end of last year, may therefore be considered as good as settled. Considerable majorities will enable the President to dispose of the incorporated United States' Bank in the way he proposes, which is to destroy it, or at least to deprive it of all its peculiar privileges and influence.

PERSIA.

A short paragraph has appeared in the newspapers, announcing that our government has received, through Russia, official intelligence of the death of Futteh Ali Shah, the King of Persia. Though briefly noticed, this event, in the present distracted state of the East, is likely to produce important consequences, and to plunge Persia both into a foreign and a civil war. Even in the life-time of the late hereditary Prince Abbas Mirza, who was a man of mature age and experience, and not destitute of courage and abilities, Mr. James B. Fraser and other gentlemen well acquainted with the country, were of opinion that the crown of Persia must soon pass away from the present dynasty. But the danger is greatly increased now that the succession to the throne rests with a less experienced and clever man (the son of Abbas Mirza), who is styled Mohammed Mirza. Two reigns have seldom passed in Persia without a disputed succession, attended with horrible cruelties and devastations. At times, nearly every province in the kingdom has had a pretender to the crown. Unlike the Turks, who have paid such constant reverence to the line of Osman *, every powerful Persian chief seems to have considered himself possessed of claims to the sovereignty. If he could obtain it by force of arms, he strangled, blinded, or mutilated his rivals, with their children, relatives, and friends; if he failed, the like fate befel him and his.

The present Kujur dynasty began to reign over all Persia about fifty years ago. The first monarch of the line was the atrocious eunuch Aga Mohammed Shah, who was succeeded, in 1797, by his nephew Futteh Ali Shah, the king that has just died.

For a Persian sovereign he was neither considered cruel, rapacious, nor unjust. He had, it is true, most treacherously and barbarously murdered his uncle Saduk, tortured and blinded his faithful old minister Hajji Ibrahim, and then caused his tongue to be cut out (under which operation the old man died). Nay, he had even included Hajji Ibrahim's sons and brothers in the proscription, because they were held to be very rich: and these individuals, being all seized at the same moment, were murdered or deprived of their eye-sight! But this was a trifling amount of blood and torture for a Shah of Persia, and compared with his immediate predecessor, Futteh Ali was an angel of mercy.

As to his non-rapacity and justice, he merely got money in every way that he possibly could. He frequently bastinadoed merchants and others suspected of being rich, in order to obtain a part, or sometimes the whole, of their property. He was accustomed to sell his daughters, and even the women of his own harem, to rich Persian khans, who were made to give a high price for what they did not always like or want. His avarice, in fact, was insatiable, and no means were considered too low or base if he could acquire money by them. Had it not been from the improvident indulgence of this passion, he might have saved himself no small losses; and some of the provinces that have become Russian might have still been Persian.

He was no warrior: on the contrary, he was rather suspected of cowardice. He was not much of a politician: but he wrote poetry, and his elegant manners *in private* have been made the subject of high praise. In short, he was a goodly model of a sovereign, and such as the East does not often see!

Mohammed Mirza, who, if he is lucky, is now Shah, served under his father, the late Abbas Mirza, in the last unfortunate campaign against the Russians. In the beginning of September, 1826, the young prince sustained a severe check; and a few days after, his father having rashly attacked the disciplined forces of Russia under General Paskewitch, was completely beaten from the field. The Persians fled in all directions, but not until they had plundered Abbas Mirza's own camp. The young king's initiation in the arts of war has not, therefore, been very propitious; nor can he do otherwise than stand in dread and awe of his powerful, encroaching neighbours, the Russians.

The following remarkable passage is from the pen of a gentleman we have already mentioned, and who has resided in Persia as a diplomatic agent of our East India Company.

"It is indeed manifest that the downfal of this Kujur dynasty, short as their reign has been, is fast approaching, and that if the heir apparent (*the late Abbas Mirza then stood in that position*) succeed in preserving his crown for a season, it will be more from the operation of foreign influence and political jealousy, than by the exertion of any power or popularity that he is likely to acquire. The very name of the Kujurs is detested throughout the kingdom; and it is notorious that pressing petitions have been made on the part of the greater number of the chiefs and nobles, backed by the earnest wishes of all ranks, for permission to throw themselves upon British protection, declaring that all

* The reigning Sultan Mahmoud and his two sons are the only male remnants of this ancient line, with the existence of which the Turks believe their existence as a nation to be identified.

they look for is peace and security, and protesting, that should their application be rejected, they will rather submit to Russia than continue any longer subject to the misrule and extortion of their present masters." *

Putting aside other considerations, what the British could do with so turbulent, fickle and treacherous a nation as the Persians, would be rather difficult to determine. The acquisition of the country by the Russians would, however, bring that power a step nearer to India; and though many and difficult after-steps would remain, this first would be a most important one. That the czar, if not opposed by other things and circumstances than the arms of the shah, could seize the greater and best part of Persia in six months we are perfectly convinced, but we do not believe that he will. The system of Russian aggrandizement is gradual and slow. The Emperor Nicholas will probably content himself for the present with a province or two, to square the advanced frontier he has already obtained on Persia. This subject merits attention.

It appears that on the refusal of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Right Hon. Henry Ellis has been appointed to proceed as envoy to Persia, to congratulate the new king on his accession.

* "Historical and Descriptive Account of Persia." By James B. Fraser, Esq., 1834.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Nov. 30. The Duke of Gloucester expired at his residence in Bagshot park, at twenty minutes before seven o'clock on Sunday evening. His royal highness had been ill for a fortnight previous to his death. He was governor of Portsmouth and ranger of Bagshot park. His royal highness's style was:—Prince William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh in Great Britain, Earl of Connaught of Ireland, K.G., Grand Cross of the Bath and of the Guelphic Order, a field-marshal, colonel of the Scots Fusilier Guards, chancellor of Cambridge University, and lord high steward of Gloucester. He was born at Rome, January 15, 1776; succeeded his father, the late duke, Aug. 25, 1805; and married, July 22, 1816, his first cousin, her royal highness the Princess Mary, sister of his present Majesty. His royal highness's father was the third son of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales. His royal highness married, September 6, 1776, Maria, Countess Dowager Waldegrave, daughter of Sir E. Walpole, who died in 1807; he had issue —1, Sophia Matilda, born May 29, 1773. 2, Caroline Augusta Sophia, born 1774, died March, 1775; 3, William Frederick, the last duke. The funeral took place on the night of the 11th Dec.

Dec. 5. Thomas Pringle, Esq. died at his residence in Bryanston-square, London, aged 46. He was the editor of Blackwood's Magazine during the first six months of its existence, and for several years was secretary to the London Anti-Slavery Society. He was highly esteemed as a man of much intellectual power, combined with strict religious and moral worth.

6. The Rev. Edward Irving died at Glasgow, in his 43rd year.

The parishioners of Birmingham have not paid church-rates for three years, the incidental expenses of churches and chapels having been defrayed by voluntary subscriptions. It was, however, resolved, that an effort this year should be made to obtain a compulsory assessment. The poll for and against the rate closed on Saturday afternoon, the 13th. The result gave a gross majority against the rate, of 4976; the numbers being 6699 to 1723. A scrutiny, however, has since been demanded, the result of which is not yet ascertained.

Political Meetings.—The following is a notice of the more remarkable of the political meetings which have occurred during the month:—

Nov. 27. The Court of Common Council of London met, and, after a long discussion, an address was voted by a majority of forty-nine, to be presented to his Majesty, expressive of regret at the dismissal of the late ministry, and avowing a firm conviction that unless those appointed to succeed, proceeded to reform all abuses in church and state, no confidence would be reposed in them.

Dec. 2. A meeting was held at Covent Garden, of the electors of Westminster, at which the High Bailiff presided. On the evening of the same day, another meeting was held at Finsbury. The resolutions passed at both meetings were similar, expressive of a determination on the part of the people not to be deprived of the fruits of the Reform Bill. A meeting of the Mary-le-bone electors had been held on the previous day, for the same purpose. Various meetings also have taken place in Lambeth, the Tower Hamlets, and other metropolitan districts, which we have not space to enumerate. On the 19th of December, the large room in the London Tavern was crowded by the citizens of London, who had been refused the use of the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor, and who met to pass resolutions, and to appoint committees for securing the re-election of Messrs. Wood, Grote, and Crawford. Alderman Wood took the chair. The three Members addressed the meeting, and pledged themselves to a strenuous opposition to the new ministry.

On the 23rd a most tumultuous meeting took place at the City of London Tavern. The avowed object of the meeting was to vote an address to the King expressive of approbation of his conduct, in the dismissal of the late ministry; but that object was defeated by a strong muster of those opposed to it, and after a scene of extraordinary confusion, the meeting broke up without passing any resolutions, the committee retiring into a room, for the purpose of enabling them to do so. The opposite party then adjourned to the Old City of London Tavern, where, at a crowded and overflowing meeting, strong resolutions were passed, declaratory of the determination of those present to resist any attempt to stop the progress of reform.

On the same evening, and within a short distance of the place where this extraordinary scene occurred, the Lord Mayor gave, at the Mansion House, a dinner to Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and others of the new ministry, with a select party of friends. Sir Robert Peel, on his health being drank, gave a brief exposition of the principles on which the new ministry intended to act, and expressed a hope that it would be supported.

Numerous meetings have been held in the counties, of which but a few can be selected. Chatham, Rochester, and Strood met in the Bull Inn yard, at Rochester, on Dec. 1. Nearly five thousand persons were present. The Assembly Rooms were the meeting, and T. Bentley, Esq. took the chair. The resolutions were declaratory of attachment to reform. On the same day a meeting was held at Ipswich, and a number of speeches made, in support of the conservative cause. 300 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and 100 applications for tickets were rejected.

On the 2nd of Dec. a meeting was held at Gloucester, the Mayor in the chair. Mr. Parker and Mr. Phillpotts, M.P., moved and seconded an address, which, with all loyalty to the King and respect for his prerogative, expressed the deep regret of the meeting at the late change in his councils. Mr. Colten moved a counter address, thanking the King for the change he had wrought, but it was withdrawn, when the original address was carried.

On the 4th of Dec. Lord Palmerston and Sir George Staunton met a large body of their constituents, at which they explained their Parliamentary conduct; and on the 11th another meeting was held, which passed resolutions declaratory of the determination of the electors to support them. On the 1st Dec. a deputation of the inhabitants of Derby presented an address to Lord Melbourne, at Melbourne Hall. It expressed regret at the extraordinary and unprecedented manner in which he and his colleagues had been dismissed, as also approbation of the general policy of the government of which he had formed the head. Lord John Russell dined with a large party of his constituents at Totness, on the 2nd of Dec. In his speech he gave a summary of the principal events that have occurred since 1828, in the course of which he contended that the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, and of the Catholic disabilities, by the Duke of Wellington, had been in reality forced upon his Grace by the Opposition. The meeting agreed unanimously to support him, and to ask no pledges.

On the 17th Dec. about eight hundred members of the Buckinghamshire Agricultural Association dined at the County Hall in Aylesbury. The Duke of Buckingham took the chair. The company consisted principally of the neighbouring gentry and their tenants.

19. A meeting of the nobility and gentry of West Kent took place at Maidstone. Lord Mahon was in the chair, and among those present were the Earl of Winchilsea, Lords Bexley, Brecknock, Farnborough, Maidstone, &c.

In Dublin, an association was formed, shortly after the news of the dissolution of the late ministry reached Ireland, which has been termed the 'Anti-Tory Association,' and which includes nearly forty members of Parliament: it has held meetings regularly during the month. On the 18th of December an aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin was called at the Royal Exchange, George Evans, Esq., M.P. in the chair, which was attended by Messrs. O'Connell, Sheil, &c. The Duke of Leinster and others sent apologies for not being able to attend. Resolutions were passed, declaratory of hostility to the administration newly formed, but the meeting was rendered very tumultuous and stormy by the presence of a small band of persons of opposite sentiments, whose conduct led to various breaches of the peace.

The meetings in Scotland have been very numerous, but our limited space prevents any enumeration of them.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 26. FEBRUARY 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Changes of Administration and History of Parties. Part II.	285	Trade, Statistics, &c.	296
First Report of the Commissioners for the Revision and Digest of the Criminal Law	290	Results of the Elections	297
On the Administrative Institutions of the Italian States	293	Political Retrospect for January — Great Britain — France — Spain — Portugal — United States	304
		Chronicle of Occurrences	308

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES. PART II.

[Continued from last Number.]

3. REIGN of George I., from 1st August, 1714, to 10th June, 1727.

The decisive steps that were taken as soon as Queen Anne had breathed her last, by the friends of the House of Hanover, prevented any opposition being made to the accession of George I. The course that was followed had indeed been prescribed by the act passed in 1706, for securing the succession of the crown in the Protestant line. A general meeting of the members of the Privy Council without distinction of parties, immediately took place: and before this assembly instruments, signed by the Elector of Brunswick (the new king,) were produced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Hanoverian Resident, M. Kreyenberg, nominating eighteen noblemen to act as Lords Justices of the kingdom, along with the seven great officers of state appointed to exercise the government by the act of settlement. The great officers were Dr. Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: the Lord Chancellor Harcourt; the Duke of Buckingham, Lord President of the Council; the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Privy Seal; (he had been removed to this office from that of Secretary of State, in the preceding year, when Bromley the Speaker came in, Bishop Robinson having resigned his place in the cabinet on being appointed to the see of London); Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Sir Thomas Parker (afterwards Lord Parker, and Earl of Macclesfield) Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The Duke of Shrewsbury's name stood also first on the list of noblemen added by the King. The others were the Dukes of Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the Earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford: Viscount Townshend, Lord Halifax, and Lord Cowper. The government, therefore, in the mean time consisted of these twenty-four persons. On the same day his Majesty was proclaimed in London and Westminster; and in the afternoon, the two houses of Parliament met.

"The Lord Justices named by the new King," observes Lord John Russell ('Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe,' vol. i.) "were chiefly Whigs, with the addition of those Tory peers who had appeared the most zealous for the succession. Yet, it excited some surprise to find that neither Somers, Marlborough, or Sunderland, were in the list. The reasons of these exclusions it would be difficult to assign; the spirit of the new government was, however, soon perceptible. Addison was appointed their secretary, and Bolingbroke, who had so long laboured to attain the supreme powor, and had so lately reached it, was now seen waiting with his papers at the door of the council; where many passed him with scorn, who a few days before would have given half their fortunes for his smile. Still further disgrace attended him. On the 28th of August letters arrived from the King, ordering his removal from his post; Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Cowper immediately took the seals, and locked the door of his office."

On the arrival of the King at the Hague, where he embarked for England, he named Viscount Townshend one of the Secretaries of State, with the power of selecting his own colleague. "Lord Townshend," says Lord John Russell, "who was thus raised to so conspicuous a situation, was of a Tory family; his father had been created a peer by Charles II. On first coming into the House of Lords, in 1696, he had voted with the Tories, but soon attached himself to Somers, and became a warm partisan of the Whigs. * * He had the character of being an able man of business, well versed in negotiations, an ungraceful and perplexed, but sensible speaker, rough in manners, hot in temper, too fond of bold experiments in politics, but honest and honourable in the extreme." By the advice of Horace (afterwards Lord) Walpole, younger brother of Sir Robert, Townshend named James Stanhope, Esq. (afterwards Earl Stanhope) the other Secretary of State. And soon after the King's arrival in England, the ministry was completed by the announcement of the following additional appointments:—First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Halifax; Lord Chancellor, Lord Cowper; President of the Council, the Earl of Nottingham; Lord Privy Seal, the Marquis of Wharton: First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Orford; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Sunderland; Commander-in-Chief, and Master-General of the Ordnance, the Duke of Marlborough; Lord Chamberlain, and Groom of the Stole, the Duke of Shrewsbury; Master of the Horse, the Duke of Somerset; Paymaster of the Forces Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Walpole; Secretary at War, William Pulteney, Esq.; Treasurer of the Navy, John Aislabie, Esq.; Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Thomas Earle, Esq. Stanhope, Walpole, and Earle, were also made Privy Councillors. "Out of the Privy Councillors," says Tindal, "a cabinet council was formed, consisting chiefly of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lords Halifax, Townshend, Somers, and General Stanhope. All these had distinguished themselves by their professed opposition to the late measures, and the peace." In this arrangement, says Lord John Russell, "it will be seen that nearly all the principal offices, both of the ministry and of the household, were occupied by the Whigs. Shrewsbury was the only one of the late Queen's ministers who was retained by the King, and Nottingham the only decided Tory who was placed in a high office . . . . Lord Sunderland was much disappointed at being excluded from the management of affairs at home, and his father-in-law, Marlborough, was scarcely less displeased at finding himself of little weight in the administration."

The parliament, after having voted loyal addresses to the new sovereign, and a new Civil List, was on the 25th of August prorogued by the Lords Justices to the 23rd of September, but never again met. It was dissolved by proclamation on the 5th of January in the following year. The elections were carried on with great warmth, and in different counties and cities the electors went the length of delivering express instructions to their representatives. Upon the whole, a large majority of Whigs was returned. "It will appear singular," says the writer we have last quoted, "that such should have been the result of an appeal to the

 [WILLIAM CLOWES, Printer, Duke-street, Lambeth.]

people two years after a general election, at which five-sixths of the successful candidates had been Tories. The influence of the crown, and the loyal disposition of the people afford the only solution of this problem." The Tories, however, according to Tindal, still constituted about a third part of the house. Among the first acts of the new House of Commons was the adoption of measures for the prosecution of different members of the late ministry. Seizures were made of the papers of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Prior; and on the report of a committee of secrecy, to which they had been submitted, motions were carried for the impeachment of Lord Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford. The former made his escape to France; the latter was sent to the Tower, where he was confined for about two years, and then tried and acquitted. Soon after, also, the Duke of Ormond was impeached, on which he withdrew to France, and joined the Pretender and Bolingbroke. In the summer of this year a change was occasioned in the constitution of the ministry by the deaths of Lord Halifax and the Duke of Shrewsbury. The former was succeeded as First Lord of the Treasury, in the first instance by the Earl of Carlisle, but soon after by Mr. Walpole, who was also appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Not long after, also, the Duke of Somerset was dismissed from his office of Master of the Horse, in consequence of the resentment he showed at not being accepted as bail for his son-in-law Sir William Wyndham, who had been apprehended on the charge of being concerned, with several others, in a conspiracy for bringing in the Pretender.

The rebellion in Scotland took place in the latter part of this year; and although it was speedily suppressed, the growing disaffection of which it was supposed to be the indication, gave considerable alarm to the friends of the new settlement. One of the first effects of this feeling at Court was the removal from his office of the Earl of Nottingham, who had supported in the House of Peers the petitions presented for the extension of the royal mercy to the condemned rebel lords. He was succeeded as President of the Council by the Duke of Devonshire, whose place of Steward of the Household was given to the Duke of Kent. At the same time Lord Nottingham's brother, Lord Aylesford, was removed from the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and his son Lord Finch, from his seat at the Treasury Board.

An important change in the constitution soon after followed, in the repeal of the triennial act, which had been extorted from King William in 1694, and the substitution of a new law, that still in force, extending the term during which a parliament may sit to seven years. There can be no doubt that the chief reason which induced the ministers to propose this innovation was their apprehension of the results of a general election in the existing state of the public mind, although the measure was supported in the course of the debates that arose upon it by many other arguments. The present parliament, indeed, had as yet sat little more than one year, and might therefore, without any new law, have been protracted for two sessions longer; but still it was apparent that even already the opponents of the ministry were looking forward to the coming dissolution, and the time that would elapse before it took place, if no alteration of the law should be made, would merely suffice to enable them to mature and perfect their preparations. That the measure was not introduced simply on any general consideration of its expediency, but that the chief object and motive of its promoters was to answer a present purpose—to meet the particular circumstances of the moment—may be conclusively inferred from the most extraordinary part of the Bill, namely, that which extended the existence even of the parliament then sitting, the members of which had been elected on what may fairly be called the express condition that they should retain their trust no longer than three years. With regard indeed to the argument which denied the power of the parliament to prolong its own existence, Lord John Russell has said, "I cannot but express my wonder that it should ever have imposed upon men of sound intellect." But notwithstanding this strong opinion, we confess that we cannot help considering this part of the Septennial Act as one of the most daring excesses ever perpetrated by any set of men in authority, and as altogether indefensible, except on the plea that it was absolutely required for the salvation of the state. If the members of the House of Commons, after having been elected to sit for three years, could thus by their own act constitute themselves a body entitled to sit for seven, it is plain that they might equally have assumed the power of sitting for their whole lives, or even that of bequeathing their seats to their descendants. We cannot recognise such an omnipotence, even in the three consenting estates of the realm, as would entitle them to deprive the body of the people of those rights which are the ultimate foundation on which the whole constitution stands.

The Septennial Bill was brought into the House of Lords on the 18th of April, 1716, by the Duke of Devonshire, whose father had been one of the chief promoters of the Triennial Act. It was supported by all the ministerial peers, but unanimously opposed by the Tories. The commitment, however, after the second reading, (the question on which there was the warmest debate), was carried by a majority of 96 to 61. On the principal division in the House of Commons there were 284 for the bill, and 162 against it, numbers answering pretty nearly to the proportions in which, according to the statement quoted above from Tindal, the members were divided into Whigs and Tories. The bill finally passed on the 26th.

From the accession of the House of Hanover, and more especially from the dismissal of the Earl of Nottingham and his friends in the beginning of the year 1716, we may consider the principle to have been established of conducting the Government, not by a balanced, or even an unequally mixed administration, but by a cabinet composed exclusively of one party. "During the reign of William III., and the greater part of that of Anne," observes Lord John Russell, "the offices of state were divided between the members of the two parties, with a view to conciliate both, and to exclude the more haughty and presumptuous leaders from acquiring a dictation over the sovereign. In the middle of the reign of Anne, the Whigs obtained something like exclusive power: and towards the end of that reign, the Tories possessed unbalanced authority; but their hesitation and misconduct totally deprived them of the confidence of the new king, and the Whigs found themselves strong enough to keep out their opponents for nearly half a century. From this time we may observe in the ministry of England, greater unity of views, a more complete confidence among the members of it, and a more uniform policy towards foreign powers."

Townshend and Walpole may now be considered as the heads of the ministry. It is to be observed, however, that the term Prime Minister had not yet come to be used in this country in any other than a sarcastic or opprobrious acceptation. Many years after this time we find Walpole in the House of Commons rejecting the title as an imputation. "Having first," he said of his opponents, in the remarkable speech in which he defended himself, in 1741, against the motion to address the king for his removal, "Having first invested me with *a kind of mock dignity, and styled me a Prime Minister*, they impute to me an unpardonable abuse of that *chimerical authority which they only have created and conferred*." At this time he had been for twenty years at the head of affairs, and with certainly as full a supremacy over his colleagues as any Premier has since enjoyed. The long domination of Walpole, however, having accustomed the country to the thing as no chimera but a substantial reality, appears to have established the name in the sense in which it is now understood. The history of the term Cabinet is exactly similar. It was first applied, as Lord Clarendon informs us, in the reign of Charles I., to a few individuals who were understood to be most in the king's confidence, and to be the chief directors of the Government. They were popularly called, by way of reproach, the *Cabinet*, or the *Junta*. The term Cabinet, however, appears to have come to be recognized as a constitutional term rather sooner than Prime Minister. Her Majesty's Cabinet, or Cabinet Council, was a common phrase in the reign of Queen Anne.

The ministry of Walpole and Townshend was, however, soon overthrown by internal jealousies and divisions. These are understood to have been principally fomented by Lord Sunderland, who, as already mentioned, bore with great impatience what he considered his exile to Ireland, and exclusion from any share in the general government. The king having gone over to Hanover in July, 1716, he was soon after followed, first, by Secretary Stanhope, and then by Sunderland, who thus found a favourable opportunity of supplanting Walpole and Townshend in the royal favour. The first result of this intrigue was an order from his Majesty for Lord Townshend to resign the seals, as Secretary

of State, accompanied with a proposal that he should go over to Ireland as Viceroy. In fact, he accepted the latter appointment about the end of January 1717. Parliament met on the 20th of February. In the beginning of April, very warm debates took place in the House of Commons, on a demand from his Majesty for a supply to enable him to avert certain dangers which were asserted to be threatened from Sweden. It was contended that the terms on which this application was made were too vague to justify the grant; and upon a division, the ministers only carried their motion by a majority of 153 to 139. Walpole did not speak upon the question, and was indeed supposed to agree in the view of the minority. The next day Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his Majesty to Lord Townshend, who had not yet left England, informing him that his services as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would be dispensed with. On this Walpole immediately sent in his resignation; and his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, the Secretary at War, and several others of his friends. The king is said to have been so reluctant to part with Walpole on this occasion, that he returned the seals to him no fewer than ten times.

An almost complete change of ministry followed. Mr. Stanhope was now appointed to succeed Walpole, both as First Lord of the Treasury and as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the other four members of the Treasury Board being also all changed. Lord Sunderland and Mr. Addison became the new Secretaries of State; and Mr. Craggs Secretary at War in room of Mr. Pulteney. The Duke of Bolton was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his place of Lord Chamberlain of the Household being given to the Duke of Newcastle.

The ministry thus formed continued substantially the same for the next four years, the only changes being in individual members. In the beginning of the year 1718, the Earl of Sunderland was appointed President of the Council, the Duke of Devonshire having resigned that office some time before; and Mr. Addison, also retiring on the plea of ill health, Mr. (now Lord) Stanhope and Mr. Craggs became the two new Secretaries of State. Stanhope was succeeded in his office of First Lord of the Treasury by the Earl of Sunderland. John Aislabie, Esq. was at the same time made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Craggs was succeeded as Secretary at War, in the first instance by Viscount Castlecomer: but his Lordship had two successors before the end of the year. The place of First Lord of the Admiralty was now also filled up by the appointment of the Earl of Berkeley, in the room of the Earl of Orford, who had resigned some time before. A few weeks after Lord Cowper resigned the Great Seal, which, after having been for a short time put in commission, was given to the Chief Justice, Lord Parker, afterward created Earl of Macclesfield.

In the beginning of the year 1719, the Duke of Kingston was appointed to the office of President of the Council, which the Earl of Sunderland had till now continued to hold along with that of Secretary of State. His Grace's office of Lord Privy Seal, which he had held for somewhat more than two years, was given to Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent, and the latter was succeeded as Steward of the Household, by the Duke of Argyle. The Earl of Sunderland, who is now to be considered as Prime Minister, got himself at the same time appointed to the offices of Groom of the Stole, and first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. This year the celebrated bill for the limitation of the peerage, which had been discussed the preceding session in the House of Lords, was defeated by the vote of the House of Commons, after a long and warm debate. The bill was supported by the ministers, but warmly opposed by Walpole and his friends, whose junction on this occasion with the Tories, produced a majority against the measure of 269 to 177.

In April, 1720, the differences which had existed for some years between the King and the Prince of Wales (afterwards George II.) were arranged, and his Majesty and his Royal Highness reconciled, principally by the good offices of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole. This led to a partial renewal of the intercourse between the the court and the party of the former ministers. Tindal tells us that on the 24th of April, the morning after the reconciliation, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney were admitted to kiss the King's hand, and the Duke of Devonshire carried the sword of state before the King to the royal chapel. In the following June, on the King departing to visit his dominions in Germany, Lord Townshend and the Duke of Devonshire were named as two of the noblemen appointed to act as Lords Justices during his absence, and the former was also declared Lord President of the Council, in the room of the Duke of Kingston, who was transferred to the office of Lord Privy Seal. Other changes were at the same time made, which had the effect of admitting Walpole and his friends to a share, though not to an ascendency, in the government. Walpole himself was appointed Paymaster of the Forces; Mr. Methuen, Comptroller of the Household; and the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

But a much more complete ministerial revolution was at hand. This was the year of the famous South Sea scheme, the English form of the extraordinary financial delusion which had first sprung up in France, in the popular intoxication produced by the Mississippi project of the Adventurer Law. Fortunately for this country, it caught the epidemic only when it was about to commence its last stage. Although the Mississippi scheme considerably preceded the South Sea scheme in the date of its origin, the two came down nearly together. On this account the mischief sustained by England was far less extensive than that which France suffered. The Mississippi stock was at its greatest height in January, 1720; and it was about this time that the English South Sea Company commenced its operations. By the end of May, every thing had fallen into confusion in Paris: and a few months longer sufficed to produce the same result in London. In June, indeed, the frenzy here still continued to increase. "At this time," says Salmon, (Chronological Historian, vol. 2.) "the whole nation, clergy and laity, whigs and tories, churchmen and dissenters, statesmen, and even ladies, who had or could procure money for the purpose, turned stock-brokers, and entirely neglected their several professions and employments, to attend some bubble or other." Before the end of the month the 100*l.* shares of the company, for which 300*l.* had been originally subscribed, had risen to 1000*l.* By the 8th of September, however, the stock had fallen to 640; on the 9th it fell to 550; on the 19th to 400; on the 30th to 150; and soon after to 135. In the distress that ensued, "a general outcry arose," says Lord John Russell, "not only against the ministers, but the sovereign. Some of his Hanoverian counsellors, alarmed by the vehemence of public discontent, and unused to the loud voice of a free nation, advised the king to abdicate, and leave the country to its fate: and others, again, were for bringing in foreign troops, to enable him to subdue the nation which had given him his crown. At this moment Walpole came forward with a plan for the restoration of public credit, which he presented to the king, with a letter expressing his sense of the difficulties he had to encounter. To him the nation looked for its relief; he not only had the reputation of understanding finance better than any man in the kingdom, but he carried with him the weight of a large party, among whom were the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and Devonshire, and many other of the principal whigs. The king and cabinet therefore willingly accepted his proposal, and better assured of his co-operation, ventured to encounter the parliament."

The parliament, after frequent prorogations, met for the dispatch of business on the 8th of December. The House of Commons immediately proceeded to inquire into the conduct of the South Sea Directors, and the other parties implicated with them in the charge of having chiefly promoted the late destructive proceedings in the money-market. The results of this investigation were such as completely to break up the existing ministry, most of the leading members of which, it was proved, had had a large share in the attempt to delude the public for their own private advantage. About the end of January, 1721, before the secret committee, to which the subject was referred, had made any report, Mr. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned his office. It afterwards appeared that he had been one of the principal promoters of the fraud; on which a resolution was passed expelling him from the house, and ordering him to be committed to the Tower. In the beginning of February, Earl Stanhope, Secretary of State, exerted himself with so much violence in a debate in the House of Lords, in defending himself and his colleagues against an attack by the Duke of Wharton, that he burst a blood-vessel, and expired the following day. A week after,

Mr. Craggs, the other Secretary of State, died of small-pox. The reports of the Committee of Secrecy deeply implicated both Mr. Secretary Craggs and his father, Mr. James Craggs, senior, the Postmaster-General, who, fortunately for himself, also died a month after his son. It is Mr. Craggs, junior, whom Pope has so highly lauded in an epitaph inscribed on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, beginning :

> "Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honour clear!
> Who broke no promise, served no private end," &c.

Charges were also brought against the Earl of Sunderland, First Lord of the Treasury, and head of the ministry; but, by the influence of Walpole, the motion was negatived by a majority of 233 to 132. "Notwithstanding this," remarks Tindal, "it was generally thought the Secret Committee would not have accused the prime minister, if the charge had not been at least probable." Sunderland resigned his office, and died about a year afterwards. The death of Lord Sunderland, we may mention, was followed within a month by that of a still more distinguished character, his father-in-law, the great Duke of Marlborough, whose political career, however, had terminated long ago.

The several places that had in this manner become vacant were filled up as follows:—Walpole was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Viscount Townshend and Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) became the two principal Secretaries of State; Lord Carleton being made President of the Council in the room of the former. These arrangements placed Walpole again at the head of the administration. "When Walpole," says Lord John Russell, "thus finally took the supreme direction of affairs, his reputation for ability stood higher than ever, but his character for integrity had somewhat suffered by his late opposition. Not only had he opposed the whig ministers on the Spanish war and every doubtful question, but had voted against the repeal of the Schism Bill, and induced the Duke of Devonshire to do the same." The Schism Act, which had been passed in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne, and which imposed severe restrictions upon non-conformity, was repealed in December 1718, notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition of Walpole and his friends in both houses. Their object in this factious conduct no doubt was at once to obtain the applause of the more bigoted part of the nation by affecting a sympathy with popular prejudice, and to deprive their rivals of the credit of a liberal measure.

Walpole retained his place at the head of affairs for more than twenty years, being the longest period that any prime minister has ever remained in power in this country since the reign of Elizabeth. During this time, however, various changes took place in the subordinate offices in the ministry, which we shall now proceed shortly to note.

The parliament which had passed the Septennial Act was dissolved on the 10th of March, 1722, having sat for the full term allowed by the new law. The new elections were carried on with great zeal; but a decided majority of the members returned were whigs and friends of the existing administration.

In the beginning of the year 1724, the ferment that had been excited in Ireland by the affair of Wood's halfpence, induced Walpole to recall the Duke of Grafton, whom he styled "a fair weather pilot," and after withdrawing the obnoxious patent (which had been granted to Wood by his predecessor Sunderland), to send over Lord Carteret to that country as viceroy. By this act, he at the same time removed his most formidable rival from the cabinet. Carteret was succeeded as Secretary of State by the Duke of Newcastle.

In January, 1725, the impeachment of the Earl of Macclesfield, on the charge of selling the places of the Masters in Chancery (of which he was soon after convicted), made it necessary that he should resign the great seal. It was put in commission for some months, and then given with the title of Lord Keeper to Sir Peter King, afterwards made Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage by the title of Baron King.

In March, this year, on the death of Lord Carleton, the Duke of Devonshire was appointed President of the Council. About the same time, Lord Trevor was substituted for the Duke of Kingston as Lord Privy Seal.

George I. died in Germany on the 10th of June, 1727.

4. Reign of George II., from the 10th of June, 1727, to the 25th of October, 1760.

"The death of George I.," says Lord John Russell, "awakened the hopes of the party out of power, and men generally looked for a change of ministers. Walpole himself partook of this opinion. Upon asking his new sovereign whom he wished to draw up the declaration to the Privy Council, the king replied with great abruptness, "Compton;" and the minister quitted the room under the impression that his power was at an end. He advised his friend, Sir William Yonge, however, not to go into violent opposition, for, though he was now going out, he should probably soon come in again."

Sir Spencer Compton (afterwards Earl of Wilmington) was at this time Speaker of the House of Commons. When he received the king's commands to draw up the declaration to the Privy Council, he was obliged to ask Walpole to do it for him. The new Queen Caroline, the warm friend of Walpole, now interfered. "She pleaded his cause with her husband," continues the writer we have just quoted, "and hinted that a man who could not draw up a speech could hardly be fit for the head of a ministry. On the other hand, Compton was averse to undertake the responsibility of conducting the government. When the queen intimated to him the king's intention of placing him at the head of the treasury, and Walpole offered his support, he burst into tears, and declared himself incapable of exercising so arduous a task." In these circumstances, the continuance of Walpole at the head of affairs was a matter of course. The only change which was made on the accession of the new king in any of the great offices of state, was the substitution of the Earl of Torrington for Lord Berkeley as First Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord John Russell remarks, however, that from the accession of George II. we may date the systematic and powerful opposition by which Walpole was eventually overthrown. "It had been his anxious desire," proceeds his lordship, "to unite to his government all the followers of Lord Sunderland; and thus forming a compact body of the whole whig party, to fix on his tory opponents the name of Jacobites. Some of Lord Sunderland's friends, however, inheriting their leader's hatred, refused to coalesce with him; others saw with envy the monopoly of power in the hands of a private gentleman. In the course of opposition, these dissatisfied whigs formed a junction with the tories. The splendid abilities of some among them gave a lustre to the cause which they espoused; and young men of talents, who entered parliament unshackled, eagerly joined against a minister whose name was vulgarly associated with political corruption and national degradation."

The new reign of course brought a new parliament. The elections again ran strongly in favour of the ministry; but the numerical inferiority of the opposition in the House of Commons was in part compensated by the eminent talents of several of its members. At the head of the friends of the late Earl of Sunderland were now the two cousins Daniel and William Pulteney (the latter of whom became afterwards Earl of Bath). Both had formerly held office along with Walpole; Daniel as one of the junior Lords of the Admiralty, and William as Secretary at War. The leader of the tory party was Sir William Wyndham, of whom Speaker Onslow has said,—"He was, in my opinion, the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age: every thing about him seemed great." Besides these two great parties, both arrayed in opposition to the minister, there was also a small body of independent members, of whom the distinguished merchant, Sir John Barnard, one of the members for the city of London, may be considered to have been the head. Sir John Barnard was looked upon as the only match in debate for Walpole on questions in trade and finance. The minister himself is said to have been wont to speak of him as his most formidable opponent.

"Thus surrounded," says Lord John Russell, "by enemies in the House of Commons, the country, and the court, Walpole seems to have made little preparation for the defence of his power. Scarcely any rising men appeared on his side in debate; the writers whom he paid for supporting his cause were proverbially weak and inefficient. It is admitted, indeed, that in the ministry he had some able assistants; but truth itself did not make its due impression when enforced by speakers who were held up to public odium as the basest and most selfish of men. The

jealousy of dividing his power grew more and more conspicuous, and proved eventually the source of his ruin. Even with Lord Townshend, his ancient colleague and near relation, to whom he for a long time left the whole direction of foreign affairs, he was unable to maintain his connexion. In 1730, Townshend retired from office, and devoted the rest of his life to the introduction of turnip husbandry in Norfolk. Queen Caroline, by her preference of Walpole, seems to have inflamed this quarrel into a breach. Walpole himself, when asked for the causes of difference, replied, 'As long as the firm of the house was Townshend and Walpole, all did very well; but when it became Walpole and Townshend, things went wrong, and a separation ensued.'"

Lord Townshend's place of Secretary of State was given to Lord Harrington (formerly Colonel Stanhope). About the same time Lord Trevor was made President of the Council, instead of the Duke of Devonshire, and was succeeded in his office of Lord Privy Seal by Lord Wilmington, formerly Paymaster of the Forces. Lord Carteret was also recalled from Ireland, and the Duke of Dorset appointed Lord Lieutenant in his room. About the end of the year, Lord Trevor was succeeded in the Presidency of the Council by Lord Wilmington; and, in June following, the Privy Seal was given to the Duke of Devonshire.

The session of 1732-3 was rendered remarkable by the famous excise scheme, which was brought forward by Walpole on the 14th of March in the last-mentioned year. It was simply a plan for converting the duties on wine and tobacco, which had been hitherto duties of customs, into duties of excise. The ferment which this proposition excited throughout the country was almost unprecedented. In the House of Commons the first resolution moved by the minister, in preparation for the bill which he intended to bring in, was only carried by a majority of 266 to 205, after a debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning. Some of the other divisions were still closer. On the 10th of April, the Sheriffs of London having come down to the House, accompanied by many of the most eminent merchants of the city, in two hundred carriages, Sir John Barnard moved that they should be heard by their counsel in support of their petition against the bill; and this motion was only rejected by a majority of 214 against 197. Walpole, however, now wisely determined to give up the measure. But determined to show that he was still master in the cabinet, he at the same time dismissed a number of peers, who although holding offices about the Court, had turned against him on this occasion. The staff of Lord Steward of the Household was taken from the Earl of Chesterfield. Lord Clinton was deprived of his place of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. The Earl of Burlington lost his Gold Staff as Captain of the Band of Pensioners. The Earl of Stair was also removed from the office of Vice-Admiral for Scotland, the Duke of Montrose from that of Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Earl of Marchmont from that of Lord Register of the same kingdom. By a more questionable exercise of the royal prerogative, Lord Clinton was likewise deprived of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Devonshire, and the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, of the command of the King's Horse and the King's Horse-Guards. The Duke of Devonshire being now appointed Lord Steward of the Household, the Privy Seal was given to Viscount Lonsdale. Soon after, also, Sir Charles Wager succeeded the Earl of Torrington, as First Lord of the Admiralty. And before the end of the same year the Great Seal having been resigned by Lord King (who died a few months afterwards) Charles Talbot, Esq., was made Lord Chancellor, and soon after ennobled by the title of Baron Talbot.

The parliament was dissolved on the 18th of April, 1734, having again sat very nearly the full term of seven years. "The elections," says Lord John Russell, "were conducted with great heat. The neutrality of Great Britain, in the continental war, and the excise scheme, were popular topics for declamation; the latter especially in Scotland, where the frauds in the customs had been still more extensive than in England, and therefore combined a larger party of corrupt and dishonest men in their suppport. Even in the county of Norfolk, the two Whig candidates, Coke and Morden, were defeated by two Tories, Woodhouse and Bacon. The new parliament met on the 14th of January (1735). In a division upon the address, the opposition mustered 185 against 265. Their subsequent efforts, however, were not adequate to this beginning; but as Walpole did not wish to provoke a contest, the session was not marked by any debates of interest." In May, 1735, the Earl of Godolphin was made Lord Privy Seal in room of Viscount Lonsdale.

In 1737 died the Lord Chancellor Talbot. He was succeeded by Sir Philip Yorke, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, afterwards Earl of Hardwicke. In September, the Duke of Devonshire was sent as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, in the room of the Duke of Dorset. On the 20th of November died Walpole's great patroness, Queen Caroline; but this event did not deprive the minister of any portion of the royal favour. On her death-bed she said to Walpole, while his Majesty was present, "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity;" and pointing to the king, she added, "I recommend his Majesty to you."

When the parliament met in February, 1735, the address proposed by the minister in the House of Commons was only carried by a majority of 28 in a house of 492 members. The point against which the opposition directed their attack, was the recent convention (called the convention of the Pardo) which had been concluded with Spain, for the settlement of the disputes arising out of the South American commerce, and which, as soon as it was known, had roused the strongest indignation in the public mind, as a pusillanimous sacrifice of the rights and the honour of the country. The violence of party now ran so high, that the opposition, upon this defeat, resolved to adopt the extraordinary course of altogether withdrawing from their attendance in parliament. Walpole, on the other hand, seeing in the near equality of the division a plain proof that the feeling of the country was against him, with his usual accommodation to circumstances, instantly changed his line of policy, and in the course of a few weeks the negotiations with Spain were broken off, and war openly declared against that power. This change induced the Tories to return to their places when the parliament met again after the prorogation, on the 15th of November. Meanwhile it deserves to be mentioned, in an account of the movement of parties, that during the absence of his opponents the minister had some trouble with what was then considered the ultra-liberal section of his own friends. He had to fight this party on a motion which they brought forward for the repeal of the Test Act, on which occasion they mustered to the number of 89, the majority against the motion being 188.

"About this time," says Lord John Russell, "the Duke of Argyle quarrelled with the minister, and openly opposed his measures. He was a man of greedy disposition and irritable temper; his discontent arose, in all probability, from personal motives; but the convention with Spain served to colour his change of politics. The opposition in the House of Lords had grown of late years very formidable. The Duke of Argyle was a declamatory, but a ready, graceful, and animated speaker; Lord Carteret was elegant, classical, and well-informed; Lord Bathurst was a practised and sensible debater; the Duke of Bedford spoke ably on questions of trade and business of detail."

From the opposition in parliament sprung up an opposition, which every day grew bolder and stronger, in the cabinet also: at its head were Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle, both of whom, on all occasions, expressed themselves warmly in favour of the Spanish war. In April, 1740, Lord Hervey, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, who had some years before been called up by writ to the House of Peers, was made Lord Privy Seal, in the room of the Earl of Godolphin. Lord Hervey, while a member of the House of Commons, had distinguished himself by his zeal in support of Walpole, and was now considered one of his most subservient adherents. On occasion of his promotion, the Duke of Newcastle is said to have endeavoured to prevail upon his brother, the Hon. Henry Pelham, who was Paymaster of the Forces, and Lord Hardwicke, to resign. "Walpole himself," says Lord John Russell, "was anxious to retire, but the King said to him earnestly, 'Will you desert me in my difficulties?' At another time, Newcastle complained to Walpole that he was not allowed the form of giving his opinion. Sir Robert indignantly: 'What do you mean?—the war is yours; you have the decided conduct of it; I wish you joy of it.' They parted in anger."

The parliament commenced its last session on the November, 1740; and now at length the ener

minister determined to try their strength with him in a direct attack. They seem to have counted not so much upon the reduced numbers of the ministerial party in the two houses, as upon Walpole's extreme unpopularity out of doors; and this first attempt was no doubt intended merely to effect a breach in his defences, through which they might afterwards enter and overpower him. On the 11th of February, 1741, "Mr. Sandys," says Smollett, "went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and told him that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in public. The minister seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intimation; but after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said he desired no favour, but fair play." On the day he had mentioned, the 13th, Mr. Sandys made his motion. "The gallery," says Lord John Russell, "was crowded long before the House met; many members secured their seats at six o'clock in the morning." In those days, however, it is to be remembered, the House used to meet at noon. The accusations of Mr. Sandys were anything but definite. The very length of Walpole's power, he said, was in itself dangerous; it was not necessary to accuse him of any specific crime; the dissatisfaction of the people was a sufficient cause for his removal. Mr. Sandys concluded with moving, "That a humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever." A long debate followed, which was closed by a powerful speech from Walpole. His address made a deep impression on the House; and the motion of Mr. Sandys was negatived by the large majority of 290 against 106. A like motion, which was made the same day by Lord Carteret in the House of Lords, was supported only by 59 votes against 108.

"After this victory in parliament," says Lord John Russell, "Walpole, tired of party war, and growing inactive from age, fell into a sort of lethargy of power. . . He flattered his indolence with the belief that the opposition to his government was dispirited and dispersed: a fatal misapprehension. Many of his colleagues secretly wished his downfall. In the division in the House of Lords, several peers who had places under the government did not vote, and acquired thereby the nickname of Sneakers." In this state of things, having again sat nearly for seven years, the parliament was dissolved on the 28th of April.

The elections were carried on with extraordinary heat, and large sums of money are said to have been expended in many places by the opposition and their friends, with the Prince of Wales at their head. His Royal Highness is said to have spent 12,000*l.* in supporting Admiral Vernon and Mr. Edwyn, for Westminster, against the ministerial candidates, Sir Charles Wager and Lord Sundon, one of the Lords of the Treasury. "Pulteney and the Duchess of Marlborough," says the writer last quoted, "spent large sums in other places. Lord Falmouth carried many of the Cornish boroughs against the county; and the Duke of Argyle was equally successful in Scotland. These triumphs of opposition favoured the treachery of Walpole's colleagues in the ministry. Wilmington, in a letter to Doddington, congratulated him on his success at Weymouth, against the candidates supported by the minister; and Newcastle made clandestine overtures to Argyle."

The new parliament met on the 4th of December. "To the disgrace of the times of which we are treating," proceeds Lord John Russell, "the warmest party contests took place on the decision of disputed elections; and that which ought to have been a question of justice, of law, and of fact, was made an opportunity of trying the strength of the contending parties in the state. The minister, on the one hand, was heard to declare, that no quarter should be given in elections; on the opposition side, it was esteemed infamous in any of their party to desert a committee for deciding disputed returns. The first trial of strength took place on the return for Bossiney. The party favoured by the minister carried it only by 6, the majority being 222 and the minority 216. The nomination of a chairman of the committee [illegible] elections was carried in favour of Dr. Lee, against Giles the [illegible] Lord of the Treasury, by 242 against 238."

Lord Ch[illegible]
Baron Ki[illegible]vo ministerial candidates had been returned for [illegible]ter: but the return was petitioned against, on the

In Marc[illegible]t a military force had been called in during the
Duke of D[illegible]nd after a debate, which lasted during the greater
About the [illegible]e night, it was annulled by a majority of four.
Duke of K[illegible] now manifest," continues Lord John Russell,
George

"that Walpole could no longer retain his power. Every effort to recover his lost majority failed of success; the followers of victory hastened over day by day to the other camp. He could not prevail on any one to stand for Westminster in the court interest. He attempted vainly and weakly to pacify the prince, by prevailing on the king to offer him an unconditional pardon, and the addition of 50,000*l.* a year to his income. The prince replied that he would not hearken to this, or any other intimation of a like nature, so long as Sir Robert Walpole should continue in power."

On the 21st of January, 1742, Mr. Pulteney moved that the papers which had been presented to the House relating to the conduct of the war should be referred to a secret committee. The motion was negatived by a majority of only 3, in a house of 503 members. "On the 28th," continues Lord John Russell, "a collateral question on the Chippenham election was carried against the ministers by a majority of one. On the 2nd of February, Walpole suffered his final defeat: the main question on the Chippenham election being decided against him by 241 to 225. While the committee was in the act of dividing, Walpole beckoned Sir Edward Bayntun, the member whose return was supported by the opposition, and said to him, 'You are a young man; it may be useful to you to know the motives of those who are now voting against me.' He then pointed out to him the members of the majority, one by one, recounting the favours which he had conferred on each, and the ingratitude he had received at their hands. It is a pity that this story has not come down to us in more detail; it would have furnished a curious page in the secret history of the country. The minister finished by telling Sir Edward that he should never again sit in that house. On the following day the house adjourned, by the king's command, to the 18th." In the interim, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

[To be continued in our next.]

ERRATUM IN LAST 'COMPANION.'—Page 271, col. 2, line 6, for "leaving, at the instigation of his party the ultra Tories," read "having, at the instigation of his party, the ultra Tories."

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE REVISION AND DIGEST OF THE CRIMINAL LAW.

IN the month of July, 1833, a Commission under the Great Seal was issued, directing the five Commissioners therein named, "to digest into one Statute all the Statutes and Enactments touching crimes, and the trial and punishment thereof; and also to digest into one other Statute, all the provisions of the common or unwritten law touching the same; and to inquire and report how far it might be expedient to combine both these Statutes into one body of the Criminal Law, repealing all other statutory provisions, or how far it might be expedient to pass into a law the first-mentioned only of the said Statutes." The commissioners, in the month of June last, made their first report, which was presented to the houses of Parliament, and has been printed.

The subject of the revision of the criminal laws, both statutory and those which have their origin and authority in the common or unwritten law, has long engaged public attention; but as yet nothing beyond the consolidation of some parts of the statutory provisions of the laws relating to crimes, and a mitigation of some of the severer enactments relating to punishments, has been actually effected, or even attempted.

The present laws of this country are divided into statutory enactments, and the common or unwritten law.

The only authorities for the common law are certain treatises by eminent writers on criminal jurisprudence, which are received as authority by the Judges, such as those of Hale, Forster, &c., and the printed and manuscript decisions by courts of justice on criminal cases. These treatises and decisions are numerous, of various authority, and frequently inconsistent with each other: they are not generally accessible to the public, nor are they, in fact, wholly accessible to the practising lawyer — many judicial decisions being received as authorities which have never been printed. The different degrees of authority annexed to decisions and to the opinions of text writers, render the law in many respects uncertain. As even Judges

must be considered as imperfectly acquainted with the whole of the decisions, it must occasionally happen that an authority in point altogether escapes attention.

Subsequent decisions and acts of the Legislature have reversed many of the earlier authorities, and there being no authentic or uniform mark by which the authorities which still prevail, are to be distinguished from those which have been annulled, it often becomes difficult, after a laborious search through a multitude of books and statutes, to ascertain whether a particular principle is, or is not, in force.

It may be here observed, that although a large portion of the criminal cases are tried before the courts of quarter-session, yet in practice the decisions of these courts are rarely, if ever, received as authorities either by similar or superior courts.

The imperfections of the printed reports form another source of difficulty in ascertaining accurately what the law is.

In the best of these reports—viz., those of the decisions of the twelve or fifteen Judges, the report is generally confined to the facts of the case, and the grounds or reasons of the law are not adverted to by the reporter;—the official record does not supply this deficiency, the facts only being there stated; and even the record, considered as evidence of the facts and decision, is sometimes erroneous; as, for instance, where a pardon has been granted, by reason of the decision being wrong on a point of law, such pardon not appearing on the record. But assuming that the authorities were completely accessible, and were certain and definite, and that all the principles of the common law were to be found in the decided cases and authentic treatises, yet the inconvenience would be necessarily great of a system of law, which is to be searched for amongst, and extricated from, judicial decisions and treatises, oftentimes conflicting or doubtfully expressed.

The nicety and difficulty of this process are sufficiently proved by the experience of every lawyer: the principle and the material facts of a decided case are often confounded, (even by experienced Judges) with some fact, not material, insomuch that it occasionally happens that a case really falling within a particular principle is not decided by it, because the case in the books is distinguished by some immaterial differences.

Much of the common law, also, is founded on antiquated notions, and many of the old rules which arose from those antiquated notions have neither been wholly retained, nor wholly abandoned. The confusion and uncertainty thus occasioned need not be pointed out. The law is thereby also rendered unnecessarily intricate. If a rule of the kind in question were *totally* abolished, a single rule adapted to existing circumstances would naturally be substituted; but in consequence of the partial abolition, the ancient rule (founded on antiquated notions) continues to form a portion of the legal system, and to this rule are added a number of others, which form exceptions to it, and by which it is imperfectly adjusted to existing circumstances. The effect of this partial abrogation of rules, in producing an irrational, complex, and obscure system of laws, by means of distinctions founded on immaterial differences, is strikingly exemplified in the digest of the law of theft appended to the present report.

These inconsistencies have arisen from there being no complete system of law adapted to actual circumstances; in consequence of which, the judges, who could not directly make new laws, were compelled, by means of fictions; to extend the old ones to cases not properly embraced by them, but only related to those that were, by more or less remote analogy.

Thus far in regard to the evils arising from the existing state of the common law: we shall now notice some of the inconveniences more particularly produced by the present form of the statute law, and by the mixture of statutory provisions with the common law principles.

Generally speaking, the principles of the common law are the basis of the statutory enactments. The definitions of crimes—the nature of the punishments—and the modes of criminal procedure, have originated, for the most part, in common law principles; though most of the rules, relating to these various subjects, have from time to time been modified by acts of the Legislature. The statute law, therefore, may be now considered as a mass of corrections and additions to the common law; and without a knowledge of the latter, the terms and definitions which the statute law tacitly assumes, the language in which it is expressed, and the subjects to which it relates, are, for the most part, unintelligible.

It follows, therefore, that the actual law, with regard either to the definition of a crime, or to any of the other subjects of criminal law, lies partly in the statute and partly in the common law rules or principles. Nor is this the only inconvenience; the defects of the criminal law have only forced themselves on the notice of the Legislature successively and slowly, and the statutory supplements and corrections are therefore not contained in one, or even a few statutes; but lie dispersed through numerous acts of Parliament. The actual law, therefore, on any given subject, must almost always be gathered from a variety of sources.

Again, it often happens that the statute law with regard to a particular subject is not only dispersed through numerous statutes, but many of its enactments are contained, not in acts properly concerning the subject, but in those relating to other matters where no one would expect to find them. Much, indeed, has of late been done for the purpose of removing the inconvenience, arising from the multiplicity of the statutes, by the acts introduced by Sir R. Peel, and others. Much, however, remains to be accomplished.

From the foregoing statements, it follows that the criminal law must be nearly unknown to the great bulk of the community, and indeed can be only imperfectly known to advocates and attorneys, and to the magistrates who are called on to administer it. This inconvenience was admitted and urged by Foster and Blackstone, in the middle of the last century; but if some remedy for the evil was then desirable, the subsequent increase of decisions and statutes has made it now far more necessary. Generally speaking, it is only in extraordinary cases (as on arguments before the twelve judges) that the authorities are resorted to directly. In the ordinary administration of criminal justice, the law is commonly taken from modern treatises, which are of necessity but an imperfect index to these sources, and an imperfect exposition of the law contained in them; from these treatises magistrates in particular, (who are seldom lawyers by profession) are of necessity compelled to take the law. Indeed, so nice and difficult is the process of extricating principles from decisions, and of construing statutes, (often imperfect or conflicting,) that none but experienced lawyers are competent to its due performance.

When the varied and numerous functions of magistrates are considered, particularly in proceedings prior to commitment, or bail, it is obvious that it is of the highest importance to render the principles and provisions of the criminal law as simple and as accessible as possible.

The last evil to which we shall advert is, that the present form of the law is often an obstacle to good legislation, owing to the number of the authorities and statutes, which in many cases make it almost impossible that the whole of the existing law should be within the contemplation of the framer of a new law. Hence it often happens that the consequences of a proposed change are not sufficiently considered; and that the benefits of the removal of an evil in one department, are more than counterbalanced by the evils which the change introduces into others. Hence, also, much superfluous law-making: as it sometimes happens that the object aimed at by a change was sufficiently accomplished by the existing law, of which the Legislature was not aware, or might at least have been effectually accomplished by a slighter alteration.

The practicability of digesting the statutes is admitted by the recent consolidations of many of the criminal law statutes.

The practicability of giving the form of a statute to the rules and principles of the common law, may appear doubtful, for the following reasons:—1st, No systematic attempt to effect this object has ever been made in this country, at least by the authority of the Legislature. 2nd, These rules and principles are at present to be found only in judicial decisions, and in the opinions of text writers of authority. Before these rules and principles can be clothed with the form of a law, they must be detached or extricated from the decisions with which they are now complicated; and this is a process of such nicety and difficulty, that the rules (it may be argued) would run much risk of not being extracted correctly.

The novelty, however, of a digest is, we conceive, rather apparent than real, and though the difficulty adverted to is not to be denied, the possibility of surmounting it must be considered as admitted by the practice of the courts; for the very same process is performed by the courts, in expounding and applying the law in each case decided by them.

An authentic digest of the common law into a statute would not be essentially different from the expositions of it given in many treatises, which have not the authority of law; at least, not with reference to the question now under consideration—namely, the practicability of such a digest. For in these unauthoritative treatises (so far as they really are what they profess to be) the law is abstracted from the decided cases, and is presented in the form of rules. In the administration of justice (as before remarked) the law is commonly taken from these treatises as well by judges and other magistrates, as by advocates and attorneys. If these treatises, therefore, though compiled without authority, are correct abstracts of principles, surely these principles might be extracted and defined by persons competently instructed, and appointed for that purpose.

To this may be added, that wherever the law is administered, and is *directly* taken by the court from previously decided cases, the court performs (assuming the law to be correctly administered) the very process which is supposed to be impracticable. What, therefore, is accomplished occasionally and partially, it must be allowed, may be accomplished completely and once for all, by a digest of the entire law into a statute.

If we admit the practicability of a digest of the statutes and of the common law, there can be little question that such digest ought to be a joint one of the two heads of law, not two separate digests, the one of the written, and the other of the unwritten law.

In the administration of criminal justice, it often happens that the law applied by the court is neither exclusively a common law principle, nor exclusively a statutory provision, but a common law rule modified by a statute; and if the common and the statute law can thus be combined occasionally and partially in the administration of criminal justice, the same thing might be accomplished completely and at once, by a joint digest of the whole provisions of both.

The *expediency* of such a joint digest, supposing it executed with the requisite care and skill, follows from the statement made of the existing inconveniences. The principal advantages would be, the compression of the criminal code into one or more volumes, the contents of which might be studied and explored completely by every lawyer, and would be generally made known to the public; the removal of all doubt and difficulty as to what the principles and rules of the law were; the removal of all anomalies, and the correction of all apparent defects in the system of the law; and the exclusion of all remnants of the rules and principles founded on antiquated notions, which are now partly abolished and partly retained, and in consequence of which the law has been rendered inconsistent with respect to its grounds, and therefore obscure.

It may be argued, that the removal of these rules would amount to a change in the substance of the law, whereas a mere digest refers properly to the form only. Yet, since the grounds of these rules are now obsolete, and since the existing remnants of them are mere incumbrances, it must be obvious that no digest could be beneficially undertaken, the framers of which were not authorized to make changes to this extent.

A digest of the whole law would probably be objected to by the cautious or timid as a sweeping and perilous innovation on the existing institutions of the country. To this it may be answered, that, in fact, a digest of the existing law would not, of necessity, be accompanied by changes in its substance or effect; the appropriate object of a digest being, not to innovate on the substance of the existing law, but to render it by fit changes in its form more accessible and perspicuous. Those changes which might be found requisite in order to make the rules, which are now conflicting, consistent and harmonious, and those occasioned by clearing away the remnants of rules founded on notions now obsolete, could not, we conceive, on just grounds be objected to by any. It may here be observed that though existing rights or interests might probably, unless great caution were used, be disturbed by any digest of the laws relating to property, yet a digest of the criminal law is in no wise obnoxious to this important objection.

The change produced by the digest would not only, with the unimportant exception just noticed, be limited to the form of the law, but would also be in fact apparent, rather than real. It would not amount to the introduction of a new code; it would merely substitute a digest of the law made by the authority of the legislature, for those imperfect digests which in the administration of justice are commonly resorted to; it would be a compendium of the existing rules and enactments, excepting the comparatively few which might be purposely rejected or modified in substance. A new digest would state the existing law less incompletely and inaccurately than the treatises which are now usually resorted to in practice. If any omissions or mistatements should chance to be made, they would gradually be brought to light in the administration of criminal justice, and as discovered might easily be reported on by the judges, and from time to time corrected by acts of the legislature. In estimating the propriety of any change, such as that proposed, the question is not whether the new plan will be absolutely perfect, but whether there is a great preponderating balance of considerations in its favour, although it may be admitted that some evil or inconvenience must, of necessity, be incident to the change.

But it will probably be objected, that, inasmuch as the digest would be in the nature of a statute, it would not be applicable to any case not embraced by its express provisions, while the common law, in its present form, is applicable to every case that can possibly arise. To this it may be answered, that the common law has been created by the judicial or indirect legislation of the courts, since it lies in judicial decisions and in opinions which the courts receive as authorities; or if the common law has not been *created*, but has only been *declared*, by the courts, it is certain that these decisions, coupled with these opinions, are the only authentic exponents of it. The extent, therefore, of the common law, as authentically declared, is commensurate with the extent of these authorities. So far as these authorities reach, there *is* a common law; where they terminate, there is *not* a common law, and consequently a complete digest of the common law rules, as indicated by these authorities, would be as extensively applicable as the same common law rules in their present undigested form.

The objection proceeds on a misconception of the nature of the common law, which is really a system of law indicated by the authorities, and not the *arbitrium* or will of the courts; but if the common law be really *law*, and not a plausible name for the *arbitrium* of the judges, its provisions cannot be infinite, since a body of law, whose provisions were infinite, would not be ascertainable. The extent of the common law is commensurate with the extent of the authorities by which it is indicated, just as the extent of the statute law is commensurate with the extent of the enactments by which it is expressed. If, under pretext of administering the common law, a tribunal convicted and punished without the warrant of an authority, it would not do so agreeably to law, or at least not according to any law which was authentically declared, and which could have been previously known. The conviction, therefore, would be arbitrary. Or supposing that the decision of the court introduced a new rule, or declared for the first time a rule, the rule thus introduced would be *ex post facto*—a law which could not have been in the contemplation of the person upon whom it is brought to bear at the time when he committed the act which it declares to be a crime.

Those who make the objection in question mean to eulogise the common law, but, in truth, they libel it.

In earlier ages, this *ex post facto* legislation was, of necessity, frequent; the legislature being incapable or supine, the wants of the community would not have been provided for unless the courts of justice had thus interfered. But partly in this way, and partly by acts of the legislature, a body of law adequate to most of these wants was gradually formed, and since then *ex post facto* legislation has become comparatively infrequent. The courts now abide, for the most part, by authorities and statutes, and perhaps may be reproached with a servile adherence to the rules thus established rather than with the audacity and frequency of their *ex post facto* legislation.

ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS OF THE ITALIAN STATES.

One great characteristic of most modern European monarchies, which distinguishes them from the former feudal ones, is civil equality, meaning equality before the law, so that persons of all classes are alike amenable to the same tribunals, are judged by the same laws, and are subject to the same penalties,—that they all bear their share of the taxation and are all admissible to the offices and employments of the state. This principle is acknowledged and acted upon in most of the Italian States; and more especially in the kingdom of Naples, in Austrian Italy, and in Tuscany. In the continental Sardinian states the nobility have retained some privileges, though greatly circumscribed; feudal jurisdictions have been long abolished; persons of all classes are tried before the same courts. With regard to penalties, the following article occurs in the Sardinian regulations:—"When the convicted criminals are noble, if their crimes be not such as to carry with them the stain of infamy *de jure et de facto* (for in that case they shall not be entitled to any consideration whatsoever), the judges, out of regard for their rank, instead of infamatory penalties, shall award them such others as are more suitable to their condition, but still proportionate to their guilt."

The island of Sardinia is the only part of Italy where feudality in its strict sense still exists; the island is divided into a number of fiefs having baronial courts for matters of inferior jurisdiction, but the higher tribunals are filled by, and administered in the name of, the king This is the only instance of feudality remaining in Italy. In the island of Sicily the feudal system continued till 1812, when the barons themselves, in parliament assembled, renounced their feudal rights, jurisdictions, and immunities; and declared that they should henceforth hold their lands as allodial, retaining however the order of inheritance by primogenture and *fidei-commissi*, which have been abolished in the continental kingdom of Naples. In December, 1816, King Ferdinand, in decreeing the union of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and their subjection to an uniform administration, confirmed by an article of that decree the abolition of feudality in Sicily.

Another feature which distinguishes several of the modern monarchies, however absolute in principle, from pure despotism, is the institution of provincial and communal assemblies which are not legislative, but deliberative bodies, and which concern themselves especially with matters of public economy, and with the finances and taxation of their respective districts. Their powers are more or less extensive in various countries. Provincial assemblies exist in most of the German states, and in Prussia particularly. In the several countries composing the Austrian empire they have long existed under the name of *provinzial-stände*, and they have been likewise introduced into Austrian Italy since 1814; they are there styled congregations, and are of two sorts—central congregations, of which one sits at Milan and the other at Venice, and provincial congregations, of which there is one in the chief town of every province. The members of these assemblies are chosen in equal numbers from among the nobles, landed proprietors, and deputies of the towns. Those of the two central congregations are selected by the sovereign out of the triple lists of candidates which are made out by the communal councils or municipalities. They retain their seat for six years, and receive a yearly salary of 2000 florins. The members of the provincial congregations were chosen in the same manner for the first time, but all subsequent elections are made by the congregations themselves on the lists presented by the communal councils: the members of the provincial congregations receive no emoluments. These assemblies concern themselves with the distribution of the taxes and other charges among the various districts and communes; they have the superintendence of the roads, bridges, and canals, and of the charitable establishments; they examine the annual budgets of the communes, and they decide upon all matters which are referred to them by the executive. The central congregations have also the right of addressing the sovereign by petition on other subjects relating to the wants and wishes of the people.

In the kingdom of Naples the powers of the provincial councils appear to be equally if not more extended. These bodies are intended both as an aid to and a check upon the intendants and sub-intendants, who are the governors of each province, and to see that those officers may not overstep the powers that are intrusted to them by the laws. The king appoints the members of the provincial councils out of the lists furnished by the municipalities or communes. A magistrate or judge may be a member of the provincial councils, but in all other cases no person can fill judicial and administrative offices at the same time. The provincial councillors are under the guarantee of the law, and cannot be brought before a court of justice without a special authorization from the king.

Of the working of these institutions we cannot speak positively, but we hear the present civil administration of the kingdom of Naples spoken of favourably, as extremely well organized and regular, and as being a great improvement on that which formerly existed. The intendants of the various provinces are appointed by the king, generally for three years, after which they are either confirmed or transferred to another province. They are generally men of superior education, and of the most respectable character. The intendant is the civil and political head of the province, and the receiver-general or financial officer is also subordinate to him. For military matters there is a commandant in every province. A sub-intendant resides in the second town of the province. Every province is subdivided into districts and communes, and every commune has its syndic and its decurioni or municipal council. A rural police is established in the country districts, and an urban police in the towns.

The kingdom of Naples, or, more properly speaking, the continental part of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, is divided into fifteen provinces, namely, Naples; Terra di Lavoro, chief town, Caserta; Principato Citra, chief town, Salerno; Principato Ultra, chief town, Avellino; Basilicata, chief town, Potenza; Capitanata, chief town, Foggia; Terra di Bari, chief town, Bari; Terra d'Otranto, chief town, Lecce; Calabria Citra, chief town, Cosenza; Calabria ultra Prima, chief town, Reggio; Calabria ultra Seconda, chief town, Catanzaro; Sannio, formerly called Contado di Molise, chief town, Campobasso; Abruzzo Citra, chief town, Chieti; Abruzzo ultra Primo, chief town, Teramo; Abruzzo, ultra Secondo, chief town, Aquila. In every chief town of a province there is a criminal court and a civil court of justice. In every district there is a judge of instruction dependent on the criminal court of the province. In every commune or village there is a justice of the peace, and likewise a *conciliatore*, chosen from among the chief proprietors, whose office is to endeavour to arrange amicably all minor disputes among his neighbours before the matter is made a subject of judicial proceedings. There are four courts of appeal, at Naples, Aquila, Trani, and Catanzaro; and, lastly, a supreme court has been established at Naples for the whole kingdom. This kingdom is the only Italian state in which the judicial proceedings, examination of witnesses, &c., are public, according to the principles of the French code of criminal instruction. The civil code is the same as the French, with a few modifications. There is also a commercial code, and there are three commercial tribunals, at Naples, Foggia, and Monteleone.

The supreme central power, both legislative and executive, resides in the king and his ministers. There are seven ministers, namely, the President, the ministers of foreign affairs, justice and ecclesiastical affairs, home department, finances, war and marine, and general police. There is besides a secretary for the affairs of Sicily.

The revenues are about twenty millions of ducats, of which one-third is derived from the *fondiaria*, or tax on real property (land and houses), the land tax being very heavy, in many instances more than 30 per cent. of the rent; another third from the indirect taxes, *i. e.* customs, octroi, monopoly of salt and tobacco, &c.; and the remaining third is made up by the stamps, registry, the revenue of the domains, post-office, lottery, &c. The expenses correspond nearly to the amount of the revenue. The heaviest item in the expenditure is that of the army, which amounts to between seven and eight millions of ducats. The budget of the minister of the interior ascends to above two millions, including half a million for public works, and nearly half a million more for charitable establishments; and that of the minister of finances, which includes the interest of the national debt, and the civil list, amounts to above six millions. The rest is absorbed by the ministries of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, foreign affairs, marine, and police. The national debt amounts to about one hundred millions of ducats, or seventeen millions sterling.

Naples is, of all the Italian states, the most completely organized after the manner of modern monarchies, such as Prussia for instance, and on the principles of civil equality, uniformity of laws, fixed forms of administration and judicial proceedings, separation of the civil and judicial powers, local councils in the provinces, and a supreme power above all in the central government. It is, however, still deficient in one great element of harmony and stability, as well as of progress, which Prussia seems to have secured, and that is a general diffusion of instruction and moral education among all classes of the people. On the subject of the general instruction in the various Italian states, we have not space to enter here, but we may refer our readers to a detailed statistical account of it in Number XVI. of the 'Journal of Education,' October, 1834.

The military force of the kingdom of the two Sicilies consists of two regiments of guards, ten regiments of infantry, four Swiss regiments, five regiments of cavalry, two of artillery, two battalions of engineers, and a strong body of gendarmes stationed in detachments over the country for the public security. The whole force may be calculated at 35,000 men.

In the continential part of the kingdom, there are 20 archbishops, 65 bishops, and nearly 4000 parishes. In the island of Sicily are 3 archbishops and 11 bishops, besides 50 abbots. The monks and friars are very numerous in Sicily; in the kingdom of Naples most of the convents which were possessed of property, were suppressed under the French, while the mendicant orders who had no property were continued. Since the Restoration several convents of monks have been re-established, and part of their former property which had not been sold, has been restored to them.

We now pass to view the country next to Naples, namely the Papal State, the government of which is in many respects peculiar to itself.

Provincial councils have been lately established by the present pope, but we are not acquainted with their powers. For ages past, however, communal councils have existed in all the towns, and also in the rural communes of the papal state, enjoying extensive powers. This institution was confirmed or rather remodelled by the late Pope Leo XII. in the regulations he published in October 1824, under the name of 'Reform of the public administration, and of the proceedings of the civil court,' the fifth chapter of which is devoted to the organization of the communes. Each town or village has a council which deliberates upon affairs of local interest, and a magistracy or local administration. The councils consist of 48, 36, 24, or 18 members, according to the number of the population: in the villages or communes of not more than one thousand souls, the council is composed of eighteen members. The councillors are selected in equal proportions from the two classes, the nobles or *notables* (meaning the chief landed proprietors), and the citizens and farmers. The office of councillor is for life, and vacancies are filled up by the councils themselves. The councils elect the head magistrate called "gonfaloniere," and six "elders" in large towns, and four or two elders only in smaller towns or villages. The elders must be chosen in equal proportions from the two classes of which the councils are formed. The choice made by the councils is laid before the delegate or governor of the province for his approbation. The gonfaloniere is renewed every year; the elders remain in office for two years. The communal councils appoint likewise to all local offices and employments; they pay the local police, the schoolmaster, and the apothecary and surgeon, who are obliged to attend the poor gratis; they assess the rates and other charges to defray the expenses. The *tabella* or budget for the ensuing year, is prepared by the gonfaloniere and the elders, and laid before the council, who approve or modify it, after which it is forwarded to the delegate of the province, who examines it, and then forwards it to the congregation called "del buon governo," at Rome, which congregation is peculiarly concerned with all municipal affairs. Having received its sanction, the *tabella* is returned to the commune and published at the beginning of the year, having then force of law, from which neither magistrates nor governors must deviate. All sales, leases, and contracts for the service of the community, are made by public auction. We have entered into these particulars, because we think that they are interesting as relating to a country of whose internal administration little is generally known. Count Tournon, who was Prefect of Rome during the French occupation, expresses, in a work he has written upon that country, the surprise he felt "at finding this municipal system in a state where people fancy that every thing is left to the will or caprice of the sovereign and his ministers;" and he asserts that the authority of the municipal councils is more extensive and more independent in the Papal State than in France. Count Tournon found also at Rome other matters more liberally managed than he had expected; for instance, on examining the system of the papal revenue, he "was struck by the fact of the equal distribution of the direct taxation (which constitutes nearly one half of the revenue), of which the clergy and the nobility have always borne their share like the humble villagers, and in proportion to their respective properties; exemptions and privileges which in other countries have engendered so much hostility against the favoured classes, have been for ages unknown to Papal Rome." The yearly sum allotted to the pope for his household and privy purse, he found to be only 127,000 dollars "a very modest sum," he observes, "for a sovereign prince."

The administration of the Papal State is in the hands of the pope and his ministers, who are all either cardinals or prelates. The word prelate, however, at Rome, does not mean a bishop, but an official servant of the pope, either in his temporal or in his spiritual capacity, and who is not necessarily a presbyter. Indeed, many prelates are not priests, although they wear the clerical dress, and have taken the minor orders: unless they have entered the sacred orders, which begin with that of sub-deacon, they can give up their office, and become again laymen. The same may be said of the *abbati*, who wear the clerical dress because they hold some employment, administrative or judicial, under the government. The body of prelates consists of from 200 to 250 individuals, who are classed in different ranks: some are attached to the person of the pope, and constitute his court; others act as secretaries of the numerous congregations or boards; and those who distinguish themselves are promoted to the higher offices either of the church or of the temporal state, as nuncios, delegates, judges of the supreme courts of justice, and to the situations of treasurer, auditor, governor of Rome, &c.

The ministers of the pope, in his capacity of temporal sovereign, are, the cardinal secretary of state, or first minister, and the cardinal camerlengo, or minister of finances: they have now added, it seems, a minister for the home department, which department was before under the superintendence of the secretary of state, and a secretary at war. The governor of Rome has the direction of the police of the capital. The principal business of the internal government, however, is transacted by Boards (*Congregazioni*), such as La Sacra Consulta, which superintends the political and civil administration of the provinces: the Apostolic Chamber, which is a treasury board; the Buon Governo, already mentioned, &c. Several of these Boards have also judicial powers vested in them.

The Papal State is divided into thirteen provinces, five of which (namely, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forli, and Pesaro e Urbino) are called legations, the political head of each being generally a cardinal. The other eight are styled delegations, and are administered by delegates, who are mostly simple prelates, though some of them are occasionally cardinals. These eight delegations are called by the names of the principal towns, *i. e.*, Macerata e Camerino, Fermo e Ascoli, Ancona, Perugia, Spoleto e Rieti, Viterbo e Civitavecchia, Frosinone, and Benevento. The legate or delegate is the head of the political administration. He is assisted by a council of government, composed of the gonfaloniere and two elders of the town in which he resides. His assessor, who is a lawyer, acts as judge in civil matters for the chief town of the province, and in each of the other towns the respective governor exercises judicial power both in civil and criminal affairs of minor importance. In each province there is a magistrate called *pretore*, who judges civil suits in the first instance, and from whom there is an appeal to the court of the *Rota* at Rome, and the court of appeal at Bologna. In each province there is a criminal court, composed of the delegate and four assessors, which receives appeals from the sentences of the governors of the towns. Lastly, there are two high criminal courts for the whole state, the Sacra Consulta at Rome, and the court of appeal of Bologna. The proceedings in all the criminal courts take place with closed doors, and the depositions of witnesses are taken down in writing, according to the old system of cri-

minal jurisprudence. The accused is defended by the *avvocato de' poveri*, who is paid by the State, and who generally is a man of superior abilities, and enjoying high consideration. The accused, however, may provide himself with another counsel. The fiscal attorney is the public prosecutor. Pius VII., by a *motu proprio*, or ordinance, dated 1816, directed that, in all sentences in future, the judges should clearly state the grounds on which they have proceeded, and define the nature of the offence, and that no other penalty should be awarded but that which the law has fixed. Every species of torture was likewise abolished by the same pope.

The judges are appointed by the sovereign. The qualifications of a candidate are, that he be above thirty years of age, of legitimate birth, a spotless character, be a doctor of law, and that he have practised at the bar at least five years.

There is in each diocese an ecclesiastical court depending on the bishop, or archbishop, for the trial of all matters in which churchmen are concerned, and which has also jurisdiction over laymen in those cases which, by the canon law, are referred to the ecclesiastical authority.

Lastly, there are nine commercial tribunals in the various ports and principal trading towns in the Papal State, in which the French commercial code is followed.

All the above ministers, congregations, and courts, are concerned with the temporal matters of the Papal State, and are distinct from the spiritual hierarchy of the church, which is very numerous, and which administers, under the pope, the affairs of the Catholic Church. We refer those readers who may wish for more detailed information on these multifarious and intricate subjects, to the excellent work of Count Tournon, above quoted (*Etudes Statistiques sur Rome*), the only one we know of that gives a clear idea of the Papal government, and also to a comprehensive review of it which appeared in the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' No. XXI. Jan. 1833.

From the short sketch we have given, it will appear that the administration of the Papal State, and especially the judicial branch of it, are essentially different, both in principle and in practice, from those of the kingdom of Naples. The Papal administration, however, has been considerably *modernized* of late years, not only in many matters of practical detail, but also in some essential points of principle. For instance, feudality may be considered as abolished: the few baronial governors still remaining in some fiefs which have not been suppressed, have hardly any power; they can only pronounce in civil cases of sums not exceeding ten dollars, and even in these there is appeal to the prætor of the province. The above-mentioned regulations of Leo XII., issued in October, 1824, abolished "all compulsory personal services of the vassals to the barons, all feudal tolls and duties, all monopolies of ovens and shambles, all reservations of game and fishing, all regalia under whatever denomination, and all rights of inheritance formerly reserved to the baron." With regard to those rights which may be called manorial, such as rights of pasture, or forest timber, of mills, of fees and fines, &c., which may be possessed as well by other individuals not having baronial rank, it was declared that they should continue to be held by the actual possessors as allodial property.

Another point in which the Papal administration has relaxed its former exclusiveness, is the more extensive admission of laymen (not prelates, many of whom are, as we have said, not churchmen) to official employments, though not to the higher offices.

A new civil Code for the Papal State has long been in preparation, and its publication is announced by a motu-proprio of Gregory XVI., of November last. Report speaks of some of its provisions as conceived in a liberal spirit, especially those concerning the rights of females to inheritance, from which they were once excluded.

There are in the Papal State 8 archbishops, 58 bishops, and 13 abbots. The numbers of the clergy in the city of Rome, in the year 1831, were—1432 secular priests, 1904 monks and friars, and 1375 nuns. We have no authentic statement of the number of the clergy in the whole State.

The military force of the Papal State has been much increased since 1831; it now consists of 8000 infantry, besides two Swiss regiments of two battalions each, one regiment of dragoons, one regiment of artillery, and 2300 carabineers, who do the police and patrol duty, like the gendarmes in France. There are also four provincial battalions, who are a sort of embodied militia. The expense of the military department is about ten millions of francs yearly.

We now proceed to the third state of Southern Italy,—namely, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The principle of administration is nearly the same as that of the kingdom of Naples, *i. e.*, civil equality. All classes, nobles and citizens, ecclesiastics and laymen, are subject to the same laws, the same taxation, and are amenable to the same tribunals. There are no exclusive privileges. The charges and offices of the state are filled indiscriminately by men of either humble or noble birth, and chiefly from the ranks of the legal profession. The country is divided for the purposes of political administration into five *compartimenti*, or provinces,—namely, Florence, Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, and Grosseto. Each of these has its provveditore, who is its political head or governor. The compartimenti are subdivided into cancellerie, and these again into communities. There are 240 communities in the whole duchy. The magistrate of each community is called gonfaloniere, as in the Roman State. The judicial authority, however, is separate from the political; the country is divided for judicial purposes into 121 districts, called Vicariati or Podesterie, with one judge in each, who decides civil affairs in the first instance. Five courts of appeal, called Ruote, sit in the chief towns of the five provinces. Lastly, a supreme council of justice at Florence revises in the last appeal sentences brought before it from the other courts. For criminal matters there is a tribunal at Florence which has jurisdiction over the whole Grand Duchy, except the district of the Maremme, and the island of Elba, for which there is a criminal court at Grosseto. The tribunal of Florence consists of fifteen judges, ten of whom sit in two bodies of five at a time, in turn, and the remaining five form a court of revision when a new trial is obtained by the advocate of the accused. If one court of five judges is proved before another court of the same number to have decided irregularly or partially, a third court of the remaining five judges hears the cause again. When a man is arrested for an alleged crime, the chancellor of the court, or the judge of the district, examines the witnesses in private, and endeavours to elicit the truth: and if he finds sufficient ground he returns a true bill against the accused. The written depositions are then examined by one of the judges of the criminal court, who, after having studied the case, reports on the same to his colleagues, who are to give the final verdict, and award the punishment. On the day of the trial, which is held in public, the prisoner is placed before the court to hear his trial read. In capital cases the prisoner may, on assigning satisfactory reasons, call for any of the witnesses and have them examined over again in his presence. After the reporting judge has read the evidence, the fiscal advocate or public accuser gives his opinion on the nature of the crime and the punishment required by the law. He is strictly forbidden from speaking in aggravation of the case, or appealing in the slightest degree to the feelings of the judges. The advocate of the accused next rises, and speaks for the defence, and he is at full liberty to use any arguments, and employ any oratorical means, in favour of his client. The fiscal advocate seldom replies, except for the purpose of correcting matters of fact. The judges then retire and give their sentence, which is read to the prisoner.

The criminal code is mild: death is only awarded for the crimes of premeditated murder, highway robbery, and house-breaking. But these are extremely rare in Tuscany. In cases of duel, if the challenged is killed, the survivor is sent to the galleys for fourteen years; but if the challenger falls, his antagonist is condemned only to seven years. Applications to the Sovereign for commutation or modification of the penalties are frequent, and often successful, except in very flagrant cases.

Of the 16,000,000 francs which constitue the revenue of Tuscany, 3,500,000 are derived from the prædial or land tax, 6,000,000 from the custom-houses, 3,500,000 from the government monopoly of salt and tobacco, 1,000,000 from the registration of deeds and contracts, 1,500,000 from the personal tax, 1,000,000 from the lottery, and the rest from the revenue of the national domains, the post-office, &c. The principal heads of expenditure are:—3,000,000 for the military department, 1,848,000 for the civil list, 11,000,000 for

the general administration, pensions, &c. The communes tax themselves separately for their local expenses. Tuscany is the only Italian state that has not a national debt. The taxes paid by each individual to the state are calculated at twelve livres, or about ten shillings, a year; and those paid for the communal expenses, at two and a half livres each. The military force of the state consists of 5,000 men.

The secular clergy consist of 3 archbishops—Florence, Pisa, and Siena; 17 bishops, 21 chapters, and 2,414 parish incumbents. Every candidate for holy orders must declare himself to have a patrimony, or income of his own, of at least thirty dollars a year. The same regulations exist in the Papal State, and we believe the requisite amount is rather higher. The archbishop of Florence has a revenue of 12,000 dollars; and the other sees are worth from 3000 to 4000 dollars a year. The canons of the various cathedrals have about 700 dollars per annum.

The regular or monastic clergy consist of 95 convents of men, 50 of which are friars of the mendicant order, and the other 45 are possessed of property; besides 67 nunneries. The total annual revenue of the convents and nunneries which hold property is about 1,500,000 livres, or 60,000*l.* sterling. Thirty years ago, before the suppression of the convents, they were possessed of a revenue of 10,000,000 livres, or about 400,000*l.* sterling. The number of monks who are proprietors is now about 1150. The number of mendicant friars who live by begging is 1400.

In Tuscany, the worship of Christian communions, not Catholic, is allowed. The Anglican church has a chapel at Leghorn, and the Lutheran church another. The Calvinists, or Swiss Protestants, have a chapel at Florence. The Greek church has likewise two churches. The Jews have several synagogues both at Florence and at Leghorn.

Here we must conclude, for the present, this sketch of the administration of the Italian States. We have passed in review the three states of Southern Italy,—namely, Naples, Rome, and Tuscany. We shall in a future number give a similar account of the North Italian States. Our sketch is necessarily imperfect, but it may serve to give a general idea of the social and political condition of the various Italian countries. Books of travels, and general geographical descriptions, seldom enter into the particulars of the internal administration; and yet that is, after all, the subject most closely connected with the welfare of the people.

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Table of British and Prussian Ships laden at Memel.

British

1824	1825.	1826	1827.	1828.	1829	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834
420	665	340	539	482	468	329	285	237	200	130

Prussian.

327	239	190	174	217	254	213	219	342	352	362

The decrease of British ships at Memel, within the last few years, is attributed to the great decrease of water on the bar. The depth of water, which used formerly to be sixteen and seventeen feet, is now only about eleven and a half feet. In consequence, the British ships, which draw much more water than the shallow-built Prussian ships, cannot now afford to load in port.

Newspapers in the British American provinces.—The first newspaper established in Canada, after its possession by the English, was the 'Quebec Gazette,' in 1765. The 'Montreal Gazette' was first published in 1775. In 1810 there were five newspapers in Lower Canada, and *one* in Upper Canada; in 1830, there were thirteen in the first, and nineteen in the second. In Nova Scotia, the first newspaper was published at Halifax in 1751. In 1810 there were three in the province, all published at Halifax. In 1830, they had increased to six, one of which was published at Pictou. New Brunswick has seven newspapers, Newfoundland four, Prince Edward Island one, and Bermuda one; total, in the British American provinces, fifty-one.

Number of Explosions of Steam-boat boilers in the United States.—A Committee of the United States Congress has issued two reports on the causes of the frequent explosions of the boilers of steam-boats, with the best mode of remedying the evil. The whole number of explosions from 1816 to 1831 is ascertained to be 52; the number of killed 256; and the number of wounded 104. Of these, the following summary indicates whether the engines were *high* or *low* pressure:—

		Killed.	Wounded.
13	High pressure; Accidents . .	115	54
27	Low pressure ditto . .	95	29
12	Character of engine not known, supposed to be chiefly high pressure . .	46	21
52		256	104

The causes assigned are principally the faulty construction of boilers, and carelessness and want of skill. Legislative interference is recommended to a certain extent; but the complete cure of the evil is suggested to be left to the force of public opinion, and the operation of those influences which always grow up and control commercial speculations in an advanced state of society.

The INCOME and CHARGE on the CONSOLIDATED FUND, in the Quarters ended 5th January, 1834 and 1835.

INCOME.	Quarters ended 5th Jan. 1834	1835.
	£.	£
Customs.—Consolidated Duties	2,664,469	3,085,826
Sugar applicable to the Consolidated Fund	501,692	917,847
Total Customs	£.3,166,161	4,003,673
Excise	4,264,493	3,484,200
Stamps	1,570,112	1,555,362
Taxes	1,808,701	1,633,120
Post Office	324,000	324,000
Miscellaneous	56,973	54,250
	£.11,195,440	11,050,705
To Cash brought to this Account to replace the like sum issued, or to be issued, out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland for Supply and other services	376,578	517,935
	£.11,572,018	11,568,640

CHARGE.	Quarters ended 5th Jan. 1834	1835.
	£	£
Permanent Debt	7,811,930	7,860,535
Terminable Annuities	482,695	686,095
Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund	9,367	8,430
Sinking Fund	259,183	234,437
The Civil List	127,500	127,500
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, including Civil Government Services formerly paid out of the Civil List, or the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown	342,392	329,116
Total Charge	£ 9,033,167	9,246,163
The Surplus	2,538,851	2,322,477
	£ 11,572,018	11,568,640
The Amount of Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund for the Quarter ended 10th October, 1834, and paid off out of the growing produce of that Fund for the Quarter ended 5th January, 1835	—	4,852,799
The Amount issued in the Quarter ended 5th January, 1835, in part of the Sums granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund for Supply Services	2,774,487	—
The Surplus of the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th January, 1835	2,322,477	452,010
The probable Amount of Exchequer Bills required to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th January, 1835	—	£5,304,809

Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England for the quarter ending 13th January, 1835:—

Circulation	£18,012,000	Securities	£26,390,000
Deposits	12,585,000	Bullion	6,741,000

Bankruptcy Analysis from January 2 to January 23.

Agents, 2; attorney, 1; auctioneer, 1; banker, 1; booksellers, 2; broker, 1; butchers, 2; button-manufacturer, 1; carpenters, 2; cheesefactor, 1; chemists, 3; chinaman, 1; civil engineer, 1; clothiers, 2; coal-dealer, 1; coachmakers, 2; coach-proprietor, 1; cork-merchant, 1; curriers, 2; drapers, 3; flour-factors, 2; fustian manufacturer, 1; grocers, 5; innkeepers, 5; ironfounder, 1; ironmonger, 1; manufacturer, 1; machine-makers, 2; mahogany-dealer, 1; music-seller, 1; miller, 1; merchants, 4; master-mariner, 1; paper-dealer, 1; scrivener, 1; ship-owner, 1; slater, 1; spoon-manufacturer, 1; surgeon, 1; tailors, 4; tea-dealer, 1; timber-merchants, 2; upholsterer, 1; victuallers, 4; vinegar-merchant, 1; watchmaker, 1; wine-merchant, 1; wool-stapler, 1; woollen-drapers, 3; woollen-manufacturers, 4; warehouseman, 1. Total, 86.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS.

N.B. The Figures exhibit the final state of the Poll where the Elections have been contested.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Abingdon	T. Duffield	T. Duffield	
Albans, St.	Sir F. Vincent	H. G. Ward, 248	Hon. Mr. Beresford, 236
	H. G. Ward	Hon. E. H. Grimston, 360	
Andover	H. A. W. Fellowes	R. Etwall, 149	E. Nightingale, 100
	Ralph Etwall	Sir J. W. Pollen, 108	E. R. Tunno, 35
Anglesey (County)	Sir R. B. Bulkeley	Sir R. B. Bulkeley	
Arundel	Lord D. C. Stuart	Lord D. C. Stuart	
Ashburton	W. S. Poyntz	C. Lushington, 89	H. Palmer, 71
Ashton-under-Line	Colonel G. Williams	C. Hindley, 212	Colonel G. Williams, 63
			— Helps, 105
Aylesbury	W. Rickford	W. Rickford, 855	T. B. Hobhouse, 518
	W. H. Hanmer	W. H. Hanmer, 586	Dr. J. Lee, 269
Banbury	H. W. Tancred	H. W. Tancred, 205	Lloyd Williams, 45
Barnstaple	J. P. B. Chichester	J. P. B. Chichester	
	C. St. John Fancourt	C. St. John Fancourt	
Bassetlaw	Viscount Newark	G. H. Vernon, 1285	— Clinton, 1164
	G. H. Vernon	Hon. A. Duncombe, 1252	
Bath	Major-General C. Palmer	Major-General C. Palmer, 1101	Colonel Daubeny, 700
	J. A. Roebuck	J. A. Roebuck, 1052	
Beaumaris	Captain Frederick Paget	Captain Frederick Paget	
Bedford (County)	Lord C. J. Fox Russell	Lord C. J. Fox Russell	
	William Stuart	Lord Alford	
Bedford	W. H. Whitbread	S. Crawley, 403	W. H. Whitbread, 393
	S. Crawley	F. Polhill, 490	
Berks (County)	R. Throckmorton	R. Palmer	
	R. Palmer	J. Walter	
	J. Walter	P. Pusey	
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Sir R. S. Donkin	Sir R. S. Donkin, 350	Sir F. Blake, 337
	Sir F. Blake	J. Bradshawe, 410	
Beverley	Hon. C. Langdale	H. Burton, 497	Joseph Sykes, 314
	H. Burton	J. W. Hogg, 523	
Bewdley	Sir T. C. Winnington	Sir T. C. Winnington	
Birmingham	Thomas Atwood	Thomas Atwood, 1729	— Spooner, 907
	Joshua Scholefield	Joshua Scholefield, 1664	
Blackburn	W. Fielden	W. Fielden, 316	Dr. Bowring, 303
	W. Turner	W. Turner, 432	
Bodmin	William Peter	Sir S. T. Spry, 158	Lord Elliot, 118
	Sir S. T. Spry	Major Vivian, 170	
Bolton	Colonel R. Torrens	William Bolling, 631	Colonel R. Torrens, 344
	William Bolling	C. Ainsworth, 590	
Boston	John Wilks	John Wilks, 356	Benjamin Handley, 321
	Benjamin Handley	— Brownrigg, 532	
Bradford	E. C. Lister	E. C. Lister, 581	— Hadfield, 389
	John Hardy	John Hardy, 600	
Brecon (County)	Colonel T. Wood	Colonel T. Wood	
Brecon	J. L. V. Watkins	C. M. R. Morgan	
Bridgenorth	R. Pigott	R. Pigott, 423	H. Tracy, 353
	T. C. Whitmore	T. C. Whitmore, 490	
Bridgewater	C. K. K. Tynte	C. K. K. Tynte, 234	— Broadwood, 190
	William Tayleur	J. T. Leader, 208	— Martin, 162
Bridport	J. Romilly	H. Warburton	
	H. Warburton	H. Twiss	
Brighton	J. N. Wigney	J. N. Wigney, 524	Sir Adolphus Dalrymple, 479
	G. Faithful	Captain Pechell, 560	G. Faithfull, 469
Bristol	Sir R. R. Vyvyan	Sir R. R. Vyvyan, 3307	J. E. Baillie, 2512
	J. E. Baillie	P. J. Miles, 3699	Sir J. C. Hobhouse, 1808
Buckingham (County)	Marquis of Chandos	Marquis of Chandos, 3091	G. H. Dashwood, 1672
	J. Smith	Sir W. L. Young, 2349	Dr. J. Lee, 1367
	G. H. Dashwood	J. B. Praed, 2179	
Buckingham	Sir T. F. Freemantle	Sir T. F. Freemantle	
	Sir Harry Verney	Sir Harry Verney	
Bury	R. Walker	R. Walker	
Bury St. Edmunds	Earl Jermyn	Earl Jermyn, 254	— Bunbury, 230
	Lord C. Fitzroy	Lord C. Fitzroy, 244	
Calne	Earl of Kerry	Earl of Kerry	
Cambridge (County)	Captain C. P. Yorke	E. T. Yorke, 3870	J. W. Childers, 2977
	R. G. Townley	R. J. Eaton, 3263	
	J. W. Childers	R. G. Townley, 3067	
Cambridge University	Right Hon. H. Goulbourn	Right Hon. H. Goulbourn	
	Right Hon. Sir C. M. Sutton	Right Hon. Sir C. M. Sutton	
Cambridge Town	Right Hon. T. Spring Rice	Right Hon. T. Spring Rice, 736	— Knight, 688
	G. Pryme	G. Pryme, 693	
Canterbury	Lord Fordwich	Lord A. Conyngham, 768	S. R. Lushington, 664
	Hon. R. Watson	F. Villiers, 668.	
Cardiff	J. Nicholl, jun.	J. Nicholl, junior	
Cardigan (County)	Colonel W. E. Powell	Colonel W. E. Powell	
Cardigan	Pryse Pryse	Pryse Pryse	
Carlisle	P. H. Howard	P. H. Howard	
	W. James	William Marshall	
Carmarthen (County)	Hon. G. R. Rice Trevor	Hon. G. R. Rice Trevor, 2210	John Jones, 1841
	E. H. Adams	Sir J. H. Williams, 1938	
Carmarthen	Hon. W. H. Yelverton	D. Lewis	

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Carnarvon (County)	T. A. Smith	T. A. Smith	
Carnarvon	Hon. Sir C. Paget	Colonel Parry, 177	Major Nánney, 126
Chatham	G. S. Byng	Admiral Sir J. Beresford	
Cheltenham	Hon. C. F. Berkeley	Hon. C. F. Berkeley, 411	— Gaskell, 25
Cheshire (S.)	E. J. Stanley	E. J. Stanley	
	W. T. Egerton	W. T. Egerton	
Cheshire (N.)	Earl Grosvenor	G. Wilbraham	
	G. Wilbraham	Sir P. G. Egerton	
Chester	Lord R. Grosvenor	Lord R. Grosvenor	
	J. Jervis	J. Jervis	
Chichester	Lord A. Lennox	Lord A. Lennox, 486	J. Cobbett, 121
	J. A. Smith	J. A Smith, 421	
Chippenham	Joseph Neeld	Joseph Neeld	
	W. H. F. Talbot	H. G. Boldero	
Christchurch	G. W. Tapps	G. W. Tapps	
Cirencester	Lord R. Somerset	Lord E. Somerset	
	J. Cripps	J. Cripps	
Clithero	John Fort	John Fort	
Cockermouth	F. L. B. Dykes	F. L. B. Dykes, 145	— Horsman, 113
	H. A. Aglionby	H. A. Aglionby, 192	
Colchester	D. W. Harvey	R. Sanderson, 638	— Tufnel, 504
	R. Sanderson	Sir G. H. Smyth, 566	
Cornwall (W.)	Sir C. Lemon	Sir C. Lemon	
	E. W. W. Pendarves	E. W. Pendarves	
Cornwall (E.)	Sir W. Molesworth	Sir W. Molesworth	
	W. L. S. Trelawny	W. L. S. Trelawny	
Coventry	Right Hon. Edward Ellice	Right Hon E. Ellice, 1601	Morgan Thomas, 1566
	H. L. Bulwer	William Williams, 1865	
Cricklade	T. Calley	R. Gordon	
	R. Gordon	J. Neeld	
Cumberland (E.)	Right Hon. Sir J. Graham	Right Hon. Sir J. Graham	
	W. Blamire	W. Blamire	
Cumberland (W.)	Edward Stanley	Edward Stanley, 1899	Major Aglionby, 1581
	Samuel Irton	Samuel Irton, 1883	
Dartmouth	Lieutenant-Colonel Seale	Lieutenant-Colonel Seale	
Denbigh (County)	Sir W. W. Wynn	Sir W. W. Wynn, 2386	R. M. Biddulph, 1259
	R. M. Biddulph	Hon. Wm. Bagot, 1512	
Denbigh	J. Maddocks	Wilson Jones, 490	J. Maddocks, 242
Derby (County, N.)	Lord Cavendish	Hon. G. Cavendish	
	Thomas Gisborne	Thomas Gisborne	
Derby (County, S.)	Lord Waterpark	Sir R. Griesley, 2195	Hon. G. Vernon, 1951
	Hon. G. J. F. Vernon	Sir G. Crewe, 2517	Lord Waterpark, 1910
Derby	Hon. H. F. C. Cavendish	E. Strutt, 903	— Curzon, 525.
	E. Strutt	Hon. C. Ponsonby, 724	
Devizes	Wadham Locke	Wadham Locke, 240	— Bouverie, 96
	Sir P. C. H. Durham	Sir P. C. H. Durham, 154	
Devonshire (N.)	Viscount Ebrington	Viscount Ebrington	
	Hon. N. Fellowes	Hon. N. Fellowes	
Devonshire (S.)	Lord John Russell	Lord John Russell	
	J. C. Bulteel	Sir J. Y. B. Buller	
Devonport	Sir G. Grey	Sir G. Grey, 644	Right Hon. G. R. Dawson, 582
	Sir Edward Codrington	Sir Edward Codrington, 931	
Dorchester	Hon. H. Ashley Cooper	Hon. H. Ashley Cooper	
	R. Williams	R. Williams	
Dorset (County)	Viscount Ashley	Viscount Ashley	
	Hon. W. F. Ponsonby	Hon. W. F. Ponsonby	
	W. J. Banks	Henry C. Sturt	
Dover	John Halcomb	Sir J. R. Reid, 782	Edward Rice, 761
	Sir J. R. Reid	J. M. Fector, 908	
Droitwich	J. H. Foley	John Barneby, 125	J. H. Foley, 122
Dudley	Thomas Hawkes	Thomas Hawkes, 327	Captain Forbes, 250
Durham (N.)	Sir H. Williamson	Sir H. Williamson	
	H. Lambton	H. Lambton	
Durham (S.)	Joseph Pease	Joseph Pease	
	John Bowes	John Bowes	
Durham (City)	C. Harland	Hon. A. Trevor, 471	— Grainger, 345
	W. R. C. Chaytor	W. C. Harland, 427	
Essex (N.)	Sir J. T. Tyrrell	Sir J. T. Tyrrell	
	Right Hon. Alexander Baring	Right Hon. Alexander Baring	
Essex (S.)	Sir T. B. Lennard	R. W. H. Dare, 2220	— Branfil, 991
	R. W. H. Dare	T. W. Bramston, 2117	
Evesham	Sir C. Cockerill	Sir C. Cockerill	
	T. Hudson	P. Borthwick	
Exeter	J. W. Buller	Edward Divett, 1176	J. W. Buller, 1029
	Edward Divett	Sir W. W. Follett, 1424	
Eye	Major-General Sir E. Kerrison	Major-General Sir E. Kerrison	
Finsbury	Hon. T. S. Duncombe	Hon. T. S. Duncombe, 4497	Mr. Serjeant Spankie, 2332
	Mr. Serjeant Spankie	T. Wakley, 3359	R. Hobhouse, 1817
Flint (County)	Hon. E. M. L. Mostyn	Hon. E. M. L. Mostyn	
Flint	Sir S. R. Glynne	Sir S. R. Glynne	
Frome	T. Sheppard	T. Sheppard, 100	Hon. Admiral Sir C. Boyle, 51 Matthew Bridges, 78
Gateshead	Cuthbert Rippon	Cuthbert Rippon	
Glamorgan (County)	C. R. M. Talbot	C. R. M. Talbot	
	L. W. Dillwyn	L. W. Dillwyn	
Gloucester (E.)	Hon. A. H. Moreton	Hon. A. H. Moreton	
	C. W. Codrington	C. W. Codrington	
Gloucester (W.)	Hon. G. F. Berkeley	Hon. G. F. Berkeley	
	Hon. A. H. Moreton	Marquis of Worcester	

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Gloucester	John Phillpotts	H. T. Hope, 621	John Phillpotts, 598
	H. T. Hope	Capt. M. F. Berkeley, 708	— Cother, 402
Grantham	A. G. Talmash	A. G. Talmash, 351	G. F. Holt, 101
	G. E. Welby	G. E. Welby, 351	
Great Grimsby	William Maxfield	E. Heneage, 260	Sir A. Grant, 227
Greenwich	Captain Dundas	E. G. Barnard, 1102	M. W. Attwood, 1063
	E. G. Barnard	John Angerstein, 1826	
Guildford	J. Mangles	J. Mangles	R. A. C. Austin
	C. B. Wall	C. B. Wall	
Halifax	Charles Wood	Charles Wood, 336	Ed. Protheroe, 307
	Rawdon Briggs	Hon. J. S. Wortley, 308	
Hants County (N.)	C. Shaw Lefevre	C. Shaw Lefevre	
	J. W. Scott	J. W. Scott	
Hants County (S.)	Viscount Palmerston	J. W. Fleming, 1765	Viscount Palmerston, 1513
	Sir George Staunton	H. C. Compton, 1683	Sir George Staunton, 1474
Harwich	Right Hon. J. C. Herries	Right Hon. J. C. Herries, 97	Captain Verner, 36
	C. T. Tover	F. R. Bonham, 78	
Hastings	F. North	F. North, 374	Rt. Hon. Joseph Planta, 159
	J. A. Warre	H. Elphinstone, 292	— Briscoe, 158
Haverfordwest	Sir H. B. Phillips	W. H. Scoresfield, 241	J. H. Peel, 125
Helston	S. L. Fox	Lord J. Townsheud	
Hereford County	Sir R. Price	Sir R. Price, 2655	— Poole, 1953
	Kedgwin Hoskins	Kedgwin Hoskins, 3003	Sir R. Price, 2655
	Edward Thomas Foley	Edward Thomas Foley, 2779	
Hereford	E. B. Clive	E. B. Clive, 449	— Blakemore, 418
	R. Biddulph	R. Biddulph, 426	
Hertford County	Viscount Grimston	Viscount Grimston	
	Sir J. Sebright	Abel Smith	
	N. Calvert	Rowland Alston	
Hertford	Vacant	Lord Mahon, 359	Lord Ingestrie, 321
		Hon. W. Cowper, 328	
Honiton	Viscount Villiers	Colonel Baillie, 333	J. R. Todd, 221
	J. R. Todd	A. Chichester, 227	
Horsham	R. H. Hurst	R. H. Hurst, 127	— Broadwood, 124
Huddersfield	John Blackburne	John Blackburne, 241	General Johnson, 109
Huntingdon County	Viscount Mandeville	Viscount Mandeville	
	J. B. Rooper	J. B. Rooper	
Huntingdon	Colonel J. Peel	Colonel J. Peel	
	Sir F. Pollock	Sir F. Pollock	
Hythe	S. Marjoribanks	S. Marjoribanks	
Ipswich	J. Morrison	R. A. Dundas, 542	J. Morrison, 506
	R. Wason	Fitzroy Kelly, 545	R. Wason, 521
Ives, St (Cornwall)	James Halse	James Halse	
Kendal	John Barham	John Barham	
Kent (E.)	Sir E. Knatchbull	Sir E. Knatchbull	
	J. P. Plumptre	J. P Plumptre	
Kent (W.)	T. L. Hodges	Sir William Geary, 2558	T. Rider, 2007
	T. Rider	T. L. Hodges, 2093	
Kidderminster	R. Godson	G. R. Phillips, 197	R. Godson, 124
King's Lynn	Lord G. Bentinck	Lord G. Bentinck, 531	Sir J. S. Lillie, 238
	Lord William Pitt Lennox	Sir S. Canning, 416	
Kingston-upon-Hull	W. Hutt	W. Hutt, 1544	M. D. Hill, 1377
	M. D. Hill	D. Carruthers, 1843	
Knaresborough	J. Richards	J. Richards, 131	H. Rich, 111
	B. Rotch	A. Lawson, 179	Sir Gregory Lewin, 20
Lancashire (N.)	Right Hon. Lord Stanley	Right Hon. Lord Stanley	
	J. W. Patten	J. W. Patten	
Lancashire (S.)	Viscount Molyneux	Lord F. Egerton, 5620	Viscount Molyneux, 4629
	G. W. Wood	Hon. R. B. Wilbraham, 4729	G. W. Wood, 4394
Lancaster	T. Greene	T. Greene	
	P. M. Stewart	P. M. Stewart	
Lambeth	Right Hon. Charles Tennyson	Right Hon. C. Tennyson, 2008	Alderman Farebrother, 931
	B. Hawes	B. Hawes, 1995	
Launceston	Right Hon. Sir H. Hardinge	Rt. Hon. Sir H Hardinge, 163	— Howell, 84
Leeds	Edward Baines	Edward Baines, 1797	W. Brougham, 1669
	J. Marshall	Sir J. Beckett, 1938	
Leicester County (N.)	Lord Robert Manners	Lord Robert Manners	
	C. M. Phillips	C. M Phillips	
Leicester County (S.)	E. Dawson	H. Halford	
	H. Halford	T. F. Turner	
Leicester	W. Evans	Mr. Serjeant Goulbourn, 1483	W. Evans, 1341
	Thynn Ellis	W. E. Gladstone, 1473	T. Ellis, 1306
Leominster	Lord Hotham	Lord Hotham	
	Thomas Bish	Thomas Bish	
Lewes	Sir C. R. Blunt	Sir C. R. Blunt, 512	Hon. Edward Fitzroy, 358
	T. R. Kemp	T. R. Kemp, 382	
Lincoln County (first division)	H. Handley	H. Handley	
	G. J. Heathcote	G. J. Heathcote	
Lincoln County (sec. division)	Hon. C. A. Pelham	Hon. C. A. Pelham, 4479	Sir W. A. Ingilby, 3984
	Sir W. A. Ingilby	— Corbett, 4450	
Lincoln	G. F. Hemeage	E. G. L. Bulwer, 306	Hon. C. Phipps, 235
	E. G. L. Bulwer	Colonel Sibthorpe, 465	
Liskeard	C. Buller, Jun.	C. Buller, Jun., 114	S. T. Kekewich, 64
Lichfield	Sir E. D. Scott	Sir E. D. Scott, 412	T. Finch, 230
	Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. Anson	Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. Anson, 500	
Liverpool	Viscount Sandon	Viscount Sandon, 4361	Sir H. Douglas, 3831
	W. Ewart	W. Ewart, 4052	James Morris, 3633
Ludlow	Viscount Clive	Viscount Clive, 234	E. Romilly, 154
	E. Romilly	E. L. Charlton, 159	

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
London (City)	Alderman Wood	Alderman Wood, 6418	George Lyall, 4599
	G. Grote	G. Grote, 5955	T. Wilson, 4414
	William Crawford	William Crawford, 5961	William Ward, 4599
	George Lyall	James Pattison, 6050	
Lyme Regis	W. Pinney	W. Pinney	
Lymington	Sir H. B. Neale	J Stewart	
	J. Stewart	W. A. Mackinnon	
Macclesfield	John Ryle	John Ryle, 464	— Grimsditch, 341
	John Brocklehurst	John Brocklehurst, 429	
Maidstone	A. W. Roberts	A. W. Roberts, 398	C. J. Barnett, 333
	C. J. Barnett	W. Lewis, 529	— Lucas, 5
			— Hildyard, 3
Maldon	T. B. Lennard	T. B. Lennard, 407	Sir J. Mildmay, 336
	Q. Dick	Q. Dick, 440	
Malmesbury	Viscount Andover	Viscount Andover	
Malton	Sir C. C. Pepys	Sir C. C. Pepys	
	J. C. Ramsden	J. C. Ramsden	
Manchester	Right Hon. C. P. Thompson	Rt. Hon. C. P. Thompson, 3352	Benjamin Braidly, 2534
	M. Phillips	M. Phillips, 3164	Sir R. Wolsely, 594
Marlborough	Lord E. A. Bruce	Lord E. A. Bruce	
	H. B. Baring	H. B. Baring	
Marlow (Great)	Thomas P. Williams	Thomas P. Williams	
	Colonel Sir W. Clayton	Colonel Sir W. Clayton	
Mary-le-bone	Sir William Horne	Sir S. B. Whalley, 2956	Sir W. Horne, 1862
	Sir S. B. Whalley	H. L. Bulwer, 2781	W. Young, 378
Merioneth County	Sir R. W. Vaughan	Sir R. W. Vaughan	
Merthyr-Tydvil	J. J. Guest	J. J. Guest	
Middlesex	George Byng	George Byng, 3505	Thomas Wood, 2709
	Joseph Hume	Joseph Hume, 3096	
Midhurst	Captain Hon. F. Spencer	W. S. Poyntz	
Monmouth County	Lord G. C. H. Somerset	Lord G. C. H. Somerset	
	W. A. Williams	W. A. Williams	
Monmouth	B. Hall	B. Hall, 428	— Bailly, 424
Montgomery County	Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn	Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn	
Montgomery	Colonel J. Edwards	Colonel J. Edwards	
Morpeth	Hon. E G. G. Howard	Hon E. G Howard	
Newark-upon-Trent	W. F. Handley	W. E. Gladstone	
	W. E Gladstone	Mr Serjeant Wilde	
Newcastle-under-Line	Sir H. P. Willoughby	W. H. Miller	
	W. H. Miller	E. Peel	
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Sir M. W. Ridley	Sir M. W. Ridley, 1499	J Hodgson, 1254
	J. Hodgson	W. Ord, 1383	— Aytoun, 988
Newport (Isle of Wight)	J. H. Hawkins	J. H. Hawkins, 233	— Gordon, 229
	W. H. Ord	W. H. Ord, 235	— Hamilton, 197
Norfolk (E.)	Hon. G Keppel	E. Wodehouse, 3482	W. H. Windham, 3076
	W. H. Windham	Lord Walpole, 3196	R. H. Gurney, 2866
Norfolk (W.)	Sir W. H B. Folkes	Sir W. H. B. Folkes, 2306	William Bagge, 1872
	Sir J. Astley	Sir J. Astley, 2140	
Northallerton	J. G. Ross	W. B. Wrightson	
Northampton County (N.)	Viscount Milton	Viscount Milton	
	Lord Brudenell	Lord Brudenell	
Northampton County (S.)	W. R. Cartwright	W. R Cartwright	
	Viscount Althorpe	Sir C. Knightley	
Northampton	R. V. Smith	R. V. Smith, 1118	— Hill, 953
	C Ross	C. Ross, 1112	
Northumberland (N.)	Viscount Howick	Viscount Howick	
	Lord Ossulton	Lord Ossulton	
Northumberland (S.)	M. Bell	M. Bell	
	T. W Beaumont	T. W. Beaumont	
Norwich	Sir James Scarlett	Lord Stormont, 1893	Hon. E. Harbord, 1587
	Lord Stormont	Hon R. C. Scarlett, 1879	T. O. Martin, 1580
Nottingham County (N.)	Viscount Lumley	Viscount Lumley	
	Thomas Houldsworth	Thomas Houldsworth	
Nottingham County (S.)	Earl of Lincoln	Earl of Lincoln	
	J. E. Denison	J. E. Denison	
Nottingham	Sir J. C. Hobhouse	Sir J. C. Hobhouse	
	Sir R. C. Ferguson	Sir R. C. Ferguson	
Oldham	John Fielden	John Fielden	
	William Cobbett	William Cobbett	
Oxford County	Lord Norreys	Lord Norreys	
	G. G. Harcourt	G. G. Harcourt	
	R. Weyland	R. Weyland	
Oxford University	Sir R. H. Inglis	Sir R. H. Inglis	
	T. G. B. Estcourt	T. G. B. Estcourt	
Oxford City	J. H. Langston	W. Hughes Hughes, 1015	T. Stonor, 693
	W. Hughes Hughes	D. Maclean, 946	
Pembroke County	Sir J. Owen	Sir J. Owen	
Pembroke	Hugh Owen Owen	Hugh Owen Owen	
Penryn	Lord Tullamore	R. M. Rolfe, 419	Lord Tullamore, 387
	R. M. Rolfe	— Freshfield, 444	
Peterborough	Sir R. Heron	Sir R. Heron, 357	W. Ferrand, 280
	J. N. Fazakerly	J. N. Fazakerly, 412	
Petersfield	Hylton Jolliffe	— Hector, 103	Hylton Jolliffe, 87
Plymouth	John Collier	John Collier, 719	Sir G. Cockburn, 666
	Thomas Bewes	Thomas Bewes, 687	
[illegible]	Hon H. V. S. Jermingham	Lord Pollington, 495	Sheriff Raphael, 481
	J. Gully	J. Gully, 509	
[illegible]	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Byng	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Byng, 230	— Irving, 119
	B. Lester Lester	C. A. Tulk, 181	— Bonar, 46

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Portsmouth	J. B. Carter	J. B. Carter, 644	Admiral Sir C. Rowley, 557
	F. T. Baring	F. T. Baring, 573	Admiral Napier, 385
Preston	Hon. H. T. Stanley	Hon. H. T. Stanley, 2092	— Thompson, 818
	P. H. Fleetwood	P. H. Fleetwood, 2165	— Smith, 564
Radnor County	Rt. Hon. T. F. Lewis	Walter Wilkins, 483	— Walsh, 456
Radnor	Richard Price	Richard Price	
Reading	C. Fyshe Palmer	C. Russell, 441	— Oliveira, 383
	C. Russell	T. N. Talfourd, 643	
Richmond	Sir R. L. Dundas	Sir R. L. Dundas	
	Hon. J. C. Dundas	A. Speirs	
Ripon	T. K. Staveley	Sir J. C. Dalbiac, 246	T. K. Staveley, 125
	J. S. Crompton	F. Pemberton, 235	
Rochdale	John Fenton	J. Entwistle	
Rochester	R. Bernal	R. Bernal, 502	Lord Charles Wellesley, 442
	J. Miles	T. Hodges, 443	
Rutland County	Sir G. N. Noel	Sir G. N. Noel	
	Sir G. Heathcote	Sir G. Heathcote	
Rye	E. B. Curteis	E. B. Curteis	
Riegate	Viscount Eastnor	Viscount Eastnor	
Salford	Joseph Brotherton	Joseph Brotherton, 795	Dugdale, 572
Salisbury	W. B. Brodie	W. B. Brodie	
		W. Wyndham	
Sandwich	Sir E. T. Troubridge	S. G. Price, 558	Sir E. C. Owen, 386
	Joseph Marryat	Sir T. Troubridge, 405	
Scarborough	Sir J. V. B. Johnstone	Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, 161	Sir G. Cayley, 122
	Sir G. Cayley	Sir F. W. Trench, 176	
Shaftesbury	J. S. Poulter	J. S. Poulter, 237	— Best, 143
Sheffield	J. Parker	J. Parker, 1688	S. Bailey, 1484
	J. S. Buckingham	J. S. Buckingham, 1601	
Shoreham	Sir C. M. Burrell	Sir C. M. Burrell	
	H. D. Goring	H. D. Goring	
Shrewsbury	Sir J. Hanmer	Sir J. Hanmer, 760	R. A. Slaney, 681
	R. A. Slaney	J. C. Pelham, 627	
Shropshire (N.)	Sir R. Hill	Sir R. Hill	
	E. Cotes	W. Ormsby Gore	
Shropshire (S.)	Earl of Darlington	Earl of Darlington	
	Hon. R. H. Clive	Hon. R. H. Clive	
Somerset County (E.)	Col. W. G. Langton	Col. W. G. Langton	
	William Miles	William Miles	
Somerset County (W.)	E. A. Sanford	E. A. Sanford, 3765	— Escott, 2768
	C. J. K. Tynte	C. J. K. Tynte, 3585	
Southampton	A. Atherley	A. R. Dottin, 470	C. Easthorpe, 403
	J. S. Penleaze	J. B. Hoy, 499	— Bingham, 359
South Shields	R. Ingham	R. Ingham, 273	— Bowlby, 128
Southwark	William Brougham	John Humphrey	
	John Humphrey	D. W. Harvey	
Stafford County (N.)	Sir O. Moseley	Sir O. Moseley	
	E. Buller	E. Buller	
Stafford County (S.)	Sir J. Wrottesley	Sir J. Wrottesley	
	Right Hon. Edward J. Littleton	Right Hon. Edward J. Littleton	
Stafford	W. F. Chetwynd	L. H. Goodricke, 604	R. H. Gronow, 245
	R. H. Gronow	W. F. Chetwynd, 456	— Farrand, 312
Stamford	Col. T. Chaplin	Col. T. Chaplin	— Wolseley, 29
	George Finch	Geo. Finch	
Stockport	T. Marsland	T. Marsland, 580	Davenport, 362
	J. H. Lloyd	Major H. Marsland, 482	
Stoke-upon-Trent	Josiah Wedgwood	J. Davenport	
	John Davenport	R. E. Heathcote	
Stroud	W. H. Hyett	G. P. Scrope	
	G. P. Scrope	Colonel Fox	
Sudbury	Sir Edward Barnes	J. Bagshaw	
	Sir J. B. Walsh	B. Smith	
Suffolk (E.)	Lord Henniker	Lord Henniker, 2450	R. N. Shawe, 2033
	R. N. Shawe	Sir C. B. Vere, 2321	
Suffolk (W.)	C. Tyrrell	Col. Rushbrooke, 1652	— Logan, 150
	Sir H. Parker	Henry Wilson, 1715	— Hales, 1345
Sunderland	Alderman Thompson	Alderman Thompson, 844	Sir W. Chaytor, 389
	Sir W. Chaytor	D. Barclay, 709	
Surrey (E.)	J. I. Briscoe	Captain Alsager, 1578	J. I. Briscoe, 1200
	Major A. W. Beauclerk	Major A. W. Beauclerk, 1324	
Surrey (W.)	W. J. Denison	W. J. Denison, 1484	Henry Long, 1281
	John Leech	R. Barclay, 1311	
Sussex (E.)	Hon. C. C. Cavendish	Hon. C. C. Cavendish	
	H. B. Curteis	H. B. Curteis	
Sussex (W.)	Earl of Surrey	Earl of Surrey	
	Lord J. G. Lennox	Lord J. G. Lennox	
Swansea	J. H. Vivian	J. H. Vivian	
Tamworth	Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel	Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel	
	Lord C. V. F. Townshend	W. Y. Peel	
Tavistock	Lord W. Russell	Lord W. Russell	
	Colonel Fox	J. Rundle	
Taunton	H. Labouchere	H. Labouchere	
	E. T. Bainbridge	E. T. Bainbridge	
Tewkesbury	C. Hanbury Tracy	C. Hanbury Tracy, 195	J. Martin, 192
	J. Martin	J. E. Dowdeswell, 195	
Thetford	Earl Euston	Earl Euston	
	F. Baring	F. Baring	
Thirsk	Samuel Crompton	Samuel Crompton	
Tiverton	John Heathcote	J. Heathcote, 365	— Chichester, 134
	J. Kennedy	J. Kennedy, 184	— Langmead, 62

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Totness	Jasper Parrott	Jasper Parrott	
	Lord Seymour	Lord Seymour	
Tower Hamlets	Dr. Lushington	Dr. Lushington, 2779	Captain Barton, 465
	W. Clay	W. Clay, 2580	
Truro	Sir R. H. Vivian	J. E. Vivian, 316	Sir R. H. Vivian, 174
	W. Tooke	W. Tooke, 270	
Tynemouth	G. F. Young	G. F. Young	
Wakefield	Daniel Gaskell	D. Gaskell, 279	Hon. W. S. Lascelles, 221
Wallingford	W. S. Blackstone	W. S. Blackstone	
Wallsal	C. S. Forster	C. S. Forster	
Wareham	G. H. Calcraft	G. H. Calcraft	
Warrington	E. G. Hornby	J. S. Blackburne	
Warwick County (S.)	Sir G. Skipton	Sir J. Mordaunt	
	Sir G. Phillips	E. Sheldon	
Warwick County (N.)	Sir J. E. Wilmot	Sir J. E. Wilmot, 2600	A. Gregory, 1844
	W. S. Dugdale	W. S. Dugdale, 2521	
Warwick	E. B. King	E. B. King, 478	J. Halcomb, 416
		Sir C. Greville, 564	
Wells	J. Lee Lee	J. Lee Lee	
	N. W. R. Colborne	N. W. R. Colborne	
Wenlock	Hon. G. C. W. Forrester	Hon. G. C. W. Forrester, 519	— Sommerville, 324
	J. M. Gaskell	J. M. Gaskell, 432	
Westbury	Sir R. Lopez	Sir R. Lopez	
Westminster	Sir F. Burdett	Sir F. Burdett, 2747	Sir T. Cochrane, 1528
	Colonel De Lacy Evans	Colonel Evans, 2583	
Westmoreland	Viscount Lowther	Viscount Lowther	
	Hon. Colonel H. Lowther	Hon. Colonel H. Lowther	
Weymouth	T. F. Buxton	T. F. Buxton, 225	Lord Villiers, 107
	Sir F. Johnston	W. W. Burdon, 206	
Whitby	Aaron Chapman	Aaron Chapman	
Whitehaven	Mathias Atwood	Mathias Atwood	
Wigan	R. Thicknesse	R. Potter, 191	— Standish, 166
	R. Potter	J. H. Kearsley, 296	
Wight (Isle of)	Sir R. G. Simeon	Sir R. G. Simeon, 560	H. G. Ward, 426
Wilton	J. H. Penruddock	J. H. Penruddock	
Wilts County (N.)	Sir J. D. Astley	P. Methuen	
	P. Methuen	Walter Long	
Wilts County (S.)	Hon S. Herbert	Hon. S. Herbert	
	J. Benett	J. Benett	
Winchester	P. St. J. Mildmay	W. B. Baring, 175	P. St. John Mildmay, 122
	W. B. Baring	J. B. East, 225	
Windsor	J. Ramsbottom	J. Ramsbottom, 353	Major-Gen. Sir John Elley, 229
	Sir S. J. B. Bechell	Sir John E. De Beauvoir, 238	
Wolverhampton	W. W. Whitmore	Thornley, 776	— Feredy, 656
	R. Fryer	C. P. Villiers, 776	John Nicholson, 374
Woodstock	Marquis of Blandford	Lord C. S. Churchill	
Worcester County (E.)	T. H. Cookes	T. H. Cookes, 2192	Horace St. Paul, 2145
	W. C. Russell	Edward Holland, 2254	
Worcester County (W.)	Hon. H. B. Lygon	Hon. H. B. Lygon, 2021	— Pakington, 1776
	Captain H. J. Winnington	H. J. Winnington, 1933	
Worcester	Colonel Davies	G. R. Robinson, 1622	Colonel Davies, 1139
	G. R. Robinson	Joseph Bailey, 1149	
Wycombe	Hon. R. J. Smith	Hon. R. J. Smith, 2893	D'Israeli, jun., 128
	Rt. Hon. Charles Grey	Rt. Hon Charles Grey, 147	
Yarmouth	Lieut.-Col. Hon. George Anson	— Baring, 771	Lieut.-Col. Hon. G. Anson, 669
	C. E. Rumbold	W. Praed, 767	C. E. Rumbold, 663
York County (E. Riding)	R. Bethell	R. Bethell	
	P. B. Thompson	P. B. Thompson	
York County (W. Riding)	Viscount Morpeth	Viscount Morpeth	
	Sir G. Strickland	Sir G. Strickland	
York County (N. Riding)	Hon. W. Duncombe	Hon. W. Duncombe, 4656	— Walker, 3841
	E. S. Cayley	E. S. Cayley, 4490	
York	Hon. E. R. Petre	J. H. Lowther, 1494	C. F. Barkeley, 914
	Hon. Thomas Dundas	Hon. J. C. Dundas, 1301	

SCOTLAND.

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Aberdeen (County)	Hon. Captain W. Gordon	Hon. Captain W. Gordon	
Aberdeen	Alex. Bannerman	Alex. Bannerman, 938	Captain Sir A. Farquhar, 372
Andrews, St.	Andrew Johnstone, Jun.	Andrew Johnstone, Jun.	
Argyle (County)	J. H. Callender	F. Campbell	
Ayr (County)	R. A. Oswald	R. A. Oswald	
Ayr, &c.	Lord P. J. H. C. Stewart	Lord P. J. Stewart, 159	Alex. Johnstone, 106
Banff (County)	Captain G. Ferguson	Captain G. Ferguson	
Bute (County)	Sir William Rae	Sir William Rae	
Berwick (County)	Sir H. P. H. Campbell	Sir H. P. H. Campbell, 507	Sir J. Blake, 324
Caithness (County)	G. Sinclair, Jun.	George Sinclair, Jun.	
Clackmannan and Kinross	Admiral Adam	Admiral Adam, 447	R. Bruce, 283
Dumbarton (County)	J. Hope Johnstone	Alex. Denniston, 439	A. Smollett, 399
Dumfries, &c.	General Sharpe	General Sharpe, 422	D. Hannay, 370
Dumfries (County)	J. J. Hope Johnstone	J. J. Hope Johnstone	
Dundee	Sir H. Parnell	Sir H. Parnell	
Edinburgh (County)	Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. H. Dalrymple	Sir George Clerk, 565	Gibson Craig, 534
Edinburgh	Sir John Campbell	Sir John Campbell, 2963	Lord Ramsay, 1726
	J. Abercrombie	J. Abercrombie, 2858	— Learmonth, 1598
[illegible] and Nairn	Hon. F. W. Grant	Hon. F. W. Grant	

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Elgin, &c.	Colonel A. Leith Hay	Colonel A. Leith Hay, 148	— Brodie, 82
Falkirk	W. D. Gillon	W. D. Gillon	
Fife (County)	Captain J. Wemyss	Captain J. Wemyss, 1051	Colonel Lindsey, 584
Forfar (County)	Hon. D. G. Hallyburton	Hon. D. G. Hallyburton, 347	Hon. S. Wortley, 278
Glasgow	James Ewing	James Oswald, 3832	James Ewing, 2297
	James Oswald	Colin Dunlop, 3267	
Greenock	Robert Wallace	Robert Wallace	
Haddington (County)	James Balfour	R. Ferguson, 299	H. T. Hope, 286
Haddington	Robert Stewart	Robert Stewart	
Inverness (County)	Right Hon. C. Grant	Right Hon. C. Grant	— Macleod
Inverness, &c.	C. L. C. Bruce	C. L. C. Bruce	Edward Ellice, Jun.
*Kilmarnock, &c.	Captain J. Dunlop	Dr Bowring, 520	Captain Dunlop, 273
			— Downie, 123
Kincardine (County)	Hon. H. Arbuthnot	Hon. H. Arbuthnot	
Kirkaldy, &c.	R. Ferguson	John Fergus	
Kirkcudbright (County)	R. C. Fergusson	R. C. Fergusson	
Lanark (County)	John Maxwell, Jun.	John Maxwell, Jun. 465	A. M. Lockhart, 328
Leith, &c.	J. A. Murray	J. A. Murray	
Linlithgow (County)	Sir Alex. Hope	Hon. Captain James Hope	
Montrose, &c.	H. Ross	P. Chalmers	
†Orkney and Shetland (County)	G. Traill	G. Traill	Thomas Balfour
Paisley	Sir D. K. Sandford	Captain A. G. Speirs	Hon. Captain Ross
Peebles (County)	Sir J. Hay	Sir J. Hay	
Perth (County)	Sir George Murray	Hon. Fox Maule, 1453	Sir George Murray, 1371
Perth	L. Oliphant	L. Oliphant	
Renfrew (County)	Sir M. S. Stewart	Sir M. S. Stewart, 528	— Houston, 460
			— Dixon, 230
†Ross and Cromarty	J. A. S. Mackenzie	J. A. S. Mackenzie	Thomas Mackenzie
Roxburgh (County)	Hon. G. Elliot	Lord John Scott, 757	Hon. G. Elliot, 681
Stirling (County)	Vice-Admiral Hon. C Fleming	W. Forbes	Vice-Admiral Hon. C. Fleming
Stirling, &c.	Lord Dalmeny	Lord Dalmeny	J. Crawford
Selkirk (County)	Robert Pringle	Alex. Pringle, 206	Robert Pringle, 175
Sutherland (County)	Roderick Macleod	Roderick Macleod	
Wick, &c.	James Loch	James Loch	
Wigton (County)	Sir A. Agnew	Sir A. Agnew, 340	— Blair, 228
			John Douglas, 58
Wigton, &c.	E. Stewart	J. M'Taggart, 224	John Douglas, 82

IRELAND.

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Antrim (County)	Earl of Belfast	Earl of Belfast	
	Hon. J. B. R. O'Neil	Hon. J. B. R. O'Neil	
Armagh (County)	Lord Acheson	Lord Acheson	
	William Verner	William Verner	
Armagh	Leonard Dobbin	Leonard Dobbin, 196	R. W. Jackson, 159
Athlone	J. Talbot, jun.	Captain Mathew, 89	James Talbot, 77
Bandonbridge	Hon. W. S. Bernard	J. D. Jackson	J. R. Barry
Belfast	Lord A. Chichester	James E. Tennent, 773	Lord A. Chichester, 713
	James E. Tennent	John M'Cance, 719	
Carlow (County)	W. Blackney	Colonel Bruen, 588	M. O'Connell, 554
	T. Wallace	T. Kavanagh, 587	— Cahill, 553
Carlow	N. A. Vigors	F. Bruen, 150	N. A. Vigors, 134
Carrickfergus		Peter Kirk	
Cashel	J. Roe	Mr. Serjeant Perrin, 114	Matthew Pennefather, 57
Cavan (County)	H. Maxwell	H. Maxwell	
	J. Young	J. Young	
Clare (County)	Major M'Namara	Major M'Namara, 686	Lucius O'Brien
	Cornelius O'Brien	Cornelius O'Brien, 686	
Clonmel	D. Ronayne	D. Ronayne, 262	— Bagwell, 252
Coleraine	Alderman Copeland	Alderman Copeland, 85	H. Richardson, 84
Cork (County)	Fergus O'Connor	Fergus O'Connor, 1630	Lord Bernard, 984
	G. S. Barry	G. S. Barry, 1613	Richard Longfield, 1027
Cork	D. Callaghan	Lieut.-Col. Chatterton, 1643	D. Callaghan, 1603
	Dr. Baldwin	Joseph Leycester, 1658	Dr. Baldwin, 1580
Donegal (County)	Sir E. Hayes	Sir E. Hayes	
	E. M. Conolly	E. M. Conolly	
Down (County)	Lord A. Hill	Lord A. Hill	
	Lord Castlereagh	Lord Castlereagh	
Downpatrick	J. W. Maxwell	D. Kerr	
Drogheda	A. C. O'Dwyer	A. C. O'Dwyer	
Dublin (County)	C. Fitzsimon	C. Fitzsimon, 733	James Hans Hamilton, 686
	G. Evans	G. Evans, 694	
Dublin (City)	D. O'Connell	D. O. Connell, 2678	G. A. Hamilton, 2461
	E. S. Ruthven	E. S. Ruthven, 2630	J. B. West, 2457
Dublin (University)	T. Lefroy	T. Lefroy	
	F. Shaw	F. Shaw	
Dunkald	W. O'Reilly	S. Crawford	
Dungannon	Hon. J. J. Knox	Hon. J. J. Knox	
Dungarvon	Eben. Jacob	Mr. Serjeant O'Loughlin	
Ennis	F. Macnamara	Hewitt Bridgman, 100	Michael Finucane, 94
Enniskillen	Hon. A. H. Cole	Hon. A. H. Cole	
Fermanagh	Viscount Cole	Viscount Cole	
	Gen. M. Archdale	Gen. M. Archdale	
Galway	A. H. Lynch	A. H. Lynch	
	M. J. Blake	M. J. Blake	

* Election understood to be vitiated by an informality.

† These two places not decided; it is supposed that the old members will be returned.

Places.	Old Members.	New Members.	Unsuccessful Candidates.
Galway (County)	J. Daly	T. B. Martin	
	T. B. Martin	J. J. Bodkin	
Kerry (County)	Hon. F. Mullins	Hon. F. Mullins, 542	Rt.-Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, 375
	Morgan J. O'Connell	Morgan J. O'Connell, 757	Thomas Ponsonby, 62
Kildare (County)	E. Ruthven	E. Ruthven, 389	Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, 333
	R. M. O'Ferrall	R. M. O'Ferrall, 446	
Kilkenny (County)	Hon. P. Butler	Hon. P. Butler	
	W. F. Finn	W. F. Finn	
Kilkenny	R. Sullivan	R. Sullivan	
King's (County)	Lord Oxmantown	N. Fitzsimon	
	N. Fitzsimon	Hon. Col. J. C. Westenra	
Kinsale	Colonel Stawell	Colonel Thomas, 77	Thomas Dixon, 72
Leitrim (County)	Viscount Clements	Viscount Clements	
	S. White	S. White	
Limerick (County)	Hon. R. H. Fitzgibbon	Hon. R. H. Fitzgibbon	
	Lieut.-Col. Hon. S. O'Grady	William Smith O'Brien	
Limerick	W. Roche	W. Roche	
	D. Roche	D. Roche	
Lisburne	Captain H. Meynell	Captain H. Meynell	
Londonderry (County)	Sir R. Bateson	Sir R. Bateson	
	Captain T. Jones	Captain T. Jones	
Londonderry	Sir. R. A. Ferguson	Sir R. A. Ferguson	
Longford (County)	Viscount Forbes	Viscount Forbes, 556	L. White, 343
	A. Lefroy, jun.	A. Lefroy, jun., 344	H. White, 56
Louth (County)	R. M. Bellew	R. M. Bellew, 456	Hon. S. Foster, 265
		Sir P. Bellew, 497	
Mallow	C. D. O. Jephson	C. D. O. Jephson	
Mayo (County)	J. Browne	D. Browne, 623	J. Brown, 130
	D. Browne	Sir William Brabazon, 828	— Ponsonby
Meath	Henry Grattan	Henry Grattan	Hon. Randall Plunkett
	Morgan O'Connell	Morgan O'Connell	Gustavus Lambert
Monaghan (County)	Serjeant L. Perrin	Edward Lucas, 346	— Hudson, 60
	Edward Lucas	Hon. H. R. Westenra, 321	— Leslie, 2
Newry	Lord A. M. C. Hill	D. Caulfield Brady, 402	Sir T. Staples, 374
New Ross	John H. Talbot	John H. Talbot	C. Tottenham
Portarlington	T. Gladstone	Colonel D. Damer	
Queen's (County)	Sir C. Coote	Sir C. Coote, 787	P. Lalor, 673
	P. Lalor	Hon. Thomas Vesey, 695	— Cassidy, 631
Roscommon (County)	O'Conor Don	O'Conor Don, 955	T. J. Barton, 523
	F. French	F. French, 985	— Brown, 40
Sligo (County)	Lieut.-Col. A. Perceval	Lieut.-Col. A. Perceval	
	E. J. Cooper	E. J. Cooper	
Sligo	J. Martin	J. Martin	
Tipperary (County)	Hon. C. O'Callaghan	R. L. Sheil	
	R. L. Sheil	Otway Cave	
Tralee	Maurice O'Connell	Maurice O'Connell, 85	Sir Edward Denny, 81
Tyrone (County)	Hon. H. T. L. Corry	Hon. H. T. L. Corry	Lord Alexander
	Sir H. Stewart	Lord C. Hamilton	
Waterford (County)	Sir R. Keane.	Sir R. Musgrave	
	J. M. Galway	Patrick Power	
Waterford	W. Christmas	H. W. Barron, 523	W. Christmas, 411
	H. W. Barron	Thomas Wyse, 541	
Westmeath (County)	Sir R. Nagle	Sir R. Nagle	
	M. L. Chapman	M. L. Chapman	
Wexford (County)	C. Waddy	John Maher, 1222	A. Cliffe, 704
	H. Lambert	James Power, 1210	P. W. Redmond, 682
Wexford	C. A. Walker	C. A. Walker	
Wicklow (County)	R. Howard	R. Howard	
	J. Grattan	J. Grattan	
Youghal	J. O'Connell	J. O'Connell, 137	Thomas Smith, 130

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JANUARY, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE expected proclamation for the dissolution of Parliament appeared at last on the evening of Tuesday the 30th of December, having been agreed upon at a council held at Brighton the preceding day. The writs are made returnable on Thursday the 19th of February, on which day accordingly the two houses will meet, and the Commons will proceed to the election of their Speaker.

The elections for the new Parliament have been going on throughout the month, the first, that for Southwark, having taken place on Monday the 5th; and we have given in another place a Table of the results, in so far as they have been ascertained up to the time of our going to press. With a very few exceptions, all the members for England, Scotland, and Ireland, have now been returned.

In this second general election that has taken place since the passing of the Reform Act, the beneficial effect of the excellent regulations established by that measure for taking the poll have been as strikingly shown as on the former occasion. Although the passions of the opposing parties have been greatly excited, and the contests have been unusually numerous as well as severe, there has been very little rioting, and none of a serious description. Of course, even where the disposition to disturbance has been most strongly manifested, the inconvenience or apprehension has only lasted for a couple of days.

A remarkable feature of the elections has been the closeness of the contests in a great number of instances. There have not, we believe, been any double returns, but in several cases a member has been brought in by a majority of less than half a dozen votes over his opponent, and in a great many more the contending candidates have kept so near to each other throughout the polling, as to make the result a matter of doubt almost to its close. The majority in comparatively few places has been what could be called an overwhelming one.

It appears that the ministerial candidates have thrown out their opponents in counties and boroughs which for-

merly returned Whig or Radical members, to the extent of about a hundred seats. The time that will turn conjecture into certainty is now so near at hand that there is no great temptation to indulge in prophecy as to how far this accession of strength will go to answer the necessities of the new cabinet. It appears, at all events, to be the amount of what they have gained by the dissolution. Members of the administration have been defeated in various places.

We have to correct one or two misstatements in the list of new appointments which was given in our last Retrospect, partly upon the authority of the newspapers. The office of Lord Steward of the Household has, it appears, been given, not to Lord Roden, but to the Earl of Wilton, the second son of the Marquis of Westminster. It is asserted, however, by the Irish Orange press, that the appointment was offered, in the first instance, to Lord Roden, and declined by him. On the contrary, the London ministerial newspapers deny that any such offer was ever made. Mr. Blackburne, also, who was Attorney-General for Ireland under the late administration, has again accepted that office; and Mr. Serjeant Pennefather takes that of Solicitor-General. Some additional appointments to subordinate places, both in the household and in the public offices, have likewise been announced. Among these are, Lord Ernest Bruce and the Earl of Morton as Lords of the Bedchamber, and Mr. William Gregson as Under Secretary of State in the Home department. It is also understood that Lord Heytesbury (formerly Sir William A'Court) goes out as Governor-General to India. Four new peers have been created, one of whom is Sir James Scarlett, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, now Lord Abinger; and another, Sir Philip Sydney, one of the sons-in-law of his Majesty, now Baron De Lisle and Dudley.

FRANCE.

On Tuesday, the 30th of December last, M. Humann, the Minister of Finance, presented the Budget for 1836. The net revenue was estimated at a sum about equal to 39,860,000*l.* sterling: the expenditure at about 40,080,000*l.* —thus leaving a deficit of 280,000*l.*

On the following day a very animated debate in the Chamber of Deputies rose out of the demand made by government of a grant for the building of a new Hall of Justice, adjoining the Chamber of Peers. The opposition took occasion not only to press the propriety of a general amnesty for all the political offenders now under judgment, or in prison, but to make a violent and direct attack on several of the ministers and their friends, for their former character and political conduct, which had tended (they said) to produce the very sins and errors of secret societies and republicanism, which they were now, as men in power, anxious to punish in others who had only been their converts or dupes. M. Odillon Barrot, the republican deputy, and M. Delamartine, the poet and Carlist, made long speeches in this sense. The debate was resumed the next day (the 31st of Dec.) with increased animation. M. Hennequin, the advocate, pleaded at great length, and with some violence for an amnesty; but the speech which made the greatest impression—a speech which our Parisian friends declare was "annihilating," "immortal," "superb"—was delivered by M. Berryer, another deputy of the legal profession, and a Carlist. Without mentioning names, he implied that M. Barthe, the ex-minister of justice, and now a peer of France, had been a violent *Carbonaro* under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., as had several other peers who were now to sit in judgment on Carbonari and the like; and that Messrs. Guizot, Thiers, Royer-Collard, Etienne, Mignet, and others, who were literary men before they became ministers or dependents on ministers, had by their books and lectures indoctrinated the men they now wish to condemn to death, in revolution and republicanism. M. Thiers, the Minister of the Interior, and M. Guizot, the Minister of Public Instruction, defended the conduct of their colleagues with great talent, and tried to reconcile what they wrote in books years ago, with what they practise and recommend now. The debate was adjourned to the 2nd of January, when it took more and more an authorly turn, becoming, therefore, as a matter of course, more violent than ever. Some members of the opposition actually sat to work in the Chamber, as if they were reviewing books in their own room for a literary journal. A certain M. Charamonde, who is described by the newspapers as being "a *new* member as well as *young* man," took M. Thiers's and M. Guizot's books out of his pocket, and began to read them to the house, asking the respective authors what they could now say to such and such passages. On his persisting in this course, he was interrupted by roars of laughter, hisses, and groans, mixed now and then with shouts of applause. The uproar was so great that the president rang his bell for silence, which he did not obtain for nearly a quarter of an hour.

At the end of this prolonged debate the ministers had a majority—but a very small one; two hundred and nine voting for, and one hundred and eighty-one against them. The trials of the political offenders will therefore be continued.

On Wednesday, the 7th of January, the message of the President of the United States reached Paris, and by its firm and hostile tone towards France, threw the government and the public mind into great excitement and wrath. We had to mention in our monthly retrospect, as far back as May, 1834, that the Chamber of Deputies annulled a formal express treaty, concluded in 1831, by the Duke de Broglie and General Sebastiani with the United States; by which treaty France was to pay a sum (mutually agreed upon, to be twenty-five millions of francs) as an indemnity for the injuries inflicted by the French, during the last war, upon American ships and commerce. The Duke de Broglie, who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Sebastiani resigned, when they found that they were outvoted on this delicate question, and could not, with all their representations, obtain the ratification of a treaty to which they had set their signatures in good faith and confidence.

The Americans were naturally irritated at this unexpected and equivocating delay of the settlement of claims which, when the treaty was signed in 1831, had been outstanding for some twenty years: and, on the recent assembling of Congress, President Jackson, in his energetic manner, alluded to the necessity of vindicating the national honour, and compelling payment from France by force of arms. It was this clause of his message that irritated the national susceptibilities of the French, who at first seemed determined to carry matters with a high hand and an uncompromising spirit. In the Chamber of Deputies, M. Humann, the Minister of Finance, spoke of the probability of the country's being forthwith engaged in a maritime war: and a day or two after, M. Thiers, the Minister of the Interior, insisted on the necessity of meeting the threatening language of the President of the United States, by the recall of the French ambassador at Washington. After a long and noisy debate this motion was carried: in consequence of which the following official article appeared in the Moniteur on the 14th of January:—

"The king has recalled M. Serrurier, his minister at Washington. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has communicated this resolution to the Minister of the United States at Paris; at the same time informing him that the passports of which, in consequence of this communication, he may stand in need, are at his disposition.

"In execution of the engagements entered into by France, the project of law relative to the American claim will be presented to-morrow to the Chamber of Deputies. A clause will be added destined to guarantee eventually those French interests which may be compromised."

On this Mr. Livingstone, the United States' Minister, immediately demanded his passports, and got ready for a journey to London. Such proceedings as these have generally been considered as equivalent to a declaration of war. It appears, however, that the French government speedily relented, and intimated to Mr. Livingstone that he was not bound to go away, and might do good to both the disputant parties by staying. A correspondence followed with Admiral de Rigny, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and for the present the American envoy remains at Paris. On the 15th of January, the day after the announcements in the Moniteur, M. Humann went down to the Deputies, and, in the name of the government, re-submitted to their consideration and approval the treaty with America of July 4, 1831, which they rejected last year. After some talk about the dignity of France, and an attempt to have the President's Message considered in the light of an expression of personal feeling, and not as the legalised voice of the American government, he said that the treaty *must* stand—that Ja-

engagement having been entered into with the United States, the honour of France required that it should be fulfilled.

We will not speculate on the probable votes of the Chamber of Deputies, or on what will be the winding up of this very long story. Some members insist that the indemnity of twenty-five millions is too much, whilst others go so far as to say France does not owe a sous to America. The men holding these opinions do not belong to any one particular party, there being ministerialists, ultra-royalists, and ultra-liberals among them.

SPAIN.

THE victories obtained in the north by the arms of the Queen's troops on the 12th of December, were publicly announced at Madrid. It is said that the news was received with the most enthusiastic joy by the mass of the population, and that the marked Carlists, fearing some sudden ebullition on the part of the people, hid themselves, or shut themselves up in their houses. Profiting by this state of feeling the constitutionalists caused the Act of Cortes, by which Don Carlos and his heirs are for ever excluded from the Spanish throne, to be read aloud in all public places. The said battles turn out to have been less important than they were described, but they have had the good effect of encouraging the liberal party.

A Carlist conspiracy, headed by some priests, has been discovered at Madrid. On being arrested, one of these priests lost courage and betrayed all his accomplices and their plans, making the most ample disclosures. In spite of these secret plots of the clergy, which betray the weakness and despair of the Carlist faction, the country (except in its northern corner) seems to remain quiet and well satisfied with the constitutional regimé. The ministry was left in a minority on the question of the Civil List, which will therefore be slightly reduced.

A motion was made by Government to suppress the order of Jesuits which was restored by the late king. It was represented that there were 250 fathers of that order who possessed 700,000,000 of reals (de Vellon) in property, benefices, &c.

A law was also proposed to allow and facilitate the secularization, or return to the common affairs and rights of society, of the monks of all orders who may be disposed to quit the cloisters.

Hurried advances and rapid retreats—sorties—seizing of convoys, and skirmishes among the mountains, continue just as usual in the Basque provinces, in spite of the severity of the weather, but without any decisive result to either side. It appears that both Carlists and Christinos, acting up to the letter of their ferocious proclamations, shoot all the prisoners they take, and that the neat and thickly-spread villages, farm-houses, and cottages, that rendered Biscay in particular the most prosperous looking part of Spain, are falling a prey to the flames and the violence of the soldiery. Zumalacarreguy has announced successes obtained by him and his partisans on the 2nd and 3d of January, which appear to have been very insignificant. This Spanish Montrose, however, was well nigh being lost to the cause, being wounded and having a horse killed under him. Jealous and violent divisions have broke out among the Carlist chiefs, who cannot control their temper even in the presence of their absolute king. Zumalacarreguy, who has done so much in this war of posts and skirmishes, is unwilling that anybody else shall do anything.

It is said that Mina, whose bad health prevents an active prosecution of the war, is to be recalled, and succeeded by General Llauder. It should be noted, however, that Mina's ultra-liberal, and almost republican politics, render him an object of suspicion and dread to several members of the cabinet that have employed him.

Intelligence has just arrived of a military insurrection at Madrid. On the 17th of January a regiment of infantry, almost without any of its officers, rose against the established government, and seized upon a strong post. The war-cry of these insurgents was not for Don Carlos, but for the young Queen and liberty—their ostensible object being the constitution of the Cortes of 1812 for that now assembled. A collision ensued, in which Canterac, one of the Queen's captain-generals, and about half-a-dozen men on either side, were killed. The next day tranquillity was restored, and the troublesome regiment (with too much leniency) was marched off to the seat of war in the north.

PORTUGAL.

ON the 18th of December, the young queen Donna Maria went in state to the Cortes to prorogue their extraordinary sitting for the Christmas holidays. In her speech from the throne, she alluded to the happy adjustment and conclusion of her marriage with the Duke of Leuchtenberg. After mentioning the foreign relations of Portugal, which remain in *statu quo*, the great Northern Powers still withholding their resignation, she said, that the interior of the kingdom was *verging* towards tranquillity. The next clause of the speech conveyed something like a mild reproach to the members for their having lost so much time in idle, theoretic discussion, instead of attending to the real business of the state. Our newspaper correspondents say that she read the speech without any hesitation, and with a graceful, dignified ease, and a self confidence, "not to be expected from her years," had she not been born to the throne, and educated in regal habits." She was received with great enthusiasm.

On the 2nd of January, she re-opened the Cortes in person, and delivered another speech, which differed from the former in the following specific clauses:—

1. That immediate attention be paid to the new financial budget about to be presented to them, and to all those means by which revenue may be increased, and expenditure diminished.

2. That the Cortes fix, as soon as may be, the number of the civil and naval forces of the country.

3. That they pass the law settling the responsibility of ministers, and all other public servants.

This time she went to the Chambers surrounded by a very strong military escort, and large detachments of troops patrolled the streets of Lisbon, while she was there, or going and coming. A pistol shot had been heard in the front of the palace a few nights before, and it was said she had been driven to believe, that an assassin had aimed at her life.

The Duke of Leuchtenberg, on his way to Lisbon, arrived at London on the 15th of January. As he embarked at Falmouth in a steam packet on the 19th, he probably reached Portugal by the 25th.

The jewels and plate, valued at about 90,000*l*., belonging to the Infanta Donna Maria d'Assunciao, who died last year in Don Miguel's quarters at Santarem, have been divided between the young queen, Don Pedro's widow (representing her daughter, the Infanta Donna Isabel Maria) and the Infanta Donna Anna, who is married to the Marquis of Loulé. According to Don Miguel, his sister, the deceased Infanta, left the whole of the property to him, but it is held that he, as a usurper and traitor, cannot inherit. It was once thought that the value of the plate and jewels would be declared the property of the state and employed towards paying the indemnities.

A few notorious Miguelites have fallen victims to popular fury in the streets of Lisbon, since we last wrote, but these occurrences seem to excite scarcely any sensation.

A decree, the most illiberal and absurd that can well be conceived, has just been issued. It prohibits every foreigner, whether English or French, or of whatsoever nation, from opening a retail shop of any kind, in any part of Portugal!

Were it only for the sake of the good example they would afford, the government ought expressly to encourage the settling of such foreign dealers, for in no part of Europe are the shop-keepers so stupidly ignorant, careless, indolent, and insolent, as at Lisbon. This class, which must be everywhere important from its numbers, and which is so respectable and even enlightened in England, is a very fair criterion by which to judge of a nation.

UNITED STATES.

THE President's Message on the opening of the present Session of Congress, to which we have made allusion under the head of France, is in our apprehension a straightforward, manly, and statesmanlike document. We say statesmanlike, because we consider it to be pretty well understood now-a-days, that juggling, and subterfuge, and crooked

manœuvring do not constitute a great politician, and that he is the best statesman who goes by direct means to just ends. Nobody acquainted with the subject can for a moment doubt the justice of the United States' claims on France; and when Naples, and Spain, and other countries have paid, or are in the course of paying, for seizures of American ships and property, effected by the French during their conquest and usurpation of the government of those respective countries, it does seem particularly hard that France, because she has a consciousness of power, which those minor kingdoms have not, should pretend to refuse or delay compensation for measures of spoliation that have been brought home to the door of her own *de facto* and, at the time, firmly established government.

The French have not had to pay for the American ships and goods they seized or burnt, or detained in Spain and Italy, because by the laws of nations those countries themselves remained responsible for whatsoever deeds were done in them under a *de facto* government. But if they are not bound to make compensation for the mischief they did the Americans, as Spaniards or Italians, or acting in the name of a reigning (*French*) king of Spain, or a reigning (*French*) king of Naples, most assuredly they are held to pay for what they did as Frenchmen, acting under the French flag, and in the name of the Emperor of France. They have been separated from the countries in which they held a temporary dominion, and exonerated for all they committed during that dominion; but they cannot separate themselves from France. There, at least, they must stand and pay.

The injuries for which this compensation is demanded were inflicted under the government of Buonaparte, and chiefly during his obstinate efforts to enforce (for the ruin of British commerce) the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the so-called continental system. When he felt his strength declining, even Buonaparte professed to regret his seizures of American vessels, &c., and to admit that he owed a compensation, therefore, which might amount to fifteen, or even twenty millions of francs. The Americans, who have never ceased to press their claims since the restoration of the Bourbons, obtained a recognition of their justice both from Louis XVIII. and Charles X., and treated therefore with every one of the numerous French cabinets that rose and fell between the years 1815 and 1830. In the latter year they had nearly come to a final settlement with the last government of Charles X.; but the revolution of July broke out, Louis Philippe was raised to the throne, and after waiting a decent time, they had to recommence the business, with what they considered a more sensible king and a more liberal Cabinet: though, it must be remarked, the President says in his message, that Charles X. and the Polignac administration were on the point of agreeing to terms quite as liberal as those obtained afterwards (upon paper).

At last, after having represented, remonstrated, and negotiated, for nearly a quarter of a century, the Americans obtained the treaty of the 4th of July, 1831. By that treaty, France engaged to pay twenty-five millions of francs, in six annual instalments, the first instalment to be payable in February, 1833. But against this debt the French set off claims on the United States to the amount of one million five hundred thousand francs; which, on their part, the Americans agreed to pay in the same manner in six annual instalments.

The month of February, 1833, arrived and passed, as did many months after it, without any payment being made by the French government,* or any inclination shown to observe their agreement; nor was the treaty of 1831 ever produced in the Chambers until April, 1834, when it was annulled by the deputies, who positively refused payment.

"But," says President Jackson, "with the news of the refusal of the Chambers to make the appropriation were conveyed the regrets of the King, and a declaration that a national vessel should be forthwith sent out, with instructions to the French minister to give the most ample explanations of the past, and the strongest assurances for the future. After a long passage, the promised despatch vessel arrived. The pledges given by the French minister, upon receipt of his instructions, were, that as soon after the election of the new members as the charter would permit, the Legislative Chambers of France should be called together, and the proposition for an appropriation laid before them; that all the constitutional powers of the King and his Cabinet should be exerted to accomplish the object, and that the result should be made known early enough to be communicated to Congress at the commencement of the present session. Relying upon these pledges, and not doubting that the acknowledged justice of our claims, the promised exertion of the King and his Cabinet, and, above all, that sacred regard for the national faith and honour for which the French character has been so distinguished, would secure an early execution of the treaty in all its parts, I did not deem it necessary to call the attention of Congress to the subject at the last session." The message then continues: "I regret to say, that the pledges made through the minister of France have not been redeemed. The new Chambers met on the 31st of July last, and although the subject of fulfilling treaties was alluded to in the speech from the throne, no attempt was made by the King or his Cabinet to procure an appropriation to carry it into execution."

Having said, that after waiting nearly a quarter of a century (as they have done) to get the treaty, it would be absurd and degrading in the United States to wait another quarter of a century for the observance of the treaty they have at last obtained, the President concludes this subject by assuming it is an impossibility that any branch of the government can acquiesce in the refusal of the French to execute the treaty, or think of renewing pacific negotiations with the French Cabinet, and by recommending that a law be passed to authorize reprisals on French property, in case provision for the payment of the twenty-five millions be not made at Paris during the present session of the Chambers.

The whole sum which has been so long in debate, and which has now provoked threats of war, is about one million sterling; and as America recognises a debt due to France of one million five hundred thousand francs (or 60,000*l.*) the French are only called upon for the payment of nine hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, with some interest, which is fixed in the treaty.

Another irritating circumstance connected with the treaty of 1831 is this: America agreed on her part to lower her duties on French wines; and France contracted in the same manner, to lower her duties on American long-staple cottons. As soon as the ratification of the treaty was exchanged at Washington (on the 2nd of February, 1832), America discharged her part of the engagement, and the French have continued ever since in the enjoyment of a valuable privilege: but France has not reduced her duties on American cottons, which are taxed just as they were before the treaty had an existence.

We hope, and indeed believe, that notwithstanding the anger which now excites both parties the dispute will be settled without any recourse to the logic of cannon-balls.

On every other point the President's message is most satisfactory. The negotiations with England touching the north-eastern boundary question, though not concluded, are conducted with mutual moderation and friendship. The best understanding exists with the governments of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark. (*Belgium is not mentioned, although we were recently given to understand that a treaty of commerce had been agreed to between that new kingdom and the United States.*) Spain, in spite of her internal difficulties, has ratified the convention for the payment of American claims, and has finally resolved to recognise the independence of the South American States. On this last point the President says, "I have the great satisfaction of stating to you that in preparing the way for the restoration of harmony between those who have sprung from the same ancestors, who are allied by common interests, profess the same religion, and speak the same language, the United States have been actively instrumental. Our efforts to effect this good work will be persevered in while they are deemed useful to the parties, and our entire disinterestedness continues to be felt and understood.

All the internal affairs of the republic are declared to be in a most flattering condition. The ways and means, including a balance in hand for the present year, are stated at 32,327,623 dollars; whilst the current expenditure amounts to only 25,591,390 dollars, which leaves a surplus of 6,736,230 dollars for the use of the next year. A portion of this, however, is to be applied to the extinction of the public debt, which is wholly to disappear on the 1st of

* They dishonoured the American draft, which was made for February, 1833.

quary. But even with such claims there still will be a balance in the Treasury to the amount of 440,000 dollars.

It is formally declared that no alteration is intended in the tariff of foreign duties; and as to the great United States' Bank question, the President is as hostile as ever to that institution, denouncing it as a national scourge, and being evidently determined to do away with its existence.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Dec. 27. Death of Charles Lamb, Esq., at Edmonton, in his 61st year.

29. Death of the Rev. T. R. Malthus, at Bath, after a few days' illness.

31. On the night of the last day of the late year, Dr. Schültz, who had been sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the castle of Badenhausen for a political offence, effected his escape by sawing through the iron bars of his prison-window.

Jan. 2. An Irish gentleman, of the name of Foote (brother of the late principal of the well-known firm in Dublin, Lundy Foote and Co., snuff-manufacturers,) was murdered in the most brutal manner, immediately adjacent to his own house, and in the open day. About a twelvemonth ago he had been waylaid and fired at, and was not quite recovered from the severe wounds he had then received, when he was again attacked, and his brains literally beaten out with stones. He was in his 73d year. His residence was at Rossbercon, on the Kilkenny side of New Ross, in the county of Wexford. The act is ascribed to a conspiracy against Mr. Foote, connected with land-letting.

— Three mail bags, having their contents abstracted, were found in the river at the bridge of Fermoy. The bags were those which left Cork on the 19th, for Limerick, Cahir, and Dublin, *viâ* Cashel up. A notorious mail-robber had been seen prowling in the neighbourhood of Fermoy and Rathcormack for some days past. Two of the letters have since been taken to Rathcormack, and entered at the post office there.

6. On this evening an accident of a most distressing nature occurred at the public house in Drury Lane known by the sign of the White Lion. Some men belonging to the brewhouse of Messrs. Elliott, at Pimlico, were about to deliver some butts of ale and porter at the house above mentioned, and had opened the trap for that purpose, which a respectably-dressed young man, who was coming by at the time, not perceiving, fell head-foremost into the cellar beneath, and was mortally hurt. The frequency of accidents similar to the above ought to cause some means to be devised to prevent their occurrence.

10. The editor of the 'Tribune' newspaper at Paris, was condemned by the Cour d'Assises to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of two thousand francs, for publishing an article translated from a London evening paper, reflecting severely on Louis Philippe.

11. A fine young man, the son of the proposer of Mr. Augerstein, one of the successful candidates for Greenwich, died in consequence, it is said, of the rupture of a blood-vessel, owing to the excitement of the contest. He had been on the hustings during the previous day, in perfect health and spirits.

— The Duke of Leuchtenberg, husband of the Queen of Portugal, landed at Gravesend, accompanied by Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence and Captain Freemantle, who attended him from Ostend at the command of the King. The Duke, who has assumed the title of Prince Augustus of Portugal, proceeded to London with his suite, and has since left this country for Portugal.

— Sir William Taunton, one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench, and Recorder of Oxford, died on the evening of this day. His death was sudden and unexpected, arising from an effusion of water on the brain, proceeding from disease of the heart. He was in his sixty-fourth year. The vacancy on the bench thus occasioned has since been filled up by the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Coleridge.

12. This being the first day of term, the judges and dignitaries of the law breakfasted with the Lord Chancellor at Lincoln's Inn Hall, and afterwards accompanied him in procession to Westminster. When the judges had taken their seats in the different courts, fourteen gentlemen were called within the bar, having received the rank of King's Counsel.

The unhappy tithe affray in the county of Cork, mentioned in the last 'Chronicle of Occurrences,' has excited a good deal of attention during the month. An inquest has been held, and, after a protracted investigation, thirteen of the jury agreed in a verdict of *wilful murder* against the Rev. Archdeacon Ryder, and Captains Bagley and Collis; two were for *manslaughter*, and eight for *justifiable homicide*. The Rev. Archdeacon Ryder, at whose instance the military were employed to enforce the collection of his tithe, and Captains Bagley and Collis, have been admitted to bail, each in 100*l*., and two sureties in 50*l*. each. The counsel for these gentlemen have intimated an intention of bringing the verdict of the jury into the Court of King's Bench.

Two of the crew of the Orestes have been lately murdered at Alicant by some Spaniards—a gunner from the Excellent, and a [illegible] from Portsmouth. They were both very drunk some time in the day when last seen; and they were both found together weltering in their blood at seven the next morning, in one of the most frequented parts of Alicant. Commander Codrington adds, that such is the state of the police and the laws there, that he can find no clue to discover the murderers.

It is stated in the newspapers that no fewer than sixty-three admirals and seventy-eight generals have paid the debt of nature within the last four years.

Letters have been received at Lloyd's, dated October 25th, from Port Louis, Mauritius, giving the particulars of the destruction of the ship Earl of Eldon by fire, and the extraordinary preservation of the crew. It appears that on the passage from Bombay to London the vessel caught fire, on the 27th September, (in consequence of some cotton igniting,) in lat. 9° 50′ south, and long. 77° 22′ east. The crew and passengers were obliged to abandon the ship, and take to the boats; and in this situation, with very little saved from the vessel, they remained for thirteen days, until they reached the Isle of Rodriguez, on the 10th October, having sailed upwards of a thousand miles. There were nine passengers and an infant of four months old, which, with the crew, made thirty-five individuals.

The Elections.—The first members returned to the new Parliament were Mr. D. W. Harvey and Mr. John Humphreys, who were elected for the borough of Southwark on Monday the 5th of January. On the same day the nomination of the candidates for the City of London took place, for Marylebone and Westminster on Tuesday, on Wednesday for the Tower Hamlets, Finsbury and Lambeth, and for Middlesex on the 13th. All the metropolitan districts, except Southwark, were keenly contested, but no serious case of riot or disturbance occurred; the only charges brought before the police magistrates being at the instance of a number of informers, who seized the poor men employed in carrying placards, for violations of what are termed the "Printers' Acts," by which a penalty of five pounds is imposed for printing, publishing, circulating, or otherwise distributing any paper which has not the printer's name, whether the individual do it for hire or gratis. In most instances the fines were paid by the committees of the different candidates, the informers receiving a moiety.

A friend of Captain Ryder Burton, the unsuccessful candidate for the Tower Hamlets, who was present during some of the investigations at the police office at Worship Street, relative to the proceedings connected with the apprehension of the placard-bearers, in reply to a question from the magistrate, stated that the Captain's election expenses were about 2 500*l*.

The Liverpool election was very keenly contested. It is stated in the newspapers that the last hour of the poll was a most momentous one. "In every direction were seen flying vans, flies, gigs, &c., and it was said that the price of a vote rose from 15*l*. to 25*l*."

Some of the contested elections ran very close, as may be seen by a reference to the table given in another place, the majorities being extremely small. In one or two instances a single vote turned the scale.

Unfortunately, both at Stockport and Cork, the elections have not passed over without serious breaches of the peace. At Stockport a lawless mob broke the windows of a number of houses, entered and kept possession of a tavern, in which they committed considerable damage, and were not got under without the assistance of the military.

In the course of the nomination of the candidates for the City of Dublin, Mr. Ruthven gave the lie direct to the Lord Mayor (Perrin) respecting a statement which had been published with the name of the latter attached to it, that he did not possess the requisite qualification for a member of Parliament. The Lord Mayor, on reaching home, appointed the city treasurer, Sir J. K. James, his *locum tenens*, and sent a challenge to Mr. Ruthven, which was accepted, and both parties fired at each other *twice*, without either receiving injury. Mr. Ruthven still refusing to apologise, the Lord Mayor was then led from the ground by his second. The election for the City of Dublin was conducted with more than ordinary violence and excitement.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East, Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 27. MARCH 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Foreign and Colonial Trade of France	309	the Lighthouses of the United Kingdom	317
Changes of Administration and History of Parties Part III	311	Election of Speaker	319
Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on		Parliamentary Abstracts	322
		Trade, Statistics, &c.	324
		Political Retrospect for Feb	326
		Chronicle of Occurrences	332

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL TRADE OF FRANCE.

HAVING procured a copy of the statement presented a few weeks ago by the French government to the Legislative Chambers, exhibiting the details of the Foreign and Colonial Import and Export trade of France during the year 1833, we have been induced to submit it to a careful examination, and to compare it with the like document presented to the Chambers in each of the four preceding years: and we have drawn out an abstract of the whole, which we think may be useful to the trading community of this country.

The statements from which our tables are compiled are exceedingly detailed and minute, and must be found eminently useful to persons engaged in the pursuits of commerce in France. They exhibit, under almost every form that can be desired or imagined, the trade in, and consumption of, every article of merchandise, particularising the quantities, as well as value, and exhibiting the various countries whence and to which the trade has been carried on. The various articles of merchandise are also classed according to their natural divisions of vegetable and mineral, and distinctions are drawn between such as form the raw materials of manufacture, and others which are fit for use in their natural state, or which are already manufactured. The only desirable addition which we could suggest to the statements would be a detail of the commerce of France with each particular country. An abstract of this information is indeed given, but this abstract furnishes only the aggregate value of the export and import trade, without indicating, as we could wish, the nature, quantities, and value of each article of merchandise which has been so exchanged. The materials necessary for constructing such tables as we have here pointed out are indeed presented in the volumes before us, but from the manner in which they are scattered over nearly 300 folio pages, in each volume, it would be a very laborious task to extract and tabularize the particulars.

The limited space which we can assign to the subject in our present Number, will not allow of our bringing forward all the various points which have suggested themselves during our examination of these interesting volumes. We must, on the present occasion, limit the few remarks we can make to such branches of the subject as may be supposed to have the greatest interest for readers on this side of the channel.

The first thing which strikes us is the very large proportion of foreign trade which is carried on at the various ports of France in foreign bottoms. It will be seen by reference to our abstract, that the average proportion which foreign ships have borne to the whole tonnage employed, including ships under the national flag, during the five years that we have taken, is more than 63 per cent. During the same years the foreign ships employed in the foreign and colonial trade of our own country, have, on the average, borne no greater proportion than 24½ per cent. of the whole tonnage employed. The value of the goods imported into France in ships of that country is on the other hand seen to exceed the value of the importation in foreign bottoms. This arises from the greater comparative value of the produce brought from the French colonies, the whole of which trade, as well as the fisheries, is confined to the national flag. Besides this, the whole of the India trade is carried on in French bottoms.

Judging from the abstract which we have made, it appears that the trade of France is in a satisfactory state of progression. In 1829 the total imports and exports were of the value of 616,353,907 francs, and 667,818,646 francs respectively. In 1833 they reached 693,275,752 francs, and 766,316,312 francs, being an increase of 12½ per cent. in the value of imports, and of 25 per cent. in that of exports.

We have not the means of forming any correct estimate of the total value of British trade during the same period. The only method of computation employed by our Custom-house for estimating the value of foreign and colonial merchandise imported and exported, is by the employment of a scale of rates established 150 years ago, under the name of official value. This scale, from the peculiar plan pursued, of affixing different values to the same articles when imported or exported, could never have afforded any correct results; but besides this, the scales adopted for the three divisions of the kingdom, all vary from one another, and the whole plan seems to have been admirably contrived for mystifying a matter which our neighbours the French have shown to be very simple and easy of elucidation. Their plan is to make at short intervals new valuations of each article, which shall bear relation to the existing state of the markets; and although it would be absurd to suppose that any account thus stated could be perfectly accurate, since there are very great differences in the quality of different parcels of the same goods, yet if the rates are adopted upon a fair medium scale, it is probable that the errors committed one way may compensate those existing in an opposite direction, and thus the result may, on the whole, be sufficiently accurate to answer all practical purposes. In every case the rate of valuation employed is given in the tables.

In addition to the general abstract to which our foregoing remarks have reference, we have prepared another table, showing the value of the trade carried on during the same five years between France and the United Kingdom, and her Eastern dependencies. The thing that strikes us as being most remarkable, from a view of this abstract, is the great disproportion which it exhibits between the value of the imports and that of the exports. According to the old method of estimating the benefits of trade, this statement would make it appear that our commercial intercourse with France must be in a high degree ruinous to England, the value of our imports from that country being nearly double that of the goods which she takes from us in return. It could not be necessary in the present day, under any circumstances, to be at the trouble of showing the fallacy of such an opinion; but we are convinced that the difference which we have here noticed has in reality no existence, and that France does actually take from us to the full amount of all the merchandise which she supplies to England.

By the Custom-house regulations of that country, the[illegible]on, are several articles of which France has need, which[illegible]ent. But will not receive direct from England, although from [illegible]le, notwith[illegible]

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

standing his resignation of office, still to retain a considerable influence in the direction of affairs, was the confidence of the king, which was not withdrawn from him, but continued to be manifested on the part of his Majesty by an almost avowed preference for the advice of the retired minister to that of any of his other counsellors.

Smollett, or the writer of the continuation of Tindal which goes by his name, has given in a few words the aim and character of the course which Walpole adopted in the circumstances in which he was now placed. "At no time of his life," says this writer, "did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries." Lord John Russell says, "Out of care for his country, he desired that the government should be conducted by a Whig ministry. Out of concern for himself he sought to blunt the animosity which the opposition leaders entertained personally against him." In order to accomplish these objects he first threw out lures to the Tories, so as to raise in them the highest expectations; he then, by means of his colleagues, opened a negotiation with Pulteney. When this negotiation began we are not informed: the first intimation we have of it is a message from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pulteney, proposing to meet him privately at the house of his secretary, Mr. Stone.* Pulteney declined a private meeting, but offered to receive the Duke at his own house. Newcastle went, accompanied by Lord Hardwicke. He found Pulteney with Lord Carteret by his side. Newcastle commenced the conference by stating, that the king, being convinced that Sir Robert Walpole was no longer supported by a majority in the House of Commons, had commanded them to offer the places that minister possessed to Mr Pulteney, on condition only that the ex-minister should not be prosecuted. Pulteney replied that he could not make such a condition; that whatever his own inclination might be, he could not answer for his friends: that parties, like snakes, moved by their tales; that he would be no screen: but that if the king desired to open any treaty with him, he would go publicly to St. James's. Before they parted some negus was brought in, and Newcastle drank, "To our happier meeting." Pulteney replied,

> "If we do meet again, why, we shall smile:
> If not, why then this meeting was well made."

A report of this conference, which was held without any concealment, soon reached the public, and great blame was attached to Pulteney and Carteret for beginning to treat without consulting the great body of the opposition. The *boy patriots*, as Walpole used to call them, namely, Pitt, the Grenvilles, and Lyttleton, secretly offered, through Colonel Selwyn, to secure the minister from prosecution, and answered for the concurrence of the Prince; but Walpole coolly denied the proposal. In the meanwhile, the prospect of the sun shining over a new hemisphere, hatched a swarm of embryo projects and theories of amendments. Some called for triennial parliaments, others for annual: some for a pension bill, some for a reduction of the civil list. One set of people were for taking away the disposal of all employments from the crown, another for making them incompatible with a seat in Parliament. Here a knot of politicians were for rendering the officers of the army independent of the crown; there, a more popular improver was for doing away with regular troops altogether..... The variety of these projects, many of them totally inconsistent with the constitution, alarmed the Whig principles of Pulteney, and made him the more anxious to act what he deemed, perhaps, the glorious and disinterested part of mediator between king and people. Walpole, on the other hand, was eager to secure the chief power in the future ministry to one whose enmity he did not fear. By his advice, it appears, the king sent a private message to Pulteney, requesting that, if he did not choose to place himself at the head of the Treasury, he would let Lord Wilmington (Sir Spencer Compton) slide into that post. Carteret, who desired the place for himself, objected to this arrangement; but Pulteney having obliged him to consent, Walpole was fully satisfied. His great object had been to lure Pulteney to the palace without his party; and when the king, conquering his aversion, allowed this to be done, he said to his son Horace, making a motion with his hand, as if locking a door, 'I have turned the key of the closet upon him.'

The result was, that after another conference an arrangement was made, by which Pulteney, without expressly pledging himself to secure Walpole from prosecution, was allowed to name a new ministry. Thus empowered, he declined holding any office himself, but asked only a seat in the Cabinet, and the promise of an earldom whenever he might choose to go to the Upper House. Of the existing ministry also, he removed only those members who were known as the Walpole party. Thus, he continued Lord Hardwicke as Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle as one of the Secretaries of State, the Earl of Cholmondeley as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Monson as First Lord of Trade, Sir William Yonge as Secretary at War, Mr. Pelham as Paymaster-General, Sir Dudley Ryder as Attorney-General, &c. The officers of the Household, likewise, almost without exception, retained their places. The principal changes were made in the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty. Of the former the Earl of Wilmington was named the First Lord; the other four commissioners being also all new men. One of these was Mr. Sandys, who was at the same time appointed to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Walpole had held along with that of First Lord of the Treasury. The chief place at the Board of Admiralty, from which Sir Charles Wager was removed, was given to the Earl of Winchilsea, all the junior lords being also changed. Lord Carteret was made the other Secretary of State in the room of Lord Harrington, who was created an Earl, and transferred to the office of President of the Council, formerly held by Lord Wilmington. Earl Gower was made Lord Privy Seal in the room of Lord Hervey, and the Marquis of Tweeddale was also admitted into the Cabinet as Principal Secretary of State for Scotland. The principal persons excluded, therefore, were Walpole, Lord Hervey, Lord Monson, and Lord Cholmondeley; and those admitted in their places, besides Pulteney himself, were Lord Gower, Lord Winchilsea, Mr. Sandys, Lord Carteret, and the Marquis of Tweeddale.

Almost the only representative which the Tory party had in the new government was Lord Gower.† In the course of a few months also, Lord Bathurst, a Jacobite, was made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, in the room of the Duke of Bolton. This almost entire exclusion of one of the most powerful sections of the opposition which had driven out the late ministry, immediately produced a schism in that body. At a great meeting held at the Fountain Tavern, on the 12th of February, the day after Walpole's resignation—which was attended by nearly 300 members of the two Houses—a violent debate took place, and the Duke of Argyle declared himself in opposition to the new government, on the ground of the unjust exclusion of the Tories. His Grace, however, afterwards accepted the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, and was at the same time made Colonel of His Majesty's royal regiment of Horse-Guards, a Field-Marshal, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Great Britain. But the king having refused to admit Sir John Hynde Cotton (whose accession the Duke had made the condition of his own acceptance of office) to a place in the government, his Grace, in less than a month, resigned all his employments, and withdrew again into opposition.

But the Tories were not the only excluded section of the late opposition. That party of the Whigs, the most distinguished members of which were Mr. Pitt (afterwards so celebrated both under that name and as Earl of Chatham), Mr. George Lyttleton (afterwards Lord Lyttleton), and Mr. Richard Grenville (afterwards Earl Temple), was also entirely passed over. The reason of this is understood to have been a coldness that existed between Pulteney's friend Carteret, and Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, with whom Lyttleton, Grenville, and Pitt were closely connected. The two former had married two daughters of Lord Cobham, and Pitt's elder brother was married to a sister of Lyttleton. But the king had also conceived a strong dislike to Pitt, which was with difficulty overcome many years after this time.

The only thing that in these circumstances held the old alliance of the Patriots together, was their still unsatisfied

* That is, the Duke's secretary, Mr. Andrew Stone.

* Lord John Russell ('Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe,' ii., 463,) says, that Sir John Hynde Cotton (who was a decided Jacobite) was made a member of the new Board of Admiralty; but this, we believe, is a mistake.

pursuit of Walpole; nor did even that hold them together either entirely or very long. On the 9th of March Lord Limerick moved in the House of Commons the appointment of a secret committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years. The motion was strongly supported by Mr. Pitt and others, but opposed by Mr. Pelham, the principal member of the government who spoke. Pulteney was absent in consequence of the illness of his daughter, who soon after died. The motion was lost only by two votes in a House consisting of 486 members. On the 23rd of the same month it was again brought forward in a somewhat different form, the proposed inquiry being limited to the last ten years: and this time it was carried by a majority of 252 to 245. Although the Secret Committee, however, sat for some time, their deliberations produced no result, the inquiry being effectually stopped at its commencement by the refusal of the House of Lords to concur in a bill which had been sent up to them from the Commons for granting an indemnity to the witnesses. Walpole, who lived for about three years after his retirement from office, was not further molested.

Their single common object thus abandoned, or removed out of their reach, the coalition which had originally been formed on the principle of hostility to the government of the late minister, entirely broke up, and the grand overruling distinction of ins and outs again came into play. The Prince of Wales himself, who had at first given his approval to the new arrangements, and been formally reconciled to the king, after a short time openly resumed his place at the head of the opposition. Meanwhile Pulteney was forced to take out his patent as Earl of Bath, and was thus for ever removed from the House of Commons. The king is said to have insisted upon this at the instigation of Walpole, who in this way effected the complete political extinction of the most formidable of his opponents. Pulteney became Earl of Bath—and as such, a mere cypher in the state, and the object of general contempt—in July, 1742, a few months after the close of the session, the commencement of which had seen him at the head of the victorious opposition, and the most popular man in England.

The death of Lord Wilmington, the nominal head of the Cabinet, in July, 1743, gave occasion to some new changes. Lord Carteret, who was personally a favourite with the king, exerted his influence to get Pulteney placed at the head of the Treasury Board, but the advice of Walpole prevailed over that of his old rival, and the office was given to Mr. Pelham, who also, at the same time, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, from which post Sandys (made a peer by the title of Baron Sandys) was dismissed to that of Cofferer of the Household. Mr. Thomas Winnington, a man of considerable ability, succeeded Mr. Pelham as Paymaster-General.

In December following, a few days after the assembling of Parliament, Lord Gower resigned the Privy Seal, and was succeeded by Earl Cholmondeley. Lord Gower alleged as the reason of his secession the exclusion of the Tories from any share in the government. About the same time Lord Cobham, who a short while before had accepted the appointment of Commander of the Forces in England, finding that no members of the party which he headed were to be brought in, also resigned.

The ministry was now in a state of the greatest distraction and weakness. Lord Carteret, presuming upon the king's favour, which he had acquired by his subserviency to his Majesty's Hanoverian partialities and fondness for interfering in the politics and military operations of the continental powers, treated his colleagues with the most unmeasured insolence. At the same time he both stood almost alone in the Cabinet, and was of all its members the most unpopular throughout the country. The employment of the Hanoverian troops in the war with France—a measure to which Carteret, in order to humour the king, had attached himself with particular ardour—was made the chief subject of the invectives of the opposition in the House of Commons. Although the address had been carried in that House by a majority of 278 to 149 (all Walpole's friends ranging themselves with the ministry), the opposition, animated by the support which it received out of doors, decidedly increased in strength as the session advanced. It is said that the operations of this body were now directed by a secret committee, or anti-ministerial Cabinet, as it might be called, composed of the following six members:—Mr. George Bubb Dodington (afterwards Lord Melcombe), the author of the well-known Diary; Mr. W. Pitt; Sir John Hinde Cotton; Sir Watkin W. Wynn, another Jacobite; Mr. Edmund Waller; and Mr. G. Lyttleton.

The signal for the actual commencement of hostilities between France and England was at length given by a formal declaration of war on the part of the former power on the 4th of March, 1744. It was followed by a similar declaration from his Britannic Majesty on the 29th of the same month. The success which attended the arms of the enemy in the ensuing campaign in Flanders, under the conduct of Marshal Saxe, did not make the position of the English minister easier or more secure. It tended, however, to bring matters more speedily to a crisis, by increasing the unpopularity of Carteret, who was looked upon as both the author and the chief manager of the war. "Lord Carteret, now Lord Granville,*" says Lord John Russell, "was in many respects the very reverse of Lord Oxford. With all the accomplishments of a scholar, and the lofty views of a liberal and enlarged mind, he was vain and presumptuous; had no definite plan, and often offended his colleagues by the haughtiness of his manner. The Duke of Newcastle, on the other hand, was timid, cringing, and irresolute; so that it was well said of the two ministers, that Carteret made a difficulty of every difficulty, and Newcastle made a difficulty of every trifle. The major part of the administration, alarmed at Carteret's prodigality, began to check his ambitious measures, and he was often outvoted in the Cabinet by four to one. Provoked at this situation, he declared that if his colleagues chose to take the government upon them, they might, but that, if they would not, he would do it. Both parties began to look for other aid. In this attempt Lord Granville failed, and the Pelhams were successful. Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, drew up a strong memorial representing the ill-conduct of foreign affairs. This memorial, after being approved by the Pelhams, the Dukes of Devonshire,† Dorset,‡ Argyle, and Montagu,§ was presented to the king, who, upon reading it, showed by his countenance the displeasure it had produced. Having no remedy, however, he at length signified to the Chancellor that Lord Granville should resign."

The dismissal of Lord Granville took place on the 23rd of November. In adopting the course which he did upon this occasion the king is said again to have acted by the advice of Lord Oxford. Arrangements had been previously made by the insurgent party in the cabinet with the different leaders of the opposition, and a new ministry was immediately formed, which, as professing to be composed of an union of all parties, received the name of the *Broad Bottom Ministry*. From this all-comprehensive arrangement, however, the adherents of Lords Bath and Granville were, of course, altogether excluded. Lord Hardwicke remained Chancellor; Mr. Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State. Lord Harrington was made the other Secretary in the room of Granville. Harrington was succeeded in his office of Lord President of the Council by the Duke of Dorset. Lord Gower returned to his former office of Lord Privy Seal, from which Lord Cholmondeley was dismissed, and the Duke of Bolton became First Lord of the Admiralty in the room of the Earl of Winchelsea. Mr. Lyttleton obtained a seat at the Treasury Board, and Mr. Grenville was made one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty. Dodington was appointed Treasurer of the Navy; Waller, Cofferer of the Household; and Sir J. H. Cotton, Treasurer of the King's Chamber. Pitt was also promised a place as soon as the king's aversion could be overcome.

"This general coalition," observes Lord John Russell, "smoothed the great sea of parliamentary debate; and the next session is remarkable for producing scarcely a single division. Yet the conduct of the new ministry did not essentially differ from that of Lord Carteret. It will be remembered, that one of the reproaches made against the fallen minister was the preference shown to the Hanoverian troops: motions had been made directly recommending their dismissal, and had been supported by invectives of

* He had succeeded to the title of Earl Granville on the death of his mother.

† His Grace had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, after the overthrow of Walpole.

‡ His Grace had been Lord Steward of the Household since 1737.

§ His Grace retained the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, which he had held under Walpole.

unusual asperity. The new ministry, to preserve their consistency, dismissed the Hanoverian troops, but gave an increased subsidy to the Queen of Hungary, which enabled her to take them into her pay: the troops were retained in the camp of the allies; and when the popular cry grew faint, they were again paid to the increased number of 22,000, from the British treasury." It may be added, that even Pitt, who had hitherto been the most vehement declaimer in the House of Commons against the sending of troops to the continent, now strenuously supported the vigorous prosecution of the war. But all this inconsistency on the part of the patriots was overlooked by the public in the popular triumph that was felt to have been gained by the dismissal of Granville. That ex-minister, however, still enjoyed the chief confidence of the king, by whom he was secretly consulted upon all matters of importance, while the actual members of the cabinet were treated with coldness and incivility.

In August, 1745, the rebellion suddenly broke out in Scotland. In the beginning of the following year, while this attempt remained still unsubdued, the king and his ministry thought it the proper time to try which was the strongest. It was well known that his Majesty was anxious to bring back Lord Granville; but the first move seems to have been made by the Duke of Newcastle who proposed the admission into the government of Mr. Pitt as Secretary at War. The insinuations of Pulteney are said to have been employed to strengthen the royal aversion to this demand. In the difficulty to which he was reduced, the king attempted to prevail upon Lord Harrington to desert his party, in the notion that with his lordship's assistance a new cabinet might be formed with Bath and Granville at its head. Harrington, however, not only steadily refused to aid in this scheme, but communicated what had passed to his colleagues, and he and the Duke of Newcastle immediately resigned. This was on the 10th of February. The king now named Lord Granville Secretary of State, and Lord Bath First Lord of the Treasury, in the hope that he might still retain the services of Mr. Pelham as Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the next day brought the resignations of that right honourable gentleman, of the Duke of Bedford, and of almost all the other Lords of the Treasury and the Admiralty. Those of Lord Hardwicke and others were expected immediately to follow. In this extremity the king sent for Mr. Winnington, and offered him the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Winnington's answer was, that it was quite impossible the proposed ministry could stand – that they could not count upon the support of more than thirty-one lords and eighty members of the House of Commons. The result was, that the next day his Majesty sent again for Winnington, and desired him to bring back the old ministry. On the 14th, accordingly, they were all reinstated in their former places; and on the 22nd, Mr. Pitt was admitted to office as Vice-Treasurer for Ireland in conjunction with the Earl of Cholmondeley. On the 6th of May following, he was appointed Paymaster General in place of Mr Winnington, who had died on the 23rd of April.

Mr Pelham continued at the head of affairs till his death, in 1754; and the only changes which took place among the subordinate members of the administration during the intervening time, were such as tended to strengthen the position and extend the influence of the premier. By the absorption into the government of almost all its leaders and chief orators, the opposition was for some time reduced in parliament to extreme insignificance. Mr. Pitt was now one of the most determined supporters of the very measures which the first ten years of his parliamentary life had been spent in condemning and opposing. Nor did he scruple to avow his change of opinion. In reference, for instance, to the claim of exemption from search for British ships when found near the coast of Spanish America, which, urged by the opposition in the time of Sir Robert Walpole, had involved the country in a war with Spain, and was afterwards abandoned at the peace of Aix la-Chapelle by the government of which Pitt was a member, he said in the House of Commons that he had indeed once been an advocate for that claim; but it was when he was a young man; he was now ten years older, and having considered public affairs more coolly, was convinced it could not be maintained. In the same manner very much of his old jealousy of military power and of the prerogative appears to have evaporated in the cooler consideration which he had now been enabled to give to such matters. We do not profess to doubt the perfect honesty of Mr. Pitt in this change of sentiment; and we may also think, that his more matured opinions were, upon the whole, more rational than those of his fervid and impetuous nonage as a politician; but the facts (which only furnish an instance of what has often happened) are worth recording as a lesson for such as are capable of understanding it.

The Prince of Wales, however, (from whom Pitt had separated himself a short time before his entry into the ministry), was still recognised as its head by so much of the old opposition as retained existence. The chief advisers of his Royal Highness were Lord Bolingbroke (who however did not sit in parliament), John Perceval, Earl of Egmont in Ireland (afterwards created a British peer by the title of Lord Lovel and Holland), a person now principally remembered for an extraordinary work which he printed in illustration of his ancestry, entitled, 'A Genealogical History of the House of Ivery, by James Anderson, D.D.;' Mr. Nugent, a gentleman of considerable abilities as a humorous speaker; and Dr. George Lee, a partisan of Lord Granville, under whom he had served as a Junior Lord of the Admiralty. It is understood that Dr. Lee was designed by the Prince for his prime-minister when he should come to the throne.

A new parliament met on the 10th of November, 1747. "The elections," says Smollett, "had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration." The king, he afterwards tells us, "received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate. Opposition now languished at their feet." In fact, the session was distinguished by nearly complete unanimity.

The next session, however, which commenced on the 29th of November, 1748, was one of a very opposite character. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was considered by many as in some respects a very inglorious termination of the war, had been signed on the 18th of October. The opposition having been very active in arranging their plans during the prorogation, began by violently attacking this Peace in the debate on the address. However, the great majority of the house was still with the minister. The adherents of the Prince were allied with the remains of what was called the country party, under the conduct of Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood (afterwards Lord Le Despencer), the former of whom, especially, was distinguished by his ability and eloquence. "What the opposition wanted in strength," says Smollett, "it endeavoured to make up by spirit and perseverance. Every ministerial motion and measure was canvassed, sifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed against the single article of superior numbers; and, accordingly, this was the source of certain triumph in all debates in which the servants of the crown were united." But at this period, it deserves to be noticed, the perfect agreement in their parliamentary conduct among the members of the government which is now usually exacted, was by no means always observed. "The servants of the crown," says the writer from whom we have just quoted, in another place, "were not so implicitly attached to the first minister as to acquiesce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the support of every court-measure indiscriminately. This was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predecessor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-servants, but insisted on their sacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and disposal. That sordid deference to a minister no longer characterized the subordinate instruments of the administration. It was not unusual to see the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the Secretary at War opposing with great vehemence a clause suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer." Although, however, the opposition contested every inch of ground with the ministry throughout the session, the latter carried all their measures by great majorities. In the session of 1749-50, their success was equally complete.

The next session commenced on the 17th of January, 1751; and again the division on the address showed a large majority for the government—203 against 74. Circumstances, however, soon after occurred which led to considerable changes in the Cabinet. On the 22nd of March, the Prince of Wales suddenly died in his forty-fifth year, leaving a son, afterwards George III., only eleven years

old, the heir-apparent to the throne. In the discussions on the bill which was immediately brought into parliament for the appointment of a council of regency, to act in case of the death of the king before the young prince should have attained his eighteenth year, some discordance of views was displayed between Pitt and Mr. Henry Fox (afterwards the first Lord Holland, and the father of Charles James Fox), who had first been admitted into the government as one of the Lords of the Treasury under Walpole, and had recently been promoted to the office of Secretary at War. The same thing was shown in other debates that took place about the same time. These public manifestations were only indications of a division that now existed in the ministry, and separated its members into two opposite and conflicting parties. One of these consisted of the Pelhams and their friends; at the head of the other, besides the Duke of Cumberland, who was not a member of the Cabinet, were the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Sandwich, who had come in as one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty on the formation of the Broad-Bottom administration, and had in 1748 been made First Lord, the Duke of Bedford being then appointed Secretary of State, on the resignation of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had received the seals of that office in November, 1746, when Lord Harrington, by whom they had been previously held, was substituted in his place as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Pitt and Fox, the two most conspicuously rising men of the day, and upon one or other of whom it was generally expected that the administration of affairs would eventually devolve, may be considered as having been the chief representatives in the House of Commons of these two hostile aristocratic factions. Pitt was the person whom the Pelhams wished to bring forward: Fox was the Duke of Bedford's man: and in this way was begun that rivalry between the two, which not only divided them during their lives, but was perpetuated in their sons. At the present crisis, the influence of the Pelhams prevailed. In the beginning of June Lord Sandwich was dismissed, on which the Duke of Bedford immediately gave in his resignation. The following new arrangements took place on this occasion. Lord Holdernesse became Secretary of State in the room of the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Sandwich was succeeded as First Lord of the Admiralty by Lord Anson. At the same time, the Earl of Granville again became a member of the Cabinet, being made President of the Council in the room of the Duke of Dorset. His lordship's fiery temper, however, seems to have been now pretty well burnt out; his few years of exclusion from office had transformed him into a very prudent personage, and he never again attempted to be either sole or chief minister. Some alterations, which it is unnecessary more particularly to notice, were also made among the subordinate members of the Boards of Admiralty and Trade, and among the officers of the household. Both Fox and Pitt continued to hold their places.

The power of the Pelhams was now greater than ever. Even in the House of Commons the opposition was nearly annihilated. In this state things remained till the unexpected death of Mr. Pelham, on the 6th of March, 1754. A few days after this event, it was announced that the Duke of Newcastle had been appointed to succeed his brother as First Lord of the Treasury and Premier. Mr. Pelham's other office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was given to the Honourable Henry Bilson Legge, who had been first brought into the government as one of the junior Lords of the Admiralty in 1745, had been made one of the Lords of the Treasury in 1746, and had succeeded Mr. Dodington as Treasurer of the Navy, in 1749. It is probable that Newcastle would have named Pitt as successor to himself in his office of Secretary of State, had not the King's prejudices against that gentleman been still found to be unconquerable. As it was, Mr. Fox was, in the first instance, nominated to the place: but on the day after, finding that he was not also to succeed Mr. Pelham as leader of the House of Commons, he declined the appointment. Upon this, it was given to Sir Thomas Robinson, a protegé of the Duke's, who had for some years past resided as ambassador at the court of Vienna; and, ill-qualified as he was for its duties, it was arranged that this person should also occupy the post of ministerial leader in the Commons, which had been refused to Mr. Fox. Lord Granville was continued as President of the Council; Lord Gower as Lord Privy Seal; Lord Anson as First Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Halifax, who had succeeded Lord Monson in that office in 1748, as First Lord of Trade; the Earl of Holdernesse as the other Secretary of State; the Duke of Montagu as Master-General of the Ordnance; Lord Edgecumbe, who had succeeded to that office in 1743, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. Fox as Secretary at War; and Mr. Pitt as Paymaster-General. Pitt's friend and relation, Mr. George Granville, was made Treasurer of the Navy, in the room of Mr. Legge; and Mr. (now Sir George) Lyttleton, was appointed to the lucrative office of Cofferer of the Household. Grenville and Lyttleton had previously had seats at the Treasury Board. Considerable changes were also made among the subordinate members of the three Boards of the Treasury, the Admiralty, and Trade. Finally, the Honourable William Murray (afterwards the celebrated Chief Justice, and ennobled by the title of Earl of Mansfield) who had long been one of the most able and active partisans of the ministry in the House of Commons, was made Attorney-General, on the promotion of Sir Dudley Ryder, who had held that office since 1736, to the Chief-Justiceship of the King's Bench.

A few weeks after these arrangements were made, the Parliament, which had lasted for nearly seven years, was dissolved, and a new one called. "The elections for the new parliament,' says Smollett, "generally succeeded according to the wish of the ministry; for opposition was now dwindled down to the lowest state of imbecility. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late Prince of Wales, whose adherents were too wise to pursue an ignis fatuus, without any prospect of success or advantage. Some of them had prudently sung their palinodia to the ministry, and been gratified with profitable employments: while others, setting too great a price upon their own importance, kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pine in secret over their disappointed ambition. The maxims of Toryism had been relinquished by many, as the barren principles of a losing game; the body of the people were conciliated to the established government; and the harmony that now, for the first time, subsisted among all the branches of the royal family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring for them a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed."

The new parliament assembled on the 14th of November, and the address was voted unanimously. But in the midst of this apparent harmony, the dissensions which the recent arrangements had produced among the members of the government were about to create a new opposition. Both Pitt and Fox considered themselves to have been used ill by the new premier; and, forgetting their old rivalry in this common resentment, they were early in the session formally reconciled to each other. The alliance thus formed was also joined by Mr. Legge.

Meanwhile, the unfitness of Sir Thomas Robinson for the situation in which he had been placed had become sufficiently apparent. An extraordinary scene which took place in the House of Commons on the 25th of November, is thus described in a letter from Fox to Lord Hartington, and may be taken as a sample of the good agreement now subsisting among the members of the government, and the sort of respect they entertained for each other. A petition had been presented against the return of Lord Fane, one of the Commissioners of the Board of Trade, for Reading. When it was proposed to appoint a day to consider this petition, Pitt remarked that it would demand their best attention, as it regarded a noble lord: "he then," proceeds Mr. Fox, "made a panegyric on Lord Fane, to make which was undoubtedly the sole motive of his speaking; nor did he say one word on the cause. This needed not have called up a Secretary of State; but Sir Thomas Robinson rose, and with warmth, among other things, asserted that it would be a short cause, and on the side of the sitting member a *poor* cause. Pitt handled him roughly; Sir Thomas answered with passion; and Pitt replied. I then spoke (for I dreaded what your Lordship foresaw might be offered, and thought these things tended to it); I expressed great regard for Lord Fane, and excused Sir Thomas Robinson's irregular and blameable expression, by his twenty years' residence abroad, where he had done honour to himself and to his country, and which easily accounted for his total inexperience in the matters now before us. He did not like it. Pitt and he had talked of his great office; and Sir Thomas Robinson said it was well known he had not been ambitious of it. Pitt believed it, and gave him to understand, that if anybody else had been so, he would not have had it."

In another debate, which took place on the 26th of

February following, on the subject of a bill brought in by the Lord Advocate for regulating the office of sheriff-depute in Scotland, Pitt took his stand in direct opposition to his colleagues, and in a long speech against the proposed measure, attacked the Attorney General in particular with the most unmeasured asperity. Murray was at this time strongly suspected of being engaged, under the sanction of Newcastle, in an intrigue to effect a junction with the Tories, and to this proceeding Pitt directly pointed his allusions. Instead of dismissing him in these circumstances, the timid Duke of Newcastle attempted to win him over by negotiation. Old Horace Walpole (as he is commonly called, to distinguish him from his more celebrated nephew) was employed, in the first instance, as go-between. The Honourable Charles Yorke, the son of Lord Hardwicke, was next sent by the Premier, with overtures to his haughty subaltern. Afterwards, the Chancellor himself went on the same errand. On the 2d of September an interview took place between Newcastle himself and Pitt, at the desire of the former; but all ended in nothing. On this result, the Premier made application to Fox, with whom he was more successful. That gentleman, having again entirely separated himself from Pitt, on the 15th of November accepted the seals of Secretary of State. It was high time, indeed, that some new arrangements should be made. The first day of the session, the 13th of this month, had exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of a violent opposition to the Address, headed by two members of the Government—Pitt and Legge. At the same time the incapacity of Sir Thomas Robinson would of itself have rendered the appointment of a new ministerial leader indispensable. Union in the government had now also become especially important, war having again broken out with France in the preceding July. This new quarrel between the two nations arose out of a question as to the boundaries of their respective possessions in North America, which unfortunately had been left unsettled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

On the appointment of Fox as Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Robinson was disposed of by being made Master of the Wardrobe, and having a pension settled upon him for the lives of himself and his sons. Lord Barrington, the former Master of the Wardrobe, became successor to Fox as Secretary at War. On the 20th of November, Lord Holdernesse intimated, by letters to Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville, that the King had no further occasion for their services. The Earl of Darlington and Viscount Duplin (eldest son of the Earl of Kinnoul), two of the Lords of the Treasury, were soon after appointed joint Paymasters of the Forces; and Sir George Lyttleton, declining to act on this occasion with his old friends, succeeded Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Grenville's place of Treasurer of the Navy was again given to Dodington, by whom it had been formerly held. About the same time the Duke of Marlborough was appointed Lord Privy Seal in the room of Earl Gower, who was removed to the office of Master of the Horse: and various other changes also took place among the officers of the household. It was upon this occasion, likewise, that Soame Jenyns was made a Lord of Trade on the resignation of the Honourable James Grenville.

But the government thus formed was destined to have but a short duration. In the course of the summer of 1756, the loss first of Minorca and afterwards of Calcutta, to the French, excited a ferment of indignation in the public mind, which vented itself in a storm of reproaches against the incapacity of the government. The King himself did not conceal his participation in the general disgust. To add to the difficulties in which Newcastle was now involved, he lost about this time his most powerful remaining supporter in the House of Commons by the elevation of Mr. Murray to the place of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, vacant by the death of Sir Dudley Ryder. The minister was extremely reluctant to make this appointment; but Murray forced him to comply with his demand, telling him plainly that if he should be refused, he would no longer act as Attorney-General.

A few weeks after this, Mr. Fox, seeing no doubt the issue to which events were driving, suddenly threw up his employment. This desertion at once overset the administration of the Duke of Newcastle. His Grace, after another ineffectual attempt to obtain the support of Mr. Pitt, who absolutely refused even to confer with him; and having subsequently offered the seals of Secretary of State, with no better success, first to Lord Egremont, and secondly to Lord Granville, gave in his resignation on the 11th of November. On the 19th, Lord Hardwicke followed his example. Before this, the King had desired Mr. Fox to endeavour to effect a union with Mr. Pitt, in order that they might proceed together to the formation of a new cabinet; but the latter, on being applied to, at once declined acting again with his old rival. In these circumstances the Duke of Devonshire was at length commissioned by the King to form a new government. Pitt was at this time the most popular man in England; and in addition to the influence which he derived from the public estimate of his talents, character, and services, and from his eminent standing in the House of Commons, he had lately strengthened his position by becoming an attendant at the levees of the young Prince of Wales at Leicester House, where Lord Bute already presided as a sort of future Premier elect. On the other hand, the Duke of Cumberland, with whom Fox was connected, was on anything but cordial terms with Bute and the Princess Dowager. These several advantages were more than enough to decide the contest between the two competitors for power. The Duke of Devonshire, having taken the office of First Lord of the Treasury to himself, named Pitt Secretary of State. Several of the other most important places in the ministry were also filled up with Mr. Pitt's friends. Lyttleton having been dismissed with a peerage, Mr. Legge became again Chancellor of the Exchequer. Earl Temple was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Lord Anson, and Dodington again gave place to George Grenville in the Secretaryship of the Navy. Lord Gower became also once more Privy Seal. Among the partial changes which were made in the subordinate offices, was the restoration to place of the Honourable James Grenville, who now obtained a seat at the Treasury Board. The Great Seal was in the meantime put in commission.

These several new arrangements were not all completed till nearly the end of December. In a few months more they were again all overthrown. The pretensions of the Duke of Newcastle, many of whose adherents had been left in the government, and whose parliamentary influence was still very great, aided by the zealous efforts of the Duke of Cumberland, offended at the exclusion of Mr. Fox, to prejudice the King's mind against his new ministers, were not long in producing their natural effect. His Majesty's old dislike to Mr. Pitt was not likely to be removed or softened by the manner in which [illegible] had at length been brought into power, on the tide of the popular will. It is said that Lord Temple was even more disagreeable to the King than Mr. Pitt. The frank and careless manners of that nobleman, which made him a general favourite in society, gave great offence at court, and threw him open to all sorts of misrepresentation by those whose business it was to poison the royal ear. Under the feelings thus engendered his Majesty again turned his thoughts towards the Duke of Newcastle. So early as the beginning of March 1757, the Earl of Waldegrave was commissioned to confer with his Grace, and also with the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Fox. Newcastle's avarice of power on the one hand, and his timidity on the other, protracted these negotiations for some weeks till at last his indecision and constant vacillation provoked the King to resolve upon attempting to arrange matters without his assistance. Determined, however to get rid at all hazards of his present servants, in the beginning of April he dismissed Lord Temple from the Admiralty, and appointed Lord Winchelsea First Lord in his stead. Upon this Pitt and Legge immediately gave in their resignations; and the country was again left without a government.

The popularity of Pitt and his friends was now unbounded. The freedoms of many of the principal corporations throughout the kingdom were presented to him and Mr. Legge, accompanied with addresses couched in terms of the warmest admiration, and everywhere the popular enthusiasm showed itself determined to urge all constitutional means for carrying both of them back to power. Meanwhile the court in vain made applications in every direction—to Lord Egremont—to Lord Halifax—to Charles Townshend—to Lord Duplin—even to Sir Thomas Robinson. All these persons declined having anything to do with the arrangement of a new ministry. In this extremity his Majesty again resorted to the Duke of Newcastle; but it was by this time manifest to everybody that his Grace and his friends could never again form an administration alone. It was now earnestly recommended by Lord Chesterfield that efforts should be made to

unite the several contending parties in the state; and a scheme was submitted to the king founded upon that principle. But when his Majesty found that it implied the return to the Cabinet of Lord Temple, and the exclusion of Mr. Fox, he instantly rejected it. The negotiation with Newcastle was now once more renewed, and again ended in nothing. At last Lord Waldegrave himself was prevailed upon to accept the office of First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Fox being, at the same time, nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Earl of Egremont Secretary of State. These three individuals met thrice in council, along with Lord Granville and Lord Winchelsea: but only to arrive at the conviction that such a government had no chance of standing. They felt themselves compelled to inform his Majesty that there was an absolute necessity he should look for other aid.

It was now the beginning of June: and for the last two months the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer had been in the hands of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who is usually appointed to execute the office in the interval between the resignation of one Chancellor and the swearing in of his successor. On the 11th of June Lord Mansfield was summoned to attend the king at Kensington, and on that occasion was commissioned by his Majesty with the fullest powers to open negotiations at once with the Duke of Newcastle and with Mr. Pitt. About a fortnight more was consumed in adjusting the claims of the several competing parties: but before the end of the month a new ministry was at length completely arranged, with Mr. Pitt at its head. The new Premier took for himself the office of Secretary of State, along with that of leader of the House of Commons; the Duke of Newcastle was restored to his former place of First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Legge was re-appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Anson became First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Temple, Lord Privy Seal; and Mr. Fox, Paymaster of the Forces. The Great Seal was given, with the title of Lord Keeper, to Sir Robert Henley (afterwards Earl of Northington), who had been made Attorney General on the recent promotion of Lord Mansfield; and Charles Pratt, Esq. (afterwards Lord Camden), became Attorney General. Lords Granville, Halifax, Hobbenesse, and Edgcumbe, were continued in their respective offices of President of the Council, First Lord of Trade, Second Secretary of State, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Honourable George Grenville became again Treasurer of the Navy: Viscount Barrington remained Secretary at War, in which office he had succeeded Mr. Fox two years before. Mr. Nugent and the Honourable James Grenville had seats at the Treasury Board: and the Dukes of Devonshire, Rutland, and Leeds, the Earls of Rochfort, Thomond, and Gower, the Honourable R. Edgecumbe, the Honourable Charles Townshend, and Sir Thomas Robinson, obtained places in the Household, or were continued in those which they had previously held. The chief government of Ireland was committed to the Duke of Bedford.

The establishment of this new government, the creation, as it might be called, of a great popular victory, diffused the liveliest satisfaction throughout the nation—the prognostic of the brilliant restoration of the national fortunes which was soon to be accomplished under its auspices.

Erratum in last 'Companion,' p. 267.
Col. 1, line 12, *for* "majority of 153 to 159," *read* "majority of 164 to 149."

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE LIGHTHOUSES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

This Report, with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Documents, constitutes a volume of considerable bulk. At the end of the Appendix are two maps, in which all the lighthouses and lights round the coasts of the United Kingdom are laid down, with notices whether the lights are fixed, revolving, or otherwise. The following is a brief abstract of the more important points of the Report, presented either in the words of the committee or by abridgments of particular passages:—

"Your committee," it is stated, "have throughout been strongly impressed with the paramount necessity of having the best lighthouses and floating light establishments for this great naval and commercial country which the state of science can afford, and that every necessary expense should be incurred for their maintenance. The importance of the department is to be considered, both as it respects the safety of the immense property of merchandise which is brought to and taken from the shores of the United Kingdom, and also carried coastways from port to port; and as it regards the personal safety of his Majesty's subjects who navigate the commercial shipping and man his Majesty's fleets."

The inquiries of the committee were chiefly directed to what are termed the "Public General Lights," and which are supported by rates levied on British and foreign shipping generally. But as it appeared of importance to have information respecting the "Local or Harbour Lights," (which are, or ought to be, supported by the corporate bodies or communities that have erected them,) returns were called for regarding these also.

The 'public general lights' of England are seventy-one in number, including a lighthouse on the Island of Heligoland, off the coast of Holstein. Fifty-five of these "public general lights" belong to the Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond, their revenues being managed for the benefit and objects of that institution. Three have been leased by the Trinity House to individuals; seven have been so leased by the crown: four are held under patents, subsequently sanctioned by acts of Parliament; and two are under the management of the Trinity House, though the deficiency of the dues at one (that on Heligoland) is made up by Government, and the other is supported by the Admiralty.

After defraying the necessary expenses, a large surplus annually accrues to the Corporation of Trinity House out of the rates collected from the shipping for the support of the lighthouses. A considerable portion of this surplus is devoted to charitable objects, the promotion of which is deemed by the Board one of the duties imposed by their charter. A question has arisen whether dues can be levied on shipping for any other purpose than that of supporting the lighthouses, &c. "The General Shipowners Society in London, the Chamber of Commerce in Greenock, and others, object to such large sums being applied to charity, and call for relief to the shipping by a reduction of the dues." Select Committees of the House of Commons, in the years 1822 and 1824, recommended to the Brethren of the Trinity House to reduce their expenditure for charitable purposes, and lessen the amount of the imposts and restrictions on the shipping. But the Brethren have not deemed it their duty to attend to these suggestions, for in the year 1820 their expenditure on the almshouses and pensioners of the Trinity House amounted to 32,035*l.*, and in 1832 to 32,861*l.* The committee "are strongly impressed with the justice of limiting the charges upon shipping, in every case, to the purpose for which the charges are sanctioned, whether by patent or act of Parliament: and if there should be a surplus, that a reduction in the amount of these, and all other rates, should be made equal to the whole surplus." No objection is made by the committee to the present mode of appointing the objects of charity, or to the manner in which the bounty is dispensed—the objection is to the *principle* of taxing the shipping for any other purpose than that of supporting the lighthouses. "The Select Committee on Foreign Trade in 1822, questioned the right as well as propriety of applying the surplus light dues to the purposes of charity;" and in examining into the 36th of Elizabeth, and the charter of James II., by which the Trinity dues are regulated, they reported that "no specific appropriation of these dues is to be found, except what may be collected from the 62nd section of the last-mentioned charter, which directs the application of moneys received by decrees, orders, agreements, fines, forfeitures, or otherwise, to the repairing of the Trinity Almshouses and the relief of poor Brethren and their wives, and poor seafaring men. *The charge made on foreign ships does not appear to be authorized by any act, charter, or patent;* and the amount on British shipping *exceeds considerably* the rate sanctioned by the charter under which it is collected."

"It may even be conceded," say the present committee, that the surplus dues from the buoys and beacons, and the rent of land, might be applied to charity; but if the whole surplus from all these sources be applied to pay a just proportion or share of the expenses of the salaries of the elder Brethren and of the office establishment, there will be no surplus whatever for charitable purposes."

On a review of the evidence relative to the right of the Trinity House to retain a surplus arising from the light

dues, for the purpose of being applied to charitable objects, the committee, "after mature consideration, and referring to the Reports of the Select Committees of 1822 and 1824, recommend that all pensions and charitable allowances, now paid by the Trinity corporation from the surplus of the light dues under their management (except to servants and others belonging to the lighthouse establishment), shall cease with the lives of the individuals now on the pension list, so far as the same may be legally done; and that from and after this time no new pensions, save as above excepted, shall be admitted on, or paid out of the surplus of the light-house dues." And in the event of the Trinity House Brethren not deeming it to be their duty to attend to this recommendation, it is stated that "it is in the power of his Majesty in council, by the 3rd Geo. IV., c. 3, to require a reduction in the rates, prices, dues, duties, or tolls, imposed or granted by any charter or act of Parliament to the Trinity House;" "and if the Board," it is added, "should persist in applying the surplus light dues to charitable purposes after the House shall have decided to adopt the recommendation of your committee, it will be easy for his Majesty in council to require the Board to reduce the dues on each or on all these sources of income, until the Trinity Board shall not have any surplus to apply."

In order to form a correct opinion of the reduction that ought to have been made, or may now be, the following comparison is given of the clear income and expenditure of the Trinity House in two different years:—

	1820	1832
Amount of surplus for general purposes, arising out of light dues . .	£51,561	£40,167
Surplus of buoyage and beaconage .	2,769	3,643
Net profits of ballastage . . .	1,962	2,185
Interest on stock in the public funds .	6,960	4,781
Rents of estates for charitable uses .	2,316	3,797
	£65,568	£54,873
Expended on almshouses and pensioners,	£32,035	£32,861
For salaries, office expenses, &c. .	12,119	16,725
For new lighthouses, &c. . .	15,223	21,868
Cash vested in public stock . .	2,000	
	£61,407	£71,451
Balance in hand	£4,161	
Excess of expenditure		£16,581

The excess of expenditure in 1832 was augmented by the purchase of the North Foreland lights.

The Trinity House have at present a sum amounting to 155,873*l.*, arising from the surplus dues of former years, invested in public stock, yielding a yearly interest or dividend of 4,676*l.*, applicable to the general purposes of the corporation, and exclusive of those sums which are invested for particular charitable purposes under the management of the Board." Though the Brethren declined to attend to the recommendation of the previous committees, and have intimated to the present committee that the same disposition still prevails, "and that they are not disposed to reduce the charity they now dispense," they have reduced the rates formerly charged on all shipping for the objects of their institution. Since January, 1823, "one penny per ton has been charged on British oversea traders, and on foreign privileged vessels entering the port of London, instead of eightpence formerly charged; and foreign vessels not privileged have been reduced from eightpence to twopence per ton." The benefit of this reduction may be estimated by the fact, that the toll levied on the shipping in 1832 for 55 lights was less by 7,998*l.* than the toll levied in 1820 for 33 lights.

The "collection of the light dues" forms the next important topic which the committee investigated. "The gross amount collected for dues for 134 lighthouses in the United Kingdom, was 240,304*l.* in one year, 1832 33: the charge for collection, 22,135*l.*; and the expense of maintaining them 74,834*l.*; so that the amount paid for collecting the dues on the present system was one-third of the whole charge for maintaining them, a sum within 7,684*l.* of the whole expense for maintaining the sixty-five lights in Scotland and Ireland."

The Trinity Board have paid no attention to the recommendations of the committees of 1822 and 1824, respecting a decrease in the expense of collecting the dues, and the adoption of a simpler and more economical mode than the system now pursued. The present committee "have no doubt whatever that in almost every instance a reduction to the extent recommended by the Select Committee in 1822 might have been made; and, as they think, ought to have been made, immediately after the notice of Parliament was called to that subject: no sufficient reason is assigned why the reduction has not been made; and it does not appear that the Trinity Board have ever taken means to have the collections made at a reduced rate."

The committee suggest that the light dues levied for public general lights should be, by authority of the legislature, collected at the customhouses of the several ports, by the collector, or some responsible public officer in the customs, in the same manner as the duties of customs are collected; a plan by which, in their opinion, the whole of the 22,135*l.* now paid for collection may be saved, and they therefore recommend its adoption without delay.

"The erection of public lighthouses in England has been by individuals or by the Trinity House, to whom patents for the purpose had been granted by the crown, on the presumed general wish of the trade that the same was necessary, and would be useful; and petitions from merchants and shipowners have generally been presented at the same time to the crown, offering payment of certain tolls or dues for the maintenance of such lights when erected.

"Sir Edward Northe and Sir P. Yorke state it as their opinion that such offer to pay, and such application, ought always to precede the grant of authority by the crown. Sir P. Yorke further observes, that 'it was held to be expedient, at least, if not absolutely necessary, to take that course previously to the granting authority to the lessees to collect such duties;' and it is to be observed that opinion was given on the application for the renewal of a patent or lease.'

The committee cite a number of legal authorities, to the effect that *reasonable tolls* can only be lawfully exacted for the maintenance of the lights, for otherwise the grants or charters under which the lighthouses or other lights are held would be vitiated. "Besides the fifty-five lights in the management of the Trinity Board, there are fourteen lights in the hands of private individuals. The injurious effects of this latter arrangement will be apparent, by observing that the gross collection for these fourteen lights, in 1832, was 79,679*l.*, nearly as great a sum as is collected for the fifty-five lights under the Trinity Board. The allowance for collection was 10,244*l.*, and the expense of maintenance 9,109*l.*, leaving a net surplus of 60,322*l.*, to be divided among the proprietors—the lessees and the crown.

"The aggregate charge for light dues to the trade and shipping of the country in England in one year, was 162,717*l.*; the charge for collection of dues 16,914*l.*; the expense for maintaining the lights 45,013*l.*; leaving 100,789*l.* (levied by toll on shipping in one year) more than was actually required for the support of the lights.

"It should, however, be observed, that there never have been any lighthouses in Ireland held for the profit of private individuals; and the only lighthouse held by a private individual in Scotland was by the Duke of Portland, as proprietor of the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth, which was purchased by the Commissioners of Northern Lights in 1816, under the express sanction of the 54 Geo. III., c. 136.

"It is therefore in England only that any private individuals have a right to levy tolls on the commerce and shipping of the country for their private benefit; and it may be well to show in this place the total number of public general lights, the number of local or harbour lights, and the total amount of light dues levied in the United Kingdom at this time; also the proportion in number and the amount of income which private individuals receive from them."

From the table referred to it appears that there are in all 219 lights in the United Kingdom, viz., 105 public general lights on land, and 17 floating lights; 93 local or harbour lights on land, and 4 floating lights.

The following account is given of the number of public general lighthouses maintained in the United Kingdom; by whom held; the amount of light dues received; the charge for collection; the amount expended in maintenance, and the net surplus, in 1832.

No. of Lights	By whom held.	Gross Collections.	Charges of Collection	Expense of Maintenance.	Net Surplus.
55	Trinity House	£83,041	6,670	35,904	40,467
14	Private Individuals . .	79,676	10,244	9,109	60,322
25	Commissioners of Northern Lights	35,526	3,261	11,314	20,051
40*	Commissioners of Ballast Board, Ireland . .	42 061	1,960	18,505	21,596
134		£240,304	22,135	74,832	142,436

"Thus," proceed the committee, "it appears that a sum amounting nearly to one quarter of a million sterling, is annually collected as lighthouse dues on the shipping of the country, although the expense of maintenance of these 134 lights does not amount to more than 74,832*l.*, exclusive of 22,135*l.*, the charge of collection, which sum alone exceeds twice the amount of the expense of maintaining the whole of the French lights."

The committee enter into considerable detail respecting the lighthouses held by private individuals, and the nature of the grants or leases by which in these cases the right is claimed to levy dues. One proprietor, they state, "refused at first to comply with the order of your committee for an account of his receipts and expenditure for the lighthouse, alleging that by a clause in the act, 3 Geo. II., he was absolved from all such responsibility. But your committee could not compromise the power and authority of the House to demand and obtain accounts of all taxes levied on his Majesty's subjects;' and the return was made under protest. Several of the leases were renewed within these few years past, notwithstanding express recommendations of the Select Committees of the years 1822 and 1824, that they should not; and the present Committee censure this proceeding as "highly objectionable and improper, and by which a very heavy charge, beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of the lights, will be continued for the long period of twenty-one years, for which these leases have been granted.' The lease of the Eddystone Lighthouse, which had been granted for ninety-nine years, expired in 1808 and, on the application of the lessees for a renewal, the Lords of the Treasury referred the application to the consideration of the Trinity House. The reply of the Board was, "that any claim to a future term on the Eddystone Lighthouse, or to any compensation on account of services rendered by Mr. Weston or his family, as lessees of the light, is wholly inadmissible. As the trade of this country increased, the profits of the light augmented, and upon the separation of America the Americans paid as aliens. By this event, which could not have been calculated upon in 1755, the advantages to the lessees still further increased, and the profits of the light must have amply compensated them for any services and exertions." For these reasons the lease was not renewed; and the committee are of opinion that many of them might have been urged with equal force against the renewal of other leases.

The public general lights of Scotland are under the management of a Board denominated the "Commissioners for Northern Lighthouses," "incorporated as such by the 38 Geo. III., c. 58; and the commissioners hold their office at the Board by virtue of the public situations they fill." They are twenty-five in number, and, with the exception of the Lord-Advocate and the Solicitor-General for Scotland, are all municipal officers. Their services are gratuitous. They have no power to interfere with any of the local or harbour lights.

The lights of Ireland are under the superintendence of the Ballast-Board, a corporation consisting of twenty-three members, who are the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin, three aldermen chosen by the Board of Aldermen, and seventeen other individuals, appointed in the first instance by the Act of Incorporation, but who have the power of filling up the vacancies.

The committee state, that having "had under their consideration the best mode of managing the lighthouses, they are of opinion that all the public general lighthouses and floating lights, to which the British and foreign shipping contribute, in England, Scotland, and Ireland (harbour and local lights excepted), should be placed under one Board, resident in London, and conducted under one system of management.

"Captain Drummond recommends a Board consisting of four persons; one to be a seaman, and the hydrographer of the Admiralty, another to be a scientific chemist; a third, a member of the Royal Society, and an optician; and the fourth, the President or Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Such a Board, with a secretary and proper officers, he thinks, would keep up the lighthouses to the existing state of science."

But the committee, after a review of the mode of managing the French lights, and of the constitution of the Trinity House, think that, on the whole, "the corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond, having been chartered '*for the good government and increase of Navigation*;' and the office of buoyage and beaconage having been granted to that body upon the surrender thereof by the Lord High Admiral, and the greater part of the lighthouses in England having been erected, and being now maintained by that corporation; and being satisfied, after inquiry into the lights now under their charge, that the said corporation are well calculated, after some modification in the regulations under which they admit their members, to have the management and control of the whole department of lights; recommend that all the public general lights in the United Kingdom be placed under the management of the said corporation. The committee also recommend that in consideration of the extended public duties which it is proposed will be performed by the corporation of the Trinity House, the regulations established for the admission of younger and elder Brethren should be revised and enlarged, in order that officers in his Majesty's navy, and other scientific persons, may be admitted thereto, and take part with those chosen from the merchant sea-service in the active discharge of the duties of the corporation."

Our limits have prevented any abstracts being made of other points considered in the Report. Among these are the results of several experiments which were made to ascertain the best mode of illuminating the lighthouses, and a number of details respecting the management of the Scotch and Irish lights. The committee conclude with an expression of hope that no time will be lost in carrying their recommendations into effect

* Including nine harbour lights paid for by the commissioners, and five supported by other Boards.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

The following notices of the most remarkable contests which have taken place in former parliaments, on the question of the appointment of Speaker of the House of Commons, may be interesting at the present moment.

In 1566 (the 8th of Elizabeth) Parliament re-assembled after a long prorogation on the 30th of September, when the Commons found themselves involved in a difficulty which had never before occurred, by the death of their Speaker, Thomas Williams, Esquire, during the prorogation. It was considered that they could neither act without a Speaker, nor proceed to the election of a new one without the direction or permission of her Majesty. A committee was at last appointed to wait upon the Lords in order to have their opinion of what ought to be done; and it was afterwards agreed to send a deputation of both Houses to her Majesty to learn her pleasure. The result was, that the next day a commission under the Broad Seal, addressed to the Lord Keeper, was read in the Upper House, in which his Lordship was commanded to call the Commons before him, as is usually done at the opening of a new parliament, and to acquaint them that her Majesty's pleasure was that they should resort to their usual place, and there choose a new Speaker, after their accustomed manner. On this Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of the Household, moved in the first place that Richard Onslow, Esquire, her Majesty's Solicitor-General, who was a member of the House of Commons, should be brought down thither from the Lords, where he was in attendance in his official capacity, as was then the practice. This preliminary motion was made, because it is necessary that the person proposed as Speaker should always be present at his nomination and election. The motion being carried, and notice having been sent to the Lords, Onslow was accordingly sent down to the Commons,

where he endeavoured at first to show, that, having a writ of attendance upon the other House, his services could not be demanded in the office in which it was now proposed to place him. His objections, however, were overruled; and Sir Edward Rogers having formally proposed him for the Chair, he was elected by a majority of 82 to 70.

In those times it was common for every person proposed as Speaker to profess the greatest reluctance to be elected; but in this instance the opposition expressed by Onslow seems to have been sincere. It is only in this way that we can account for the House dividing upon the question: for no other candidate seems to have been proposed. It is curious that the Speaker who succeeded Onslow, Mr. John Popham (afterwards knighted), was also when elected her Majesty's Solicitor-General, and as such, though a member of the House of Commons, accustomed to give his attendance in the House of Lords. The Journal states that previous to his election, on the 18th of January, 1581, he was brought down from the Lords by the Queen's Serjeant and the Attorney-General, and "restored to the House of Commons as a member of the same."

It was usual, down to a much more recent date, for the Speaker, at the same time that he occupied the chair, to hold an office in the Government. Thus, Onslow continued to be Solicitor-General for two years after his election as Speaker. The same two offices were afterwards held together by the celebrated Sir Edward Coke. Sir Edward Seymour, who was Speaker in the reign of Charles II., was at the same time Treasurer of the Navy. Mr. Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford), in the reign of Queen Anne, held the office of Secretary of State while Speaker. And even Mr. Arthur Onslow, who filled the chair for many years in the reign of George II., was for some time after his appointment Treasurer of the Navy. This however was, we believe, the last instance. In former times it was sometimes objected to a Speaker that he was even a Privy Counsellor: but that objection was never recognised by the House. It was brought forward, however, in a very curious debate, which is recorded to have taken place on the 27th of October, 1673 (the 25th of Charles II.), in reference to the then Speaker, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Seymour, who had been called to the chair a few months before. Mr. Littleton rose, and after stating that many objections had been taken to the Speaker when he was first proposed, proceeded to take exception to his continuance in the office on the ground that he was a Privy Counsellor, a thing he maintained almost without a precedent, at least since the Reformation. "You might," he went on, "be made a Privy Counsellor afterwards, as a reward for your services, but not whilst you are Speaker. Other offices you hold inconsistent with that chair, and have admittance to the most secret counsels, and how improper is that, we having no man to present our grievances but you! You are too big for that chair and for us; and you, that are one of the governors of the world, to be our servant, is incongruous." He then moved for the appointment of another Speaker *pro tempore*. The motion was seconded by Sir Thomas Clarges, who considered what had been said so rational, that he could not think any man could be against it, "We entrust you," he said, "with all our secrets; and in your predecessors' times no Speaker had liberty to go to court without leave." He then insisted that, according to the standing order, the member who was reflected upon should stand up, make his defence, and then retire. He was answered by Sir William Portman, who observed, "What we say here can be no secret among four hundred men;—persons in the Hall know what we do." Sir Joseph Tredenham, who followed, contended that none were more fit for Speakers than Privy Counsellors. All the precedents, however, which he quoted in favour of this doctrine were from times preceding the Reformation. In a subsequent part of the debate Mr. William Harbord took up a new ground. "You expose," said he to Seymour, "the honour of the House in resorting to gaming-houses, —with foreigners as well as Englishmen—and ill places. I take this to be a great misdemeanour. As for your being a Privy Counsellor, I think that no exception; but I am sorry to see the honour of the House exposed. I think you to be an unfit person to be Speaker by your way of living." Colonel Strangeways said that what he had heard weighed but with him. "You are charged here," he continued, "for being a gamester. I wish men were guilty of no greater crime. The judges may as well be excepted against." The Speaker then," proceeds the Report, "rose up and complimented the House to this effect, that he held no employment a greater honour to him than that which he had in their service, &c. The question being propounded, that Mr. Speaker do leave the chair, and a Speaker *pro tempore* be appointed; the question being put, that that question be now put, it passed in the negative." That is to say, as we should now express it, the previous question was moved and carried. The arbitrary conduct of Seymour in the chair afterwards occasioned various discussions; but these we cannot at present notice.

One of the most remarkable instances of a Speaker holding another office at the same time that he occupied the chair of the House of Commons, is that of Sir John Trevor, who was first chosen Speaker in 1685, in the reign of James II., and again in March, 1690, at the opening of the first Parliament after the Revolution (with the exception of the Convention, of which Mr. Powle was Speaker. In March, 1694, he was expelled from the House on being convicted of having received a gratuity of a thousand guineas from the City of London, the reward of his service in getting a bill passed through the House, in which that corporation was interested; but, strange as it seems, having been appointed Master of the Rolls in 1692, he not only continued to hold that lucrative place during all the time he was Speaker, but retained it for many years after his disgrace—in fact till his death in 1717.

On Trevor's expulsion, Mr. Wharton, Comptroller of the Household, being a member of the House of Commons, rose and, addressing the Clerk, intimated the King's commands to the House to proceed to the choice of a new Speaker. He then proceeded to nominate Sir Thomas Littleton; but before he had pronounced the name there was a general cry of "No, no," and several members rose up to speak to order, on the ground that it was contrary to the undoubted right of the House of choosing their own Speaker, to have one proposed to them by a person who brought a message from the King. "Notwithstanding," continues the Report, "the Comptroller stood up again and named Sir Thomas Littleton: which was seconded by Sir Henry Goodrick. Whereupon arose a debate; and another person, Paul Foley, Esquire, was proposed by Sir Christopher Musgrave, and seconded by the Lord Digby: and after a long debate, in relation to both the persons, the question was put by the Clerk, that Sir Thomas Littleton take the chair of this House as Speaker. The Clerk declared the Yeas had it. The House was divided; the Yeas on the right hand, and the Noes on the left. Two tellers were appointed by the Clerk; namely, for the Yeas, James Chadwick, Esq. 146; the teller for the Noes, Colonel Granville, 179. So it passed in the negative." It was then unanimously resolved that Mr. Foley should take the chair. He was the following day presented in the House of Lords to the King, and approved of by his Majesty.

There appear to have been several divisions before this on the question of the appointment of Speaker; but this, we believe, is the first (with the exception of that which took place at the election of Mr. R. Onslow) of which the numbers have been preserved. The present appears, in fact, to have been the first occasion on which two candidates were brought forward.

On the assembling of a new Parliament, on the 22nd of November, 1695, Mr. Foley was again unanimously called to the chair. But when the next Parliament met on the 6th of December, 1698, Somers and Montagu being now at the head of a Whig administration, Sir Thomas Littleton, being proposed as Speaker by the Government, was elected by a majority. It does not appear that any other candidate was actually proposed; but it is known that the Tories wished Harley to be chosen, and there was also a section of the opposition anxious to bring forward Sir Edward Seymour, who had been some time before turned out of the Cabinet. No account has been preserved of any debate which took place at the election; but the result seems to have been looked forward to with much anxiety, both by the Court and the public. Ralph, in his History of England, says, that "both parties seemed to think the issue of the Parliament in a good degree depended" on the choice of the Speaker; and he adds, that the election of Littleton "looked like a good omen on the side of the Court, promising a smooth and happy session."

The next Parliament met on the 30th of December, 1701, when Littleton was again proposed as Speaker by the Court. But this time the opposition carried the election in favour

of their nominee Harley. We have no account of the debate that took place on the occasion; all that is stated is, that Mr. Harley was elected by a majority of fourteen votes. Notwithstanding this vote, the ministry were considered to have a decided majority of adherents in this Parliament. The election appears scarcely to have been made a party question—though the opinion had certainly sprung up and been warmly maintained before this time, that the election of a Speaker was one of the most important occasions on which the House could give expression to its sentiments.

Harley continued Speaker till the meeting of Queen Anne's second parliament, on the 25th of October, 1705. The Government had recently taken a more liberal colour; and the Whigs, with the assistance of the Dissenters, had been very successful in the elections. On the first day of the session, "the appearance of the House of Commons,' says the Parliamentary History (vol. vi, p. 450), "was greater than had been known at the opening of any parliament for fifty years before, no less than 456 members being present. The first struggle was about the choice of a Speaker, by which a judgment was to be made of the temper and inclination of the members. The court declared for Mr. John Smith, a man of clear parts and of a good expression, who was then in no employment, but had gone through great posts in the former reign with reputation and honour, having been a Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had from his first setting out in the world been thoroughly in the principles and interests of the Whigs, yet with a due temper in all personal things in relation to the Tories. But the Tories all declared against him for Mr Bromley, one of the representatives of the University of Oxford, a man of a grave deportment and good morals, but considered as a violent Tory, and as a great favourer of Jacobites, which appeared evidently in a relation which he printed of his Travels. . . . . No affair of that sort had ever been carried with such heat on both sides as this was; so that it was just to form a judgment upon it of the temper of the House. After a debate of about an hour and a half, the House divided, and two members being appointed to tell the voices, Mr. Smith had 248, and Mr. Bromley 205 only." This result seems scarcely to have been expected by Mr. Smith's friends. Spencer Compton, who was himself Speaker some years afterwards, writing to Mr. Walpole (afterwards the celebrated minister), says, "I do not know whether you will think this contest worth your attendance, but sure some good may be struck out of this division. Lord Hartington continues ill of the gout, and Mr. Smith has a defluxion on his eyes, and if Mr. Walpole should be absent, the poor Whigs must lose any advantage that may offer itself for want of a leader." Walpole, however, was present, and seconded the nomination of the successful candidate.

The Parliament which met on the 16th of November, 1708, contained a large majority of members favourable to the government, which, Harley and Bolingbroke having been dismissed, had now, under the direction of the Earl of Sunderland, become entirely Whig. Sir Richard Onslow, a zealous member of that party, was accordingly unanimously called to the chair. "The Tories," Tindal tells us, however, "upon a surmise that the Court, or Whig party, would have been divided between Sir Richard Onslow and Sir Peter King, Recorder of London, had designed to have put up Sir Thomas Hanmer; but being disappointed in that expectation, they thought it prudent, not being able to make a majority, unanimously to concur with the rest. Indeed, the Tories perceived they had so little strength in this Parliament, that they resolved to lie silent, and to wait for such advantages as the circumstances of affairs might afford them." In 1710, however, when the Tories got in, and a new parliament was called together, the elections ran so greatly in favour of that party that Bromley was now chosen Speaker without opposition.

The next contest for this high office, we believe, was that which took place on the death of Sir John Cust, on the 22nd of January, 1770, in the middle of a session. This was immediately after the appointment of Lord North as Prime Minister. His Majesty's leave to proceed to the election of a new Speaker having been signified to the House, Sir Fletcher Norton was proposed by Lord North. Lord John Cavendish then proposed the Right Honourable Thomas Townshend. In seconding the latter motion, Lord George Sackville urged it as a ground for preferring Mr. Townshend, that while Sir Fletcher Norton had been practising in the courts below as a lawyer, his opponent had been "learning business of a superior kind, the business of the nation and of this house." The nomination of Mr. Townshend, who had not been aware that he was to be proposed till he came into the house, was supported by Mr. Burke and other members of the opposition; but on a division, Sir Fletcher Norton was elected by a majority of 237 to 121.

Sir Fletcher Norton (afterwards Baron Grantley) retained possession of the chair till the opening of the Parliament, which met on the 31st of October, 1780. On the 7th of May, 1777, during the sitting of the preceding parliament, Sir Fletcher had given offence to the ministry by some expressions which he had used on presenting to the King a bill for the better supply of his Majesty's household. "The Commons," he had said, "have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your Majesty's highest expense." When the attention of the House was afterwards called to these words, a motion was made and carried in opposition to the ministry, to the effect that the Speaker, in using them, "did express, with just and proper energy, the zeal of this House, for the support of the honour and dignity of the Crown, in circumstances of great public charge;" and the thanks of the House were given to him. The new elections, however, again gave the ministry the command of a majority, which they had for some time lost; and when the new parliament met, Lord George Germain rose, and on the pretence that the constitution of the late Speaker had been much impaired by the fatigues of preceding sessions, proposed that Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq., should take the chair. The motion having been seconded, Mr. Dunning rose. He expressed his astonishment that the noble lord (North) had not risen, and saved him the trouble of proposing the late Speaker to continue in the chair. At this time, he said, when in fact there was no vacancy, when the late Speaker was in the House, and to all appearance as capable of executing the duties of the office as ever, it struck him as the most singular of all measures, to confess, as the proposer and seconder of Mr. Cornwall had done, that the late Speaker was the properest of all persons to fill the chair with dignity, and in the very moment of making that confession to propose another candidate. He had expected, when the bad health of Sir Fletcher was urged as a ground for not continuing him in the chair, that it would have been stated to the House that Sir Fletcher had formerly applied to the Government, declaring his desire to resign the chair on the reason assigned. He concluded by moving that Sir Fletcher Norton be called to the chair. A very animated debate followed. Mr. Thomas Townshend, at the close of some remarks which he offered, observed, that the true, though unavowed, reason of the opposition to the re-election of Sir Fletcher, was his having made a speech on a memorable occasion which did him the highest honour—a speech which proved his impartiality as a Speaker, his zeal for his country, his feeling for the national distress. That was the reason of the present attempt to disgrace and insult him; and as it was unmanly and illiberal, he trusted every member, young and old, those who sat in the old parliament, and those who were newly chosen, would feel properly on the occasion, and join with him in supporting the motion of Mr. Dunning. Sir Fletcher, who had attempted to speak before, now rose, and began his speech by stating that his mind was made up not to go into the chair again on any consideration. The very great and increased duties of the office had, as the House must have witnessed, impaired his constitution materially, and he feared had weakened his intellects; his advanced years, also, disabling him from coping with his disorder. Referring, however, after some further observations in this strain, to the compliments that had been paid him by the proposer and seconder of Mr. Cornwall, he said that he should be an idiot indeed if he could possibly imagine he merited such compliments, or that his state of health, of which none of the King's ministers had ever received the smallest intimation from him, was the real cause of their moving for a new Speaker, without saying a word upon the subject previously to him. Every man, he was sure, who had the least pretensions to understanding, went before him in feeling that a consideration of his state of health was not the true motive for the present measure. He called upon ministers to tell him why he was thus disgracefully dismissed? If his conduct in the chair had been objectionable,

if it had been criminal, let the criminality be fully known, and let exemplary punishment follow, if there could be any punishment more severe than public disgrace. He pressed for an explanation the more earnestly, because he did assure the House upon his honour, that though he had been in town three days, he had never been asked whether his health would enable him to continue in the chair, should the House approve of his continuing there; nor had he been applied to, either directly or indirectly, on the subject of choosing a new Speaker. Mr. Fox next spoke, and inveighed with great asperity against the conduct of the ministers. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "what pitiful shifts are the ministers reduced to when they come down to the House, and tell us that our late Speaker is the ablest man in the world, the fittest to fill the chair, and in the same breath beg us to choose another gentleman! Sir Fletcher feels himself insulted; he complains of the insult, and he demands, honestly demands, to know the cause. Do ministers answer him? Does the noble lord in the blue riband speak out and fairly avow the cause of his removal? No; the noble lord takes refuge in a cowardly silence". The clerk, then, at Mr. Fox's desire, read the entry in the Journals, containing the thanks of the House to the Speaker for his speech to the King. Mr. Byng complained of the rudeness with which Sir Fletcher had been treated by the minister, who had assembled all his friends at the Cockpit and informed them of the intention of proposing Mr. Cornwall, but had never given the late Speaker the smallest intimation of such intention.—Mr Cornwall, then said a few words, after which Sir Fletcher Norton again rose, and declared that if anything could induce him to accept the chair again—he begged pardon for the expression—to aspire to it, it would be the contempt with which he was treated. He thought he had a right to an explanation. Mr. Ellis, however, in reply to this demand, merely said that he conceived every member had a right to vote for a new Speaker as he thought proper—that there was no intention to insult or disgrace Sir Fletcher Norton—but that in his opinion it was better to choose a Speaker of fresher health, and who, from his time of life, had more vigour, and was better able to encounter and sustain the fatigues of the office. But Mr. Rigby afterwards ventured a little farther. Repeating the position of Mr. Ellis, that every member had a right on this question to vote as he pleased without assigning any reason, he went on to deny that it was any part of the constitutional law of Parliament, that when a member was once elected to the chair of the House, he was to sit there just as long as he pleased, unless some charge of criminality could be made out against him. He then said, that with regard to the vote of thanks to Sir F. Norton, he had at the time expressed his disapprobation of it, and also of the speech that occasioned it. A great deal had been said about the conduct of Sir Fletcher while Speaker; perhaps he did not perfectly coincide in all that had been urged on that topic: and for this, and other reasons not fit to be given in that House, he was disposed to support the nomination of Mr. Cornwall. One part of Sir Fletcher's conduct had often appeared to him extremely wrong, and that was his relaxation of the rules of proceeding, and his want of strictness in preserving order, and keeping gentlemen within due bounds. He remembered Mr. Onslow was remarkable for an opposite conduct, and was said to have too much buckram in his manner. The younger part of the House complained that he carried matters with rather too high a hand; the fact, however, was, the House had then more dignity, its proceedings were then more grave and solemn, and people without doors treated it more respectfully than they had done since Sir Fletcher had filled the chair. Nothing of much importance fell from the other members that spoke; and when the House at length divided the numbers were found to be, for Mr. Cornwall 203, and for Sir Fletcher Norton only 134. The former gentleman accordingly was immediately conducted to the chair.

Mr. Cornwall died on the 2nd of January, 1789, during the sitting of Parliament. Mr. Pitt was at this time at the head of the administration; and when the house met on the 5th to fill the vacancy in the chair, the Earl of Euston, on the part of the Government, proposed the Right Honourable William Wyndham Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville) for the new Speaker. One singular circumstance attended this occasion. It had been the usage, as we have seen, for the House, before proceeding to the election of a Speaker, always to have the permission or direction of the crown intimated to it; but the King being at this time incapacitated for exercising the functions of his office by illness, and no executive government having been yet appointed, that customary preliminary was necessarily dispensed with. The nomination of Mr. Grenville was seconded by Mr. William Pulteney. Mr. Welbore Ellis, from the opposition side of the House, then proposed Sir Gilbert Elliot; and the motion was seconded by Mr. Frederic Montague. After a few words in the usual strain, from each of the candidates, a division took place, when Mr. Grenville was elected by a majority of 215 to 144.

Mr. Grenville became Secretary of State in the beginning of June following; and on the 8th of that month, the Marquis of Graham, on the part of the ministry, proposed Henry Addington, Esq. (the present Lord Sidmouth) as the new Speaker. The motion was seconded by Mr. Grosvenor. Mr. Welbore Ellis then moved that the chair be taken by Sir Gilbert Elliot; and Mr. Montagu again seconded the motion. The debate which followed, in which Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Burke took part, turned entirely upon the personal qualifications of the two gentlemen who had been proposed: the opposition contending that Sir Gilbert Elliot was the preferable candidate on account, were it for nothing else, of his much greater experience in the House than had been enjoyed by his youthful opponent. The division was very nearly the same as on the last occasion; 215 votes being given for Mr. Addington, and 142 for Sir Gilbert Elliot

In the beginning of February, 1801, Mr. Addington having been appointed first Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister, the House on the 11th of that month proceeded to elect a new Speaker, when Lord Hawkesbury (the late Lord Liverpool) proposed that Sir John Mitford (afterwards Lord Redesdale, and Lord Chancellor for Ireland) should take the chair. Mr. Sheridan on this occasion intimated his intention of proposing Mr. C. Dundas; but Mr. Pitt contending that that gentleman could not be nominated on the ground that he had not yet been sworn, and consequently was not present in the House, the proposition was not persisted in, and Sir John Mitford was unanimously elected.

Mr. Abbott, (afterwards Lord Colchester) who had succeeded Sir John Mitford as Speaker in 1802, resigned the chair, from illness, in May 1817, while Parliament was sitting. On the 2nd of June the House met to elect a new Speaker; when the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton was proposed by Sir John Nicholl, and Mr. Charles Watkyn William Wynn by Mr. Dickenson. The first motion was seconded by Mr. E. J. Littleton, the second by Sir Matthew White Ridley. After a short debate, in which Sir Charles Burrell, Mr. Sergeant Onslow, and Mr. Wilberforce spoke in favour of the nomination of Mr. Wynn, the House divided: when the numbers were found to be for Mr. Sutton 312, and for Mr. Wynn 150.

The last division on this question, previous to that in the present session, was that which took place at the opening of the last Parliament, on the 29th of January, 1833, when Sir Charles Manners Sutton was re-elected—241 votes having been given for him, and only 31 for his opponent, Mr. E. J. Littleton.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing order (18th of June, 1811) read.

Resolved—"That this House will not receive any petition for private bills after Friday the 13th day of March next."

Resolved—"That no private bill be read the first time after Monday, the 13th day of April next."

Resolved—"That this House will not receive any report of such private bill after Monday, the 22nd day of June next."

Member Returned.—Thomas Balfour, Esq., has been returned for Orkney and Shetland, in the place of G. Trail, Esq., the late member, by a majority of 114 to 84.

Abstract of various portions of the evidence appended to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Education.

Education in Prussia.—Abstract of the evidence of Dr. Nicholas Henry Julius before the Select Committee on the state of Education:—

Dr. Julius was born in Hamburgh, but resided for a considerable period in Prussia. He conducted a journal partly devoted to popular education, entitled 'Jahrbuecher der Strof und Besserungs-

Anstalten,' &c., that is, annals of prisons, pauperism, popular education, and charitable institutions in general, a part of which was filled by official documents, supplied by the Ministry of Instruction. The whole population of Prussia is about 13,000,000. The proportion of Catholics to Protestants in the kingdom is about five to eight; but in the Rhenish provinces, in Westphalia and Silesia, they are nearly equal. M. Cousin states in his Report, that there were 33 seminaries for teachers, or normal schools; but in the year 1833 there were 43, of which 11 were Catholic, 29 Protestant, and 3 of a mixed nature. The number of *pupils*, or *future teachers*, was 2036. The time or term of instruction for these pupils, who are intended for the instruction of others, is three years. The salary of a schoolmaster of a common elementary school varies, some may receive 30*l*., many receive no more than 10*l*., annually. Most of the country schoolmasters are the sons of farmers and organists, or are clever persons who enter the normal schools in order to be enabled to study and get forward as clergymen. It is made compulsory on parents to send their children to the elementary schools; the penalty for neglect is a pecuniary mulct or imprisonment. The clergymen both Protestant and Catholic, take great pains to see that the children attend the schools. The Ministry of Public Instruction is divided into three branches—worship, public instruction, and medical science, each forming a board with a director, but all under the superintendence of the individual who is termed the Minister of Public Instruction, and who forms the connecting link between the board and the government. There are about two million of children in the course of education in the elementary schools, the parents of whom all pay something towards the tuition of the pupils, except those who are receiving alms, whose names are on the poor list.

Abstract of a portion of the evidence of Professor Pillans of Edinburgh:—

Education in France and Germany.—Professor Pillans recommends, for the purpose of training schoolmasters for the sole purpose of tuition, the system adopted in Germany, and now adopted also in France. In France an institution of that sort, which is called Ecole Primaire Normale, consists of several masters, a director, who takes the general superintendence, and under him, masters appointed for the different branches of knowledge which the law of the country has decided to be most desirable for the *élèves-maîtres*, i.e., the candidates for a schoolmaster's situation, to acquire, pushing each branch only to the extent which is considered as most profitable to be attained by the population at large. In Germany and in France no *école normale* is established without at the same time an *école primaire*, that is, a common school for the elementary branches of instruction being attached to it. It is part of the law that there shall be an elementary school attached to every normal school, and during the two years devoted, according to the French law (the German law allots three), the last six months are to be devoted almost exclusively to instruction in practical teaching, after being previously instructed in the theory. There is a master whose business it is to deliver lectures and hold conversations upon the art of teaching. M. Pillans has been present when such lectures were going on, the lecturers addressing their instructions, on what is there called the pædagogic art, to attentive audiences of *élèves-maîtres*, all of whom were busy taking notes of the lecture. The schools in France are now all taken under the protection and surveillance of the government. Among those, by far the most numerous are the schools of the brothers of the Christian doctrine, or *Frères Ignorantids*, as they are also called, which are of very long standing in France, under the name of *Ecoles des Frères*. In 1833, there were 54 normal schools in France and 16 in progress. The law declares one to be necessary in every department. The whole system of education in France is called the University, which is coextensive with France, and means nothing more than the *tout ensemble* of all the educational means of the country. France is divided into academies just as it is divided into departments, only the former are much the larger. In every academy there is a rector, whose residence is at the principal town, and generally, unless it is a very large town, the Ecole Normale is situated there also. If it is a large town they very wisely declare that no Ecole Normale shall exist there. In Paris there is none, the Ecole Normale Primaire of Paris being at Versailles. The total sum allotted by the French government for normal and model schools, out of the million and half voted in 1833 for education, was 238,000 francs.

William Davis, Esq., states in his evidence (an abstract of part of which is given lower down), that he has known much about foreigners of the lowest class who have come to England for employment, "and," he adds, "I have scarcely known an instance where one of them (Germans) could not write his name and read his Bible."

Abstract of a portion of the evidence of William Allen, Esq.

Education in Russia.—When the Emperor Alexander was in Britain in the year 1814, Mr. Allen had a private interview with him, and explained the importance of putting the means of instruction into the possession of the common people of Russia. The Emperor was exceedingly pleased with the suggestions made to him, and when Mr. Allen went to Petersburgh in the years 1818 and 1819, he found that the plan proposed had been partially adopted. Mr. Allen saw a school at Petersburgh, in which were about two hundred soldiers. The school was well conducted, but upon the walls were a set of lessons in the Russ language, to which Mr. Allen objected. He took occasion to speak to Prince Galitzin on the subject, who mentioned it to the Emperor, and the consequence was that these lessons were stopped immediately throughout the whole of Russia. A selection was then made by Mr. Allen, assisted by some friends, from the Bible, which was approved, and the selection has since been printed in Russ, English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Arabic, and made the reading lessons of the empire.

Mr. Allen is treasurer to the British and Foreign School Society.

Abstract of a portion of the evidence of William Davis, Esq.

Gower's-walk School, Whitechapel.—Mr. Davis, in conjunction with three other gentlemen, built a school at a place called Gower's-walk, Whitechapel. There are at present about seven hundred children receiving education in Whitechapel under the system pursued; there might be more, but the surrounding parishes have now schools of their own, which at the time when the Gower's-walk School was founded (1808) they had not. The system pursued is the mixing up of industrious occupations with education. There is a printing-office in Gower's-walk school, and the boys are taught to compose the types and work at press. A considerable portion of the printing executed is received from the surrounding neighbourhood, the people employing the school press in the same manner as they would that of a common printing establishment. The chief part of the profits have been applied to clothing and rewarding the children, and applied in such a way as to induce them to stay to the latest possible period they can be kept in the school, for the purpose of completely establishing in their minds religious and moral truth. Those who have distinguished themselves as attentive and good boys, who are teachers of their little schoolfellows, or who have exhibited a particular talent and attention in the printing-office, are clothed, in order to stimulate the others. Those who work are seldom employed more than three hours in the day, and the labour is not continuous, one class superseding another class every two hours. No coercion is required to induce them to work, the boys volunteering; it is made so desirable, and they are so much more willing to have their fingers at work than to be employed in learning, that volunteers are never wanting in greater number than required. A portion of the earnings of the young workmen is retained, till they reach the age of fourteen, when, if they leave the school with a good character, it is paid over to them, for the purpose of enabling them to purchase clothes, or set themselves off comfortably as apprentices. The sums they thus receive on quitting the school, vary according to ability or industry, from 20*s*. to 7*l*., which latter is the highest amount that has been paid. Notwithstanding that they have been thus taught printing, very few have selected that business as a means by which to earn their subsistence in after life, not perhaps above a dozen of the whole number. The object sought by teaching them the business of printing, is to train them to habits of diligence and industry. Occupations of various kinds might be introduced, but in Gower's-walk School printing has been selected and persevered in, as being best adapted to the circumstances of the place, and at the same time yielding most profit. In the parochial or endowed school at Whitechapel, Mr. Davis recommended the other trustees to adopt knitting, as an industrious occupation, which, without occasioning much trouble, would answer the end proposed. It has been tried, and proved completely successful, the profit resulting from the labour of the boys in this mode of thus disposing of a portion of their time, amounting in the year 1833, to 17*l*. 17*s*. 6*d*. This school, being well endowed, scarcely requires pecuniary assistance, its funds enabling it to clothe the children. At Gower's-walk School, the funds raised, and profit arising from the industrious occupations of the boys, make it unnecessary for the parents to pay anything for the education of their children: it is considered that the children work for their education; their labour is taken and applied to a moral and religious purpose.

Abstract of the evidence of Captain Brenton, R.N.

The Brenton Asylum.—Captain Brenton has founded an establishment at Hackney-wick, now termed the Brenton Asylum. It was originally established for the children of the most vicious portion of the poor. There have been received into it 514 children, of whom 270 boys and 40 girls have been sent abroad. The others have either been provided for by their friends, or have absconded, none have died. The age at which the children are usually admitted, is from ten to fourteen, the younger the better, for the greatest difficulty has invariably risen with the larger children. The children have been taken from the workhouses, from prisons, and from the streets. The course of training is as follows: when a boy is received into the school, he is carefully cleaned, and clothed in the school dress; he is then told what the intentions of those who receive him are towards him, and he is instructed to consider every boy in the school a brother; a system

of education is pursued, by which the boys are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and spade husbandry. The children that have been sent abroad were intrusted to the care of Committees at the Cape of Good Hope, and Swan River, and also sent to Canada, under the care of an agent to be apprenticed to colonists.

Abstract of the evidence of the Rev. George Clarke.

Military Asylum at Chelsea—Mr. Clarke is Chaplain of the Military Asylum at Chelsea, the institution is for the education of the children of soldiers and non-commissioned officers. At present there are about 400 in the asylum, but during the war there were upwards of 1250. The institution is conducted on military principles; boys are serjeants, the head schoolmaster is serjeant-major, and over him is the chaplain. There is no influence exerted to induce the boys to enter the army, except that of association; they are brought up as soldiers, every term they hear is a military one, and they do everything by the sound of the drum. They are taught the first four rules of arithmetic, to read, to write, and at the same time trades are carried on. Everything they wear is made by themselves—their own shoes, clothes, shirts, and stockings. There were formerly girls in the school, also the children of soldiers, but these are now removed to an establishment in the country, for the purpose of being trained up as farm servants, &c. Upwards of one-half of the boys go from the institution into the army, and reports are received every year from the different regiments into which the boys are received, and the greater number are very satisfactory, a large majority of those who volunteer being well-behaved boys. Many of those who do not go into the army are apprenticed to trades, or go out as servants, and at the end of five years, if they produce a certificate from their masters of good conduct, they receive a reward of five guineas; a fair proportion of those apprenticed apply for the reward.

Abstract of a portion of the evidence of B. Braidley, Esq.

Educational Clauses in the Factory Bill.—"The Factory Act of last year gave no time to the public, or to the schoolmasters themselves, to erect or establish schools; but it required that, within a very short period, children should present themselves on the Monday morning after the act came into operation, and declare that they had been at school two hours each day in the previous week; whereas schools did not exist in sufficient numbers to accommodate them, nor was any master provided." Mr. Braidley thinks that in the first instance the act was found a dead letter, and had therefore a tendency to encourage parties in a continued carelessness as to the education clauses. The inspectors think it a part of their duty to make some reference to the non-execution of the enactment regarding education; but he considers that of two evils, they are right in choosing the least; and that when they find there is not machinery to work this part of the act, and that there is not a sufficient supply of educated hands, their duty "presents itself to them in this shape, whether they are to cause the works of large manufactories to stand still, or to wink at such evasions of the act as circumstances have thus rendered necessary. With respect to the Factory Bill, the clause which requires that the children shall attend school for two hours per day, does not provide the machinery to instruct them during those two hours; and a schoolmaster would think himself poorly remunerated who could have scholars for only two hours in the day, if he was to be paid only in the same ratio that other masters are."

In a printed paper circulated by the "Children's Friend Society," and which contains the names of the masters to whom the children sent out to the Cape of Good Hope have been apprenticed, there is an extract from the "South African Commercial Advertiser," from which we learn that "when the first division of these emigrants were landed here last year (in 1833), an opinion was entertained by some, originating in the former title of the Society—"for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy"—that most, if not all of them, had been guilty of some crime or delinquency. And it is true that of many of them the society in London could only say that they knew nothing, except that they were found in a state of destitution. Their future conduct was therefore a subject of deep anxiety with the Committee in Cape Town, and they pressed on the Society in London the superior advantages likely to be secured to the public, both at home and in the colonies, by receiving destitute children into their asylums, if possible before they had been forced by their unhappy circumstances into vicious courses..... It is but justice to these children, however, to add, that though no fewer than 174 have been apprenticed during the last twelve months, *not a single case of theft, violence, or outrage, on the part of any one of them, has been brought under the cognizance of the magistrate.* During the first two or three months, a few cases of desertion occurred; but this was easily checked, as it seems to have arisen entirely from the novelty of their situation and a want of sympathy with the strangers among whom they were thus suddenly placed, and from all we have seen and heard on the subject, we are able to say that their conduct has been not only blameless, but praiseworthy.

The paper from which we have taken this extract contains the names of 106 boys and 18 girls, who have been apprenticed to individuals of the following trades or professions:—

Boys.	
To Farmers	48
Merchants	4
Schoolmasters	3
Clerk in Government office	1
Colonial chaplain	1
Civil commissioner	1
Commandants	2
Physician	1
Surgeon	1
Town Major	1
Various trades and professions	42
Sent back to England	1
	106

The 18 girls were placed in different families, of which the names of the heads are given. It is also stated that 47 boys and 11 girls had arrived at the Cape by three different vessels, most of whom had been apprenticed.

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Law Students, France.—The French schools of law were reorganized under the decree of the 15th of March, 1804. The decree requires that all pupils desirous of obtaining a certificate of competency as attorneys (*avoués*), should follow a full year's course of study, and submit to an examination. If desirous of a diploma of licentiate, which is necessary in order to obtain admission into the class of barristers (*avocats*), they must have previously passed through a three years' course of study, and four examinations, as well as have held a public disputation; and lastly, if desirous of obtaining the more elevated rank of a doctor, they must have pursued a four years' course of study, passed six examinations, and have held two public disputations. A later law, that of the 10th of May, 1806, converted the schools of law into faculties of law, and declared them an integral member of the Imperial University of France. There are at present nine courses of law delivered in the faculty of law at Paris. The diplomas annually granted are as follows:—Diploma of Competency, about 140; to Bachelors, from 980 to 1000; to Licentiates, about 650; and to Doctors, about 25 or 30. One-half are granted by the School of Law, in Paris; the remainder by the Schools of Aix, Caen, Dijon, Grenoble, Poitiers, Rennes, Strasburg, and Toulouse. The amount of fees received by all the schools of law in France is about 31,250*l.* (781,400 frs.) per annum.—*Journal of Education.*

Number of Foundlings received, maintained, and educated by the French Government.

In 1819	99,346
1820	102,103
1821	106,000
1822	109,000
1823	111,000
1824	116,749
1831	122,981

Expended, 8,725,84 francs, or 360,000*l.*

Lighthouses in France.—The lighthouses in France are under the management of the commissioners for bridges and roads, and the whole of the expense is paid by the French Treasury. There were, in 1830, in all, 60 lights on the coast of France; and the expense for 1834, for 73 lights, is estimated at 200,000 francs, or about 8000*l.* sterling, being about 110*l.* each on an average.

Lighthouses in the United States.—In the years 1832, 1833, the Treasury paid 231,850 dollars, or 29,300*l.*, for the maintenance of the lights on the coasts, exclusive of building new lighthouses. During the same period, there were 19,266 dollars (4281*l.*) collected from vessels, not of the United States, entering the ports, at the rate of 50 cents. of a dollar per ton, and collected under the same regulations as other tonnage duties. The public treasury of the United States thus pays all the expenses of the light establishment, and no rate is imposed as light dues on their own shipping.

Taking the British tonnage in 1832 at 2,618,068, and the foreign tonnage at 874,605, making 3,492,673, tons, a rate of 1*s.* per ton once in the year would raise 174,633*l.*, a sum amply sufficient to support the light establishments, and build new lights, &c. At present, the yearly charge on British and foreign shipping for this purpose is 240,304*l.*

Private Lighthouses in England.—The net annual surplus, over the expense of maintenance, &c., which accrues to individuals who hold lighthouses under patents or leases in England is, in some instances, very great. The Smalls lighthouse yields nearly 11,000*l.* annually of clear profit. Other four lighthouses yield nearly 20,000*l.*, which is divided between the lessees and the crown. One gentleman, who only receives a share of the profits of the Dungeness lighthouse, netted, in nine years, 55,495*l.*

THE REVENUE.

An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th of January, 1834, and 5th of January, 1835, showing the Increase or Decrease under each head thereof.

	Quarters ended			Year ended	Quarters ended			Year ended	Year ended Jan. 5, 1835.		Quar. ended Jan. 5, 1835.	
	April 5, 1833.	July 5, 1833.	October 10, 1833.	January 5, 1834.	April 5, 1834	July 5, 1834.	October 10, 1834.	January 5, 1835.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
Customs.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£	£	£.	£	£.	£.	£.	£.
Consolidated Duties	2,492,857	2,337,638	2,957,539	3,664,469	2,463,199	2,847,320	3,479,036	3,095,926				
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund	522,771	..	..	501,892	1,200,068	..	..	917,847				
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	401,629	1,965,364	1,314,910	438,126	..	1,299,857	1,472,464	302,048				
	3,417,250	3,563,002	4,272,449	4,594,487	3,603,267	4,097,207	4,950,500	4,305,721	1,989,707	..	711,434	780,293
Total Customs	2,660,575	3,904,585	4,771,309	4,264,483	2,703,561	3,703,519	3,924,785	3,434,200	..	1,674,907	..	19,650
Excise	1,581,038	1,557,810	1,691,716	1,577,112	1,471,450	1,496,314	1,651,002	1,565,462	83,548	..	..	175,581
Stamps	509,563	1,921,665	612,129	1,809,701	493,351	1,925,429	504,714	1,633,120	..	341,444	..	1,000
Taxes	346,300	345,000	371,000	324,000	334,000	338,000	366,000	323,000	..	25,000	..	
Post Office	16,478	9,215	4,304	27,046	11,295	5,475	1,712	35,447	..	214	11,401	
Miscellaneous	28,473,204	10,831,277	11,753,007	11,393,633	8,896,914	11,065,934	11,410,719	11,339,950	75,341	..	..	44,275
Total Ordinary Revenue	77,364	46,465	67,303	103,886	128,461	102,760	99,857	390,359				
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works.	28,551,268	10,847,742	11,840,310	11,697,525	8,935,375	11,198,694	11,510,446	11,399,561	2,143,596	2,011,565	722,835	1,080,799
Total Income				42,936,845				43,043,876	2,041,565	Deduct Decrease.	722,835	Deduct Increase.
									107,031	Increase on the Year.	297,964	Decrease on the Quarter.
Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund, to pay off Exchequer Bills	5,673,479	5,720,395	8,069,229	8,331,458	6,018,474	6,642,945	7,500,511	8,276,918	2,041,565		722,835	
" " charged on Sugar Duty	401,629	1,965,364	1,314,910	438,126	..	1,299,857	1,472,461	302,048	107,031		297,964	
" " as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	2,475,968	3,861,783	2,457,172	2,887,941	2,916,901	3,325,862	2,537,241	3,821,293				
Total	28,551,268	10,847,742	11,840,310	11,697,525	8,935,375	11,198,694	11,510,216	11,399,561				
				42,936,845				43,043,876				

United States.—*Newspapers.*—The American Almanac for 1835 estimates the number of *copies* of newspapers at present annually circulated in the States at from seventy to eighty millions. The following table gives the *time* when the first newspaper was printed in the several States, and the number printed in each at several periods:—

States.	First Newspaper.	Number of Newspapers in			
		1775	1810	1828	1834
Maine	1786	...	8	29	51
New Hampshire	1756	1	12	17	27
Vermont	1781		14	21	26
Massachussetts	1704	7	24	78	108
Rhode Island	1732	2	7	14	18
Connecticut	1755	4	11	33	31
New York	1725	4	66	161	267
New Jersey	1777		8	22	35
Pennsylvania	1719	9	71	185	220
Delaware	1761		2	4	4
Maryland	1728	2	21	37	32
Virginia	1736	2	23	34	40
North Carolina	1755	2	10	20	22
South Carolina	1731	3	10	16	19
Georgia	1763	1	13	18	29
Alabama				10	25
Mississippi			4	6	13
Louisiana			10	9	31
Tennessee	1791		6	8	26
Kentucky	1786		17	23	25
Ohio	1795		14	66	140
Indiana			1	17	25
Illinois				4	15
Missouri			1	5	15
District of Columbia			6	9	9
Florida Territory				2	5
Michigan do.				1	2
Arkansas do.				1	2
Total		37	359	851	1265

N.B.—The column for 1828 includes other periodicals as well as newspapers. The numbers in the column for 1834 assigned to Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are chiefly by estimate, the exact numbers not having been ascertained. The estimate is stated to be probably below the real numbers.

Returns of the Population of Denmark, (the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg excepted,) according to the Census taken by order of the Danish Government, on the 8th of February, 1834, as compared with the Population in 1801.

Districts.	Superficies in Geographical Square Miles.	Census of 1801.	Census of 1834.	Increase of Population.	Increase per Cent.
Zealand, &c.	133.6260	361,523	464,607	103,084	28 per Ct.
Copenhagen, &c.	10.3142				
Funen, &c.	61.2183	121,376	167,062	45,684	38 per Ct.
Lealand, Falster, &c.	30.0384	52,980	66,186	13,206	25 per Ct.
North Jutland	448.4203	389,093	525,952	136,859	35 per Ct.
	683.6372	924,974	1,223,807	298,833	32 per Ct.

Belgian Revenue.—In an official comparative view of the indirect taxes for 1833 and 1834, published in the *Moniteur Belge*, it is stated that there was a net increase of 320,200 francs during the last year; and that the receipts exceeded the estimates by the sum of 3,176,173 francs. All the branches of the revenue had increased, except the tax on brandy distilled in the kingdom, in which there was a diminution to the amount of 1,709,477 francs.

Grants for the Promotion of Education and Science in Saxony.—The budget for churches, academies, and schools, in the kingdom of Saxony, for the present year, contains the following among other items:—

	The original sums are in dollars equal to
For the University of Leipzig	£4,675
Protestant Churches and Schools	4,199
Catholic ditto	2,669
Deaf and Dumb Schools in Dresden	41
Military Seminaries	4,714
Completing the Income of Schools for the Education of Soldiers' Children	1,255
Mining Academy at Freyberg	1,379
Forest Academy and Agricultural Institution at Tharaûd	1,206
Academy of Arts in Dresden	2,756
Maintenance of the Galleries and Collections in Dresden	2,641
Support of several Societies of Arts, &c.	385
Academy of Medicine and Surgery	2,337
Botanical Garden, Dresden	117
	£28,574

There are fourteen gymnasia in Saxony, which has a population of about 1,500,000 souls; in Prussian Silesia, where the population is about 100,000 more, there are seventeen; and in Ducal Saxony, where the inhabitants are about 100,000 fewer, there are twenty-two. Each high-school in Saxony costs, on the average, about 12,000*l.* a-year, independently of buildings and fittings. The Catholic schools are eleven in number. All but two of them admit pupils gratuitously; and some are wholly supported by individual benevolence and endowments. The state does not expend more than about 3,200 dollars (480*l.*) a-year upon them. The number of pupils whom they at present educate is 1020.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Jan. 27 to Feb. 20.

Bakers, 2; banker, 1; brewers, 2; bookseller, 1; brick-makers, 2; butcher, 1; carpenters, 2; carpet manufacturer, 1; cheesefactor, 1; chemist, 1; china-man, 1; clothier, 1; coal-dealers, 4; coach-makers, 2; corn-factor, 1; commission-agents, 2; contractor for gas-works, 1; currier, 1; dyer, 1; engraver, 1; felt-monger, 1; flannel-dealer, 1; furniture-warehouseman, 1; grocers, 9; horse-dealer, 1; hosier, 1; innkeepers, 4; ironmonger, 1; laceman, 1; linen-drapers, 3; leather-dresser, 1; liverystable-keeper, 1; mercer, 1; millers, 2; metal-dealer, 1; merchants, 7; newsvender, 1; painters, 2; plumbers, 2; saddler, 1; scrivener, 1; ship-broker, 1; silk-manufacturers, 2; stock-broker, 1; school-mistress, 1; spirit-merchant, 1; tailors, 2; tobacconist, 1; victuallers, 5; wine-merchants, 4; woollen-draper, 1; woollen-manufacturer, 1. Total, 92. Total from the commencement of the year, 178.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR FEBRUARY, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In the London Gazette of the 3rd of this month appeared an announcement that the King had been pleased to direct letters-patent to be passed under the Great Seal, appointing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Harrowby, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, H. Goulburn, C. W. W. Wynn, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, his Majesty's Commissioners "for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching, by commendam, to bishoprics benefices with cure of souls; also for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church; and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices."

Before the end of January it was announced, by the publication of a correspondence between Lord John Russell and Mr. Abercromby, that the latter gentleman would, on the first day of the session of parliament about to commence, be proposed by the opposition for the office of Speaker of the House of Commons. On the other hand, it was known that the ministers intended to propose the re-appointment of the late Speaker, Sir Charles Manners Sutton. As it was considered that this contest would afford a good indication of the strength of parties in the new House, it was looked forward to during the month with anxious expectation; and the most strenuous exertions were made on both sides to bring up the whole force that each could command. The result was the assemblage, on Thursday the 19th of February, the day for which the Parliament had been summoned, of a larger number of members of the House of Commons than had ever before been collected. After the Parliament had been formally opened by commission, the Commons returned to their own place of meeting, and proceeded to the election of the Speaker. The re-appointment of Sir C. M. Sutton was proposed by Lord Francis Egerton, and the motion was seconded by Sir Charles Burrell; after which Mr. W. J. Denison proposed Mr. Abercromby, and Mr. W. Ord seconded the motion. A debate of some length followed, in which the principal speakers, besides Sir C. M. Sutton and Mr. Abercromby, were, for the motion of Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel; and for that of Mr. Denison, Lord John Russell. About six o'clock the House divided, when the numbers appeared to be 306 for Sir C. M. Sutton, and 316 for Mr. Abercromby—a result which was received with loud cheering by the majority. Mr. Abercromby was then conducted to the chair; and next day, having appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, received from the Lord Chancellor the assurance of his Majesty's approval of the choice the Commons had made.

Friday, Saturday, and Monday, were employed in administering the oaths to the members. On Tuesday the 24th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, his Majesty came in state to the House of Peers, and addressed both Houses in the following speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of meeting you in Parliament, after having recurred to the sense of my people.

"You will, I am confident, fully participate in the regret which I feel at the destruction, by accidental fire, of that part of the ancient palace of Westminster which has been long appropriated to the use of the two Houses of Parliament.

"Upon the occurrence of this calamity, I gave immediate directions that the best provision, of which the circumstances of the case would admit, should be made for your present meeting; and it will be my wish to adopt such plans for your permanent accommodation as shall be deemed, on your joint consideration, to be the most fitting and convenient.

"I will give directions that there be laid before you the Report made to me by the Privy Council in reference to the origin of the fire, and the evidence upon which that Report was founded.

"The assurances which I receive from my allies, and generally from all foreign Princes and States, of their earnest desire to cultivate the relations of amity, and to maintain with me the most friendly understanding, justify, on my part, the confident expectation of the continuance of the blessings of peace.

"The single exception to the general tranquillity of Europe is the civil contest which still prevails in some of the Northern Provinces of Spain.

"I will give directions that there be laid before you Articles which I have concluded with my allies, the King of the French, the Queen Regent of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, which are supplementary to the Treaty of April 1834, and are intended to facilitate the complete attainment of the objects contemplated by that Treaty.

"I have to repeat the expression of my regret that the relations between Holland and Belgium still remain unsettled.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and to be laid before you without delay.

"They have been framed with the strictest attention to economy; and I have the satisfaction of acquainting you that the total amount of the demands for the public service will be less on the present than it has been on any former occasion within our recent experience.

"The satisfactory state of the trade and commerce of the country, and of the public revenue, fully justifies the expectation that, notwithstanding the reductions in taxation which were made in the last session, and which, when they shall have taken full effect, will tend to diminish the existing surplus of the public revenue, there will remain a sufficient balance to meet the additional annual charge which will arise from providing the compensation granted by Parliament on account of the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.

"I deeply lament that the agricultural interest continues in a state of great depression.

"I recommend to your consideration whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for distributing the burden of them more equally over other descriptions of property.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The information received from the governors of my colonies, together with the Acts passed in execution of the law for the abolition of slavery, will be communicated to you.

"It is with much satisfaction that I have observed the general concurrence of the colonial legislatures in giving effect to this important measure; and, notwithstanding the difficulties with which the subject is necessarily attended, I have seen no reason to abate my earnest hopes of a favourable issue.

"Under all circumstances, you may be assured of my anxious desire and unceasing efforts fully to realize the benevolent intentions of Parliament.

"There are many important subjects, some of which have already undergone partial discussion in Parliament, the adjustment of which, at as early a period as is consistent with the mature consideration of them, would be of great advantage to the public interests.

"Among the first in point of urgency is the state of the tithe question in Ireland, and the means of effecting an equitable and final adjustment of it.

"Measures will be proposed for your consideration which will have for their respective objects,—to promote the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, to improve our civil jurisprudence and the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, to make provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and to relieve those who dissent from the doctrines or discipline of the Church from the necessity of celebrating the ceremony of marriage according to its rites.

"I have not yet received the report from the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations; but I have reason to believe that it will be made, and that I shall be enabled to communicate it to you at an early period.

"I have appointed a commission for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, and to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties; the state of the several cathedrals and collegiate churches, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church, and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

"The especial object which I have in view in the appointment of this commission, is to extend more widely the means of religious worship according to the doctrines of the Established Church, and to confirm its hold upon the veneration and affections of my people.

"I feel it also incumbent upon me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom.

"It has been my duty on this occasion to direct your consideration to various important matters connected with our domestic policy.

"I rely with entire confidence on your willing co-operation in perfecting all such measures as may be calculated to remove just causes of complaint, and to promote the concord and happiness of my subjects.

"I rely also with equal confidence on the caution and circumspection with which you will apply yourselves to the alteration of laws which affect very extensive and complicated interests, and are interwoven with ancient usages, to which the habits and feelings of my people have conformed.

"I feel assured that it will be our common object in supplying that which may be defective, or in renovating that which may be impaired, to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in Church and State which are the inheritance and birthright of my people, and which, amidst all the vicissitudes of public affairs, have proved, under the blessing of Almighty God, the truest guarantees of their liberties, their rights, and their religion."

FRANCE.

THE excitement occasioned by President Jackson's angry message on the United States' claims on France has been succeeded by the anger and astonishment arising out of some not very well understood claims put in by the Emperor of Russia on behalf of the Grand Duchy of Poland, which country Nicholas now treats in all things as an integral part of Russia.

The French are stated to have incurred this debt under Napoleon, when, from the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, down to 1813, his troops held Warsaw, the capital, and other places in the Polish Duchy. France, however, has claims to set off against these; and on the 23rd of January, when the subject was introduced in the Chambers, Admiral de Rigny, the minister for foreign affairs, said that great exaggeration prevailed as to the amount of the Emperor Nicholas's claims, and hinted that the balance would be in favour of France. On the 26th the debate was renewed. M. Odillon Barrot contended that all these claims had been set at rest for good by the convention of 1818; and M. Isambert insisted on the same point, adding that it would be a mockery to pay over an indemnity due to Poland to the Russians, the enemies and oppressors of Poland. The ministers, Admiral de Rigny and M. Thiers, got rid of the first objection by stating that an additional article in the treaty of May, 1814, excepted the Duchy of Warsaw from the general settlement of the claims and responsibilities of France, and repeated that, on examination, not France, but Russia would be found the debtor. The House did not divide upon the question, but passed to the order of the day. The wrath and alarm on this head, which some of the French papers laboured to render very important, seem to have arisen merely from popular antipathies, and a hatred of the name of Russia. A few days after, the receipt of American papers removed all apprehensions of a maritime war for the present. The Committee of Foreign Relations, in the House of Representatives, had, in their Report, modified the severity of President Jackson's Message, and shown every honourable inclination to postpone having recourse to measures of violence against the French. The Committee agreed with the President that the claims of the United States on France were just, and that the delay of their payment was a hardship to the nation; but, at the same time, the Committee believed Louis Philippe to be sincere in his intention of discharging the long-standing debt, and recommended that the American Government should wait a little longer. "On the whole," they said, "the Committee are of opinion that the time has not yet arrived when Congress is called upon to go into the consideration of the very serious question, whether they will enter into any measure for the purpose of taking into their own hands redress for wrongs by France. The Committee are of opinion that Congress ought to avoid any resort to war, or to measures which may lead to it, and rather wait to see the result of the exertions which the French King is undoubtedly making to carry the treaty into full effect."

The Chamber of Commerce at Lyons has energetically urged upon the French Government the justice and neces-

city of paying the Americans the twenty-five millions of francs they claim. It states that Lyons will be ruined if war ensues between France and America, which is the greatest foreign purchaser of Lyonnese and other French manufactures. The silk trade of Lyons alone is said to derive upwards of forty millions of francs per annum from the Americans.

The Chamber of Deputies have ordered the printing and publishing of the documents connected with these American claims: they form two volumes, and according to some persons, go to prove that the amount cannot fairly be so much as twenty-five millions, and that the commercial advantages secured to France by the Louisiana treaty of 1803 have always been withheld. It appears, however, that the Chambers will pass the Bill for paying the claims as they now stand acknowledged by the treaty signed by the Duke de Broglie and General Sebastiani.

The Deputies have been occupied with long discussions on petitions presented to their Chamber, praying for an extension of the elective franchise, a wholesale parliamentary reform, and the abolition of oaths of allegiance, and all political oaths, which are now laughed at, while they are taken, in France. After an animated debate on these several points, the majority passed to the order of the day, and so left the representation of the people as it was established by the revolution of July, and the political oaths as the same laughing-stock they have been for half a century.

The crown-monopoly of tobacco, which the Government of France, in common with those of many other continental, but less constitutional states, retains in its own hands, has long been highly unpopular to the nation; and men's minds have been much irritated at seeing that several of the persons who rose to power through the revolution of July, and who had both written and spoke against the monopoly, have since supported that abomination. The subject has been several times before the Chambers. The monopoly gave a large annual sum to the treasury, and ministers were not prepared to supply the deficiency by other duties or taxes. On the 16th of February, however, being compelled to divide the House on the question of the tobacco monopoly, they were defeated by a large majority; and the monopoly, though not abolished by these votes, is to be submitted to an examination and strict inquest, which, it is supposed, will lead to an abolition, and place good cigars and snuff within the reach of Frenchmen. It is scarcely necessary to say, that all over the Continent where the monopoly obtains and governments are tobacconists, both snuff and cigars are very bad. The tobacco committee appointed by the deputies is anti-ministerial.

Fresh prosecutions of the press have taken place; and the peers continue their long labours introductory to the state trials. The ultra-royalists have, almost to a man, joined the ultra-liberals, in petitioning for the pardon or acquittal of the republican prisoners.

It is very probable that the King and his cabinet are not conducting these matters in the best of all possible ways; yet we cannot see how they could, either in justice or prudence, grant an amnesty to *all* the desperate men under arrest. The mere terms "political offences" have an unpopular, suspicious sound to English ears; but it should be remembered that, on this occasion they are, in the great majority of cases, applied not to mere speculative opinions, but to overt and bloody acts,—to men who either fought in the streets of Lyons and Paris, or urged others to fight—to individuals who, during the last three years, have caused incalculable injury and misery to their country—and who, by their open declarations against the rights of property, and repeated attacks on all the better feelings of humanity, have thrown themselves without the pale of civilized society. If they are let loose unscathed, what guarantee is there that they will not return to do what they have already done? An instance of the untameable spirit that animates the mass of these desperadoes has lately occurred. Louis Philippe pardoned a number of republican prisoners in Mont St. Michael: they were scarcely beyond the walls of that castle, when they began to sing the Marseillaise, and to shout "Death to the Juste Milieu!" "Long live the Republic!" They then repaired to a kind of public-house, and assuming the form and ceremonies of a Jacobin club, drank the most revolutionary toasts, and pledged themselves to do again all they could, and to go to the utmost lengths against the established government.

General Sebastiani has succeeded Prince Talleyrand as ambassador to England; and Count Pozzo di Borgo, being removed from the Tuilleries, now represents the Emperor of Russia at the court of St. James's.

Since the above was written, intelligence also has been received of the resignation of Mortier, Duke of Treviso, the President of the Council, and Minister of War. Soult has been sent for by the King, and he is said to have made him an offer of the vacant office.

SPAIN.

In consequence of the slow progress of their arms in the provinces of the north, and the military insurrection at Madrid which we mentioned last month, the Spanish Cabinet has been a scene of trouble and altercation, and the Cortes of passionate debates that seem to have led to nothing.

In the Procuradores the opposition raised the usual Spanish cry against the Camarilla, and the favourites and men of intrigue that rule the young Queen Regent and misrule the kingdom. They called upon General Llauder, the Minister of War, for a fair and open exposition of the state of the army. The General indignantly replied, that he knew of no Camarilla—that *he* had done his duty—that long ago he had suppressed insurrection and disarmed the Carlists in Catalonia, where he then commanded, and had left behind him a strong, well disciplined, and disposable army. He added, that if good use had not been made of that army, the fault rested with Mina and others, but not with him. The main facts, we conceive, admit of no doubt, but the manner in which they were delivered rendered it equally evident that Llauder and Mina could not agree, or act together with the good feeling and understanding that are indispensable at this crisis. The debates were continued for several days. On the 20th of January, the opposition expressed their dissatisfaction at the explanations offered by ministers, and broadly accused Llauder of a want of decision, talent, and good management. They pretended to make out their case, not only from the unsuccessful conduct of the war in the north, but from his own personal conduct during the recent mutiny at Madrid. They were successful in these attempts at getting rid of Llauder, but we can scarcely see a man among them likely, under present circumstances, to do much more good as a minister of war than he did. On his resignation Llauder immediately left the capital and repaired to Barcelona, where, it is said, he will resume the Captain-Generalship of Catalonia. Insulted and outraged as he has been by the Cortes, there may be danger in leaving him with such a command in a province that has always been too much disposed to revolt and insurrection; but to deprive of the command and further disgrace Llauder, who is a favourite with a large part of the army, may be quite as perilous. Reports have been industriously circulated, that this General has lost his senses. Judging at a distance, however, we should scarcely say that he has shown more signs of insanity than his colleagues in office, or than those who opposed him in the Cortes. Spain stands miserably in need of great and wise men—not mere men of theories or flashy orators, but men of experience and of action. She requires, as the only medicines that can save her, or rescue this her latest constitution from the grave of the Cortes of 1820, a sobriety of thought, and a union, at least, of the liberal factions; but as yet, we regret to say, these wants do not seem likely to be supplied to her very soon. Although we should deplore the blood which would inevitably be shed in such a case, the best chance for Spain to settle down into something lasting—to retrieve her national character and recover the energies that have been destroyed by two hundred years of supineness and execrable misgovernment and tyranny—would be to fight out in her own bosom the numerous quarrels that agitate and divide her. But she will not be allowed this opportunity. One of the two conflicting sentiments of Europe—despotism and liberalism—*must* (unless she make great haste) decide the question for her, though not in a national or lasting manner. At this moment she depends on mere accidents and chances—on the humours of kings, and the changes of cabinets in England and France.

General Valdez is spoken of as the successor to Llauder. General Bellido has succeeded to the command of the Captain General Cantara, who was killed during the mutiny of the regiment at Madrid. The Queen Regent, assuming to herself the power of breaking the capitulation concluded

with that turbulent regiment, has disbanded it, and punished some of the ringleaders.

The difficulty we have so often alluded to, of obtaining anything like correct information from the seat of war, continues to be as great as ever. Each party represents itself as being constantly victorious, and has its organs and reporters, its bulletin-makers, and, we suppose, its dupes. It is quite clear that on neither side is the war carried on with vigour and spirit, and it is equally evident that the correspondents and news-gatherers despatched by our journalists, send home accounts to suit the politics of the particular papers that employ them, and do not see into, or understand the subject at large. There are exceptions, but, generally speaking, the education and intelligence of these men are on a par with their honesty. While the French paper, 'Le Moniteur,' publishes a telegraphic despatch, importing that the Carlists have lost ground, and been obliged to retire with loss from before Elisondo, to which they had laid siege, certain bulletins, got up with an air of officiality, assert that the Don is everywhere successful, and that his general, Zumalacarregui, has gained a splendid and complete victory over the Christinos at Arquijas. It should seem that Don Carlos is careful not to expose his own person to the hazards of war; and that on this, as on every other occasion, he merely looked on the battle from the summit of a conveniently distant hill.

Meanwhile it is pretty positive that considerable numbers of the Queen's troops are gathering at Burgos, whence they will march to re-inforce Mina, who, in spite of many reports to the contrary, still retains his command. To supply this force the capital has been almost entirely deprived of its garrison of regular troops. This circumstance, however, seems to occasion no alarm. The Urban militia, composed of private citizens, and on which complete confidence is everywhere placed by the Queen Regent and the Constitutionalists, are to mount guard at all the important posts, and do the garrison duties of Madrid.

The Carlist faction have sustained a great loss in the death of that Guerilla priest, the notorious curate Merino. He was neither shot nor hanged, but died quietly in his bed at the end of January last.

Preparatory to their adjournment and return to their respective provinces, the Procuradores, or Lower Chamber of the Cortes, have voted an address to the Queen. The document is rather curious. It dwells on the constitutional and other political improvements they (the Procuradores) *intend* to make; and it does not go into the critical question of the civil war in the north.

The negotiations for recognising the independence of the New South American States, to which General Jackson alluded in his message to Congress, and of which we spoke last month, are carried forward with some activity at Madrid.

PORTUGAL.

It has been reported, on the strength of the encouragement held out to him by the return of his friends the Tories to office, that Don Miguel has secretly left Italy and returned to renew the civil war with his niece. The news, however, was premature, and the Don seems to be quietly waiting events, and a more decided turn of affairs, at Genoa, or some place in the neighbourhood of that city.

The debates in the Chambers have been vehement, and the people in the galleries have now and then taken part in them, hooting the Duke of Palmella, crying out, "Down with the Ministers! Death to the Traitors!" and the like. Lisbon, however, has remained pretty tranquil, and the provinces are more orderly than they were. The Minister of Finance, Silva Carvalho, has produced his financial statement, which is not unsatisfactory, provided always, that Brazil do not disappoint Portugal in the payment of certain debts, and Portugal *do not encounter difficulties in selling the confiscated church property, &c.*

The Duke of Leuchtenberg, or, as his title now goes, the "Prince Augustus of Portugal," whose departure from England we mentioned last month, arrived safely at Lisbon, where his marriage with the young Queen Donna Maria was celebrated with some splendour. He is said to make use of all rational means to conciliate the affection or good will of his wife's subjects, and to be brave and accomplished, polite and popular in his manners. His father, Eugene Beauharnois, was all this, and, considering the school in which he was brought up, an honourable and kind-hearted man besides.

The heart of Don Pedro, as directed by his will, has been carried in a steam-boat to Oporto, which he considered the scene of his glory and patriotism. The garrison of Lisbon fired a salute as it was embarked.

Prince Augustus has taken his oath and his seat as a member of the upper chamber of the Cortes, in virtue of letters-patent granted by the Queen his wife.

ALBANIA.

An insurrection has broken out among the fierce and lawless people of this country, which is generally described as being more serious and determined, and as having a more decided object than any one of their innumerable revolts against the Turks since the days of Scanderbeg. It is said that all their clans, which in many respects resemble our Highlanders of a century and a half ago, after making up their separate feuds, have come to the general determination never to lay down their arms until they have rendered Albania wholly and for ever independent of Turkey. They have occupied Perali, taken Argyro-Castro, and sent on two chieftains with imposing forces to threaten Janina, the first city in the country, and so long the capital of the famous Ali Pacha. Their lines of march are everywhere marked by fire and ruins, and, with their usual barbarity, they slaughter all who offer any resistance, or show any ill will to their cause. A certain Taphil-Muzis, who is at the head of six thousand men, is named as the most conspicuous of the insurgents. This will be another fatal blow to the doomed power of the Sultan. A war in this rugged, mountainous country, against men who, though undisciplined, are exceedingly brave, and expert in the use of their long guns and rifles, has always been attended with great risks and difficulties; and, from his recent impoverishment, we may suppose that Mahmoud can no longer command the treasures with which, on former occasions, he was accustomed to buy over the Albanians, corrupt their chiefs, and introduce jealousies and dissensions among them.

The Albanians have little in common except the partial and dubious profession of the same faith, with their neighbours the Greeks, whose tranquillity they are now likely to disturb. They differ in race and language. The Albanians are an off-shoot of the great Slave or Sclavonian family, and they speak a dialect of the Sclavonian tongue not much unlike Russian. Some of their tribes pretend to be Christians of the Greek Church, while others profess the Mahometan religion; but either of these faiths hangs loosely upon them. In districts in Turkey, where Christians and Christian churches predominate, we have seen the Mahometan Albanians go regularly to church; and in other parts of the country, where the Turks are more numerous and churches scarce, we have seen the Christian Albanians go very composedly to mosque. In personal appearance (to turn a French phrase to our purpose), "they are more Greeks than the Greeks themselves," *i. e.*, generally speaking, they are more like what we fancy the Greeks of the heroic times to have been, than are the Greeks of the present day. Their figures are cast in the finest mould, and but for an expression of mingled treachery and ferocity, their countenances would be equally admirable. Of civilization, or discipline of any sort, they have scarcely an idea.

The German papers have contained letters written from the Ionian Islands, and Albania itself, stating that the insurgent chief Taphil has listened to amicable terms proposed by the Sultan; but unless the Ottoman Empire be reinvigorated, these turbulent clans will never be quiet for twelve months at a time.

GERMANY.

The great powers that impose their will as law on the smaller states (incorrectly called *independent*) continue to affect an alarm at a revolutionary spirit which is nowhere declared.

Pretending to be offended at certain reports of conspiracies that have lately appeared in different journals, the Diet has declared that every newspaper so offending in future, shall be seized and suppressed. The Diet avows that this summary measure has been adopted in compliance with measures recently entered into at Vienna. The works on

works, which have been so long talked of, have at length been prosecuted with some activity. It is said, consequent hopes are now entertained that the river may be rendered navigable for large craft from its mouths on the Black Sea to Vienna, and still further.

The German papers have contained numerous accounts of fires in the villages of Hungary, the cause of which they do not pretend to assign. One of these journals gives the following particulars relative to the new commercial league, or German Custom-house Union, which we believe are mainly correct.

"The territory of this Union extends in the direction from north-east to west, from Memel (37° long.) to Aix-la-Chapelle (23½° long.); and from north to south, from Stralsund (54½° lat.) to the frontiers of Austria, below Munich (24½° lat.), and contains a superficies of nearly 8750 square miles (German). The following, in round numbers, is the population of the countries which compose the union:—Prussia, 13,200,000 inhabitants; Bavaria, 4,000,000; Wurtemburg, 2,000,000; Saxony, 1,300,000; the Saxon Duchies, 600,000; the Grand Duchy of Baden, 1,100,000; the Principality of Nassau, 350,000; the Duchy of Hesse Cassel, 600,000; the Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt, 700,000; the free city of Frankfort, 60,000; the other small States, 590,000; total, 24,500,000. The following German States have not acceded to the Union:—Austria, 10,000,000; Hanover, 1,500,000; the Duchy of Brunswick, 250,000; the Duchy of Oldenburg, 250,000; the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, 500,000; the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, 400,000; the three Hanse Towns, 250,000: total, 13,150,000."

DENMARK.

Even the honest Danes, who are rarely or never heard of in the turmoils of politics, have recently shown a disposition to limit the absolute power of their king, and correct sundry abuses that have crept into the government.

Previously to 1660 the sovereign was elective (the worst of all forms of monarchy) and the country had a constitution which was viciously aristocratic. Disgusted by the tyranny and insolence of the nobles, the two other estates, or the clergy and the commons, availing themselves of favourable circumstances, and of the popular heroic character of the reigning sovereign, Frederick III., made head against the aristocracy in the Diet which met on the 8th of September, the last Diet that was ever convened in Denmark. Not contented with reducing the excess of power and privilege of the nobles, and with making the throne hereditary, the churchmen and the burghers consented in declaring the power of the king to be absolute, and his right to the throne a divine right. In the programme to their constitutional alterations they broadly asserted "the hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway shall be in effect, and ought to be esteemed by their subjects, the only supreme head upon earth; they shall be above all human laws, and shall acknowledge, in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone. The king shall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to, and dispensing with them. He may also annul all the laws which either he or his predecessors shall have made, excepting this royal law, which must remain irrevocable, and be considered as the fundamental law of the state. He has the power of declaring war, making peace, imposing taxes, and levying contributions of all kinds, &c. &c."

In these extreme measures the commons went much further than they had at first intended, but they were provoked by the obstinate opposition of the nobles—an opposition urged against all and every change—and thoroughly duped by a party sold to the Court. The leaders of the Court intrigue were Svane, a bishop, and Nansen, the Speaker of the Commons.

Seeing that force was about being resorted to, a few of the nobles left the Diet, and fled from the capital. The king then commanded the gates of Copenhagen to be shut, to prevent any more escapes; on which the remaining members of the aristocracy, caught as in a trap, gave up their resistance, and concurred with the clergy and commons in their creation of an utter despotism.

The whole business occupied only four days; and the order of things that resulted from it has been ever since maintained in Denmark.

By a good fortune, on which no nation ought to count, it has happened that the absolute sovereigns of this country have been generally good and sensible men, and have seldom abused the power vested in them. Now, however, the prince who stands next in succession to the throne is described as being a person of vicious habits, and a violent and tyrannic temper;—some say he is only mad.

This prospect has probably produced a certain influence on the industrious, quiet, and patient Danes; but another circumstance must also have had some effect. A year or two ago the reigning king, Frederick VI., convoked an assembly of the three estates, in order, it was rumoured, to prepare a representative constitution. From that time, the newspapers assumed a bolder tone; and the king, like his brother potentates in Germany, is now engaged in an inglorious war against the journalists.

The temper, moderation, and enlightenment of the great body of the people are described as admirable: in its good and proper sense, the schoolmaster has been abroad among them. From all that we have seen and known of the Danes, we should think there are few people less likely to abuse the privilege of liberty.

A treaty was concluded a short time since, in which the King of Denmark engages to join his strenuous efforts with those of France and England, for the entire suppression of the negro slave trade.

PERSIA.

As we fully expected when, in our January number, we announced the death of the old king, Futteh Ali Shah, a host of claimants arose to dispute the crown with Mohammed Mirza, grandson to the late Shah, who appointed him his successor. The breath was scarcely out of the old man's body, when many of his sons (who are altogether some thirty in number) rushed to the body to seize the diamonds and rich jewels he wore upon his person, or had near him. A conflict ensued, in which three of these princes are said to have been killed. One of the sons, contriving to get possession of the old Shah's treasury, which enabled him to pay his partisans, caused himself to be proclaimed at Teheran; another of them declared himself king in the province of Schivas; a third did the same at Kermanshah; and an ex-minister collected troops, and began to fight on his own account.

The young Shah, Mohammed Mirza, was, however, supported by the entire body of the disciplined regular army, and (which was, perhaps, still more important) by the diplomatic agents of England and Russia, and a foreign loan.

By the latest intelligence it appears, that though revolt and carnage were not wholly suppressed in the south of Persia, the different pretenders have felt themselves compelled for the present to submit to their nephew, Mohammed Mirza. The speedy termination of a civil war is attributed almost entirely to English and Russian diplomacy; but travellers who have lately visited the country consider it impossible that peace can be of any long duration. Persia is so disorganized and impoverished, and the national spirit is so low, that it is likely to remain a mere table for England and Russia to play their cards upon. The game is a serious and difficult one. Persia has, indeed, more than once risen from an equally sad condition of debasement to military glory, independence, and conquest; but the young sovereign Mohammed is not likely to turn out a Nadir Shah.

CHINA.

In consequence of the changes introduced into the East India Company's charter, and the throwing open of the China trade, it became necessary to send out a properly qualified officer, who should protect the interests of the free traders, and endeavour to make amicable and more liberal arrangements with the Chinese government.

The ministry of Earl Grey gave this appointment of Chief Superintendent to Lord Napier, who arrived at Macao, in a British ship-of-war, the Andromache, on the 14th of July last year. No intimation of his appointment, it appears, had been given, either to the Emperor at Pekin, or the Viceroy at Canton. This omission is severely censured by certain parties at home; and it *does* appear curious that it should have been permitted to occur, while treating with a

government so absorbed in routine and etiquette as that of China. Even we ourselves, who are far from being over-ceremonious in such matters, would not receive an American consul at Liverpool, or a French consul at London, unless his appointment had been formally announced to our Foreign Office beforehand. But then it must be remarked, on the other side, that had Lord Napier waited at Macao until communications were made to the Chinese Court, and their slow answer received, some months must have elapsed, and that too at a time when his presence was most required at Canton. Indeed, from all we know of the Chinese, we are inclined to believe that such a correspondence might have been prolonged for years, and that at last the punctilious Mandarins would have refused to receive or treat with Lord Napier—ostensibly on the simple ground that China never had recognised such an appointment as his, and consequently never could, for her laws were unalterable—the force of precedents omnipotent on her government, who could only do what their fathers had done before them, &c. &c. Lord Napier may have known all this: and feeling he had important duties to perform, which could not submit to Chinese formulas and delays, he determined to push on at once to Canton, where, whatever high talk the Governor might indulge in, he might be quite sure he would not venture on any serious act of hostility.

The facts, as related in the newspapers, are these:—having made some arrangements and official appointments, Lord Napier, a few days after his arrival at Macao, proceeded to Canton. A deputation sent from Canton, to request him to remain at Macao until the Viceroy should receive the Emperor's orders from Pekin, did not arrive until Lord Napier had departed; and another party sent down the river to intercept him also missed him. In the interval, the Hong merchants, by the orders of the local government, had formally announced to the British merchants, that as their "honourable officer" would not act in obedience to the unalterable laws, they (the Hongs) could have no further buying or selling, or any kind of intercourse with their "honourable nation."

On arriving at Canton, Lord Napier despatched a firm, but respectful letter to the Viceroy. His letter was refused at the city gates, *because* its superscription was that of a *letter*, and not of a *humble petition;* and his Lordship was peremptorily ordered to quit the factory, which is situated outside of Canton, and return to Macao. On his part, his Lordship refused either to communicate with the Viceroy as a petitioner, or to leave the factory; and having called the British merchants together, he declared his intentions, and expressed his full conviction that matters would soon be amicably arranged. He spoke as one knowing the arrogant, yet timid national character:—

"The Andromache and Imogene, which I had ordered to sail on a short cruise," continued Lord Napier, "with a view of feeling the pulse of the Chinese (and that object has been attained, for they have since become more absolute), will soon return, and will operate, no doubt, on the Viceroy; and when the merchants form themselves into a Committee of Commerce, they will exhibit a more imposing attitude, and show the Chinese that the advantages were not altogether on their side. If, however, it was thought necessary, his Majesty's ships should come up to Whampoa; and if their presence there was not sufficient protection, they should anchor under the walls of the town."

According to his Lordship's advice, the meeting then adopted resolutions for the formation of a Committee of Commerce; and, it is said, expressed their conviction that the conduct of the Viceroy did not arise out of any hostility to the new free-trade system, or the object of Lord Napier's mission, but merely from a love of form and delay, and a desire to vindicate the offended etiquette of the Celestial Empire. It is curious to observe that this dignitary had not yet communicated to the Emperor the intelligence of the "death," as they call it, of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade.

The consequence of this rupture has been the partial and temporary stoppage of the tea-trade, and the issuing of several singular, and, to us, laughable documents, signed "Loo, Governor of the provinces of Canton and Kwangse." With reference, we suppose, to his office as overseer or superintendent, he calls Lord Napier "the Eye;" and as his Lordship is not a subject of the Celestial Empire, but only a British nobleman, he, with true Chinese modesty and politeness, particularizes him as "the Barbarian." The follow[illegible] as a [illegible]

THE NEWSPAPER.

[illegible] MONTHLY.

on [illegible]

pro[illegible] 1835. Price 4d.

cus[illegible]

sa[illegible]

man who [illegible] come to the provincial [illegible] service, but helped to enhance report of the circumstances of coming [illegible] preceding administration want of decorum. I, the Governor, consider[illegible] was his first entrance into the inner dominions, and that he was yet unacquainted with the established laws, commanded the same merchants at that time to enjoin orders on him, and to inquire and ascertain for what he had come to the provincial city; that if it were that, on account of the Company's dissolution, it had become necessary to establish other regulations, he should immediately inform the said merchants, that they might make a report, so as to give me data for forwarding a memorial by the government post; and that the said barbarian eye should meanwhile return to Macao, to await the will and mandate of the great Emperor being received, and published, to demand obedience. Thus the business would be altogether managed in perfect accordance with dignified decorum, rendering change needless."

Since writing the above we have received the melancholy intelligence of Lord Napier's death, and a confused account of transactions which we cannot altogether understand. It should appear, however, that his Majesty's ships, the Andromache and Imogene, under the command of Captain Blackwood, returned from their short cruise, and stood up the estuary for Whampoa on the 7th of September last. A crowd of war junks got under weigh, but took good care to keep at a distance from our men of-war. As they approached the Bogue, or Bocca Tigris passage, the Andromache and Imogene were assailed by a fire from the Chinese forts, which was sustained most vigorously when the two ships were out of reach of their shot. The English reserved their fire until they were in the narrowest part of the passage and close to the paltry mud forts, when a broadside or two did their business, silencing them and scattering the panic-struck Chinese. The result was such as might be expected from the contemptible nature of Chinese fortifications, artillery, and ammunition, and the low state of Chinese courage. The best of their cannon are mere patteraros. They only killed one seaman, on board the Andromache, but sustained a heavy loss themselves. After silencing the forts, Captain Blackwood quietly took his ships to Whampoa, where the greatest consternation prevailed among the country people. Unfortunately Lord Napier was seized by a dangerous disease, which, with a difference of opinion that arose among the members of the British Chamber of Commerce, induced him to return to Macao, where he died on the 11th of October. Our men-of-war re-passed the Bogue and came to anchor at Linton Island, on which the Chinese declared all communications to be free and open to foreigners as usual, and took off their interdict on the tea-trade, which, five or six days after, was going on with great activity, the English being large purchasers of the new crop of teas.

Although, through the want of unanimity in the Chamber of Commerce, and the sudden illness of Lord Napier, part of our predictions as to the end of the quarrel has fallen to the ground, the rest will remain much as we have stated. The Viceroy, as all his predecessors have done on such occasions, will report a victory to the distant capital, but the Chinese Mandarins on the spot, who can see with their own eyes, will, for some time to come, be impressed by a salutary terror and respect. If the dignity of this country is to be maintained—if the free trade with China is to be anything but a mere name—the power and old-established influence at Canton of the East India Company must be checked, and a proper, independent successor appointed to Lord Napier. It cannot be expected that the old servants of the company should exert themselves in favo[illegible]

Vessels of War owned by the United States on the 1st of October, 1834.

Name and Class	Where and when Built.	Station.	Condition.
Sloops of War:—			
Natchez*	Gosport . . 1827	On the Brazil coast	
Falmouth	Boston . . . 1827	In the West Indies	
Fairfield	Brooklyn . . 1828	In the Pacific	
Vandalia	Philadelphia . 1828	In the West Indies	
St. Louis*	Washington . 1828	In the West Indies	
Concord	Portsmouth . 1828	In ordinary at Portsmouth . .	Requires slight repairs and coppering
Schooners:—			
Dolphin	Philadelphia . 1821	In the Pacific	
Grampus	Washington . 1821	In the West Indies	
Shark	Ditto . . . 1821	In the Mediterranean	
Enterprize	Brooklyn . . 1831	On the Brazil Coast	
Boxer	Boston . . . 1831	In the Pacific	
Experiment	Washington . 1831	In the West Indies	
Steam Galliot:—			
Sea Gull	Purchased . . 1823	In ordinary at Philadelphia	Decayed—unfit for service—her sale is recommended

* Flag ships on their respective stations.

Besides the above table, which includes the whole force of the United States' navy "afloat," another paper, accompanying the Secretary's Report, informs us that "five ships of the line and seven frigates remain upon the stocks in the different yards, all under tight houses, and in good state of preservation. They are so far advanced that they may be equipped as soon as crews could be collected for them." There are also many "valuable materials on hand at the several yards, belonging to this appropriation (namely, that under the acts of 1816 and 1821, already mentioned,) preparatory to the completion and equipment of the vessels; but the amount remaining in the Treasury (D.186,613 19) would be insufficient to supply the probable deficiency, as stated in a letter from the Board (of Navy Commissioners under the said acts) to the Secretary of the Navy of the 19th June last; but if the services of these vessels are not expected to be soon required, no immediate appropriations will be necessary for them."

It has been determined by the "proper authorities," to name the ships of the line which may be hereafter built after the several states. Thus, the five already completed, will be called the Alabama, the Vermont, the Virginia, the Pennsylvania, and the New York. Their frigates are to be named after rivers, and the St. Lawrence, the Savannah, the Raritan, the Columbia, the Sabine, the Lantee, and the Cumberland rivers, are to give names to the seven frigates now nearly ready for launching.

Another principle of naming is after captured ships. In 1832 or 1833 a frigate was laid down to replace the Macedonia; another is recommended to replace the Cyane, condemned. The Guerrière, also named after a captured ship, requires to be rebuilt. In this way is the "glory" of their naval victories handed down.

Rejecting, then, all those vessels which are reported as "unfit for sea-service," and "condemned," and taking into the account all those which "may be equipped as soon as crews could be collected for them," we have the following statement of the total force of the American navy:—

	In Commission.	In Ordinary.	On the Stocks.	Total.
Ships of the line	1	6	5	12
Frigates	2	3	7	12
Sloops of war	9	5	0	14
Schooners	6	0	0	6
Totals	18	14	12	44

In addition to the acts which we have quoted, and the results of which we have exhibited, Congress, in 1827, passed a third act for "the gradual improvement of the navy." This act expired in March, 1833, when it was continued by another, dated 2nd March. By these acts 500,000 dollars are annually paid out of the money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated. This sum is devoted partly to the purchase of timber prepared for the construction of vessels, and partly to the building of two dry docks. The first act also authorised the construction of steam-vessels of war, but at present no steps have been taken to carry that provision into effect. The Report states, however, that "it is intended to make early arrangements for procuring materials for steam-vessels authorised by the act, the Board having hitherto delayed action upon this subject, for the purpose of procuring information on some important points." Notwithstanding this neglect of the provisions of the act, which relate to the construction of steam-boats, the Americans are fully alive to the important revolution which will, in all probability, be effected in the course of a few years in naval tactics, by means of the introduction of steam-vessels of war.

"Should the power of steam,"—says the Report of the Secretary, p. 312—"as a means of defence, produce all the effects that may be justly anticipated, it will diminish, in some instances, the necessity of permanent fortifications on the coasts, by substituting those which may be moved from place to place as they may be wanted, and in our own waters become the formidable engines of attack as well as defence. The heavy and cumbrous steam-vessels and batteries, with their necessary apparatus and supplies, which may be brought into action with the most powerful effect by a nation near its own shores and harbours, cannot be transported over distant seas and oceans for the purpose of attacking its enemies. Should, therefore, the application of steam become a part of the system of maritime war, it is a consolation to reflect that it will greatly diminish the frequency as well as the horrors of such war, inasmuch as it will hold out much greater advantages to the defending than to the attacking party, and take from the aggressor, in a great degree, his hope of success, and, of course, his motive for action."

Inasmuch, however, as steam-boats may be built light and speedy, as well as "heavy and cumbrous," it does appear to us that they will answer the purpose of attack as well as defence. Every one knows the damage capable of being done to a superior force by a fast-sailing privateer, with long guns. Such vessels keep out of harm's way themselves, and sneaking, as it were, along the surface of the water, they wound their bulky adversaries in the most vulnerable parts. Introduce steam-ships of war, and the broadside of a line-of-battle ship would be robbed of its terrors. The last section of the second act has for its object the protection of the live-oak growing on the public lands. This object is deemed of extreme importance by Congress.

In conformity with the provisions of these acts, "Live-oak frame-timber has been delivered, under contracts, at the respective navy-yards, as follows:—At Charlestown, Massachusetts, for two ships of the line, two frigates, and one sloop of war; at Brooklyn, New York, for one frigate; at Philadelphia for two frigates, and one sloop of war; at Washington for one frigate, and one sloop of war, together with

part of the frame for another sloop of war; at Gosport, Virginia, for two ships of the line, one frigate, and one sloop of war; at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, part of the frame-timber of a frigate and a sloop of war."

Besides the above frame-timber, the Report announces a considerable stock of live-oak timber, white-oak timber, white-oak, and other plank, in the several navy-yards.

Thus, in addition to the vessels which we have enumerated as "afloat," and on the stocks, there is a provision for the construction of four ships of the line, eight frigates, and six sloops of war, making the whole force, capable of being rendered available within a moderate period, and at a moderate expense:—

16 ships of the line,
20 frigates,
20 sloops of war, and
6 schooners; in all,

62 vessels of war,

only three of which, namely, the frigates 'United States,' and 'Constitution,' and the sloop of war, 'John Adams,' were in existence previous to the breaking out of the last war in 1812.

In rating her vessels of war, America has adopted the exploded custom of the European maritime nations, by greatly understating the strength of her ships—the number and weight of the guns which they carry. Her line-of-battle ships are all rated as seventy-fours, her frigates as forty-fours, and her sloops of war as eighteens. There is no doubt but that this policy proved advantageous to America during the last war with this country, but it is equally certain that it will deceive no longer. Basil Hall says, the Americans calculate, that although European nations may construct ships of the same strength as those of the United States of America, to be used in any future conflict, that, nevertheless, the said European powers having a large number of small-class vessels, they must of necessity fall an easy prey to the powerful frigates of the United States! It may be allowed that some reliance may fairly be placed by the Americans upon the ignorance of the Admiralty officers of European nations, where they are appointed rather for their family connexions than for their aptitude for the duties which they are called upon to perform. Still it must not be forgotten that a long peace has placed the naval policy of each nation most completely within the cognizance of all other nations; and in the unfortunate event of future wars, the chances of success from what may be called mere trickery will be tolerably equalized. It is scarcely to be expected that an administration in 1830 odd would imitate that of 1812, by sending English oak frame-timber to the Upper Canadian lakes, and iron shot to an iron country, 200 miles over land, at a most enormous expense. In short, the more the equality of nations is made known to each other, the less will the probability of quarrelling become; and when we consider the conviction which is gaining ground, that war is an unrequited evil, peace an unalloyed good, we trust we may consider the chances of war at *zero*.

We are not possessed of any document which will enable us to place before our readers a statement of the actual strength of the vessels of the United States. We can only state in general terms, that their ships of the line, rated as 74's only, vary from 90 to 140 guns; that the weight of their guns is greater than that of the ordinary run of English and French ships; and that, lastly, their ships are remarkable for their great strength of construction. We have a statement of the 'Delaware,' taken from an American newspaper about the time of her departure for the Mediterranean station, where she is now the flag-ship. She is pierced for 100 guns, though in time of peace mounted with ninety-two only; namely,

On the lower deck 32 long 42 pounders.
.. .. main deck 32 .. 32 .. ..
.. .. upper deck 28 .. 42 .. .. carronades:

her compliment of men is 680, besides 100 marines.

The frigates of the United States are above their rating in a greater degree even than the ships of the line. Indeed, in point of tonnage and weight of metal, some of the larger class have been deemed equal to our old seventy-fours.

Before concluding, we may say a few words on a question which the Americans naturally view with the utmost solicitude—we mean the capability of America to man a navy. The present naval force of the United States, consisting of commissioned, warrant, and petty officers, seamen, ordinary seamen, landsmen, and boys, amounts to 6,072 in number; and the Marine corps, comprising officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, number 1283, making in all 7,355. With this force nineteen ships of all classes are manned, and the several receiving ships at the navy-yards, and the ships in ordinary, are furnished with their quota of men and officers. To place their whole navy of forty-four ships in a perfectly efficient state, would thus require an addition of some six or eight thousand men.

Impressment does not exist in the United States of America: it is contrary to the spirit, as well as the letter, of their written constitution, to compel any man—that is to say, any white man—to follow any course of life which is not agreeable to him. They do not resort to so clumsy an expedient as *force* in procuring men for their naval service; they go fairly into the market and bid against the merchant ship-owner; and, as the service is popular, they generally fill up their numbers at a rate of wages lower than the average rate paid on board of merchants' ships. This is not surprising. The work—except during engagement—is not hard, whilst the merchants' seamen in blowing or squally weather have really no rest. On board of "a public ship," the watch, comprising never more, and sometimes less, than half the ship's company, can, and actually does, work the ship in all weathers, excepting, of course, in case of some extensive accident. On board of a merchant's ship, all hands are called to reef a topsail even, and with all hands it is a long and laborious job. Again, when in port, the situation of a man-of-war's man is one of ease, pleasure, and, too often, of dissipation. A reasonable, and, occasionally, an unreasonable degree of liberty is allowed them, while the merchant's seamen have to labour hard in receiving and stowing the cargo, under the scorching sun of Sierra Leone perhaps, or amidst the chilling blasts of the river St. Lawrence, with little liberty till the ship terminates her voyage. Every sailor's story-book tells us of the pleasures of roaming in foreign climes; and there is no doubt that the change of scene, incidental to a ship of war on a foreign station, makes up one of the reasons which permit the Secretary of the American navy to tell us that "the service is popular." Besides the seductive effects of moderate labour, the superior comforts in food, clothing, space, and cleanliness, on board of a ship of war are conspicuous. In a merchant's ship, every cubic foot occupied by "the people before the mast" is grudged by the cupidity of the owner as space into which a cotton bag or a hogshead of sugar might be stowed; whilst the ample room, airiness, and not only opportunities of, but obligation to, cleanliness, also adds much to the health and comfort of the man-of-war's men; and we may add, from conversation with English sailors who have served in American frigates, that they fully appreciate these advantages, and notwithstanding the somewhat severe discipline, greatly prefer the public to private service.

In the event, then, of the United States being engaged in a war, as there is nothing in the service itself to throw a difficulty in the way, the easy manning of the navy would principally depend on the capability of their "nursery for seamen," the general and coasting trade, and the fisheries, to furnish the necessary number. The registered, enrolled, and licensed tonnage of the United States for the year 1831, the latest account in our possession, amounted to 1,267,846 tons. The total tonnage of the British empire, in 1833, amounted to 2,634,577 tons, so that the American "nursery for seamen" is about half as large as that of Great Britain. While Englishmen have no fears as to the power of Great Britain to man two or three hundred ships of war by means of "brute force," how can doubts exist as to the power of America to man forty or fifty ships by means of a fair and mutual contract of wages for service? The enormous force which Great Britain employed during the last war with France, necessarily threw difficulties in her way which will not again be experienced; yet she was able to overcome those difficulties by the employment of an engine which is certainly less calculated to accomplish the end than the means to which America resorts.

Some American travellers, who have touched on the subject, have laid great stress on the popularity or the unpopularity of a war, as influencing the facility with which the navy of America might be manned. It appears to us that this consideration may be dismissed, and for this reason—that the American people, by their direct and perfect

control over their legislature, by means of annual elections, must be considered as the willing makers of every war in which they are engaged. The facility of manning a navy would, however, be materially affected by the nation with whom they were at war. The American mercantile marine is at the present moment a nursery for British seamen. In the event of a war with Great Britain, a portion of these would be influenced by the ties of country, and abandon the American service. In the event of impressment being again resorted to by Great Britain, that portion would perhaps be small, but at all events it would be something; should we, however, abandon that unskilful mode of manning a fleet, and compete with other bidders in the market, there cannot be a doubt but that the natural ties of nation would prevail, and America would lose some of her ablest seamen. If, on the other hand, the quarrel were with one of the European continental powers, the tie of language would prevail above all others, and not only would the British seamen now employed in American ships enter into the public service, but the mercantile marine of Great Britain would become a "nursery for seamen" for the service of the United States.

PRUSSIAN COMMERCIAL POLICY AND GERMAN TRADE-LEAGUE.

DURING the last forty-five years, Germany has been making great progress towards a system of consolidation and unity; and the notion of many of her writers and scientific men, though not always very clearly expressed, now seems to be, that the great German family ought to be placed under two classes and governments alone; *i.e.*, the Austrian empire in the south, and the Prussian kingdom in the north. By the accomplishment of such a measure, the political strength of the country would be greatly increased, and many other advantages obtained; but we can hardly see how it can be accomplished, except by force and the spoliation of the dynasties of the weaker states; and until Prussia and Austria show some symptoms of improving liberality, we should regret to see any of the partially free and constitutional governments, or indeed any of the states, be their form of government what it may, swallowed up by them.

It seems to us, that the commercial policy pursued by Prussia tends in this direction; and that, after having imposed her own system of trade and duties on all the north of Germany, and obtained the acknowledgment of her right to interfere in the internal and financial affairs of the so-called independent states, she will soon exercise as high an authority over them as Napoleon did over the Confederation of the Rhine. For the present, however, we are merely to consider this as a trade-question, and in so doing we will endeavour to treat it with impartiality.

No doubt, one of the great calamities of Germany, as of Italy, has been the dislocation and parcelling out of her wide territory into a number of small states. At one time there were three hundred separate governments; and even now, after many changes, and all the incorporations, fusions, and consolidations, effected by the Congress of Vienna, there remain thirty-eight states in Germany. Every state has or had its own laws, its own coinage, and its own custom-houses on its frontiers. Hence innumerable checks and difficulties are thrown in the way of trade, than which there were none greater than the delay and expenses at the numerous custom-houses. From their geographical position, certain of these states had to pay ten transit duties for the goods they imported or exported. To the poor merchant of the central territories, custom-houses were present whichever way he turned his eyes; and in many instances he could not carry his goods free of duty even five miles from his own doors. The Congress of Vienna gave some of its attention to these *douanes* that occurred at every step, and passed a determination, that the confederated German States should reserve to themselves the right of deliberating thereupon at the first meeting of the Diet at Francfort, and of concerting measures for facilitating the trade, navigation, and intercourse of one state with another. When the Diet met, nothing however was done. Some of the smaller states afterwards attempted to do for themselves what the Diet had neglected to do for the whole of Germany; and conferences were opened at Darmstadt, in between Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Nassau, and some of the smaller principalities. Their object was to establish a commercial association or league among themselves; but their views did not meet the approbation of certain of their powerful neighbours—they had no common strong centre round which to revolve, and no decided conformity and unity of plan among themselves; and thus the negotiations ended, in April, 1823, without any result.

The first essay had failed, but as the wish and necessity of some kind of union were imperative in those two states, Bavaria and Wurtemberg came to an understanding, and finally, in 1827, concluded a real commercial association with each other. By the treaty concluded on the 12th of April, 1827, and which was confirmed and extended on the 18th of January, 1828, the territories of the two states were to be united, and, as far as all merely commercial relations were concerned, to form but one state; their intermediate line of custom-houses being abolished. The tariff of the Bavarian custom-houses, as it affected other states, was accepted by Wurtemberg, and became common to the two countries. The product of duties paid in both states upon foreign goods was to form a common purse, which was to be divided, at the end of every year, between Bavaria and Wurtemberg, in proportion to the respective population of the two states.

Such was the first treaty of commercial alliance in Germany, which seems to have established the principles of these sorts of associations. The leading principles are—1st, a commercial union of different states and territories by the abolition of all intermediate lines of custom-houses; 2nd, the acceptance of a common tariff or scale of duties; 3rd a division of the product of all the customs received among all the associating states, each state receiving more or less according to the rate of its population.

Though some heart-burnings and dissensions might have arisen out of the principle that the customs should be so divided—for certainly all states cannot be consumers of foreign articles precisely in proportion to the number of their inhabitants; thus far, the contracting parties, and most of the other governments of Germany, looked with pleasure upon a system that seemed calculated to abolish the restraints that cramped their communications with one another, and to throw open the general internal trade of that great country. Nor had France, England, or the other non-Germanic nations any reason to dislike the uniformity of tariff, seeing that the duties it established were moderate, and that the states adopting it had no prohibitive views. But when Prussia entered upon the scene, and by degrees took into her own hands the direction of this commercial revolution, matters were considerably changed. The tariff, instead of being moderate, was generally exorbitant; and when she obtained its adoption, she certainly injured the minor states, and struck a blow at England and France, and the whole system of free trade, which does not mean a freedom of intercourse between some dozen of states huddled together in one corner of the world, but a liberty for the interchange of commodities all over it.

The advocates for Prussia, who argue in one page that her object is "the abolition of all prohibitions in respect to the productions of foreign industry, and their admission into Germany on payment of *moderate* duties," allow in the very next page that her tariff, which is to become the law of all northern Germany, *must* be onerous in order to favour the development of her national industry, and has justly and properly been made so severe, that it may be a practical method of convincing England of the unfairness and absurdity of her corn-laws, her heavy duties on timber and other foreign produce. They thus admit a fact which we are perfectly aware of, *i.e.*, that Prussia is making (as she has long been doing) extraordinary efforts to convert herself into a manufacturing country, and that she is animated by a spirit of retaliation towards England, and a resolution to set off one absurdity in political economy against another. We do not believe that a mischievous error in London is thus to be cured by the adoption of a similar mistake at Berlin; and then, if Prussia has grounds of complaint as to our duties on her corn, timber, &c. these do not hold good with many of the minor states, that export no timber and no corn, whose interest it would be to remain unshackled and enabled to buy good manufactures from England, France, &c. at a cheap rate, instead of inferior wares (for they have scarcely any manufactories of their own) from Prussia at a dear rate.

And then there is this material difference between Eng-

land and Prussia: our corn-laws, which are evidently a great stumbling block,* are an old error adopted in stormy and comparatively ignorant and narrow-minded times, and which, in spite of an obstinately conflicting interest, is every hour giving way to public opinion and superior enlightenment, that at no great distance of time will greatly modify or do away with the corn-laws altogether; but the restrictive system Prussia is forcing upon Germany is a new error, and one formed in good peaceful days, when the great principles of political economy are pretty widely diffused, and most people begin to detect and think of remedying the mistakes of their forefathers. From the very recent date of its introduction, the mischief has not as yet had time to take deep root, and it now might be easily remedied. But should Prussia persist in it for a few years, bolstered up by premiums and protecting duties, manufactories will be planted where nature never meant them to be, capital will be invested in them, the scheme will obtain that sanction which time and usage give to the most mischievous things in the eyes of certain interested parts of a nation, and with all her despotism, which one of her apologists considers an instrument "that has been singularly favourable to her development," she will find this policy an incubus most difficult to get rid of, and one even more oppressive to her and her dependants than our corn-laws have been to us.

The first step taken by Prussia was to conclude a treaty with Hesse, on the 14th of February, 1828. On the 17th of July in the same year, the Princes of Anhalt-Dessau and Anhalt-Coethen, whose narrow territories are *enclavés*, or surrounded on all sides by the Prussian dominions, gave in their adhesion, and agreed not only to adopt her tariff, *but to admit Prussian custom-house officers into their states to collect the duties payable under it.* It is also said by those who are unfavourable to Prussia,—nor have we seen the assertion contradicted by her friends and advocates,—that she has induced several of the other smaller states to submit to the same humiliation, and that even in the more powerful states of the league, the army of douaniers, though nominally the servants and subjects of the confederation at large, are nearly all Prussians. A few years ago, when the customs of the island of Sicily were farmed by a company of British merchants, the timid Neapolitan government took alarm on seeing the host of custom-house officers that was in the pay and under the control of those foreign speculators, and absolutely broke its contract with them before its term had expired. This was silly enough, but such apprehensions would not be altogether unreasonable in the petty states of Germany, whose douaniers are not under the temporary control of a body of private merchants, but nominated and paid by a great, warlike, and ambitious nation.

The projects of Prussia were not, however, carried without opposition, nor did she for some time declare the full extent of them. On the 24th of September, 1828, while the negotiations which were to bring over the conjoint states of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to the Prussian league and tariff, were pending, but not quite concluded, an association in self-defence was formed at Cassel, between Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Hombourg, Weimar, and several of the very small states, with the free towns of Francfort and Bremen. This association took the name of "*Mittel Verein*," or Middle Association. The contracting parties agreed,—1st, That during six years none of them should relinquish this commercial alliance, or treat with the Prussian or Bavarian league;—2nd, That every year the deputies of the associated states should hold a meeting for the despatch of business and the promoting the common interests of the alliance;—3rd, That they should improve the roads, lower their respective customhouse duties, and on no condition augment the existing transit duties, or do anything to embarrass the commercial relations of one part of the union with the rest;—4th, That the Kingdom of Saxony should be charged with the direction of the league.

The object of this intermediate union, whose principles seem to have been liberal and enlightened, was to protect their trade against the invasions of the Prussian and Bavarian leagues, and the rigours of the Prussian tariff, at the same time that it facilitated trading communications and an approach to a still freer system.

* After all her complaints, however, it appears that, spite of our corn-laws, Prussia exports about three times as much of her corn to England, as she does to all the rest of the world put together.

But Prussia, having swallowed up the Bavaro-Wurtemberg league in her own, proceeded with confidence and great skill to dispose of this "Mittel Verein," and to place herself at the head of one general association. The jealousy which some of the members of the "Mittel Verein" entertained of the ascendancy of Saxony seems to have contributed to the breaking up of that league; but the event was hastened by other causes.

The princes of Cobourg and Meiningen had the honour of being the first to renounce this alliance. For a '*pecuniary consideration*' they allowed Prussia a commercial road through their territories—agreed not to increase their low transit duties, and finally to adopt the Prussian system, to let out their customs to Prussia, and permit of their being collected by Prussian officers. By these secessions from the 'Mittel Verein,' Prussia came into possession of a free communication of roads with Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which was what she most wanted. In order to prevent the defensive association from falling to pieces, the remaining members entered into a new treaty in 1829, binding themselves to prolong their alliance to 1840, and on no condition to grant a free commercial passage through their state to any power, without the consent of the union. But the King of Prussia, having prevailed on the young Duke of Brunswick to refuse his signature, after having agreed to its conditions, the treaty was almost nullified at starting. The Duke let the indirect taxes, his customs and posts (which were to be collected by Prussian officers), for 45,000*l.* per annum, and became, like the rest, the mere vassal of Frederic William. Down to 1832 Baden refused to connect herself either with the Prussian or the central league, but she then veered round to the former, being defended in so doing by the pamphlet of a certain *vir doctissimus*, a Councillor of state of Baden, who asserted that the Prussian system was truly German, and *national* to every country of Germany which adopted it;—that prohibitions or high protecting duties were essential to guard the interests of the manufacturers in the interior against the competition of the English and French. The same dignified pamphleteer indeed admitted, that the accession of Baden to the Prussian league must have the effect of *singularly raising the price of colonial produce in the country*, but he did not regret this, as '*colonials are only articles of luxury.*' We will not dwell on the absurdity of calling by the name of *luxuries* things which (thank God!) have long ceased to be confined to the merely rich or luxurious classes, and which now, from long habit, have become necessary comforts to the working poor. A few centuries ago, a linen shirt was probably a luxury to this councillor of state's ancestors, but he will hardly venture to call shirts a mere luxury now-a-days. Men, it is true, spite of sundry unsightly disorders, which the use of linen and cleanliness have caused almost to disappear from among the people of Europe, might contrive to live on without shirts, and so they might without sugar and coffee, but most undoubtedly the health and comfort, and we will add, the virtue of the world, are vastly increased by these (in themselves) cheap indulgences, the production, preparation and exporting of which give employment to millions, and foster the exertion of millions on the other side, who must give, in some shape or other, production for production, labour for labour. If the patriotism of modern Germany is to be fed on old Spartan black broth, we confess we have no hopes for her.

With reference to this writer's particular and native part of Germany, coffee and sugar are now objects of first necessity for the people of Baden, where they enter into the daily nourishment of the simplest peasants. The learned councillor of state himself acknowledges that there, almost more than in any other state, these objects of consumption, in other times confined to the use of towns and cities, have extended to farm-houses and cottages, and spread themselves throughout the country and rural districts; and he also admits that the importation of sugar and coffee has been doubled within the last fifteen years of peace, prosperity, and (comparatively) free trade.

There are not wanting English writers who, fully determined to consider this arbitrary league as a mere temporary measure to hasten the repeal of our corn-laws, &c., and shutting their eyes to the plain expositions of it, made by the Prussians themselves, in which the necessity of strong and *lasting* protecting duties is insisted upon, profess the warmest admiration of the system—the child of 'the young vigour of Germany.' One of these gentlemen is excessively

indignant at another English writer, who has ventured to hint that Prussia, in imitation of France under the continental system, will push the cultivation of chicory and beet-root as substitutes for the coffee-plant and sugar-cane of tropical climates. Yet surely her rendering dear or *singularly raising the price of colonial produce*, tends in itself to a pseudo-production, though we are quite sure that the enterprise of the smuggler and the confirmed taste of the people, who can never be prevented from getting what they are so fond of, will defeat the chicory and beet-root speculators.

And here we may mention that a great abundance of pamphlets has appeared on this subject. We would rather see this or any other kind of battle fought out by types and the press than by muskets and sabres; but it appears to us that there has been very little fight shown on the present occasion, and that the partisans and paid writers of Prussia, and the adherents to the restrictive, anti-social system have had it nearly all their own way. The liberty of the press, always denounced as a damnable heresy in a large part of it, is now nothing more than a name in any one corner of Germany. It might be dangerous under an 'enlightened despotism' like that of Prussia, for a writer to combat or expose a system, on the carrying and enforcing of which the government has set its heart. It is due, however, to the general integrity and *bonhommie* of the German character, to allow that many of these writers may plead for the system from a sincere, though mistaken, conviction of their own intellects and consciences. The subject has been carried into the non-argumentative and lightest kind of their literature. We have seen, for example, allusions made to it, and complaints raised against their markets being overrun with English goods when Germany has manufactures of her own, in sundry of their modern novels and tales; and with the example of our own novel-writers before our eyes, we are quite ready to allow to the brotherhood across the Rhine the excuse of ignorance.

When Saxony seceded, the Middle Association was wholly broken up. How that enlightened and prosperous state, that had always been opposed to prohibitory enactments, and had felt within herself, and in a most sensible manner, the benefit arising from free trade, should have suddenly renounced her favourite system and so many advantages, appears to us a matter of difficult explanation; and the more so when we reflect that by the Elbe, the free navigation of which river was provided for by the treaty of Vienna, she had a high road for her exports and imports to and from the sea, Heligoland, and Hamburgh, which could not be seriously injured by such of the states on either side of the river as had adopted or might adopt the Prussian system.

The negotiations with the duchy of Nassau presented some curious points. In September, 1833, the French government concluded a commercial treaty with the Duke of Nassau. For a long time the Duke had earnestly desired a reduction in the French duties on the mineral waters of Nassau, known by the name of Seltz or Seltzer. As the sale of these waters forms a principal part of the Duke's particular revenue, he would have been much benefited in his own pocket by the facility of increasing it on the side of France. The reduction was agreed to, and the duty on the Seltzer waters put at 1 franc for 100 kilograms, instead of 5 francs 60 cents., as it formerly stood. In return for this advantage, the Duke engaged not to augment his duties, as they then existed, on French wines and French silks, during the five following years. This was, in other words, an engagement not to adopt the Prussian tariff. The treaty recited, that the preceding stipulations would cease to have effect if the reduction agreed upon should not obtain the sanction of the French Chambers during their next Session. This reduction was accordingly inserted in the ministerial Customs' Bill, presented to the Chambers, but the Bill was not discussed that Session through want of time.

As soon as the treaty of September was known, the Duke was assailed by the whole Prussian Association, which felt that a breach would be made in its system and circumvallation by the independence of Nassau. After remonstrances, complaints, and, it is said, threats, the Duke, conquered or convinced, seized the pretext which offered itself, and, under colour of the non-sanction of the French Chambers, declared the treaty to be thenceforward null and void. It appears, however, that the Duke has not as yet joined the League, though the Estates of his country have authorised him to do so. Perhaps the Prussian confederacy has not sufficiently tempted him on the head of Seltzer water and his own revenue.

As matters now stand, the Prussian League embraces the mass of northern Germany, with a united population of about 24,500,000. Not to mention Austria in the south, which has a system of its own already sufficiently prohibitive, the chief States which have refused to join the League are Hanover, Mecklenburg, Brunswick (which has detached herself from it), Oldenburg, Holstein, and Lauenburg, which, with some minor ones, may count a population rather short of 4,000,000. There remain, also, to be mentioned on the side of free trade, the Hanse or free towns of Frankfort-on-the Maine, Hamburg, and Bremen; but these towns are chiefly important as wharfs and depôts for goods, which could thence be shipped for export, if of German production, or sold and sent into the interior States if foreign. But the Prussian Association will now hem them in with custom-house barriers—they will be *porti franchi*, or free ports, only to themselves, and within their own streets and slips of territory; their united population of only 250,000 will not afford a very large field for commercial enterprise, and they will, in all probability, be finally forced or browbeaten into being what is called "integral members of the Union." Surely "the young vigour of Germany" ought to show more respect to what is old and truly venerable in the land, and to places so honourably connected with the early rise and spread of European commerce and civilization as the Hanse towns are. But, perhaps, in the eyes of Prussia, even antiquity can render nothing venerable, unless it be connected with monarchic institutions.

We must take our leave, for the present, of this important subject, with a few running remarks, which, for the most part, will be brief *resumés* of what we have already said.

We should be delighted to see one commercial frontier or line of custom-houses in Germany, instead of twenty, if that one frontier were established for the furtherance, instead of hinderance, of trade, and drawn for the benefit of all the States inclosed within it, instead of for the "system" or long-lasting caprice of *one*, and the inevitable embarrassment of all of them. We will go farther. We should gladly see the fusion of the many into one, and the consolidation of northern Germany into a powerful undivided State, *if* the head of that now openly contemplated Union had ever given any pledges (except such as he has broken) of granting to his own people the guarantee of a constitutional government.

In Prussia, as in all absolute monarchies, much, far too much, must always be personal, or dependent on the characters and intellects of a few living individuals. With all our respect for the many good qualities of the reigning monarch, and, in some instances, for his wise conduct, we see no reason for being assured as to the future; or, that, following the fate of most despotisms and rapidly acquired dominions, where no solid ground-work is laid, his system may not soon crumble to pieces under his successors.

We do not, and we cannot, for our lives believe that the Prussian Commercial League, which bears a blind selfishness in its frontispiece, is merely meant to convince England of the iniquity of her Corn-laws, and (we can scarcely repeat the rest without laughing) to *force* her, and other *exclusive* countries, into a greater freedom of trade. Our disbelief on this head, which remains open to conviction, is founded on the tone and arguments of her own writers, and on our intercourse with Prussians (some in private and some in public capacities) in different parts of the continent. "The cloth of my coat is not so good as yours, nor is the leather of my boots—neither are my pen-knives and razors so good as English ones, but, *laissez aller*, in due time, and with proper protecting duties, we shall have all these and every thing else in perfection, and then we shall cease to be *tributaries* to the English." These, or words to this effect, we have not heard merely once, but a hundred times; and the Prussian *gentlemen* we have met, seemed pretty generally to be of opinion, that though it was very proper to export their corn and timber, it was equally so *to grow* their razors and pen-knives at home. They seem to have been convinced of the propriety of the advice which Count Pecchio, with dramatic accuracy, put into the mouth of the late Emperor of Austria, when addressing his subjects, *i. e.* "Always to sell *to* foreigners, but never buy *from*

them." And, indeed, has not Prussia, for many years, been cherishing at her heart's core this artificial forcing process?—with what success, Mr. Jacob, a competent judge, informs us, in his travels in Germany. "As scarcely any competition exists but with their own countrymen, there is little inducement to adopt the inventions of other nations, or to exercise their own faculties in perfecting their fabrics, *none of which have kept pace with those of other countries.* In point of extent, the woollen manufactory, carried on at the *royal storehouse* by Messrs. Woolf, is the most considerable, and good machinery is used; but, in spite of the excellence of the blue dye, and of the fine wool which they have substituted for the Spanish, their products are so inferior to those of Flanders and of England, *that nothing but the kind of monopoly which they and their neighbours enjoy, can enable them to dispose of their goods to a profit.* The quantity of silk goods manufactured in Berlin is very considerable; they are, however, inferior both in design and quality to those of Lyons. Cottons, hats, gloves, hosiery, shoes, and boots, are all inferior to ours; cutlery, ironmongery, and glass-ware, are the same: and many of the minuter articles, such as needles, pins, and a thousand others, which every hour present themselves, are awkwardly and clumsily made."

To force the consumption of all these things, to the exclusion of better and cheaper articles, all over the states included in the Prussian League, will be utterly impossible, and will require, in the fruitless attempt to do so, a most numerous army of *douaniers*, who are, perhaps, the most permanently odious of all armies. Every Prussian working-manufacturer will want at least one custom-house officer to look after his doings, and a state of things will arise, which, without meaning any disrespect, we may, in some measure, compare to what we have seen in certain continental countries, where nearly every galley-slave, who unwillingly did half the work of a free man, was attended by a sturdy soldier, so that the time of two men went to produce half a man's labour. But, as it has been well observed, a million of custom-house officers, even supposing in them a superhuman degree of vigilance and indifference to bribery, could not guard this vast frontier, by sea, by rivers, and by land, from the incursions of the smuggler, who, at the worst, commits only a crime growing out of a government mistake. The greatest smugglers, or connivers at smuggling, under the continental system, were Buonaparte's own troops; and the men who made most money by it were some of his own Generals and Prefets.

That former Continental System ought to be a great example to warn Prussia of the error of her ways—it is an historical and recent fact, which removes all apprehension from us, let her do or attempt what she may.

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

[Continued from last Number.]

The energy of Mr. Pitt's war-administration almost immediately changed the aspect of the contest with France. He seemed to put a new life into the country, and to communicate his own vigour and activity to her fleets and armies in all quarters of the globe. From the moment he assumed the direction of affairs, the enemy was allowed no rest. One aggressive expedition constantly succeeded another; and although at first some of these efforts failed wholly or partially, owing to the bad management of the persons to whom they were entrusted, and whom the Premier could not at once inspire with all his own decision, rapidity, and fertility of resources, yet the grand result was a rich harvest of gain and glory to the arms of England, both by sea and land. On the continent of Europe, the King of Prussia, the Great Frederick, with whom an alliance had recently been formed, strengthened and encouraged by the aid voted to him by the English parliament, and the hearty support his cause received from the new minister, suddenly drove back the tide of Austrian success; and by the two splendid victories of Rossbach and Lissa, gained within a single month, utterly dispersed a combination of enemies by which he had been previously all but overwhelmed. Soon after Prince Frederick of Brunswick, acting at the head of a Hanoverian army in the pay of Great Britain, succeeded in expelling the French from Germany. In 1759, the fall of Quebec and the conquest of Canada formed a still prouder triumph directly achieved by the national arms. About the same time various other important captures were made on the coast of Africa and in the West Indies. Finally, the French power was almost annihilated in Hindostan, where it had till now more than disputed the ascendancy with that of England.

These continued successes sustained and augmented the popularity which had attended the ministers when they entered office. In the meantime, the few changes that took place among the members of the government were merely personal, and did not affect the principle of its construction. In the course of the year 1758, Lord Edgecumbe having been appointed to the office of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre, was succeeded as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster by Lord Dupplin. In the following year, Lord George Sackville, having incurred great blame for his conduct at the battle of Minden, (fought on the 1st of August,) was removed from his office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and the Marquis of Granby nominated his successor. This year also, the afterwards celebrated Lord North first obtained a place in the government, by being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury.

George II. died on the 25th of October, 1760. The only changes made upon this occasion were in certain of the offices in the Household. The Earl of Bute became Groom of the Stole in the room of the Earl of Rochfort; Lord Gower succeeded Sir Thomas Robinson as Keeper of the Wardrobe; and was himself succeeded as Master of the Horse by the Earl of Huntingdon. Lord Bute was also made a Privy Councillor.

A few months, however, showed that the ambition of the favourite was not to be thus satisfied. On the 21st of March, 1761, parliament was dissolved—and the next day Mr. Legge, a most efficient member of the administration, was dismissed from his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Legge had given offence to Lord Bute by having two years before refused to support a nominee of his lordship and the Prince as candidate for the representation of Hampshire. He was succeeded by Viscount Barrington, and the latter, as Secretary at War, by the Honourable Charles Townshend, whose place in the household (that of Treasurer of the Chamber) was given to Sir Francis Dashwood. On the 25th the Earl of Holdernesse resigned, and Lord Bute was appointed one of the Secretaries of State in his room. He was succeeded as Groom of the Stole by the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Rutland becoming Master of the Horse, and Earl Talbot obtaining his Grace's office of Lord Steward. About the same time also Lord Sandys was made First Lord of Trade in room of the Earl of Halifax; and his place of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre was given to the Duke of Leeds. His Grace was succeeded as Cofferer of the Household by the Honourable James Grenville.

Considerable surprise was occasioned by Mr. Pitt consenting to remain in office after these changes, and especially notwithstanding the dismissal of his friend and steady supporter Mr. Legge. As the conduct of the war, however, was still left in his hands, he probably thought that he ought not to consider his position as materially affected by changes in departments of the government which he considered of far inferior importance, and with which he had never much interfered. If such was his calculation, he soon found himself deceived. Having received intelligence, upon which he was convinced he could depend, that Spain, which had hitherto stood neutral in the struggle on one side or other of which almost every other power in Europe was arrayed, had pledged herself to take an active part with the enemy, and was only waiting till she had all her force in readiness, on the 18th of September he proposed in council that war should be immediately declared against that country. The reception that his proposition met with proved that he was no longer Prime Minister. It was directly opposed by Lord Bute, and supported by nobody except Lord Temple. A few days after, a second meeting of the Cabinet was held, at which all the ministers were present. No resolution was come to at this meeting; but at a third, every member, except Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, declared against a war with Spain. The two latter, having ascertained that the King agreed with the majority of the Cabinet, resigned their places on the 5th of October. It was upon this occasion that a pension of 3000*l.* a year was settled upon Mr. Pitt for three lives, and that the title of Baroness of Chatham was conferred upon his wife.

Thus was broken up, after it had lasted about four years and three months, an administration, the history of whose management of the national affairs is a continued series of h e most splendid successes, and whose popularity had gone on increasing up to the moment of its dissolution. It afterwards appeared that the celebrated Family Compact, as it was called, between Louis XV. and Charles III., had actually been signed on the 15th of the preceding August; and within three months from the time Mr. Pitt retired from the government, because his colleagues would not join with him in declaring war against Spain, hostilities with that power had commenced. But by this time the last of the richly laden ships from South America, which it had been his purpose to intercept, had arrived safe in port, and the enemy was in a much better state of preparation than when he had wished to strike the first blow.

Mr. Pitt was succeeded as Secretary of State by the Earl of Egremont, and Lord Temple as Lord Privy Seal by the Duke of Bedford. The only other immediate change which took place was the substitution of the Earl of Thomond as Cofferer in the room of the Honourable James Grenville, who threw up that lucrative office in the Household on the retirement of his two relations. Now, however, that Pitt had been got rid of, Bute remained the undisputed head of the government.

A few months afterwards a dispute with the Duke of Newcastle enabled the royal favourite to step into the office which had been hitherto usually held by the Prime Minister. The Duke, acting upon the politics of the late reign, to which he had been so long accustomed, pressed the more liberal subsidizing of Prussia, and a more vigorous prosecution of the German war; but being opposed by Bute, he was left in a minority. Upon this he gave in his resignation—and on the 29th of May, 1762. Lord Bute was appointed First Lord of the Treasury. He was succeeded as Secretary of State by the Honourable George Grenville, who had remained in office when his brother Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt resigned, and had from that time separated himself from the politics of the rest of his family. Viscount Barrington was removed to the Treasurership of the Navy, which had been held by Mr. Grenville, and his lordship was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sir Francis Dashwood, whose place of Treasurer of the Chamber was given to Sir Gilbert Elliott, a Scottish gentleman, who had been previously first a Lord of the Admiralty, and then of the Treasury.

Although this new appointment can hardly be considered to have made Lord Bute more completely the head and chief moving power of the government than he was before, it appears to have roused against him a storm of popular indignation and parliamentary opposition, much more violent than he had hitherto experienced. Up to this time, indeed, the House of Commons had given him scarcely any trouble; for Pitt and his friends, although they had left office, continued to give their support in general to the measures of the government. The first number of Wilkes's famous paper, 'The North Briton,' was published on the 5th of June, that day week after Bute's nomination as First Lord of the Treasury. The first number of 'The Briton,' to which the 'North Briton' was an answer, had appeared on the very day of that nomination. In his second number, Wilkes, speaking in the character he had assumed, says sarcastically, "I cannot conceal the joy I feel as a North Briton, and I heartily congratulate my dear countrymen on our having at length accomplished the great, long-sought, and universally national object of all our wishes, the planting a *Scotsman* at the head of the *English* Treasury. I was indeed before very well pleased with the conduct of the two other gentlemen at that Board, who are likewise natives of our country (he means Elliott and James Oswald, Esq.); but then they were obliged to serve under a noble Duke of a peculiar cast, whose views were most evidently neither to enrich himself, nor to aggrandize us. My joy and exultation are now complete, for I have lived to see my countryman, the Earl of Bute, adorned with the most noble Order of the *Garter*, (which hath been given to *us* with so sparing a hand, and only for the most brilliant national services,) and presiding over the finances of this kingdom. This is the post which the Prime Minister hath generally kept for himself, and is of the first importance in this country. It must ever be so in times of war, and above all in this wide extended but glorious war, when nearly the sum of twenty millions will be this year raised on the subject;—though, I thank heaven, but a *fortieth* part of it will be paid by us."

In September following, negotiations for peace were opened with France. Lord Bute upon this occasion appeared to be so eager to bring the war to a close upon almost any terms, that it has been even suspected he was bribed by the enemy. Indeed, two or three years afterwards, a Dr. Musgrave published a circumstantial statement about certain large sums of money, which, according to the information he had obtained, had been transmitted from the French Treasury to his Lordship and several of his friends. Be this, however, as it may, Bute showed himself in the course of the negotiation so ready to grant whatever the opposite party demanded, and to throw away the most important advantages which her late successes had obtained for England, that even Mr. Grenville at length declined to go along with him in so profuse and unnecessary a sacrifice of the national rights and interests. While the negotiation was still pending, intelligence arrived of the capture of the Havannah. Bute immediately proposed that it should be restored to Spain without an equivalent; while Grenville insisted that Florida and Port Rico should be demanded in lieu of it. Urged as he was at the same time by the representations of the Duke of Bedford, to whom the management of the negotiation had been intrusted, the Premier felt it necessary to go so far as to ask for Florida; but he positively enjoined the Duke to make no mention of Porto Rico. Florida accordingly was all that was eventually obtained. Meanwhile Mr. Grenville thought it necessary to withdraw from the Cabinet, though not from office, and on the 12th of October he exchanged places with Lord Halifax, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Halifax was considered a subservient adherent of the Premier. Very soon after this, the Duke of Devonshire resigned his office of Lord Chamberlain, and went into opposition. His place was supplied by the Duke of Marlborough.

The General Peace (called the Peace of Paris) was not concluded till the 10th of February 1763, but the preliminaries of that between France and England were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November, 1762. The English Parliament met on the 25th of the same month; and the articles were immediately laid before the two Houses for approval. Mr. Fox, who continued to hold the office of Paymaster-General, to which he had been appointed on the formation of Mr. Pitt's Administration, now appeared as the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. As such he found himself once more engaged in fierce combat with his old rival. Pitt opposed the motion for the approval of the articles of peace with extraordinary vehemence, denouncing the proposed treaty as in the highest degree both dishonourable and insecure. But whatever might be the strength of the minority in eloquence and argument, the division proved their extreme numerical weakness. The motion for approving of the Treaty was carried by a majority of 319 to 65. In fact, the nation, as usually happens after some years' experience of the burthens and inconvenences of war, had become generally anxious for peace. Besides, although England by the present treaty, perhaps relinquished a good deal which she might neither unfairly nor without good hope of success have insisted upon retaining, the treaty considered by itself was by no means a disadvantageous one. Of what we had possessed before the commencement of the war, we gave up nothing, and we obtained a large accession of new territory. The surrender of Canada by France, and that of Florida by Spain, extended our American empire, formerly occupying only the middle section of that range of country, over the whole continent from the Polar Sea to the Gulph of Mexico, or almost from the Arctic circle to the Tropic of Cancer. These acquisitions were probably in those days considered more than a compensation for the restoration of the French settlements in the East Indies. It is to be added, as helping to account for the little success that attended the efforts of the opposition to excite a feeling against the ministry on account of the peace, that Mr. Pitt was by no means at this time the popular favourite he once had been, not having yet recovered the ground he had lost by his late acceptance of a pension.

The popularity of the Premier, however, was infinitely less. Lord Bute certainly at no time had any party in the country, and disclosures which have been since made would go to show, that he stood almost equally without support in the Cabinet of which he appeared to be the head. He possessed the favour of the King, and that seems to have been

nearly the whole strength with which he attempted to wield the government. Every thing connected with him contributed to make him an object of dislike to the bulk of the nation—his birth,—his pompous, haughty and repulsive deportment,—his arbitrary politics,—the undeserved share he enjoyed of the King's confidence,—the rewards and honours which he had in this way secured to himself,—the absurd vanity and insolence of his attempt, without either commanding talents or natural power, or influence of any other kind, to found, as it were, and build up a new system of government, in defiance alike of the whole peerage and the whole people, and with the aid of the prerogative alone. The feelings which were thus engendered waited only for an occasion on which to break out into a flame. This was afforded by a bill which was, in the course of the session, brought into Parliament for imposing a tax upon cider, and subjecting the manufacture of that article to all the laws of the Excise. Against this measure the Opposition in Parliament took their ground in the most determined spirit. That body had about this time become consolidated and strengthened by the union of its several sections; the leaders of which, in order to show the public their force, and the cordiality and concert with which they were disposed to act, agreed to dine together once a week at each other's houses. The first of these dinners was given by Lord Temple at his house in Pall Mall, about the end of February, 1763; the second by the Duke of Newcastle in the beginning of March. Besides these two noblemen, the principal persons who were thus associated were, the Dukes of Bolton, Devonshire, Grafton, and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earls of Almarle, Ashburnham, Besborough, Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Scarborough, and Spencer; Lords Abergavenny, Dacre, Fortescue, Grantham, Sondes, Walpole, and Villiers; Mr. Pitt, Sir George Saville, Mr. Charles Townshend, &c.

Notwithstanding the opposition which it encountered at every step, the Cider Bill was carried through both Houses. Except upon this single question, also, the ministerial majorities had yet suffered but little, if any diminution. But while things were in this state, on the 8th of April Lord Bute suddenly resigned. The true reasons which induced him to take this unexpected step are most probably those assigned by himself in a letter to a friend, which has been published by Mr. Adolphus in his 'History of the Reign of George III.' "Single," he says in that letter, "in a Cabinet of my own forming—no aid in the House of Lords to support me except two peers, (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret,) both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I brought myself into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me—the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin: it is time for me to retire."

When the favourite retired from office, however, he probably did not retire from power, but continued, while lurking behind the throne, to be nearly as much Prime Minister as he had been while standing before it. His resignation at all events brought with it but little immediate change either of measures or of men. His place of First Lord of the Treasury was in a few days given to Mr. George Grenville, who was also appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and became in the mean time the head of the Administration. Sir Francis Dashwood, whom he displaced from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, was again provided for in the Household, being made Keeper of the Wardrobe; he was at the same time called up by summons to the House of Lords, as Baron Le Despencer. Mr. Grenville was succeeded as First Lord of the Admiralty by the Earl of Sandwich. Mr. Grenville and the Earls of Egremont and Halifax were generally regarded by the public as the representatives of the Bute interest, and the principal offices in the government remained in their hands. Mr. Fox still continued in the subordinate office of Paymaster. A curious passage with regard to this gentleman occurs in the 44th number of the 'North Briton,' published on the 2nd of April, immediately previous to Lord Bute's retirement. The writer, after having prognosticated as usual that a change must come ere long, concludes as follows: "As it may be convenient to many persons, on various accounts, to give as near a guess as possible when this ministerial revolution will take place, I shall give them a hint, which may perhaps assist their conjectures, and propose Mr. Fox as a mark of observation to all who trade in politics. His steadiness to his own interest, with his remarkable talents of penetration, have hitherto enabled, and I doubt not will still induce him to quit his post when he can keep it no longer, and to leave his friends in the lurch. When we see him therefore *flying from the storm*, pleading age and sickness, *accepting of a peerage*, or retiring to the government of the Alley; we may safely conclude that a change is at hand, and that concord shall once more take place among us." This, as we have said, was published on the 2nd of April; Lord Bute resigned on the 8th; and on the 16th Mr. Fox was made a peer, by the title of Lord Holland. He also soon afterwards retired to France.

The administration of Mr. Grenville commenced with a proceeding which would alone have rendered it sufficiently memorable—the famous contest with Wilkes. Parliament was dissolved on the 19th of April, on which occasion his Majesty, according to the ordinary form, addressed both Houses in a Speech from the Throne. This Speech was taken by Wilkes for the subject of his 45th 'North Briton,' published on the following Saturday, the 23rd, and, under the plea that it was to be considered as the Speech of the Minister, was somewhat severely handled, although there was scarcely any thing in the paper that would be thought worth noticing in the present day. On the 30th, however, a warrant was issued, bearing the signature of Lord Halifax as Principal Secretary of State, and dated the 26th, for the apprehension of the authors, printers, and publishers of the number, which was described as "a seditious and treasonable paper." The messengers to whom this order was directed, although they had nothing to guide them as to the particular individuals they were required to take into custody, repaired to the house of Mr. Wilkes, and summoned him to follow them. This he refused to do. The messengers however returned, and brought him by force before Lord Halifax and Lord Egremont. The same day he was, by the authority of the two Secretaries, committed to the Tower, as "being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, tending to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and to excite them to *traitorous* insurrection against the government." It will be observed that the description of the libel as *treasonable*, is dropped in this second warrant. Mr. Wilkes was now kept in close custody: all his friends, including his legal advisers, were refused admittance to him, his house was forcibly entered and searched, and all his papers carried away.

A Habeas Corpus, however, having been applied for, he was on the 3rd of May brought up on that writ to the bar of the Court of Common Pleas, before Chief Justice Pratt, (afterwards Lord Camden.) After a very long debate the case was adjourned till the 6th, and the prisoner was in the meanwhile remanded to the Tower. On the 6th the Court delivered its judgment, that the privilege of parliament extended to the present case; and Mr. Wilkes (who, it is to be remembered, was member for Aylesbury) was ordered to be discharged. No decision was pronounced upon this occasion in regard to the point afterwards agitated, the illegality of what are called general warrants, that is, warrants in which no person is specified by name.

A few days after his liberation, Mr. Wilkes was served with a subpœna to answer an information for the seditious libel exhibited against him in the Court of King's Bench. But considering this to be another violation of the privileges of parliament, he declined entering an appearance, or taking any notice of the summons. In this state the matter remained till the re-assembling of Parliament on the 15th of November.

In the meanwhile, however, some further ministerial changes had occurred. The sudden death of the Earl of Egremont on the 20th of August, had for a short time thrown his colleagues into the greatest perplexity. Charles Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, the son of Sir William Wyndham, the celebrated Tory leader of the former reign, was certainly one of the ablest members of the present administration. On this occasion Lord Bute made an attempt to induce Mr. Pitt again to take office, which was very nearly successful. The two, on the proposal of his Lordship, met at the house of Mr. Pitt in Jermyn Street, on Thursday the 25th of August. At this interview Mr. Pitt explained his views at considerable length and with perfect frankness; and the result was, that on the following day he received an open note, requiring him to attend his Majesty on Saturday the 27th, at Buckingham House. He accordingly went thither at noon, proceeding through the Mall in

his gouty chair, the peculiar form of which made it well known. He had an audience of the King in the closet, which lasted for three hours, and in the course of which his Majesty is said to have admitted in substance, that he thought his present Ministers could not go on. On taking his departure he was desired to come again on Monday. On Sunday Mr. Pitt communicated every thing that had taken place to the Duke of Newcastle; at this time believing that every thing would be settled according to the arrangements which he had proposed. He also wrote to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Newcastle wrote to his old colleague Lord Hardwicke, whom it was now intended to put into the place of President of the Council.

On Monday Mr. Pitt returned to the palace in the same public manner as before. He was again received very graciously, and was with his Majesty two hours. "The King," says Lord Hardwicke in a letter to his son, from which these details are taken, "began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honour. His Majesty then mentioned Lord Northumberland for the Treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. Pitt hesitated an objection—that certainly Lord Northumberland might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the Treasury. Mr. Pitt said, 'Suppose your Majesty should think fit to give his Lordship the Paymaster's place?' The King replied, 'But, Mr. Pitt, I had designed that office for poor George Grenville. He is your near relation, and you once loved him.' To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait. 'Why,' says his Majesty, 'should not Lord Temple have the Treasury? You could go on then very well!' 'Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a Treasury connected with him; but that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have supported the Revolution government, and other great persons, of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your Majesty if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your Majesty make a solid administration on any other foot.' 'Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear,) this won't do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it.'"

And thus the negotiation ended. Mr. Pitt professed to be firmly persuaded, that both Lord Bute and the King were in earnest at first: but he was convinced, that on the Sunday some strong influence had been used, which produced a determination to break off. It is pretty evident that Mr. Pitt had intended to keep the place of First Lord of the Treasury for himself. Lord Hardwicke adds: "Ministers are so stung with this admission that they cannot go on, (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on,) and with my Lord Bute's having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord Bute has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity,—that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord Halifax and George Grenville have declared, that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more."

The government was at last completed on the 9th of September, by the appointment of Lord Sandwich to the place of Secretary of State, the Earl of Egremont succeeding his Lordship as First Lord of the Admiralty. On the same day the place of Lord President of the Council, which had been vacant for some time by the death of Lord Granville, was given to the Duke of Bedford. This office, previous to the negotiation with Mr. Pitt, had been offered by the King through Lord Egremont to the Earl of Hardwicke, but declined. Lord Egremont and Mr. Grenville are said to have then wished that the Duke of Leeds might have it (his Grace held the appointment of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre); but Lord Bute insisted that it should be bestowed upon the Duke of Bedford. This nobleman possessed great influence, not only from his rank and extensive possessions, but also from his talents and character; and after his accession the ministry came to be generally distinguished as the Duke of Bedford's ministry.

When Parliament re-assembled in November, the first business brought before the House of Commons was the case of Mr. Wilkes. The subject was introduced on the first day of the session, by a message from the King, which was delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A motion that No. 45 of the 'North Briton,' was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, was carried by a majority of 273 to 111. On this occasion Mr. Pitt spoke and voted with the majority. When, however, it was proposed on the 23rd, to declare that the privilege of Parliament did not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, he took his place among the opponents of the ministry. But this resolution also was carried, though not by so large a majority, the numbers being 258 to 133. On the 20th of January, 1764, Mr. Wilkes was by another vote expelled from the House of Commons, and a new writ was issued for Aylesbury. Having gone abroad during these proceedings, he was soon afterwards outlawed for not appearing to various indictments, which were preferred against him on account of his infamous poem, entitled an 'Essay on Woman.'

On the 14th of February, the question of the illegality of general warrants was brought forward in the House of Commons by Sir W. Meredith, who moved, "That a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." On this occasion, the House sat till half past seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, when an adjournment of the debate till the 17th was carried by a majority of 208 against 184. This sitting, which lasted for seventeen hours, was then the longest that had ever been known in the House of Commons; and it is probably still without a rival. Horace Walpole, who, in his "Letters to Lord Hertford," has given a highly interesting account of these discussions, and the only one that has been preserved, says, "Do you know, not only my Lord Temple—who, you may swear, never budged as spectator—but old Will. Chetwynd, now past eighty, and who had walked to the House, did not stir a single moment out of his place, from three in the afternoon till the division at seven in the morning. Nay, we had *patriotesses*, too, who staid out the whole. Lady Rockingham and Lady Sondes, the first day*: both again the second day, with Miss Mary Pelham, Mrs. Fitzroy, and the Duchess of Richmond, as patriotic as any of us. Lady Mary Coke, Mrs. George Pitt, and Lady Pembroke, came after the opera, but, I think, did not stay above seven or eight hours at most." Ministers had met Sir W. Meredith's motion by an amendment, that the following words should be added, "Although such warrant has been issued according to the usage of office, and has been frequently produced to, and never condemned by, courts of justice." From the state of the votes on the question of adjournment, the Opposition were high in hope that they should, on the 17th, beat the Ministry on the general question. Concluding his history of the "great week" to his correspondent, on the following Sunday evening, Walpole continues: "By the time you have read the preceding pages, you may perhaps expect to find a change of the Ministry in what I am going to say. You must have a little patience: our Parliamentary war, like the last war in Germany, produces very considerable battles, that are not decisive. Marshal Pitt has given another great blow to the subsidiary army, but they remained masters of the field, and both sides sang *Te Deum*. I am not talking figuratively, when I assure you, that bells, bonfires, and an allumination from the Monument, were prepared in the city, in case we had had the majority. Lord Temple was so indiscreet and indecent as to have faggots ready for two bonfires, but was persuaded to lay aside the design even before it was abortive." The debate, according to Walpole, was a very dull one. "I never," he says, "knew a day of expectation answer. The unpromptus and the unexpected are ever the most shining. We love to hear ourselves talk, and yet we must be formed of adamant to be able to talk, day and night, on the same question, for a week together. If you had seen how ill we looked, you would not have wondered we did not speak well. A company of colliers, emerging from damps and darkness, could not have appeared more ghastly and dirty than we did on Wednesday morning; and we had not recovered much bloom on Friday." In the course of this debate, the Solicitor-General, Sir Fletcher Norton (after-

* The House had also sat on Monday, the 13th, examining evidence, in regard to the apprehension of Mr. Wilkes, for eleven hours.

wards Speaker) told the House, that they might pass the resolution if they pleased, but that, were he one of the twelve judges, he would mind it no more than if it had been a resolution passed by a crew of drunken porters! "Had old Onslow been in the chair," exclaims Walpole, "I believe he would have knocked him down with the mace." At five in the morning they divided. It appears, from a short statement by Mr. Charles Townshend, that the question upon which the division took place, was a motion made to adjourn the debate for four months. The Noes were so loud—the sound of that monosyllable, Walpole remarks, is deeper than that of Aye—that the Speaker, Sir John Cust, decided that the Ayes (those in favour of the adjournment) should go into the lobby, according to the rule, that those who are supposed to be the majority should remain in the House. "They went forth," continues the letter; "and when I heard our side counted to the amount of 218, I did conclude we were victorious; but they returned 232. It is true we were beaten by 14, but we were increased by 21; and no Ministry could stand on so slight an advantage, if we could continue above 200. We may, and probably shall fall off; this was our strongest question—but our troops will stand fast; their hopes and views depend upon it, and their spirits are raised. But for the other side, it will not be the same. The lookers-out will be stayers away, and their very subsidies will undo them. . . . You would have almost laughed to see the spectres produced by both sides; one would have thought that they had sent a search-warrant for members of Parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets, till the floor of the House looked like the pool of Bethesda. It is wonderful that half of us are not dead. . . . . I felt from nothing so much as the noise, which made me as drunk as an owl; you may imagine the clamour of two parties, so nearly matched, and so impatient to come to a decision." The ladies, it is added, came down again, but in such squadrons, that the House was obliged to refuse them admittance. Eight or nine of them, however, remained in one of the Speaker's rooms till twelve at night, playing at loo.

Walpole's expectations of an immediate break up of the Ministry, and triumph of the uncemented collection of parties forming the Opposition, with which he acted, turned out quite visionary. As soon as Wilkes's affair had been settled in the way that has just been mentioned, the formidable minority began to fall to pieces. Pitt, Charles Townshend, and many others, even absented themselves altogether from the House. "The probability of success," says the author of the 'History of the late Minority,' "being now farther removed than ever, they began to break with one another, and every man became jealous of his friend's being reconciled to the Minister, or some way or other making his peace at St. James's before himself. In a few weeks desertion and dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the whole party; insomuch, that when the public business came on, that is, the plan of Supplies, which every Opposition has thought itself bound to oppose, they were almost totally silent; which gave to the Ministers such a manifest appearance of superiority, that it had a wonderful effect upon what are called the *flying squadron*—a considerable part of whom had joined the minority, upon the late probability of success from that quarter: they were now so thoroughly convinced of their error, that they returned to the court with views of the most faithful attachment. The Session, therefore, ended without any further efforts of the minority." On the 27th of March we find Walpole writing as follows: "I have not been at the House this month; the great points which interested me are over, and the very stand has shut the door. I might like some folks *out*, but there are so few that I desire to see *in*, that indifference is my present most predominating principle."

It was during the tranquil latter part of this Session, that Mr. Grenville brought forward, among his financial schemes for the coming year, those several disastrous measures of colonial policy, which, after involving the country in a long and expensive war, eventually occasioned the loss of America to the British crown—the regulations restricting the trade of the English with the Spanish settlements, the act imposing duties upon various articles of American merchandise, and the celebrated resolution, "That towards defraying the expenses of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp duties in the colonies." The only member of the House of Commons who opposed even the last-mentioned of these propositions—that which was felt by the colonists as the most decidedly unjustifiable interference with their rights, and the announcement of which, accordingly, chiefly set the country in a flame—was the Honourable Henry Seymour (afterwards General and Field-Marshal) Conway, the brother of Lord Hertford. Even at this the commencement of a course of proceedings which terminated so fatally, Mr. Conway protested against the right assumed by the British Parliament, of imposing taxes on the people of America. The bill for imposing duties on American merchandise received the royal assent on the 5th of April, 1764, and Parliament rose on the 19th of the same month. On the same day, Ministers ventured upon an act, which was considered at the time one of a very violent character—the dismissal of General Conway, both from his place of Groom of the Bedchamber, and from his regiment, avowedly on the ground of his vote, at the commencement of the Session, against the legality of General Warrants.

The next Session opened on the 10th of January, 1765. "Your brother," says Horace Walpole, writing on that evening to Lord Hertford, "is likely to make a very great figure; they have given him the warmth he wanted, and may thank themselves for it. Had Mr. Grenville taken my advice, he had avoided an opponent that he will find a tough one, and must already repent having drawn upon him." On Tuesday the 29th, the question of General Warrants was again brought forward by Sir W. Meredith, who moved a resolution, declaring their illegality, in nearly the same terms with that of the preceding Session. The debate was again a very protracted one, lasting till six on the following morning; when, upon a division, the numbers were found to be, 185 for the resolution, and 224 against it. Ministers met the motion in the same way they had done on the former occasion—namely, by moving an addition to the original resolution, which went to make it ridiculous. This was a practice not unusually resorted to in those days, but which would now be scarcely tolerated or attempted. One of its effects was, from the form in which the question was entered in the Votes, to make it appear that the contradiction and absurdity had proceeded from the mover of the original resolution, and been supported by him and his friends. In the present debate, great indignation was expressed on the part of the minority, at the employment of this discreditable manœuvre. We have before us a very interesting collection of original letters from General Conway to his brother, one of which, dated "31st January, 1765," gives a long account of this discussion, in which the writer himself took a prominent part. The conduct adopted by the Ministers seemed "to the friends of the original motion," says General Conway, "such an unparliamentary and indecent way of proceeding, and to myself in particular, that I spoke with some warmth on the subject, and said I thought it was trifling on a grave question—was childish and a mockery of Parliament—and, I doubt not, in warmth I said I thought *a shameful way of treating* this great national question. You may imagine such words were not let pass. I was called to order, but, after some altercation we maintained our ground; for Onslow called upon the Speaker to decide whether the words used were *orderly*, and he, with more steadiness than *we* expected, declared they were, and that, if I thought the manner of proceeding was such, I had a right to say so; and so that matter ended. . . . . It was not, on the whole, a good debate, which is commonly the case in a matter so worn out." After short notices of the principal speeches, and of the composition of the majority and minority, he adds, "An incident happened to-day, which throws some light, I think, on the method taken of altering the question, in order to condemn it; for Sir W. Meredith complaining that it would stand on the Votes entire, as amended, and, therefore, given as his motion in that strange shape, it was unanimously agreed in the House, that the Votes should state it at large; first, as it was moved; then, the amendment; and lastly, as it stood amended: and I was very glad of the opportunity of closing and approving this candid proceeding, as I had been condemned for too much warmth yesterday, and only took occasion from thence to hope that what now passed, and the difficulty yesterday's proceeding had brought us into, would be a reason for keeping to the usual Parliamentary modes of dismissing questions we did not like, instead of torturing them into shapes quite different from the intention of the movers, in order, afterwards, to reject them." He after-

wards says, "There was an absolute determination to make some motion on the subject of our dismissions; but there is so much fear and caution, and, indeed, I think, very poor timidity in so many quarters, that a vast number of those who think the thing wrong, are afraid to take any manly part in declaring so, for fear of future consequences; which goes so far, that I now question if the thing will be moved at all. Personally, I am much better pleased than if it was; politically, I think it shameful to give up the army into the hands of every arbitrary Minister; both as an indignity to our profession, and as an additional branch of that general corruption, which, I think, bids fair to ruin this country. I am not without a little personal mortification, in seeing how easily our private cause has been given up; but I feel much more in the tameness of seeing so coolly such a blow given to Parliamentary independency."

Then comes the following paragraph: "A strong notion prevails in the world—I fancy not without a good deal of foundation—that there is a great division among the Ministers, or, rather, between the Ministers and Lord Bute; but to what extent it has, or will go, I shall not pretend to foresee; nor can I say I feel any ways interested in the event. I am, I believe, the most injured by one party, but not partial to the other; and, for the misfortune of this country, I see no immediate prospect of forming any system of administration, that I think an object of any earnest expectation, from the tempers of men and the strange constitution of the times."

In point of fact, the Ministers, ever since their rupture with Lord Bute, the preceding year, had been losing ground at court, and they were now merely tolerated by their royal master. Some months before this, honours and appointments of various kinds had begun to be given away by the King, without asking either the consent or the advice of his responsible counsellors. In this way, in the preceding May, Dr. Terrick had been made Bishop of London, and Dr. Lambe of Peterborough; and the Lord Chancellor Henley had been created Earl of Northington. On the 3rd of August, 1764, we find Horace Walpole writing, "The royal family reside chiefly at Richmond, whither scarce necessary servants attend them, and no mortal else but Lord Bute." Again, under date of the 9th of September, he says, "The court, independent of politics, makes a strange figure. The recluse life led here at Richmond, which is carried to such an excess of privacy and economy, that the queen's friseur waits on them at dinner, and that four pounds only of beef are allowed for their soup, disgusts all sorts of people. The drawing-rooms are abandoned; Lady Buckingham was the only woman there on Sunday se'nnight. . . . In short, one hears of nothing but dissatisfaction, which, in the city, rises almost to treason." Again, on the 3rd of November, "Our politics are all at a stand. The Duke of Devonshire's death, I concluded, would make the Ministry all powerful, all triumphant, and all insolent. It does not appear to have done so. They are, I believe, extremely ill among themselves, and not better in their affairs, foreign or domestic. . . . . The unpopularity of the court is very great indeed—still I shall not be surprised if they maintain their ground a little longer." On the 22nd of January, 1765, he writes, "Lord Bute and George Grenville are so ill together, that decency is scarce observed between their adherents; and the moment the former has an opportunity, or resolution enough, he will remove the latter."

Matters were in this state when, in the beginning of April, the King was suddenly attacked by an alarming illness. Upon his recovery after a few weeks, his Majesty greatly surprised his Ministers at their first audience by laying before them a speech ready prepared, which he told them he intended to deliver to Parliament, proposing, among other things, that there should be vested in him the power of appointing the Queen, or any other person of the Royal Family, to act in case of his demise as Regent, during the minority of his successor. The Ministers, probably not disapproving of the measure recommended, whatever they may have thought of the rest of the proceeding, did not think proper to oppose his Majesty's intention; and he accordingly went down to the House of Lords, and delivered the speech from the throne. A bill in conformity with the royal suggestion was immediately brought into that House, where it underwent several warm discussions. A dispute having arisen as to the meaning of the words "or any other person of the Royal Family," Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, rose and declared that the Royal Family included only the descendants of George II. He added, that this was the construction put upon the words by the King himself. According to this interpretation, the bill excluded the Princess Dowager of Wales, his Majesty's mother. The circumstance gave deep offence to the King; and means were taken to let this be sufficiently understood by the public. The consequence was, that when the bill came down to the House of Commons, Mr. Morton, a near relation of the Earl of Bute, having moved that the name of the Princess should be expressly inserted, this amendment was carried by the large majority of 167 to 37.—Thus amended, the bill passed into a law.

It was during these transactions that the extraordinary scene took place recorded by Junius in the following passage: "The Ministers having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency Bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the King, reproached him in plain terms with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy; repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in strong convulsions." But notwithstanding all the difficulties of their position, the Ministry still seem to have considered that they were in little or no danger. Their strength lay in a single point—but there they believed themselves to be impregnable. They were detested by the Court—despised by the country—not well united among themselves;—their parliamentary force was by no means either of overwhelming numerical superiority, or perfectly to be depended on;—the rising discontents of America—for already the colonists, although no act of violence had yet been committed, had manifested universally the most determined resolution to resist the stamp duties—the symptoms, we say, of the storm that soon blew so furiously from this new quarter might well be supposed to add something to the threatening prospect that presented itself to Mr. Grenville and his associates. But against all this the members of the Government placed the inherent want of affinity among the several parties that sought their overthrow, and the apparent impossibility of constructing another administration out of such heterogeneous and discordant elements. How were the genuine old Whigs—the supporters of the somewhat modified politics of Pitt and his friends—the Pelhams and their connexions and the Tory adherents of the Earl of Bute—to be comprehended in the same Cabinet, or even long kept together in pursuit and defence of the same general course of policy?

The Court, however, determined to make a strong effort to bring about a change. Lord Bute having advised that overtures should be again made to Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Cumberland, the King's uncle, consented to conduct the negotiation; his Royal Highness had always steadily attached himself to the Whig party. The first meeting took place on the 15th of May, between the Duke and Lord Temple. On this occasion, the latter stated that the conditions upon which he and his friends would enter office were the following;—that certain foreign alliances should be formed: that those officers, both civil and military, who had been deprived of their appointments for their votes in Parliament, should be restored; that the excise on cider should be repealed; and that General Warrants and the seizure of papers should be wholly condemned. To all these demands his Royal Highness assented; but he stated that it was the King's desire that Lord Northumberland should be placed at the head of the Treasury—in other words, should be the Prime Minister. The Earl of Northumberland, whose son had married Lord Bute's daughter, was considered one of the most attached friends of the favourite. He held at this time the government of Ireland, in allusion to which appointment Lord Temple replied that he never would come into office under Lord Bute's Lieutenant; and with that the conference broke off.

On the 19th another interview took place between the Duke and Mr. Pitt, at the House of the latter at Hayes. It is said that Mr. Pitt had not in the interim had any communication with Lord Temple; but he was equally decided as that nobleman had been, when his Royal Highness mentioned the King's wish to give the Treasury to Lord Northumberland, in instantly declaring the proposition inadmissible.

On the 20th the Duke sent Lord Frederick Cavendish to Mr. Pitt with new terms. It was now proposed that the appointment of Lord Northumberland to the Treasury should

be given up, provided his Lordship were provided for in some other way. Mr. Pitt, however, insisted upon being left unshackled by any such conditions. He declared, as he had done to his Royal Highness the day before, that he was ready to go to St. James's, if he could carry the Constitution along with him. On receiving this answer, the Duke immediately offered the Treasury to Lord Lyttleton; but that nobleman declined entering into any negociation until he had consulted Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple. On this his Royal Highness advised the King to continue his present servants.

Horace Walpole gives some interesting details respecting the progress and results of these negociations. Writing to Lord Hertford on the 20th, after it became known that the attempt had failed, he says: "Words cannot paint the confusion into which everything is thrown. The four Ministers — I mean the Duke of Bedford, Grenville, and the two Secretaries — acquainted their master yesterday that they adhere to one another, and shall all resign to morrow, and perhaps must be recalled on Wednesday." On the 22nd he writes, — "The King is reduced to the mortification, and it is extreme, of taking his old Ministers again. They are insolent enough, you may believe. Grenville has treated his master in the most impertinent manner, and they are now actually digesting the terms that they mean to impose on their captive, and Lord Bute is the chief object of their rage; though I think Lord Holland will not escape, nor Lord Northumberland." In fact, both these noblemen were immediately afterwards dismissed from their offices, as was also Lord Bute's brother, the Honourable James Stuart Mackenzie, who held the office of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal for Scotland, and as such acted as a sort of Secretary of State for that country. The Ministers insisted, as the condition of their remaining in office, upon the King giving his consent to these removals. They also demanded that Lord Bute should not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of Government; and that the Marquis of Granby should be placed at the head of the army instead of the Duke of Cumberland, whom his Majesty had threatened to put in that place. "You have more than once," says Walpole to Lord Hertford, "seen your old master (George II.) reduced to surrender up his closet to a cabal, but never with such circumstances of insult, indignity, and humiliation!" On Friday the 24th, he writes,—"On Wednesday the Ministers dictated their terms; you will not expect much moderation; and, accordingly, there was not a grain. . . . . You may figure the King's indignation. He expressed his anger and astonishment, and bade them return at ten at night for his answer; but before that he sent the Chancellor to the junto, consenting to displace Mekinsy (Mackenzie), refusing to promise not to consult Lord Bute, though acquiescing to his not interfering in business, but with a peremptory refusal to the article of Lord Granby. The rebels took till next morning to advise on their answer, when they gave up the point of Lord Granby, and contented themselves with the modification on the chapter of Lord Bute."

It was thought by many that on this occasion Mr. Pitt showed more than a necessary degree of intractability. Mr. Burke, in a letter to Mr. Flood, dated the 18th of May, says; "Nothing but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together, but this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for, you may be assured, he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he may choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to himself, and every friend he has in the world, and with such a strength of power as will be equal to any thing but absolute despotism over king and kingdom. A few days will show whether he will take this part, or continue on his back at Hayes, talking fustian."

His Majesty, however, felt the thraldom to which he had been reduced so galling, that he soon renewed with increased determination his efforts to throw it off. This time he took the management of the negociation into his own hands, and on the 25th of June he sent for Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple to Buckingham House. The conditions he proposed were, that Mr. Stuart Mackenzie should be restored—that Lord Northumberland should be appointed Lord Chamberlain—and that his other friends should be continued in their present places. Mr. Pitt did not stand out against the two first of these stipulations; of the last he required a more specific statement; but Lord Temple declared against the whole, and the negociation of course again broke off. Lord Temple's conduct on this occasion is the more remarkable, from the circumstance, that about a month before, during the progress of the previous negociation, he had become reconciled to his brother, Mr. Grenville. Writing on the 22nd of May, Horace Walpole says; "I have a more extraordinary event to tell you than all I have related. Lord Temple and George Grenville were reconciled yesterday morning, by the intervention of Augustus Hervey; and perhaps the next thing you will hear may be, that Lord Temple is sent by this ministry to Ireland."

The attempt was notwithstanding once more renewed in another quarter. The Duke of Cumberland, having now obtained his Majesty's consent, to select as the successors of the present ministers, whatever other persons he chose, prevailed upon the Marquis of Rockingham to join him in the endeavour to form a new cabinet. The result was, that on the 10th of July, the Marquis of Rockingham was gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury, and the Honourable H. S. Conway and the Duke of Grafton, as the two Principal Secretaries of State. The most important of the other new appointments were, the Earl of Winchelsea as President of the Council, the Duke of Newcastle as Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. William Dowdeswell as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl of Northington was continued as Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Egremont as First Lord of the Admiralty. The Duke of Portland succeeded Earl Gower as Lord Chamberlain; and some other new appointments were also made in the inferior offices of the Household. The subordinate seats at the Boards of the Treasury, Admiralty, and Trade, were also for the most part filled with new men. It was on this change, that the afterwards celebrated Edmund Burke was introduced to public life, being appointed Private Secretary to the Premier, and brought into parliament for the borough of Wendover.

The confidence of the late ministers in their stability, had continued up to the last moment. "So blind were they to their true situation," observes the editor of Walpole's Letters to Lord Hertford, "that Mr. Rigby, who was as deep as any man in the ministerial councils, writes to a private friend—'I never thought, to tell you the truth, that we were in any danger from this last political cloud. The Duke of Cumberland's political system, grafted upon the Earl of Bute's stock, seems of all others the least capable of succeeding.' This letter was written on the 7th of July, and on the 10th the new ministry was formed."

[To be continued.]

REPORT FROM THE CHURCH COMMISSION.

The first Report from the Church Commission, which is dated the 17th of March, has just been printed.

Under the first head of 'Territory,' the Commissioners propose various alterations of the boundaries of the existing dioceses, the union of the sees of Llandaff and Bristol, and of those of St. Asaph and Bangor, and the erection of two new sees in the province of York, one at Manchester and the other at Ripon.

We present at length the second head of the Report, with the tables appended to it.

"REVENUE.

"In considering the subject of episcopal revenues, we have been materially assisted by the returns made to the commissioners appointed under a commission issued by your Majesty in the year 1832, and extended in the years 1833 and 1834, for inquiring (amongst other things) into the 'revenues and patronage belonging to the several archiepiscopal and episcopal sees in England and Wales.'

"These returns generally present the average of three years ending the 31st of December, 1831; but in some instances they contain corrections to a later date.

"As the greater part of the episcopal revenues arises from fines on the renewal of leases, of which some are granted for three lives, renewable when a life drops, and others for twenty-one years, renewable every seven, and in towns for forty years, renewable every fourteen, it is manifest that a period of three years is too short to exhibit a correct average of the annual value of the several sees; and that an average so taken will show an excess, where large fines have recently accrued, and a deficit where no fine, or an unusually small amount of fines has been received. But as this point has been adverted to by the bishops in estimating the pro-

bable increase or diminution of the incomes of their respective sees, we may venture to refer your Majesty to the following table, framed from those returns, as containing information sufficiently accurate for the purposes of this report.

Net Income on 3 years' average, ending Dec. 31, 1831.	Probable Causes of Increase or Diminution.	Estimated future net Income.
£.	DIOCESE.	£.
19,182	*Canterbury.*—Expected increase of 1544*l.*, shown by the following statement:—From fines, 1361*l.*, and from the diminution of the expenses of farm-buildings, repairs of 400*l.* £.1,766 Deduct therefrom in respect of yearly allowance to be henceforth made to lessees of estates of the see, for reversionary augmentations, to the amount of 1040*l.*, granted by the Archbishop to poor livings in the patronage of the see . . 222 £.1,544 One-fortieth part of a sum of 60,000*l.*, borrowed on mortgage under an act of Parliament for rebuilding Lambeth Palace, and making additions to the mansion at Addington, is payable yearly, with interest on the principal remaining unpaid. The present yearly payment amounts to 3,780*l.*, including interest, which will decrease at the rate of 60*l.* every year. The last payment will be in 1873.	17,060 gradually increasing to 20,700 in 1873
12,629	*York.*—The average annual amount of fines on renewals for the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, exceeded, from particular circumstances, the usual average by at least 2000*l.*, and there will be a further decrease of about twenty per cent. in the amount of the proceeds of the estates generally, from the diminution of the value of agricultural produce; the income of the see will also be further reduced by augmentations of the small livings in the patronage of the Archbishop, about to be made, in addition to those already granted.	10,600
13,929	*London.*—It is expected that there will be a decrease in the future average income arising from fines upon the renewals of leases for lives, and from woods and manorial profits, to the amount together of 1725*l.*, and a further decrease from intended augmentations of the livings in the patronage of the see, in addition to those already made. Besides which, one-twentieth part of the sum of 10,000*l.*, borrowed on mortgage for rebuilding London House, is payable yearly, with interest on the principal remaining unpaid. The last payment will be in 1839.	12,204 after 1839
19,066	*Durham.*—No accurate judgment can be formed as to the future average amount of fines on the renewal of leases of mines and quarries, as the profits attending them must depend principally upon the several districts in which the collieries will be worked. Since the above return, the Bishop has granted permanent augmentations to small livings in his patronage to the amount of 1170*l.* per annum out of the revenues of the see. No other ground for expecting increase or decrease.	17,890
11,151	*Winchester.*—The augmentations already made of small livings in the patronage of the see, will reduce the annual income by about 400*l.* It is intended further to augment all the small livings in the gift of the see to 200*l.* per annum. Except in respect of augmentations, there are no grounds for expecting that the future income will vary materially from the sum stated.	10,750
6,300	*St. Asaph.*—The greater part of the income of the see arises from tithes, which have gradually declined since 1827, when they amounted to 6636*l.* By a supplemental statement it appears that the produce of the tithes was in 1834, 5214*l.* which is below their average for the three years ending in 1831, by the sum of 607*l.*, and that the produce of the mines was in the same year 263*l.*, which is less than the same average by the sum of 415*l.*, showing the income of the year 1834 to be below the average stated by the sum of 1022*l.*; and there seems to be no prospect of improvement.	5,280
4,464	*Bangor.*—By a supplemental statement it appears that the tithes in the years 1833 and 1834 have fallen below the average of the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, by 650*l.*, or about that sum, and there is no prospect of increase. The average of fines is not expected to be more than 250*l.*, for many years to come.	3,814
5,946	*Bath and Wells.*—The net income is expected to be reduced to about 5500*l.* per annum, by the probable diminution of fines upon renewals.	5,500
2,351	*Bristol.*—The average upon the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, much exceeds the usual average. The living of Almondsbury, permanently annexed to the see, is not expected to vary in amount	2,350
2,213	*Carlisle.*—From an unusual receipt of fines on renewal of leases for lives, the gross annual income of the see on the last bishop's incumbency was about 3500*l.*; upon some late surveys the estimated annual value of the property has been less than on former valuations. Upon the whole, the gross yearly value of the see, which in 1832 was returned at 2585*l.*, may be estimated, upon an average of seven years, at 3000*l.* It should also be stated that one-twentieth part of a sum of 10,000*l.*, borrowed on mortgage for repairing and partly rebuilding Rose Castle, is payable yearly, with interest upon the remaining principal. The payments will cease in the year 1853.	3,000 after 1853
3,261	*Chester.*—Decrease expected, as the property of the see chiefly consists of tithes, which are falling in value.	3,260
4,229	*Chichester.*—The average amount of fines on renewals for the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, was greater than the general average receipts under that head. It is considered that the computed average income will be reduced by 400*l.* or 500*l.* per annum.	3,800
1,897	*St. David's.*—The average yearly receipts from fines on renewals of leases for three years, ending Dec. 31, 1831, were 214*l.*, whereas the average of the last ten years is 1150*l.* per annum; but this last-mentioned average cannot be depended upon in future.	2,800
11,105	*Ely.*—The estimate of the last three years is rather more than the average amount of the net annual produce of the see: as the two last years, particularly 1830, afforded fines for renewal of leases which seldom occur.	11,000
2,713	*Exeter.*—There will in future be 21*l.* per annum from the dividends on stock produced by the sale of houses under a local act. In other respects no increase or decrease is anticipated.	2,734
2,282	*Gloucester.*—A decrease in the revenues of this see will take place in consequence of the augmentation of small livings in the patronage of the see, made by the present Bishop. The amount of fines for renewals, included in this estimate, exceeds the average of the seven years preceding.	2,200
2,516	*Hereford.*—No expected increase or decrease	2,516
3,923	*Lichfield and Coventry.*—If the average of fines, as far as it can be ascertained from accessible documents, were to be taken upon a	4,350

Net income on 3 years' average, ending Dec. 31, 1831. £.	Probable Causes of Increase or Diminution.	Estimated future net Income. £.
	DIOCESE.	
	period of twenty-one years, it would exhibit a net income considerably larger than that which has been stated, but a material reduction of the future amount of fines is to be expected from the progressive diminution of the value of land. A decrease of the profits from woods is expected. The income will also be decreased by the augmentation of poor livings in the gift of the see intended to be made. Upon the whole it is considered, that at a distant period, the net income may average 4350*l.* per annum.	
4,542	*Lincoln.*—The estimate taken upon the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, exceeds the average of the three subsequent years by the sum of 680*l.* The property consists almost entirely of impropriate rectories, with dependent vicarages, the intended augmentations of which, in virtue of the late acts, will cause a further considerable diminution of the net annual proceeds.	4,200
924	*Llandaff.*—It is considered that upon a sufficiently extended average, the income from fines, which is stated at 73*l.*, might be taken at 400*l.* per annum; a corresponding increase of income is therefore expected.	1,250
5,395	*Norwich.*—The average amount of income, taken upon the three years ending Dec. 31, 1831, exceeds the average annual value of the revenues of the see, if computed upon the receipts for the last seven years, by the sum of 700*l.* per annum; and there will be a reduction of income by the augmentation of small livings in the gift of the see.	4,700
2,648	*Oxford.*—A decrease in the revenues of the see must be expected. The average of fines on renewal of leases for the three years ending Dec. 1, 1831, is found on calculation to exceed the average receipts from the same source which may reasonably be expected in future by about the sum of 1060*l.*, and a deduction of 90*l.* must be allowed for the depreciated value of tithes in hand. If the Crown shall be pleased to renew a lease granted on account of the small revenues of the see, which will expire in the year 1837, it is expected that *communibus annis*, the net value of the see will amount to 1658*l.*, or about that.	1,658 subject to the contingency stated in the preceding column.
3,103	*Peterborough.*—The total receipts may be expected to be less in future than the average of the three years ending in 1831, as the fines upon renewals of leases, as well as the tithes of Castor, a rectory permanently annexed to the see, are continually decreasing in the amount.	3,000
1,459	*Rochester.*—No expected increase or decrease.	1,459
3,939	*Salisbury.*—If the calculation were taken upon an average embracing a period of years in which it is probable that most of the leases for lives as well as for years would be renewed, the result would exhibit a net income, *communibus annis*, of not less than 5000*l.*, or between that sum and 6000*l.* per annum.	5,000
5,569	*Worcester.*—There is reason to expect a decrease of income, from the diminution of the amount of fines upon the renewal of leases.	6,500

"According to the foregoing table, the net income of all the bishoprics of England and Wales, in the year 1831, amounted, on an average of three years, to the sum of 157,737*l.*, and may now be calculated at about, 148,875*l.*; but it appears that this amount is very unequally distributed, the incomes of one half of the bishoprics falling below the sum necessary to cover the expenses to which a bishop is unavoidably subject. A different distribution of the episcopal revenues is the natural remedy of this inconvenience. Incomes must also be provided for the two new sees which are to be erected.

"If the total amount of the net income of the bishoprics, as stated in the second column of the preceding table, had been liable to no further diminution, we apprehend that these objects might have been nearly accomplished by such a distribution, without any addition to these incomes by means of commendams, either with or without cure of souls; the former of which additions we think ought to be altogether discontinued.

"This might be done by enabling the future incumbents of the richer sees either to transfer part of the estates to the poorer bishoprics, or to pay over annually a portion of their incomes to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, to be applied to the augmentation of such bishoprics; or either of these modes might be adopted, according to the particular circumstances of each case.

"The total amount, as above stated, cannot be, however, considered as the future income, for the reasons alleged in the third column, which shows a diminution of nearly 9000*l.* per annum; and a further diminution is also to be expected from the application, either in whole or in part, of impropriations, which form a considerable portion of the incomes of many bishoprics, and which in most instances they were compelled to accept in exchange for manors and estates, for the improvement of populous and poorly endowed vicarages and curacies connected with them.

"The total income of the bishoprics in England and Wales will thus no longer be sufficient to afford an adequate income to each bishop, merely by a different arrangement; and the most obvious mode of supplying the deficiency will be permanently to annex to some of the poorer bishoprics certain cathedral preferments, particularly in the chapters of St. Paul's and Westminster, on account of their position in the metropolis.

"In considering the incomes of the archbishops and bishops, it is proper to advert not only to the expenses necessarily incurred in journies for the purposes of confirmation, consecration, and other official duties—in maintaining antient and extensive houses of residence—in keeping hospitality—and in contributing to all objects connected with religion and charity, in a manner suitable to their station; but to a burden which presses heavily on newly-promoted bishops, who are seldom men of wealth. The unavoidable expenses attending their appointment are so considerable that they may be calculated at the income of one year in the most of the sees, and at much more than a year's income in the smaller ones.

"Upon the whole, we are of opinion, that where the annual income of a bishop amounts to 4500*l.*, it is not necessary to make any addition: nor would we recommend any diminution unless it exceed 5500*l.* But we think that the two archbishoprics, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, ought to have a larger provision than the rest.

"These arrangements, if carried into effect, will tend to promote the desirable object of diminishing the frequency of translation."

APPENDIX. No. I.

Present condition of the several Dioceses in England and Wales with reference to the Number of Benefices and to Population:—

Diocese.	Number of Benefices.	Population.
PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.		
Canterbury	343	402,885
St. Asaph	131	197,392
Bangor	124	153,344
Bath and Wells	441	403,908
Bristol	254	263,328
Chichester	267	236,950
St. David's	407	372,685
Ely	149	126,316
Exeter	611	773,251
Gloucester	281	275,806
Hereford	256	207,451
Lichfield and Coventry	606	983,783
Lincoln	1,234	855,039
Llandaff	192	183,990
London	635	1,688,899
Norwich	1,021	692,163
Oxford	209	139,581
Peterborough	290	186,193
Rochester	94	196,716
Salisbury	386	320,547
Winchester	416	780,214
Worcester	212	357,548
PROVINCE OF YORK.		
York	891	1,468,503
Carlisle	127	127,701
Chester	554	1,902,354
Durham	146	452,637

APPENDIX. No. II.

Condition of the several Dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the Number of Benefices and to Population, according to the proposed Alterations:—

Diocese.	Number of Benefices.	Population.
PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.		
Canterbury	381	423,069
St. Asaph and Bangor	253	339,450
Bath and Wells	441	403,908 unaltered.
Chichester	267	236,950 unaltered.
St. David's	391	365,646
Ely	554	393,347
Exeter	611	773,251 unaltered.
Gloucester	363	324,198
Hereford	264	218,392
Lichfield	459	612,555
Lincoln	780	506,745
Llandaff and Bristol	233	303,875
London	244	1,746,504
Norwich	809	568,285
Oxford	523	388,043
Peterborough	498	394,567
Rochester	536	471,813
Salisbury	398	315,405
Winchester	391	395,846
Worcester	355	573,020
PROVINCE OF YORK.		
York	595	583,132
Carlisle	285	435,432
Chester	246	462,506
Durham	152	459,964
Manchester	205	1,208,533
Ripon	153	739,748

Nos. 3 and 4 are Maps of England and Wales, showing the respective boundaries of the present and of the proposed dioceses.

The third, and concluding head of the Report, merely suggests some general preparations on the subject of PATRONAGE.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

An Account of the Net Public Income of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the Year ended 5th January, 1835, after abating the expenditure thereout defrayed by the several Revenue Departments, and of the actual Issues or Payments within the same Period, exclusive of the Sums applied to the redemption of Funded, or paying off Unfunded Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.

Income or Revenue.	Applicable to the Consolidated Fund.	Applicable to the Public Service.	Total.
Ordinary Revenues and Receipts.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Customs	15,393,128 18 7	3,009,400 0 0	18,402,528 18 7
Excise	14,892,023 7 8½	„ „	14,892,023 7 8½
Stamps	7,016,726 13 3	„ „	7,016,726 13 3
Taxes	4,550,613 10 8½	„ „	4,550,613 10 8½
Post-office	1,490,400 0 0	„ „	1,490,400 0 0
1s. 6d and 4s on Pensions and Salaries	14,438 2 3½	„ „	14,438 2 3½
Small branches of the King's Hereditary Revenues	34,451 13 11½	„ „	34,451 13 11½
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	20,080 2 4	„ „	20,080 2 4
Poundage Fees, Pells Fees, &c., in Ireland	3,998 1 11½	„ „	3,998 1 11½
	43,415,863 10 9½	3,009,400 0 0	46,425,263 10 9½
Other Receipts.			
Imprest and other Monies	18,554 8 10	358 3 1	18,912 11 11
Money received from the East India Company	„ „	60,000 0 0	60,000 0 0
Money received from the Bank of England on account of Unclaimed Dividends	„ „	5,680 7 6	5,680 7 6
£.	43,434,417 19 7½	3,075,438 10 7	46,509,856 10 2½

EXPENDITURE.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Funded Debt.		
Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt	24,158,879 3 11½	
Terminable Annuities	3,653,922 12 5½	
Total Charge of the Funded Debt, exclusive of £6,276 6s. 4d. the Interests on Donations and Bequests	27,812,801 16 5½	
Unfunded Debt		
Interest on Exchequer Bills	691,294 2 8	28,504,095 19 1½
Civil List	510,000 0 0	
Annuities and Pensions for Civil, Naval, Military, and Judicial Services, &c., charged by various Acts of Parliament on the Consolidated Fund	502,309 17 5	
Salaries and Allowances	177,780 6 11½	
Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions	181,449 0 10½	
Courts of Justice	433,609 17 8	
Miscellaneous Charges on the Consolidated Fund	465,004 13 9	2,270,152 16 8
		30,774,248 15 9½
Army	6,493,925 4 3½	
Navy	4,503,908 18 1	
Ordnance	1,068,223 0 0	
Miscellaneous, chargeable upon the Annual Grants of Parliament	2,061,395 4 8½	14,127,452 2 1
		44,901,700 17 10½
Surplus of Income over Expenditure		1,608,155 12 4½
£.		46,509,856 10 2½

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

(*Exclusive of Private Bills.*)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Bills which have received the Royal assent:

1. Exchequer Bills.
2. Transfer of Aids.
3. Newspapers Printers' Relief.
4. Chester Criminals Execution.

Bills brought in:

Feb. 26. A Bill to prevent non-residence of clergy.—*Lord Brougham.*

— A Bill to prevent spiritual persons in England and Ireland from having more preferments than one.—*Lord Brougham.*

— 27. A Bill for the abolition of oaths.—*Duke of Richmond.*

Mar. 2. A Bill to indemnify the governor-general and other persons in respect of certain acts done in the administration of the government of the British territories in the East Indies, subsequent to the 22nd April, 1834, and to make those acts valid—*Lord Ellenborough.*

— 10. A Bill for altering and amending the law regarding commitments by courts of equity for contempts, and the taking bills *pro confesso* in Ireland; and also,

A Bill to extend to Ireland certain provisions of an act made and passed in the first year of His Majesty's reign, entituled, "An Act for consolidating and amending the laws relating to property belonging to infants, femes covert, lunatics, and persons of unsound mind."—*Lord Chancellor.*

— 13. A Bill to consolidate the several ecclesiastical jurisdictions in England and Wales, and to enlarge the powers and authorities of such consolidated jurisdictions, and to alter and amend the law in certain matters ecclesiastical—*Lord Brougham.*

— 20. A Bill to authorise the Court of Directors of the East India Company to suspend the execution of the provisions of the Act of 3 & 4 Will. 4. c. 85, so far as they relate to the creation of the government of Agra.—*Lord Ellenborough.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 27. Chester Criminals' execution Bill "to explain an Act of the first year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual administration of justice in England and Wales, so far as relates to the execution of criminals in the county of Chester."—*Mr. Jervis.*

5. Imprisonment for Debt.—Bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, and to amend the law of debtor and creditor.—*Sir John Campbell.*

— Wills' execution.—Bill for the amendment of the law with respect to the execution of wills.—*Sir John Campbell.*

— Executors and Administrators.—Bill to amend the law relating thereto.—*Sir John Campbell.*

6. Copyholds.—Bill to facilitate the enfranchisement thereof.—*Sir John Campbell.*

9. Newspapers regulation Bill "to amend an act of the 38th Geo. III., for preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing and publishing of such papers in other respects, and to discontinue certain actions commenced under the provisions of the said act."—*The Solicitor-General.*

8. Court of Session Establishment (Scotland)—Bill for making certain alterations and reductions in the establishment of clerks and officers attached to the Court of Session in Scotland, and to diminish the expense of judicial procedure in that court—*The Lord Advocate.*
— Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland)—Bill for abolishing in Scotland imprisonment for civil debts of small amount, and for rendering more available the process of *cessio bonorum*, and restraining the arrestment of wages—*The Lord Advocate.*
10. Illegal Securities.—Bill to amend the law relating to securities given for gaming, usurious, and certain other illegal transactions.—*Mr. Rolfe.*
12. Witnesses Indemnity.—Bill to indemnify witnesses giving evidence before Parliament in cases of bribery.—*Mr. W. H. Ord.*
13. Registration of Voters.—Bill for the more effectual registration of persons entitled to vote in the election of members to serve in Parliament in England and Wales.—*Lord John Russell.*
— Lord Day's Observance.—Bill to promote the better observance of the Lord's day.—*Mr. Poulter.*
16. Bankrupts' Estates.—Bill to apply the interest thereof in discharge of expenses of the Court of Bankruptcy.—*The Master of the Rolls.*
18. Merchant Seamen Bill, "to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the merchant seamen of the United Kingdom, and for forming and maintaining a register of all the men engaged in that service."—*Sir James Graham.*
— Seamen Enlistment Bill, "for the encouragement of the voluntary enlistment of seamen, and to make regulations for more effectually manning his Majesty's navy."—*Sir James Graham.*
19. Colonial Passengers Bill, "to repeal an act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, for regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels from the United Kingdom to the British possessions on the continental islands of North America, and to make further provision for regulating the same."—*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*
20. Political Franchise.—Bill to protect the free exercise of the political franchise.—*Mr. Poulter.*
— Highways.—Bill for the amendment and consolidation of the laws relating to the highways in England and Wales.—*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*
23. Registration of Births, &c. (Scotland)—Bill to establish an uniform system of registration of births, marriages, and deaths, in Scotland.—*Mr. Robert Steuart.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

(*Exclusive of Committees to consider Bills.*)

House of Lords, 1835.

Feb. 25. Committee "to consider of the causes in which prints of the appellants' and respondents' cases now depending in this House, in matters of appeals and writs of error, have not been delivered pursuant to the standing orders of this House."
27. Committee "to consider of some additions to the library of this House, and of other matters relating thereto."
— Committee "to consider of the proceedings had in execution of the measures recommended in the reports of the Lords' committees upon the office of clerk of the Parliaments in the sessions 1824 and 1826."
March 3. Committee "to consider and report upon such plan as may be most fitting and convenient for the permanent accommodation of the Houses of Parliament."
24. Committee "for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the present state of the several gaols and houses of correction in the counties, cities, and corporate towns within England and Wales, upon the rules and discipline therein established, with regard to the treatment of unconvicted, as well as convicted prisoners; and also, whether the sentences under which convicted prisoners are confined, are, or can be, therein properly or efficiently carried into execution; and farther, to report whether any and what regulations appear to be necessary in the laws now in force, for the government and regulation, or in the construction of such gaols and houses of correction, in order to ensure an uniformity of discipline throughout the whole, as well as the proper and efficient execution of such sentences."

House of Commons, 1835.

February 25. Committee, "to whom shall be referred all reports from committees on petitions for private bills, in which it shall be stated that any of the standing orders of this House have not been complied with."
— Committee on expiring laws, for the purpose of inquiring into what temporary laws of a public and general nature are about to expire during the present session, or at any period intervening between the termination of the present session and the assembling again of Parliament.
March 2. Committee "to consider and report upon such plan as may be most fitting and convenient for the permanent accommodation of the Houses of Parliament."
— Committee of sixteen members (renewed at the commencement of each session) to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the Library.
3. Committee for classifying and arranging all petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as complain of undue returns, or relate to private bills.
5. Committee "to take into consideration the best mode of publishing correct and authentic lists of the divisions."
— Committee "to consider the military establishments and expenditure of the British empire in the colonies, in completion of the inquiry commenced in the last Session of Parliament."
6. Committee "to consider the manner in which the journals, bills, and papers are prepared and printed for the use of both Houses of Parliament, their numbers, expense, distribution, and quantity in store, the number of Acts of Parliament printed for the use of both Houses of Parliament, and for the public service, their expense and distribution; also, those for the use of the public, and the prices at which sold, and the establishment requisite for conducting the same; to consider whether any and what alteration can be made in the existing system, with benefit to the public."
9. Committee "to examine the petitions presented to this House (during the last and previous sessions) from the hand-loom weavers, and to report their observations thereon to the House," in continuation of the labours of the committee of last session.
11. Committee "to consider the most effectual means of preventing bribery, corruption, and intimidation, in the election of members to serve in Parliament."
17. Committee "to inquire into the present state of the education of the people in England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last Session of Parliament for the erection of school-houses, and to consider the expediency of further grants in aid of education, and to report their observations thereupon to the House."
17. Committee "to inquire into the amount of advances made by the commissioners of public works in Ireland, the regulations under which they were made, the purposes to which they have been applied, and the amount of repayments; to consider also the various reports made by committees and commissioners on the subject of reclaiming waste lands in Ireland, and to what extent the suggestions which they contain have been complied with."
18. Committee "to examine into the provisions of the act of last session for establishing uniformity of weights and measures, and to consider of such amendments in that act as may be calculated to carry its objects more fully and satisfactorily into effect."
24. Committee "to inquire into the nature, character, extent, and tendency of Orange Lodge Associations or Societies in Ireland, and to report their opinion thereon to the House."
[Names of the members of this committee:—Mr. Finn, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Jackson, Lord Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Pease, Mr. Bethel, Mr. Edward Buller, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, Colonel Wood, Mr. Ed. John Stanley, Mr. Fox Maule, Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Ward, Mr. Nicholl, Mr. O'Loghlen, Mr. Alexander Pringle, Sir James Graham, Sir John Yarde Buller, Colonel Connolly, and Colonel Perceval.—Mr. Shaw and Colonel Perceval have been discharged from farther attendance, and Mr. Finch and Mr. Grove Price added to the committee.]
24. Committee "to take into consideration the petition of the electors of Chatham, complaining of the conduct of Colonel Tremenheere."
— Committee "to inquire into sinecure offices in the colonies, and into the returns ordered by the House on the 24th of February, 1834, of all compensations for sinecure offices and civil offices abolished, and to report their observations thereupon to the House."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[The Committee for arranging and classifying public petitions presented to the House of Commons, consists of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. James Oswald, Mr. O'Connell, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Hume, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Clay, Mr. Tooke, and Mr. Green.

"*Memorandum:*—Resolved, that every member presenting a petition to the House do affix his name at the beginning thereof."]

Four reports have been issued, the fourth being dated the 13th March, 1835.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Scotland, in support	22	4,735
Church of Ireland, in support	1	697
Tithes, Ireland, for relief	1	1,404
Church rates, for relief	1	44
Tithes, for abolition	2	188
Colonies.		
Lower Canada, for redress of grievances	1	66

	Petitions. No. of	No. of Sigs.
Taxes.		
Attorneys' certificates, for repeal of duty	2	4
Malt tax, for repeal	120	33,73
Spirit licenses, repeal of duty	4	722
Miscellaneous.		
Poor-laws Amendment Act, for repeal or amendment	2	235
Agricultural distress, for relief	10	7,013
Hand-loom weavers, for relief	4	10,826
Imprisonment for debt, for abolition	2	78
Factories' Regulation Act, for amendment	5	5,470
Commanders and officers of the East India Company's Service, for relief	1	57
Ministers and congregation of a Presbyterian church in connexion with the Synod of Ulster, for an augmentation of the *Regium Donum*	1	269
Weights and Measures Act, for repeal or amendment	3	432
Private miscellaneous petitions	9	10

NEW MEMBERS.

The Hon. Charles Ewan Law for Cambridge University, in the place of the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton, called to the House of Lords.

The Right Hon. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, for Canterbury city, in the place of Frederick Villiers, Esq. unseated by the decision of a Select Committee.

Bankruptcy Analysis from February 24 to March 20.

Brewers, 4; booksellers, 2; builders, 3; cabinet-maker, 1; carpenters and joiners, 4; carpet-warehouseman, 1; cattle salesmen, 2; cheese-factors, 2; clothiers, 2; cloth-manufacturer, 1; coal-dealer, 1; corn-factors, 2; cotton-spinners, 2; currier, 1; drapers, 3; druggists 2; dyer, 1; engineers, 2; earthenware merchant, 1; factor, 1; flour-factor, 1; grocers, 8; hardwareman, 1; hatters, 2; horse-dealer, 1; innkeepers, 4; ironmongers, 2; jewellers, 2; leather-dresser, 1; linendrapers, 2; lodging-house keepers, 2; mason, 1; merchants, 5; oilman, 1; painter, 1; paper-manufacturers, 2; pawnbroker, 1; printer, 1; plumber, 1; porter merchant, 1; saddler, 1; salt-dealer, 1; shipowners, 2; ship-broker, 1; scrivener, 1; silversmith, 1; stationer, 1; surgeons, 3; tailors, 2; tea-dealer, 1; victuallers, 5; wine-merchant, 1; wire-worker, 1; woollen-draper, 1; upholsterer, 3. Total, 103. Total from the commencement of the year, 281.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MARCH, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The first month of the Parliamentary Session has been distinguished by a busy succession of interesting discussions and events.

On the 24th of February, the Address in answer to his Majesty's Speech was carried in the Lords without a division, and even without any amendment being proposed, but not without a debate of considerable length. It turned almost entirely upon the late change of administration, and the chief speakers were Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and the Lord Chancellor; but no disclosures of much importance were made. The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon expressed their intention of supporting the new government in so far as they could approve of its measures, though they could not give it their confidence.

The same evening, in the House of Commons, the Address was moved by Lord Sandon, and seconded by Mr. Bramston; after which Lord Morpeth moved, that in room of the two concluding paragraphs should be substituted words expressing a trust that his Majesty's councils would be directed in the spirit of well-considered and effective reform—that in the same liberal and comprehensive policy which had dictated the reform of the representation and the abolition of negro-slavery, the Municipal Corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control, all the well-founded grievances of the Protestant Dissenters removed—and the abuses in the Church, which impair its efficiency in England, and disturb the peace of society in Ireland, corrected—and also representing to his Majesty, that his Majesty's faithful Commons begged leave submissively to add, that they could not but lament that the progress of these and other reforms should have been unnecessarily interrupted and endangered by the dissolution of the late Parliament. This amendment, having been seconded by Mr. Bannerman, gave rise to a debate, which lasted for three nights. The principal speakers for the original Address were, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Richards, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Robinson, Lord Stanley, Mr. Praed, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Sergeant Goulburn, and Sir James Graham; and for the Amendment, Mr. Grote, Mr. Poulter, Mr. Ward, Dr. Lushington, Lord John Russell, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Fox Maule, Mr. Gisborne, Lord Howick, Mr. T. Duncombe, and Mr. O'Connell. When the House divided on Thursday night, the numbers appeared to be, for the Address, 309; for the Amendment, 316: thus giving the Opposition a majority of 7 over the ministry. Immediately after the division, Sir Robert Peel intimated that it was possible he might take the sense of the House again on the question of bringing up the Report; but on the following evening he stated, that, after having made inquiries, he was convinced he could not succeed in that attempt. It is understood that Lord [illegible]y and his friends, who had, in the division, voted with [illegible]ers, would not have gone with them in trying to re[illegible] the decision to which the House had come. In the course of the debate, Lord Stanley said that he would go the whole length of the amendment upon the subject of Corporation Reform; and that the omission of any particular notice of that subject, both in the Speech from the Throne, and the exposition of the intentions of the new ministry which had been given to the House by Sir Robert Peel, led him to look upon the government with greater jealousy than he otherwise should have done. Lord Howick said, that he did not consider that the necessary effect of carrying the Amendment would be to remove the present administration from office; he should scarcely give the vote he intended to give, if it were to have that result. But, although he did not wish for the immediate retirement of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, he should regard it as a great calamity if the present government should continue without any change.

The Address of the Commons was presented to his Majesty on Saturday, the 28th. In his answer, his Majesty expressed his thanks for the assurances contained in the Address of the disposition of the Commons to co-operate with him in the improvement, with a view to the maintenance, of our institutions in Church and State. He then added, "I learn with regret that you do not concur with me as to the policy of the appeal which I have recently made to the sense of my people. I never have exercised, and I never will exercise, any of the prerogatives which I hold, excepting for the single purpose of promoting the great end for which they are entrusted to me—the public good: and I confidently trust that no measure, conducive to the general interests, will be endangered or interrupted in its progress by the opportunity which I have afforded to my faithful and loyal subjects, of expressing their opinions through the choice of their representatives in Parliament."

When this answer was reported to the House on Monday, Mr. Hume contended that no thanks ought to be returned for it; but he did not persist in his objection.

The same evening, on the order of the day being read for the House going into a Committee of Supply, Sir Robert Peel stated, in answer to questions put to him by Lord John Russell, that he had not felt it his duty, in consequence of the vote on the Address, to tender his resignation—that, with respect to the Irish Church, he remained of opinion that ecclesiastical property ought not to be diverted from strictly ecclesiastical purposes, but that any measures, not inconsistent with that principle, which might be recommended by the Church Commissioners appointed by the late government, should have his best consideration—that he had no motive, or intention, to obstruct Corporation Reform—and, finally, that as to the rumours about another dissolution of Parliament, and the alleged intention of the government, in case the Mutiny Bill should not pass, to keep up a standing army in defiance of Parliament,—the first he had never sanctioned, either directly or indirectly, and the second he had never heard a whisper of, until he had heard it from Lord John Russell's own lips.

On the following evening a discussion of considerable length took place on a motion made by Mr. O'Dwyer, for the production of a copy of any order recently issued to officers commanding troops in Ireland, directing that, in the event of any collision between the King's troops and the populace, the practice of firing over the heads of the peasantry should be discontinued, and that the troops should always fire with effect. The motion was resisted by ministers, and also by Mr. Littleton and other members of the Opposition; and it was eventually withdrawn, on the understanding that effectual steps would be taken by the government to give publicity to the order in some other way.

Mr. Gisborne then moved, "That in all cases in which an election shall be declared void, on the ground of bribery or treating, it is expedient that the expense of the petitioners should be borne by the public." The resolution was opposed by the Attorney-General, Mr. Wynn, and Sir Robert Peel; and supported by Sir John Campbell and Mr. Hume. It was at last withdrawn by the mover for the present.

In answer to a question by Sir John Campbell, the Attorney-General stated that he would shortly move for leave to bring in a bill for the administration of justice in England, which, he believed, would meet the views of the public as to the establishment of local courts.

The greater part of the evening of Wednesday the 4th, was occupied with a discussion which arose on a question asked by Mr. Finn, as to whether it was true that 182 addresses from Orange societies had been presented to his Majesty on the 26th of February, and answers returned to the parties stating that the addresses had been most graciously received? The question appeared to take ministers by surprise—and the only defences they offered to the charge of having returned such answers to the addresses of associations alleged to be illegal were, first, that the illegality of the Orange Lodges had never been judicially declared; and secondly, that the addresses had been received and answered merely according to the usual forms. On the following Friday the subject was again brought forward by Mr. Sheil, who moved for the production of copies of the addresses alluded to, and also for a copy of a letter written by Lord Manners when Chancellor of Ireland, relative to the illegality of Orange societies, and for the opinions of the Irish Attorney-General and Solicitor-General on the same point. The latter part of the motion was resisted by ministers, and was eventually withdrawn; the production of the addresses and answers was agreed to.

After the above-mentioned conversation on Wednesday, a division took place, in a Committee of the whole House, on an amendment moved by the Attorney-General to the Chester Criminals Execution Bill. The amendment was carried by a majority of 115 to 55.

In the House of Lords on Friday the 6th, Lord Radnor moved for copies of the oaths taken at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and the motion gave rise to some discussion, in the course of which the practice of the universities was condemned by Lord Brougham, and defended by the Duke of Wellington and the Bishops of Llandaff and Gloucester. The motion was agreed to; but Lord Radnor has since intimated his intention of not pursuing the matter further for the present in consequence of its having been taken up by the universities themselves.

On Monday the 9th, in the House of Commons, the Great Western Railway Bill having been read a second time without opposition, the Marquis of Chandos divided the House on its committal, when the numbers appeared to be for the committal, 165; and against it, 0.

Mr. Roebuck afterwards, on presenting a petition from certain members of the Legislative Council and of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, entered at considerable length into the grievances complained of by many of the inhabitants of that province; and in the course of the discussion which followed, Sir Robert Peel stated that it was the intention of the Government immediately to send out a Commissioner to the colony to inquire on the spot into the state of matters, with a view to their adjustment on fair and equitable terms.

This evening the Solicitor-General brought in a bill to indemnify those proprietors of newspapers who had omitted to comply with certain of the regulations contained in an act of the 38th George III. respecting the printing and publishing of newspapers, from penalties which they had thereby incurred. The bill received the warm approbation of all parties.

On Tuesday the 10th, in a very full House, the Marquis of Chandos, pursuant to notice, proposed his resolution for the Repeal of the Malt Tax. The debate that followed lasted till nearly one o'clock in the morning. When the House at length divided, the numbers were—for the resolution, 192; and against it, 350. On this occasion most of the adherents of the late ministry voted in the majority; Mr. Charles Wood declared that he was happy to give the present government the same support which he and his friends had, in similar circumstances, received from Sir Robert Peel. Several members also voted with ministers who had either expressly pledged themselves at their election to take a different side, or had at least led their constituents to believe that they would. This led Mr. Spring Rice to remark that those pledges certainly were awful things; even when honestly meant; they might sometimes be given in ignorance, and could not be redeemed by members without a gross violation of the duties they owed to the community at large. Sir Roger Griesley frankly stated that, pledged as he was to vote for the repeal, he considered himself bound to oppose the motion on the single ground that the inevitable result of its being carried would be the dissolution of the present ministry. The honourable member the next day published an address to his constituents, in which he attributed the determination he had taken to a kind of prophetic inspiration which he could not explain, but which had before occurred to him, and had this time come on after he had passed the whole night between Sunday and Monday without sleep, and in deep and anxious reflection. The Marquis of Chandos's resolution was warmly supported by Mr. Hume.

On Wednesday, Mr. Hume, who had on a former day given notice that he would move at the proper time that the grant of the supplies should be limited to six months, and had afterwards amended his notice by limiting the term to half that length, intimated, in answer to a question from Sir Robert Peel, that either he himself or another member would certainly make the motion in the latter form on the Friday following.

A division then took place on a motion which had been made by Mr. Ewart, that the consideration of no new business should be in future proposed after eleven o'clock at night. The motion, which was opposed by Sir Robert Peel, and supported by Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, and others, was negatived by a majority of 130 to 65.

In the latter part of the evening, various bills, most of which we shall have occasion to notice in a later stage of their progress, were allowed to be brought in, or read a first or second time, without opposition.

On Thursday Mr. Alderman Wood moved the second reading of a Bill for enabling the Corporation of London to improve Smithfield Market; but we rejoice to say that this attempt to perpetuate one of the greatest nuisances in the metropolis was signally defeated, the measure being thrown out by the decisive majority of 142 to 27.

Mr. Hume then rose, and remarked that he had answered the question put to him the day before by Sir Robert Peel only conditionally, and that he had now to state that no motion for limiting the supplies to a short period would be brought forward. The reason which the honourable member assigned for this change of purpose was, that his friends did not consider such a motion would be sufficiently expressive of the want of confidence felt by the House in his Majesty's Ministers. He added that, on some subsequent occasion, the question of a want of confidence would be brought forward in a more decisive manner. In answer to Sir Robert Peel, he afterwards said that no such question would be brought forward in any shape on the day following, but that if it rested with himself there should be no delay in proposing it. "At all events," he concluded, "it will be brought forward on the very first fit and proper moment that occurs."

The Attorney-General then announced the plan of the Government for the improvement of the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, and obtained leave to bring in a bill for effecting it. The principal feature of this proposed reform is the abolition of all the existing ecclesiastical courts, and the establishment of a single new general court to sit in London. The measure received the warm commendations of Sir John Campbell, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson. Mr. Hume maintained that the present Government deserved no credit for bringing it forward; Sir Robert Peel, he said, had merely crept into the seat of

case of need. Are the affairs of the Queen and Constitutionalists so prosperous that they can be left to go alone? Is Don Carlos so far from the Biscayan provinces that the coasts thereof may be left open with safety? If England thus declares off, the rest of them will not believe there is any blockade at all, and the first to run in with warlike stores for Don Carlos, if he or his foreign agents can only find money to buy them, will be our own British merchantmen.

Spain has also had her partial changes of Ministers. We mentioned last month the retirement of Llauder the Minister of War, who has been succeeded by General Valdez. Señor de la Dehesa has been named Minister of Justice, and Señor Medrano (*ad interim*), Minister of the Interior. It has, however, been carefully announced that these changes do not involve any alteration in the policy of the Cabinet. We wish they might imply some change in its action and some improvement in promptness and decision; but it is hard judging of a ministry hampered by conflicting prejudices on the one hand, and by a beggared exchequer on the other.

On the 22nd of February the small town of Los Arcos, with 250 prisoners, 500 muskets, and a considerable number of powder-bags, and soldiers' great coats, was taken by Zumalacarreguy. The Carlists have also continued to annoy Elisondo, but have not succeeded in capturing that place, weak and almost contemptible as it is. There are also reports of other bush-fights, where the advantages have been all for the Queen; and it is said, that in a skirmish of some consequence, during which old Mina mounted his horse and charged at the head of his cavalry, the Carlists were completely beaten We regret to see that the civil war, spreading beyond Navarre and the Biscayan provinces, is making progress in Catalonia. The notorious priest, Merino, whom, on the authority of the Madrid papers, we reported dead last month, has come to life again, and is fighting away for the cause of Don Carlos and absolutism with as much clerical unction as ever.

A pamphlet has recently appeared in France, entitled, "Legitimacy, the only Salvation for Spain." It seems to be a silly affair enough! The writer, whose talents are worthy of the cause he advocates, pretends to give an authentic account of Don Carlos's mysterious disappearance from London—his journey through France—and apparition on the other side of the Pyrenees; and in all this he attempts to attach the same personal romantic interest to the Don, that old General Dermoncourt (or rather a clever man of letters for him), bestowed on the Duchess of Berry, during her *scapade* in the Vendee. The Duchess's romance ended in a '*Roman Comique*'); but we are afraid the pamphleteer will not be able to make the Don a hero of romance, at any time.—This writer says,

"On his arrival in England, the persecuted competitor for the Spanish throne resolved to redeem his pledge, given to the Royalists of Navarre and Biscay, before he left Portugal. A messenger from Zumalacarreguy met him at Portsmouth, and informed him of all that was passing in the Northern provinces.* * * * He had been advised to risk the chance of arriving by sea, and suitable vessels were prepared for him; but, exercising his own judgment, he preferred the risk through France. In the evening of the 1st he secretly left Gloucester Lodge by the garden gate, and entered a hackney-coach stationed in the road for his reception. He alighted at the residence of a gentleman in town, and in the secret, where his mustachios were cut off, and his hair, rather of a reddish cast, dyed dark brown. This operation *was performed by a lady*, who was very much affected, and *wept when she recollected the dangers to which the lineal descendant of Philip V. was about to expose himself.*"

This touching grief of the fair operator was met with smiles and jokes by "the lineal descendant of Phillip V." who by the way, was a very indifferent King, though the first of the Bourbon dynasty of Spain.

"The good King went through the innocent process of disguising his person with great good humour. He rallied the timid operatress, anticipated success in his design, and smiled when he thought of the disappointment of his enemies. 'Fortunately for me,' said the monarch, his countenance beaming with hope and confidence, 'they have never known my real character, and this will favour my project.'"

It was of course a fine part of his real character, that he should be thus gay and jocose, when on the point of embarking in an enterprise which was to prolong the curses of civil war in his native country, and cause the death and misery of thousands of his own countrymen. But let us hear the rest of this marvellous evasion-which, we doubt not, if things prosper with them, will some day be made an episode in an ultra-absolute epic poem.

"After a slight supper, provided with a travelling-dress and a French passport, the King quitted London at midnight in a post-chaise, with one companion, for Brighton. There he embarked for Dieppe, and reached Paris in safety. He stopped at the Hotel Meurice, dined with M. Jauge the banker, witnessed the performance of the opera of *Robert le Diable*, for a moment pondered upon the situation of that kingdom, *to the sovereignty of which he himself had collateral claims*, and departed for Bordeaux. Here he stopped an entire day, and travelled comfortably to Bayonne. He crossed the frontier at the time named by himself, and on the 11th was at the head of his brave Navarrese and Biscayan legions, safe in Elisondo. Several persons in London were in the secret of the King's departure; and to their credit it ought to be stated, that no mention was made of the occurrence, nor was it known till the French discovered that their vigilance had been baffled."

There is one position in all this most eminently dramatic, and that is where the disguised Don sits in a French theatre, listening to Robert the Devil, and dreaming of the French throne.

PORTUGAL.

In our last retrospect we said we doubted the reports which represented Don Miguel as having secretly left Italy, and returned to Portugal. At the end of February, having quitted Genoa, he was at Venice; and, as we are informed by the Vienna papers, which can state such solemn matters only by the sanction of Ministers, the Austrian Government had intimated to the Don its wish that he would not think of settling at Venice, or in any part of the Emperor's dominions.

The Portuguese Cabinet has also undergone some changes. The Bishop of Coimbra has resigned the Home Department, and been raised to the Chamber of Peers, his portfolio being taken by M. Agostino J. Freire, formerly Minister for the Marine. Count Villa Réal succeeds to Freire's place; the Count's, or that of the Foreign Office, being taken by Palmella. A bill brought in for the complete secularization of the monks and nuns of the suppressed orders has only been partially carried. Fearing to shock popular prejudices too much, the Cortes would not vote the monks free to marry, but the nuns are to take husbands if they can get them. A petition for dissolving the Chambers was thrown out by a very large majority. Marshal Saldanha and some other ultra-liberal Members who had previously signed it, having voted against it.

The Lower Chamber has passed votes of thanks to Admiral Sartorius, Colonel Hodges, and others, who, in a military and civil capacity, had done good service to Don Pedro and the Constitutional cause. But it has also carried a law of excessive severity and of a most extensive operation, depriving of all employments, pensions, honours, titles and decorations they may have obtained under Don Miguel, all such persons as presented petitions or representations to that prince to induce him to declare himself King; all such as signed the act of the Estates of the Kingdom, which confirmed him in his power; all such as accepted any office from his accursed government (*damnado governo*), to which they were not entitled in rotation; and all those generally who served him as magistrates, or abetted him in usurping the throne. A few mitigating clauses are extended to those persons who may have been *compelled* to serve the tyrant, and who afterwards espoused the cause of the young Queen Donna Maria; but the act as it stands bears upon an immense number of individuals, and must keep a large portion of that number in poverty and absolute want. The bill however was carried after a very short debate, during which only three dissentient voices were heard.

Ministers have got rid of the noisy Count Saldanha, by appointing him Ambassador at Paris. Some Miguelites have been arrested for uttering seditious cries, and two or three more of them have been assassinated. This imprudence on the one side, and vengeance on the other, seem to have been excited by a spurious proclamation, with Don Miguel's name affixed to it, announcing that the prince

would speedily return to Portugal, backed by the Holy Alliance. On the whole, however, Lisbon is considered as in a state of extraordinary tranquillity. Measures have been taken for the regular sweeping and cleansing of the streets, which used to be for the greater part surpassingly filthy, and even the great illuminator, Gas, is spoken of for the whole city.

SWITZERLAND.

This country is still kept in a state of uneasiness by her neighbours, on account of her persisting to afford refuge and protection to a number of Polish, German, Savoyard, and Italian political fugitives and exiles. On the 2nd of March, three regiments of Baden marched to Serrach, about four miles from the Swiss frontier, and posted themselves along the Rhine, from Basle to Courterun. This force, it is said, will be supported by Austrian, Bavarian, and Wurtemberg contingents; the whole to form a cordon.

The council of government of Zurich, has, as far as is compatible with honour, hospitality and independence, complied with the demands of the neighbouring governments, in ordering that—"All foreigners who shall establish or prepare political associations in our canton, shall be immediately expelled from it. Those who shall have taken part in deliberations, or participated in the violent disturbance of tranquillity in the neighbouring states, shall be arrested and delivered over to the tribunal to be tried and sentenced."

We wish all the other cantons would follow this reasonable example. The more excited party in Switzerland, we are aware, maintained that such measures will not satisfy the despotic powers who aim at coercing the free Swiss in many other points. But let them give up what is reasonable and just, and then they will be able to defend with better effect what is otherwise in the demands of Austria, Prussia, Baden, Savoy, &c. Now it *does* seem reasonable that those states should demand from the cantons not to convert themselves into casting houses and *fabrics* of insurrections and revolutions, and that they should keep in order the fire-brands and madmen they give asylum to. It may appear ridiculous enough to us that such great or considerable states should be kept in alarm by the presence or close neighbourhood of a few weak bands of refugees, without arms or money, or any *point d' appui*; but then it is in the very nature of their governments to be timid; and be it remembered, these refugees on the frontiers have not only been detected in exciting their friends (particularly in Piedmont) to rise, but have, on one occasion, made an open armed attack on the territory of Savoy, where they both lost and spilt blood.

Some of the cantons, we know, have already made prudent regulations on this head, and they are generally, we believe, disposed to do what is right; but Berne is now ruled by a new party, unaccustomed to the niceties of government, and enthusiastic for liberty in the abstract—and Birne is this year *Vorort* or President of the general Swiss diet. After all, we admire the spirit and hospitality of the honest republicans. They manage these things differently in France! For nearly a year past the French government has been in the habit of seizing such of the refugees as made disturbances on her frontiers or elsewhere, and sending them in charge of gens-d'armes to Calais, where they are forcibly embarked for Dover, "as if" says one of the Italian sufferers "England had become the Botany-Bay of Louis Philippe."

AUSTRIA.

The Emperor of Austria, whose health had long been declining, expired at Vienna, on the 1st of March, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Francis Joseph Charles, commonly called Francis I., Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, of Lombardy, Venice, &c., &c., &c., was born at Florence, on the 12th of February, 1768. He succeeded his father, the Emperor Leopold II., in the states of his house, on the 1st of March, 1792; was crowned King of Hungary on the 6th of June, elected "Roman Emperor" on the 7th, and crowned in that capacity on the 14th of July. On the 5th August of the same year (1792) he was crowned King of Bohemia. In 1804 he declared himself hereditary Emperor of Austria; and in 1806 he dropped the merely fictitious title of Emperor of Germany, &c. He had been four times married, and has left four children; all of whom were by his second wife, a princess of the Neopolitan Bourbon branch. His eldest son and successor, Ferdinand Charles Leopold Joseph Francis Marcellin (now the Emperor Ferdinand, &c.), was born on the 19th of April, 1793, and is now forty-two years old—a very good mature age to govern—if he had any talent, which has always been very much doubted.

So complete a control is exercised over all and every part of the German press, that the illnes of the Emperor was scarcely mentioned by the papers, and not a word escaped as to his "last scene of all"; but only, on a sudden, it was proclaimed that he was dead, "and there an end." His life had been sufficiently checkered. He began to reign in times of trouble and revolution, when a "fierce democracy made foot-balls of many crowns, and when the *prestige* of royalty generally began to wane and wax dim in Europe. He was soon engaged in long, most sanguinary, and most unfortunate wars. A man that seemed born for the ruin of his empire; beat army after army, heaped degradation on degradation, and twice marched as a conqueror to Vienna, where finally Francis was fain to obtain peace by marrying a daughter of his proud imperial line to the Corsican soldier of fortune, who, be it said, after that ill-augured union was never the man he had been. All these things are of notoriety, but the wonderful power of resistance in the empire and in the Emperor,—the faculty of standing an indefinable quantity of defeat and beating, and then of rising again, formidable in numbers, to renew the contest—the patience, the resignation, the passive force—the *vis inertiæ* of the Austrian empire, have hardly been sufficiently attended to. An expression of astonishment which Buonaparte made use of in the height of his prosperity, marks this in a strong manner. It was, "*Cette vieille maison d' Autriche ne meurt jamais!*" It lived to see him, the conqueror, die a prisoner at St. Helena.

A great deal of talk is now heard about the Emperor Francis's character and domestic virtues. The character of an absolute monarch, when he does not happen to be a fool, and wholly subservient to ministers and favourites, is best seen in the acts of his government; and those of Francis's cabinet speak for him to the world, proclaiming much that is good, much that is weak and absurd, and much that is foul and tyrannical. His private virtues were good to him and his family, and might have been profitable, as examples, to the people of Vienna, or other places where he passed his days, if they had been disposed to follow them (which they certainly were not); but what did they import to the many millions of his subjects—to the Hungarians, the Transylvanians, the Lombards, the Venetians—whose wealth and industry he checked, by his obstinate adhesion to an absolute but selfish system of administration and finance, and whose energies he destroyed, whenever he could, by increasing the weight of the yoke they bore?

And of what consolation was it to the Italian, and other state prisoners, loaded with chains, and rotting in the dungeons of Spielberg, to know that the Emperor was a man of mild, affable manners, exceedingly accessible to all classes, very good-natured when pleased, very much beloved by his Austrian-born subjects, moderate in his personal expenses, simple and unostentatious, religious without bigotry, and altogether so modest and good a monarch, that, in the words of one of his eulogists, many and many a time "he has been seen walking alone through the streets of Vienna, or with the Empress, or one of his daughters, under his arm, in the delightful promenades of Baden; always wearing a plain pepper-and-salt coloured coat, with white drab pantaloons, and long Hessian boots?"

To make a gloomy, ferocious, blood-drinking, melo-dramatic tyrant of such a man, as many attempted to do, was absurd. Francis was born and bred to the belief of the divine right of kings; and was firmly convinced all his life, that the monarchic and absolute form of government was the best, not only for *him*, but for his *people*. We really believe that, in the most cruel act he ever committed, in defence of these doctrines, he thought he was rendering a service both to God and man; and that, if even the groans of his numerous political prisoners could have pierced the dungeon walls, and travelled all the way to Vienna, making themselves heard at his bed-side, however much they might have disturbed his nerves, they would have given no disturbance to his conscience.

The mere word "constitution," whether employed in its figurative political sense, or merely to denote the state of the body, was hateful and horrible to his ears. We had the following anecdote from an undoubted source:—"One day his physician, in the course of a consultation on the state of the Emperor's health, instead of using the word of Teutonic origin, employed the Latin derivative (which, in German, as in English, has the double moral and physical meaning), and said, 'Your imperial Majesty's *constitution*.' The Emperor, always pale, became white with emotion, and moved from his seat, saying, 'Doctor! never again pronounce *that word* in my hearing!'"

The heir to the throne, even when of mature years, took little or no share in public business. This was attributed, by some, to Ferdinand's own indolence and incapacity; but other people said, it arose out of the jealousy of the Emperor and his Prime Minister. In all the Austrian dominions, as from one end of Europe to the other, it was believed the Archduke had an implacable hatred of Metternich; but the first act of his reign has been, to confirm that minister in power, and publicly to adopt the whole of his system. He wrote the following letter the day after his father's decease:—

"To PRINCE METTERNICH, &c. &c.

"Dear Prince Metternich,—I inclose you a copy of a letter, which I have just addressed to the Grand Marshal of the Court.

"Profoundly affected by the unfortunate event which has filled us all with sorrow, and overwhelmed myself in particular with the severest agony, I must for the present confine myself to acknowledging the services which you have rendered to my late exalted parent, to my family, and to the state; to the assuring you of my grace and favour; to calling upon you for a continuation of your services; and to commission you to announce to all those employed under you in the public service, either at home or abroad, without exception, that they are confirmed in their various places, offices, and dignities; and further, that in the full conviction of the conscientiousness and fidelity with which they will continue to discharge their duties according to the standing orders, I dispense with the solemn renewal of their oaths.

"In reference to the new title and armorial designs, you will make the necessary arrangements, or lay them before me; and you will also give the requisite instructions to the proper authorities in the various departments, as to the alterations in the seals of office and in the mintage.

"*Vienna, March* 2, 1835." "FERDINAND."

And is the usual act of grace, at the beginning of a new reign, not to be performed? Are the political prisoners still to wear their chains, and moan away their lives in unhealthy dungeons? From the liberation of the most feared or hated of the number, the Austrian government has nothing to fear. Count Frederic Gonfaloniere, once one of the most wealthy and accomplished noblemen of Italy, during twelve years of execrable captivity, has lost the use of his limbs; and, for more than six months out of the twelve, during several years, has been stretched in anguish on his straw, unable to move with rheumatic and other pains, produced by the place and nature of his confinement. This fact we have from one who was for years his companion in captivity.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Feb. 28.—Earl Nelson, Duke of Bronti, brother of the celebrated naval hero, died this day. His lordship was in his 78th year. His remains were deposited on the 9th March, in St. Paul's, in a vault near his illustrious brother.

March 2.—The Emperor of Austria, Francis I., died this day at one o'clock in the morning, in his 67th year.

— A very destructive fire occurred at the west end of the Metropolis which, before it was got under, destroyed a number of houses and property, valued at upwards of 50,000*l.* in Marshall Street, Silver Street, and Broad Street, Golden Square. A subscription was subsequently set on foot for the relief of the sufferers, many of whom have lost all their property. No lives were lost.

3. The Gazette of this day announced the elevation of Sir Charles Manners Sutton, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, to the peerage, by the titles of Viscount Canterbury and Baron Botesford.

— At a meeting of the shareholders of the Thames Tunnel, held at the City of London Tavern, it was announced that Government had placed in the hands of the Directors a sum which the Engineer thought would be sufficient to complete the work. This sum was 247,000*l.* in Exchequer bills, advanced on the security of the property.

4. The new lecture theatre of the Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution was opened this day, when a numerous body of its friends and supporters assembled—Lord Brougham in the chair. Various resolutions were proposed and passed; the following gentlemen taking part in the proceedings:—Basil Montague, Esq., Sir Anthony Carlisle, Dr. Sayer, Sir John Ross, Mr. Young, Mr. Buckingham, M.P., and the Rev. Mr Ramsay.

— A meeting was held at the British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, Westminster, for the purpose of considering the best means to be adopted for the repeal of the window tax. It was attended by two or three Members of Parliament, and a resolution was adopted to the effect, that letters be addressed to every city, borough and town throughout the empire, calling upon them to co-operate with the 'Central Committee of Westminster, in order to effect the repeal of the window tax.' Additional meetings have since taken place, in furtherance of the object. There have been also a few meetings in vestry of the rate-payers in several metropolitan parishes for the same purpose, but the attendance at all of them has been far from numerous.

— The fifty-second anniversary of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick was celebrated at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street; Lord Stanley in the chair. There were about 300 noblemen and gentlemen assembled. The total amount of the subscriptions during the evening was announced to be 1185*l.* 3*s.*

19, 20. Two different causes of bribery, arising out of the late contested election for Cambridge, have been tried before Lord Abinger. It being necessary that some private individual should appear as prosecutor, Professor Henslow consented to do so. The defendants in each case were interested for Mr. Knight, the Chancery barrister, the unsuccessful candidate. The juries returned verdicts for the full amount of the penalty under the 2nd. Geo. II., c. 24, viz., 500*l.*, in each instance. One of the defendants has also had a true bill returned against him by the Grand Jury, on a charge of attempting to bribe eight other voters. It is to be hoped that these convictions will have some effect in putting down a practice which has for many years been carried on to a large extent, almost without any apprehension of danger.

Intelligence from the Cape of Good Hope of various dates, from 25th December to 16th January, communicates a series of disastrous events that have befallen the thriving little colony occupying the country in the vicinity of Graham's Town, South Africa. They were caused by an invasion of the Caffres, who, in large bodies, fell upon the scattered settlers, murdering them, burning their houses, destroying their crops, and carrying away their cattle. One account ascribes the origin of the calamitous and murderous invasion of the Caffres to the circumstance of some horses having strayed beyond the Caffre frontier, followed by a young lieutenant with a party of patrol, who, not being able to find the strayed horses, seized a number of cattle belonging to the Caffres, and drove them off. Should this be the fact, the attack has not been unprovoked, although the original outrage has been fearfully avenged. It was feared, at one time, that Graham's Town would be destroyed, the number of the Caffres being far superior to the numbers the settlers could muster. According to the latest intelligence it was supposed that the Caffres would retreat before the force collecting against them; and the governor had left Cape Town on the 4th January, for Simon's Town, from whence he was to proceed to the frontier. The Caffre chief, Tyali, had sent in proposals for a cessation of hostilities, stating that he had been very unjustly treated by the colony; but as he had repaid himself for his losses, he had no objection to withdraw his forces, provided the country was vacated as far as the Great Fish River. A large division of the insurgents were reported to be at a place about eighteen miles north-west of Graham's Town, and Colonel Somerset had, consequently, proceeded in that direction with 100 mounted men and a field-piece. The advices from Graaf Reinet mentioned that the civil commissioner, with the Graaf Reinet Commando, had had an engagement with a party of Caffres on the banks of the Great Fish River, near Somerset, and had defeated them, with a loss on his part of three men. Every thing was doing on the part of the authorities to protect the lives and property of the colonists.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 29. MAY 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Municipal Corporations (England and Wales)	357	Report of the Committee on Medical Reform	370
Changes of Administration and History of Parties. (Continued)	364	Trade, Statistics, &c.	374
		Parliamentary Register	374
		Political Retrospect for April	375
		Chronicle of Occurrences	380

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

On the 18th of July, 1833, a commission was appointed under the Great Seal, authorising commissioners therein named "to proceed with the utmost dispatch to inquire as to the existing state of the municipal corporations of England and Wales." The Report of the Commissioners having been laid before the House of Commons, was ordered to be printed on the 30th of March last; and it is now before us, forming, with its Appendix, a volume of 132 pages. As this document, although in the highest degree interesting, is too long to be reprinted entire, we shall present as full an abstract of it as our limits will allow, making use, for the most part, of the words of the commissioners, and only omitting statements and remarks of subordinate importance. Our own observations we must reserve for a future Number.

The commissioners have satisfactory reasons for believing that there are 246 corporations in England and Wales possessing or exercising municipal functions. The number of places in which the inquiries under the commission were carried on was 237, having a population of 2,028,513. These corporations were classed, according to their local situation, into eleven districts. In twenty-five places the number of corporators was not ascertained; in the others (212) they amount to 88,509. The governing body is self-elected in 186 boroughs. This body elects the mayor in 131 boroughs, appoints the recorder in 136, and the town clerk in 135. The number of corporators exercising magisterial functions is 1086 in 188 boroughs. In 112 boroughs the corporation has exclusive criminal jurisdiction extending to the trial of various descriptions of offences; and in forty-two their jurisdiction is not exclusive. Seventeen boroughs do not enjoy any income whatever; in eight the precise amount cannot be obtained. The total income of 212 boroughs amounts to 366,948*l.* 17*s.*; their expenditure to 377,027*l.* 15*s.*: 103 are involved in debts amounting to 1,855,371*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*, and are besides burdened with annuities amounting to 4463*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*. In twenty-eight boroughs only are the accounts published; in fifteen the annual income is under 20*l.*; in eleven it is between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.*: in five, 3000*l.* and under 4000*l.*; in one, 4000*l.* and under 5000*l.*; in four, 5000*l.* and under 7500*l.*; in five, 10,000*l.* and under 12,500*l.*; in one, 12,500*l.* and under 15,000*l.*; in one, 15,000*l.* and under 20,000*l.*; in one, 43,000*l.*, and in one, 91,000*l.*

The commissioners proceeded to investigate the several matters within the scope of their commission, in each corporation, under the following heads of inquiry:—

1. The local limits of the corporation.
2. The charters by which it is constituted.
3. The title of the corporation, a copy of the governing charter, and the date of all other charters.
4. The several officers of the corporation, how, and by whom elected, or removed; the time for which they hold their respective offices; their respective functions and privileges, and their salaries and incidental emoluments.
5. The mode by which persons become free; their duties, privileges, and emoluments; the number of resident and non-resident freemen.
6. By whom and from whom the ruling body of the corporation is elected.
7. Fees paid on admission to the freedom or any office in the corporation, and to whom paid.
8. Courts, criminal and civil; the officers or magistrates presiding or otherwise acting in them; the extent of their jurisdiction, whether exclusive or otherwise; the nature of their process; what fees are paid in them, and to whom; and tables of costs.
9. The juries, grand and petty, criminal and civil; by whom, and from whom selected.
10. The management of the local police, and general regulation of the town.
11. The superintendence of the gaols; by whom exercised, and under what control.
12. Fines imposed by the corporation on their own members or others.
13. The nature of the property; the amount of receipts of the corporation, from whom derived, by whom received, to what purposes, and by whom applied; how, and to whom accounted for.
14. The patronage, ecclesiastical and other, exercised by the corporation, through whom dispensed.
15. A schedule of the dates and titles of the local acts of Parliament relating to municipal government, or local taxation.
16. The general state and prospects of the town.

The inquiry is completed, and all the reports are delivered except those on the boroughs of twenty-one corporate towns. A special Supplemental Report will be devoted to the municipal institutions of London.

With few exceptions, much readiness has been evinced by the corporate authorities to promote the objects of the inquiry. In some towns where the corporate body refused to assist in the investigation, the difficulty has been in a great measure removed by the testimony of inhabitants and others.

The following corporations absolutely refused all information:—Corfe Castle, Dover, Lichfield, Maidstone, New Romney, and several of the London companies.

The following assisted in parts of the inquiry, and refused to do so in other parts:—Arundel, Kingston-upon-Hull, Leicester, Rochester, and several of the London companies. The point principally objected to was an examination of the accounts, and an inquiry into the income and expenditure of the corporation.

The commissioners did not feel themselves authorised to institute any investigation into the titles to the property held or claimed by the several corporate bodies; nor did they inquire into the particular state of public charities and eleemosynary foundations in the corporate towns, of which the corporators were in whole or part administrators except so far as respected any misuse for corporate and municipal purposes, or in cases where the administration of the trust estates appeared to have been mixed up with that of the proper funds of the corporation.

Early Constitution.—On this point the commissioners have confined themselves in most instances to an enumeration of the charters in possession of the municipal authorities, or a brief summary of their contents.

It would be difficult to describe accurately the early constitution of the municipal corporations in England and Wales. It is certain that many of their institutions were

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS Stamford Street.]

established in practice long before they were settled by law. In some places, as at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Carlisle, and Scarborough, the forms of the municipal government were defined by an express composition between the magistracy and the people. It is probable that the powers of government, in all ordinary cases, were exercised by the superior magistracy, but that in extraordinary emergencies the whole body of burgesses was called upon to sanction the measures which interested the community. The difficulty of conducting business in such an assembly seems to have suggested the expedient of appointing a species of committee out of the larger body, which acted in conjunction with the burgesses, and which was dissolved when the business was concluded. These committees afterwards became permanent.

In a period, of which the beginning cannot be distinctly shown to have been much earlier than the reign of Richard II., arose a new and very important feature of our municipal policy, namely, the annexation of the powers of 'justices of the peace and of labourers' to the municipal magistracy, with a considerable enlargement of their civil and criminal jurisdiction.

Another very important feature of the era between the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI., is the introduction of a legal principle hitherto unknown; that is, of a municipal body politic and corporate which takes by succession, admitting members upon a mere personal right, without any qualification either of residence or of property.

The greater number of the governing charters of corporations was granted between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution; the general characteristic of these documents is, that they were calculated to take away power from the community, and to render the governing class independent of the main body of the burgesses. Almost all the councils named in these charters are established on the principles of self-election. The criminal jurisdiction of the boroughs received still further enlargement; and numerous instances occur in which a recorder was created, which office had been before that time confined to some of the larger boroughs. There is little reason to doubt that the form given to the governing classes, as well as the limitation of the burgess-ship, during this period, was adopted for the purpose of influencing the choice, or nomination of members of Parliament. At this time the honorary office of High Steward was created in many boroughs, by which the borough became connected with the aristocracy or with the crown. Some of these charters contain clauses by which the right of electing members of the House of Commons is limited to the select bodies which they created.

During the reigns of Charles II. and James II., many corporate towns were induced to surrender their charters, and to accept new ones, containing clauses giving power to the crown to remove or nominate their principal officers. After the proclamation by James II., dated 17th October, 1688, the greater number of these towns returned to their former charters. The charters which have been granted since the Revolution are framed nearly on the model of those of the preceding era; they show a disregard of any settled or consistent plan for the improvement of municipal policy, corresponding with the progress of society. The charters of George III. do not differ in this respect from those granted in the worst period of the history of these boroughs. It has become customary not to rely on the municipal corporations for exercising the power incident to good municipal government. The powers granted by local acts of Parliament for various purposes, have been from time to time conferred, not upon the municipal officers, but upon trustees or commissioners, distinct from them; so that often the corporations have hardly any duties to perform. They have the nominal government of the town; but the efficient duties, and the responsibility, have been transferred to other hands.

Corporate Body.—The constitutions of the existing municipal corporations in England and Wales, are exceedingly various in detail. The constitution of a great number is, practically, much affected by the return of members of Parliament. The municipal powers of many are almost nominal: generally they consist of a number of freemen, having within themselves a governing body, besides magistrates and various officers.

There are very few charters which unequivocally designate the corporate body as a small and definite number of persons. In corporations in which, although there is no doubt, both from the wording of the charters, and from the modern practice, that the number of corporators may be indefinite, it has been the policy of the ruling body to restrict the number, so as to retain all the privileges constitutionally belonging to a large and indefinite body in the hands of a small and select one. The commissioners often found that the freemen had long ceased to consider themselves as forming any part of the corporation, which term, in popular language, was exclusively applied to the ruling body. In some places this notion has been further refined upon, and a distinction has been drawn in the large indefinite body of corporators, between those elected by the ruling body, and those claiming by an independent right; the former class only being treated as forming an integral part of the corporation.

In those boroughs where the number of corporators is definite, or where it has been always kept small, the principal mode of entering the corporation is by the nomination of the ruling body. In some cases the election must be from persons qualified, the most usual qualification being residence in the borough; in other cases the choice of the electors is unfettered by any conditions of eligibility in the persons chosen. In a few places the possession or occupation of property gives a title to the freedom. A distinction is now made everywhere between the freemen and the inhabitants, except in a very few places, as at Beccles and Wisbech. The right of conferring the freedom by sale or free gift is claimed and exercised by the ruling body of almost every corporation. Particular officers of the corporation, usually the mayor, are frequently allowed to name a certain number of persons to be admitted to the freedom.

It is necessary in London, Shrewsbury, and many other towns, in order to complete a title to admission to the municipal freedom, that the party applying should be first admitted a member of certain guilds or trading companies still existing within the borough, and preserving various degrees of connexion with, and subordination to the municipal corporation. There are traces of a more general prevalence of the same custom at an early period. Occasionally, as at Bristol and Evesham, an incorporated guild has continued to exist after its connexion with the municipal corporation has been almost or altogether dissolved.

The right to the freedom acquired by birth is very various in different places. In some, none but the children of freemen born within the borough acquire the right; in others, the children of freemen, wherever born. This enumeration might be extended still further.

The right to the freedom by marriage is acquired by marrying the daughter or widow of a freeman.

The third right, by servitude or apprenticeship, usually accrues by service under indentures of apprenticeship for seven years to a freeman within the borough.

In most corporations the right to the freedom, or citizenship, or burgess-ship, has been restricted to a much smaller class than that which formerly possessed it.

The functions of the freemen in most towns arise out of their share in the election of members of Parliament, and of their own corporate officers. They have retained the former right in many places in which they have been long deprived of the latter.

The share which the freemen at large now take in the election of their governing bodies and corporate officers, is in most places very limited. In a great majority of those towns in which there is a large body of freemen, they have no share whatever in those elections. In a few instances, such as Berwick-upon-Tweed, Ipswich, and Carmarthen, they have the right of electing, from among themselves, all, or nearly all, the corporate officers; in others, such as Beverley and Pontefract, they elect only the mayor; in Norwich they elect the aldermen, common councilmen, and one of the two sheriffs; in some, such as Plymouth, they have the right or electing their officers out of a select body; in others, as Oxford and Swansea, they have only the power of selection from the nominees of such a select body. In many places where the system of self-election now prevails, no trace exists of a more popular mode having been used at any time; in others, such as Newcastle-under-Lyme and Bridgenorth, the right clearly appears to have been taken away from the freemen by ancient usurpation of the select body; and in the case of Newcastle-under-Lyme, it has been recently restored, after an interval of two hundred years, by a decision of the Court of King's Bench. In some towns these rights are possessed only by the resident free-

men, in other places by all the freemen, whether resident or non-resident. The latter is the more common case.

The privileges of the freemen, besides their share in elections, generally consist in exemption from the tolls and duties which in many towns are levied under various grants from the crown. The freemen, in most towns, are exclusively eligible to corporate offices. The freemen are also very generally excused from serving on county juries; this exemption is often enjoyed by all the inhabitants of corporate towns. They have sometimes exclusive privileges in the local courts. They have, in many places, the exclusive right of trading within the corporate limits, as in Oxford, York, and Beverley. Another privilege, often belonging to the freemen is, that they or their widows or children are designated as the sole objects of local charities.

Governing Body.—The government of the existing municipal corporations in England and Wales is generally vested in a chief officer and a council, called the common council, over which he presides. In some boroughs the freemen are themselves the governing body, as at Ipswich, Carmarthen, and Berwick-upon-Tweed.

The body of the council is often composed of two classes; the most common distinctive name of the superior class being that of aldermen, while the others are simply called common councilmen. In a few towns there are more than two classes in the common council.

A legal officer, who is found in most corporations with the title of recorder, is occasionally constituted by charter a member of the common council. In some towns other officers also become by their office members of the common council.

There are very few instances in the corporations of indefinite number, in which, as at Berwick-upon-Tweed and Ipswich, the general body of the freemen have the power of choosing whomsoever they please of themselves as the head of the corporation. Sometimes he is chosen by the freemen from the aldermen, or from the members of the common council. In some boroughs he is chosen by the body at large from among two or more nominated by the select body. The most common case is, that he is elected either from the aldermen or common councilmen, by the court of aldermen or common council.* In London, and some other towns, he is elected by a popular assembly from the aldermen, subject in London to confirmation by the court of aldermen.

The members of the common council are elected in the great majority of instances by the common council, or by that division of it commonly comprised under the name of aldermen. In some cases they are nominated by the mayor. The election is generally for life. Residence is sometimes a necessary qualification: often it is little attended to. The aldermen generally fill up vacancies in their own body from the other division of the common council. in other cases this class consists of all who have passed the chair. The aldermen also are usually chosen into that class for life. London and Norwich afford instances, among others, of elections by large bodies of freemen. In both these cities, the aldermen are elected for life, and the common councilmen annually. In London, they all are elected by the freemen, who for a year have occupied houses of a certain value, and who pay local taxes to a certain amount. In Norwich, all are elected by the freemen, without any qualification of residence, property, or local taxation.

The charters generally empower the corporations or the governing bodies to make bye-laws for the good rule and government of the town, and in some instances to tax the inhabitants for municipal purposes: but in a great number of corporations the power is disused, and no bye-laws are made. Many corporations have the power of enforcing their bye-laws by fine and imprisonment, but these powers are very little exercised.

The common councils have many other important duties to perform, independently of their share in the government of the corporation. In scarcely any case do they legally receive any salary or emolument, either as members of the common council or magistrates.

Corporate Officers.—The chief officers in most corporations, besides the mayor and recorder, are a town-clerk, a coroner, and a chamberlain or treasurer. In those cities and towns which are counties there are also sheriffs. Besides these principal officers, there is a great variety of subordinate officers.

The mayor or head of the corporation, besides being the president of the common council, is the chief magistrate and executive officer of the corporation. He is the returning officer, except in those boroughs or cities which are counties. The mayor usually presides at the quarter sessions for the borough, and is often a judge of the court of record, where such a court exists. He is often coroner *ex officio*. He is generally clerk of the markets, and sometimes keeper of the gaol: he is occasionally treasurer of the corporation. In a few ports, as at Rochester, he is the admiral, to the exclusion of the Admiralty of England; in others, as at Southampton, he has by charter a concurrent jurisdiction of that nature. He is often conservator of the rivers and waters adjoining the city or borough of which he is mayor.

In numerous instances, the appointment of the inferior officers of the corporation rests chiefly or entirely with the mayor, and in many small places he practically unites in his person almost all the authority of the whole body.

In most corporations a power exists of fining those who refuse to serve the corporate offices to which they are elected. At Leeds, the whole revenue of the corporation has accrued from this source. At Andover, a power is exercised of compelling the inhabitants at large to fill the inferior municipal offices, though they are now considered to form no part of the corporation.

Magistrates.—In almost all the principal boroughs there are municipal magistrates whose authority as justices of the peace extends over the whole borough. They are often chosen by the common council, and almost always are members of it: where there are aldermen, they are usually taken from that class. The mayor is always the chief magistrate within the borough, when the borough justices are named in the charter: in a few cases, as at Lancaster, Preston and Liverpool, he is also *ex officio* a magistrate of the county. The recorder is in most cases one of the justices. When the mayor is a magistrate, most of the magisterial business falls on him: in many corporations his magisterial authority continues for a year, or a longer time, beyond the period of his mayoralty, either by the express words of the charter, or by a customary election.

In many of the large cities and boroughs, all the aldermen are magistrates, in others only those are so who have passed the chair, as in Liverpool, Norwich and Lynn: in Norwich, the aldermen who have not passed the chair are magistrates in their own wards. In other towns, as Portsmouth, a certain number of aldermen only are annually elected to that office, which ceases with the year, unless they are re-elected. In Doncaster three aldermen are chosen to be magistrates as long as they continue aldermen. In many towns, as Carlisle and Kendal, the senior aldermen only are magistrates. In Ripon, the two aldermen who were last mayors are magistrates; in Richmond, the last mayor only is so constituted.

Criminal Courts.—The majority of corporations in England and Wales exercise a criminal jurisdiction within the limits of the borough. Many send all serious cases to the county sessions or assizes. Several corporations, as Berwick-upon-Tweed, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, Rochester, still exercise their chartered privilege of trying and executing criminals for capital offences.

The ordinary criminal courts are those of gaol delivery, and of general and quarter sessions. Where no commission issues, the corporate magistrates are the sole judges.

The juries are generally summoned from the inhabitants at large without strict reference to any qualification; sometimes from the freemen alone. In the latter case, the number out of whom they are chosen is often inconveniently small. At Pontefract the petty jury is always chosen from the freemen, the whole number being only twenty-six. The members of the ruling body sometimes claim an exemption from serving on any of the borough juries; in other cases the grand jury is summoned exclusively from them. In Lincoln none are qualified to serve on the grand jury but those who have served the office of chamberlain, the nomination to which is in the mayor. At Scarborough freemen never serve on the borough juries. In corporate boroughs the lists are commonly struck in the office of the town-clerk. In some towns, as Liverpool, one of the judges of the court has the power of striking the jury; the mayor in several towns, as at Bristol, nominates the foreman of the grand jury, and very frequently settles the whole list after it comes from the town-clerk's office.

Civil Courts.—In a large majority of the boroughs in England and Wales, there are local civil courts with a jurisdiction co-extensive with the limits of the borough. These

in general have their origin in particular charters, but occasionally they exist by prescription. In some, actions real, personal and mixed may be brought, and in general they have cognizance of all personal actions. In practice, suits for any other cause of action than debts are seldom instituted in these courts, unless in some of the larger boroughs, where the ordinary kinds of actions which occur at assizes are tried.

The borough courts seldom possess any printed or written rules, regulating their proceedings, and their practice, therefore, is very ill defined.

The presiding officer in these courts is generally the mayor, and hence they are not unfrequently termed the mayor's court. Sometimes the bailiffs preside with the mayor, in other instances the recorder, and occasionally some of the aldermen are judges. In other cases, the recorder, though a magistrate of the borough, is not a judge of the court of record. The town-clerk in many boroughs practically officiates as judge. The town-clerk usually performs all the duties of the court, except those which belong to the office of sheriff. He issues the writs, files and enrolls the proceedings, grants rules, taxes the costs, and signs the judgments.

It is only in the civil courts of the larger boroughs that the attendance of a jury is frequently required. In other places the suit seldom proceeds to issue, but is generally settled in its early stages. Frequently, not more than two or three actions are brought to trial in the course of a year, although more than a hundred writs may have been sued out. The juries summoned to sit on the trial of civil causes are almost invariably chosen in the same manner as the juries in criminal cases.

Gaols.- In nearly all the boroughs possessing criminal jurisdiction, there are gaols under the superintendence of the corporation or municipal magistrates. Debtors, taken under process from the Court of Record of the borough, must remain in the borough gaol.

Management of Poor.—The management of the poor in some towns is vested in the corporation. At Hull the recorder and members of the common council are exempted from being chosen members of the corporation of guardians of the poor.

Extent of Local Jurisdiction.—The boundaries of the jurisdiction exercised by the several municipal corporations in England and Wales are generally known with tolerable accuracy. In some cases, as at Grantham and Brecon, the corporate boundary is not continuous, but includes outlying parcels of ground. In most important towns the suburbs have extended themselves far beyond the limits of the corporate authority. The population of the city and county of Bristol is 59,000: the suburbs beyond the city contain an additional population of 45,000. The population of the city of Rochester is only 9891; the district immediately adjoining it, including the town of Chatham, comprises nearly 22,000 persons. The city of Carlisle contains 8356 persons; the suburbs are of as great extent, and contain a population of 10,713. At Hull, the municipal borough contains 15,996; the county of the town, including the borough, 32,958; the suburbs, which are beyond the jurisdiction of the borough magistrates, contain 20,000 more.

Frequently there are precincts locally situated within the limits of the corporate authority, but exempted from its jurisdiction. In the city of Canterbury there are not less than fifteen such precincts, though some are in dispute between the counties of Kent and Canterbury.

Property.—Many of the corporations have considerable revenues derived from various sources; from lands, leases of tithes, and other property; from tolls of markets and fairs; from duties or tolls imposed on the import or export of goods and merchandize, usually called town dues; from other duties, as from quay-dues, anchorage, &c.; and from fees payable on the admission of officers and burgesses, as well as from fines imposed on persons refusing to perform the duties of corporate offices.

In many of the corporations the revenues are sufficient for the maintenance of all necessary municipal institutions. In many, though amply sufficient for supporting the various purposes for which municipalities were instituted, they are not partially applied to them. In most, however, the revenues would be inadequate to these purposes, though they should be entirely expended upon them.

Extensive commons often belong to the freemen of corporate towns, the benefits of which are shared by them in various modes.

Some corporations hold their estates charged with the duty of repairing bridges and other works in their neighbourhood. Others have the control of funds appropriated to specific objects connected with the welfare of the town. In numerous cases, they are the trustees of property vested in them for charitable purposes.

The revenues of the corporations are variously employed: a great part is usually absorbed in the salaries of their officers, and entertainments of the common council and their friends. The costs of prosecutions at the borough sessions, and of supporting the gaols, form part of the expenditure in some places. It is not often that much of the corporate property is expended on police or public improvements.

The debt of many corporations is extremely heavy. In some, the payment of the interest absorbs a very large proportion of the revenue; others are absolutely insolvent.

The facts with respect to the amount and management of the corporate property, the expenditure and the debts, have been in many places elicited with difficulty, and only imperfectly, owing to the irregular manner in which the accounts have been kept. In some places no accounts are kept, in others they are kept in a very imperfect manner; in very few is there any regular and efficient audit, and in still fewer any publication, of the accounts.

Patronage.—The corporations frequently possess patronage, both ecclesiastical and lay. They present to livings, appoint lecturers, masters of schools and hospitals, and have the power of selecting the objects of various charities. This patronage is sometimes exercised by the governing bodies, sometimes by particular officers.

Having thus given a general view of the ordinary constitution of the municipal corporations in England and Wales, the commissioners proceed to certify the defects they have found in their constitution.

Corporate Body.—The most common and most striking defect in the constitution of the municipal corporations of England and Wales is, that the corporate bodies exist independently of the communities among which they are found. The corporations look upon themselves, and are considered by the inhabitants, as separate and exclusive bodies; they have powers and privileges within the towns and cities from which they are named, but in most places all identity of interest between the corporation and the inhabitants has disappeared. This is the case even where the corporation includes a large body of inhabitant freemen: it appears in a more striking degree as the powers of the corporation have been restricted to smaller numbers of the resident population, and still more glaringly when the local privileges have been conferred on non-resident freemen, to the exclusion of the inhabitants to whom they rightfully ought to belong.

Some corporations are occasionally spoken of as exercising their privileges through a popular body, but in the widest sense in which the term popular body is used in regard to corporate towns, it designates only the whole body of freemen; and in most towns the freemen are a small number, compared with the respectable inhabitants interested in their municipal government, and possessing every qualification, except a legal one, to take a part in it. In Plymouth, where the population, including Devonport, is more than 75,000, the number of freemen is only 437, and 145 of these are non-resident. In Norwich, the great majority of the inhabitant householders and rate-payers are excluded from the corporate body; while paupers, lodgers, and others, paying neither rates nor taxes, are admitted to the exercise of the functions of freemen, and form a considerable portion of the corporation.

In Ipswich, containing more than 20,000 inhabitants, the resident freemen form about 1-55th part of the population. Of these, more than 1-3rd are not rated; and of those who are rated, many are excused the payment of their rates. About 1-9th of the whole are paupers. More than 11-12ths of all the property assessed in this borough belong to those who are excluded from the corporation. All the inhabitants whose rent exceeds 4*l.* per annum, are taxed under a local act for municipal purposes. Of those who are so taxed, less than 1-15th are freemen. The assessed taxes paid in the borough exceed 5000*l.* per annum. The amount paid by all the corporate body is less than 1-20th of the whole. The condition of these freemen exposes them to bribery and undue influence, and advantage is taken of that condition to establish the most demoralizing practices.

In sixteen corporate towns, the population of the muni-

cipal borough is 659,431; of the parliamentary borough of the same town, 715,702; and the number of freemen is only 34,697.

A great number of corporations have been preserved solely as political engines, and the towns to which they belong derive no benefit, but often much injury, from their existence. To maintain the political ascendency of a party, or the political influence of a family, has been the one end and object for which the powers entrusted to a numerous class of these bodies have been exercised. This object has been systematically pursued in the admission of freemen, resident or non-resident; in the selection of municipal functionaries for the council and the magistracy; in the appointment of subordinate officers and the local police; in the administration of charities entrusted to the municipal authorities; in the expenditure of the corporate revenues, and in the management of the corporate property. The commissioners have generally found that those corporations which have not possessed the parliamentary franchise have most faithfully discharged the duties of town government, and have acquired, more than others, the confidence and good-will of the communities to which they belong. This has been the case in some, even where the ruling bodies are strictly self-elected.

Admission into the corporate body has commonly been sought mainly with a view to the lucrative exercise of the elective franchise. In those towns where a large body of freemen return Members of Parliament, the years in which elections have happened, or immediately preceding those in which they have been expected, are distinguished by the admission of a number greatly exceeding the average. The following table, taken from a Parliamentary Return, ordered to be printed 3d February 1832, shows the annual number of freemen admitted in 128 cities and towns from 1800 to 1831. London and Preston are the only towns omitted. A general election took place in the following years:—1802, 1806, 1807, 1812, 1818, 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831.

Year	Freemen	Year	Freemen	Year.	Freemen	Year	Freemen
1800	1,775	1808	1,256	1816	2,582	1824	2,237
1801	2,051	1809	1,270	1817	1,715	1825	2,655
1802	5,782	1810	1,606	1818	8,889	1826	10,797
1803	1,397	1811	1,441	1819	1,430	1827	1,337
1804	1,254	1812	5,918	1820	4,695	1828	1,404
1805	1,473	1813	3,285	1821	1,468	1829	1,133
1806	4,700	1814	1,357	1822	1,430	1830	9,321
1807	3,114	1815	1,180	1823	2,080	1831	2,569

The election to municipal offices is often a trial of strength between political parties. Thus the inhabitants have to complain, not only that the election of their magistrates and other municipal functionaries is made by an inferior class of themselves, or by persons unconnected with the town, but also, of the disgraceful practices by which the magisterial office is frequently obtained: while those, who by character, residence, and property, are best qualified to direct and control its municipal affairs, are excluded from any share in the elections or management.

Governing Body.—The exclusive and party spirit which belongs to the whole corporate body, appears in a still more marked manner in the councils by which, in most cases, it is governed. They are commonly of one political party, and their proceedings are mainly directed to secure and perpetuate the ascendency of the party to which they belong. Individuals of adverse political opinions are, in most cases, systematically excluded from the governing body. These councils, which embody the opinions of a single party, are entrusted with the nomination of magistrates, of the civil and criminal judges, often of the superintendents of police, and are, or ought to be, the leaders in every measure that concerns the interest and prosperity of the town. So far from being the representatives either of the population or of the property of the town, they do not represent even the privileged class of freemen; and being elected for life, their proceedings are unchecked by any feeling of responsibility. The discharge of the functions with which they are entrusted is rendered difficult by the dislike and suspicion which the manner of their election evidently entails upon them.

To this system may be traced the carelessness often observed in the execution of their duties. The common council of the city of London presents a striking exception to the system of self-election for life, and it affords a remarkable instance of the absence of those evils which we refer to it. The common councilmen of this city are annually elected by a numerous constituency, yet changes seldom happen among them; experience in the functionary, and the power of control in the electors, being effectually united.

It is part of the general system of close corporations that all their affairs should be managed with the strictest secrecy, sometimes secured by oaths administered to the members of the common council. The inhabitants who are subject to the authority of the corporation have frequently very imperfect information as to its nature and extent; they are ignorant whether it derives its sanction from prescription, from charters, or from bye-laws; and the only mode by which they can obtain information is often through the troublesome and expensive process of an application for a *mandamus* or *quo warranto*. The bye-laws which are made, as well as those which are repealed, are seldom published, and the public is generally unacquainted with their provisions, except from common rumour. This ignorance is sometimes shared by the members of the corporation. Hence violations of the charters and bye-laws have been often made with impunity.

Corporate Officers.—The commissioners consider the union of the functions of a magistrate with the other duties of the mayor or other head of the municipal council, one of questionable expediency. Other functions, often united with the office of mayor, might be advantageously separated from it. Inconvenience of an opposite kind occurs, where several persons are required to concur in executing the duties of a single office.

In some cases the duties of the mayor have been totally neglected, either from want of capacity or from want of will; occasionally from non-residence. The effect of entrusting the election to the freemen, constituted as those freemen now generally are, is to degrade the office in the estimation of the persons to be governed.

The method of appointing the recorder is often very objectionable. This officer also unites functions, in some cases, which are improperly joined. This occurs, when he lives in the neighbourhood, and discharges the duties of a resident magistrate, at the same time that he is, by virtue of his office, the presiding judge of the criminal court. In many instances he performs no duties whatever, and his nominal connexion with the borough is only a form through which he exercises over it an unwarrantable control.

The practice of appointing a deputy permanently to discharge all the duties of the recorder is very mischievous. Not only is the appointment placed in the hands of an irresponsible individual, but the difficulty of finding qualified persons to fill the situation is increased.

The fact that, in numerous instances, persons not professionally educated are chosen recorders, deserves the most serious attention. In some towns, barristers are appointed recorders who wholly neglect to attend the borough sessions: flagrant instances occur at Lancaster and Carmarthen. The recorder of Carmarthen has held the office during fifty years, and has scarcely ever visited the borough, or performed any of the duties of the office, during that time. The recorder of Lancaster did not attend the quarter-sessions once between 1810 and 1832.

The extent to which some corporations have carried the principle of treating the corporate offices as a matter of mere patronage, may be illustrated by two instances, in which that principle has been applied to the very important office of town-clerk. At Winchester, upon a canvas for that office between two competitors, one only of whom was a member of the corporation, a compromise was effected, at the suggestion of some members of the governing body, by an arrangement that the two candidates should nominally hold the office jointly—that the one who was not a member of the corporation should manage the business—and that the emoluments should be divided. At Boston, on a vacancy of the office of town-clerk, an alderman and justice of the peace for the borough, with two of his brothers, who were also aldermen, supported a candidate on condition of receiving a yearly allowance out of the profits of the office. The candidate was elected, and the stipulated sum has been regularly paid. Several other members of the council were acquainted with this arrangement, and ratified it by the appointment.

Criminal Jurisdiction.—The criminal jurisdiction of the municipal corporations is extremely defective. The extent

of it is totally disproportioned to the importance of the town, or to the probable intelligence and respectability of its magistrates. In Bath, with a population exceeding 50,000, in the city and suburbs, no felonies can be tried, but all must be sent to a distance, varying from 18 to 50 miles. In Winchelsea, with a population of 772, and in Dunwich, with a population of only 232, the jurisdiction extends to capital felonies.

The party spirit which pervades the municipal councils, extends itself to the magistracy, which is appointed by those bodies, and from their members. The magistrates are usually chosen from the aldermen, and the aldermen are generally political partizans. Hence, even in those cases in which injustice is not absolutely committed, a strong suspicion of it is excited, and the local tribunals cease to inspire respect. The corporate magistrates, generally speaking, are not looked upon by the inhabitants with favour or respect, and are often regarded with positive distrust and dislike.

The corporate magistrates are often selected from a class incompetent to the discharge of judicial functions, and the consequence has been a great defect in the administration of justice. At East Retford, a respectable witness, who had been clerk to the magistrates, declared that one of the magistrates was in the habit of conversing familiarly with the culprits brought before him, and endeavoured to impress them with the idea that he was performing an unwilling office. On one occasion he saw the magistrate fighting with a prisoner, and struggling with him on the floor. At Malmesbury, the magistrates are often unable to write or read. At Wenlock, blank warrants have been signed by the magistrates: in one case a blank warrant of commitment was granted by mistake, instead of one of apprehension, and the constable had it in his possession for several weeks before he executed it. The jurisdiction of the borough magistrates at Wenlock is exclusive: it extends over 17 parishes, and contains a population exceeding 17,000 persons.

Even when the corporate magistrates belong to a superior class, they are often selected from the senior aldermen only, who, from age and infirmities, soon become incapable of performing the functions of their office, while a mistaken notion of dignity keeps them from resigning it.

A circumstance much complained of in many places, is the non-residence of the magistrates.

The evils resulting from the ignorance and inefficiency of the borough magistrates, are heightened by gross defects in other parts of the judicial system. The juries of the borough courts are often exclusively taken from the freemen, who, besides being composed of an inferior class, are strongly tainted with party feelings. Northampton furnishes a strong instance of this. At Carmarthen, verdicts are frequently given against justice, from party bias. The population of that town is 10,000, but the jurors are chosen from a small body of 178 burgesses. At the spring assizes of 1833, a true bill was found by the grand jury of the borough for a capital felony. The grand jury consisted of 20 burgesses; of these, 17 belonged to the corporation party, and the foreman was the committing magistrate. The panel of the petty jury contained 16 persons belonging to the corporation party, 12 of the defendant's party, and only two neutrals. An application was made to the judge, to order the indictment to be tried in Carmarthenshire. The trial took place there, and the defendants were acquitted. At Haverford West, the general opinion is, that it is 'impossible to convict a burgess.'

The most incompatible offices are often united in the person of the town-clerk. He very frequently acts as deputy-recorder; which practice, in our opinion, cannot be too strongly condemned. He is often, practically, the principal attorney for the prosecution of offenders tried at the borough sessions, whose commitment he had previously advised in his character of clerk to the magistrates. Even when his name does not appear to the prosecution, the same evil often ensues from its being in the hands of his partner. In York and Hull, great complaints have been made of the conduct of prosecutions by the town-clerk's partner, and in the latter place of the advantages which the rules of practice give him over other attornies. In Preston, the town-clerk is a member of the council, and his partner is the senior alderman, a magistrate, and a coroner. A strange incongruity sometimes appears in the election of the town-clerk to the office of mayor; in some places where this has occurred, an attempt has been made to gloss over the irregularity, by appointing another town-clerk during the year of his mayoralty. Whilst the same officer thus unites the characters of judge and prosecutor, the selection of the juries is often entirely committed to his discretion, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that suspicions of unfairness and partiality should be excited.

Civil Jurisdiction.—The same union of incompatible functions is found in these courts as in the courts of criminal jurisdiction.

If the recorder does not attend, the town-clerk becomes the real judge of the court, from the incompetence of the other magistrates to perform their duty.

At Reading, the town-clerk, during his mayoralty, tried and taxed the costs of a cause in which his partner was one of the attornies. In many towns, although he does not practise in the court of record as an attorney in his own name, he is the real attorney in the cause. At Kendal, the town-clerk's partner, who is an alderman, practises in the civil court. The same thing occurs at Scarborough, where the town-clerk acts as assessor in the civil court, and also taxes the costs.

The town-clerk often selects the juries in these as well as in the criminal courts, and they are often chosen from the same objectionable class.

The serjeants-at-mace and other ministerial officers of the court, who are placed in the situation of sheriffs, are often persons whose pecuniary responsibility is insufficient to afford any security to the suitors.

The costs of a suit in these courts, are, in general, very considerable, taking into account the fact that the expense of witnesses, which elsewhere is one of the heaviest charges in a suit, is here invariably light. The whole system of fees and costs in these courts is objectionable. There is, generally, no authorized table of them, and frequently no well-defined practice on the subject. They are mostly in the discretion of the town-clerk, though they are in some places taxed by the mayor.

Among other causes which have led to the disuse of these courts, may be accounted the want of professional skill in the judges. Nor can it be doubted that the intimacy which must necessarily exist between the judge and the parties who appear before him, has been one source of the disinclination to resort to these tribunals. A few minutes convert the tradesman and the customer into the judge and the suitor. Another prominent cause of the desertion of these courts has been the facility of removing the causes, and the general inclination on the part of legal practitioners to sue in the superior courts. The plaintiff, on procuring execution, can avail himself of it only within the limits of the local jurisdiction. His process therefore is frequently fruitless, the defendant removing himself and his goods beyond the limits of the court. This was a very common subject of complaint. These courts possess an unlimited power of imprisonment, which, in some cases, is made the means of great oppression.

Notwithstanding their defects, a very general desire was expressed on the part of the inhabitants of those boroughs where the civil courts had fallen into disuse, for their revival; and any system, which would have the effect of distributing justice where the parties interested reside, would be regarded as one of the greatest boons which the Legislature could confer.

Many of the evils we have enumerated as prevailing in the administration of criminal and civil justice, result from the continuance of jurisdiction after the decay of the borough. Even in the more important boroughs, great injustice results from entrusting the powers of sitting as magistrates in quarter sessions, and as judges of civil procedure, to persons not having professional knowledge and experience.

Gaols.—In the state of the borough gaols, we find additional proofs of the evils of continuing the present constitution of the local tribunals. Instances rarely occur in which the borough gaols admit of any proper classification of the prisoners. The prisoners are often without a proper supply of air and light: frequently the gaols are mere dungeons under the town-hall. In such receptacles it is impossible to put a prisoner to work, or to separate the criminals and the debtors.

It was frequently stated that the gaol of the borough was in so unfit a state for the reception of prisoners, that plaintiffs were unwilling to consign the defendants, against

whom they had procured execution, to confinement within its walls. At Saltash, it was said that the same feeling prevented the prosecution of criminals.

Police.—The police belonging to municipal corporations is for the most part very insufficient, and for supplying the deficiency resort is had to local acts. The superintendence of the police, and the powers necessary for watching, paving, lighting, cleaning, and supplying the towns with water, instead of being entrusted to the municipal authorities, are for the most part committed by these acts to various independent bodies, although none of these towns are too extensive to be embraced by one system of municipal government: for instance, every quarter of the town of Bath is under the care of a separate board, except one, which is totally unprotected. Much confusion results from this divided authority. The powers of local taxation, and the superintendence of matters so closely connected with the comfort and well-being of the inhabitants, which are now exercised by these bodies, appear to belong precisely to that class of objects for which corporate authority was originally conferred: but great dissatisfaction would prevail among the inhabitants, if these powers were entrusted to the municipal corporations as at present constituted. In several towns much apathy is now shown by the inhabitants with respect to the municipal benefits conferred by these acts. In Southampton, where the consent of the inhabitants is required to bring them within the powers of a local act, nearly half of the town has refused the benefit of it. Great jealousy often exists between the officers of police acting under the corporation, and those under the commissioners of these local acts: and the corporate body seldom takes any active share in the duties of the board, of which its members form a part. At Bristol, a notoriously ineffective police cannot be improved, chiefly in consequence of the jealousy with which the corporation is regarded by the inhabitants. At Hull, in consequence of the disunion between the governing body and the inhabitants, chiefly arising out of a dispute about the tolls and duties, only seven persons attended to suppress a riot, out of 1000 who had been sworn in as special constables, and on another similar occasion none attended. At Coventry, serious riots and disturbances frequently occur, and the officers of police, being usually selected from one political party, are often active in fomenting them. In some instances, the separate and conflicting authority of the commissioners is avowedly used as a check and counterbalance to the political influence of the corporation. At Leeds, no persons are elected commissioners of police whose political principles are not opposed to those of the corporation.

Extent of Local Jurisdiction.—The frequent occurrence of precincts, in the heart of the corporate towns, not subject to the authority of their magistrates, has been mentioned. Such places, by protecting offenders against the law, still present the same obstacles to an effective police, which were once found in sanctuaries.

Property.—The exemption from tolls or dues payable on the exportation or importation of goods in some of the great commercial towns constitutes the most valuable privilege of the free merchants, and is at the same time strongly complained of by the merchants who are not freemen. In Liverpool, one mercantile firm has paid to the town dues more than 1100*l.* in one year. Whatever may have been the origin of the tolls, in many cases they are now paid without any equivalent consideration being rendered by the corporations which enforce them.

By some corporations a revenue has been occasionally derived from very improper sources. The corporation of Tiverton had for many years an allowance from the receivers-general of the county of Devon, which allowance was stipulated for by the corporation, as a consideration for the exercise of their influence with one of the capital burgesses in obtaining the appointment.

The evils which have resulted from mismanagement of the corporate property are manifold, and of the most glaring kind. Some corporations have been in the habit of letting their lands by private contract to members of their own body, upon a rent and at fines wholly disproportionate to their value, and frequently for long terms of years. Others have alienated in fee much of their property for inadequate considerations. At Cambridge, practices of this kind have prevailed to a very great extent. In large towns, the most striking defects are carelessness and extravagance in the administration of the municipal funds, and an exclusive distribution of patronage among friends and partisans.

In some towns large sums have been spent in bribery and the other illegal practices of contested elections. During the election of 1826, the corporation of Leicester expended 10,000*l.* to secure the success of a political partisan, and mortgaged some of their property to discharge the liabilities incurred. In Barnstaple and Liverpool the funds of the corporation have been wasted in defending from threatened disfranchisement a body of freemen who had been proved guilty of bribery.

In general, the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watching or lighting the town, &c.; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying the salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary, in consequence of the plan of avoiding public contract, and of proceeding without adequate estimates. These abuses often originate in the negligence of the corporate bodies, but more frequently in the opportunity afforded to them of obliging members of their own body, or the friends and relations of such members.

Few corporations admit any positive obligation to expend the surplus of their income for objects of public advantage. Such expenditure is regarded as a spontaneous act of private generosity, rather than a well-considered application of the public revenue; and the credit to which the corporation, in such a case, generally considers itself entitled, is not that of judicious administrators, but of liberal benefactors. Even in these cases, party and sectarian purposes often prevail in its application.

From this erroneous but strongly-rooted opinion, that the property of the corporations is held in trust for the benefit of the corporate body only, distinguishing that body from the community with which it is locally connected, the transition is not difficult to the opinion that individual corporators may justifiably derive a personal benefit from that property. At Cambridge, the practice of turning the corporation property to the profit of individuals was avowed and defended by a member of the council.

This principle has been undisguisedly adopted in few corporations compared with the number of those in which it is indirectly acted upon. Some sense of impropriety, indicated by the secrecy with which such transactions are conducted, has accompanied the execution of long leases for nominal considerations, or the alienations in fee of the corporate property to individual corporators. Advantages of a different kind are offered in the shape of salaries to sinecure, unnecessary, or overpaid officers.

The salaries to the corporate officers, in a great many instances, are not at all commensurate with their duties. The allowance to the chief officer is often very large, and it is well understood that he is to expend it in public entertainments. In some places, a considerable part of the revenues of the corporation appears to have been devoted to such purposes. An opinion was obviously entertained at many places, that any degree of expenditure for such purposes might be justified, if the corporation restrained itself within the limits of its permanent income, and did not tax the inhabitants to supply the means of such expenditure.

With the custom of conferring salaries that must be considered exorbitant, even when the officers chosen are competent to the proper discharge of their duties, may be classed the practice of bestowing important and high-salaried situations upon incompetent persons: both are among the many evils arising out of the system of self-election and irresponsible exercise of patronage.

Conduct of this description would probably have been checked by the mere force of public opinion, if the corporate accounts had been subjected to the scrutiny which must have resulted from the publication of them.

The debts incurred by many corporations, have been swelled to their present amount, by most negligent and improper management. At Berwick-upon-Tweed, where the freemen manage the affairs of the corporation, and possess commons of the value of about 6000*l.* per annum, they have borrowed money expressly for the purpose of dividing it amongst themselves.

Many of the close corporations have become indebted to the patron of the borough for sums of money advanced to them for municipal and other purposes.

Specific Trusts and Patronage.—Various funds and revenues have been entrusted to corporations for specific ob-

of it is totally disproportioned to the importance of the town, or to the probable intelligence and respectability of its magistrates. In Bath, with a population exceeding 50,000, in the city and suburbs, no felonies can be tried, but all must be sent to a distance, varying from 18 to 50 miles. In Winchelsea, with a population of 772, and in Dunwich, with a population of only 232, the jurisdiction extends to capital felonies.

The party spirit which pervades the municipal councils, extends itself to the magistracy, which is appointed by those bodies, and from their members. The magistrates are usually chosen from the aldermen, and the aldermen are generally political partizans. Hence, even in those cases in which injustice is not absolutely committed, a strong suspicion of it is excited, and the local tribunals cease to inspire respect. The corporate magistrates, generally speaking, are not looked upon by the inhabitants with favour or respect, and are often regarded with positive distrust and dislike.

The corporate magistrates are often selected from a class incompetent to the discharge of judicial functions, and the consequence has been a great defect in the administration of justice. At East Retford, a respectable witness, who had been clerk to the magistrates, declared that one of the magistrates was in the habit of conversing familiarly with the culprits brought before him, and endeavoured to impress them with the idea that he was performing an unwilling office. On one occasion he saw the magistrate fighting with a prisoner, and struggling with him on the floor. At Malmesbury, the magistrates are often unable to write or read. At Wenlock, blank warrants have been signed by the magistrates: in one case a blank warrant of commitment was granted by mistake, instead of one of apprehension, and the constable had it in his possession for several weeks before he executed it. The jurisdiction of the borough magistrates at Wenlock is exclusive; it extends over 17 parishes, and contains a population exceeding 17,000 persons.

Even when the corporate magistrates belong to a superior class, they are often selected from the senior aldermen only, who, from age and infirmities, soon become incapable of performing the functions of their office, while a mistaken notion of dignity keeps them from resigning it.

A circumstance much complained of in many places, is the non-residence of the magistrates.

The evils resulting from the ignorance and inefficiency of the borough magistrates, are heightened by gross defects in other parts of the judicial system. The juries of the borough courts are often exclusively taken from the freemen, who, besides being composed of an inferior class, are strongly tainted with party feelings. Northampton furnishes a strong instance of this. At Carmarthen, verdicts are frequently given against justice, from party bias. The population of that town is 10,000, but the jurors are chosen from a small body of 178 burgesses. At the spring assizes of 1833, a true bill was found by the grand jury of the borough for a capital felony. The grand jury consisted of 20 burgesses; of these, 17 belonged to the corporation party, and the foreman was the committing magistrate. The panel of the petty jury contained 46 persons belonging to the corporation party, 12 of the defendant's party, and only two neutrals. An application was made to the judge, to order the indictment to be tried in Carmarthenshire. The trial took place there, and the defendants were acquitted. At Haverford West, the general opinion is, that it is 'impossible to convict a burgess.'

The most incompatible offices are often united in the person of the town-clerk. He very frequently acts as deputy-recorder; which practice, in our opinion, cannot be too strongly condemned. He is often, practically, the principal attorney for the prosecution of offenders tried at the borough sessions, whose commitment he had previously advised in his character of clerk to the magistrates. Even when his name does not appear to the prosecution, the same evil often ensues from its being in the hands of his partner. In York and Hull, great complaints have been made of the conduct of prosecutions by the town-clerk's partner, and in the latter place of the advantages which the rules of practice give him over other attornies. In Preston, the town-clerk is a member of the council, and his partner is the senior alderman, a magistrate, and a coroner. A strange incongruity sometimes appears in the election of the town-clerk to the office of mayor; in some places where this has occurred, an attempt has been made to gloss over the irregularity, by appointing another town-clerk during the year of his mayoralty. Whilst the same officer thus unites the characters of judge and prosecutor, the selection of the juries is often entirely committed to his discretion, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that suspicions of unfairness and partiality should be excited.

Civil Jurisdiction.—The same union of incompatible functions is found in these courts as in the courts of criminal jurisdiction.

If the recorder does not attend, the town-clerk becomes the real judge of the court, from the incompetence of the other magistrates to perform their duty.

At Reading, the town-clerk, during his mayoralty, tried and taxed the costs of a cause in which his partner was one of the attornies. In many towns, although he does not practise in the court of record as an attorney in his own name, he is the real attorney in the cause. At Kendal, the town-clerk's partner, who is an alderman, practises in the civil court. The same thing occurs at Scarborough, where the town-clerk acts as assessor in the civil court, and also taxes the costs.

The town-clerk often selects the juries in these as well as in the criminal courts, and they are often chosen from the same objectionable class.

The serjeants-at-mace and other ministerial officers of the court, who are placed in the situation of sheriffs, are often persons whose pecuniary responsibility is insufficient to afford any security to the suitors.

The costs of a suit in these courts, are, in general, very considerable, taking into account the fact that the expense of witnesses, which elsewhere is one of the heaviest charges in a suit, is here invariably light. The whole system of fees and costs in these courts is objectionable. There is, generally, no authorized table of them, and frequently no well-defined practice on the subject. They are mostly in the discretion of the town-clerk, though they are in some places taxed by the mayor.

Among other causes which have led to the disuse of these courts, may be accounted the want of professional skill in the judges. Nor can it be doubted that the intimacy which must necessarily exist between the judge and the parties who appear before him, has been one source of the disinclination to resort to these tribunals. A few minutes convert the tradesman and the customer into the judge and the suitor. Another prominent cause of the desertion of these courts has been the facility of removing the causes, and the general inclination on the part of legal practitioners to sue in the superior courts. The plaintiff, on procuring execution, can avail himself of it only within the limits of the local jurisdiction. His process therefore is frequently fruitless, the defendant removing himself and his goods beyond the limits of the court. This was a very common subject of complaint. These courts possess an unlimited power of imprisonment, which, in some cases, is made the means of great oppression.

Notwithstanding their defects, a very general desire was expressed on the part of the inhabitants of those boroughs where the civil courts had fallen into disuse, for their revival; and any system, which would have the effect of distributing justice where the parties interested reside, would be regarded as one of the greatest boons which the Legislature could confer.

Many of the evils we have enumerated as prevailing in the administration of criminal and civil justice, result from the continuance of jurisdiction after the decay of the borough. Even in the more important boroughs, great injustice results from entrusting the powers of sitting as magistrates in quarter sessions, and as judges of civil procedure, to persons not having professional knowledge and experience.

Gaols.—In the state of the borough gaols, we find additional proofs of the evils of continuing the present constitution of the local tribunals. Instances rarely occur in which the borough gaols admit of any proper classification of the prisoners. The prisoners are often without a proper supply of air and light: frequently the gaols are mere dungeons under the town-hall. In such receptacles it is impossible to put a prisoner to work, or to separate the criminals and the debtors.

It was frequently stated that the gaol of the borough was in so unfit a state for the reception of prisoners, that plaintiffs were unwilling to consign the defendants, against

whom they had procured execution, to confinement within its walls. At Saltash, it was said that the same feeling prevented the prosecution of criminals.

Police.—The police belonging to municipal corporations is for the most part very insufficient, and for supplying the deficiency resort is had to local acts. The superintendence of the police, and the powers necessary for watching, paving, lighting, cleaning, and supplying the towns with water, instead of being entrusted to the municipal authorities, are for the most part committed by these acts to various independent bodies, although none of these towns are too extensive to be embraced by one system of municipal government: for instance, every quarter of the town of Bath is under the care of a separate board, except one, which is totally unprotected. Much confusion results from this divided authority. The powers of local taxation, and the superintendence of matters so closely connected with the comfort and well-being of the inhabitants, which are now exercised by these bodies, appear to belong precisely to that class of objects for which corporate authority was originally conferred: but great dissatisfaction would prevail among the inhabitants, if these powers were entrusted to the municipal corporations as at present constituted. In several towns much apathy is now shown by the inhabitants with respect to the municipal benefits conferred by these acts. In Southampton, where the consent of the inhabitants is required to bring them within the powers of a local act, nearly half of the town has refused the benefit of it. Great jealousy often exists between the officers of police acting under the corporation, and those under the commissioners of these local acts: and the corporate body seldom takes any active share in the duties of the board, of which its members form a part. At Bristol, a notoriously ineffective police cannot be improved, chiefly in consequence of the jealousy with which the corporation is regarded by the inhabitants. At Hull, in consequence of the disunion between the governing body and the inhabitants, chiefly arising out of a dispute about the tolls and duties, only seven persons attended to suppress a riot, out of 1000 who had been sworn in as special constables, and on another similar occasion none attended. At Coventry, serious riots and disturbances frequently occur, and the officers of police, being usually selected from one political party, are often active in fomenting them. In some instances, the separate and conflicting authority of the commissioners is avowedly used as a check and counterbalance to the political influence of the corporation. At Leeds, no persons are elected commissioners of police whose political principles are not opposed to those of the corporation.

Extent of Local Jurisdiction.—The frequent occurrence of precincts, in the heart of the corporate towns, not subject to the authority of their magistrates, has been mentioned. Such places, by protecting offenders against the law, still present the same obstacles to an effective police, which were once found in sanctuaries.

Property.—The exemption from tolls or dues payable on the exportation or importation of goods in some of the great commercial towns constitutes the most valuable privilege of the free merchants, and is at the same time strongly complained of by the merchants who are not freemen. In Liverpool, one mercantile firm has paid to the town dues more than 1400*l.* in one year. Whatever may have been the origin of the tolls, in many cases they are now paid without any equivalent consideration being rendered by the corporations which enforce them.

By some corporations a revenue has been occasionally derived from very improper sources. The corporation of Tiverton had for many years an allowance from the receivers-general of the county of Devon, which allowance was stipulated for by the corporation, as a consideration for the exercise of their influence with one of the capital burgesses in obtaining the appointment.

The evils which have resulted from mismanagement of the corporate property are manifold, and of the most glaring kind. Some corporations have been in the habit of letting their lands by private contract to members of their own body, upon a rent and at fines wholly disproportionate to their value, and frequently for long terms of years. Others have alienated in fee much of their property for inadequate considerations. At Cambridge, practices of this kind have prevailed to a very great extent. In large towns, the most striking defects are carelessness and extravagance in the administration of the municipal funds, and an exclusive distribution of patronage among friends and partisans.

In some towns large sums have been spent in bribery and the other illegal practices of contested elections. During the election of 1826, the corporation of Leicester expended 10,000*l.* to secure the success of a political partisan, and mortgaged some of their property to discharge the liabilities incurred. In Barnstaple and Liverpool the funds of the corporation have been wasted in defending from threatened disfranchisement a body of freemen who had been proved guilty of bribery.

In general, the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watching or lighting the town, &c.; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying the salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary, in consequence of the plan of avoiding public contract, and of proceeding without adequate estimates. These abuses often originate in the negligence of the corporate bodies, but more frequently in the opportunity afforded to them of obliging members of their own body, or the friends and relations of such members.

Few corporations admit any positive obligation to expend the surplus of their income for objects of public advantage. Such expenditure is regarded as a spontaneous act of private generosity, rather than a well-considered application of the public revenue; and the credit to which the corporation, in such a case, generally considers itself entitled, is not that of judicious administrators, but of liberal benefactors. Even in these cases, party and sectarian purposes often prevail in its application.

From this erroneous but strongly-rooted opinion, that the property of the corporations is held in trust for the benefit of the corporate body only, distinguishing that body from the community with which it is locally connected, the transition is not difficult to the opinion that individual corporators may justifiably derive a personal benefit from that property. At Cambridge, the practice of turning the corporation property to the profit of individuals was avowed and defended by a member of the council.

This principle has been undisguisedly adopted in few corporations compared with the number of those in which it is indirectly acted upon. Some sense of impropriety, indicated by the secrecy with which such transactions are conducted, has accompanied the execution of long leases for nominal considerations, or the alienations in fee of the corporate property to individual corporators. Advantages of a different kind are offered in the shape of salaries to sinecure, unnecessary, or overpaid officers.

The salaries to the corporate officers, in a great many instances, are not at all commensurate with their duties. The allowance to the chief officer is often very large, and it is well understood that he is to expend it in public entertainments. In some places, a considerable part of the revenues of the corporation appears to have been devoted to such purposes. An opinion was obviously entertained at many places, that any degree of expenditure for such purposes might be justified, if the corporation restrained itself within the limits of its permanent income, and did not tax the inhabitants to supply the means of such expenditure.

With the custom of conferring salaries that must be considered exorbitant, even when the officers chosen are competent to the proper discharge of their duties, may be classed the practice of bestowing important and high-salaried situations upon incompetent persons: both are among the many evils arising out of the system of self-election and irresponsible exercise of patronage.

Conduct of this description would probably have been checked by the mere force of public opinion, if the corporate accounts had been subjected to the scrutiny which must have resulted from the publication of them.

The debts incurred by many corporations, have been swelled to their present amount, by most negligent and improper management. At Berwick-upon-Tweed, where the freemen manage the affairs of the corporation, and possess commons of the value of about 6000*l.* per annum, they have borrowed money expressly for the purpose of dividing it amongst themselves.

Many of the close corporations have become indebted to the patron of the borough for sums of money advanced to them for municipal and other purposes.

Specific Trusts and Patronage.—Various funds and revenues have been entrusted to corporations for specific ob-

jects. Financial abuses of the same nature as those which we have already reported, are found in the management and application of these funds. At Lincoln, river-tolls were expressly granted for the maintenance of a navigation. The navigation has been neglected, to the great injury of the city, and the tolls have been converted into private property.

Other specific trusts are connected with charitable institutions and the administration of charity funds, which are under the control of the corporate authorities. Here again the commissioners find mismanagement and misappropriation to a considerable extent.

The corporation of Exeter is indebted to various charities a sum exceeding 17,000*l*. At Truro, the charity property has been let for a fine and a nominal rent. This nominal rent has been applied to the charity, and the fine has been appropriated to the purposes of the corporation. At Cambridge no accounts have been kept; but the misappropriation of these funds is not denied by the corporation. At Ipswich, malversations have long been matters of complaint.

At Winchester, the management has been actually taken from the corporation in consequence of notorious malversation.

The patronage connected with these trusts, has in numerous instances been exercised by the corporate authorities, to gain or reward votes both at the municipal and parliamentary elections.

At Norwich, the patronage of the hospitals, which is vested in the aldermen, has been avowedly exercised in favour of their own party. Promises have been given to freemen, to place them on the foundation, in return for their votes at elections, and weekly pensions have been allowed till these promises could be fulfilled.

At Leicester, Coventry, and Northampton, the corporations have exercised similar patronage for the same corrupt purposes At Boston, party distinctions in the distribution of a charity-fund were avowed and justified by one of the magistrates. At Ipswich, it is notorious that pensioners upon the foundations, which are under the control of the corporation, are selected with the same view, and that their participation in the charity is the price of their votes at municipal elections. Some of the funds entrusted to this corporation have disappeared altogether. These instances prove that a provision for the poorer classes of the community, in the hands of the corporate authorities, has become a source of corrupt influence.

In some boroughs the corporation nominates the masters of the schools, many of which are endowed. At Tewkesbury, where the master's conduct was complained of, it was said that no redress could be obtained, because he was one of the borough justices, by whom the master is appointed and visited. From various causes, sometimes from the improper selection of the master, as at Derby, sometimes from making the education exclusively classical, the schools have become in a great measure useless to the inhabitants, and much valuable property given for the purposes of education is thus wasted. At Derby the school was once full of scholars; recently it contained only one pupil. At Coventry the funds of the school amount to 900*l*. per annum; the two masters divide about 700*l*. between them, but had only one pupil in 1833, and for one or two years previously. A great desire was expressed in many places by the inhabitants for the revival of the schools, and that they should afford the elements of an useful English education.

The commissioners terminate their Report in the following terms:—

"We have now laid before your Majesty, as concisely as possible, an enumeration of the principal defects which we have found in the constitution and management of the municipal corporations in England and Wales. We humbly certify to your Majesty, that the statements contained in this Report are amply confirmed in detail by the results of the inquiries instituted in the several corporations, which results are embodied in the separate reports to which we have already referred. Even where these institutions exist in their least imperfect form, and are most rightfully administered, they are inadequate to the wants of the present state of society. In their actual condition, where not productive of positive evil, they exist, in the great majority of instances, for no purpose of general utility. The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends has occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes, which have been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralization of the electoral bodies.

"In conclusion, we report to your Majesty that there prevails amongst the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and, in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use, and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government."

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION, AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

[Continued from last Number.]

FOR some months after its entrance into office, the Rockingham administration was left to arrange its plans without anything occurring to give it disturbance or apprehension. The King, as far as is known, treated all the members of his new cabinet with civility at least, if not with very marked cordiality and confidence. The prorogation of Parliament, which had taken place on the 19th of April, immediately before the late changes, relieved them in the meantime from the active warfare of party; and the public mind, although not perhaps greatly confiding in the permanence of the recent arrangement, was certainly not indisposed to allow it a fair trial. The Ministry, in so far as it was distrusted, was so in consequence not so much of any individuals who formed part of it, as of those whom it did not include. Its head in particular, the Marquis of Rockingham, was universally esteemed as a person both of considerable abilities and of the most upright intentions; but there undoubtedly was a feeling of disappointment that a more distinguished name—that of Mr. Pitt—did not lend its lustre to the King's Government.

In the end of October, the Ministry sustained an important loss in the death of the Duke of Cumberland, who had been principally instrumental in bringing them into power, and who formed one of their chief supports both with the nation and with the King. The smooth waters in which they had hitherto proceeded were also about the same time suddenly made rough by the beginning of a storm which it soon required all their skill and exertions to weather.

Not deterred by the strong dissatisfaction which had been excited in North America by the resolutions asserting the expediency of raising a revenue from the colonies by a stamp-duty, which, as already mentioned, had been passed by Parliament in the session of 1764, Mr. Grenville had, in the last session, proceeded to execute the threat then held out, by bringing in a bill for the actual imposition of the tax. That bill having passed the Commons by a large majority, and the Lords without any opposition whatever, received the royal assent on the 22nd of March, 1765. The news, which reached America in May, immediately set the country in a blaze from one end of it to the other. It was not, however, till some weeks afterwards that any actual disturbances took place. The first accounts that seriously alarmed the Ministry, appear to have been received in England about the end of October. But even then they seem to have thought that the danger might probably wear away if things were merely allowed to take their course. In January following, when vindicating himself and his colleagues for not calling Parliament sooner together, Mr. Conway said in the House of Commons, 'I can assure the House, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of Parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full.' The first mention we find him making of the subject in his letters to his brother, (the manuscript collection noticed in our last number,) is under date of the 14th November, 1765, when he says, 'Our

Americans are very riotous indeed; it is a serious business, and for me doubly difficult, unless we find lenity the plan.'

In point of fact, the Ministers were very much at a loss what measures they ought in this emergency to propose to Parliament when it should assemble. They had not only to consider what course the two Houses would be likely to sanction, and what the King would give his assent to, but, for a time at least, there was also probably considerable difference of opinion among themselves, as to the most expedient mode of proceeding. And their deliberations were further embarrassed by the known disposition of the adherents of the late government, who were still a formidable body in the House of Commons. 'No sooner,' says Mr. Burke, in his famous speech on American Taxation, delivered in 1774, 'had the sound of that mighty tempest reached us in England, than the whole of the then opposition, instead of feeling humbled by the unhappy issue of their measures, seemed to be infinitely elated, and cried out, that the Ministry, from envy to the glory of their predecessors, were prepared to repeal the Stamp Act.' In these circumstances it was not till the very last moment that Lord Rockingham and his colleagues could make up their minds to advise the repeal. They had not even come to any definitive resolution on the subject, when Parliament at length re-assembled on the 17th of December. But all that was then done, was to issue writs for filling up the numerous vacancies that had been occasioned by the recent appointments to office; after which both houses adjourned on the 20th to the 14th of January, 1766.

In the interim a meeting of the principal members of the Government was held at the house of Lord Rockingham, at which it was arranged after full deliberation, that the Stamp Act should be repealed, but that a declaratory act should be at the same time passed, asserting the supreme authority of the mother country over the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

There is reason to believe that this plan of proceeding, if not originally suggested by Mr. Burke, was adopted chiefly through his strenuous advocacy. It had also the approval of Dr. Franklin, who was then in England, and in communication with the Ministry on the part of the Colonies. It had thus the recommendation of satisfying two at least of the various opinions which were entertained on the subject of American taxation; for the declaratory act was undoubtedly viewed in very different lights by Burke and Franklin. The former considered it absolutely necessary that the mother country should possess the right of taxing the Colonies in case of necessity. The latter merely submitted to the assertion of such a right, in the belief that it never would be exercised, and that, lying dormant in the statute book, it would do neither good nor harm.

There were however two extreme parties, whom, although diametrically opposed to each other, the projected line of policy was calculated to unite for the moment in hostility against the Government. There were on the one hand those who were so strongly opposed to the claim of the mother country to what was called the right of *internal* taxation in regard to her colonies, that they would not give their consent either to its exercise, or even to its assertion; and on the other there were those who maintained, not only the right, but the expediency of exercising it. The proposed declaratory act offered the desired point of attack to the former; and the repeal act gave a similar advantage to the latter.

The Ministers, however, having determined upon their course, prepared boldly to face whatever opposition they might have to encounter. Some notion of what they themselves thought of their prospects, may be gathered from various passages in Mr. Secretary Conway's confidential communications to his brother, now before us. Lord Hertford, upon the formation of the present Cabinet, had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in the letters which passed between the two brothers, the public affairs of that country form a principal topic. Writing from London, under date of the 7th November, 1765, Mr. Conway says, 'Your opposition of nine is a pretty little opposition. I should be glad to compound with our opposers for six times that number, and on this head have an unpleasant article to tell you, which is, that Barré (Colonel Barré, who for many years made a considerable figure as one of the leading orators of the more decided section of the Whig party of that day) has refused; I have this day received his very civil, but direct excuse. He is pleased to say he knows very little of the present Administration but myself, and has no knowledge *of the plans of Government*, &c. That is the fashionable language of the great, and almost of the little too; every body is minister, every body plans and lays systems of government. Happy times, which abound in so many great and wise men! What I observe in general is, that every body knows how to govern, but those that should. I know you'll think our affairs quite desperate, after the chasm the poor Duke (of Cumberland) has made, and this capital refusal. Yet we don't at all think so—nor does his Majesty; but rather flatter ourselves the strength on the whole is good and promising. Ch. T. (the able and versatile Charles Townshend, one of the most distinguished figures of that time, but best remembered now from the character drawn of him by Burke; he held the office of Paymaster of the Forces in the present Administration, having succeeded Mr. Fox) is very much disposed and very sanguine; my Lord Chancellor declares himself roundly and strongly, and laughs at all despondency. It is not foreign from our thoughts, *privately* to sound Mr. P. (Pitt); to do it publicly would hurt the cause in this moment; though some time hence it might do us service to have it known it was done. Don't be surprised, *entre nous*, if you hear that I am out again, I mean out of what I am in. You know how I hate this life, and it raises my spirits much to think I see an hole to creep out at. C. T. (Charles Townshend), with all his cordiality, fixes conditions to his good will: *Confidence and the Cabinet* were the word a little while ago; now *he wishes to be useful*, and the way in which he can be so most, is as *Leader of the House*. I closed at once, with the addition, that he should then be Secretary of State too—this only to Lord R. (Rockingham) and the D. of G. (Duke of Grafton, the other Secretary of State) to whom I think aloud; but to day I have privately heard, that he has said in a letter that things were changed since he refused; he did it then on his brother's account, &c., which gives me hopes of doing what I much wish, laying aside my grandeur and my trouble, and the slavery of being tied to a desk, and taking his comfortable employment now, till I can wind about again into the situation I wish, in the army. That's my plan; it suits all my views and ambition, though it will be despised and condemned by many:—if I felt that much, it's clear I should not choose it. This for *ourselves*:—that I dislike my station all the world may know.' On the 14th November he writes in much the same tone: 'You say I must have been in Ireland to know how much business you have. I was in Ireland, and to be sure not in an idle station (he had been Irish Secretary in 1755, when the Marquis of Hartington was Lord Lieutenant), yet, for my sins, it is now *in England* I learn what business really is, and learn to be so sick of it, I envy every captain I see.' These are interesting revelations. Indolent and unambitious, and with his heart in his profession, Conway certainly was not a man fashioned to enjoy as many would do the giddy elevation of the place he now occupied. His tastes, feelings, and habits of thought and action, indeed, were all such as to make him feel out of his proper element while a member of the Cabinet. The duties and necessities of his situation here, demanding, as they must have always done, coolness, reserve, and caution—sometimes, perhaps, a good deal of manœuvring and compromise—must have been felt as a burdensome and irritating restraint by a person of his frank, liberal, and generous temperament. We have mentioned already the apprehension he expresses in this very letter lest a course should be adopted as to American affairs which might involve him in embarrassment. In another, written a few weeks before, telling his brother the gratification with which he had heard of his encouragement of the Irish manufactures by some domestic regulations he had made, he characteristically adds—'I, who retain a little spice of my opposition spirit, and think that the satisfaction and advantage of multitudes outweighs a thousand private inconveniences.'

In a subsequent part of his letter of the 14th November, he says—'I have little news of a domestic kind. I believe I told you Barré refuses; that you'll dislike, and yet I think we much rather gain than lose ground on the whole, notwithstanding even our late unhappy loss' (the death of the Duke of Cumberland.) On the 27th of December, during the adjournment, he writes—'As to our affairs here, I can tell you nothing new, at least with any certainty

Mr. Pitt has declared, in general terms, strongly in favour of our measures: yet he keeps at Bath, and at a distance every way. Beckford, Cooke, Prowse, and other independent men, are strongly with us: if anything goes wrong, it will be by a rottenness within. A certain party kept aloof, and, the world says, are certainly forming a *bande à part*: I mean Lord B.'s (Bute's) friends—the two Townshends particularly: and if they have a mind, the American affairs will give them an opportunity to be troublesome. Lord Shelburne and Barré seem particularly fixed nowhere. Lord Temple and Lord Lyttleton will, I think, both oppose. The Lord Chancellor and the Yorkes are, in appearance, very mum. Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden doubtful. This is a little sketch of our political anatomy. What opinion does it give you?"

When Parliament at length re-assembled, on the 14th of January, 1766, no amendment was moved to the Address in the Lords; but an interesting debate took place in the Commons, in the course of which the leaders of most of the various parts in the House took up their ground, and announced, at least in so far, the views they held. Mr. Pitt approved of the Address on the ground that it decided nothing, and left every member at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America as he might afterwards see fit. Turning to Mr. Grenville, near to whom he stood, he said that, as to the late Ministry, every capital measure they had taken had been entirely wrong. Then looking over to the bench where Mr. Conway sat with the Lords of the Treasury, he proceeded—"As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye, I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his Majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own I advised them to engage; but, notwithstanding, I love to be explicit; I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen (bowing to the Ministry), confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence." He then stated his opinions as to American affairs:—"It is my opinion," he said, "that this kingdom has no right to levy a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone."

When Mr. Pitt sat down, Mr. Conway rose, and declared that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the right honourable gentleman. "That they are so conformable," he added, "is a circumstance that affects me with most sensible pleasure, and does me the greatest honour." It is extraordinary that Mr. Conway should have expressed himself in such terms as these, while he had in his pocket the resolution about to be proposed, declaring the British Parliament to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*; and his conduct would be altogether unaccountable had we not seen how Mr. Pitt himself, while denying the right of England to tax America, could still assert the authority of the former in terms quite as ample. It is certain, however, that Mr. Pitt's novel and singular distinction, if it was acquiesced in by Mr. Conway, was not adopted by his colleagues in the Cabinet, and was not the principle of the declaratory act which they afterwards brought in.

Before he sat down, Mr. Conway took occasion emphatically to deny the existence of the overruling influence (that, namely, of Lord Bute) at which Mr. Pitt had hinted. "I see nothing of it," he said; "I feel nothing of it; I disclaim it for myself, and, as far as my discernment can reach, for all the rest of his Majesty's Ministers."

The Address was voted without a division, in the terms proposed by Ministers. Both Houses then resolved themselves into committees for the examination of papers and persons in relation to the American disturbances; and in this task they were engaged for some weeks.

The Report of the Committee of the Lords was brought up on the 10th of February, and on the same day five resolutions were moved by Ministers, asserting the full sovereignty of the mother country, and reprobating the resistance which had been offered to the Stamp Act. Nothing was said as to the repeal of that act. In the debate which ensued, the Duke of Grafton distinctly declared his opinion to be that the Americans were as liable to be taxed as any man in Great Britain; and he intimated that it was to put down any doubt upon that point that the first of the five resolutions was proposed. Lord Shelburne spoke next. He gave no direct opinion on the right of Parliament to tax America, but was understood rather to admit the right. He deprecated, however, the bringing of constitutional matters into debate without necessity, and contended that it would be much better to pass merely an act repealing the stamp duty, without any declaratory act. His Lordship was at this time looked upon as the head of the party to which Colonel Barré belonged. Lord Lyttleton, who followed, asserted the right of taxation in the strongest terms. His Lordship and Lord Temple, since the reconciliation of the latter with his brother, Mr. Grenville, may be considered to have completely joined the Tory opposition, or party of the late Ministers. Lord Lyttleton was answered by Lord Camden, who upon this occasion made his first speech in the House of Lords, and endeavoured to maintain, by a long historical deduction, the same doctrine which had been propounded by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons. The arguments of his Lordship were replied to, first, by the Chancellor Northington, and after him by Lord Mansfield: and the former of these two noble Lords, though a member of the Government, signified intelligibly enough in the course of his speech that he was even opposed to the act of repeal. The resolutions were eventually agreed to.

We will now give another passage from one of Mr. Conway's letters, which reveals certain movements that were going on in the meantime out of the public view. On the 13th of February he writes:—"As to politics, I can scarce say what it is in my power to tell you. Our divisions in the two Houses respectively you have heard;* their consequences are not easily ascertained. His Majesty had told Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton that he was for the repeal: but he on Tuesday told Lord Strange that he was *not so now*—that he wished his opinion to be known, and his Lordship might declare it. This ran through the House of Commons and the town, and has had an odd effect. Our ministerial lives were not thought worth three days' purchase. His Majesty has been pleased to explain himself to us, that he always was for the repeal, when contrasted with enforcing the whole act, but not as compared with *modification*. We told his Majesty this distinction was unfortunately not explained to us: and that in consequence we had (as he had allowed Lord Rockingham particularly to do) declared his Majesty to be for the repeal: and that on all accounts we were engaged and obliged to push that measure. It was very mortifying to us, and very unhappy, that it now appeared to be against his Majesty's sentiments, which put us into an odd predicament, being under a necessity of carrying on a great public measure against his Majesty's declared sentiments, and with great numbers of his servants acting against us. He was not displeased, he said, with our freedom—thought we acted like honest men—had no design of parting us—always foresaw the difficulties which might attend his business—but that, once over, he hoped *all things would go smoothly again*. You see that this might branch out into very long details, had I time for them: but this is the substance. 'Tis a whimsical situation, and what will be the event I don't know. I think the Bill of Repeal will probably pass, because our disposition for it is too strong in the House of Commons for *anything* now to conquer; and the Lords, I think, with submission, dare not resist it."

On the following Thursday, at past ten o'clock at night, he adds:—"I am this moment returning from the House of Commons, and shall now close my long letter with telling you that I have heard, from *very good* authority, that no junction between Lord Bute's and the Bedford party is formed. He says he has been asked, and refused absolutely; and that they have been mean enough to apply to him directly and in person—to acknowledge their former errors in

* Up to this time we find no divisions recorded in the common accounts of the parliamentary proceedings.

regard to him—and to ask a combination. How much has one more to learn of the excessive corruption and pitiful meanness of the times! There is at least one advantage of high stations, though 'tis a melancholy one—that of seeing the inside of the cards, and being more acquainted with the depravity of our fellow-creatures."

The letter concludes with the following loose paragraphs: "I think our ministerial stocks much risen to-day; we hold our own ground, and our own way steadily, without caballing, and without looking to the right or left; and I think, for some time at least, we shall be able to hold up our heads. I can't about no period beyond the repeal of the Stamp Act.

"Lord Rockingham wrote down and showed to the King the words of his Majesty's declaration to him—*that his Majesty was for the repeal, and that he* (Lord Rockingham) *was at liberty to say so.* His Majesty allowed and approved them; but added to them with his pencil—*that he thought the question then was between total enforcement and total repeal.*

"I was told to-day by a gentleman, who said his authority was *incontestable*, that a change of ministry was now settled, and would be declared to-morrow. It is impossible—if anything can be so.

"P.S.—You see how delicate this ground is, and will use my intelligence accordingly."

In the House of Commons the committee of the whole House did not bring their examination of papers and persons to a close before the 21st of February. Burke, in going over the history of the proceedings in his great speech in 1774, says—"I think the inquiry lasted in the committee for six weeks; and, at its conclusion, this House, by an independent, noble, spirited, and unexpected majority—by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in Parliament—in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiss of State—in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events—in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court—gave a total repeal to the Stamp Act, and (if it had been so permitted) a lasting peace to this whole empire."

The vote here alluded to is that of the committee on the 21st of February, in favour of the last of the seven resolutions which it was resolved to report to the House—that recommending that leave should be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The numbers on the division were—275 for the resolution, and 167 against it. No account of the discussion is preserved in the printed reports of the 'Parliamentary Debates;' but it was no doubt on this occasion that the scene took place which is so nobly described in a subsequent passage of the speech to which we have just referred:—"I will do justice—I ought to do it—to the honourable gentleman who led us in this House (Mr. Conway). Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from any body) the true state of things; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this House. It was a time for a man to act in. We had powerful enemies, but we had faithful and determined friends, and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight, but we had the means of fighting: not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day, and conquer.

"I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Conway) who made the motion for the repeal, in that crisis when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When at length you had determined in their favour, and your doors thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards—the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. *Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest.* I stood near him, and his face, to use the expression of the scripture of the first martyr, 'his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.' I do not know how others feel; but if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us altogether for ever; but, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished."

The report of the committee was brought up on the 24th, and the question of receiving it gave rise to a long debate, which has not been reported. It appears, however, that an amendment which was moved upon the resolution recommending the repeal, was rejected by a majority of 240 to 133. Soon after one o'clock on the morning of the 25th, the House adjourned till the 26th, on which day the two bills were brought in according to order: that for the better securing the dependency of the colonies by Mr. Fuller, and that for the repeal of the Stamp Act, immediately afterwards, by Mr. Secretary Conway. Both bills having been read once, were ordered to be read a second time next morning. The printed accounts of the debates give us no further account of the progress of either, merely stating that both eventually passed the House. Mr. Conway, however, writing to his brother on the morning of the 27th, says—"Our act of *Repeal* is read the second time to-day, together with that of *Right*—if they'll permit us; but the determined opposition hitherto given, and promised as we proceed in any stage of this bill, makes it impossible to determine the progress we shall make." In a subsequent letter, dated the 5th of March, he supplies us with the following particulars: "I don't wonder you are puzzled with our politics: they never were more a riddle. However, on Tuesday the Repeal Bill passed our House by a majority of 250 to 122, though under the same disadvantages as to the parties engaged against it. Nothing could more strongly mark this than a ridiculous incident which happened that night in the House; for Mr. B. Gascoigne, for what reasons he perhaps may know, read a letter in the House, which he said was writ to a person at Liverpool. In it was an account of one of our former debates and divisions, which, it said, was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding there were joined in the opposition to it all Lord Bute's friends, the Duke of Bedford's, Mr. Grenville's, and the Tories; and the letter ended by saying that Mr. Pitt must soon be at the head of affairs. You may imagine the effect so strange a circumstance must produce—the gross impropriety of reading a private letter—the direct denomination of persons—and the awkwardness to the parties concerned. However, the novelty of the thing, the curiosity, and the satisfaction of the majority in the House, and the conscious shame in others, were so prevalent, that the absurdity of the fact was lost and forgot: the more, as Mr. Pitt, with infinite cleverness, seized the opportunity—talked of the history of the times—the supposed conjunction of parties, at least the attempts towards it—and the conferences that a *bird sung* had been held, alluding to the well-known conversations between the Duke of Bedford and Grenville, and my Lord Bute, in which he (Pitt) said, *if the bird sung true*, that nobleman, in refusing to enter into any combinations, had done himself honour, and showed himself a friend to his King, and to the true interest of his country, &c. I suppose you know that Lord Bute and his friends have *published*, that in these conferences the Duke of Bedford and George Grenville actually recanted all their former abuse and behaviour, and proposed *friendship* and *alliance*; and that his Lordship, with great dignity, said, "It was pleasing to any man to have justice done him, and that he had no objection to their friendship which they offered: but that, if they meant to go farther, and to propose any kind of political connexion, or any factious engagement, he was resolved to have no part in it, &c." You may imagine, then, how these explanations embarrassed the Grenville and Bedford party. Mr. Grenville showed it to the greatest degree—spoke in great anger, and called upon Mr. Pitt for farther explanation, but gave none himself; and Mr. Pitt, who replied in the same strain of temper and humour he had spoke (in) before, only said coolly, he saw no reason the gentleman had to be angry; and that, having told all he had heard of the story, he did not see how any farther explanation was wanting. The bill was carried up yesterday: the Repeal by me, and the Bill of Right by our chairman, Mr. Rose Fuller. To-morrow the Lords will take the latter into consideration; the other, I think, probably not till Monday, and I have no doubt of its being carried there. For the rest, our affairs are still critical in the ministerial light. I think, however, I see daylight

for some solid settlement; I wish I could say it was clearer. Mr. Pitt is not averse to coming in, but sees great difficulties, he says, almost to impracticability."

The Repeal Bill encountered great opposition in the House of Lords, but it eventually passed. A long debate, in particular, took place on the 11th of March, after it had been read a second time, on the question that it should be committed. On this occasion, besides the Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton, and others of the Ministers (among the rest, the Chancellor, who shortly before had seemed adverse to the measure), both Lords Camden and Shelburne supported the bill. On the other hand, it was opposed, among others, by Viscount Townshend (the brother of Mr. Charles Townshend), Lord Mansfield, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lyttleton, and Earl Temple. When the House divided, the numbers were found to be—contents, 105; not contents, 71. The minority recorded on the Journals their hostility to the measure in a long protest, which was signed by 33 Peers. On the 17th, another debate took place on the motion for the third reading, in the course of which the Tory Peers (the Earl of Bute and Lord Gower) addressed the House against the measure. The motion was carried by a majority of 34. Twenty-eight Noble Lords signed a second protest against the decision which the House came to on this occasion. The bill received the Royal assent on the 20th.

All this while, however, the position of the Ministry was becoming every day more difficult and insecure; and notwithstanding the manner in which—supported by public opinion, and some of the strongest interests in the country—they had so far been enabled to maintain their ground in the parliamentary campaign, it was felt both by themselves and others that things could not long remain in the state in which they were. The formidable dangers and embarrassments by which Lord Rockingham and his colleagues were surrounded on all sides, have been forcibly sketched by Mr. Burke in another passage of his great speech:—"The Noble Lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilst they trembled at the prospect of such distresses as you have since brought upon yourselves, were not afraid steadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ablest, and, let me say, not the most scrupulous, oppositions, that perhaps ever was in this House; and withstood it, unaided by even one of the usual supports of administration. He did this when he repealed the Stamp Act. He looked in the face of a person he had long respected and regarded, and whose aid was then particularly wanting: I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he passed the Declaratory Act. . . . I confess, when I look back to that time, I consider him as placed in one of the most trying situations in which, perhaps, any man ever stood. In the House of Peers there were very few of the Ministry, out of the Noble Lord's own particular connexion (except Lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could discern, an honourable and manly part), that did not look to some other future arrangement, which warped his politics. There were, in both Houses, new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other than a most resolute minister from his measure or from his station. The household troops openly revolted. The allies of the Ministry (those, I mean, who supported some of their measures, but refused responsibility for any) endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that must be fatal to the success of the very cause which they would be thought to countenance. The question of the repeal was brought on by Ministry, in the committee of this House, in the very instant when it was known that more than one court negociation was carrying on with the heads of the opposition. Every thing, upon every side, was full of traps and mines. Earth below shook—heaven above menaced—all the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved. It was in the midst of this chaos of plots and counterplots—it was in the midst of this complicated warfare against public opposition and private treachery, that the firmness of that noble person was put to the proof. He never stirred from his ground—no, not an inch; he remained fixed and determined in principle, in measures, and in conduct; he practised no managements; he secured no retreat; he sought no apology."

In these circumstances the eyes of the country were generally [illegible] to Mr. Pitt; and a junction with that distinguished [illegible] was also the desire and hope of some, at least, among the ministers themselves, and especially of the Duke of Grafton and his friend Mr. Conway. Several of the passages we have quoted from the letters of the latter show sufficiently how he felt. From a minute by Mr. Nuthall, Solicitor to the Treasury, which has been printed in the Rev. F. Thackeray's 'History of Lord Chatham' (vol. ii. p. 76), it appears that so early as the end of February an attempt to open a negociation with Pitt had been made by Lord Rockingham himself. Mr. Nuthall, who was the medium of the communication from his Lordship, has recorded Mr. Pitt's reply in the following terms:—"In answer to the honour of Lord Rockingham's message by Mr. Nuthall, Mr. Pitt desires to assure his Lordship that he should be proud and happy to confer with Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway, openly and unreservedly, upon the formation of an administration, if respect and duty to the King did not indispensably forbid him without his Majesty's express commands so to do, sensible that nothing but the King's most gracious pleasure that he should lay his feeble thoughts in the royal presence at his Majesty's disposal can acquit him, as a private individual, of the highest presumption in obtruding his opinion in a matter of this nature. Mr. Pitt cannot enough express the sense he has of the honour Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway do him by this mark of their favourable opinion, and trusts that difficulties, on his part, from the nature of things insurmountable, will not be construed into any want of regard, inclination, or confidence."

Mr. Nuthall's minute is dated the 27th of February. From the expressions here attributed to Mr. Pitt, it has been supposed that in an interview with the King something had been said which he thought precluded him from conferring with the Marquis of Rockingham, respecting the formation of a Ministry, without the express command of his Majesty; but this inference seems unnecessary. It rather appears that Mr. Pitt professed to hold generally that it was improper for a person in his situation—or perhaps for any private individual—to enter into such a negociation as that proposed without having received the command of the King. He probably also thought it due to himself to stand aloof until his advice should be desired by his Majesty. This may be inferred from what is stated in the following passage of a letter of Mr. Conway's, dated the 29th of April. For a short time previous to this, Mr. Conway had been absent from Parliament in consequence of illness. He says: "We are in a most embarrassed situation here, and all business either moves slowly, or stands still. While I was ill, Mr. Pitt took a fit of *rest*, because he was not applied to, nor treated with; he came down one day, picked a German quarrel, and fell upon the Ministry pretty roughly: since that, he has continued much in the same strain, though still professing not to act hostilely, and speaking with particular regard of the Duke of Grafton and myself. He has not, however, done anything directly hostile, except on the militia affair; but Lord Shelburne's brother voted against Mr. Dowdeswell on the tax, last day (Monday). Barré (for it the former day) was now absent; but Beckford, Cooke, &c., voted for it.

I went with the Duke of Grafton last night to Mr. Pitt, as I have been absent all this time, and not yet at the House, to see if there was a possible means yet of doing anything with him, and to express my opinion and inclinations, and my vexation for what had happened during my illness, when he thought himself slighted and neglected. He was exceedingly civil, and I think, too, as much disposed to come in; but then the insuperable bar of his going *immediately* to the King remains; he makes it a *sine qua non*; and his Majesty is strongly resolved against it. So there, I think, it ends. The Duke of Grafton, on this, has taken his absolute resolution to resign; and it seems doubtful for the rest whether we shall or can go on. Lord Bute's people have still been shy, and none of them have given any support; which if it does not alter, it is ridiculous to continue; it must immediately be resolved.

"I began this on Tuesday, and had not time to finish. It was Wednesday evening I went with the Duke of Grafton to Mr. Pitt, hearing he was to go out of town immediately, and, it appearing so strongly by all I had heard that he was disgusted, thought himself neglected, and that some new system had been adopted with regard to him. I was resolved to explain to him my own consistency with what I had professed—that I knew of no such change—and, though I saw very little hopes of success, to make a last effort, and know from him whether there were yet any means

left by which he might be brought to act with us. "I was told that this would exasperate him the more; that if we went without any proposition from the King, he would say we only came to sound him, &c. However, I thought I know my ground better; I was convinced of his regard for the Duke of Grafton, and of the opinion he constantly expressed of me; and I found my ideas fully confirmed. Nothing could be more polite than his reception: nothing more fair and temperate than his discourse, in a long conversation. I am sure he was pleased with the visit, and took perfectly in good part all I said, though I told him what, I believe, had never been told him plainly before,—that I was sure the King would not at present send for him—and then submitted to him whether, when the end was so great (as there appeared little hopes of any solid settlement without him) there might not be some little relaxation in the means? He took it vastly well; but said, as he had but very little hopes before of coming to any satisfactory agreement, so this, which he looked upon as a fresh indication of the little disposition there was at present in his Majesty towards him, made him the more resolved to follow his plan of retreat, which has his real inclination, seeing little comfort in being concerned in public business in so critical and difficult a situation, and so constituted as men and things were in this country; and that he should, in a few days, go down to Bath, and from thence to his house in Somersetshire, and should probably hereafter take little or no part in any public affairs, even in the House; where, however, any very essential questions might still call him if his health permitted. Much more passed, but this was the substance; and he ended with a compliment to me, and with saying he was sorry for the trouble I was like to have, and the burden that would probably lie upon me. I omitted that he declared he should never act an hostile part to this Administration, or to any set of men, while they pursued those measures which he had declared himself a friend to: and that he should be always ready, whenever his Majesty's sentiments should change, to obey any commands he might have for him."

About a fortnight after this letter was written, the Duke of Grafton resigned, as we find it here stated that he intended to do. His Grace, according to the account given by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son, dated the 13th June, declared in the House of Lords "that he had no objection to the persons or to the means of the present Ministers; but that he thought they wanted strength and efficiency to carry on proper measures with success; and that he knew but one man (meaning Mr. Pitt) who could give them that strength and solidity; that under this person he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a spade and a mattock." The seals of Secretary of State were offered first to Lord Egmont and then to Lord Hardwicke, and refused by both. Lord Hardwicke, however, consented to give his countenance and aid to the Ministry by accepting a seat in the Cabinet without an office. The Duke of Richmond, who, Lord Chesterfield says, begged the office, was eventually appointed the Duke of Grafton's successor. Meanwhile a place in the Cabinet had also been offered to Lord Lyttleton and declined; Lord North had refused the appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer and also that of Vice Treasurer for Ireland; the Presidency of the Board of Trade had been in vain pressed upon Lord Shelburne; his Lordship declined also the appointment of Ambassador to Paris, and both that and the embassy to Madrid were declined by Lord Townshend.

Even the support which the Ministers received in the House of Commons was now become of the most precarious description. In the same letter, from which our last extract was taken, Mr. Conway writes: "Yesterday was expected as a grand day of trial in the House. The American regulations were to be resolved; it was thought and said confidently that Mr. Pitt would second a motion Mr. Beckford was to make for putting the whole off for this year; and many thought we should be run hard, if not beat, on the question. Dowdeswell, who had been quite discouraged by having had of late no support but from the Treasury bench, came and proposed adjourning for a week, till things were settled. I absolutely refused and rejected this, as the most miserable mark of weakness. I went down to the House, the first time I had been there, and found things take quite another turn. The motion was made; but Pitt, instead of supporting, opposed it, and proposed going on upon Monday to hear some more evidence which was desired, and this was so reasonable it was generally accepted, and we had little debate and no division."

Soon after this the Ministers were beaten in the Lords on a measure, the carrying of which they were understood to have much at heart. This was a bill to declare the illegality of general warrants. The subject was first brought before the House of Commons on the 22nd of April, when a resolution condemnatory of general warrants was carried by a majority of 173 to 71. A bill founded upon this resolution was afterwards brought in, and was read a third time and passed on the 14th of May; but having been carried to the Upper House, it was there thrown out.

The last notice of the difficulties of the Ministry, which we find in Mr. Conway's letters, is under the date of the 8th of May. "I am sorry," he writes, "to say our affairs here are not yet settled; I rather hope soon to let you know they are." From this time there is a break in the series of the letters for more than three years.

It is said that the King's displeasure had been strongly excited against the Ministers by an alleged want of alacrity on their part in making application to Parliament for a provision for his younger brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and Prince Henry Frederick. A royal message was at last brought down to the Commons upon this subject on the 3rd of June, in which his Majesty stated that he had intended to have recommended the making of such provision, but that he should now, in consequence of the advanced season of the year, defer doing so till the next session. On the 6th of the same month Parliament was prorogued.

The Ministry was now like a top which approaches the end of its spinning. Instead of being allowed, however, to drop quietly down, its course was destined to be somewhat rudely stopped. Immediately after the prorogation, the subject of the settlement of a permanent form of government for Canada came before the Cabinet. This occasion was seized by the Chancellor Northington to strike a blow which it is understood he had been for some time meditating. The Ministers having met at his house, his lordship not only objected to the course which they proposed to adopt in regard to the matter before them, but complained that he had been for some time treated with neglect in various instances. The meeting broke up without any resolution having been come to; and the Chancellor then intimated that he should take no farther part in the discussion. Two more consultations, however, took place at the Duke of Richmond's house at Whitehall upon the same subject, and at the last of these it was understood that everything had been satisfactorily arranged; but on the following day the Lord Chancellor went to the King, and having informed his Majesty that it was impossible for the Ministers to retain their situations, declared that he should not attend any more Cabinet meetings, and that he must therefore decline any longer to hold the Great Seal. He at the same time advised that Mr. Pitt should be sent for.

The consequence was, that his lordship was soon after commanded to wait upon that gentleman, and to invite him to form an administration upon his own conditions. On the 12th of July Mr. Pitt had a short audience of the King at Richmond, when his Majesty stated that he had no terms to propose, but should place himself entirely in his hands. Writing to his son on the preceding day, Lord Chesterfield says, "Here are great bustles at Court, and a great change of persons is certainly very near. You will ask me, perhaps, who is to be out and who is to be in? To which I answer, I do not know. My conjecture is, that, be the new settlement what it will, Mr. Pitt will be at the head of it." The writer then intimates that in that case he presumes Mr. Pitt must have relaxed somewhat in the matter of Lord Bute; and he adds, "when that shall come to be known, as known it certainly will soon be, he may bid adieu to his popularity."

On the evening of the day on which he had been with the King, Mr. Pitt had interviews both with Lord Northington and with Mr. Conway, in which the principal arrangements for the new administration were agreed upon. In the meantime it appears that Mr. Pitt had advised that his Majesty should send for Lord Temple, with whom, notwithstanding their recent difference of politics, he continued to maintain his old habits of intercourse and friendship. His proposal was that Lord Temple should be placed at the head of the Treasury, and that his appointment should be communicated to him by the King himself. On the 13th

the Chancellor, by his Majesty's commands, sent for Lord Temple from his seat at Stowe; and on the 15th his lordship came to Richmond, and had an interview with the King, who informed him of what had taken place, and said that he expected his Lordship would assist Mr. Pitt in making the new arrangements.

On the following day, in consequence of a note from Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple came to the house of that gentleman at North End, Hampstead. When his Lordship was now informed that the entire formation of the Ministry had been committed to Mr. Pitt, he at once declined to take any place in the new cabinet, and persisted in his refusal notwithstanding all that Mr. Pitt could urge. They separated in anger, and were not reconciled for some years. Lord Temple professed that his wish was to form an administration which should comprehend men of all parties; the Whigs, the party headed by his brother Mr. Grenville, and even the Tories, one of the most distinguished of whose leaders (Lord Gower) he proposed to make Secretary of State. He said that if he had been first sent for by the King, he should have insisted upon Mr. Pitt being associated in the commission to arrange the new Ministry upon equal terms with himself, and he declared that he thought himself ill-treated by Mr. Pitt not having acted in a similar manner. On the following day he went to the King, and informed his Majesty that Mr. Pitt's terms were such as he could not accede to consistently with his honour; and on the same evening he told Lord Northington that the farce was at an end, and the mask off;—his Lordship, he said, need not have sent for him from the country, for there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration.

Mr. Pitt now proceeded to complete his arrangements alone. The task which he had undertaken was not accomplished till he had endured several additional severe mortifications. Lord Rockingham considered himself so ill used in the whole transaction, that when the new Premier requested an interview with him, he refused to see him. Having lost also the support upon which he had counted from Lord Grenville, he was obliged, in many respects, to change his original plan, and to look around for assistance to other quarters. His cabinet was thus fated to assume not a little of the composite character which Lord Temple had wished to impart to it; but many of his applications were met by rejections, in some instances not unaccompanied with something of offensive expression, which was provoked by the ungracious haughtiness of the manner in which they were made. He now offered the seals of Secretary of State to Lord Gower, but they were indignantly refused by that nobleman. Lord Scarborough and Mr. Dowdeswell also declined taking office, on the ground of the rude manner, as they conceived, in which they were applied to.

The new cabinet, however, was at length constructed, and the several appointments announced in the Gazette of the 2d of August. Mr. Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, took to himself the Duke of Newcastle's office of Lord Privy Seal. Lord Camden was made Chancellor, in room of the Earl of Northington, who was transferred to the Presidency of the Council. The Earl of Shelburne was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, Mr. Conway continuing in office as the other. The place of First Lord of the Treasury was bestowed upon the Duke of Grafton; and the Honourable Charles Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer, it being also arranged that he should henceforward be the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded Lord Egmont at the head of the Admiralty; and the Earl of Hillsborough, Lord Dartmouth, as First Lord of Trade. Several changes were also made in the subordinate places of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards. Viscount Barrington was continued as Secretary-at-War; and Lord North and Mr. George Cooke were associated in the office of Paymaster-General, formerly held by Mr. Charles Townshend. In the Household the Duke of Portland was succeeded as Lord Chamberlain by the Earl of Hertford; Lord Edgecumbe as Treasurer, by Mr. John Shelley; and Lord Scarborough as Cofferer, by Mr. Hans Stanley. The Solicitor-General, Mr. William de Grey, became Attorney-General in the room of the Honourable Charles Yorke; and the appointment of Solicitor-General was given to Mr. Edward Willes. The Marquis of Granby was placed at the head of the army.

The displeasure taken by a large portion of the public of these arrangements may be gathered from a letter of Lord Chesterfield's. "The curtain," says his Lordship, writing on the 1st of August, "was at last drawn up, the day before yesterday, and discovered the new actors, together with some of the old ones. I do not name them to you, because to-morrow's 'Gazette' will do it full as well as I could. Mr. Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them: but what would you think he named himself for? Lord Privy Seal, and (what will astonish you, as it does every mortal here) Earl of Chatham. The joke here is that he has had *a fall upstairs*, and has done himself so much hurt that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. Everybody is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt in any respect whatever. Such an event, I believe, was never read nor heard of. To withdraw in the fulness of his power, and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons (which procured him his power, and which could alone ensure it to him), and to go into that hospital of incurables, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could have made me to believe it, but true it is. Lord Shelburne is your Secretary of State; Charles Townshend has now the sole management of the House of Commons; but how long he will be content to be only Lord Chatham's vice-gerent there, is a question which I will not pretend to decide. There is one very bad sign for Lord Chatham in his new dignity, which is, that all his enemies, without exemption, rejoice at it; and all his friends are stupified and dumb-founded. If I mistake not much, he will, in the course of a year, enjoy perfect *otium cum dignitate*."

On the 14th of the same month, we find his Lordship expressing himself again in the same strain:—"It is certain that Mr. Pitt has by, his dignity of Earl, lost the greatest part of his popularity, especially in the city; and I believe the opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail next session in the House of Commons; there being now nobody there who can have the authority and ascendant over them that Pitt had."

Thus was broken up the Ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham, after it had lasted just one year and twenty days. A well known summary of their services, shortly after drawn up by Mr. Burke, and published under the title of 'A Short Account of a Short Administration,' thus concluded:—"The removal of that administration from power is not to them premature, since they were in office long enough to accomplish many plans of public utility, and by their perseverance and resolution rendered the way smooth and easy to their successors; having left their King and their country in a much better situation than they found them. By the temper they manifest, they seem to have no other wish than that their successors may do the public as real and as faithful service as they have done." Mr. Burke left town for Ireland immediately after the dismissal of his friends, and remained there till the meeting of Parliament, with the object, as he has himself stated, "to put himself out of the negociations which were then carrying on very eagerly, and through many channels, with the Earl of Chatham." It is understood that he was offered the place of a lord of trade by the new administration, and that Lord Rockingham advised him to accept the appointment.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEDICAL REFORM.

AMONG the Parliamentary papers which have lately been delivered is the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into, and consider of the laws, regulations, and usages regarding the education and practice of the various branches of the medical profession in the United Kingdom. This is a paper of great interest, not merely to the medical practitioner, but to the public at large. No new arrangements have been recommended by the committee; the extent of the evidence necessary to the completion of the inquiry having obliged them to continue the examination of witnesses until the latest period of the last Session, and "prevented them from giving to the evidence that consideration which is essential to their drawing any such deliberate conclusion therefrom, as they would feel justified in reporting to the House." They therefore have confined themselves to reporting the evidence only, and recommend that the

committee may be re-appointed in the present Session, for the purpose of considering such evidence, and reporting their opinion thereupon to the House. The Report before us consists of two volumes or parts, of which the first contains the evidence relating to the Royal College of Physicians; the second, that relating to the Royal College of Surgeons.

I. The Royal College of Physicians is composed of Fellows, Licentiates, and officers chosen from the Fellows.

These officers are—one president, seven elects, (eight elects); four censors; one registrar; one treasurer; four curators of the Museum, besides the president and the four censors who are curators by virtue of their offices.

The numbers of the several descriptions of members at present, are—

Fellows . .	113,	of whom 60 reside in, or within seven miles of London.
Candidates . .	6	,, 2 ditto.
Inceptor Candidates .	7	,, 3 ditto.
Licentiates . .	274	,, 142 ditto.
	400	207

During a period of 63 years, from 1771 to 1833, inclusive, 168 fellows have been admitted, and four candidates have been rejected; and during a period of 11 years, from 1823 to 1833, inclusive, 126 licentiates have been admitted, and seven candidates rejected.

The licentiates are subjected to as strict a *medical* examination as the fellows; but the invidious distinction still exists, which has so often produced much unpleasant feeling between the two bodies. At present only those physicians who have graduated at Oxford and Cambridge are admitted as fellows. By one of the bye-laws, however, the president is allowed to recommend annually one licentiate of ten years' standing. A bye-law likewise exists, permitting a fellow to propose a licentiate of seven years' standing, and more than 36 years of age, for examination by the college, in order to become a fellow, but this latter privilege appears never to have been acted upon; the attempts that have been made to render it available have always been evaded. In the case of Dr. Stranger, who, nearly 40 years ago, took legal proceedings against the College of Physicians, Mr. Law, (afterwards Lord Ellenborough,) counsel for the plaintiff, made the following observation:—"There has been no person admitted; there have been many trials, but nobody has ever got through that wicket, nor ever will;" and his prophecy appears to have been accomplished, for up to the present time this wicket has never been opened.

How far this exclusive spirit has acted favourably, and how far the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge are better fitted for higher honours than the graduates of other universities, a few extracts from the evidence given will best show. The reason for confining the choice of the electors to the graduates of the two English Universities is thus stated by Sir Henry Halford.

"* * * There is a certain preference of those members in the mind of the fellows of the College; for they are people who have undergone a moral and intellectual trial in the universities from whence they came, to which they are not subject at the foreign universities."—p. 5. "I know those places well, and I know there is an opportunity of undergoing moral discipline, of which the great body who come for a licence have no proofs to give, that they have undergone it. * * * I believe that the physic which they may acquire at Oxford and Cambridge is undervalued by those who reproach the universities for not being schools of physic; but that is of very little importance, if they have their preliminary education. They will go and find physic wherever it is to be found afterwards."—pp. 5, 10.

The medical education of Oxford is measured by duration, not by degree; seven academical years are required to be passed before the student, after first entering, can take his master of arts degree. After an interval of another year, he may obtain his degree of bachelor of medicine, and in three years from that time, the "doctorate" is acquired; it therefore takes eleven complete academical years to become M.D. But according to the practice for many years past, the student is not obliged to attend upon any medical lectures in Oxford; he can attain only the honour there, and must seek the instruction elsewhere. Whether he has obtained the competent knowledge to fit him to become a physician is not made a subject of inquiry; the examination is merely nominal, and he obtains his doctorate because the eleven years are elapsed. No doubt the generality of men who enter a profession in which they can gain eminence only through the exercise of talent and study, will in this interval qualify themselves as much as possible for the station which they wish to occupy; but surely it should be ascertained that they have good claims to the distinction, before it is bestowed. In the examination, before the Committee, of Dr. Kidd, regius professor of physic in the university of Oxford, the following questions and answers occur. "Though no attendance upon medical lectures at Oxford was required, yet were certificates required in proof of those branches of medical study having been pursued in some other school? No: the word of the individual given to the professor, and the knowledge of his habits derivable from the professor's extensive acquaintance, were considered sufficient. * * * In my own case I have relied upon the word of the person, having also collateral testimony from other persons, that he had been employed in studying his profession. * * * Has that (medical exercises, &c.,) been considered as a mere form, or is it intended to be a fair trial of the medical knowledge of the party? For the last half century it has been a mere form. The Syllogisms are merely put *pro formâ?* Quite so. How many acts and opponencies must be kept for the doctorate? None; the candidate must previously read six lectiones in the public schools. Are those lectures matter of form? Yes. Are they all read in one day? In two days I think. Is it usual to compose any lectio really for the occasion; or does any scrap of paper or book read at the time serve the purpose? That entirely depends upon the individual: for nobody is present but himself and the bedel. Does the bedel generally provide the lectio? I am sure I do not know how that is."—pp. 309, 311.

"Before the degree of doctor of medicine is given by the university, means are taken which enable persons acting on behalf of the university to satisfy themselves that the person has competent medical knowledge? Yes. That is not done by examination? No; not by public examination. Is it done by the professor examining the candidate in the various branches of medicine? I apprehend that if the professor had any reason to doubt the proficiency of the individual he would do so. On one occasion I had some reason to doubt, and I made use of my power. In what way did you make use of your power? By actual examination. In what way did you examine the applicant?—Upon the point in which I had reason to suppose he was deficient. What was that? In his knowledge of Greek and Latin. He was a stranger. He came from another university in fact. Was that the only case in which you examined an individual for his degree? It was the only instance in which I thought it necessary to examine an individual for his degree."—p. 318.

The evidence of Dr. Billing, who graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, in the first instance, and subsequently at Oxford, tends to the same point. "I took some oaths of allegiance, and so forth, and then the Vice-Chancellor of the university went through a short form by which I was declared an Oxford doctor of medicine. Has the regulation which requires the graduates of Dublin to go to Oxford or Cambridge before they can obtain admission to the College of Physicians any other effect than that of subjecting the party to expense and inconvenience? Certainly not: it is of no use whatever."—p. 117. It appears that Dr. Billing wished, in the first instance, to be admitted *ad eundem* for a degree of medicine at Cambridge, but his application was refused because he had taken a degree in arts previously to taking his degree in medicine at Dublin. "I had, as they call it, gone out in arts, that is to say, taken the degree of bachelor of arts in Trinity College, Dublin. It would have been a matter of great convenience to me to have gone to Cambridge; and from having friends there I preferred that to Oxford, and applied there first. Who was it that gave you this reason? Dr. Haviland the regius professor. Did he state that it was inconsistent with the statutes of the university, or what reason did he give? That it was inconsistent with the statutes, or contrary to the usage of the university, to admit me a bachelor of medicine, because the university would not permit any of their own members, who had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, subsequently to become bachelor of medicine. It did not at all turn upon the reasonableness of the application? No, it was a mere technical objection. I had taken a degree too much, and, according to the information I re-

ceived, a person who goes out in arts at Cambridge is obliged to pass a much longer time to obtain a degree of doctor of medicine than if he had not gone out in arts; his having acquired additional knowledge compels him to wait a longer time before he can obtain it (the degree). In fact, a person who has taken no degree in arts may become doctor of medicine in his ninth year from matriculation, whereas he who has taken a degree in arts cannot become doctor of medicine until in his fourteenth year."—p. 161. All this is abundantly unreasonable, certainly, but in the main point under consideration, viz., the examination as to medical proficiency, it appears that Cambridge at present leaves Oxford very far behind, and that it is there no longer a mere ceremony. From the evidence of Dr. Elliotson, who went to graduate at Cambridge after he had already been admitted as a licentiate of the College of Physicians in London, and from the evidence of Dr. Burrows, who graduated at Cambridge in 1826, we find that since Dr. Haviland has been appointed regius professor of physic to that university, "the thing has improved exceedingly, and that there is a most respectable examination; such questions as it would be a credit to any man to answer."

To be enabled, however, to pass with credit through an examination under the improved system lately adopted at Cambridge, it is requisite to seek practical knowledge elsewhere. As a school for medicine it is immeasurably inferior to those of London, the students of which are altogether excluded from admittance even among the licentiates of the College, unless they have also passed two years of study at Edinburgh, Dublin, or some foreign university.

The licentiates naturally feel it to be a grievance that, being equally well educated, they cannot attain to the same honours as the fellows; especially as their exclusion is considered by many to be "totally inconsistent with the charter of the College, and no ground can be perceived for its adoption on any principle that would be considered professionally equitable." The only argument brought forward in favour of this distinction is the superiority of the preliminary education at the two universities.

This preliminary education, however, on which so much stress is laid, is reluctantly admitted by its advocates to be no very high qualification. "I acknowledge," says Dr. Paris, "that a person may pass through examinations and obtain a degree with a very moderate quantity of knowledge."—p 180. As to the moral discipline, it is observed in another part of the evidence, "Knowledge, I think, is equally valuable, whether it is acquired in one place or another; and I do not see any ground for its being considered that morality and good conduct are confined to Oxford and Cambridge. It is not generally supposed that those are the best soils for the culture of such qualities."—p. 238.

The medical examinations which a candidate must undergo before being admitted a fellow, are exactly the same as those which a licentiate is obliged to pass through, with this only difference, that the first is required to have a knowledge of Greek as well as of Latin; in which latter language the examination is always conducted. Dr. Elliotson was asked,—"After taking your degree at Cambridge, and then applying to be admitted into the order of Candidates of the College of Physicians, were you required to undergo another examination? Just the same as if I had never been to the College before. The only difference was that on the first examinations they put Celsus and Sydenham before me to construe; in the examinations for the candidateship, they put Hippocrates and Aretæus. How long did your first examination for the licentiateship last? The examination usually lasts about twenty minutes, I think; sometimes longer. * * It is not a very extensive or profound examination. * *. There is no great examination; nothing worth the name in chemistry or botany."—p. 105.

"Do you consider those examinations a sufficient test of medical fitness? A very imperfect test. * * The examination was very limited or partial; the time was so short that only a few subjects could be touched upon. There is much of chance in such examinations." [Dr. Arnott. p. 154.]

"The examination by the College of Physicians was no test at all; the three examinations did not last above twenty-eight minutes altogether." [Dr. Johnson, p. 236.]

"Do you think it possible for a person ignorant of the subject on which he is examined to pass an examination before the College of Physicians? I think a man may pass an examination at the College of Physicians who is a good classical scholar, but knows nothing of chemistry, nothing of medical jurisprudence, nothing of surgery, little or nothing of anatomy, nothing of the diseases of women in childbed, and nothing of the manner of delivering them. I think a man with all those items of knowledge wanting might pass the examination for licentiate, and therefore for fellow, as the medical examinations for both are allowed to be identical. What opinion have you of the fitness of conducting the examination at the College of Physicians in Latin? I think it exceedingly injurious, for it narrows the field of knowledge both of the questioner and the examined. That is supposing that the examiner could not speak Latin correctly? I say that it narrows the ground of the examination, because I know of no man either in or out of the College of Physicians who speaks Latin as well as he does English. If the party examined were a fluent speaker of classical Latin, do not you think that he would thence derive assistance in concealing his comparative ignorance of the medical subject on which he was examined? No doubt he would; and a man ignorant of Latin would derive a similar cloak to conceal his ignorance, because he would get credit for knowing his subject and for being able to answer if he might only dare to speak English." [Sir David Barry, p. 166.]

"May not an examination in Latin of the candidates for a degree or license have the effect of concealing from the examiner the real state of the knowledge of the person examined? I think the practice exceedingly objectionable, for several reasons; one of them is implied in the question. Then there are persons who, judging aright of the importance of that study, have not chosen to waste their time upon it, but have been labouring to acquire positive knowledge of medical matters; and the consequence in some cases has been, that in the examination before the College, their slight literary deficiency has been allowed to bring disgrace upon them, and the great amount of their medical attainments has not availed them. A person speaking, for instance, very pure Latinity, but having a very moderate knowledge of the medical subject on which he was examined, might perhaps pass with greater eclat than a person having less classical knowledge of the language, but a much greater knowledge of the branches of medical science? I think he might; I am afraid that that comparatively unimportant qualification would weigh in many cases, and be more important in the result of the examination than the professional knowledge of the individual." [Dr. Arnott, p. 160.]

II. The Royal College of Surgeons requires that the candidates for a diploma must be at least twenty-two years of age; must have been engaged five years in the acquisition of professional knowledge; have studied anatomy by attendance on lectures and demonstrations, and by dissections, during two anatomical seasons, extending from October to April inclusive, comprising at least 140 lectures on anatomy, occupying not less than one hour each, given on separate days; and 100 demonstrations of the like duration, given in a similar manner, exclusive of dissections, of which distinct certificates are required. They must likewise have attended two courses of lectures on surgery, each course comprising not less than sixty lectures; and lectures on the practice of physic, on chemistry, and on midwifery, during six months; and on botany and materia medica during three months. They must also have attended during twelve months the surgical practice of a recognised hospital in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen; or for six months in any one of such hospitals, and twelve months in any properly-constituted provincial hospital, acknowledged by the council as competent for the purposes of instruction. The council consists of twenty-one members. The number of the members of the College is at present 8536; of these there appear to be resident in

London, and within three miles thereof	1206
Bath	70
Birmingham	74
Bristol	101
Cheltenham	23
Leeds	44
Liverpool	98
Manchester	103
Sheffield	21
In the other cities and larger market-towns in England	1176
The smaller market-towns, and the other parts of England	2696
Ireland	605

Scotland	210
Wales	220
The East Indies, and the service of the East India Company	432
West Indies and the other colonies, and in other parts abroad	333
In the army	340
In the navy	183
Without any known place of residence	601

The number of members residing in London and practising surgery only, may be estimated at 100; and those residing in the country and practising surgery only, may be estimated at about the same number. These members only are eligible to be elected to the council; those who practice pharmacy or midwifery are not admitted, on the ground that the general practitioner cannot give up his time and attention so exclusively to surgery, as is required to gain pre-eminence in that branch of his profession. This reason is, however, by no means satisfactory to the whole of the profession. "Considering that by far the greater number of the members are general practitioners, is it a reasonable bye-law which excludes them wholly from any participation in the government of their own college, and limits the government to those exclusively who confine, or are reported to confine their practice to surgery? No; I do not consider it reasonable. Has it given rise to any dissatisfaction? Great dissatisfaction. Ought the practice of pharmacy to be a ground of exclusion? I think it exceedingly cruel and improper. There are some of the most eminent men that this country has produced, who at one time or another had some dealings in pharmacy. * * * Ought the practice of midwifery to be a ground of exclusion?—Far less so."—[J. Wardrop, Esq. p. 171. Part ii.]

The number of candidates for the diploma of the College examined during eleven years, from 1823 to 1833, both inclusive, was 4305 approved, and 316 rejected. It appears from the evidence of Mr. John Scott and others, that the examinations are now much more strict and extensive than they were a few years ago: the proportion however of rejected candidates is less in the latter years. In 1823 the rejections were 1 in 10, and in 1833, 1 in 14. But although great improvements have been made in the education of medical students of the present day, it is considered that there is still much more to be done. The various opinions on this subject, of the most eminent members of the profession are contained in these volumes, but it is a matter of no small difficulty, amid such a mass of valuable evidence, to select that which possesses the greatest interest. We subjoin some of Dr. Arnott's remarks on the subject.

"What is the course of education which you think persons intending to practise medicine or surgery should undergo?—I think they should receive a complete general education, as well as what is more strictly technical; for the living human individual being made up of parts and functions, which are *mechanical*, or *chemical*, or *vital*, or *mental*, and the causes of disease, as well as all the remedies, belonging to the same four classes, which constitute the whole of human science, it is essential that the medical student should obtain considerable acquaintance with all of them, and therefore as preliminary studies should apply to 1st. physics, or natural philosophy; 2nd. chemistry; 3rd. physiology, or the philosophy of life, as deduced from examination of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and 4th. psychology, or the philosophy of mind; these four departments, I think, are essential as preliminary studies. The time for the acquisition of those four departments, if well taught, and in the degrees in which it would be necessary for a medical man to acquire them, would not be very great. A portion of the time now wasted on the ill-ordered study of the Greek and Latin classics would suffice for this purpose. . . . . Would you require a knowledge of the learned languages?—To a certain extent. It was a saying of Milton, that in one year, by a better mode of study, the young men of this country might learn more of Greek and Latin, than they did in seven years by the mode of study that prevailed in his day. I believe this, and that the system has not been at all improved since Milton's day, at least in the public schools and universites. . . . The day was, when in Europe no good book existed upon medical or other science, which was not written in Greek or Latin. At that time, therefore, those languages were the keys to all knowledge; now, however, we have much better books upon every scientific subject, with the single exception, perhaps, of Euclid's geometry, in modern languages; and a man who should pretend to study science in a Greek or Latin author, would be wasting his time; he could be preferring to learn, first from a person who would give him only half information, and who held many false opinions, on something which it was of great importance to him to know truly; he would have great difficulty afterwards in rectifying his first erroneous impressions. I believe therefore that medical science particularly should be studied in the modern languages, and that it can be merely a satisfaction to men of leisure, while studying the history of the science, to know what was thought upon various subjects in former times."

The practice of requiring a five years' apprenticeship to an apothecary is strongly reprobated by several of the witnesses: this period is generally from sixteen to twenty-one years of age, the very best years of a man's educational life; he cannot consequently have acquired a proper preliminary education. "And then they crowd all the studies necessary for a physician, a surgeon, an accoucheur, and an apothecary, into two years, and have only one examination on the whole of these."

Mr. Guthrie furnishes the following amusing evidence on the subject:—

. . . "A student of my own came to me two years ago, and said, 'I have settled myself in the city.' I said, 'I hope you will succeed.' 'Yes,' said he, 'I have nothing to do at present, but I hope I soon shall; but I want an apprentice.' So I said, 'What do you want with an apprentice if you have got nothing to do yourself?' 'But I *may* have,' he replied, 'and then I should want somebody to answer the door, and receive messages that may be sent to me, and if I have anything to do, to make up medicines; and in fact to answer any purposes which may be desired of him.' Now this is the case in the country; and as it is imperative upon a gentleman to have somebody in his house, he is willing to take a boy upon the most moderate terms. There are always in every village, persons in such a situation of life, that they can afford to pay a moderate fee with a son, although they are not competent to give him that preliminary education which would qualify him to take a proper and respectable place in his profession. A surgeon, therefore, takes the boy for a small fee, who does all sorts of work, but learns comparatively very little. At the end of his apprenticeship, or at the end of five years, he comes up to London, or goes to Edinburgh, for those two years of study which are required of him by the College. He then returns, being now made a qualified practitioner. But this is not the sole misfortune. The original gentleman having got a little more practice, takes a second and a third, and great is the manufacture in this way of young doctors, who are for the most part, in regard to their preliminary education, unqualified people."

It was our intention to notice some of the suggestions contained in the evidence as to how the education of medical students might be improved, and the observations made by various gentlemen who were examined by the committee as to the most efficient manner of ascertaining the degree of knowledge of those students before they are permitted to practise; but we have already exceeded our limits, and can only find space for one or two short extracts on the question of remunerating apothecaries.

"Do you approve of the practice of paying apothecaries by the amount of their bills for medicines?"—"No, I set my face very much against that; I had rather they were paid for their trouble, for every apothecary who enters a house, enters it with that mark upon his forehead. You are to take as much medicine as I can get you to take, and that procured by me at as cheap a rate as I can procure it. It is a bad system only to be paid according to the proportion of physic they can get a person to take."—[Sir H. Halford, p. 19.]

"Does the charge for medicine lead to a complex system of prescription?—I think it leads to the patients being obliged to take drugs that are either unnecessary or improper, and it is not unfrequent, I believe, for the apothecary by that means to be paid more for his visit than the very highest physician. For, at the visit he makes on one day, he says to his patient, 'I shall send you draughts and pills till this day week or fortnight.' He continues to do so. By the time he arrives at his next visit, the pills and draughts have amounted to such a sum as would come to more than one or two fees of a physician."—[Sir David Barry, p. 173.]

"The general practitioner is, in most cases, under the necessity of charging for medicines in order to remunerate himself; and it is said by some malicious people, that he makes his patients swallow three times as much medicine as they ought to do, and as they otherwise would do, in order that he may be reasonably and properly remunerated. Some people it is true throw it away; but still they pay for it; and some very good people swallow it, thinking they are doing that which is right. Now, I do not mean to say that this is true; but I will tell the committee a fact, so far as regards myself. I have been called in with a general practitioner to see a patient, and it has happened that he says to me, 'Sir, are you going to order that person a pill?' 'Yes, Sir, I hate physic myself, and I never take any, and I am going to give him the least possible quantity.' 'Yes, Sir,' says he, 'that is all very well for you, but it is not very well for me. This gentleman is a very parsimonious person, and he will give me but twopence for the pill, and in addition to having me here now, he will probably have me here again in the morning, to know the effect of it.' 'Well,' I say, 'what is to be done?' He says, 'at all events put it into a bottle.' Well, I cannot refuse such a request, so I generally accede to the apothecary in attendance giving the medicine in such manner as he pleases, provided he gives only the proper dose. He may give it in two draughts instead of one. Now, this is not making a person swallow any greater quantity of medicine, but it is an inconvenience, and therefore I am very desirous that that way of remunerating the general practitioner should be done away with."—[Mr. Guthrie, p. 29.]

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

[We have been obliged to displace a considerable quantity of matter coming under this head after it was in type, and to reserve it till our next Number, in consequence of the space occupied by our abstract of the Corporation Report, which, from the importance of the subject, and the interest generally felt respecting it, it was thought desirable to make as complete as possible.]

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

London.—The total number of persons charged at the Police Stations during the year were, 64,269; consisting of 41,686 males, and 22,583 females; being a diminution in the number of persons charged of 5,690 less than during the year 1833, and 13,274 less than during the year 1832, which charges were disposed of as follows:—

Committed for trial by the magistrates .	3,468
Summarily convicted or held to bail by ditto	26,302
Discharged by ditto	34,499

Education in the United States.—There are 59 colleges in the United States, of which 12 are in the New England States, 13 in the Middle States, 15 in the Southern States, and 19 in the Western States and Territories: 22 theological institutions; 18 medical schools; 4 law schools; the number of instructors is 400, and the number of students 6700.

Education in Paris.—The following is the number of institutions for 1834, beginning with the lowest class, and closing with the colleges attached to the University of Paris:—

Asylums, 19; number of children received, 3500.

Schools for children maintained by the city of Paris, 49; number maintained by the hospitals, 71; total, 120; number of pupils, 25,035.

Adult schools maintained by the city of Paris, 19; and by the hospitals, 7; total, 26; number of pupils, 1898.

Independently of these establishments, the authorities have founded 29 schools of industry, in which 1595 girls, between the ages of twelve and fifteen, are taught to work at the needle.

The colleges are 7 in number, attended by 4932 pupils, of whom 1873 are boarded and lodged in the colleges, and 3059 are day scholars. The whole number of these establishments is 172, and that of the individuals attending them 36,960.

The budget of the minister of public instruction for the year ending 1836, includes the same items of expenditure as those for 1835, which amounted to 12,291,629 francs, or about 491,665*l*. There is an addition to the budget for the former year of 28,000*l*. (700,000 fr.), which are applicable to the purposes of national education. In all other respects the budgets for the two years are precisely similar. It appears by a report to the king, which is attached to the present budget, that the minister is desirous of a grant of 6000*l*. (150,000 fr.) towards the establishment of district colleges; but the legislature declined to vote this sum until they have first decided upon the system to be pursued with regard to the class of secondary instruction.

University of Paris.—The present number of students registered in the faculty of medicine is 4500, and in that of jurisprudence upwards of 5000. The polytechnic school has 302 pupils.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

April 13.—*List of Bills which have received the Royal Assent.*

Mutiny Bill.
Marine Mutiny Bill.
British Territories India Indemnity Bill.
Ledbury Improvement Bill.
Belfast Road Improvement Bill.
Carmarthen Road Improvement Bill.
University Life Assurance Society Bill.
Schwabe's Naturalization Bill.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 27.—Bankrupt estates (Scotland) bill—"for regulating the sequestrations of the estates of bankrupts in that part of Great Britain called Scotland."—*Sir W. Rae*.

— Poor relief (Ireland) bill—"to authorise the relief of the poor in Ireland in certain cases."—*Sir R. Musgrave*.

— Roman Catholic marriages bill—"to repeal so much of an act of the nineteenth year of King George the Second, as makes void all marriages celebrated by any Popish priest between Protestant and Papist."—*Mr. Lynch*.

— Cruelty to animals bill—"to consolidate and amend the several laws relating to the cruel and improper treatment of animals, and the mischiefs arising from the driving of cattle, and to make other provisions in regard thereto."—*Mr Pease*.

30. Public carriages (Metropolis) bill—"for the better regulation of cabriolets and other hackney carriages, and of omnibuses, and other stage carriages for short distances used in and near the metropolis, and of the drivers and attendants thereof."—*Alderman Wood*.

— Dissenters' marriages bill—"concerning the marriages of persons not being members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and objecting to be married according to the rite thereof."—*Sir Robert Peel*.

31. Marine mutiny bill—"for the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore," and mutiny bill "for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters."—*Mr. Herries*.

April 6.—Wood duties bill—"to provide for the better collection of the duties on wood, the produce of places in Europe."

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 27.—Committee "to inquire into the condition, management, and affairs of the British Museum."

NUMBER AND PROGRESS OF PRIVATE BILLS.

Number of petitions presented for private bills		171
Lords' bills		6
		—177
Bills read a first time		151
" second time . . .		80
" third time		15
Bill withdrawn		1
Bills received royal assent . . .		5
Of these petitions for bills, there are for		
Roads		41
Railways, &c.		22
Canals		5
Bridges, harbours, &c. . . .		21
Waterworks		10
Gas-light		4
Markets		8
Inclosure and drainage . . .		10
Navigation		2
Naturalization		5
Divorce		1
Companies and Associations, viz.— . .		11
Argus Life Assurance		
University Life Assurance		
Bogs (Ireland) Improvement		
Waste Lands (Ireland)		
Donlan Preservative Flax and Hemp		
Dundee, Edinburgh, Exeter, Metropolis, and New River Water Companies. (The Metropolitan bill is withdrawn)		
North American Association.		

The remainder are for various purposes of general improvement, such as building, paving, poor's rate, local regulation, &c.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[Seven Reports have been issued since our last publication, the latest of which is numbered the eleventh, and is dated the 7th of April, 1835.]

	Petitions. No. of	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour	5	3,882
Registration of voters bill, against	1	1
Buckingham borough, against abuse of the franchise	1	63
Dublin city election	3	19,201
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Scotland, in support	201	47,022
Against any additional grant of money to the Church of Scotland	16	7,784
Established Church of England and Ireland, in support	1	7,002
Church Establishment, Ireland, against appropriating property to other than ecclesiastical purposes	3	120
Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, against transferring the whole of the testamentary business to London, &c. &c.	140	8,876
Lord's Day, for better observance	7	602
Lord's Day bill, against	8	291
Oaths, for relief	1	67
Tithes, for abolition	2	601
Tithes, Ireland, for abolition	9	10,201
Protestant Dissenters, for relief	4	852
Colonies.		
Officers of the East India Company's service	1	95
Lower Canada, for protection and relief	2	9,933
Taxes.		
County Rates, for relief	13	239
Reciprocity of Duties Acts	3	162
Spirit Licenses, for repeal of additional duty	87	6,280
Window Tax	6	944
Miscellaneous.		
Agricultural distress, for relief	31	13,698
Retail beer sellers, for relief	1	30
Dorchester Unionists, for commutation of punishment	3	599
Factories Regulation Act, for amendment of the clause relative to children	31	15,472
Hand-loom Weavers, for relief	45	30,246
Imprisonment for Debt bill, against	7	718
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland) bill against	8	2,563
Imprisonment for Debt bill, in favour	2	145
Imprisonment for Debt bill, for extending it to Ireland	1	258
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland) bill, for extending its provisions	1	6,492
Poor-Laws Amendment Act, for repeal	3	678
Madhouses, for regulation	2	2
Weights and Measures Act, for amendment	10	812
Other Miscellaneous petitions	47	3,062

NEW MEMBERS.

Sir John Elley, knt., for Windsor, in the room of Sir John Edmond de Beauvoir, unseated by the decision of a select committee

Henry Gally Knight, Esq., for the northern division of Nottinghamshire, in the room of Lord Lumley, called up to the House of Lords by the death of his father, the Earl of Scarborough.

Daniel Callaghan and Herbert Baldwin, Esquires, for the city of Cork, in the room of Joseph Leycester, Esq., and Lieut.-Colonel James Charles Chatterton, unseated by the decision of a select committee.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

For Drogheda, in the room of Andrew Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., whose election has been determined to be void, on account of an informality.

For the northern division of Essex, in the room of the Right Hon. Alexander Baring, now Lord Ashburton, called up to the House of Lords.

For the southern division of Devon, in the room of Lord John Russell, Secretary of State.

Cambridge Borough—Right Hon. T. Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Northumberland, northern division—Lord Viscount Howick, Secretary at War.

Nottingham borough—Sir J. C. Hobhouse, bart., President of the Board of Control.

Manchester—Right Hon. C. P. Thompson, Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

Edinburgh—Sir John Campbell, Attorney-General.

Penryn and Falmouth—R. M. Rolfe, Esq., Solicitor-General.

Kirkcudbright—Right Hon. R. C. Ferguson, Judge-Advocate General.

Totness—Right Hon. Lord Seymour, Commissioner of the Treasury.

Newport, Isle of Wight—W. H. Ord, Esq., Commissioner of the Treasury.

Elgin Burghs—A. L. Hay, Esq., Clerk of the Ordnance.

Stirling Burghs—Lord Dalmeny, Lord of the Admiralty.

Leith—J. A. Murray, Esq., Lord Advocate for Scotland.

Dundee—Right Hon. Sir Henry Parnell, bart., Treasurer of the Navy and Paymaster of the Forces.

Cashell—Louis Perrin, Esq., Attorney-General for Ireland.

Dungarvon—Mich. O'Loughlin, Esq., Solicitor-General for Ireland.

Clackmannan and Kinross—Admiral Adam, Lord of the Admiralty.

Invernesshire—Right Hon. Charles Grant, Secretary of State.

Yorkshire, west riding—Lord Viscount Morpeth.

Taunton—Henry Labouchere, Esq., Vice-President of Privy Council for Trade, and Master of the Mint.

Haddington Burghs—Robert Stewart, Esq., Commissioner of the Treasury.

Berwick-upon-Tweed—Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.

Sandwich, &c.—Sir Thomas Troubridge, Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Bankruptcy Analysis from March 24 to April 24.

Auctioneer, 1; baker, 1; blind-maker, 1; blacksmith, 1; brewers, 2; booksellers, 3; builder, 1; cattle salesman, 2; chemists, 2; cloth-manufacturer, 1; commission-agent, 1; corn-factor, 1; cotton-spinner, 1; drapers, 4; druggists, 2; farmer, 1; fishmonger, 1; flax-dresser, 1; glass-merchant, 1; granary-keeper, 1; grocers, 4; hatter, 1; horse dealers, 2; innkeepers, 2; ironmongers, 3; laceman, 1; leather-seller, 1; livery-stable keeper, 1; lodging-house keepers, 2; mercer, 1; merchants, 11; money-scriveners, 2; nursery-man, 1; plumber, 1; paper-hanger, 1; publican, 1; ribbon-manufacturer, 1; scrivener, 1; straw-hat manufacturer, 1; tailors, 3; teasel-dealer, 1; tea-dealer, 1; tin-plate worker, 1; tobacconist, 1; victuallers, 5; wheelwright, 1; wine-merchants, 3; upholsterer, 1; total, 84; total from the commencement of the year, 365.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR APRIL, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The period over which our present review extends has again been an eventful one in our domestic politics.

On Monday the 23d of March, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham presented a petition numerously signed by inhabitants of the City of London, in favour of the abolition of the stamp duty on newspapers; and in doing so, took occasion to address their Lordships, at considerable length, in support of the views of the petitioners. No observations upon the subject, however, were made by any of the ministers.

In the Commons, this evening, an altercation arose on a petition from the agent to the petitioners against the return of Mr. Bridgman for Ennis, praying to be allowed to amend the description of one of the sureties, who had been rejected in consequence of the number of his residence having been incorrectly stated. The misstatement appearing clearly to have been merely a clerical error, it was at last agreed to grant the prayer of the petition.

Mr. Roebuck then called the attention of the House to a letter which had been written by Sir Robert Peel to Mr. Hume, calling upon that gentleman for an explanation of

some expressions he had used in a late debate; and moved that the said letter was a breach of privilege; but after a few remarks from Sir Robert Peel and other members, the motion was withdrawn.

The report of the Committee of the whole House on Irish tithes was afterwards brought up, and the Bill embodying the resolutions which had been agreed to, was read a first time. The bill, as now introduced, did not contain the enactments respecting the million loan which it had been originally proposed should form part of it; but Sir Robert Peel intimated that he would move their insertion when the measure had advanced to a subsequent stage. In the course of a conversation which arose upon this subject, much heat was excited by a speech delivered by Mr. Barron, in which he denounced what he described as the inconsistency and abandonment of principle that had been exhibited by Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, and charged them with being actuated merely by a base desire of office. For these expressions the honourable Member was directed by the Speaker to apologize to the House, which he did.

Mr. Finn then brought forward his motion for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the nature, extent, and tendency of Orange lodges; which was agreed to without a division. It gave rise, however, to a debate of some length, the most remarkable passage in which was a singularly precipitate and unjustifiable attack on Mr. Ward by Lord Mahon; for which his lordship was eventually glad to plead in excuse the momentary excitement under which he had spoken.

It was this night stated by Sir Robert Peel, in answer to a question, that Viscount Canterbury, who had been nominated commissioner to Canada, had given up the appointment in consequence of the illness of a member of his family.

On Tuesday the 24th, in the House of Lords, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, a select committee was appointed to consider the subject of prison discipline in the gaols of England and Wales.

In the Commons, Sir Edward Codrington complained of an alleged misrepresentation of something he had said in the House by 'The Morning Post;' on which Lord John Russell intimated that he should probably make the matter the subject of a motion on the following day. His Lordship, however, afterwards abandoned this intention at the request of the gallant admiral.

The House having then resolved itself into Committee, Sir Robert Peel brought forward his plan for effecting a commutation of tithes in England, by voluntary agreement, in the case of each parish, between the owner and payers of the tithe. After a short debate, a resolution, embodying the leading principle of the plan, was agreed to. The latter part of the evening was taken up in discussing the conduct of Colonel Tremenheere, commanding-officer of the Marine Barracks at Chatham, who was charged with having unconstitutionally used the authority and powers of his office for electioneering purposes. Mr. Law Hodges moved for a select committee to inquire into this charge; and the motion, although opposed by Ministers, was carried, on a division, by a majority of 163 to 132.

On the 25th, the House having resolved itself into a committee of supply, various sums were voted for the half-pay of officers in the navy and marines, for military pensions and allowances, and for civil pensions.

The second reading of Mr. Poulter's bill for preventing the sale of commodities on Sunday, was then, after some debate, carried by a majority of 121 to 45. Various other bills were also advanced a stage; and the Report of the committee on English tithes was brought up, and the Bill recommended in Sir Robert Peel's resolution ordered to be brought in.

On the 26th, a debate arose on a petition presented by the agent for the petitioners against the return of Mr. Sergeant Goulburn for Leicester, praying to be allowed to alter the name of one of the sureties, which by a clerical error had been given in as Samuel Stokes instead of Thomas Stokes. Although it was urged that to comply with this prayer would deprive the opposite party of the time to which they were legally entitled for inquiry into the responsibility of the sureties, the motion of Mr. Gisborne, that the name should be allowed to be altered, was carried by a majority of 138 to 129. Immediately after this, 103 members voted against correcting an error of a similar description in the name of one of the sureties to the petition against the return of the members for Cork, although in this case the objection to the alteration that had been urged in the former case did not exist. The motion of Mr. Lefroy, however, that the correction should be allowed to be made, was carried by a majority of 27. A few days afterwards, also, the decision in the case of the Leicester petition was reversed, and the order for taking the petition into consideration discharged, on the motion of Mr. Gladstone, which was carried by a majority of 216 against 200.

After these election matters had been disposed of, on the evening of the 26th, Mr. Tooke moved that an address should be presented to the Crown to grant a charter of incorporation to the University of London; and, after a debate of some length, the motion was carried against the opposition of ministers by a majority of 246 to 110. The address having been accordingly presented, an answer was, in the course of a few days, returned by his Majesty, stating that it had been laid before the Privy Council, and that his Majesty would, without delay, call upon the Council for the report of the proceedings had before them on the subject, in order that he might thereby be enabled to judge of the best means of carrying the wishes of his faithful Commons into effect.

On Friday, the 27th, Mr. Herries having moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of Supply for the purpose of voting the Army and Ordnance Estimates, Mr. Hume moved that these Estimates should be referred to a Select Committee. After a debate of some length, however, the Honourable Member withdrew his motion, giving notice that he would bring forward a similar one on a future day; and the Speaker having left the Chair, Mr. Herries proposed that 81,271 men should be voted for the service of the year. Major Beauclerk moved that the number should be reduced to 75,000; but this amendment was negatived by a majority of 255 to 101. It was then moved that the sum of 2,978,528*l.* should be granted for the pay of the land forces; and this motion was also carried by a majority of 229 against 57; the latter number of votes being given in favour of an amendment proposed by Lord Albert Conyngham, to reduce the amount of the grant by 6902*l.*, being the excess in the expense of the Life-Guards over that of the Horse-Guards. On the next resolution, that the sum of 78,434*l.* should be granted for allowances to the officers of several public departments connected with the army, Mr. Hume moved that the amount should be reduced by 11,980*l.*, being the expense of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General's Offices; but the resolution was carried by a majority of 196 to 43.

On Monday, the 30th, after the House had been called over, Lord John Russell brought forward his motion on the Irish Church in the form of a resolution,—"That the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." The motion was met by Sir Edward Knatchbull with a direct negative; and a debate ensued, which was continued by adjournments over the three following nights. The speakers in favour of the resolution were, Mr. Ward, Lord Howick, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Charles Wood, Mr. Poulter, Mr. Feargus O'Connor, Sir John Hobhouse, Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Spring Rice, Sir John Campbell, Mr. Sergeant Wilde, Mr. Fowell Buxton, Lord Clements, and Mr. O'Connell. Those on the other side were, Sir James Graham, Dr. Lefroy, Colonel Damer, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Sir William Follett, Mr. Praed, Mr. Beilby Thompson, Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Stanley, Mr. Richards, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Horace Twiss, Mr. Borthwick, and Sir Robert Peel. At length, after Lord John Russell had shortly replied, the House divided at nearly three o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 4th of April, when the numbers were found to be—for the motion, 322; against it, 289.

On the evening of the 4th the House went into Committee on the motion of Lord John Russell, when his Lordship moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that any surplus which may remain, after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the established church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians." After the debate had

proceeded for some time, Mr. Borthwick moved an adjournment, but the motion was negatived by a majority of 178 to 140. Soon after, however, the House adjourned till Monday, the 6th.

On that day, the debate having been resumed, the Committee at length divided, when the Resolution was carried by a majority of 262 against 237. After this the House went into Committee on the Navy Estimates.

On Tuesday the Report of the Committee on the Irish Church was brought up, when Lord John Russell rose and moved, "That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing Resolution." Another long debate followed; on the termination of which, at one o'clock in the morning, the House divided, when the numbers appeared to be—for the motion, 285; against it, 258.

On Wednesday, the 8th, the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, announced that the Administration was dissolved.

Both Houses met again on Thursday and Friday, and the House of Lords also on Saturday; but no business of importance was transacted in either. They also both reassembled on Monday, the 13th, when the House of Commons adjourned till Thursday, the 16th, as the Lords did also on the following day. On Thursday both Houses once more adjourned till Saturday, the 18th, Sir Robert Peel stating in the Commons that he had received a communication from his Majesty, informing him that the arrangements for forming a Government could not be completed till then.

On that day Lord Melbourne announced in the House of Lords that he had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and that the new Administration was formed. To a question asked by Lord Alvanley, he replied that he did not know whether he should have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not, but that he had taken no means to secure it, and had entered into no terms whatever with that Honourable and Learned Gentleman. His Lordship added, that to Mr. O'Connell's opinions in favour of the repeal of the Union and the abolition of the House of Peers, he was entirely opposed. The House then adjourned till the 30th of April, but on the understanding that no public business should be taken till the 12th of May.

The same evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Francis Baring moved for new writs on account of vacancies occasioned by the appointment of seventeen Members to offices under the Crown. The House then adjourned till the 12th of May.

We subjoin a list of the new Ministry; giving the names, as nearly as possible, in the same order in which we gave those of the late Administration in our Number for January.

The following form the Cabinet:—

Viscount Melbourne, *First Lord of the Treasury.*
Lord Palmerston, *Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*
Lord John Russell, *Secretary for the Home Department.*
Mr. Charles Grant, *Secretary for the Colonies.*
Marquis of Lansdowne, *President of the Council.*
Lord Duncannon, *Lord Privy Seal, and Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests.*
Lord Auckland, *First Lord of the Admiralty.*
Sir John Hobhouse, *President of the Board of Control.*
Mr. Poulett Thomson, *President of the Board of Trade.*
Lord Howick, *Secretary at War.*
Lord Holland, *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*
Mr. Spring Rice, *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

The other appointments are:—

Sir Henry Parnell, *Paymaster of the Forces and Treasurer of the Navy.*
Lord Morpeth, *Irish Secretary.*
Marquis of Conyngham, *Postmaster-General.*
Mr. Charles Wood, *Secretary to the Admiralty.*
Lord Dalmeny, Admiral Adam, Admiral Sir W. Parker, and Captain Elliott, *Junior Lords of the Admiralty.*
Lord Seymour, Mr. W. H. Ord, Mr. Robert Stewart, *Lords of the Treasury.*
Mr. Francis T. Baring, Mr. E. J. Stanley, *Joint Secretaries of the Treasury.*
Mr. Robert Gordon, Mr. Vernon Smith, *Joint Secretaries to the Board of Control.*
Sir Rufane Donkin, *Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.*
Colonel Leith Hay, *Clerk of the Ordnance.*
Colonel Anson, *Storekeeper of the Ordnance.*
Sir George Grey, *Under Secretary of the Colonies.*
Lord Fordwich, *Under Foreign Secretary.*
Earl of Mulgrave, *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*
Mr. Fox Maule, *Under Secretary for the Home Department.*
Mr. Labouchere, *Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint.*

The following are the new appointments to places in the Household:—

Marquis Wellesley, *Lord Chamberlain.*
Lord Albert Conyngham, *Vice-Chamberlain.*
Duke of Argyll, *Lord Steward.*
Earl of Albemarle, *Master of the Horse.*
Earl of Errol, *Master of the Buckhounds.*
Earl of Gosford, *Captain of the Yeoman Guard.*

The following legal appointments have also been made:—

Sir John Campbell, *Attorney-General.*
Mr. R. M. Rolfe, *Solicitor-General.*
Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, *Judge-Advocate.*
Mr. J. A. Murray, *Lord Advocate for Scotland.*
Mr. Cunninghame, *Solicitor-General for Scotland.*
Lord Plunket, *Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*
Mr. Serjeant Perrin, *Attorney-General for Ireland.*
Mr. Michael O'Loughlin, *Solicitor-General for Ireland.*

The great Seal of England has in the meantime been put in commission. The commissioners are Sir Charles Pepys, Master of the Rolls; Sir Lancelot Shadwell, Vice-Chancellor; and Mr. Justice Bosanquet.

FRANCE.

At the end of the month of March, considerable sensation was occasioned by a speech from M. Thiers, the minister of the Interior, who demanded an additional grant of 1,265,000 francs for secret service money. This sum added to those already voted under the same head, made a total of about 100,000*l.* The minister, who declared that if the vote was refused he would resign, justified his demand on the ground of the turbulence and plotting spirit of parts of the nation. He stated that France, since the revolution of July, 1830, had undoubtedly prospered in all her material interests, but that 'nevertheless, factions, though defeated, had lost nothing of their audacity - their designs had been baffled, but they still acted secretly—they combated in the dark—they agitated the country by means of the public press—they worked upon the passions of the misguided and too often distressed working classes—they endeavoured, but happily in vain, to seduce the army from its duty,—and, consequently, the task of government was by no means at an end. The political associations, which before the promulgation of the law against them had met openly, were now forced to seek concealment in order to act with comparative security against the government and against society; but for that very reason it was more difficult than ever to guard against their projects; the enemy, though put to flight, still endeavoured to rally, and it was necessary to prevent the attempt from being crowned with success.' The vote was considered as one of confidence in the ministry, and seems to have passed the Chamber of Deputies with little difficulty.

Some anxiety was felt as to the safe or tranquil transfer of the political prisoners from Lyons to Paris, and for two or three days the telegraphs were worked with singular activity. As these prisoners approached the capital, the streets of Paris were strongly guarded both by troops of the line and National Guards; they were, however, safely lodged in the Conciergerie on the evening of the 27th of March, without any riot on the part of the republicans.

A committee of the Chamber of Peers has recommended an amnesty, but the king is as determined as ever to follow up the prosecution. A certain number of peers have been summoned for the 4th of May to prepare matters for the trial of these men, who have already been more than twelve months in confinement. Some government ordinances regulating, and, to a certain extent, limiting the rights and duties of the French bar, in their pleadings and practice before the Chamber of Peers, have caused considerable discontent, and arrayed a host of lawyers against Louis Philippe and his ministers. Several meetings have been held, and a strong protest against the said ordinances has been numerously signed by the members of the bar. The quarrel is not yet finished, and we are

afraid it may become so serious as to force us to return to the subject next month.

A project of law, to define and fix ministerial responsibility, has been debated with much energy; but the great business has been the American question, which, for many days, exclusively occupied the Chamber of Deputies. The report of the committee was presented on the 28th of March, when the reading of it occupied an hour and a half. It recommended that the full sum of 25,000,000 francs should be paid to the United States as agreed upon in the treaty of 1831, signed by the Duke de Broglie and General Sebastiani; but that, at the same time, care should be taken to preserve the national dignity, and to induce President Jackson to apologise for his threats, or the violence of his language towards the French. A very animated debate followed on the simple question of when the day should be fixed for taking the report into consideration, which finally ended in naming the 7th of April. From what passed on this occasion, one might have thought it doubtful whether ministers would be successful in carrying the measure through the House; but we have had occasion, more than once, to mention the impossibility of foreseeing how the Chamber of Deputies will vote on any question.

On the 6th of April, the American Commodore Elliot, in the 'Constitution' frigate, arrived at Havre, whence he proceeded by land to Paris, his instructions being to wait the decision of the Chambers, and to convey Mr. Livingstone, the ambassador, back to America, in case the claims should be rejected. The commodore reached the French capital time enough to be present at all the debates, which, we should think, must have both amused and astonished the worthy sailor. The discussion did not fairly begin until Thursday the 9th of April. It closed on Saturday the 18th, when notwithstanding various intemperate speeches, and some of the strangest reasoning we ever heard of, the payment of the whole of the United States' indemnity was carried by the unexpected and enormous majority of 289 against 137. An amendment, however, proposed by General Valezé,—that no instalment should be paid to the Americans until their President gave satisfactory explanations to the French government as to the proud and warlike tone of his message, was also carried, and made a part of the bill. The explanation seems simple enough. President Jackson only threatened when he saw no inclination or promptness on the other side to pay, and now that the promise to pay is given, and the treaty is duly ratified by the Chambers, the threats go for nothing. We hope we shall hear no more of the business, and that the French and Americans will continue to be good friends, as they ought to be. It ought not to excite surprise to see the Carlist faction the most violently opposed to the just claims of the citizens of the United States. Their conscience is subservient to their politics. They would rejoice at the scandal of a war between Louis Philippe and the Americans, as they would at anything else that embarrassed or threw discredit on the new order of things. Moreover, the absolutists can never forget how great an influence the Americans exercised on the growth of liberal opinions in France, nor can they drive out of their old natures the hatred of a republican people.

In spite of the machinations of two desperate factions, the stronger of which is undeniably that of the republicans, the mass of the French nation is exceedingly well affected, and disposed to tranquillity at home, and peace with all nations abroad. In their dread of fresh emeutes, massacres, and revolutions, the sober citizens are even glad to see Louis Philippe strengthening the executive almost beyond all constitutional precedent. They give him credit for good intentions, believing that when the necessity shall cease to exist, he will cease to make use of means, and to resort to measures which seem to us quite despotic. The temptation to which he is exposed is dangerous; but who but the ultra-liberals have put liberty in jeopardy, and furnished arguments to those who cry out for a strong and fixed government, be it what it may, so long as it protects their lives, property and industry? This is the old story, but impracticable politicians will not be warned by the past.

The king is about to make an extensive tour in the provinces of France, beginning with the south.

SPAIN.

We cannot yet register, in our brief retrospect, the much desired fact of the civil war having ceased in this unhappy country. On the contrary, matters seem to be in much the same state as when we wrote last month; for, though the fighting in the northern provinces has been a little more active, it has led to no important results on either side. Lord Elliot and Lieut.-Colonel Gurwood, who were despatched by the late government, with the express object (as was stated in the House of Commons), of preventing for the future the dreadful cruelties exercised by the belligerents upon one another, seem to have been unsuccessful in their mission, and to have had communication only with the party of Don Carlos. It is, indeed, stated in some quarters, that Zumalacarreguay has ceased to shoot his prisoners, but we know the vindictive character of the Spaniards too well to believe, that as long as Mina exercises cruelty on the one side, they will fail making reprisals on the other; and cruelty, we are well assured, is, at the very least, as prominent as courage in the character of Mina. In spite of his bravery and passion for liberty—a passion that would be satisfied with nothing less than the democratic Cortes of 1812 and 1820—the constitutionalists committed a mistake in confiding the conduct of the war to this ruthless old man, who, in his best days, was nothing more than a bold adventurous leader of *guerillas* or loose troops, and who never had the knowledge and talent necessary for the supreme command of a regular army. When fighting for the Cortes in 1822, he consumed some eight or nine months in taking Castel-Follit from a mere handful of fanatic royalists, and the barbarities he exercised after the capture disgraced both him and his party. Mina entertained a mortal hatred of General Llauder, and is suspected of having resorted to some unfair measures to drive him from his post of minister of war; but no minister will ever have the fortune to give satisfaction to the old Guerilla Chief. Llauder may not have been the man best fitted for the office he held, and Mina's dislike to him was personally well gounded; but still what can we think of such a proceeding, under what is called a regular and established government, as this?

Mina openly declared that he would not serve under any government of which Llauder formed a part; *and that if Llauder dared to keep his post, he* (Mina) *would treat him as a personal enemy.* It is now generally reported that Mina has formally sent in his resignation, but that the Queen, to show her respect, and to keep good terms with him, has feigned not to accept it, but only to allow him leave of absence for four months. General Valdez has arrived at head quarters, with the intention, it is said, of changing Mina's plan of campaign, and prosecuting the war with vigour. This frequent change of commander produces a mischievous effect on the Queen's cause. The Carlists used to say insultingly, that Mina was the fifth bull turned out for them to bait,—Valdez will therefore be the sixth.

On the side of the constitutionalists, Generals Oraa and Espartero have obtained some trifling advantages; but in imitation of Mina, they have shot many of their prisoners, and issued proclamations, threatening the towns and villages in the mountains that harbour any Carlists, with fire and the sword, and utter destruction. On the other side Zumalacarreguay has taken a small fort, with two or three hundred prisoners, a little artillery, and a little gunpowder. Some serious disturbances have broken out at Malaga among the Urban Milita (in which the Queen's main strength lies), and tumults are reported as having occurred at Saragossa.

The cabinet of Madrid is notoriously full of intrigues, jealousies, and hatreds, at a moment when it ought to be animated by one heart and one wish. Martinez de la Rosa would expel Toreno, and Toreno aims at driving out Martinez de la Rosa, and then at succeeding him as the head of the government. The best news for the constitutionalists (if true), is, that M. Jauge and the Baron Haber have found themselves under the painful "necessity" of giving up Don Carlos's loan-contractings, and his banking business altogether.

PORTUGAL.

Prince Augustus of Portugal (the Duke of Leuchtenberg), after being for little more than one month the husband of the young Queen Donna Maria da Gloria, died at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th of March. His illness, which only lasted five days, was a sore throat, ending in a mortal inflammation of the trachea, a disease rather frequent in southern climates, and not very uncommon anywhere else. Though a fine-looking young man, some organic defects of constitution were discovered by the surgeons and physicians who opened and examined the body. As in all such cases, there was an immediate outcry made about treachery and poisons and as, during his short residence among them, he had captivated the very unsteady good-will or affection of the people of Lisbon, there was for some days an imminent risk of their committing some dreadful excesses, notwithstanding that the *post mortem* examination of the body was well authenticated, and made as public as possible.

On Sunday evening, the 29th of March, the day after the young prince's death, "some disturbances," as our newspaper correspondents mildly call them, took place in the Duke of Palmella's house at Chagas. Palmella has for some time been the *bête noire* of the ultra-liberals, and of the populace, who on this occasion simply accused him of having poisoned the prince in order to marry his own son to the queen—of having appropriated to his own use two millions of Portuguese money—and of having agreed with the Duke of Wellington to overthrow the Portuguese Constitution as now established! A furious mob collected in front of the Duke's residence, shouting "Down with Palmella!" "Death to the traitor!" The minister, who was returning home at the time, left his carriage, and endeavoured, by walking on foot, to get undiscovered into his house, but he was recognised on his own threshold by the rioters, a number of whom followed him up stairs with curses, and with threats of killing him, and burning down the mansion. The Duke of Terceira, the Count de Villa Real, the Viscount De Serra do Pillar, and some other gentlemen, were in the apartment when Palmella entered. Terceira, a man of extreme courage, faced the rioters, and endeavoured to turn them out of the house. He is reported to have said, "I am the Duke of Terceira, who freed you from Dom Miguel—kill me! I well deserve it for having liberated such a set of scoundrels!" Ashamed, and daunted, the crowd quitted the apartment and ran down stairs. Several of the national guards, armed with bayonets, are said to have taken part in this disgraceful scene. Terceira and Serra do Pillar followed the rioters to the gates of the house, which they closed upon them, and then, with some other friends of the family, remained on guard until troops arrived. At eleven o'clock at night a squadron of cavalry, which ought to have arrived long before without galloping at all, reached the house at *full gallop*, and a detachment of infantry, with ball-cartridges, soon followed. The Duchess of Palmella and her daughters had escaped by a back-door, and taken refuge in the house of the English Vice-Consul.

On the same evening General Saraiva, the prefect of the department of the Minho, and a member of Cortes on the ministerial or Palmella side, was assaulted by a mob in the suburbs of Lisbon, beaten, wounded in the cheek with a bayonet, and only escaped death through the courageous interference of one of Viscount Saa's brothers, and an honest pastry-cook. The war-cry, at this attack, was more simple than in Palmella's case, being merely "Down with him!" "Cut him to pieces—he is a ministerialist!" An armed multitude also beset the house of Freire, the minister for the home department, but in the minister's absence his domestics closed the doors, and made a valid defence. Mr. Pina Cabral, a member of the opposition side, on coming out of a club-house in the midst of the riot, was invited by the mob to put himself at their head and lead them on to vengeance; but he very properly declined the honour, and advised them to go to their homes, which they ultimately did. A little after midnight tranquillity was restored to the alarmed city. Verily the people of Lisbon stand in urgent need of the schoolmaster. Until, however, they can be benefited by his lessons, it behoves the government to maintain a somewhat more effective police.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, the 31st of March, the funeral of the prince took place without any rioting, or accidents whatsoever. As the sad remains of him, who only a few weeks before had come among them, youthful and full of hopes, passed through the streets, even the mob of Lisbon was awed into silence and respect. It is said that scarcely a dry eye was to be seen among the female spectators.

Early on the morning of the 2nd of April the Lower Chamber of the Cortes held a secret session, or meeting with closed doors, to provide for the succession to the throne in case of the young Queen's demise, and to debate who should be her next husband in case of her living—which we sincerely hope she may do.

"The people out of doors," who have evidently too great a control over the deliberations within the doors of the Chambers, wish the succession to rest at present with the princess Amelia, the infant daughter of Dom Pedro and the ex-empress, in preference to any of the Infantas of the House of Braganza. The new husband preferred for the queen is her deceased husband's own brother, and it is reported that, with singular want of decency and good feeling, Prince Maximilian of Leuchtenberg, who will be seventeen years old in October next, is to be forthwith affianced to Donna Maria. If any respect is paid to the Catholic religion, several obstacles to this union must, however, arise. According to the canonical law of the Roman Church, no such marriage can be contracted without the dispensation of the Pope.

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

The immediate renewal of war between these two countries, with which some of our political speculators have threatened us, does not appear to be a very likely occurrence at present. The Pasha, by paying to the Sultan an arrear of tribute amounting to about 140,000*l.*, has removed one ground of complaint; and though troops are occasionally marched from Constantinople into the Asiatic provinces, the Egyptian government is so confident of its power in Syria, and that no immediate attack is contemplated by the Turks, that Ibrahim Pasha has returned to Cairo, where he has been received with great rejoicings. According to recent accounts, he was on the point of making a tour in Lower Egypt, whilst Mehemed Ali travelled through Upper Egypt. Some insurrections of the Arabs on the shores of the Red Sea have been suppressed, but the numbers and attitude of the Wahabees are said still to be very formidable and threatening.

The marching of the Turkish troops into Asia is thus explained. Corps of the disciplined army are sent to supply the places of irregular soldiers that are continually drafted off to the capital and its neighbourhood, to be drilled and disciplined under the eye of the Sultan. The prudent and sagacious old Seraskier, who has "a voice potential" in all the Turkish Councils, reprobates the idea of undertaking a war against the Egyptians under existing circumstances. A small fleet, which Sultan Mahmoud had got ready for sea, is now said to be destined for Tripoli, to settle some differences with the Dey of that regency, and to leave in it two or three thousand of the Nizam-djedid, or regular army. Mahmoud's finances are in a deplorable state, and he is said to be involved in serious difficulties with Russia as to the payment of the first instalment of the debt he has acknowledged to that Power. Some of our leading newspapers have betrayed even more than their usual ignorance on this last topic. They say—"Achmet Pasha agreed that the money should be paid in Turkish piastres, which at the time were 33 to the ducat; they have since *risen* to 44 to the ducat; and Russia demands that the money shall be paid in *the present currency*. This is clearly a case that calls for an 'equitable adjustment,'" &c. The Irish bull here involved—*i. e.* of 33 Turkish piastres being equivalent to a ducat in 1832, but, after *a rise* in their value, 44 piastres being only equivalent to a ducat in 1835, may not be visible to the landed interest and the country parsons for whom the paper we have copied from is chiefly written, but it will create infinite merriment among the wits on the Stock Exchange. We will explain in a few words what we suppose to be the real state of the case. The Turkish piastre, which was once of gold, and about equal in value to a Spanish piastre (4*s.* 2*d.* English), has, in the course of ages, been repeatedly alloyed and deteriorated; and of late years, with the im-

ly to inquire into the working of the new system of labour, takes a different view of the subject. Their report, dated 13th November, 1834, states, "that the new system is not succeeding; that forty and a half hours of labour in the week are inadequate to enable the cultivation of the country to be continued; that the negroes are performing no fair proportion of work, even during that limited number of hours, and that during their own time very few of them will work for such rate of wages as sugar cultivation can afford to pay; that idleness and contempt of authority are daily becoming more apparent and alarming; that the pimento crop, the only article that has come to maturity since the 1st of August, has been to a great extent lost to the proprietors, from the impossibility of getting it gathered in; that the coffee crop now commencing is likely to share a similar fate, and that the prospect to the proprietors of sugar estates is still more desperate, in the certainty that their canes must rot upon the ground, from the absolute impossibility of manufacturing the juice into sugar during the limited number of hours which the factories can be kept in operation."

The alleged failure of the system is attributed principally to the following causes:—"1st, To the domestic authority of the master (which formerly constituted the main controlling power) having been so entirely destroyed that he cannot now exercise over the negro apprentices even the reasonable extent of authority which a master may in England over his apprentices. 2nd, To the local magistrates having been at the same time with the masters deprived of all power and authority to aid in maintaining the peace of society, and in enforcing the law. And, lastly, to the altogether inadequate number of the stipendiary magistrates, and the unfitness of many of them to discharge properly the difficult and important duties entrusted to them, from their entire ignorance of the peculiar habits and dispositions of the negroes, or of the fair and reasonable quantity of labour which they are competent and ought to perform. Other causes of minor importance have likewise been assigned. The conflicting modes of labour adopted by different proprietors; the equally conflicting decisions made by different magistrates: and a secret influence not susceptible of legal proof, but clearly at work to subvert the apprenticeship system, by the simple but sure mode of exciting a combination among the labourers not to work for wages in their own time, but, as they themselves express it, 'to go by the law.'"

"Your committee," it is added, "recommend as the only means of saving the colony from destruction, and giving some reasonable chance of success to the great experiment of slave emancipation,

"1st, That a more numerous and competent magistracy, possessing local experience and knowledge, be immediately appointed to preserve order, repress crimes, and enforce industry.

"2nd, That such amendments be made in the law as shall remove all ambiguity in it, by defining more minutely the relative duties and rights of apprentices and masters.

"3rd, That regulations be provided by law, to secure upon fair and equitable terms between masters and apprentices such reasonable time of labour for the working of the sugar factories as shall insure the safe gathering in of that great staple, upon which the prosperity of the colony and the welfare of all classes are in a great measure dependent. This regulation your committee deem to be of paramount necessity, in order to guide an ignorant, idle, and thoughtless people, hitherto accustomed to labour by coercion, into the way of working for their own benefit, and thus prevent the danger of their sinking into a state of indolence from which it might be impossible hereafter to raise them."

This report was drawn up in accordance with examinations taken on oath before the committee. The following is an extract of the evidence of Mr. Townson, a practical man, experienced in the management of landed property for thirty years:—"Will you state to the committee from your experience, whether the system of labour established under the Abolition Act is succeeding, or likely to succeed?"—I think the system adopted by the Abolition Act would have succeeded to the extent of the labour required, if carried into execution by persons competent to judge of what was proper; but under the present management it is a total failure. Some magistrates understand the law and their duty better than others, and properties under their control are more orderly and correct. But, speaking generally, there is a great want of knowledge as to what ought to be done, and a great reluctance to acquire the proper information, which is one cause why the system is not likely to succeed." "Are there any other causes to which you attribute the failure of the system?" "Yes, the want of active controlling power; uniformity in the hours of labour. Accustomed formerly to work by the rising and setting of the sun as their guide, the labourer required no other direction; but they are now referred to specified hours for labour, which they cannot yet comprehend; the power of the master is now superseded by the authority of the magistrate. In one case under my charge, in a very populous district in St. Ann's, the magistrate has not visited an estate with 190 people but once since the 1st of August, although frequently required to do so; the consequence of which is a gradual disorganization among the people. Shortly after the 1st of August they were civil, well-behaved, and obedient, but from want of the necessary control they turn out to work when they like, do what they choose, take what days they like—in fact, do as they think proper."

The want of a sufficient number of special magistrates was considered by all who were examined to be one of the principal causes of the non-success of the system. To the question, "Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure the peace of society and the continued cultivation of the estates?" The following is the general tenor of the answers given:—"I consider an increased number of magistrates as absolutely necessary, and some power to enforce their orders so that the law may be fulfilled. At present there is no power on an estate for carrying into effect the magistrate's orders, and they are often disobeyed, which at once creates insubordination." * * * The new system, in my opinion, cannot work well unless there are a few of the local magistrates, with equal authority in each parish, appointed to assist the special; they being well acquainted with the cultivation of the products of the country, and equally so with the peculiarity of the negro character, they would greatly assist the special in guiding them to a decision. It is impossible for a set of men to carry this great object into successful operation who are utterly unaquainted with the customs and feelings of a people, utterly unacquainted with the portion of labour that the apprentices are capable of performing, quite ignorant of the modes of cultivating the different products of the colony, and equally so of our laws. It is impossible the new system can be carried on under such defective means, as the result of the short trial it has had has clearly shown. The apprentices continue to do little or no work; numerous faults have passed unpunished and even unreproved; crime has followed. For society long to continue in the state it is obviously rapidly verging to will be impossible." "That the special magistrates be increased and armed with a constabulary force independent of the plantation constables, who in all cases are not to be depended upon; or that this duty be performed by the police, which would save expense to the parishes. The local magistrates to be invested with power, but not permitted to act in their own concern." "I consider the only means which can be adopted to remedy its defects are, an increased number of stipendiary magistrates with a larger police, or other force, to carry their orders into effect; if which plan, or something like it, be not adopted, the estates must be thrown up."

At the very commencement of the new system it was the opinion of the Marquess of Sligo that the number of special magistrates originally sent out from home was insufficient for the duties they had to perform; and in consequence of his representation on that subject an additional number were appointed. In reply to an address of the Council and Assembly he says; 'Several of these (magistrates) have been already appointed by me from amongst the residents of this island, and the rest I am assured will be sent out by the first opportunity. All the vacancies which have occurred since my arrival have been filled up by persons already established here, and I have strongly recommended to the government their confirmation. Some of your local magistrates have been appointed by me to the special commission, and I have procured the unsalaried services of other persons eminently qualified for the duty. Between those now employed and those whom I have the certainty of having in I trust not many days at my disposal, there will be fifty persons qualified to act as special magistrates in this island, and I anxiously hope that his

majesty's government will, in consequence of any more recent representations, feel themselves justified in making a further increase in the number already appointed."—p. 49.

The principal defect in the system was thus remedied.

The supposed inability of obtaining negro labour for hire was another serious evil, which it was said threatened the planters with ruin. From the evidence given before the committee already mentioned, and before another appointed a short time afterwards to inquire farther into the subject, it would appear that apprehensions in this respect were but too well founded. The following are a few of the answers selected from many others of a similar nature to the question, "Have you found the emancipated slaves disposed voluntarily to hire themselves for a fair rate of hire?" "I have offered a fair rate of wages, but the apprentices would not accept it." "I have tried them by a proposition to them to work during crop, but they refused to do so. I asked them if they would keep the factory going during breakfast and dinner hours; they replied, 'no, they would go by the law.' The people to whom I allude were the people among whom I had longest resided and best known, and who are as well disposed apprentices as I have ever known, and from whom I had consequently the best expectations." "No, I have not: on the contrary they have objected in every instance." "On all occasions when I have offered them reasonable hire they have refused to accede to it." "I offered my own negroes money wages, at the rate of 2*s*. 6*d*. with the usual allowances for nine hours actual labour, but they all refused." Mr. Gordon states, "I found no difficulty in inducing them to work for money wages;" and the evidence in two or three instances besides is to the same effect. "I have on my own estate within the last two weeks." "I made some sugar on my estate, the Bogue, the early part of August, and the apprentices worked in their own time for money wages." It is evident that the negroes did not at first believe they should actually receive money for their labour, but when once convinced of this, the difficulty of obtaining their assistance immediately vanished. The following extracts from letters written at a subsequent date to the evidence above given, completely set at rest all apprehension on this subject.

"I have great pleasure in observing that the conduct of the apprentices in making arrangements for crop and money contracts, and honestly performing them, has in this district completely falsified the assertions of the alarmists, and prove that with equitable management and inspired confidence the negro will work for money, and work cheaply too." "I have recently, as special magistrate, sanctioned an arrangement between master and apprentices, both on the estate of the Lodge and Colbecks in this parish, by which the apprentices have engaged to employ a portion of their free time in taking off the crop of 1835 and in working much of the crop of 1836, on terms which will not cost the proprietors one-half of one years' interest of the compensation money. A disposition to work in their free time on terms equally favourable to the proprietors is not only general but universal among the negroes of this parish; and if such should be the case through the island generally (and I am strongly inclined to believe it is the case), the success of the apprenticeship system is placed beyond the reach of doubt."

"At Oxford, Mr. Phillpots complains that the apprentices fairly bully him to employ them on their own days. They say that you (their employer) are anxious that they should be hired, but that the overseer begrudges them the money which you have put into his hands for that purpose. I have but little doubt that during crop you may command as much of the time of the apprentices upon both these estates, either by night or day, as you may think it expedient to pay for."

"The apprentices on King's Valley have agreed in my presence to work in their own hours during crop at the rate of 1*d*. per hour, although I assured them that no compulsion would be used in that respect. * * * If gentlemen would call on the special magistrates to be present when proposals are made respecting their employment in their hours they would seldom decline the offer. But without the presence of a magistrate, and his assurance to see them paid, there is considerable distrust on their part."

"I was told by Dr. Wright of Manchester, that a gentleman (I think of the name of Lewis) in his parish had lately bought a property which he is working by free labour (that is, by apprentices in their own time) at the rate of 2*s*. 6*d*. per day; and that he heard a few days since that there were upwards of 200 employed in cutting down large trees and clearing the land for the cultivation of coffee. I was on a property in St. Elizabeth where the apprentices had offered to pick coffee in their own time at 1*s*. 8*d*. per day, but were refused employment by their master at that rate, although their master has stated publicly that the apprentices were not working and would not work in their own time."

"Indeed, my lord, nothing can be more contrary to fact than that the people of this district are indisposed to work in their own time for money, or cash, as they annoyingly term it. Now that they have seen the wages paid, their apparent indifference has been everywhere thrown off, and on some estates there are offers of service beyond what is required. The truth is, they were told at ——, in an unhappy moment, that they should be made to take off crop without wages, and this impression at once spread throughout the district; so that nothing but the fact of their seeing a system of wages actually introduced could satisfy them that it would be a reality. True it was that when the people were at first told laconically by the overseer that the mill must be kept about till eight o'clock they said 'no night spell.' Having heard of this, and knowing the general good disposition of the people, I went on the estate on the day the mill was put about and called them together; they assembled in the most orderly manner and listened to my address with a degree of quiet attention and respect scarcely to be exceeded; in conclusion they one and all said my 'word was good,' and they would do as I desired. They went to their work, and have since carried it on with a steady, persevering, diligent manner."

"The disposition to work for wages in their own time is becoming general. On some of the estates there are always many supernumerary hands waiting to hire themselves for the half nights' spell, in the event of deficiencies among those to whose turn it falls. I am glad to find that the attorney who first said that the people would not work for wages, when he had never asked them, and then refused to pay wages when the people offered their time, has been at length persuaded to yield the point, and his overseers are authorized to make agreements with the people for such time as they may require."

In the evidence taken before the committee, all the witnesses concur in their testimony that the managers of estates have been anxious to enter fairly upon the new system, and to do all in their power to carry it into execution. This assertion is rather at variance with the facts contained in the three last extracts given above; and from the several despatches of the governor it may be inferred that at best some of the overseers were not at first judicious or conciliatory.

Respecting the relative quantity of labour obtained from the negroes before and since the 1st of August we find various statements. "Formerly seven labourers would strip the trash (dry leaves) from an acre of canes in a day; but on the property in question it took twenty-five people, one day last week, to trash an acre of plant canes about ten months old, without any grass weeding; and, as far as my observation goes, the quantity of labour in all field occupation is reduced nearly to the same scale." "On some properties they are doing what I consider a fair and reasonable portion of work; but on a majority they are not doing at this present time over two-thirds of what I consider they should perform." "They are now only doing, where I am concerned, about one-third of what they used to do under the old system. The apprentices appear to me to have worked most sulkily, and have not performed, at any average, two-thirds of their former work, and often not more than one-half." One-third, a half, and two-thirds, are variously stated as the proportions of work now obtained as compared with the work done under the old system. From other testimony, however, it appears that the negroes are equally industrious as before the alteration. "For some time after the 1st of August they did not perform more than half the work they formerly did; I then applied to the stipendiary magistrate who ordered some of them to be punished and to make up the deficiency on Saturdays since that they have done as much work as formerly for the number of hours." "As there is a reduction in the time of labour, there must of necessity be a proportionate reduction in the quantity of labour given. Beyond this, I am not sensible of any material difference." "I observe no alteration in the work of the people under my charge since 1st

August, and the overseers report most favourably." "During the nine hours I think fully as much work is done as under the bygone system; and in this opinion I am borne out by my neighbours." "On some estates, making allowance for the difference of time established by law, the negroes are clearing canes at the same number per acre as they formerly did. On other estates they are not doing it, but they have improved very much in their work within the last five or six weeks." In an extract from a letter dated 1st December, we find a much more favourable account. "I have no reason to complain of the working of the apprentices; indeed it is quite the reverse, for they have done the same description of work through the nine hours as they formerly did in twelve. * * * If it was not tedious to detail, I have it before me, the minutiæ of work, where I find that what under slavery took four and three minutes to perform, has taken under the apprenticeship three and two."

To the question put by the committee of the assembly, "Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances," almost all the answers were unhesitatingly in the negative. "No, I do not," "It is impossible," "Decidedly not," "No, by no means," and many others in nearly the same words or to the same purport. After reading such evidence it is gratifying to learn from the governor's despatches, and from extracts of letters addressed to him, that the accounts during crop time were most satisfactory. "As the mills are all now about, I believe I may safely affirm that there is not a single instance throughout the whole district in which any doubt is now entertained of getting off the crop. Certainly nothing short of great improvidence or real imbecility on the part of the managers can obstruct it." "At Golden Grove they potted last week either sixteen or seventeen hogsheads; at Holland Estate nearly the same quantity; and I have the managers' own testimony on both estates, 'that they never saw the people either work better or behave better.' After all that your lordship has heard, I deem these facts worth communicating. Further, my lord, with respect to Golden Grove, and the statement is so gratifying as to require nothing less than the best authority, the attorney himself now informs me that he finds they shall have potted fully as much by Christmas as they made by the same period last year." "We are making at the rate of twelve hogsheads per week. At this rate we shall take off a crop equal to the last, viz. 400 hogsheads, say in thirty-three weeks. The wages given in that time will amount to 160*l.* sterling, an expenditure equivalent, as your lordship knows, to a deficiency of about ten hogsheads. When we consider, my lord, that in the majority of cases this outlay will be more than met by the *interest* on the compensation money, that we may confidently expect an improvement in the quality of the sugar made from the abolition of night work, and that the quantity lost by plunder will be diminished; when we reflect also upon the number of able labourers who were converted into hospital patients by exposure to night air under the former system, and consider that this evil is (if not removed) materially reduced by the new regulations; when, my lord, we give to such considerations the attention they deserve, does it not appear that, provided the change is fairly met, the condition of the proprietor is rather improved than otherwise, as far as relates to the time of the apprenticeship system." * * * "The result of their admirable exertions in sugar making up to this period is that they have actually potted ninety hogsheads, which is five or six more than last year, the mill having on each occasion been put about on precisely the same day, November 5th."

In the evidence before the committees the answers to the question "How is the new system of labour succeeding," are also with but few exceptions pretty nearly the same in substance, and unfavourable. "Not to my expectations," "Very indifferently," "Very ill," "Very badly lately," "Not as well as I could wish," "Not at all well," "Nothing could be worse," and answers of a similar kind, are those generally given. Two or three witnesses, however, expressed a different opinion. Mr. Farquharson says, "So far as I am concerned, I have seen no alteration." Mr. Gordon says, "It is succeeding to my satisfaction. * * * I think it is working much better than could have been expected, and that it is daily improving in its work." The despatches of the Marquess of Sligo of later dates than the above evidence confirm the justness of the views taken by the last-mentioned gentleman, and many extracts from letters received by his lordship still further show that the system does work better than was at first imagined. The following is an extract from a despatch dated 9th December, 1834:

"I am happy, however, at being able, in conclusion, to state that, in spite of all the obstacles which I have met with, matters are up to this date, hourly coming into a more healthy state. In proof of this I have the honour to enclose to you herewith some copies or extracts of letters from persons in whom I can confide, pointing out the great improvement which has taken place during the latter weeks. The masters are becoming more reconciled to the new system and the apprentices more reasonable. The consequence is that the negroes are falling by degrees into a steady system, advantageous alike to themselves and the proprietors. I cannot help thinking that the managers will now, when the important season of crop is arrived, feel that their interests are too important to be trifled with, that ruin must follow their want of success; that all chance of recovering their lost power of punishment is passed by; will really co-operate, and each in their own interior adopt their only resource, a humane but energetic system, which will produce the best effects on the minds of the apprentices."

The extracts from the letters mentioned above give most favourable accounts of the *improved* working of the system.

"Crime has evidently diminished and my labours have been divested of much of their anxiety." "From the good behaviour and perceptible improvement in the apprentices, especially on this property, their orderly and peaceable conduct entitle them to commendation; doing their work cheerfully and attending to all that is told them. From the few cases in this week's report, your excellency will perceive that crime is fast diminishing in this parish, and the apprentices on most of the estates are now turning their minds to labour as they ought to do." * * * "The conduct of the negroes in this parish is at present in the highest degree peaceful, orderly, and industrious." * * "I have pleasure in stating to your excellency the apparent peaceable demeanour of the apprentices and the favourable report of several managers on my route, and also the total absence of complaints." "I believe everything in this district is progressing as well as the most sanguine could expect. I have the mill on about twenty-three estates and no complaints." "The mills are all at work, and in my opinion everything will go on well. The negroes appear to be well inclined to do what their masters require of them." "I never was half so confident as I am now of the peaceable disposition of the negroes. I never knew them so greedy for money, so industriously anxious to earn it. I enclose you the proofs upon which I ground this opinion, and I could send you many others." "I had the pleasure of ascertaining from the attorney of Blackheath estate, where the negroes were very troublesome, that they were latterly behaving well and industriously." "From no estate since my last return of proceedings have I received a single complaint of indolent or insufficient work. I think I may therefore fairly infer that the people are generally working well; that they wear a more cheerful and contented aspect I myself discover; and this alone is no immaterial sign that there is no mischievous scheme in their heads to be developed in the holidays."

"On my last visit to Pera, where your excellency will remember some trouble was given, the people requested to be allowed to assemble, that I might tell them the law respecting crop time. Instead of the confusion and turbulence manifested before, they listened with decent attention and marked respect. When I alluded to their former behaviour, for the purpose of expressing my gratification at the contrast, they one and all said, 'We beg massa pardon, we was wrong, massa.'"

"Annexed I transmit my diary for the week ending this day (24th Dec.), which embracing the offences of a population of 12,000 apprentices, is an index of the diminution of crime, and the return of industry and cheerfulness; nothing can exceed the general propriety of conduct of the apprentices in this district. I have twenty-five estates all working upon the same agreement, and without the slightest misunderstanding or sullenness. I have been most anxious and particular in my inquiries as to the manner in which the apprentices do their work, and I have been generally assured they are working with cheerfulness and industry."

The despatch of the governor, dated 25th Dec. 1834, displays much good sense and feeling, while at the same time it gives an encouraging view of the state of things. He

observes, "That the negroes are fully aware of their own rights, and determined to maintain them, is true; that they in their present comparatively blessed position do not do as much work as before is also true; that they have occasionally shown a sullen temper I do not deny. Hard it would be to select 340,000 persons of any nation amongst whom there are not some sullen persons; but the instances are *very few*, and in many cases to be attributed to the threats that are so much too frequently held out to them, that they shall be deprived of all their comforts, of the ground they have so long enjoyed, of their stock, and in short, as I have good reason to think was the case in one or two instances, that "he (the overseer) would leave them little worth by the time their apprenticeship was over." These cases are, however, few, and the sulkiness was also rare. The masters and managers are getting more reconciled to the new law, and complaints of their cruelty rarely are brought forward now. The consequence is that more work is doing. * * * Men used all their lives to coercion cannot be well acquainted with persuasion deprived of power. The negroes take advantage also of their exemption from punishment. All that, however, is settling down fast, and I do not at all despair of seeing a great part of them fall into industrious habits. About a month or six weeks ago I had much misgiving in my mind as to this crop being taken off; but now, though it may fail partially, I do think I can with safety say that the majority will be got off satisfactorily, not to the extent perhaps of last year's, but quite enough to prove that the new system is not so desperate as has been imagined. Much injury has unquestionably resulted from the want of a sufficient number of special magistrates; but with those you have given me, and the facilities you have placed at my disposal with regard to the employment of some to act without salary on the payment of certain contingent expenses, I think that any cause of complaint on that score is abundantly got rid of. It is somewhat a remarkable fact that in many instances the negroes would not enter into any kind of bargain with their masters, but that the moment the special magistrate has been present and guaranteed to them the due performance of their bargain, they have at once assented."

Considerable anxiety was entertained as to the manner in which the Christmas holidays would be passed, it being feared by many that a concerted plan was formed for a general rising of the negroes at that period. The apprehensions upon this head were happily ill founded; the Marquess of Sligo in a despatch dated 12th January, states "That the holidays have passed off in a manner quite to excite astonishment. * * * The 1st, 2d, and 3d of Jan. were also holidays in most parts of the island, and the negroes returned to their work on the fifth with even more exactitude than formerly had been remarked to have been the case." Extracts from letters received by the governor from all parts of the island fully confirm this statement. Mr. J. Daughtrey, special magistrate, writes—"The negroes of this district (Bath) have fully realized the best hopes of their friends in their behaviour during the holidays. It has not only been irreproachable but admirable. I may venture to assert, that in no part of our own three kingdoms could you find a population of the same density in which a similar season would have passed over with equal cheerfulness and equal decorum. They have really been what our own poor are seldom able to be, both "merry and wise." My Lord, the Bushers themselves have evidently been struck with surprise to see the people whom heretofore they have been too apt first to depreciate and then to despise, conducting themselves throughout the entire period of festivity in so rational, sensible, and inoffensive a manner. I will do these gentlemen, however, the justice to say that they have on this occasion been candid and unreserved in the testimony they have borne to the behaviour of the people. Everywhere they have assured us that it has not only been blameless, but marked by a degree of propriety and self-restraint *never witnessed before*. No mean evidence this, I think, that the partial change which has taken place in their civil condition is now at least acting favourably. And may not your excellency fairly indulge the hope that with the advantage of wholesome instruction, and a firm but impartial administration of the existing law, they will at no distant day acquire the virtue, and become fitted for the duties, of the entire freedom which awaits them at the expiration of the apprenticeship? Having spoken of their behaviour during the holidays, I must not omit to add that the turn-out on Monday morning was in proportion good and unexampled. Instead of coming late, or of repairing in numbers to hospitals, as was the case in former years, all were found in their places when the lists were called. Throughout these large river estates, I have yet heard of but a single absentee, and his case was expected to be accounted for. Such a report as this, from the most valuable district in the island, must be gratifying to your excellency, and I transmit it with feelings far beyond those of mere official satisfaction."

"The holidays have thus far (31st Dec.) passed off in this district undisturbed by the occurrence of any serious impropriety; the apprentices of several estates which I made a point of visiting *unofficially* were in high spirits, and evidently too seriously bent on enjoying their little carnival to spare even a passing thought on mischief."

"I have visited nine properties yesterday; no complaints; and the managers have informed me that for years they have not been so regular at work after Christmas, or so cheerful as they observed them this year." "The Christmas holidays have passed off in the most orderly manner. Not the slightest complaint on the part of the master, apprentice, or any other person came before me, although often more than 2000 persons were in one day assembled in Port Antonio during these holidays; not even a guard was necessary."

"I beg to add that the Christmas has passed over here most satisfactorily, and without the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction. The church overflowed, and the usual negro amusements were carried on with undiminished spirit." "I am happy to inform your lordship that as far as has been seen no people *could possibly* conduct themselves *better* than the apprentices have done all over the district; and yesterday morning (except in one or two instances) they were all at work at the proper hour."

In the last Despatch, dated 6th March, we find it stated that "Nothing can be going on better than everything in this island." On the whole, then, we may fairly indulge the hope of a happy result under the watchful superintendence of the present governor, whose firm, conciliatory, and judicious conduct has already had so successful an influence, and anticipate that in a short time both masters and apprentices will be equally benefited under a system so much more in accordance with justice and religion than that which formerly subsisted.

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA.

As recent events have drawn public attention to that much neglected country which lies between the Danube and the Pruth, we will endeavour to give a concise account of the two states into which it is divided, and which have been for centuries either dependencies or integral parts of the Turkish empire. Wallachia, after a brave resistance, submitted in 1418 to the arms of Sultan Mahomet I., who merely imposed an annual tribute of 3000 piastres, and left the country its national government and Christian religion. Moldavia was not conquered by force of arms, but, terrified at the progress made in Servia, Hungary, and in all directions by the Turks, she voluntarily surrendered her liberties to Solyman I. in the year 1529. The terms she obtained were much the same as those granted to Wallachia, but her annual payment to the Porte was not called a tribute, but *bash-sheesh*, or a present. According to the letter of the treaties, signed by different sultans, the Turks were to protect the Wallachians and Moldavians against every enemy, without exacting from them anything else than the acknowledgment of the sovereign supremacy of the Porte, and the stipulated annual payments which were neither to be increased nor decreased. The Turkish government was on no account to interfere in the internal administration of the two principalities, nor was any Turk to go into those territories without an ostensible motive. The vaïvodes or princes both of Wallachia and Moldavia were to continue to be elected by the archbishops, the bishops, and the boyars or nobles, and their free election to be recognised by the Porte. The two principalities were to enjoy the free exercise of their own laws and customs, and their vaïvodes to have the right of life and death over their own subjects, without any kind

of responsibility towards the sultan. No Mahometan mosque was to be built, the Christian religion was never to be molested by the Turkish government, and no *firman*, or imperial ediot of any sort was ever to be issued in relation to the interests and affairs of the two states. All Turkish merchants or other Mahometans going into Wallachia and Moldavia were to have the express permission of the Christian government, and were to depart peaceably when their business was finished, without taking with them as servants any Wallachian or Moldavian subjects, whether male or female.

These were certainly honourable and advantageous conditions, but they were only granted at busy or critical moments, when it was essential to the success of the sultan's wars elsewhere, that the principalities should remain tranquil and friendly. As soon as that necessity ceased, the Wallachians and Moldavians met with the fate that usually attends the weak who negociate and connect themselves with the strong. Their treaties became little more than pieces of waste paper, being observed in their ordinary manner by the Turks, whose reputation for good faith in such matters we could never understand. The privileges accorded to the two Christian states were nearly all infringed; the tribute was arbitrarily and beyond endurance increased; the productions of the soil were monopolized for the Turkish markets; and, finally, after numerous acts of cruelty and oppression, the government was taken from the native vaïvodes or princes elected by the native nobility, and put into the hands of the Greeks of the Fanar of Constantinople, who, like mere pashas, were nominated by the sultan, and also, like the pashas of the Turkish provinces, recalled, put to death, or exiled in rapid succession. These hospodars, as they were styled, of Wallachia and Moldavia, obtained their places through bribery and intrigue, and almost invariably lost them through the same means, which were frequently employed against them by their own near relations in the Fanar, infatuated by the desire for a little pomp and power, though all precedent went to show that they briefly ended in disgrace and death. An hospodar seldom reigned many weeks after he had been outbidden at the Porte by another candidate. Their government was grinding and ruinous to the population of the principalities, and a curse to themselves and their race, for nothing contributed more powerfully to degrade and demoralize the best born and wealthiest of the Greeks—to turn their souls to chicanery, base cunning and treachery, than this career of insane ambition. All these infringements of solemn treaties did not take place at once, or without opposition from the Wallachians and Moldavians. The Turks made their encroachments by degrees. In 1544, crossing the Danube, which had hitherto been the frontier between the Ottoman empire and the tributary states, they obliged the Wallachians to cede them a long strip of territory on the left bank of that river, where they soon built Ibraïl, Giurgevo, and Tourno, three of their strongest fortresses, which are so frequently mentioned in the history of their wars with the Russians. Having thus obtained a firm footing on what we may call the Christian side of the Danube, they soon began to treat the inhabitants of the principalties in the same manner in which they treated the Greeks, the Bulgarians, and other non-Mahometan conquered subjects. The garrisons of the three fortresses made frequent excursions beyond the territory assigned to them, plundering and devastating Wallachia as if it had been an enemy's country. The moment in which the Wallachians ought to have risen in arms for their liberty and property, and the Moldavians ought to have joined them, was when the Turks first began to erect their three strongholds; but they lost that opportunity; they stood by and saw Ibraïl, Giurgevo, and Tourno completed, and made no efforts for several years after. At length, in 1593, the boyars elected a vaïvode of courage and enterprise. This was the celebrated Michael, who, forming an alliance with Aaron, Vaïvode of Moldavia, and Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, which country was also tributary to the sultan, resolved to drive the Turks beyond the Danube and restore the two principalities to their ancient independence. Before drawing the sword, Michael employed the pen, and in his own and the name of his allies sent a list of grievances to the Porte, demanding their redress, and a guarantee for the future. The sultan's only answer was delivered by 3000 janizaries, who were sent into Wallachia to levy contributions on the peasantry, and committed all kinds of outrages. A corps only recently raised and armed was at last despatched to put a stop to their excesses. The Wallachians surprised the janisaries and cut them to pieces. Their vaïvode, Michael, then placed himself at the head of the allied army of Wallachians, Moldavians, and Transylvanians, marched against Giurgevo and drove the garrison of that fortress to the Turkish side of the Danube. For three years the formidable attitude of Michael imposed respect on the Turks, but in 1595-6 Mahomet III. despatched his Grand Vizier to the Danube with an army of 40,000 Osmanlys and 20,000 Tartars, who, crossing the river, invaded Wallachia and Moldavia at the same time. The principalities sustained a war of five years; the Turks were frequently defeated by Michael, and the sultan was obliged for a while to give up his pretensions. As on so many other occasions, it was the dissensions among the Christians that brought about the triumphs of the Mahometans, but the disgrace of throwing Wallachia and Moldavia prostrate before the Turks, who soon made them two of the most wretched states in Europe, is mainly attributable to the court of Austria, which then, and for many after-ages, claimed to be the head of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1600, Sigismund, the former ally of Michael, abdicated the government of Transylvania, which country then became tributary to Austria. In recompense for many splendid services rendered to the common cause of the Christians against the Mahometans, and for some more private assistance by which he had greatly profited, the Emperor Rodolph entrusted the government of Transylvania to the brave and skilful Michael. It appears, however, that the abdication of Sigismund, the former prince, was not voluntary, for when the Transylvanians were disgusted with Michael, or rather with the Austrians for whom he ruled, and invited Sigismund to return to them, he immediately went and put himself at the head of a formidable insurrection, which obliged Michael to retire into Wallachia. An Austrian army, under the command of General Basta, soon arrived in Transylvania to support the emperor's pretensions, and this force was joined by Michael, who brought with him some of the best of his Wallachian troops. The united army attacked Sigismund, who, after an obstinate and sanguinary battle, was completely defeated. The victory, but for Michael, would not have been won, yet it was scarcely obtained when the treacherous Austrian general, Basta, plotted his destruction. Dissensions arose between the two commanders as to the future government of Transylvania, and jealous of the power of Michael, and instructed by his court to oppose his aggrandizement, Basta cut the matter short by having the vaïvode assassinated. On the death of this the last of their great men, and indeed almost the only great man they have ever had, the Wallachians returned to their own country carrying with them Michael's head, which was deposited with pomp and sadness in the monastery of Dialloluy, near to their capital. This event took place in the year 1602, and caused the greatest confusion and terror in Wallachia. The primates, the senators, destitute of courage and decision, lost time in talk, while the Turkish pashas in the neighbourhood, being well prepared to act, crossed the Danube at several points and occupied the greater part of the principality. Scarce a blow was struck by those people who only a short time before had fought so obstinately under Michael. The sultan assumed to himself the right of naming the vaïvode; other privileges and rights of the Wallachians were violated or abrogated by the Turks, the annual tribute was greatly augmented, and the three fortresses on the left bank of the Danube were made stronger than ever.

There was a slight difference in the fate of Moldavia; and in that principality the Poles, who were not then a *conquered* and *oppressed*, but a *conquering* and an *oppressing* nation, were chargeable with the blame which, in the case of Wallachia, lies on the Austrians. In the year 1598 a Polish army invaded and conquered Moldavia, but in 1602, when the Turks, after the death of the Vaïvode Michael, became again masters of Wallachia, the Poles surrendered the neighbouring principality to them, and retired without making any conditions for the unfortunate Moldavians. Leaving them the mere form and ceremony of an election, the sultan named their vaïvode also; the tribute was no longer called a present, as it had been, and its amount was increased at the nomination of every new vaïvode.

Though in both principalities the ancient constitution and right of election were destroyed, the vaïvodes for another century were at least natives of Wallachia or Moldavia, and

not foreigners of a different race, language, habits, and interests. Moreover, the sultan, though he forced upon them the nominal honour of *mirmiranc*, or pashas of two tails, did not as yet arrogate the right of treating these Christian princes like pashas, or of punishing them with death. Under this state of things, humiliated and disgusted as they were, some sparks of nationality and courage were kept alive, and during the seventeenth century both the Wallachians and Moldavians made several attempts to throw off the Turkish yoke. But the struggle, always unfortunate, was a most unequal one, as the united population of the two principalities did not amount to much more than a million, at a time when the sultan, between Europe and Asia, was absolute lord of fifteen millions of subjects. Towards the end of the seventeenth, and still more at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Austria and Russia, whenever it suited their interests or they had war with the Turks, intrigued with the boyars, and exerted themselves to the utmost by presents, brilliant promises, and proclamations, in the name of religion and freedom, to induce the Wallachians and Moldavians, whose territories lay between them and the Turks, to join the Christian banners, or to co-operate by secret measures against the sultan. There was little honour or sincerity on any side, and as soon as it suited Russia or Austria to make peace with the Turks, she generally concluded a treaty without caring much as to how far she had committed the principalities, or as to the vengeance the sultan would take on what he considered his revolted subjects. At a later period Wallachia and Moldavia became, like the plains of Lombardy and the Netherlands, a regular battle-field on which foreign nations used to decide their quarrels. For many years, as soon as hostilities broke out between them, the Turks from the south sent their janisaries, spahies, delhis, and the rest of their barbarous host across the Danube, and the Russians from the north, crossing the Pruth at the opposite extremity of the principalities, soon filled them with their Cossacks and other almost equally savage hordes.

It would be difficult to say which of the belligerents inflicted most mischief, but the fact is obvious that between the two, the condition of Wallachia and Moldavia, that could defend themselves from neither, must have been wretched in the extreme. The last native prince was Constantine Brancovano Bessaraba, vaïvode of Wallachia. In 1710 this prince, who several years before had been seduced for a short time by the Austrians, was gained over by Peter the Great, who then contemplated the campaign against the Turks which the following year terminated so unfortunately for the Russians on the banks of the Pruth. Peter and his army were extricated by the sagacity of the Empress Catherine, but Bessaraba, whose manœuvres were well known to them, was left to the tender mercies of the Turks. The ill-fated man attempted to conciliate them by sending large sums of money to the Sultan and costly presents to the Turkish ministers; but this plan only aggravated the horrors of his end, as it induced the Porte to believe that Bessaraba was in possession of exhaustless riches, which could be wrenched from him only by imprisonment and torture. Feigning, however, to be well satisfied with his gifts and the explanation of his conduct, the Turks left him undisturbed for many months, in order that his fears and suspicions might go to sleep. At length in the beginning of the Passion week of 1713, when the attention of the Wallachians was absorbed by the interminable ceremonies of the Greek church, a Capidgi-Bashi (a chamberlain, messenger, or executioner, as it may be, of the sultan), arrived at Bucharest, the capital of the principality, with an escort of only one hundred Turks. The Capidgi sent immediately to inform the vaïvode that he was only travelling through Wallachia on his way to Chotzim on state business; that he was in a very great hurry, yet being at Bucharest would take the opportunity of paying a short visit of ceremony to the prince. No sooner was he admitted than he put a black handkerchief on the shoulder of Bessaraba, who had risen from his seat and advanced to receive him as a friend. Having performed the ceremony of the handkerchief, which, according to Turkish usage, signified the deposition of the prince, the Capidgi-bashi placed a guard over his person, and going to the divan of the Wallachian authorities read the sultan's firman, which declared Bessaraba to be a traitor, and ordered that he and all his family should be seized and carried to Constantinople. Stupified and panic-struck the Wallachians permitted the Capidgi to secure all the public treasure and the private property of the vaïvode; nor, though many thousands of them were soon aware of what was going on, did they make a single effort to rescue their much loved prince from this mere handful of Turks, who rapidly carried him, with his wife, four sons, three daughters, and an infant grandson, to the infamous dungeons of the Seven Towers. The property confiscated appearing a trifle in the eyes of the sultan in comparison with the enormous sums he had expected, he caused the four sons to be put to the torture in presence of their father, in order that they should confess where Bessaraba had concealed the rest of his treasures, or that the vaïvode, at the sight of the horrid sufferings of his own flesh and blood, should himself make the revelation. These hellish scenes were repeated on three successive days, on the third of which the inviolable person of the prince was also racked and torn. But as none of them confessed an impossibility (the vaïvode having no concealed treasure) father and sons were all beheaded under the windows of the seraglio, from one of which the sultan watched the execution with an attentive eye. The five bleeding heads, stuck upon poles, were carried through the streets of Constantinople, after which they were probably thrown to the dogs; but their bodies being cast into the sea of Marmora were wafted by the current to the island of Chalki (one of the beautiful group called "the Princes' Islands"), where they were picked up by some Christian boatmen, and buried in a small and obscure Greek monastery. The name of Bessaraba was, and still is, venerated by his countrymen, who, however, had not the spirit to draw a sword to avenge his death and their own wrongs. Two days after his deposition the sultan arbitrarily appointed a Fanariote Greek to be his successor, and that dishonourable and foreign class of men continued for generations to be named by a Turkish Beratt or diploma and proclaimed by a Turkish Capidgi-Bashi.

These hospodars were named for three years but the sultan recalled them whenever he chose. Every change entailed an increase of oppression and misery on the unfortunate Wallachians and Moldavians; for the Fanariotes generally arrived among them burdened with debts which they had to pay out of the gains of their office, and as their stay was so short they resorted to every measure to make much money in little time. They also sent annual presents to preserve the friendship of the Turkish ministers, and in case of war or any emergency the sultan exacted subsidies which could only be obtained by still farther impoverishing the people. As property was no longer secure, as the farmer who sowed could not be certain that he should be allowed to reap and dispose of his own produce, the lands, in many instances, were left wholly uncultivated, and such of the agriculturists as could conveniently escape emigrated to the Austrian or Russian territories. That excellent old traveller, John Bell of Antermony, says, that when he was in Moldavia in 1737 no less than two-thirds of that principality was lying waste.

Among the servile and rapacious Greek hospodars there was one man of a noble soul and most elevated philanthropy, who zealously applied himself to promote the good of the country he was sent to govern. Constantine Mavrocordato was appointed hospodar for Wallachia in 1735. Afflicted at the degradation of the mass of the people, who were serfs, and being convinced that one of the surest means to increase the prosperity of the state was to elevate the condition of the popular body, he, in many instances, abolished slavery altogether, and generally improved the comfort and happiness of the peasantry. Mavrocordato had moreover the glory of being a religious instructor, an educationist, and a diffusionist. The language of the courts of the two principalities was, as it still is, the Romaic, or modern Greeks which was unintelligible to the people, and only spoken (and not written) by some of the boyars or nobles. The common idiom of the Wallachians and Moldavians was a strange mixture of several languages, in which, however, Latin, and a dialect of the Slave or Sclavonian, predominated. It had no alphabet suited to convey all its sounds and desinences, but on the rare occasions on which it was written, Sclavonian characters like those used by the Russians were employed. It had never been reduced to the rules of grammar, and no book had ever been composed in it. It was, in short, not a literary language or a fixed idiom, but a varying and uncertain jargon. The Bible, the book for all, was only known by name.

Mavrocordato, assisted by one or two of the more intelli-

gent of the Wallachians, set diligently to work, and in the first place formed an alphabet out of Greek and Sclavonian characters, which was adapted to the wants of the composite language. He then drew up a regular grammar, and had it and a few other elementary books neatly printed. He caused the Bible to be translated, he distributed many copies of the Old and New Testament in the newly-formed written language, and ordered that the Evangelists should be regularly read in all churches. In a short time the upper classes of society generally knew how to read and write in their own language, and began to turn their attention to books; and as knowledge, the blessed element of the soul of man, like water that sustains his body, will not be kept in the high places unless dammed up by artificial means and force, but seeks the valley and the lowest places flowing in all directions, so did a portion of these acquirements gradually descend from the boyars or nobles to the simple citizens and industrious Wallachians and Moldavians. If, unhappily, the progress made has not been equal to the promise of the beginning,—if ignorance and sloth still assert their reign, the circumstance is owing to the tyranny of the Turks and to the constantly troubled state in which the two weak provinces have been kept by war, or brute force, or intrigue. Constantine Mavrocordato was a man formed to civilize an empire, but he could only act on a narrow and dependent theatre. He had the Turks of the last century for his masters, and he had no successors like himself to continue the good work. Let there be honour to whom honour is due! Such individuals, be the measure of their immediate success what it may, are entitled to our reverence whenever and wheresoever they spring up. The names of the inventors of an alphabet or of the devisers of a new written language, ought to be enregistered in a holy rubric, like those of the saints and martyrs of old!

Constantine Mavrocordato was twice recalled by the Porte as a wholly unfit instrument for the sultan's purposes; but he nobly persisted, at the hazard of his life, in doing all the good he could, and in labouring for the civilization of the Wallachians. Many of his laws and institutions, though often set at nought and trodden under foot, still survive to attest the soundness and purity of his system.

The Greek hospodars were permitted by the sultan to have a court, to confer titles of nobility, and to rejoice in the vain trappings of monarchy, but they were expressly prohibited from maintaining an army, or ever raising and assembling troops of any kind. In less than a century (during which period the principalities were occupied four several times by the Russians), forty hospodars succeeded one another in Wallachia alone. Thus, on an average, the reigns of these princes did not last longer than two years and six months. Articles calculated to strengthen the hospodars, to render their change less frequent and arbitrary, and to diminish the evils suffered by the hapless population, were inserted in the treaty of Kaïnardji, when (in 1774) the Russians, after a four-years' occupation, restored the two principalities to the Turks; but they were not observed by the Porte, nor could Russia at every moment insist on their observance. An additional convention made in 1779, and an article which formed part of the treaty of Jassy in 1792, when Russia, after another long occupation, again gave up the principalities, and which article, provided that the sultan "should observe and religiously execute all that had been stipulated in favour of the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia," was equally disregarded by the sublime Porte. The hospodars were changed as often as ever, in spite of the stipulation that the sultan should never recall, or in any manner interfere with them, until they had completed seven years of government. In 1802, however, after long negociation and some threats the Russian minister at Constantinople induced the Porte to contract another engagement, which was, that the princes Ipsilanti and Morousi, who were just named for Wallachia and Moldavia, should not be recalled before the term stipulated, "unless they should be guilty of some offence which he (the Russian minister) or his successor, on an examination of the facts, should pronounce to be cause sufficient to justify their deposition." Thus Russia, who had declared herself the protector of the principalities in 1774, now, in 1802, assumed the right of being judge of the hospodars, and umpire between them and the sultan. But even this engagement was broken by the Porte, in about three years, suddenly recalled both Ipsilanti and Morousi without even a word of intimation to the Russian minister Another war ensued, and from 1806 to 1812 the arms of the czar again occupied Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1812, the memorable year of Buonaparte's Moscow campaign, peace was concluded between the Russians and Turks at Bucharest, the Emperor Alexander redelivering the principalities to the sultan, with the exception of that fine part of Moldavia which lies between the rivers Pruth and Dniester, which was formally ceded to him, and which has ever since been held by the Russians, whose frontier line in that direction is now the Pruth, and not, as formerly, the Dniester. The active negociator for the sultan on this occasion was the Greek prince Demetrius Morousi, who aspired to be hospodar of Wallachia, and who was suspected of favouring the Russians: but the responsibility, properly speaking, rested with Galib-Effendi, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Plenipotentiary at Bucharest, who signed and sealed the treaty, and who, from all that appears, might for the moment have saved Moldavia from dismemberment, seeing that the Russians, critically situated, and scared at first at the gigantic projects of the French, were in the greatest hurry to conclude peace with the Turks. The punishment, however, fell upon the Greek Morousi, and in the usual treacherous and detestable manner. After the conclusion of the peace of Bucharest he was living in Wallachia, expecting his nomination as hospodar, when he was informed by his friends at Constantinople, who advised him to take refuge in some Christian state, that the intrigues of the French agents (enraged at the recent peace) and a powerful faction in the divan were contriving his destruction. The Russians offered him a safe and honourable asylum, but the unfortunate man had a family in the capital, upon whom, in case of his evasion, he feared the Turks, according to their old system, would wreak their vengeance. He relied, moreover, on the pretended friendship of his superior Galib-Effendi, who, to excuse his own stupidity, had actually accused Morousi to the sultan, and determined to accompany that minister to Constantinople, where he could explain his part of the transactions. Accordingly, the Turk and Greek left Bucharest in the month of September. Nothing could exceed the warmth of Galib-Effendi's protestations of good will and affection, but, as soon as they arrived at the strong Turkish fortress of Rutschûk, on the southern side of the Danube, he ordered Morousi to be seized and carried straight to the grand vizier, who was still with the army at Shumla, and who, on the Greek's arrival at his threshold, without hearing a syllable of his defence, caused him to be literally cut to pieces with sabres and yataghans. Morousi's head was sent to Constantinople, and, with that of his brother Panayotti, who was accused of being his accomplice, was there exhibited for three days at the gate of the sultan's palace.

By the fifth article of the treaty of Bucharest, all former treaties and conventions relative to the privileges of Wallachia and Moldavia, were recognized and confirmed, and the sublime Porte engaged once more to change its mode of treating the hospodars and taxing the people of those countries.

The princes Caradja and Callimacki were appointed in October, 1812, from which time Sultan Mahmoud showed a disposition to observe the agreement that the hospodars should not be changed more frequently than once in seven years. He also agreed that the agents of the two princes, resident at Constantinople, should place themselves under the protection of the Russian embassy, and that their persons should be considered inviolable like those of foreign ambassadors. Calimacki actually reigned the full term of seven years in Moldavia, but in Wallachia the hospodar Caradja fled into Austria a year before the expiration of the term, fearing that if he returned to Constantinople the sultan would deprive him of the wealth he had acquired. After his departure, the provisional government he had appointed and many of the principal boyars united in petitioning the sultan to name no more Greek princes, but to leave the administration to the divan or senate of nobles, who would punctually cause all taxes to be paid, and the regal rights and authority to be maintained. But Mahmoud turned a deaf ear to these proposals, naming a Greek prince to succeed Caradja, and, in the following year, another Fanariote Greek to succeed Calimacki in Moldavia. It is possible, though not very probable, that these last appointed hospodars would have been left in their governments for seven years, but in 1821 the breaking out of the Greek revolution in the Morea, and the rash attempt of Ipsilanti in Wallachia, threw everything into confusion, and brought down a savage

destruction on the heads of the Greeks of the Fanar. In their rage and fear the Turks suspected every Greek, and no longer regarding treaties, or past services, or the voice of humanity, the sultan ordered the slaughter of all the heads of the hospodar families, and the other Greeks of Constantinople who had been employed in state affairs. The hospodar of Moldavia was first exiled and then strangled, and his kaïmacan, or lieutenant, beheaded. The kaïmacan of Wallachia was also seized in Constantinople and beheaded, after which his body, with the head placed between his legs, was exhibited for three days, having an inscription placed over it which commenced with these words: "Behold the odious carcase of Constantine Negri, Kaïmacan of Wallachia." With the exception of Chradja, who had retired in good time into Austria, and of a very few others who escaped from Constantinople concealed in foreign ships, all the leading Fanariotes were either put to death or sent into exile, with confiscation of their property.

These slaughters and persecutions did not terminate till towards the end of 1822. In the following year, the sultan having declared his Fanariote subjects for ever incapable of holding office, the Wallachians were authorized to elect a native boyar to be their hospodar. The choice of the nobles was, however, subject to the approval of the Porte. In this manner Nicholas Ghika was nominated, and took possession of the principality in 1823.* Ghika, though born and in part brought up north of the Danube, was connected by marriage with the noblest Fanariote families, and was altogether more a Greek than a Wallachian. A prince was chosen in the same manner for Moldavia, and both were to remain seven years, at the very least. But five years had not passed when both the principalities were again occupied by the Russians, who, crossing the Pruth at the opening of the campaign of 1828, became masters of them without firing a musket. When the armistice of Adrianople was concluded between the Turks and the Russians on the 29th of August, 1829, the principalities were, for the present, left as a pledge in the hands of the latter power, and so they remained in 1833, when the sultan, after calling a Russian fleet and army to protect him against the Pasha of Egypt, by an article in the definitive treaty of Hunkiar-Iskellesi, confirmed to the Emperor Nicholas the possession of Wallachia and Moldavia as security for the debt owing by Turkey to Russia. At the same time Nicholas obliged Mahmoud to recognize him as "protector" of the Servians, who are nearly of the same race as the Wallachians and Moldavians, and profess the same religion. However jealous we may be of Russian encroachment, we ought not to conceal the fact that the condition of Servia and the two principalities has been much improved by these circumstances, without which we are quite confident the important advantages we are about to relate would not have been obtained for the present, as in all other matters the Ottoman government persists in maintaining the great monopolies, though it has made a parade of abolishing a few insignificant ones. In saying this, we would not imply that Russia, who acts on the anti-free-trade system at home, has advocated liberty of trade in all its branches in the principalities; but what we mean is, that she has produced a position of affairs that has favoured the representation of *others*, and made the sultan really anxious to conciliate the affections of his nearly-lost subjects by restoring to them the most important of their rights. As soon as the Turks had entirely destroyed the independence of the Wallachians and Moldavians, they monopolized the produce of their soil, which was bought up by the Porte at its own arbitrary price, for the consumption of Constantinople, the constructing and supplying the Ottoman fleets, &c. &c. The proprietor, or farmer, was allowed no other market, and was often obliged to sell his produce to the Turks for the third part of what he could have got in the foreign markets of Europe, had he enjoyed the rights of exportation and free trade. Everything not consumed in the country was absorbed by the Turkish capital. Corn, cattle, sheep, timber, masts for ships, hemp, tallow, hides, wax, honey, butter, cheese, which are all abundant, and which may be produced in vastly increased quantities under a different system, were all bought up at the prices government chose to put upon them for Constantinople, while wool, and a few minor articles which the Turks did not want—as rabbit-skins and yellow berries—were the only things allowed to be exported elsewhere free of export duties. In seasons of extraordinary abundance, which could seldom happen under such an odious monopoly, as people naturally diminish their production when they cannot freely and advantageously sell what they produce, the Porte, having first helped itself to all it wanted, sometimes allowed the Wallachians and Moldavians to dispose of their surplus to foreign traders; but even in these cases there was a tedious and expensive process to be gone through, and the exportation of corn (the main produce of both principalities) was constantly prohibited.

This was the great curse of the principalities, which more than anything kept the mass of the people in wretchedness, indolence, and beggary; and this curse, we are happy to say, was greatly mitigated or altogether removed last year. The Wallachians and Moldavians are now allowed to sell their corn, cattle, timber, &c. to the highest bidders; the monopoly of the Porte is destroyed, and foreign merchants begin to trade directly (by means of the Danube) with Moldavia and Wallachia. In consequence of these measures the price of provisions has risen considerably in Constantinople, where the Turks are now obliged to supply themselves with their meat and bread chiefly from their provinces of Asia Minor. According to Mr. William Wilkinson, who was British consul in Wallachia about fifteen years ago, the principalities annually furnished the Turkish capital with 1,500,000 kilos or bushels of wheat, 250,000 sheep, 3000 horses, and a vast number of bullocks.

Galatz, a town which at present does not contain above 8000 fixed inhabitants, is destined by nature to be the chief port of both principalities. It is in Moldavia, but close on the frontiers of Wallachia, being sixty-five miles from Jassy the Moldavian, seventy-five miles from Bucharest, the Wallachian, capital, and about sixty miles from the mouth of the Danube and the Black Sea. Up to that point the Danube is navigable, even to ships of three hundred tons burden; and as there is no tide, vessels can lie alongside the quays of Galatz and land or take in their cargoes in the most convenient manner possible. The place has nearly every advantage of the best of sea-ports, and may probably, at no very distant time, rival even that of Odessa in the Black Sea. Ibraïl, on the Danube, is equally well situated, and at these two towns several Genoese, French, and other speculators have already established themselves. A commercial house of great importance which has branches at Constantinople, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles, has begun active operations at Ibraïl, where the first English vessel arrived in the autumn of last year, only a few months after the trade was thrown open*. An English house is about to establish itself at Bucharest with branches or agencies on the Danube for the direct importation of British manufactures and colonial articles, and the exportation of tallow, timber, and particularly staves for casks, &c. which are attainable at very low prices, in great quantities, and of excellent quality.

For a long series of years both the principalities drew their cotton and woollen goods, their glass, crockery-ware, hardware, and their manufactures generally, from Austria and Bohemia. To obtain a higher price for them the native and Greek merchants were accustomed to call most of the articles English. Some bales of our goods shipped at Smyrna and sent up the gulf of Enos, found their way over land by Adrianople and the Balkan mountains to Bucharest and Jassy; but like others bought at Constantinople and forwarded by caravan, the expenses upon them became very heavy, in addition to which, though duties had been paid by the original importer at the Turkish ports, fresh and heavier duties were levied before they could be introduced into the principalities.

The only serious drawback on the navigation of the Danube as far as Galatz is, that the river is blocked up with ice during a part of the year, and is in very severe seasons frozen over, from the end of November to the beginning of March. This inconvenience is, however, common to the ports of Odessa and Taganrok, on the Black Sea, and, of course, will always enter into the calculations of the navigator.

The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia united are about 360 miles in length from Orsova to the Pruth, and about 150 miles in breadth from the Danube to the Crapaks or Carpathian mountains which separate them from the Austrian provinces of Temeswar, Transylvania, and the Bucovine. The face of the country is greatly varied: the upper part near the mountains, which produces an immense

* The English flag had been carried on the Danube for many years before by our subjects or protegés, the Greeks of the Ionian islands, but their craft were small, and their traffic unimportant.

quantity of fine timber, is picturesque and healthy, but the lower portion is exceedingly flat and dull, and in many places marshy and insalubrious. The bank of the Danube, to a great breadth inland, is a complete swamp, particularly in Moldavia. Capital and industry might reclaim much of this waste land, but at present not a sixth part of the productive soil, that requires nothing but the plough or spade, is under cultivation. The mountains are supposed to abound in mineral wealth, but they have never been properly examined. The roads are few and bad, but several streams which descend from the Carpathian mountains might easily be made available for the transport of timber and other commodities to the Danube. Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, which is built on the river Domnitza, that falls into the Danube below Rutschuk, is one of the most disagreeable, swampy, unhealthy cities a man can live in. It has, however, a population of about 85,000, and there are many pleasant tracts of high wooded country and dry soil at the distance of a few miles from it. Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, which contains about 42,000 inhabitants, is, on the contrary, well built, delightfully situated, clean and healthy. The whole population of the two principalities is estimated at 1,500,000, but no correct census has ever been taken. Moldavia only enters for a third in this estimate, her inhabitants being set down at 500,000.

The character of the Wallachians and Moldavians has at present few points to recommend. The peasants are mild and inoffensive, but timid, spiritless, and indolent; the nobility and gentry, who live crowded in the capital cities, though exempt from all the fiercer vices, are vain, frivolous, voluptuous, corrupt, greatly addicted to gambling, and miserably educated. Next to education the great defect of high and low is a want of energy and courage. And yet these people are a mixture of the ancient Roman and the Sclavonian blood, and were once famed for their warlike independent spirit.

Whether we look at the limited population, the geographical position of the country, or the character of the inhabitants, we can see, *as yet*, but sorry materials for the building up of a nation, and we confess we cannot understand the speculations of some of our newspaper politicians who talk of erecting the two principalities into one separate independent state, which shall not only maintain itself but (being placed between the two) shall serve as a barrier to Turkey on that side against Russia. As to the latter point it would be just as rational to think of defending a stone castle by placing a line of wooden huts and straw sheds between it and its assailants.

The guarantee of England and France (for we fear Austria would not become a party to the arrangement) might indeed do much to sustain the tranquillity of the two provinces, and the improvements we have alluded to in this article; and the sultan, by leaving the Wallachians and Moldavians to themselves, or only exacting a moderate annual tribute, would certainly remove one of the great causes of dissension between him and his too powerful neighbour the czar. For many years, whenever Russia wanted to pick a quarrel with Turkey, she could find ostensible and, in many instances, just and popular motives for so doing in the sultan's treatment of the principalities and his infringement of the treaties that regarded them. The governments of the two principalities are now left to the hospodars and the divans or senates. This was nominally the case before the recent changes, but at present, as the hospodars are not shackled by the Turks, and as the senates are much less subservient to the hospodars, the administration proceeds in a more constitutional and just manner. Formerly the divan of each principality consisted of twelve boyars or nobles, who were presided and *nominated* (except the archbishop, who sat in right of his ecclesiastical dignity) by the reigning hospodar. These divans, by law, were to assemble twice a week, but the princes often dispensed with them for months together, and imposed taxes and raised money without even consulting them, although the constitution expressly declared that no such act could be legal unless it carried the approbation and signatures of the majority of the members of the divan. If we have been correctly informed, the number of members has been recently increased in both governments, and a few non-noble and mercantile men admitted into the divans.

In Wallachia, which is by far the more important of the two principalities, the Greco-Wallachian Ghika, who was hospodar at the breaking out of the war with Russia in 1828, has been restored to power to the great satisfaction of the people. Although not distinguished by great abilities, he is an honest, well-meaning man. We do not know who rules in Moldavia, or whether any hospodar has been elected there.

In all his late transactions in this part of the world, the czar has made a great *show* of moderation. So far from the sultan's having paid the debt owing to him, and for which debt the two principalities were pledged, he has not even made the first instalment, concerning which, as we mentioned in the last number of the 'Companion,' a curious dispute has arisen. In spite of these circumstances, however, Nicholas pretends to have withdrawn his troops from Wallachia and Moldavia. But how stands the fact? simply thus: a fine, picked garrison of 9000 Russians is left in possession of Silistria, the strongest Turkish fortress on the right bank of the Danube; a military road with stations and detachments is kept open through the principalities from Silistria and the Danube to the Pruth and Bessarabia, where Nicholas maintains a corps-d'armée on his own territory; and last, not least, a Russian consul-general, fixed at Bucharest, influences or absolutely directs many of the proceedings of the local governments, and keeps up a party in the divans of both principalities. These affairs seem to us of sufficient moment to call for the presence of an able and honest British resident; but the only agent we have, of any kind, on the spot, is a certain Signor Lovi, an Italian of whom nobody appears to know anything. Ever since the treaty of Bucharest, in 1812, the inhabitants, but more especially the popular mass, the *people*, properly so called, have been accustomed to look to the Russian consul for the redress of their grievances; and this, added to their religious sympathies (for they are of the same church as the Russians), to the sympathies which arise out of community of race (for Wallachians, Moldavians, and Russians, all spring from the great Sclavonian family), to the similarity of language, and to other circumstances, must always render the influence of the czar's agent very great.

Although deficient in some recent points, about which we have not been able to obtain correct information, and although necessarily concise, we hope these remarks will convey to our readers some notion of the much neglected principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and of the benefits which have lately been bestowed upon them.

EXPENSIVENESS OF IMPRISONMENT FOR SMALL DEBTS AND SMALL DELINQUENCIES.

Two very important returns, headed BATH GAOL, have just been laid before Parliament. They illustrate, in a very striking manner, the expensiveness of imprisonment for small debts and petty infringements of police regulations.

The first is entitled "A Return of the persons committed to Bath City Gaol from March, 1833, to March, 1835, by order of the Local Courts of Request; stating the amount of the debt sued for, and the cost incurred in each case; the maximum and minimum number of days for which each person might have been imprisoned, and the number of days each person was sentenced to be imprisoned."

The return, as made up, does not altogether fulfil the promise of the endorsement. One year only, namely, 1833, is given; and the maximum and minimum punishments attached to each amount of indebtedness is omitted. Nevertheless quite enough is furnished to exhibit, in strong relief, the feature indicated by the title of this article.

The total number of commitments in the year 1833, including some few double commitments of the same individuals, is 310. Their debts range from the trifling sum of 2*s.* 2½*d.* up to 10*l.*, beyond which sum the jurisdiction of the court does not reach. The total amount of the debts of these 310 persons is 929*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.* The total amount of costs on the processes of summons and commitments is 282*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* The scale of imprisonment is as follows:—

Debts under 20*s.*, 20 days; from 20*s.* to 40*s.*, 40 days; from 40*s.* to 3*l.*, 60 days; from 3*l.* to 4*l.*, 80 days; from 4*l.* to 5*l.*, 100 days; and from 5*l.* to 10*l.*, 200 days.

The total number of days of labour lost to the community by the imprisonment of these 310 persons is 23,200; the average length of imprisonment suffered by each being 75 days.

Estimating the average wages of these poor debtors at 15*s.* per week only, or 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem when at large—for

in gaol, be it remembered, they earn nothing—we have a sum of 3000*l.* to be added to the costs previously stated, and the two together will indicate the diminution of public wealth resulting from the custom of imprisonment for small debts in *one only* of the many gaols in the kingdom. Let us bring these facts more immediately before the eye:—

No. of Debtors.	Costs.	Debts.	Days' Imprisonment.	Value of Labour, 2*s.* 6*d.* per Diem.	Loss of Labour and Costs.
	£. *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*		*£.* *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*
310	329 17 4½	288 11 7	23,200	2,900 0 0	3,183 0 0
Average	1 0 0	0 18 8	75	9 7 6	10 5 0

But these averages do not indicate the most grievous cases. Take a dozen of the smallest accounts, and the mass of evil incidental to the system will be strikingly apparent.

Names.	Debts.	Costs.	Value of Labour lost.
	£. *s.* *d.*	*£.* *s.* *d.*	
H. Pettinger	0 2 10	0 6 5	All sentenced to twenty days' imprisonment; supposed value of their labour at 15*s.* per week, 30*l.*
G. Dagger	0 3 0	0 6 5	
W. Rolls	0 3 6	0 6 5	
W. Dickenson	0 2 9½	0 6 5	
C. Baker	0 4 2½	0 6 5	
J. Dickenson	0 2 6	0 6 5	
J. Trigg	0 4 10½	0 6 5	
E. Brown	0 2 0	0 6 5	
W. Boyce	0 2 6	0 6 5	
E. Wells	0 4 4	0 8 3	
E. Marshmen	0 2 2½	0 6 5	
J. Thomas	0 2 6	0 6 5	
Total	1 17 3	3 18 10	30*l.*

Here we have the costs of proceedings upwards of 200 per cent., and the aggregate punishment estimated in money more than sixteen times the offence. In the extreme case the costs exceed 300 per cent., and the whole punishment is twenty-eight times as great as the offence. Surely reform is wanted here if anywhere.

We have made use of the word expensiveness to stand only for the cost and loss estimated in money; but we have the authority of more than one great jurist for including within the term more than mere pounds, shillings, and pence. Let the reader mark down the loss of health incidental to seventy-five days' confinement in a crowded and often filthy gaol, and to an insufficiency of clothing and food; let him also mark the baneful moral effect of such imprisonment, and then let him say if the "expensivenesss," in the more extended meaning of the term, be not almost beyond calculation.

We now turn to the second document—"A Return of the persons committed in the years 1832, 1833, and 1834, to the Bath City Gaol for want of bail, and for offences committed under local police acts; stating the amount of bail demanded, and the specific offence charged in each case; the age of each person, the number of days during which each person was imprisoned, and the prison debt ordinarily allowed."

The following is a catalogue of the offences exhibited on the face of this return, together with the numbers punished for each description of offence:—

Aggravated assault	1
Assault	1
Threatening assaults	8
Bastardy	3
Misdemeanour	2
Disorderly house	2
Rescue	2
Breach of the peace	62
Exposing fruit, &c., for sale on the pathway	63
Collecting ashes from houses	1
Total	145

The most striking feature in this return is the utter disregard to any the slightest proportion between the offence and the punishment. To the case of assault we find attached thirty-six days' imprisonment, whilst to a threat of assault, which cannot be so heinous an offence as the act itself, is assigned, in one case, eighty-four days' imprisonment.

The two cases (a man and his wife) of "keeping a disorderly house"—a hot-bed of vice and misery—a fruitful source of wretchedness and guilt—the justices seem to look leniently upon, ten days' imprisonment only being inflicted upon them; whilst "selling fruit on the pathway," a crime having in it no immorality whatever, although it may obstruct the chairs of the Bath dowagers, is punished with no less than thirty days' incarceration. But even this difference between the figures 10 and 30 by no means indicates the proportionate punishments. The keeper of a brothel is a being dead to every sense of decency and shame. To him or her it is simply a few days' confinement. They are not robbed of the slightest consideration among their usual associates, with whom on the contrary, they find sympathy. They are "in trouble," and every effort is made by their friends to alleviate the tedium of their few day's detention. Contrast this with the following cases of persons imprisoned for selling fruit on the footpath, which we take, without selection, in the order in which they follow each other on the lists:—Fanny Bray, aged 15; Ann Palmer, aged 17; Amelia Beard, aged 16—sentence, thirty days. Most of those committed for this "crime" are under twenty years of age. There is no reason to suppose them of abandoned character. Indeed, the simple fact that they resort to an honest though humble means of obtaining a livelihood is a presumption that they are neither prostitutes nor pilferers, though assuredly under the Bath police regulations they are likely to be made both.

To such persons thirty days' imprisonment in a common gaol is in most cases ruin. We know nothing of the economy of the Bath City Gaol in particular, but we know this of our gaols in general, that there is no classification and separation of offenders. The young female of fifteen, convicted, not of any breach of positive morality, but merely of an offence against aristocratic convenience, an offence against the free passage of sedan chairs!—is shut up perchance in the same room with the hardened dealer in female seduction. The two "keepers of a disorderly house," imprisoned for ten days, would thus be enabled to turn their "trouble" to good account. A constant supply of victims is provided for them, and their committal ceases to be a punishment. This is a revolting picture, but it is a faithful one.

Besides the moral and political objection to visiting such offences with so injurious a mode of punishment, there is in these cases the same politico-economical objection—if we may be allowed the expression—which we have pointed out as incidental to imprisonment for small debts. The average imprisonment inflicted on the "sellers of fruit on footpaths" is 15¼ days. Estimating their labours at the low rate already assumed in the former case, it is equal to a penalty of nearly 2*l.* on each of the unfortunate persons convicted.

We should be glad to see a similar and even a more extensive return for every gaol in the kingdom. Such a set of documents would show an annual loss in impeded labour alone of between 1,000,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* Considered with respect to the destruction of morality and the promotion of crime, the picture would be perfectly frightful, though, to the legislator, most instructive.

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW GRENADA.

New Grenada comprises the whole of the north-western part of the late republic of Columbia, from which it was separated in the year 1831. The territories of New Grenada extend from the equator to Cape La Vela, in about 12° of north latitude, and between the parallels of 72° and 81° of longitude, in their greatest breadth.

The republic of New Grenada is divided into five departments, containing nineteen provinces, with a population of altogether 1,340,000 inhabitants, viz.:—

1. Department of Cundinamarca, capital Bogota, containing the provinces of Bogota, with 175,000 inhabitants; Antioquia, 105,000; Mariquita, 45,000; Neiva, 50,000.

2. Department of Boyaca, capital Tunja, containing the provinces of Tunja, with 200,000 inhabitants; Socorro, 150,000; Pamplona, 75,000; Casanare, 20,000.

3. Department of the Magdalena, capital Carthagena, containing the provinces of Carthagena, with 130,000 inha-

bitants; Santa Martha, 60,000; Mompoz, 50,000; Rio Hacha, 10,000.

4. Department of the Cauca, capital Popayan, containing the provinces of Panama, with 50,000 inhabitants; Veragua, 30,000.

The principal rivers are the Magdalena, Atrato, Cauca, and the branches of the Orinoco, running into the province of Boyaca.

The sea-ports on the Atlantic, or north side, are those of Rio Hacha, Santa Martha, Savanilla, Carthagena, Porto Bello, and Chagres, with Panama, Choco, and Buena Ventura in the Pacific.

The exports from New Grenada consist chiefly of cottons, fustic, Nicaragua wood, hides, and a few drugs; neither cocoa, coffee, nor sugar are produced in sufficient quantities to supply the home demand. Tobacco is a monopoly of the Government, and the quantity raised is inadequate for the consumption of the country. The remainder of the imports from abroad are paid for in specie and gold dust, which latter is however exported clandestinely. The whole value of the produce of the soil of New Grenada, according to official documents made up for the year ending 30th June, 1834, was estimated to amount to 3,250,000 dollars, or 650,000*l.* sterling.

The number of vessels which entered and sailed from the ports of this republic during the above-mentioned period was 360. The value of goods imported was 360,000*l.*, and of those exported, 310,000*l.*, whilst the duties levied on the same returned about 130,000*l.* to the Treasury.

The revenues of New Grenada, in 1833, are stated to have produced an income of about 500,000*l.*, whilst the expenditure amounted to about 450,000*l.*, exclusive however of any interest on the foreign debt, leaving an apparent surplus of 50,000*l.*, the greater part of which sum was employed in the purchase of tobacco.

No late statement has been made respecting the amount of the domestic debt due by New Grenada, but it is probably not less than three millions of dollars, as in the estimate of expenditure for the last year there appears an item of 150,000 dollars, appropriated towards the redemption of the floating debt due at the various customhouses, equal to five per cent. on the above amount.

The estimate of expenditure for the year ending June last was 2,657,000 dollars, (or about 530,000*l.*,) also exclusive of any interest for the foreign debt, whilst the receipts, including the balance on hand in June, 1833, were calculated at 2,530,000 dollars (or 507,000*l.*)

The whole amount of the foreign debt now remaining due by the late republic of Colombia is about 6,626,000*l.* sterling, whilst the arrears of interest accumulated on the same up to the close of last year exceed 3,300,000*l.*, forming a total of nearly ten millions sterling. According to the arrangements proposed at the meeting of the deputies from the three states at Bogota, in January last, the repartition of the debt is to be as follows, viz.:—New Grenada to bear 50 parts; Venezuela, 28½ parts; the Equator, 21½ parts; in which case the portion due by New Grenada, including the arrears of interest, would amount to nearly five million sterling, which sum, at six per cent. interest, would require an annual provision of at least one and a half million of dollars, or rather more than half the amount of the entire present ostensible income of the state.

The branches of revenue appropriated by the late government of Colombia for providing the interest and sinking fund on the foreign debt, were as follows, viz.:—One-eighth of the duties received at the different customhouses; the whole of the duties levied on gold and silver; and, lastly, the revenues arising from the tobacco monopoly.

In the original contract, however, for the foreign loans, it was stipulated that one-half of the duties received at the different customhouses should be set apart for the payment of the dividends, although by a subsequent decree this quota was reduced to one-eighth. These duties amounted last year to about 640,000 dollars, one-eighth of which would have been 80,000 dollars; the duties on gold and silver appear to have produced only 36,000 dollars, while the net returns from the tobacco revenues did not yield more than 206 000 dollars, making altogether about [illegible] dollars, or 64,000*l.* sterling, equal to a dividend of about one and two-sevenths per cent. on the portion of the foreign debt due by New Grenada.

The duties at present levied on imports are far too high, being equal to nearly 33½ per cent. on the value of the goods imported, and only tend to encourage smuggling, whereas if they were reduced to a moderate per centage, on a fixed tariff, rated according to the fair cost of the article at the place of production, and proper persons appointed with sufficient salaries, some check might no doubt be given to the system of smuggling and fraud now carried on in almost every part of Spanish America, equally injurious to the revenues of a country and to the fair trader.

The greater part of the gold found in New Grenada is obtained from washing the auriferous soils. The quantity so produced, under the dominion of the Spaniards, appears to have been very considerable, but at present most of the gold dust collected in this country finds its way abroad clandestinely, without paying any duty. The duties on coinage at the mints of Bogota and Popayan, produced, in 1834, about 75,000 dollars.

A very considerable quantity of platina is found in the province of Choco, the sale of which is, however, monopolized by the Government at the rate of six dollars per ounce, more than double its real value; the greater part, consequently, finds its way abroad clandestinely. If proper facilities were, however, granted for the export of platina as well as of the other precious metals, greater quantities would no doubt be raised, and trade increased in proportion.

The monopoly of tobacco used to form one of the most lucrative branches of the revenues of Columbia. The Government of New Grenada has continued the monopoly of this article; and its cultivation can therefore only be carried on in particular districts by persons licensed for that purpose. The whole of the tobacco must be brought to the various depôts, where it is sold to the agents of the Government at such prices as the latter think proper to fix. In the maritime provinces the average price paid for tobacco of the first quality is about 9*d.* sterling per pound, and in the interior about 6*d.*, while it is generally resold to the dealers at 2*s.* 6*d.*, and in some places as high as 3*s.*

On the first establishment of their independence, the Government of Columbia abolished all monopolies. It was, however, deemed advisable to resume that of tobacco, with the ostensible object of applying the receipts to the liquidation of the public debt. Various decrees were passed in consequence, for giving greater encouragement to the cultivation of this article. They have, however, failed in producing the desired effect, and the production of tobacco has so much decreased that it now barely suffices for the consumption of the country.

The causes to which the Minister of Finance attributes the great falling off in this branch of the revenue, are the want of sufficient funds on the part of the Government to enable them to supply the directors of the different establishments with means to purchase the quantity required for public consumption, and the extensive smuggling carried on in the article, owing to the price put on it being so disproportionate to its real value. Out of the loans raised in England in 1824, about 500,000 dollars were appropriated in supplying the different tobacco depôts with funds, but the Minister states that three millions of dollars at least are necessary to enable the Government to derive full benefit from this monopoly.

The capital at present employed by the Government of New Grenada in this branch, amounts to between 300,000 and 400,000 dollars; its net revenues in 1832 were 184,000, and in 1833, 206,000 dollars; but the receipts for 1834 were not expected to produce more than 175,000 dollars.

The Minister now proposes to allow the growers a better price for their tobacco; but it would probably be very difficult to induce independent capitalists to engage in the culture of this article so long as they are restricted from selling their produce in the best market, and are at the same time subjected in all their operations to the vexatious interference of the officers of the revenue.

If, on the other hand, the monopoly were given up altogether, and the grower left at liberty to cultivate and dispose of his produce, paying only a moderate duty on the crop, somewhat after the plan adopted in England as to the growing of hops, there can be little doubt but tobacco might be made to produce a very considerable revenue to the state, and the article afforded much cheaper and of a better quality, while the consumption would increase in proportion. Under the present system the growers are badly paid for their labour, and have but little inducement either for improving or extending the cultivation, whilst the high price affords every temptation for contraband importation.

The soil and climate of New Grenada are well adapted for the growth of tobacco in almost every part, but the quality most preferred for exportation was that grown in the province of Varinas, now belonging to Venezuela.

The trade between Great Britain and the different parts of the late republic of Columbia is principally carried on from Liverpool. The total value of exports from the United Kingdom to Columbia, in 1833, amounted to 500,000*l.* sterling, only about one-third of which probably went to ports in New Grenada, whilst the imports from Columbia, exclusive of gold and silver, did not exceed 25,000*l.*

The cotton produced in New Grenada is generally known under the name of Carthagena cotton, and is worth from 6*d.* to 7*d.* per pound. It is of a middling fine staple, but badly cleaned, being very dirty and full of seeds. The quantity imported into Liverpool every year averages from 6000 to 8000 bales, of about 120 pounds each. The growth of this article might however be considerably increased, and it might form the staple produce of the country if greater attention were paid to its culture and preparation.

The demand for fustic has considerably improved of late years. This article is principally shipped at the port of Savanilla, being cut on the banks of the river Magdalena. It is of a tolerably fair quality, and sells for about 5*l.* a ton.

The demand for Rio Hacha Nicaragua wood, on the other hand, has greatly decreased, owing to the large quantities of this dyewood brought round Cape Horn from the western coast of Central America, where it can be procured of a better quality, and, from growing near the sea, at a far less cost. The hides received from New Grenada are chiefly shipped at Santa Martha, being the produce from cattle reared on the banks of the river Magdalena. They are mostly sent in the wet salted state, and are worth about 4½*d* per pound.

The principal drugs produced in New Grenada are balsam of tolu, sarsaparilla, ipecacuanha, and a little bark. The three last, however, are generally very inferior in quality, and the value of the whole is but trifling.

Particulars of the revenues of New Grenada in 1833 :—

	Dollars.
Import duties	650,000
Export ditto	13,000
Excise ditto	328,000
Salt monopoly	254,000
Tobacco ditto	548,000
Tithes	120,000
Spirits	120,000
Mint and coinage	110,000
Gold and silver	36,000
Stamps	34,000
Post office	93,000
Miscellaneous	101,000
	D.2,407,000

Particulars of the expenditure of New Grenada for 1834 :—

Home department.	Expenses of congress, &c.		60,000
,,	Executive power		36,000
,,	Justice and education		18,000
,,	Hospital, pensions, &c.		43,000
,,	Expenses of the provinces		220,000
			D.377,000
Foreign department, diplomatic, &c.			30,000
Army.	Secretary's department	15,000	
,,	General staff and officers	60,000	
,,	Militia and army	700,000	
,,	Hospitals, pensions, &c	250,000	
			1,025,000
Navy			217,000
Finance.	Secretary and office expenses	28,000	
,,	Provincial expenses	60,000	
,,	Mint at Bogota and Popayan	39,000	
,,	Customhouses	88,000	
,,	Post office	46,000	
,,	Tobacco revenue	79,000	
			340,000
For the purchase of tobacco			392,000
Sinking fund on the floating debt			150,000
			D.2,531,000

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Metropolitan Police.—The receipts of the Metropolitan Police for the year 1834, amount to 218,141*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*; the disbursements to 215,108*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

British Museum.—The number of persons admitted to view the British Museum from 1829 to 1834, inclusive, has been as follows :—

1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
68,101	71,336	99,912	147,896	210,495	237,366

Number of visits paid to the reading-room for the purposes of study or research :—

1810	1815	1820	1825	1830
1,950	4,300	8,820	22,800	31,209

1831	1832	1833	1834
38,200	46,800	58,800	70,266

Visits by artists and students to the galleries of sculpture :—

1831	1832	1833	1834
4,938	4,740	4,490	5,645

Visits to the print-room :—

1832	1833	1834
4,400	2,900	2,204

Receipts and expenses for 1834 :—	£	*s.*	*d.*
Receipts	18,825	4	9½
Expenses	18,577	1	6
Surplus in hand	248	3	3½
Estimated expense for 1835	17,796	0	0

Coals.—An account of the quantity of coals brought coastwise and by inland navigation, into the port of London during the year 1834, compared with the quantities brought during 1833 :—

Ships. 1833	Ships. 1834	Ports whence Shipped.	Tons. 1833	Tons. 1834
3,387	3,625	Newcastle	1,060,839	1,142,903
2,369	2,036	Sunderland	666,787	559,105
773	1,007	Stockton	170,690	221,971
178	248	Blythe & Seaton Sluice	48,689	64,268
67	176	Ports in Scotland	15,138	39,487
130	135	Places in Wales	32,156	33,200
173	177	Places in Yorkshire	16,110	17,751
		Quantity which passed the Boundary Stones on the Grand Junction Canal, &c.	4,395½	1,862
7,077	7,404		2,014,804½	2,080,547

Police Gazette.—Cost of printing and circulating :—

		Number Printed.
1830	£1,365	148,100
1831	1,577	169,750
1832	1,535	167,560
1833	1,596	156,832
1834	1,612	161,200

In addition to the items of expense, the editor has a salary of 100*l.* per annum. The 'Police Gazette' is sent to the mayors and principal officers of every city and town in the kingdom, to justices of the peace in petty sessions assembled, or their clerks, the keepers of gaols, and houses of correction, the metropolitan police, the war-office, horse-patrol, police offices, the commanding officers of each regiment, and the several military depôts in Great Britain.

Sale of Beer Licenses.—Account of the number of licenses granted under the sale of beer act, during the years 1833 and 1834 :—

	1833	1834
Retailers of beer, cider, and perry,	34,976	21,975
,, cider and perry only,	653	1,054
,, beer, porter, or ale, to be drunk on the premises,		13,654
,, not to be drunk on the premises,		1,752
	35,629	38,435

Private and Joint Stock Banks.—An account of the aggregate amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales, by Private Banks and by Joint Stock Banks and their branches, distinguishing Private from Joint Stock Banks, between the 27th of December, 1834, and the 28th of March, 1835 :—

Private banks	£8,231,206
Joint Stock Banks	2,188,954
	£10,420,160

Newspaper Advertisements.—A Return of the Number of Advertisements which appeared in each of the Newspapers published in London during the Years 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834; and the Amount of Advertisement Duty paid by each during the period above-mentioned.

NEWSPAPERS.	1831.		1832.		1833.		1834.	
	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.
		£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Albion	1,839	321 16 6	2,410	421 15 0	2,857	358 1 6	3,548	266 2 0
Academic Chronicle	88	15 8 0						
Athenæum	941	164 13 6	5	0 17 6				
Alfred	368	64 8 0	650	113 15 0	99	17 6 6		
Age	4,819	843 6 6	4,141	724 13 6	3,980	598 16 0	4,589	344 3 6
Atlas	3,729	652 11 6	3,331	582 18 6	2,872	366 3 6	3,602	269 18 6
Bell's Life in London	1,462	255 17 0	1,282	224 7 0	1,302	164 9 0	1,527	114 10 6
Ballot	1,443	252 10 6	918	160 13 0				
British Traveller	3,211	561 18 6	1,873	327 15 6	455	79 12 6		
British Liberator	..	..	..	..	372	40 12 0		
Country Times	593	103 15 6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Courier	15,142	2,649 17 0	13,631	2,210 8 6	13,635	1,727 8 6	15,705	1,177 17 6
Cobbett's Register	146	25 11 0	138	24 3 0	208	25 4 0	224	16 16 0
Constitution	445	77 17 6	37	6 9 6				
Christian Advocate	596	102 11 0	826	144 11 0	841	108 15 6	831	62 6 6
County Chronicle	3,449	603 11 6	3,424	599 4 0	3,524	436 18 0	3,171	237 16 6
County Herald	1,551	271 8 6	1,409	246 11 6	1,451	173 9 6	1,517	113 15 6
Court Journal	2,811	491 18 6	2,176	380 16 0	2,349	302 19 6	3,212	240 18 0
Commercial Record	111	19 8 6	110	19 5 0	112	14 0 0	126	9 9 0
Commercial Gazette	..	..	11	1 18 6	92	8 1 0	147	11 0 6
Course of the Exchange	..	..	..	..	12	1 4 0	9	0 13 6
Champion	..	..	..	..	..	..	231	17 6 6
Englishman's Register	20	3 10 0						
Englishman	385	67 7 6	207	36 4 6	206	24 7 0	61	4 11 6
Examiner	2,319	405 16 6	2,161	378 3 6	2,332	284 0 0	2,725	204 7 6
Evening Mail	434	75 19 0	633	110 15 6	680	82 6 0	835	62 12 6
English Chronicle	166	29 1 0	151	26 8 6	233	28 7 6	316	23 14 0
Eye	..	..	..	..	6	0 9 0		
Free Trade Weekly Express	26	4 11 0						
Farmers' Journal	682	119 7 0	333	58 5 6				
Globe and Traveller	10,273	1,797 15 6	10,356	1,812 6 0	11,428	1,421 8 0	14,584	1,093 16 0
General Advertiser	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,928	519 12 0
Intelligence	777	135 19 6						
Irishman	46	8 1 0						
John Bull	5,514	964 19 0	4,778	836 3 0	4,754	600 15 0	5,380	403 10 0
Kent and Essex Mercury	1,444	252 14 0	1,417	247 19 6	2,051	247 14 6	1,950	146 5 0
King	..	..	..	..	..	..	161	12 1 6
London Journal	242	42 7 0	222	38 17 0	177	20 1 6	181	13 11 6
London Packet	186	32 11 0	114	25 4 0	100	12 0 0	124	9 6 0
London Gazette	5,143	900 0 6	4,869	852 1 6	4,818	626 17 0	4,907	368 0 6
Law Chronicle	5	0 17 6	2	0 7 6	2	0 3 0	15	1 2 6
Law Gazette	1	0 3 6	..	..	..	..	4	0 6 0
Literary Gazette	2,675	468 2 6	2,395	419 2 6	2,570	327 1 0	2,889	216 13 6
Law Advertiser	70	12 5 0						
Le Precurseur	134	23 9 0	105	18 7 6				
London Mercantile Journal	..	..	171	29 18 6	74	5 11 0	20	1 10 0
Librarian	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	4 13 0
Literary Advertiser	590	103 5 0	792	138 12 0	883	109 2 6	1,038	77 17 0
Morning Advertiser	31,909	5,584 1 6	30,661	5,365 13 6	32,576	4,001 2 0	37,733	2,829 19 6
Morning Post	30,778	5,386 3 0	27,838	4,871 13 0	31,096	4,087 8 0	36,727	2,754 10 6
Morning Chronicle	19,467	3,406 14 6	16,819	2,943 6 6	16,487	2,131 12 6	20,279	1,520 18 6
Metropolitan	62	10 17 0						
Morning Herald	42,770	7,484 15 0	44,111	7,719 8 6	52,313	6,676 13 6	64,577	4,843 5 6
Mercantile Journal	298	52 3 0						
Mark-lane Express	..	..	822	143 17 0	436	47 18 0	477	35 15 6
Merle's Weekly Register	..	..	167	29 4 6	334	58 9 0		
Movement	..	..	..	..	121	21 3 6		
Morning News	..	..	..	..	..	..	13,358	1,001 17 0
New Mercantile Journal	193	33 15 6						
News	1,557	272 9 6	1,305	228 7 6	1,228	152 4 0	1,445	108 7 6
New Weekly Messenger	..	..	1,228	214 18 0	1,436	108 0 0	1,829	137 3 6
New Court Journal	..	..	..	..	235	41 2 6		
New Weekly Dispatch	..	..	..	..	630	47 5 0	2,009	150 13 6
New Farmers' Journal	..	..	..	..	76	9 8 0	38	2 17 0
Naval and Military Gazette	..	..	..	..	914	111 3 0	2,791	209 6 6
Observer	3,566	624 1 0	3,497	610 4 6	3,550	447 13 0	3,940	295 10 0
Old England	..	..	360	63 0 0	649	76 9 6	1,075	80 12 6
Paul Pry	110	19 5 0						
Political Letter	153	26 15 6						
Public Ledger	18,730	3,277 15 0	16,936	2,963 16 0	17,750	2,246 13 0	5,848	438 12 0
Plain Dealer	..	..	96	16 16 0				
Patriot	..	..	969	169 11 6	1,580	199 6 0	2,211	165 16 6
Private and Confidential Town and Country Advertiser	..	..	..	..	..	..	128	9 12 0
Record	3,606	631 1 0	3,775	660 12 6	4,309	541 7 6	5,382	403 13 0
Racing Calendar	748	130 18 0	710	124 5 0	744	95 14 0	738	55 7 0
Reformer	34	5 19 0						
Radical	30	5 5 0						
Reflector	..	..	27	4 14 6				
St. James's Chronicle	4,214	737 9 0	3,601	630 3 6	4,514	563 7 0	5,209	390 13 6
Standard	4,750	831 5 0	5,593	978 15 6	8,282	1,028 13 0	11,416	856 4 0
Spectator	3,252	569 2 0	2,214	387 9 0	2,138	275 6 0	2,721	204 1 6
Sunday Times	3,996	699 6 0	3,772	660 2 0	4,091	504 12 6	4,664	349 16 0
Star	1,622	283 17 0						
Satirist	867	151 14 6	2,040	357 0 0	2,257	271 15 6	3,105	232 17 6
Stock List	28	4 18 0	18	3 3 0	12	1 12 0	12	0 18 0
Sun	5,474	957 19 0	4,521	791 3 6	5,045	616 6 6	7,667	590 0 6
Sub Editor	..	..	..	..	3	0 4 6		
Sunday Herald	..	..	..	..	1,660	166 6 0	3,463	259 14 6
State	..	..	..	..	39	2 18 6	150	11 5 0
The Times	93,888	16,430 8 0	91,400	15,995 0 0	101,649	12,771 1 6	113,687	8,522 15 6
True Sun	..	..	3,224	564 4 0	3,509	414 15 6	5,476	410 14 0
Town	..	..	915	160 2 6	1,528	196 6 0	815	60 16 6
Truth	..	..	..	..	19	3 6 6		
Town and Country Advertiser	..	..	..	..	..	..	355	26 19 6
United Kingdom	2,222	388 17 0	2,287	400 4 6	1,669	209 13 6	155	11 12 6
Universal Corn Reporter	..	..	11	1 18 6	7	0 14 6	39	2 18 6
United Service Gazette	..	..	..	..	580	71 12 0	1,083	81 4 6
Weekly Dispatch	3,576	625 16 0	3,692	646 2 0	4,084	499 8 0	4,824	369 6 0
World	1,433	250 15 6	351	61 8 6				
Weekly Messenger	2,905	508 7 6	3,222	563 17 0	3,287	401 0 6	4,068	305 2 0
Weekly Times	2,000	350 0 0	1,563	273 10 6	421	78 13 6		
Weekly Free Press	65	11 7 6						
Weekly True Sun	..	..	..	..	1,349	140 15 6	2,839	212 3 6

Note.—By 3 and 4 William IV., c. 23, the Duty on Advertisements was reduced, on the 5th of July, 1833, from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

National Vaccine Institution.—Annual Report.—The bills of mortality report only 334 deaths by small-pox in the metropolis during 1834; a number considerably less than have died in any year since the introduction of vaccination, and falling short by at least 4,000 of the average of deaths annually by small-pox, before the protecting influence of the cow-pox was discovered, and pre-maturely, even when the population of London was at least one-fourth less than it amounts at present.

Such a diminution of mortality by small-pox, it is fair to attribute to the now almost universal adoption of vaccination. The provident liberality of parliament has maintained the National Vaccine Institution in such authority and usefulness, as to enable it to answer every demand to supply the material of vaccination. During last year there were 42 applications from the navy; 34 from the army; 55 from foreign stations; and 107 from dispensaries established in various towns of the country.

There have been vaccinated last year of the poor, 11,571 at the Institution, and 83,191 charges of lymph have been sent out.

Report from the Standing Committee on the Library of the House of Commons, 1835:—

"I. *State of the Library.*—The first subject upon which the House will naturally expect to receive a communication from your committee, will be the state of the library as it was left by the fire of the 16th October, 1834. It is needless to state, that not only the rooms specially designated as The Library, but all the other depositories of books and papers belonging to the House, within the precincts of the ancient palace of Westminster, were, in that calamity, entirely destroyed. Nothing whatever was saved of that collection of MSS. to which the committee of 1832 had referred, as being found in the presses of the Long Gallery; not a single volume of that collection of tracts on English history, (a collection which may almost be said to have been discovered in 1832,) on the possession of which, Sir Henry Ellis, the chief librarian of the British Museum, in a letter to the then chairman of the library committee, congratulated the House (Appendix to Report, 1832, p. 37). Everything in the office of Clerk of the Journals perished in the same conflagration.

"All the books contained in the lower library were, with very few exceptions at least, thrown from the windows into Cotton Garden, on the night of the fire; and a large proportion have, in consequence, been saved; but the whole of the contents of the upper library, consisting of upwards of 2000 volumes, presented by the French government, and by the Chamber of Peers, and by the Chamber of Deputies of France, and of those purchased in pursuance of the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1832, together with a variety of historical books, which had formerly been placed in the lower room, but which the annual increase of parliamentary papers had necessarily excluded from that room, were destroyed by the fire.

"A duplicate collection of parliamentary papers, and a set of the private acts from the year 1754 to the present time, which were severally deposited in the committee rooms Nos. 20 and 21, above the library, were likewise destroyed.

"Of the volumes which were saved, many sustained, as might be expected, considerable injury and required re-binding.

"The books which were saved have been carefully sorted and examined; and all deficiencies in the parliamentary papers have been supplied, with the exception of a few of the earlier papers previous to the Union, which are out of print: and that department of the collection is now, with such exception, as perfect as it was before the fire.

"The other principal works of reference connected with parliamentary business are complete, and occupy nearly the whole space appropriated to the present library.

"With respect to the general collection in the library, it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy the exact extent of the loss which has been sustained; since the manuscript catalogue, which had been carefully compiled, and was ready for publication, and in which only were to be found the titles of the works purchased or presented to the library, since the completion of the last catalogue in 1829, was unfortunately burned. Nevertheless, as perfect a list as under present circumstances could be made, both of the books destroyed and of those saved, will be found in the Appendix [to the Report].

"The three manuscript volumes (in folio) of the catalogue of tracts on English history, have perished with the collection itself; and no evidence of the contents of that collection is now known to exist elsewhere.

"Your committee recommend that the original stock of the library, according to the catalogue of 1829, be, with such exceptions as may be found expedient, replaced, as furnishing a good and sufficient foundation for a parliamentary library of historical and constitutional information; and for this purpose they suggest that a sum not exceeding 3000*l.* be placed at the disposal of Mr. Speaker, in the hope that he will be pleased to give such direction as to ensure the collection of the books in question, being in readiness for the time when the new building may be prepared for their reception.

"II.—*Arrangements for the New Library; and for the Librarian.*—The next subject upon which your committee feel it to be their duty to report, is the arrangement for the new library.

"It will be in the recollection of the House that there was no library at all belonging to the House of Commons prior to 1818. In that year a room 17 feet 3 inches by 16 feet 9 inches, containing about 189 square feet, was appropriated by the late Speaker as a book-room for the use of members.

"The late library, which was built in consequence of a Report of the Select Committee of 1825, was 55 feet long, 23 wide, and 13½ high, containing about 1,265 square feet. Even this accommodation, though so greatly increased compared with that previously provided, was so limited, that the Library Committee, in 1830, reported on the necessity of enlarging the room. Their recommendation was not, indeed, immediately followed up; but in 1832, after consideration by the House of the Report of the Committee of that year, the rooms Nos. 18 and 19, being together of the same size as the library, were appropriated to the same general purposes; and an outer room, or lobby, was taken off the staircase of the lower library. The library, thus enlarged, occupied in length of floor 110 feet by 23 wide; and of course a double area, containing about 2,530 square feet, was thus provided, besides the outer apartment.

"It would be convenient in a new building that this extent of room should be on one floor. The Committee cannot enter on the suggestion of the dimensions and arrangements of a new building, without adverting to the fact, that in all previous Reports of the Library Committee, the anticipations of a progressive addition of books and papers have uniformly fallen short of the actual increase; and therefore it may become necessary, in the construction of a new building, to provide some means, either for extension of space, or for the adaptation of committee or other rooms, for the reception of additional books, as occasion may require."

[The Committee suggest, that in addition to the library, there should also be a room to be called the members writing-room; that as the fire has altered the expediency of appropriating a particular house for the librarian, which had been about to be carried into effect, the accommodation of a residence adjoining the library, in any new building, ought to be secured, suitable to a person of an income of from 500*l.* to 600*l.* a year, and that, until this accommodation can be secured for the librarian, he should receive an allowance of 120*l.* per annum, commencing with the present session. The remainder of the report is occupied by observations and suggestions relative to Indexes, &c, in which it is stated that the Index to Local Personal Acts, which had been all but ready for the Press, was consumed in the fire; but that, notwithstanding, the librarian should not lose the fair and legitimate payment for his work, which had been thus destroyed without any fault on his part; and it is recommended that a sum not exceeding 300*l.* be placed at the disposal of Mr. Speaker, in order to enable him to pay the librarian at discretion; that the correct Index to the Journals, which had been formed with a view of being printed every 20 years, was happily saved from the flames; and that as the labour of compiling each volume of this Index has increased, there be paid, (instead of 120*l.*, which had been paid in 1820,) the sum of 200*l.* per volume. It is also suggested that the accommodation in the present temporary buildings might be enlarged, as a strong desire has been expressed by many members for additional space.]

Printed Papers.—The Select Committee of the House of Commons on Printed Papers have agreed to the following Resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the whole number of copies of the statutes for promulgation be printed of one uniform size.

2. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the Statutes for promulgation be of the royal octavo size, continuously printed.

3. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Statutes should be distributed to the Members of both Houses of Parliament by the vote offices, in the same manner as the parliamentary papers are now distributed.

4. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the Statutes should be promulgated as soon after the completion of each sheet as possible.

Milbank Penitentiary.—Report of the Superintending Committee for the year 1834.

In consequence of the more strict mode of separation and seclusion of the prisoners in the General Penitentiary, which had been adopted as stated in the Report of the Committee for the year 1832, it was found necessary to subdivide the working cells of the male prisoners. This has accordingly been done under the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, upon an estimate submitted by Sir Robert Smirke.

The work was effected by contract for the sum of 485*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* in pentageons Nos. 1 and 2, thereby giving an additional accommodation of 42 cells for solitary confinement.

Of the conduct of the principal officers, the Committee speak in

terms of high approbation. No cases of serious misconduct occurred amongst the convicts.

The number of convicts in the prison on the 31st of December, 1833, was 614, viz., 486 males, and 128 females: and on the 31st of December last, the number was 622, viz., 516 males, and 106 females; having been augmented during the year by the reception of 169 males, (of whom one was returned from the Criminal Lunatic Asylum, who had been sent there in a former year,) and 31 females, and diminished by the deaths of 15 males and one female; the discharge of 118 males and 50 females, (of whom 105 males and 33 females were by his Majesty's free pardon, and 13 males and 17 females on medical grounds); three males were sent to Bethlem Hospital, and three males and two females were remitted to the Secretary of State, pursuant to the 4th sect. of the Act 7 and 8 Geo. IV., c. 33, having been found incorrigible by the discipline of the Penitentiary.

Of the 15 males who have died during the last year, nine suffered from cholera morbus, one from influenza, and one from inflammation of the lungs. The female was carried off by consumption.

The general health of the prison throughout the year has been remarkably good, and of the number of convicts at present within the walls, being 596, viz., 492 males and 104 females, there are only in the infirmaries 14 males and two females, and no case of any material consequence among them.

In addition to the number of prisoners discharged in 1832, who had received gratuities for good conduct after quitting the prison, as reported last year, being 48 males and 17 females, 10 males and three females have since produced testimonials of character and behaviour so satisfactory, that the usual reward has been bestowed upon them.

Of those discharged in 1833, being 83 males and 53 females, 31 males and 20 females have received gratuities for good conduct since their liberation. The applications of three males have been refused, the Committee not deeming their conduct to be such as to entitle them to that mark of approbation. Two females have died since quitting the prison; nine males and five females are imprisoned again, or are known by the governor to have returned to evil courses: but of the remainder so discharged, being 40 males and 28 females, several are known to be going on well, although they have not yet applied for gratuities, which sometimes arise from a wish to conceal their former imprisonment, or other private reasons.

The earnings of the prisoners during 1834, amounted to 3016*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* The total expense of the establishment, (including the repairs and alterations on the buildings) was 16,912*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*

Diplomatic Service of Great Britain.—The following is the Official Return of the Annual Salaries and Allowances of each Ambassador, Minister Plenipotentiary, Envoy Extraordinary, Secretary of Legation, &c.. at the different Foreign Courts:—

Berlin.—Envoy Extraordinary, 5500*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 550*l.*; First Attaché, 250*l.*

Berne.—Secretary of Legation, 400*l.*

Bogota.—Envoy Extraordinary, 4000*l.*; First Attaché, 300*l.*

Brussels.—Ambassador, 2000*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 500*l.*; Attaché, 200*l.*

Buenos Ayres.—Secretary of Legation, 500*l.*

Constantinople.—Ambassador, 6500*l.*; Secretary of Embassy, 800*l.*; Attaché, 250*l.*

Copenhagen.—Envoy Extraordinary, 4000*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 500*l.*

Dresden.—Minister Plenipotentiary, 2300*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 400*l.*

Florence.—Minister Resident, 2300*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 400*l.*

Frankfort.—Minister Plenipotentiary, 2900*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 400*l.*

Greece.—Resident Minister, 2200*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 400*l.*

La Hague.—First Attaché and Chargé d'Affaires, 500*l.*

La Plata.—Minister Plenipotentiary, 3300*l.*

Lisbon.—Ambassador, 5000*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 600*l.*

Madrid.—Envoy Extraordinary, 6500*l.*; First Attaché, 600*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 550*l.*

Mexico.—Minister, 2000*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 900*l.*; Attaché, 200*l.*

Munich.—Envoy Extraordinary, 4000*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 500*l.*

Naples.—Envoy Extraordinary, 4400*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 550*l.*

Paris.—Ambassador Extraordinary, 10,000*l.*; Secretary of Embassy, 1000*l.*; First Attaché, 400*l.*

Rio de Janeiro.—Envoy Extraordinary, 4500*l.*; Secretary of Legation, [illegible]; First Attaché, 400*l.*

St. Petersburgh.—Minister Plenipotentiary, 6500*l.*; Secretary of Embassy, 1000*l.*; First Attaché, 400*l.*

Stockholm.—Envoy Extraordinary, 3300*l.*; Secretary of Legation, [illegible]00*l.*

[illegible]ard.—Envoy Extraordinary, 2200*l.*; Secretary of Legation, [illegible]00*l.*

Turin.—Minister Plenipotentiary, 4100*l.*; Secretary of Legation, 500*l.*

Vienna.—Ambassador Extraordinary, 9900*l.*; Secretary of Embassy, 900*l.*; First Attaché, 250*l.*; Attaché, 200*l.*

Washington.—Envoy Extraordinary, 5500*l.*; First Attaché, 200*l.*

Besides the above, there are twenty-five Attachés in the suites of the different Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary, who receive no salary from the public purse.

Vessels employed in the foreign trade of the United Kingdom.—An account of the number and tonnage of Vessels, distinguishing the countries to which they belonged, which entered inwards and cleared outwards in the year ended 5th January, 1835, compared with the preceding year; stated exclusive of vessels in ballast, and of those employed in the coasting trade between Great Britain and Ireland:—

Countries to which Vessels belonged.	ENTERED INWARDS.				CLEARED OUTWARDS.			
	1834.		1835.		1834.		1835.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom and its dependencies	10,989	1,999,930	11,678	2,108,492	9,544	1,643,894	9,734	1,640,274
Russia	138	40,459	196	54,458	58	17,207	77	19,820
Sweden	122	15,075	111	15,765	77	9,222	73	8,305
Norway	747	116,297	711	119,151	146	16,973	138	16,809
Denmark	567	46,400	679	55,377	531	49,148	490	41,899
Prussia	536	111,842	545	117,009	335	69,403	283	59,454
Other German States	481	40,507	552	44,880	555	54,745	391	34,576
Holland	176	16,328	336	31,942	340	39,736	474	55,714
Belgium	219	20,391	275	26,918	324	38,186	318	34,546
France	928	41,031	829	35,441	507	28,104	530	29,865
Spain	56	5,813	33	3,269	50	5,591	40	4,575
Portugal	38	4,216	28	3,237	22	2,538	23	2,795
Italian States	29	5,674	65	15,288	18	3,546	55	12,167
Other European States	.	.	1	298	2	382	1	292
United States of America	451	184,562	505	208,802	467	187,937	551	223,318
Other States in America, Africa, or Asia	2	326	4	1,053	5	1,195	3	660
Total	15,479	2,648,841	16,548	2,841,378	12,981	2,167,797	13,181	2,185,099

Exports of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise from the United Kingdom.—An Account of the principal articles of foreign and colonial merchandise exported from the United Kingdom during the year ended 5th January, 1835, compared with the preceding year:—

Cocoa Nuts, lbs.	2,351,877	2,205,316
Coffee	15,349,578	15,250,400
Wheat, qrs.	34,479	113,575
Barley	3,210	9,864
Oats	19,490	13,446
Wheatmeal and Flour, cwt.	207,507	160,731
Cochineal, lbs.	130,732	265,490
Indigo	3,664,814	3,926,226
Lac-dye	52,811	88,234
Logwood, tons	7,045	4,547
Copper unwrought, cwt.	2,039	10,829
Iron, in bars or unwrought, tons	2,024	2,885
Steel, unwrought, cwt.	15,389	15,259
Lead, pig, tons	856	865
Spelter, cwt.	44,183	28,395
Tin	3,9849	46,684

Olive oil, gals.	397,367	234,980
Opium, lbs.	53,001	31,604
Quicksilver	11,66,137	756,160
Rice, not in the husk, cwt.	64,993	121,192
Spices, lbs.	8,848,338	10,330,950
Rum, gals.	1,834,206	1642,282
Brandy	793,467	912,335
Geneva	362,955	261,571
Sugar, of British		
America, cwt.	7,850	12,313
Mauritius	3,326	4,650
East Indies	111,54	89,865
Other Sorts	243,823	500,714
Tobacco, unmanufactured, lbs.	8,060,562	12,980,951
foreign manufactured, and Snuff	213,273	220,324
Wine, Cape, gals.	16,436	5,568
French	99,540	128,506
Other sorts	1,497,322	1,505,047
Cotton Wool, of British America, lbs.	42,178	7,950
East Indies	10,353,118	10,947,224
of other parts	6,968,586	13,506,789
Sheep and Lambs' wool	442,696	807,362

Vessels employed in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom.—An Account of the number and tonnage of the vessels employed in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom for the year ended 5th Jan. 1835, compared with the preceding year:—

	ENTERED INWARDS.				CLEARED OUTWARDS.			
	1834.		1835.		1834.		1835.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Employed in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.	9,476	1,041,882	10,026	1,100,389	14,225	1,378,938	14,560	1,440,617
Other coasting vessels.	107,390	8,358,454	112,414	8,774,326	113,696	8,627,385	116,131	8,892,632
Total	116,866	9,400,336	122,440	9,874,715	127,921	10,006.323	130,691	10,333,249

Produce of Custom-duties in the United Kingdom.—An Account of the gross and net produce of the duties of Customs, in the year ended 5th January, 1835, compared with the preceding year:—

	1834.	1835.
Gross receipt of duties inward	£18,192,741	£20,827,579
Duties outward	136,302	110,825
Total	£18,329,043	£20,938,404
Payments out of Gross receipt: for drawbacks and bounties, viz.		
On British refined Sugar	504,821	765,280
Other articles	186,848	175,213
Allowances on quantities over entered, damages, &c.	59,825	66,224
Total payments out of Gross receipt	£751,494	1006,717
Net receipt of Customs duties	£17,577,549	£19,931,687

Exports of British Produce and Manufactures.—An Account of the Exports of the principal articles of British and Irish produce and manufactures in the year ended 5th January, 1835, compared with the preceding year:—

	Declared value of the exportation in the years 1834.	1835.
Coals and Culm	£231,844	£221,531
Cotton Manufactures	13,782,377	15,306,922
—— Yarn	4,704,024	5,205,561
Earthenware	496,963	492,039
Glass	445,845	495,160
Hardwares and Cutlery	1,466,362	1,485,414
Linen Manufactures	2,239,030	2,605,637
Metals, viz. Iron and Steel	1,405,035	1,455,131
Copper and Brass	884,149	897,380
Lead	120,714	143,572
Tin in Bars, &c.	86,986	35,682
Tin plates	268,743	321,728
Salt	184,176	153,860
Silk Manufactures	737,404	636,419
Sugar refined	563,092	915,694
Wool, Sheep or Lambs'	332,504	191,979
Woollen Manufactures	6,540,636	5,975,657
Total of the foregoing articles	£34,489,384	£36,541,926

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Statistics of France.—Territory.—France extends 537½ miles in greatest length, and in greatest breadth 512½ miles; the circuit of her extreme boundaries comprises 2500 miles, and her superficial area contains 202,500 square miles, in which numbes are included 25,453 square miles of forest land.

Forests.—The most extensive forests are situated in the eastern and southern parts; in those provinces which are also the most fertile. Of the whole forest land of France, an extent of rather more than 4210 square miles is the property of the State; about 7120 belong to corporations and public institutions; 247 to the crown; 720 to the royal princes; and 12,162 to private individuals. In the forests thirty-seven kinds of trees are found; they grow to a height of between thirty and forty feet: only seven species are applicable to ship-building and carpenters' work. The yearly produce of all the forest-land of France is valued at 4,400,000*l.*

Mineral Springs.—The whole number of mineral springs, both hot and cold, is 240, and there are few provinces which are without some of them; their temperature varies from 59° to 170° and 190° Fahr.

The *Mines* of France furnish copper, lead, iron, and pit-coal. The iron is extremely good. Its ores, in many instances, lie immediately below a thin layer of soil; this is found to be the case in the provinces of Berty, Nivernois, Guercy, Languedoc, and Champagne; in Alsace, Franche Comté, Lorraine, and the Vosges Mountains, the ores occur in lower strata; they exist also in the Alps and Pyrenees, in Vivarais and the Dauphiny, but are only extracted with considerable labour. There are at present 520 mines worked; they employ 30,000 men, and occupy a surface of 8237 square miles.

Population.—Authors have differed as to the proportion of the population to the territory, and this has been chiefly owing to the varying calculations that have been made of the extent of the surface of the land. Malte-Brun estimates the total number of square miles at 196,830; the *Dictionnaire de Géographie* at 295,800; Perrot, in his 'Statistical and Geographical Atlas,' at 196,485; and Mentelle at 202,500. M. de Chateauneuf gives the following results, grounded upon a recent survey; extent, including the island of Corsica, 208,845; exclusive of Corsica, about 207,000 square miles. The population amounted in 1831, when the census was taken, to 32,562,900 souls; including the population of Corsica, which amounted to nearly 200,000 souls. In the *Northern Region*, including eight provinces, or 25 departments, and 52,095 square miles, the proportion of persons to the square mile, in 1785, was 159, and is now 212. In the *Central Region*, including 17 provinces, or 35 departments, and 85,065 square miles, there were fifty years ago 121, but there are now 150 individuals to the square mile. In the *Southern Region*, in which there are seven provinces, or 27 departments, and 63,330 square miles, the number of inhabitants was 96, but is at present 130 to the square mile. Hence it appears that the lapse of half a century, and the occurrence of a great revolution, have but very slightly altered the ratio of inhabitants in the three regions, each of which exhibits an increase of inhabitants to the square mile to the amount of one-third as compared with 1785. According to the last census, the total number of persons of each sex was 15,936,500 males, and 16,626,400 females. Of the men, 8,864,200 are unmarried; 6,046,900 married; 722,400 widowers, and 303,000 enlisted soldiers. Of the females, 9,068,100 are unmarried, 6,054,400 married, and

1,501,900 widows. Of the whole population, about one-third dwell in towns; thus from 11 to 12 millions of persons inhabit 2,450,000 houses in towns, and 21 millions inhabit 3,982,450 houses in the country; this gives a proportion of 4½ persons living in each house in the towns, and 5¼ in the country. In 1775 the average number of births in one year was 901,226; deaths 820,600, and marriages 210,800; whence the population may be estimated at 23,500,000. This gives a proportion of one birth among 25 persons, one death among 29, and one marriage among 111 persons; as well as four children to each marriage. Taking the average of the fifteen years, from 1816 to 1831, the annual number of children born is 961,226, of whom 495,555 are boys, and 465,671 girls; the average number of deaths is 779,551, viz., of males 393,306, and females 386,245; the number of marriages is 235,709. Consequently, among 32 individuals there is one birth, and among 39½ one death; one marriage among 131 persons, and rather more than four children to each marriage. At present fewer children are born, and fewer die in France than formerly. For 17 boys, 16 girls are born; of natural children the proportion of births is 23 boys to 22 girls. In 1789 the greatest proportion of births was in Flanders, 1429 births to 1000 deaths; the least proportion in Brittany, namely, 918 births to 1000 deaths; the proportion of births is at present greatest in the province of the Lyonnois, viz., one birth to $25\frac{6}{10}$ individuals, and least in Normandy, where there is only one birth among 43 persons. The extreme proportions of deaths are found to be, in Brittany, one among 27 persons; and in Gascony, one among 29 persons. The proportion of births to deaths in the whole of France is 10 to 8, so that the population appears to be increasing yearly by $\frac{1}{125}$th part. Before the revolution, the average length of life was 28 years; it is now 32.

Agriculture.—Somewhat more than half the soil of France is under cultivation. The vineyards occupy $\frac{1}{20}$th part; the woods $\frac{1}{5}$th; the heaths $\frac{2}{13}$th; and the pasture lands $\frac{1}{10}$th part. Some soils will yield as much produce as 32 bushels an acre; good arable land yields from 16 to 20 bushels an acre; but the greater part yield from 8 to 12 only. The *maximum* produce is obtained in the department of the north; the *minimum* in the department of Dordogne. Well-informed agriculturists estimate the total amount of the yearly crops of grain at less than 45 millions of quarters, and their value at 111,000,000*l.* When the quantity used for seed, brewing, distilling, and as food for cattle, is deducted, there remains an average of not more than 480 lbs. for each person's support. If the harvest is deficient, France must import grain from abroad; since the year 1828, as much produce as amounts in value to 9,600,000*l.* has been imported, while only 1,120,000*l.* in value has been sold for exportation. The limits of the cultivation of the vine extend to the west as far as the Loire near its mouth at Paimbœuf, and eastward as far as Mezières in the department of the Ardennes. More than 250 distinct species of vines are cultivated. The vineyards cover 6,480,000 acres, and their produce is valued at 24,000,000*l.* The mean weight of fruit borne by a cider apple-tree of Normandy, amounts to more than ten bushels; and four bearing trees will supply a man with cider enough for two years' consumption. About 960,000 acres are applied to the growth of the chesnut-tree; it has been computed that each chesnut-tree affords daily support to a family that would otherwise consume 25 lbs. of bread. M. de Chateauneuf states the number of cattle to be as follows:—2,500,000 horses, including 1,227,700 mares; 4,915,000 oxen and bulls; 4,000,000 cows; 855,000 calves; 2,400,000 asses; 50,000,000 swine; 31,000,000 sheep; 800,000 merino sheep; 4,000,000 bastard sheep; and 50,000,000 poultry.

Exports and Imports.—The value of the annual exports amounts, on an average of the five years from 1827 to 1832, to 24,800,000*l.*; the same period gives an average of imports amounting in value to 24,240,000*l.* The value of the exports in the year 1787, amounted to 21,720,000*l.*; of the imports to 24,440,000*l.* The value of the imports of cattle amounts to 59,280*l.*, of the exports to 3,200*l.*; imports of corn 2,075,240*l.*, exports 217,880*l.*; imports of animal products, (*i.e.*, raw hides and hair) 4,851,480*l.*, exports 2,257,680; imports of vegetables, oranges, lemons, &c. 3,794,760*l.*, exports 1,154,840*l.*; imports of mineral products 1,629,400*l.*, exports 338,240*l.*; imports of salted meat 525,780*l.*, exports 702,840*l.*; cordage and wood for building, imports 2,592,040*l.*, exports 3,636,440*l.*; manufactured cotton, imports 215,320*l.*, exports 2,324,360*l.*; silk goods, imports 568,520*l.*, exports 4,917,120; colonial produce, imports 360,000*l.*, exports 1,026,760*l.*; unwrought gold, imports 360,000*l.*, exports 679,000*l.*; unwrought silver, imports 1,385,200, exports 293,800*l.* The exchange of the two last articles is very variable; in 1830 the exports of unwrought gold amounted to 880,000*l.*, to 320,000*l.* in 1831, and to no more than 120,000*l.* in 1832. In the year 1831 unwrought silver to the value of 160,000*l.* was exported; during the following year the exports had increased to 920,000*l.*; the imports were, for 1831, 1,720,000*l.*; for 1832 only 440,000*l.*

The *Produce* of the *Mines* amounts yearly, upon an average, to 1,768,434 cwt., or, in value, to 3,200,000*l.* To this quantity add 838,894 cwt. of mineral produce imported. This gives a total of mineral produce 2,607,325 cwt., valued at 4,560,000*l.*, and employing 1240 smelting-houses.

Commerce.—The foreign trade of France employs 60,000 men, and 8000 ships, of which only 300 are French bottoms. The trade with Asia is carried on to an amount of 800,000*l.*; with Africa to 880,000*l.*; with South America to 1,640,000*l.*; with North America to 8,600,000*l.*; with the rest of Europe to 30,540,000*l.*; and with her colonies to an amount of 4,120,000*l.* France receives from Africa and Asia 960,000*l.* value of raw materials, and returns only 280,000 value; the value of her industrial produce exported thither is 440,000*l.* The total amount of exchange of commodities of every kind with the New World is 10,400,000. France receives from Europe raw materials to the value of 12,240,000*l.*, and returns in commodities of the same class 7,120,000*l.*; she receives 2,480,000*l.* worth of manufactured goods, and returns 8,720,000*l.* worth.

A comparison of the budgets for the years 1785 and 1835, shows a total expenditure of 24,400,000*l.* for the former year, a total estimated expenditure of 40,000,000*l.* for this year. The budget for 1785 included a sum of 4,328,000*l.* for war charges; the average imposts per person being 24 livres 8 sous on a population of twenty-five millions. It is now 1*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.* on a population of thirty-two millions of souls.—*Statistique de France par Benoiston de Chateauneuf.*

French Revenue.—The following is an official statement of the produce of the Indirect Taxes for the First Quarter of 1835, compared with that of the corresponding Quarter of 1834:—

Indirect Taxes.	Product of First Quarter.		Difference in 1835.	
	Of 1834.	Of 1835.	Increase.	Decrease.
Register, Stamp, and Mortgage Duties	48,747,000	50,401,000	1,654,000	..
Custom, Navigation, &c. Duties	22,779,000	21,578,000	1,799,000	..
Salt Duty collected on the Coast.....	10,994,000	11,882,000	888,000	..
Liquor and Liquid Duties	16,265,000	17,405,000	1,140,000	..
Salt Duty collected in the Interior.....	1,642,000	1,581,000	..	58,000
Divers Taxes (Public Conveyances, &c)	5,437,000	6,127,000	690,000	..
Product of the Sale of Tobacco and Snuff ...	17,648,000	17,852,000	204,000	..
Product of the Sale of Gunpowder.....	759,000	873,000	114,000	..
Postage and Duty of 5 per cent. on Remittances	8,058,000	8,272,000	214,000	..
Postage (Rural Service)	391,000	432,000	41,000	..
Product of Malls and Packets	401,000	391,000	..	10,000
Lottery	1,155,000	987,000	..	168,000
	134,276,000	140,784,000	6,744,000	236,000

Increase of Product in 1835.....6,508,000 fr.

Compared with the corresponding Quarter of 1834, the increase in the first Quarter of 1835 is 7,310,000 fr.

Friendly Societies Institution.—An Association for the encouragement and protection of Friendly Societies has been in existence for some time. Its objects are, to form a fund to assist members of Friendly Societies at periods of unexpected distress, for which the rules of their respective societies may not provide sufficient means of relief; to protect societies, or individual members of societies, in their legal rights; to assist with advice; to open communications with the various societies in the kingdom; to collect and diffuse information; to form a library of such books, acts of parliament, and other publications as may be deemed useful; and to assist and encourage by every means not pecuniary the formation of Friendly Societies.

A public meeting of the Association was held on the 4th of March last, to receive the report of the provisional committee, and to appoint office bearers for the ensuing year. Lord Brougham consented to become Patron of the Institution, and B. Hawes, Esq., M.P., was nominated President, and C. S. Forster, Esq., M.P., J. Tidd Pratt, Esq., and John Meadows White, Esq., were elected Vice-Presidents.

The provisional committee state, in their report, that deeming it advisable to extend information, and make known the objects of the Association, they had held, during the winter, monthly discussions, to which all persons, members or otherwise, of Friendly Societies were invited. These meetings appear to have created some interest. One question which was discussed was, "Which is the best mode for Friendly Societies to invest their funds?" which was decided by those present giving the preference to the government funds. Another question was, "Which is the best mode of settling disputes in Friendly Societies?" which was decided, in the same way, by those present declaring themselves friendly to arbitration, the arbitrators to be chosen from among members of Friendly Societies. The committee suggest the establishment of a periodical work, to be published by the Institution, as a medium of communi

cation, and a means of disseminating correct information relative to Friendly Societies.

Sanguine hopes are expressed in the report as to the advantages likely to result from the formation of this Association. The different acts of parliament for the encouragement and protection of Friendly Societies, and their incompleteness for their purpose, are adverted to, their incompleteness being attributed to the want of sufficient information on the part of the legislature; while, at the same time, the want of such an association as this has, it is said, been felt by the different societies, which, at great inconvenience and expense, sent up delegates, or adopted other modes, to bring before parliament their sentiments on these legislative enactments. Much benefit, also, is expected to result from the advice which will be afforded to individuals who, without experience, are establishing societies, and are either improperly investing their funds, or are adopting defective and ultimately ruinous regulations—from the assistance which may be afforded to those who, from causes beyond their control, may be thrown out of the benefits of a society to which they had contributed during perhaps a long period, and that at a time when age and want may incapacitate them from adhering to the regulations—from the protection which individuals or societies will receive in any case of injustice or fraud, with which singly they may be unable to contend—and, ultimately, it is anticipated that, from the dissemination of correct information, the number of Friendly Societies and their members will be increased, and that, being established on sound principles, such associations will hold out a reasonable prospect to those who join them of affording the expected benefit at the necessary time. In this manner it may be expected that a spirit of forethought and prudence will be diffused amongst the industrious classes which will prove highly beneficial to the best interests of the nation.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

May 12. London Small Debts Bill—"for amending and consolidating the acts of Parliament for the recovery of small debts in the City of London and the liberties thereof, and for enabling the goods of the debtors to be taken in execution."

13. Sale of Bread Bill—"to repeal the several acts now in force relating to bread to be sold out of the City of London and the liberties thereof, and beyond the weekly bills of mortality, and ten miles of the Royal Exchange, and to provide other regulations for the making and sale of bread."—*Captain Pechell.*

14. General Turnpike Act—"to exempt carriages carrying manure from toll."—*Mr. Byng.*

— Foreign Enlistment Bill—"to repeal an act of the fifty-ninth year of King George the Third, for the prevention of foreign enlistment, saving and excepting so far as it repeals former statutes."—*Colonel Evans.*

May 18. Assizes Removal (Ireland) Bill—"for the appointment of convenient places for the holding of assizes in Ireland."—*Mr. O'Loghlen.*

— Annual Indemnity Bill—"to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments," &c.—*Mr. F. Baring.*

20, Inns, Alehouses, and Victualling Houses Bill—"for the better regulation and management of."—*Mr. Hawes.*

22. County Coroner's Bill—"to regulate the office of and mode of electing county coroners."—*Mr. Cripps.*

— Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Bill—"to amend an act of the ninth year of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for the preservation of the salmon fisheries in Scotland."—*Mr. Patrick Stewart.*

May 27. Polls at Elections Bill—"to limit the time of taking the poll at contested elections of members to serve in Parliament to one day."—*Mr. Elphinstone.*

— Parish Vestries Act Amendment Bill—"to amend an act of the fifty-eighth year of King George the Third for regulating parish vestries, in so far as to afford to Westminster, and certain parishes within the Bills of Mortality in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, an exemption which is extended in the said act to London and Southwark."—*Colonel Evans.*

— Capital Punishments Bill—"for abolishing capital punishments in cases of letter-stealing and sacrilege."—*Mr. Ewart.*

— Prisoner's Counsel Bill—"for enabling prisoners to make their defence by counsel or attorney."—*Mr. Ewart.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

May 13. Select Committee, "to whom shall be referred the petitions of certain maritime officers of the East India Company's Service, and who are to examine into the circumstances under which some officers have been excluded from compensation."

— Committee "to inquire into the present state of the harbours of Leith and Newhaven, and the best situation for constructing a harbour in the vicinity of Edinburgh."

14. Committee "to inquire into the case of Mr. Goldsworthy Gurney."

19. Committee "to inquire into the present state of the trade in corn between the Channel Islands and the United Kingdom."

25. Committee "to inquire into the present system of management in the Court of Bankruptcy, and to report thereon."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[The last Report which has been issued is numbered the thirteenth, and is dated the 12th of May, 1835.]

	Petitions. No. of	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Canterbury city election	3	1,840
Intimidation at elections	2	1,627
Registration of electors, Ireland	1	578
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Scotland, in support	241	60,529
" against any additional grant	55	21,110
Church Establishment, Ireland, in support	20	4,145
Ecclesiastical Courts, against transferring the whole of the testamentary business to London, &c. &c.	142	8,996
Lord's Day, for better observance	14	1,578
Dissenters' Marriage Bill, against	2	1,576
Regium donum, for discontinuance	1	80
Oaths, for restraining administration	1	39
Colonies.		
Officers of the East India Company's service	1	18
Taxes.		
Spirit licenses, for repeal of duty	96	6,587
Miscellaneous.		
Agricultural distress	32	13,800
Education (Scotland)	1	188
Hand-loom weavers	47	36,905
Imprisonment for Debt Bill, against	6	172
——— in favour	3	223
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland) Bill, against	9	2,637
Poor-Law Amendment Act, for repeal	7	6,285
Cruelty to animals	1	9
Drunkenness, for restraining	2	501
Against the late administration	1	12,810
Miscellaneous	2	1,079

NEW ELECTIONS.

Returned without opposition.

Sir John Hobhouse	Nottingham.
Right Hon. T. Spring Rice	Cambridge.
Sir Thomas Troubridge	Sandwich.
W. H. Ord	Newport.
Sir Rufane Donkin	Berwick.
Lord Seymour	Totness.
Lord Howick	Northumberland.
Sir John Campbell	Edinburgh.
Sir C. Pepys	Malton.
Lord John Russell	Stroud.
A. Leith Hay	Elgin.
Sir Henry Parnell	Dundee.
Lord Dalmeny	Stirling.
Robert Stewart	Haddington.
Admiral Adam	Clackmannan County.
R. Cutlar Ferguson	Kirkcudbright.
Louis Perrin	Cashel.
R. M. O'Ferrall	Kildare.

Returned in contested elections.

Places.	Successful Candidates.		Unsuccessful Candidates.	
Taunton	Henry Labouchere	452	B. D'Israeli	282
Penryn and Falmouth	Sir C. M. Rolfe	348	Lord Tullamore	326
Manchester	C. P. Thompson	3,205	B. Braidley	1,830
Yorkshire	Lord Morpeth	9,066	Hon. J. S. Wortley	6,259
Leith	J. A. Murray	727	Sir David Milne	423
Dungarvan	Mich. O'Loughlin	359	M. J. Galwey	87
South Devon	M. E. N. Parker	3,755	Lord John Russell	3,128
Essex	J. P. Elwes	2,467	John Disney	1,376
Inverness	—— Chisholm	268	J. M. Grant	240
Stafford Co.	Sir F. L. H. Goodricke		Hon. Colonel Anson	
Poole	Hon. Capt. Byng	193	Sir Colquhoun Grant	174
Drogheda	Carew O'Dwyer	285	Hon. E. Plunkett	131

Bankruptcy Analysis from April 28 to May 22.

Agent, 1; auctioneer, 1; baker, 2; bill-broker, 1; brewer, 1; bookseller, 1; brokers, 2; bricklayer, 1; builder, 1; carpet warehouseman, 1; calico-printer, 1; cattle-salesman, 2; cheese-factor, 1; chemist, 1; clothiers, 2; coal-dealers, 2; copper-swelter, 1; coffee-house keeper, 1; corn-factor, 1; cow-keeper, 1; draper, 1; dyers, 2; engineer, 1; felt-monger, 1; flannel-manufacturer, 1; flax-dresser, 1; gold-beater, 1; grocers, 7; gunpowder-merchant, 1; hackneyman, 1; hatter, 1; hop-merchant, 1; innkeepers, 3; iron-founder, 1; iron-master, 1; lacquer, 3; leather-dresser, 1; linen-drapers, 2; merchants, 3; miller, 1; muslin-manufacturer, 1; printer, 1; potter, 1; paper-manufacturer, 1; ship-owner, 1; stationer, 1; sugar-refiner, 1; surgeon, 1; tea-dealer, 1; timber-dealer, 1; victuallers, 5; wine-merchants, 4; wire-worker, 1; woollen-draper, 1; warehouseman, 1; wax-doll manufacturer, 1; total, 82; total from commencement of the year, 447.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MAY, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE numerous elections occasioned by the late changes have principally occupied public attention during the past month. With very few exceptions, the members or friends of the Government have been everywhere returned. No opposition was offered to the returns of Sir John Cam Hobhouse for Nottingham, Mr. Spring Rice for Cambridge, Sir George Grey for Devonport, Sir Thomas Troubridge for Sandwich, Mr. W. H. Ord for Newport, Lord Seymour for Totness, Sir Rufane Donkin for Berwick, Lord Howick for Northumberland, Admiral Adam for Clackmananshire, Lord Dalmeny for the Stirling burghs, Sir Henry Parnell for Dundee, Sir John Campbell for Edinburgh, Colonel Leith Hay for the Elgin burghs, Mr. R. C. Fergusson for Kirkcudbrightshire, Mr. R. Stuart for the Haddington burghs, Mr. Perrin for Cashel, Lord John Russell for Stroud, and Sir Charles Pepys for Malton. The Tory candidates have been defeated at Taunton by Mr. Labouchere, at Manchester by Mr. Poulett Thomson, at Penryn by Mr. Rolfe, at Poole by Captain Byng, in the West Riding of Yorkshire by Lord Morpeth, at Leith by Mr. Murray, and at Dungarvan by Mr. O'Loghlin. Mr. O'Dwyer, who had been unseated by the decision of a select committee, has also been again returned for Drogheda by a large majority over his Tory opponent. On the other hand, North Essex has again returned a Tory representative, and the contests in South Devon and in Invernesshire, which were both formerly represented by Whigs, have terminated in the returns of members opposed to the present administration. The ministerial candidate has also been defeated in South Staffordshire.

The Houses of Lords and Commons reassembled, pursuant to adjournment, for the transaction of public business, on Tuesday the 12th of May, the House of Lords however having, as had been arranged, sat since the 30th of April for the hearing of appeals.

In the House of Lords, on the 12th, the Duke of Richmond presented a report from the Committee on Prison Discipline, which was ordered to be printed. It was afterwards stated by Lord Lansdowne, in answer to a question of Lord Brougham, that the subject of the charter of the London University was under the consideration of the Government, and that no time would be lost by his Majesty's advisers in devising the means of complying with the late expression of opinion in regard to that matter on the part of the House of Commons.

The same evening, in the Commons, Sir George Grey stated that Lord Aylmer, the present governor of Canada, was to be recalled, and that, instead of a single commissioner, a commission consisting of two or three persons would be immediately sent out to investigate the state of affairs in that colony. Lord Amherst, he added, to whom the appointment had been offered, had declined to preside over this commission. Mr. Buxton afterwards moved that an address should be presented to the crown, requesting his Majesty's interference with foreign powers to induce them to take effective measures for the suppression of the slave trade, which the honourable member showed is still carried on to a great extent. The motion was supported by Mr. Spring Rice, but was eventually withdrawn in order that the proposed address might be reduced to a shorter and simpler form. Thus amended, it has since been agreed to.

On the 13th various bills were brought in or advanced a stage, and some committees were appointed; but no discussion of any importance took place.

On Thursday the 14th Lord Mandeville introduced a motion for papers connected with the outrages at the Armagh races in October last, by a long speech, in which he brought forward strong charges of unfairness against the Earl of Gosford, in the execution of his office of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Armagh. He was answered by Dr. Lushington, who proved that the charges were utterly groundless; and after the original motion had been negatived without a division, another, proposed by Mr. Hume, was carried, to the effect that the conduct of Lord Gosford afforded not the slightest ground of complaint, and that the imputations made against him were entirely without foundation.

On Friday the 15th, a discussion on Irish politics arose in the House of Lords, in consequence of certain comments of the Earl of Wicklow on the manner in which the new viceroy, Lord Mulgrave, had made his public entry into Dublin, accompanied, as it was asserted, by a crowd bearing illegal banners. Lord Melbourne declared that the information he had received led him to believe that the statements about the banners were without foundation. This subject was again brought forward on subsequent days, first by Lord Londonderry and afterwards by Lord Roden, when the same explanation was repeated by ministers. This evening a petition from the Common Council of the City of London, praying for the abolition of the taxes on knowledge, was presented by Lord Brougham, who in his speech stated his objections not only to the newspaper stamp duty, but also to the duties on paper and on imported books.

In the Commons, after a short discussion on Canadian affairs, occasioned by a complaint of Mr. Roebuck against the conduct of Government in regard to certain payments which it had, as he asserted, improperly authorized Lord Aylmer to make out of the military chest, the House went into a committee of supply, and proceeded with the miscellaneous estimates. The Imprisonment for Debt Bill was afterwards referred to a select committee.

On Monday the 18th, in the House of Commons, on the question that a new writ should be issued for the borough of Stafford, in consequence of the vacancy created by Sir F. H. Goodricke having accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, an amendment, moved by Mr. Divett, "that the issue of the writ be suspended till further notice," was carried without a division. The House afterwards went into a Committee of Supply, when the Ordnance Estimates were brought forward by Colonel Leith Hay, and various grants of money voted.

On the 19th Mr. Wyse explained his views on the subject of national education in Ireland, and obtained leave to bring in a bill for carrying them into effect. Mr. Divett then moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the act passed last session for increasing the duties on spirit licences, which the honourable member wished to have repealed; but on receiving an assurance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the subject was under the consideration of the Treasury, and that a scheme was now before the Board which it was expected would do away with the grievances complained of, without any abandonment of revenue, he withdrew his motion. After this Mr. Ward explained the plan for taking the divisions of the House, which had been agreed upon by the Select Committee appointed to take that matter into consideration, and which consisted in having two lobbies, one for the Ayes and another for the Noes. On the suggestion of Mr. Rice, the report of the committee was referred to the committee appointed to consider the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament.

On Wednesday the 20th a debate of some length took

place on the motion that the House should resolve itself into a committee on Mr. Poulter's Sabbath Day Bill. Mr. Hawes moved that the bill should be referred to a select committee; but the honourable member eventually withdrew this amendment, and the original motion was agreed to. The bill afterwards went through the committee, was reported, and was ordered to be printed. The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, when grants to the amount of eight millions, from the Consolidated Fund, were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

On Thursday the 21st, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham detailed, at considerable length, his plan for the promotion of national education, and concluded by moving fourteen resolutions embodying its leading principles. His lordship expressed himself opposed to the Government undertaking the establishment of a general system of schools, on the ground that such an interference would in all probability check or put a stop to the exertions of private individuals, by means of which he contended that the want of common schools was already in the course of being supplied nearly as fast as was desirable. He admitted, however, the inferior quality of the education dispensed at such schools, and to remedy that evil proposed that normal schools, or schools for the education of teachers should be instituted, and supported from the public funds. Lord Melbourne undertook, on the part of the Government, that the subject should immediately receive the closest and most anxious consideration.

On Friday the 22nd an animated discussion arose in the Commons on the motion for the second reading of a bill for the establishment of a police in Liverpool, and the payment of the clergyman of that borough from the corporate funds. The motion was warmly opposed by Mr. Ewart, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, and other honourable members, but was carried on a division by a majority of 185 to 171. After this Lord John Russell, amid loud cheers, gave notice that on Monday the 1st of June, he would move for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the municipal corporations in England and Wales. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill was then read a second time, *pro forma*, on the motion of Sir Robert Peel; but it was intimated that the measure, in all probability, would not be proceeded with, ministers expecting to be able, in another session, to prepare a more comprehensive and satisfactory measure, in connection with a plan for a general registration.

FRANCE.

The occurrences during the past month among our neighbours have not been of a very interesting character. The subject which has most engaged, and still engages public attention, is the trial of the political prisoners, now nicknamed *Le Procés Monstre*, or the monstrous prosecution. Newspaper writers may declaim, and denounce, and give names as they choose, but the great majority of the nation, the respectable and sober-minded mass, that has nothing to gain from party oratory or wit, and that is only anxious for the maintenance of peace and good order, evidently thinks with the king that the trial ought to be carried on and sentence pronounced, after which it will be time enough to talk of an amnesty. The royal faculty of mercy or pardon naturally follows conviction, but cannot, with any regard to law or the purposes of justice, precede it.

A meeting of the peers, to settle the preliminaries of the trial, was held at the beginning of May. Thirty-seven peers, among whom were Gerard, Soult, Talleyrand, Pontecoulant, Grenier, and Deux-Brèze, tendered their excuses for non-attendance, but the larger number of these excuses were deemed invalid and the persons offering them urged to attend the trial. It was decided that *even the ministers of the crown*, if they were peers, should in that capacity act as judges. It was further resolved that with the exception of the fathers and brothers of the accused, none but barristers should defend the prisoners, and that the barristers named by the president of the court should be compelled to attend for the defence; in case, however, the prisoners should refuse the assistance of these barristers so named, it was intimated that their attendance would be dispensed with. It was calculated that about 140 peers would open the trial, but (a curious omission) it was not settled what number would make a quorum. Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, from twelve o'clock to five, were appointed for the trial, which, according to some calculations, will thus occupy some six months.

The new hall, built of wood, expressly for the trial (the Chamber of Peers being much too small), and erected in fifty days, at a cost of 360,000 francs, is described as being an elegant, six-sided building.

At the appointed hour on Tuesday, the 5th of May, the prisoners were brought to the hall under an escort of National Guards, the employment of royal troops, or the line, being carefully avoided.

The Republicans of Lyons (for whose exploits and insanity we beg to refer our readers to the 'Companion' for May, 1834) were the first to enter the court, and a very strange group, or rather troop, they presented. Many wore cocked hats, all moustachios, and not a few had long beards besides; but a figure that attracted most attention was a man, *à la Robespierre*, who was so dressed, shaved, and combed, as to look the very image of that mild and merciful Republico-Jacobin. The next that arrived were the Paris Republicans, who wore red ribbons and tri-coloured cockades in their leather or cloth caps; and these were soon followed by some non-commissioned officers of a regiment of cavalry, who had been engaged in a conspiracy at Luneville. The total number amounted to about 140, including men of all callings, from newspaper editors with their *subs*, down to weavers and weavers' helps.

On calling over their names, eighty-two of the peers were found to be absent. When Baron Pasquier, as president, interrogated the accused as to their names, ages, professions, &c., the Lyonnese replied readily enough, but when the same questions were put to the Parisian and other prisoners, they refused to give any answer until barristers of their own selection were admitted into court to plead for them. One of the prisoners then rose and demanded that their wives and other female relations should be admitted into court, on which a scene of great confusion ensued. A certain Cavaignac made a stormy speech, insisting that counsel not belonging to the bar, but chosen by the prisoners, should be allowed to plead for them. The court passed a negative on all these demands, and the first sitting concluded without much progress being made. The over arbitrary mode of proceeding adopted by the peers has dissatisfied many persons who were convinced of the necessity there was for the trial.

In the act of accusation the prisoners are distributed into three classes, the first containing the names of those only who were actually engaged in open defiance of authority, in the streets of Paris, Lyons, &c.; the second, of those who, by writing or speaking, excited to insurrection, or assisted at previous deliberations for arranging its outbreak; and, the third, those others who, by procuring arms, supplying money, advice, &c., aided in furthering the ultimate object. A heavy charge against all the prisoners is that of being members of, or belonging to the *Society of the Rights of Man*, or *Club of the Cordeliers*, both which associations are denounced as treasonable, and formed solely for the purpose of overturning the government. The origin and progress, or rather revival of these societies, are traced with great minuteness in the act of accusation. They are stated to have existed since June, 1832, and to have been incessantly and actively engaged in organizing the means of rebellion ever since. The outbreaks of Lyons, Grenoble, Marseilles, and of June, 1833, and April, 1834, of Paris, are charged as part of the working of the same plot. The overt acts of treason to be proved against the prisoners, and which are said to be susceptible of distinct proof, are, the organisation of an association with a central committee and corresponding sections, in itself unlawful; the passing of a resolution by that committee for the overturning of the government; the names of Marat, Robespierre, Jacobins, &c., given to the sections; the cries of "Death to tyrants," uttered and inscribed upon flags on occasion of the several disturbances, and other acts tending to show a unity of action in the various sites of these disorders. The act concludes by inculpating by name 110 as guilty of direct and open rebellion, 19 public writers, &c., of having fomented, and 83 of having indirectly promoted and favoured the plan of resistance to the government.

It would occupy much more space than we have to spare, and would be neither instructive nor amusing to follow up all the details of this interminable state trial, which we must dismiss for the present in very few words.

At the third sitting of the court, when the prisoners were

turbulent and determined not to answer, and interrupted the proceedings at every step, the peers decided that all such as were refractory should be carried back to prison, and their trial proceeded with in their absence. They were, however, to be produced to cross-examine the witnesses against them if they felt disposed so to do. During the latter part of the reading of the Act of Accusation, which took up three days, only twenty-seven prisoners were in court, all the rest refusing to submit or acknowledge the authority of the high tribunal. At a subsequent sitting twenty-two of the twenty-seven who had consented to hear the accusation read, protested against the general course of the proceedings. It will be curious to see how all this will end, for Louis Philippe and his government seem resolved to cede no point, and not to swerve a line's breadth from the path they have marked out. Eighty thousand regular troops, stationed in or about Paris, are ready to maintain their authority, and, in spite of rumours to the contrary, the National Guards appear to be steady and well disposed.

The government has somewhat unnecessarily embarrassed itself with a fresh prosecution of the press, and made a great stir about a matter which must be of small consequence, viz., the insertion in the concluding number of the 'Tribune' (a condemned and destroyed newspaper) of the protest of the prisoners, and of a letter addressed to them, bearing the signatures of ninety-one persons.

Some trifling subscriptions have been got up among the Republicans of the capital for the benefit of the accused, who are now all lodged in the Luxembourg, but separated into classes, those of Paris not being allowed to communicate with those from Lyons, &c. Various slight attempts to get up riots, particularly in the neighbourhood of Porte Saint Martin, have been made from day to day, but have, as yet, ended without any serious mischief.

During their spare time from the trial, the peers have been engaged upon the American indemnity, which question is not likely to be thoroughly settled for some months to come.

In Lyons, where trade has begun to revive from the miserable, revolutionary shock of last year, the apprehensions of the friends of peace and order are quieted by the presence of a very strong garrison, and by the new forts, which would effectually check the suburbs and the riotous parts of the city.

At the end of April the Chamber of Deputies came to a division on the Anti-Slavery question, when emancipation was refused by a majority of 240 to 51!

This decision is not very honourable to the practical philanthropy of France. Deputies seem to have been willing enough to emancipate at the expense of the slave-holders, and to enjoy the honours of a vicarious generosity; but when it was suggested that a compensation, after the practice of England, must be made to the planters out of the French purse, they clapped their hands on their pockets and refused to hear another word about it. If the negroes could not be raised to the dignity and rights of free-men, without so many millions of francs, in sooth, they were to remain slaves until the day of judgment for all that the philanthropic *Chambre des Deputés* would do to help them! This conclusion, of course, was not put quite so frankly. Other arguments against emancipation were used, the strangest of which was, that the French slaves were not so well prepared for it as the English slaves!

We mentioned in our last retrospect that M. Thiers had demanded an additional grant of 1,265,000 francs, for secret service money, declaring that if the grant were refused him he would resign. The deputies have voted the full amount by a majority of 259 to 129.

The Inland Navigation Bill, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Minister of the Interior, has been referred back to the committee (which is equivalent to an adjournment of the question to the next session) by a majority of 169 to 150.

Marshal Maison, who was absent on a foreign mission when the present cabinet was formed, has accepted the office set down for him—*i. e.* that of Foreign Affairs. It was most confidently asserted, that he would refuse it or any other place in the existing ministry.

SPAIN.

Within the last month the constitutional cause in this unhappy country has decidedly retrograded, and while blood has been spilt there, and men's minds agitated by the hopes or the fears of the speedy triumph of Don Carlos, our speculators on the Stock Exchange have been making or losing fortunes in the rapid variation of Spanish bonds.

Valdez, the minister of war, and commander-in-chief in the north, has not been more successful than Mina, whom he succeeded, as the opposer of Zumalacarregay. The progress the Carlists seem to have made is not, however, attributable so much to victories gained in the field, as to other moral causes, encouraging to them and discouraging to their enemies. Foremost among these we must place the mission to the seat of war of Lord Eliot and Colonel Gurwood. Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the ostensible object of this mission as set forth by the late Conservative government—*i. e.* that it was to endeavour to put a stop to the cruelties practised by both belligerents, and render the war between the Carlists and Constitutionalists less bloody and atrocious. To carry this single object into effect, we should have expected that his Lordship and his adjoint would have shown themselves equally friendly to both parties, and not have reserved all their countenance (or at least the semblance of it) for one. It appears, however, from all we can learn, that from their first arrival, when they were received with demonstrations of joy and triumph by Zumalacarreguy's forces, to the moment of their departure, they acted in such a manner as to make both Carlists and Christinos believe that matters were changed in England with the late four-months' change of ministers, and that we should hail with delight the triumph of Don Carlos. Except a brief and dry correspondence, and (we believe) one interview with the opposite party, they seem to have had no intercourse with the Constitutionalists; but they quite domesticated themselves with the pretender, moving where he moved, and giving him (as the Christinos firmly believed) the benefit of their advice and encouragement. The poor Spaniards attach an awful importance to the title of a Lord, and it was pretty generally known that Colonel Gurwood was a bosom friend of the Duke of Wellington, who, and not Sir Robert Peel, was supposed to hold the will and destinies of England in his hands.

As soon as the news of the arrival of Lord Eliot in Don Carlos's camp reached London, it was generally rumoured that the whole of the remaining family of the pretender, residing in England, were packing up, and it was *presumed*, by an important organ of the Tory party, "that the interview between Don Carlos and Lord Eliot had been the cause of this sudden movement."

A series of battles or skirmishes took place from the 20th to the 24th of April, between the forces of Valdez and Zumalacarreguy, *during which Lord Eliot and his suite were with Don Carlos, at Segura, close to the scenes of action!* Though these games of blood produced no great results, they seem to have been rather unfavourable to the young queen's troops, who, however, succeeded in penetrating into the Amescoas, which wild district had hitherto been the unmolested retreat of the Carlist bands. Immediately after the intelligence reached us that Don Carlos had readily consented to carry on the war in a more merciful manner, we heard of his chief, Zumalacarreguy, massacring in cold blood about thirty young recruits for the Constitutional army, who had fallen into his hands. In addition to the losses of Valdez, Iriarte, another of the queen's generals, sustained a severe check in the neighbourhood of Guernica, on the 1st of May. A report that Bilboa was taken by the Carlists proved, however, to be wholly incorrect, as well as the rumour that their cause was about to be strengthened by Don Miguel, who had landed in Portugal, and begun to re-revolutionize that country.

It is certain that great uneasiness has been felt in Madrid, proceeding as much from the turbulent spirit of the insane ultra-liberal party as from the occurrences in the north. In the Chamber of Procuradores, it has been resolved that some conventual property, and half of the common and crown lands, should be appropriated to the payment of part of the public debt. On the same day the ministers were defeated in a motion that two-thirds of the *Vales non consolidados* should be consolidated with bonds at four per cent., and the remainder be exchanged for securities in the five per cents. paper interest. The committee proposed that

only one half of the Vales should be consolidated, which was carried by a majority of 78 to 41. This vote is said to have much disconcerted both the ministers and speculators in the Madrid Exchange.

During the course of a debate on the 6th of May, a member asked whether it were true that intentions existed of altering the law which excluded Don Carlos and his heirs from the throne, and was answered in the negative by Martinez de la Rosa. To another question respecting the necessity of foreign aid or the armed intervention of England, France, and Portugal, (parties in the quadruple alliance) Count Toreno replied that such a measure had never been seriously proposed in the Cabinet, and that the Queen and Constitution were in a condition to do without any such assistance.

On the 10th of May the Procuradores moved for an examination into the conduct of ministers respecting the stipulations agreed to, at the suggestion of Lord Eliot, by General Valdez and Zumalacarreguy, demanding, at the same time, a full communication of the said stipulations, which, according to common report, merely relate to the fair exchange of prisoners of war between the two parties, the cessation of massacres, &c. but which were believed by a party in Madrid to include a clause that Don Carlos's son should be affianced to the young queen, his cousin, and elevated to the Spanish throne. The inquiry was warmly opposed by Martinez de la Rosa, but was carried against him by a majority of fifty-four to fifty. On leaving the house that minister was followed by a riotous mob, said to have been wholly composed of exaltados or ultra-liberals, who uttered the fiercest cries, calling him Carlist and traitor, and vowing vengeance upon him. At one moment his life was supposed to be in danger, but he finally reached his home uninjured. This is another of the advantages derived by the constitutional party from the mission of Lord Eliot and Colonel Gurwood. On the 12th of May Count de Toreno made a powerful appeal for his colleagues, and demanded that the instigators and the actors in the riot should be brought to a severe account. On the same day thirty members of the chamber of Proceres, or Peers, moved an address to the queen-regent, requesting her to adopt energetic measures against the disturbers of the public peace. On the 14th, the sittings of the procuradores, at which Martinez de la Rosa was present, passed off very tranquilly, and no further riots were apprehended at Madrid for the present.

As if Colonel Gurwood were destined to be the *bête-noire* of the constitutionalists, he had no sooner reached London than a letter bearing his name, and purporting to be an account of what passed in an audience at Paris with Louis-Philippe appeared in most of our public journals. According to this letter the French monarch spoke most favourably of Don Carlos, calling him a good, honest man, and the like; and the inference people generally, and perhaps too rapidly, drew from this account was, that Louis-Philippe's heart was entirely disposed to Don Carlos, and that therefore the French would not assist the young queen, or perform what they engaged to do in the quadruple treaty.

By what novel rule in diplomacy Colonel Gurwood was justified in making such a disclosure, at such a time and in such a manner, we are wholly at a loss to determine. Neither do we know the extent of the evil effect his revelation will produce on the queen's cause; but this we *do know* that such a bomb has not been thrown into the Stock Exchange for many a day, and that the name of Gurwood will long live in the recollection both of the bulls and bears that therein congregate.

With regard to the speculation now afloat as to the reconcilement of differences by a marriage, we think it wholly nugatory. We endeavoured to show twenty months since (see 'Companion' for November 1st, 1833) that the civil war in Spain was not a war for this or that person—for Don Carlos or Donna Isabella, but a conflict of political principles which was to determine whether absolutism or constitutionalism should be the future rule of the country. We said on that occasion, which was before the beginning of a regular war,

"The new contest, to which the succession to the Spanish throne is probably about to give rise, promises to be mainly influenced and propelled by passions very little connected with any feelings of attachment to the individual claimants under whose name the contending parties may array themselves. The conflicting pretensions of Isabella and of Carlos will merely serve to muster and separate the combatants. If the quarrel involved nothing more than the claims of the uncle and the niece, there would be a chance of its being decided without the arbitration of the sword. An arrangement might be come to, which, by allowing Carlos to mount the throne now, and affiancing the young princess to his eldest son, her cousin, would satisfy and unite both parties. But the two real competitors are looked upon by their partizans as being divided from and opposed to each other by something much more difficult to get over than a mere difference of personal interests. * * * This must be from the first a contest of principles—a strife not to be settled by cessions of territory or any other arrangements partaking of the nature of a compromise, but only by the entire subjugation, for the time at least, of one or other of the two irreconcilably hostile forces between which it was carried on. * * * There is nothing at all about which to fight, if the partizans of absolutism are not to be on the one side, and those of constitutionalism on the other."

These positive facts and considerations alone have kept our attention anxiously awake to affairs in Spain. Without them we should have been inclined, at least as far as our own feelings are concerned, to have closed the subject long ago with something like the following brief remarks made by Chesterfield during the seven years' war. "The late actions have only thinned the human species, without giving either party a victory, which is plain by each party's claiming it. Upon my word, our species will pay very dearly for the quarrels and ambition of a few, and those by no means the most valuable part of it. *If the many were wiser than they are, the few must be quieter, and would, perhaps, be juster and better than they are.*"

PORTUGAL.

Some objection seems to have been taken to the marriage of the Queen Donna Maria with her recently deceased husband's brother, Prince Maximilian of Leuchtenberg. A party which, however, is evidently in the minority, proposes to substitute the Duke of Nemours, the second son of the French king. This subject, which is not very interesting in the abstract, and which presents some disgusting points, has mainly engrossed the attention of the Portuguese.

Since the disgraceful riot and attack upon Palmella which we recorded last month, that minister seems to have withdrawn from public business, though he still directs the counsels of the queen.

The Count Villa Real, who is also minister of war, has taken Palmella's place as secretary of state, and Count Linhares has succeeded him as president of the council. A few other changes have taken place in the cabinet.

The law for the sale of national and church property, after being somewhat amended, has passed, and the *public auctions* are to commence about the end of June. According to the most moderate calculation, the united property to be thus brought to the hammer is worth from twelve to fourteen millions sterling; but it will be a long time before either of these sums, or anything like it, will reach the Portuguese exchequer, as, in order to facilitate the disposal of the lots, in a country where capital is scarce, government has agreed to accept of payments by instalments.

We do not hear that any measures have been taken by government to preserve and keep together the monastic archives and libraries, some of which are supposed to contain curious and valuable documents and manuscripts, chiefly in relation to the history of the early maritime discoveries of the Portuguese. A man with money and the necessary talent and information might employ his time worse than in making a short trip to Portugal to attend these sales. We are quite confident many interesting things, particularly up the country, will be scattered and destroyed through the sheer ignorance of auctioneers and bidders.

The provinces seem to be totally tranquil, and no more disturbances of any consequence have occurred in Lisbon. The finances of government are described as being in rather a prosperous condition, but there is a talk of drawing heavily upon them in order to send an army to the assistance of the Queen of Spain.

BELGIUM.

The fine iron rail-road from Brussels to Malines, was opened on the 5th of May, with much pomp and rejoicing, King Leopold and his court attending on the occasion. Other works of the same beneficial kind are spoken of.

On the 14th of May, some few weeks before the expected time, the king prorogued the Session of the Chamber of Deputies. The Belgian opposition newspapers, which are certainly well acquainted with the declamatory and abusive part of their business, have poured out many violent *leaders* upon this measure, attributing it to the unwillingness of the king to have discussed in the Chambers the increase of ten per cent on the taxes, which increase was voted to ministers on learning the accession of Sir Robert Peel to office, and the possibility of a change in our foreign policy. The journalists say, that now, a Whig Ministry being re-established in England, the danger is past; and that consequently the ten per cent., which was only voted to provide for that danger, ought instantly to cease.

AUSTRIA.

THE expected Act of Grace of the new emperor has at last made its appearance, and has disappointed all friends of humanity. Instead of liberating the Italian and other state prisoners who have been so long shut up in the dungeons of Spielberg Olmutz, and other fortresses, it merely provides for the milder treatment of *two* of the many captives.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

May 4. A duel took place between Lord Alvanley and Morgan O'Connell, Esq M P, one of the sons of Mr Daniel O'Connell, in which several shots were fired without injury to either party The duel arose out of the following circumstances —Lord Alvanley having, in his place in the House of Lords, put certain questions to Lord Melbourne respecting the supposed adherence of Mr O'Connell, and those who usually act with him, to the new ministry, and the terms on which it had been obtained, Mr O Connell took an opportunity of retorting in the House of Commons in language which gave rise to a demand for satisfaction on the part of Lord Alvanley At the same time, a requisition was presented by Lord Alvanley and other members to the managers of Brookes's Club, that they should call a general meeting of the club to consider the conduct of Mr O'Connell, but this the managers declined to do Mr Morgan O'Connell then took up the quarrel on behalf of his father, which led to the hostile meeting.

8. A deputation, headed by Dr. Birkbeck, waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Downing Street, in order to lay before him statements relative to the repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers A long conversation ensued, chiefly upon the financial difficulties connected with the removal of the stamp duty The conference lasted two hours.

10 This day was interred, in the burial ground of St. James's, Clerkenwell, Mr David Hilton He was descended from the Hiltons, of Hilton Castle, in the county of Durham a family once possessed of great wealth and of high distinction, but which ultimately fell into decay The late Mr Hilton was a newsvender and was particularly instrumental in procuring the abolition of the monopoly of the post-office clerks in regard to the sale of newspapers. This monopoly was an extreme hardship upon the independent tradesman, and it was principally through the active exertion and the judicious conduct of Mr. Hilton, that an end was put to it. The respectable body of newsvenders in the metropolis, at, we believe, his suggestion, formed themselves into a society for their mutual protection against the schemes and manœuvres of Dicas, and others, of which society Mr Hilton was the honorary secretary, the duties of which he discharged with exemplary assiduity and fidelity, under circumstances that imposed upon him no ordinary responsibility

11 Lord Mulgrave, as the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Kingston, and was escorted into Dublin by a vast assemblage of the people, who went out to meet him in procession, with banners, &c.

— A dinner was given to Sir Robert Peel at the Merchant Tailors' Hall, at which the Duke of Wellington and other distinguished individuals were present. Sir Robert Peel spoke at considerable length, and urged upon those around him the necessity of exertion and activity, in order to obtain a real and effective influence in the House of Commons, as the only check to those evils which he apprehends from the present state of things

— A dinner took place on Monday at the Thatched House Tavern, to commemorate the opening of the North London Hospital, in connection with the London University Lord Brougham presided, supported by the Duke of Somerset, the Bishop of Chichester, &c. A collection was made, which amounted to 1250*l*

Public Meetings.—On the 4th, the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society was held at Exeter Hall, at which the Earl of Chichester presided.

On the 5th, the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held in the same place, Lord Bexley in the chair It appeared from the report that the receipts of this society for the past year exceed those of any preceding year, the total amount collected being 107,926*l*, and that, after paying all expenses, and increasing the number of their establishments, the Society had a balance of 23,675*l*. The number of individuals who attended to hear the proceedings was so great, that upwards of six hundred were accommodated in another room, to whom a report of what was passing was conveyed.

On Monday the 11th, the anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign School Society was held at Exeter Hall. The chair was to have been taken by Lord John Russell, but in his unavoidable absence it was filled by Lord Brougham The meeting was attended by Messrs. Ainsworth, Pease, Lushington, Hume, and other members of parliament and various gentlemen and clergymen, and resolutions were passed connected with the subject which had brought them together

On the same day, the British Reformation Society held its annual meeting, Lord Mountsandford in the chair, and on the previous Saturday, the twenty-ninth anniversary of the London Hibernian Society was celebrated the Marquis of Cholmondeley in the chair. The latter nobleman also presided, on the 12th, at the annual meeting of the Naval and Military Bible Society, which was held at the Freemasons' Tavern The meeting was attended by Lords Dartmouth, Harrowby, Winchelsea, Farnham, Henley, Admiral Lord de Saumerez, and many distinguished naval and military officers

Next day, the Irish Society of London held its annual meeting, at which the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry presided On the 14th, the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society was held at Exeter Hall. On this occasion, a daring and dexterous theft was committed Amongst the sums collected, were a quantity of bank notes and slips of paper technically termed I O U.'s, amounting to nearly 600*l*,, which were put apart in a bag, and placed on a table behind the chairman While the assembly were singing a doxology, the bag was stolen

On the 15th was held a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, at which Lord Brougham presided, and which was attended, amongst others, by Mr O Connell who addressed the meeting The object of the meeting was to pass resolutions in favour of the working of the emancipation scheme, and declaratory of abhorrence of slavery in whatever country it still prevailed

On the 16th, the twenty-first anniversary of the Protestant Society for the protection of religious liberty was held at the City of London Tavern Lord Brougham in the chair One of the principal speakers was Mr. O'Connell, who moved one of the resolutions.

The Right Hon Charles Grant, formerly M P for Inverness-shire, the Right Hon Edward Littleton, M P for Staffordshire, and Sir John Byng, M P. for Poole, have been respectively raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Glenelg of Glenelg in the county of Inverness, Baron Hatherton of Hatherton in the county of Stafford, and Baron Strafford of Harmondsworth in the county of Middlesex

The Court of King's Bench in Ireland has, upon some technical objections, quashed the coroner's inquisition respecting the individuals who were killed in the tithe affair of Rathcormac.

May 16 The accomplished and amiable poetess, Mrs. Hemans, died in Dublin, after a tedious illness.

— A dinner was given by the merchants of London trading to the Levant to the Turkish Embassy at the Court of London. It took place at Richmond. Namik Pasha, the late ambassador, was prevented from attending by indisposition, but Nouri Effendi, the present ambassador, and the various individuals of the legation, were present.

18 An individual of the name of Carroll, a corporal of the marines, was executed at Maidstone for the murder of a woman, whom, in a fit of drunken fury, he had stabbed with his bayonet. The jury on the trial expressed themselves in strong terms on the inexpediency of allowing soldiers not on duty to wear their side arms

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON —CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 31. JULY 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Corporation Reform Bill	405	Parliamentary Abstracts	421
Amendment of the Marriage Law	413	Trade, Statistics, &c.	422
The Danish Claims	415	Parliamentary Register	422
Criminal Offences	418	Political Retrospect for June	424
		Chronicle of Occurrences	428

THE CORPORATION REFORM BILL.

The Bill for the Reform of the Corporations of England and Wales has at length followed the Acts for the Reform of the Parliamentary Representation, of the Scotch Burghs, of the Irish Church, of the Poor Laws, and for the Abolition of West India Slavery, not to mention various measures of inferior magnitude, which within the last three years have placed upon a new, and it is to be hoped both an improved and a secure foundation, many of the greatest interests of the kingdom. In a few months or weeks more we shall probably have the reform of the corporations of Ireland to add to the list.

The reform of the English municipal corporations was demanded—had there been no other reason—by the abuses of the existing system. The principles and the effects of that system were alike as bad as possible. The management of large funds and interests, most important to the whole community, was placed everywhere in the hands of a small number of individuals, in whose appointment their fellow-citizens had no share, and over whose conduct they had no controul. Had the circumstance of being members of a corporation converted men by a miracle into angels, such a state of things would have been still pregnant with evil. People never would have seen with satisfaction a little self-elected knot of their number in exclusive possession of the rights and powers which should have been shared by all. General discontent and suspicion, divisions and bitter party spirit, would be inevitably generated by such an arrangement, under any circumstances. In the actual case in this country it has produced plentifully all these, and also other mischiefs. Not only has the conduct of corporations been clamoured against; it has well-deserved, in a very great many instances, the public distrust and disapprobation of which it has been the object. Not only has there been a prevalent feeling that the interests of the community have been neglected, and their property squandered or misappropriated; there has been much real ground for these imputations. Power exercised without responsibility has been fertile here as elsewhere in its natural consequences. The voluminous reports of the corporation commissioners furnish abundant evidence of the disastrous operation of the existing system, in accounts of numerous boroughs reduced to poverty or loaded with debts, of the waste of public means in private jobbing and corruption, of communities torn by faction or generally arrayed in opposition to their municipal authorities, and of the consequent utter inefficiency of the apparatus of controul over which these authorities preside, either for the proper preservation of order, or the right administration of justice, or the promotion of any of those objects of public utility and convenience which come within the province of municipal government.

But the establishment of a good system of municipal corporations is in the highest degree desirable, not only on account of the evils of the present system of which it would get rid, but for its own sake. Even in a new country, or one for the first time laying the foundations of its government, it would be a work that ought to be set about as of the first consequence to the right order of the commonwealth.

Such institutions form the proper alleviation and corrective of that principle of centralization which is indispensable as the cementing and uniting element of every system of national government. Without a single supreme controlling power, there could obviously be no national government whatever; and in all countries, accordingly, affecting to occupy the position of independent states, such a power has either been formally established, or has quickly grown up under the pressure of circumstances. The first civil dissension, indeed, or the first attack from abroad, would give demonstration of its necessity, or would at once dissolve the so called state into fragments. But for the sound health of the body politic, it is necessary that there should be life in the limbs and extremities as well as in the heart. The natural tendency of a supreme central power, when once established, is to draw towards itself all the political forces and functions of the community, so that, if no check were interposed, nothing at length could be done of which it was not the first mover. Among the obvious evils of such a state of things would be at once an undue and dangerous aggrandisement of the central authority, and an accumulation upon it of a much larger number of duties and offices than it can rightly discharge, in consequence of which many of them would be only performed in a slovenly and imperfect manner, while at the same time its proper province would also be partially neglected. We may venture to say that the supreme legislature of our own country has not a little embarrassed itself, and impaired its efficiency, by the multiplicity of matters, not necessarily requiring the fiat of an imperial authority, of which it has persisted in retaining the direction in its own hands. Nearly the whole of the vast amount of business, which every session occupies the time of both houses under the name of private bills, might undoubtedly, with great advantage, be devolved upon an inferior class of judicatories. Still, however, a very large share of what may with perfect propriety be called the government of the country, or the management of public affairs, is with us, and always has been, left to the care of subordinate or provincial bodies. We have both our county and our parish authorities in great numbers for the preservation of order, and also for the administration of justice, not only mediately but even in the last resort. The system may not in many respects be so perfect as it ought to be, or so well adapted as were to be desired to the circumstances of the present time, having originated, as it has done for the most part, in a remote and very different state of society; but with all its defects it is still of infinite service. The diffusion of political duties and political powers over every part of the body politic, is like the circulation of the blood throughout the natural body. It has a far higher value than its mere convenience in relieving the supreme legislature. It keeps up throughout the whole community that public spirit which is the life and health of a [illegible] preserves also that balance between the provinces and the chief seat of the government which would be [illegible] apt to be overthrown by the ascendency of [illegible] this way secures to every district of the country its due weight in the state and influence upon the public councils.

We shall not at present enter upon any inquiry into the

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

origin and history of our English municipal corporations, nor into all the purposes which they may have served, in additions to such uses as those to which we have just adverted, at their first rise or institution. It is sufficient for our immediate object, to remark that, whatever may have been the peculiar aid derived from them in sheltering and nursing our early liberties, their utility has by no means ceased even at the advanced stage which we have now reached. They are still needed to preserve what they were formerly instrumental in planting and rearing. They are still of inestimable importance as affording the means of giving effect to one of the heathiest principles of our English political organization, namely, that the government of the people should be left as far as possible in the hands of the people themselves

The leading aim of the present measure for the reform of these corporations may be shortly stated to be to open a free course for the operation of this great principle. It is to place the government of our towns really in the hands of the citizens themselves—to make them the guardians of their own property and pecuniary interests, their own magistrates, and their own justices of the peace. These rights and powers it confers upon them to the most liberal and ample extent, as will be seen from the analysis of the bill, to which we shall now proceed.

The recital in the preamble is as follows:—

"Whereas divers bodies corporate, at sundry times, have been constituted within the cities, towns, and boroughs of England and Wales, to the intent that the same might for ever be and remain well and quietly governed: and whereas, partly by defects in the charters by which the said bodies corporate have been constituted, partly by neglect and abuse of the privileges by such charters granted and confirmed to the inhabitants of the said cities, towns, and boroughs, and partly by change of circumstances since the said charters were granted, the said bodies corporate, for the most part, have not of long time been, and are not now useful and efficient instruments of local government."

The clause then proceeds to enact that so much of all laws, statutes, and usages, and so much of all royal and other charters, grants, and letters patent, now in force, relating to the several boroughs named in the annexed schedules (A) and (B), or to the inhabitants thereof, or to the several bodies or reputed bodies corporate therein named, or any of them, as are inconsistent with, or contrary to the provisions of the present Act, shall be repealed and nullified.

The second clause relates to the meaning in which various terms used in the act are to be understood; and the third may be called the incorporating clause, enacting that after the first election of councillors under the new act in any borough, the body corporate named in the schedules in connexion with such borough, shall take and bear the name of the mayor and burgesses of that borough, and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall be capable in law to do and suffer all acts which now lawfully they and their successors respectively may do and suffer, by any name or title of incorporation; and the mayor of each of the said boroughs shall be capable in law to do and suffer all acts which the chief officer of such borough may now lawfully do and suffer, so far as the same respectively are not altered or annulled by the provisions of this Act.

Clauses fourth and fifth relate to the boundaries of the boroughs, and enact that the metes and bounds of all those in the first section of the first and second divisions of schedule (A), and in the first section of schedule (B), that is, of all those included in the present act which now return members to Parliament, shall be the same as the limits thereof respectively settled and described in the Boundary Act for the election of members to serve in parliament (the 2 and 3 William IV. c. 64.),—and that the bounds of the others named in the two schedules shall remain the same as at present, until his Majesty shall otherwise determine by the advice of his privy council on the report of commissioners appointed by letters patent under the great seal.

Then come the clauses declaring who shall in future form the burgesses, or municipal constituency, of each borough: the most important of which, the great enfranchising clause, we give entire:—

"And be it enacted, that after the passing of this Act, every male person of full age, who, on the last day of August in any year shall have been an inhabitant householder within any borough, or within seven miles of such borough, and shall have occupied any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop within such borough during that year, and each of the two preceding years, and who shall have been rated, in respect of premises occupied by him, to all rates for the relief of the poor of some parish, wholly or in part within such borough, made in that year, and in each of the two years next preceding that year, shall, if duly enrolled according to the provisions hereinafter contained, be a burgess of such borough, and member of the body corporate of the mayor and burgesses of such borough; provided, that the premises in respect of the occupation of which any person shall be so rated need not be the same premises, or in the same parish, but may be different premises in the same parish or in different parishes; provided also, that every person who shall come to occupy any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop in any borough, during the time for which any rate for the relief of the poor shall have been made, to which he would have been rateable if he had been occupying there at the time such rate was made, may claim to be rated to such rate in respect of the property which he shall so come to occupy, and upon his so claiming and paying or tendering the amount of rate, if any, then due in respect of the premises, he shall be taken to have been rated to the relief of the poor in the parish in which such premises are situate, from the time at which the rate in respect of which he shall have made such claim shall have been made; provided also, that no person shall be so enrolled in any year who shall not have paid all such rates due from him at the time of the revision of the burgess roll, hereinafter provided, except such as shall have been made or become due within six calendar months next before such revision: provided also, that no person shall be so enrolled in any year, who within twelve calendar months next before such revision shall have received parochial relief or other alms, or any pension or charitable allowance from any fund intrusted to the charitable trustees of such borough hereinafter mentioned."

Three clauses that follow make certain additional regulations with regard to this household suffrage; the first directing that occupiers of houses, &c., wishing to enjoy the suffrage, may claim to be rated to the relief of the poor; and the second, that burgesses who cease to be occupiers within the borough, or neglect or refuse to pay their rates, shall be omitted from the burgess roll, but within two years may be restored at the next revision of the roll. The object of this latter enactment, which however will probably undergo some modification before the bill pass into a law, is to enable persons who, in consequence of absence from the borough, or any other similar cause, may have omitted for one year to pay their rates, to recover their elective privilege without working out over again the whole term of three years' residence and payments. The next clause enacts, that after the passing of the present Act no person shall be admitted a citizen, freeman, liveryman, or burgess of any borough, or by any name a member of any body corporate, except under the provisions of this Act. This clause disfranchises (and very properly) all the existing freemen in so far as any interference with the election of the governing body so concerned.

The tenth and eleventh clauses are very important, and we therefore give them entire:

"And whereas in divers cities, towns, and boroughs, a certain custom hath prevailed of taking or allotting the common lands and public stock of such cities, towns, and boroughs, and the rents and profits thereof, to and for the particular benefit, use, and enjoyment of the citizens, freemen, and burgesses of the said cities, towns, and boroughs respectively, or of certain of them, or of the widows or kindred of them, or of certain of them, and not applying the same to public purposes; be it therefore enacted, that after the passing of this Act no person shall have or be entitled to claim any share, benefit, or advantage of or from any of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or the rents and profits thereof, or of or from any common lands or public stock of the said body corporate, or any discharge or exemption from any tolls or dues lawfully levied, wholly or in part, by or to the use of any body corporate, who was not a citizen, freeman, or burgess of some borough, or the wife or widow of a citizen, freeman, or burgess of some borough on the 5th of June in this present year, and every person who was a citizen, freeman, or burgess of some borough, or the wife or widow of a citizen, freeman, or burgess of some borough on the said 5th day of June, shall have and enjoy the same share, be-

neſit, and advantage, of or from the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or the rents and profits thereof, or of or from the common lands or public stock of any borough or body corporate, or from any discharge or exemption from any tolls or dues lawfully levied wholly or in part, by or to the use of any of the said boroughs or bodies corporate, and all benefit and advantage derivable therefrom, as fully and for such time and in such sort as he or she might and would have had and enjoyed the same if this Act had not passed, and no further or otherwise; provided, nevertheless, that after all the persons whose rights in this behalf are herein reserved shall have become entitled to be in actual possession of their share of the premises, the share, benefit, and advantage of or from the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and the rents and profits thereof, or of or from the common lands or public stock of any borough or body corporate hereinbefore reserved to any person, shall accrue for the benefit of the borough fund of such borough, when and as soon as by any law, statute, charter, or usage in force on the day before the passing of this Act, such person would have ceased to have the benefit of the same if this Act had not been passed, and shall not survive and accumulate for the particular benefit of the other persons, or any of them, whose rights in this behalf are hereinbefore reserved as aforesaid."

"And whereas in divers cities, towns, and boroughs, a certain custom hath prevailed, that no person, not being free of a city, town, or borough, or of certain guilds, mysteries, or trading companies within the same, or some or one of them, shall keep any shop or place for putting to show or sale certain wares or merchandise by way of retail or otherwise, or use certain trades, occupations, mysteries or handicrafts for hire, gain or sale within the same; be it enacted, that every person in any borough may keep any shop for the sale of all lawful wares and merchandises by wholesale or retail, and use every lawful trade, occupation, mystery, and handicraft, for hire, gain, sale, or otherwise within any borough; any custom within such borough to the contrary notwithstanding."

Here we have the two great principles established, that for the future there shall be no appropriation of the public funds of boroughs to other than public purposes; and that all exclusive rights of trading hitherto enjoyed by the freemen of boroughs shall cease. The entire annual income of the 183 boroughs included in this Bill was stated by Lord John Russell, in the speech in which he introduced and explained the measure, to amount to not less than 367,000*l*. This is independent of the large revenues of the charity estates, of which the several corporations have been hitherto the managers, and in many instances the mismanagers. At present the expenditure of these corporations exceeds their income by about 19,000*l*. a year, and they are besides in debt to the amount of about 2,000,000*l*. sterling. It may be hoped that under the new system the means of paying off this heavy amount of debt will be gradually obtained, both through the sources of the incomes of the boroughs being by better management rendered more productive, and by their expenditure being diminished. The portion of the enactment quoted above, which reserves any claim they may have to a share in the public funds of their boroughs, to all freemen, and their wives or widows, who were such on the 5th day of June last (the day on which the Bill was brought into the House of Commons), takes away all ground of complaint against the present measure, as interfering with vested rights.

The machinery for carrying the enfranchising part of the measure into effect is the subject of the seven following enactments. The details, as proposed in this part of the Bill, may probably be altered in some respects before it passes into a law; and, therefore, we shall only at present notice its leading provisions. The overseers of the poor in every parish within a borough are directed on the last day of August in every year to make out an alphabetical list of all persons entitled to be enrolled in the burgess-roll, with the street or other place in the borough where the property is situated, for which each person is rated. These lists the overseers are to deliver to the town-clerk, and also to keep a true copy of them, to be perused by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours during the first fourteen days of September in every year. Every person whose name shall have been omitted in these lists may claim to have it inserted by a notice delivered in to the town-clerk on or before the 15th of September; and objections to names as improperly inserted, are to be made in the same manner, and within the same time. The names of the claimants, and of the persons objected to, are then to be arranged by the town-clerk in separate lists, copies of which shall be fixed on or near the door of the town-hall, or in some public and conspicuous situation within the borough, during the week immediately preceding the first of October in every year; and other copies are to be kept by the town-clerk, to be perused by any person, without a fee, at all reasonable hours during the same week; and a copy of each is to be delivered to any person requiring it, on payment of a shilling. The mayor is then to hold an open court, for the purpose of revising the said lists, and settling, by the evidence of the overseers and others, what names ought to be retained and what omitted, some time between the 1st and the 15th of October inclusive. The mayor, who is thus by his sole authority to adjudicate upon every disputed claim, may adjourn the court from time to time as he sees fit, and may administer oaths to all persons called before him to give evidence in the case. Finally, the overseers' lists, after being thus revised, are to be delivered by the mayor to the town-clerk, who shall form all the names into one general alphabetical list, on or before the 24th of October; and this shall be the burgess-roll for every election of councillors that may take place during the following twelve months. Copies of the burgess-roll are to be printed and sold; and the expenses of the overseers are to be paid from the funds of the borough.

The enactments, from the 19th to the 40th inclusive, relate to the manner in which the mayor and council are to be chosen. In the first place the number of persons to be elected of the council in each borough is to be the number mentioned after the name of the borough in the annexed schedules (A) and (B). This number rises, it will be observed, in the case of some boroughs, so high as to 60 or 70, or even higher. Bristol is to have a council of 66, Leeds of 72, and Liverpool of 90 persons. It has been objected, with apparent reason, that assemblies of this magnitude for the government of boroughs are needlessly, and will probably be found to be inconveniently, large.

The following is the clause as to who shall be qualified to be chosen mayor or councillor:—

"And be it enacted, that no person shall be qualified to be elected or to be a councillor, or one of the charitable trustees hereinafter mentioned, of any such borough, who shall not be a burgess of such borough, or during such time as he shall hold any office or place of profit other than that of mayor in the gift or disposal of the council or charitable trustees of such borough, or during such time as he shall have directly or indirectly, by himself, or his partner, any share or interest in any contract or employment with, by, or on behalf of such council or charitable trustees."

The voters, as before stated, are to be all the burgesses whose names are on the burgess-roll for the time being. The election is to take place in open assembly on the 25th of October in every year (or if that day be a Sunday on the Monday following). At the first election under the new Act, the whole council will of course be chosen; but on every succeeding 25th of October, only one third part of the whole council for the time being shall go out of office, and only as many more shall be elected to fill their places. The council, it will be found by a reference to the schedules, is in all cases to consist of a number divisible by three. It is provided that those who shall go out at the termination of the first year shall be the councillors who were chosen at the first election under the Act by the smallest number of votes; those who go out at the end of the second year, they who on that occasion had the next smallest number of votes (disputed cases being determined by the vote of the majority of the council); "and, thereafter, those who shall so go out of office shall always be the councillors who have been for the longest time in office: provided always, that any councillor so going out of office shall be capable of being forthwith re-elected, if then qualified as herein provided."

At every election of councillors the mayor is to preside; the voting is to commence at nine in the morning, and to close at four in the afternoon; and shall be conducted in manner following; "that is to say, every burgess entitled to vote in the election of councillors may vote for any number of persons, not exceeding the number of councillors then to be chosen, by delivering to the mayor a voting-paper, containing the Christian names and surnames of the persons for whom he votes, with their respective places of abode and descriptions, such paper being previously signed with the

name of the burgess voting, and with the name of the street, lane, or other place in which the property for which he appears to be rated on the burgess-roll is situated."

The intention of this clause, as explained by Lord John Russell, is, that the voting shall be open, and, although some doubts have been expressed on the subject, it seems sufficiently to secure that object. Any voter will at least have it in his power to show, if he chooses, for whom he votes; and every man's vote will be known to the mayor, and to as many others as that officer pleases. Indeed, it has been intimated that a provision will be introduced into the act for the appointment of scrutineers to act along with the mayor. The clause does not indeed, as it stands at present, give all the world a right to know how every burgess has voted; but it may be doubted, if it be really desirable that all the world should have such a right.

At all contested elections, the mayor shall, if required by any candidate, or may, if it shall appear expedient to himself, cause booths for taking the poll to be erected in different parts of the borough, and appoint a clerk for each compartment of every booth.

The 26th clause is as follows:—

"And be it enacted, that no inquiry shall be permitted at any election of councillors as to the right of any person to vote as a burgess in any borough, except only as follows: that is to say, that the mayor shall, if required by any two burgesses entitled to vote in the same borough, put to any voter at the time of his delivering in his voting-paper, and not afterwards, the following questions, or any of them, and no other:—

"1. Are you the person whose name is signed to the voting-paper now delivered in by you?

"2. Are you the person whose name appears as A. B. on the burgess-roll now in force for this borough, being registered therein as rated for property described to be situated in ? [here specify the street, &c., as described in the burgess-roll.]

"3. Have you already voted at the present election?

"And if any person shall wilfully make a false answer to any of the questions aforesaid, he shall be deemed guilty of an indictable misdemeanor, and shall be punished accordingly."

The voting-papers, after being delivered in, are to be examined by the mayor and the scrutineers; and the mayor is then to declare such persons, equal to the number of councillors then to be chosen, as shall have the greatest number of votes, to be elected; and in case of an equality of votes for two or more persons, the mayor shall say which shall be chosen. He shall publish a list of the persons thus elected councillors before two o'clock in the afternoon of the day next after the day of election, unless such next day be Sunday, and in that case on the Monday following. In case the mayor shall be dead, absent, or otherwise incapable of acting, the councillors shall elect one of their own number as his substitute. Immediately after the first election under the new Act, it is ordered, that in every borough the existing mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and all other members of the common council, or governing body of the body corporate, shall go out of office, and that their whole powers and duties shall cease, except that such of them as are justices of the peace in any borough shall continue to exercise their powers as such till the 1st of May, 1836.

The 30th clause and the four that follow it relate to a very important point,—the division of certain of the larger boroughs into wards, each of which shall separately elect its own councillors. The boroughs to be so divided are enumerated in the first division of schedule (A); and it is proposed that the division shall be made by his Majesty, by the advice of his Privy Council, on the report of commissioners appointed by letters patent under the great seal. The bounds of each ward, and the number of councillors to be chosen by it, are to be determined by the same authority, subject only to the restriction that the whole number of councillors for all the wards shall be the same as that mentioned after the name of the borough in the schedule. It has, however, been suggested that the division should be made by act of parliament, and it is possible that it may, in the end, be so arranged.

In the boroughs which are to be thus divided, the elections of councillors, as we have said, are to take place separately in each ward. At the first election after the division, the mayor shall appoint a person to preside; but the election in every succeeding year "shall be held before the councillor whom the councillors chosen in such ward shall yearly appoint in that behalf, who shall be called 'The Alderman' of such ward; and the votings and other proceedings, in all other respects, shall be conducted in the same manner as is hereinbefore declared with respect to elections by the burgesses of the whole borough: and the alderman of each ward shall have the same powers in regard to elections of councillors in his ward as are herein enacted with regard to the mayor for the whole borough, if not divided into wards; and every person so elected a councillor in such ward shall hold his office for the same time that he would have held it had he been elected by the burgesses of the whole borough."

The duties here mentioned are the only duties assigned to aldermen by the Act. There is to be no separate court of aldermen in any of the boroughs.

The following is the 32nd clause:—"And be it enacted, that every burgess of any borough shall be entitled to vote in the election of the councillors to be chosen within that ward in which the property of such burgess, for which he appears to be rated on the burgess-roll for the time being of such borough, shall appear to be situated, and not otherwise; and in case it shall happen that any burgess shall be rated in respect of distinct premises in two or more wards, then he shall be entitled to be enrolled and to vote in such one of the said wards as he shall select, but not in more than one."

By subsequent clauses, it is directed that the annual burgess-roll of every borough thus divided into wards shall thenceforward be made out in separate ward-lists; and that if any person shall be elected a councillor in more than one ward, he shall make his election for which he will serve within three days after notice thereof. All vacancies in the council, by whatever cause occasioned, are to be filled up by fresh elections, conducted exactly in the same manner as in the case of the general annual election.

The mayor of every borough is to be annually elected by the councillors from their own number on the day after they have themselves been elected. In case of a vacancy in this office within the year, a new election must be made within ten days thereafter. No person elected a mayor or councillor is to be capable of acting as such until he shall have made and subscribed a declaration in the words or to the effect following:—"I, A. B., having been elected mayor (or councillor) for the borough of , do hereby declare, that I take the said office upon myself, and will duly and faithfully fulfil the duties thereof according to the best of my judgment and ability." Every burgess elected councillor, and every councillor elected mayor, shall accept the office or pay a fine to the borough fund, unless disabled by lunacy, deafness, or some other permanent infirmity,—or unless he shall be above the age of sixty-five years,—or have already served the office, or paid the fine, within the five preceding years. Any person holding the office of mayor or councillor shall become disqualified, and shall cease to hold the office, on being declared bankrupt, or applying to take the benefit of the Insolvent Act, or being absent for more than one month (unless with the approbation of a majority of the council,) from the borough. Any person acting as mayor or councillor without having made the above-mentioned declaration, or without being duly qualified, or after he shall have become disqualified, shall forfeit a sum to be afterwards fixed, such sum, with full costs, to be recovered by any person who shall sue for the same within three months, one portion to go to the person so suing and the other to the borough-fund. It is, however, provided, "that all acts and proceedings of any person in possession of the office of mayor or councillor, and acting as a mayor or councillor, shall, notwithstanding such disqualification, be as valid and effectual as if such person had been duly qualified."

The clauses that immediately follow proceed to confer certain powers upon the mayor and council. By clause 41st, it is enacted that the mayor shall, in all cases, be a Justice of Peace both for the borough and for the county, and also of and for every county within seven miles of any part of the borough,—that he shall have precedence in all places within the borough—and that in boroughs which return a member or members to serve in Parliament, except the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and cities and towns which are counties of themselves, he shall be the returning officer at all such elections. The 42nd clause, giving power to

the council to appoint certain officers, is as follows:—"And be it enacted, that the council of every borough shall appoint, to be removable at their pleasure, a fit person, not being a councillor, to be the town-clerk of such borough, a treasurer of the borough, and such other clerks, collectors, and officers, as they shall think necessary for enabling them to carry into execution the various powers and duties vested in them by virtue of this Act; and shall take such security for the due execution of his office by any such treasurer, clerk, collector, or other officer, as the said council shall think proper; and shall order to be paid to the mayor, and to the town-clerk and treasurer, and to every such clerk, collector, and other officer to be employed as aforesaid, such salary or allowance as the said council shall think reasonable; and in case of a vacancy in any such office as aforesaid, by death, resignation, removal, or otherwise, the council of such borough may appoint another fit person in the place of the person so making such vacancy, provided that the town-clerk and treasurer shall not be the same person."

The treasurer is to pay no money except upon an order in writing signed by three or more councillors, and countersigned by the town-clerk. The treasurer, and every other officer appointed by the council, are, both during their continuance in office and within a certain time after going out, to deliver in accounts of all their receipts and disbursements on the order of the council; and the necessary means are provided for enforcing compliance with this important regulation.

By the 45th clause it is enacted, "that in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and in the counties of the cities of Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Coventry, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester and York, and in the counties of the towns of Caermarthen, Haverfordwest, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Poole and Southampton, the council shall, on the first day of November in this and every succeeding year, name a fit person to execute the office of sheriff, with the like duties and powers as the sheriff, or the person filling the office of sheriff in the said town and counties respectively would have had if this Act had not passed."

The 46th clause enacts, that every borough in which a separate court of sessions of the peace shall be holden, as afterwards provided, shall appoint a coroner for the borough, to continue in office so long as he shall well behave himself. The borough-coroner is to have 20*s.* for every inquisition, and 9*d.* per mile for his travelling expenses, to be paid from the funds of the borough. In all other boroughs it is enacted that no person shall henceforth take any inquisition except the coroner for the county.

Clauses 48 and 49 relate to the removal of existing borough officers after the first election under the new act. Such officers are to continue to act, with their present salaries, &c., only until they shall be removed by order of the new council; but it is proposed that "every officer of any borough who shall be in office at the time of the first election of councillors under this act in such borough, and who shall be removed from his office as aforesaid, shall be entitled to have an adequate compensation, to be assessed by the council, and paid out of the borough fund, for the salary, fees, and emoluments of the office which he shall so cease to hold, regard being had to the manner of his appointment to the said office, and his term or interest therein, and all other circumstances of the case; and in case any such officer shall think himself aggrieved by the amount at which the council shall have assessed the compensation so to be paid to him, or in case one-third of the members of the council shall subscribe a protest against the amount of such compensation as excessive, it shall be lawful for such officer, or any councillor who shall have subscribed such protest to appeal to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, who shall thereupon make such order as shall to them seem expedient; and such order, signed by three or more of the said Lords Commissioners, shall be binding upon all parties."

By clauses 50 and 51 it is enacted that all questions coming before the council shall be decided by the majority of the councillors present; that one-third of the whole number of councillors shall be a quorum; that the mayor, or in his absence his substitute elected by the meeting, shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of votes; that a notice of every meeting shall be affixed three clear days before on or over the door of the town-hall; that the mayor shall have power to call a meeting of the council as often as he shall think proper; that in case of his refusal to call such meeting on a requisition signed by five councillors, the said five councillors may call the meeting themselves; that a summons, specifying the business to be transacted at the meeting, shall always be left at the house of every member of the council three clear days at least before such meeting; that the council may appoint committees of their number, and may make bye-laws and regulations for their direction and government.

The 52d clause gives to the council of every borough to which there shall be granted a separate commission of the peace, the power, either by themselves or by a committee of their number, to license persons to keep ale-houses within the borough, at a special meeting held for that purpose in the month of September in every year. The councillors of any such borough are in this matter to act with all the powers of justices of the peace, as set forth in the Alehouse Licensing Act (the 3d Geo. IV. c. 77).

The clauses from the 56th to the 61st inclusive relate to the important subject of the administration of charitable trusts. The leading enactment upon this subject runs as follows:—"And whereas divers bodies corporate now stand seised or possessed of sundry hereditaments and personal estate, in trust in whole or in part for certain charitable trusts, and it is expedient that the administration thereof be kept distinct from that of the public stock and borough fund; be it enacted, that in every borough in which the body corporate, or any one or more of the members of such body corporate, in his or their corporate capacity, now stands or stand solely seised or possessed, for any estate or interest whatsoever, of any hereditaments or any sums of money, chattels, securities for money, or any other personal estate whatsoever, in whole or part, in trust or for the benefit of any charitable uses or trusts whatsoever, the council of such borough shall, on the 1st day of November in this and every succeeding year, nominate from among the burgesses of such borough a fit number of persons, not less than fifteen persons, of whom the mayor for the time being shall be one, who shall be charitable trustees for such borough, and the said trustees and their successors shall be one body corporate, by the name of The Charitable Trustees of the Borough of (as the case may be), and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall be enabled to sue and be sued in all courts and places of judicature within these realms, and shall stand seised and possessed of the said hereditaments, sums of money, chattels, securities for money and other personal estate, for such uses and trusts respectively as they were subject to before the passing of this Act, and shall have all the powers and liabilities heretofore vested in or belonging to such body corporate or in such member or members of such body corporate in respect of the said uses and trusts; and all the estate, right, interest and title, and all the powers of such body corporate or of such member or members of such body corporate other than the said charitable trustees appointed under the provisions of this Act, in respect of the said uses and trust, shall immediately thereupon utterly cease and determine."

The clauses that follow relate to the appointment of a secretary and other officers by the charitable trustees, and to other matters connected with their discharge of their office.

It is next enacted that the new council shall become trustees of all Acts of Parliament of which the bodies corporate to which they succeed were previously trustees, and that the powers now vested in trustees under sundry other acts of parliament, relating to the paving, lighting, &c., of the boroughs, may also be transferred by the said trustees to the new council.

The clauses from the 65th to the 76th inclusive contain the provisions according to which the council are to superintend the watching of the borough. They are immediately after their election to appoint a watch committee from their own number, of which the mayor shall be one; and this committee shall appoint a sufficient number of constables who shall act not only within the borough, but also within the county, and within every county being within seven miles of any part of the borough. The powers and duties of these constables are defined in general clauses, which, however, we must pass over for the present. Power is also given to any two of the justices of the peace having jurisdiction within the borough to appoint a certain number

of persons to act as special constables in case of need, each to be paid three shillings and sixpence for every day he is called out, from the funds of the borough. Provision is made for continuing the collection of all present rates for watching and lighting.

By the 77th clause the council are empowered to make such bye-laws as to them shall seem meet for the good rule and government of the borough; "provided that no such bye-law shall be of any force until the expiration of forty days after the same, or a copy thereof, shall have been sent, sealed with the seal of the said borough, to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and shall have been affixed on the outer door of the town-hall, or in some other public place within such borough; and if at any time within the said period of forty days, his Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, shall disallow the same bye-law, or any part thereof, such bye law, or the part thereof disallowed, shall not come into operation; provided also, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, at any time within the said period of forty days, to enlarge the time within which such bye-law, if disallowed, shall not come into force; and no such bye-law shall, in that case, come into force until after the expiration of such enlarged time."

We give the 79th clause, relating to the appropriation of the income of the borough, and the power conferred upon the council of levying in certain cases a borough-rate, without abridgment:—"And be it enacted, that after the election of the treasurer in any borough, the rents and profits of all hereditaments, and all moneys, chattels, and valuable securities, belonging to any body corporate named in conjunction with the said boroughs in the said schedules (A and B), shall be paid to the treasurer of such borough, and every fine or penalty for any offence against this Act (the application of which has not been already provided for) shall be paid to such treasurer; and all the moneys which he shall so receive shall be carried by him to the account of a fund to be called the 'Borough Fund;' and such fund shall be applied, from time to time, towards the payment of the interest of any lawful debt due from such body corporate to any person, which shall have been contracted before the passing of this Act, and unredeemed, and subject thereunto, towards the payment of the salary of the mayor, and of the recorder hereinafter mentioned, when there is a recorder, and of the respective salaries of the town-clerk and treasurer, and of every clerk, collector, and other officer whom the council shall appoint, and also toward the payment of the expenses incurred, from time to time, in preparing and printing burgess-rolls and ward-lists, and notices, and in other matters attending such elections as are herein mentioned; and in boroughs which shall have a separate court of sessions of the peace, as is hereinafter provided, towards the expenses of the prosecution, maintenance, and punishment of offenders committed from the borough for trial at the sessions of the peace for such borough, and at the assizes for the county in which the borough is situate, and towards such other sum to be paid by such borough to the treasurer of such county, as is hereinafter provided, and towards the expense of maintaining the corporate buildings, and towards the payment of the constables, and of all other expenses, not herein provided for, which shall be necessarily incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of this Act. And in case such fund shall not be sufficient for the purposes aforesaid, the council of the borough is hereby authorized and required, from time to time, to estimate, as correctly as may be, what amount, in addition to such fund, will be sufficient for the purposes aforesaid. And in order to raise the amount so estimated, the said council is hereby authorized and required, from time to time, to order a borough-rate, in the nature of a county-rate, to be made within their borough; and for that purpose the council of such borough shall have within their borough all the powers which any justices of the peace assembled at their general or quarter-sessions in any county in England have within the limits of their commission, by virtue of an Act made in the fifty-fifth year of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled 'An Act to amend an Act of his late Majesty King George the Second, for the more easy assessing, collecting, and levying of county-rates,' or as near thereto as the nature of the case will admit, except as is hereinafter excepted: provided that such council shall not be empowered to receive, hear, or determine any appeal against any such rate; and if any person shall think himself aggrieved by any such rate, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the recorder, hereinafter mentioned, at the next quarter-sessions for the borough in which such rate has been made; or in case there shall be no recorder within such borough, to the justices at the next court or quarter-sessions for the county within which such borough is situate; and such recorder or justices respectively shall have power to hear and determine the same, and to award relief in the premises, as in the case of an appeal against any county-rate. And all such sums levied in pursuance of such borough-rate shall be paid over to the account of the borough-fund."

By subsequent clauses it is provided, that every year, on the 1st of September, two auditors, who are neither members nor officers of the council, shall be chosen by the burgesses;—that these, along with one of the councillors named by the mayor, shall, twice in every year, examine and audit the accounts, both of the treasurer of the council and the treasurer of the charitable trustees; and that abstracts of the accounts of both treasurers shall be annually printed and sold.

The latter part of the Bill consists of a long series of provisions relating to the administration of justice in the boroughs. There are no fewer than thirty-one clauses relating to this subject. We can only here notice some of the most material.

Those of the boroughs to which his Majesty shall at any time hereafter grant licence in that behalf are, from time to time, to name fit persons to receive the commission of justice of peace for the borough; and his Majesty thereupon may commission as many of the persons so named as he shall think fit. The crown may besides appoint one or more salaried magistrates (being barristers of not less than five years' standing) in any borough, the council of which shall pass a bye-law stipulating for the payment of the salaries. It is not to be necessary that the justices appointed under this Act should be qualified by estate, and they are not to sit in courts of gaol-delivery or quarter-sessions, nor to levy rates, nor grant alehouse-licences. The justices of the borough may appoint a clerk, who shall not be a councillor, or the town-clerk, or the clerk of the peace of the borough, nor any person concerned in the prosecution of offenders committed by the borough-justices.

Clause eighty-seventh relates to the appointment of a recorder, and the establishment of a separate court of sessions in certain boroughs: it is as follows:—

"And be it enacted, that the council of every borough which shall be desirous that a separate court of sessions of the peace shall be or continue to be holden in and for such borough, shall signify the same by petition to his Majesty in council, setting forth the grounds of the application, the state of the gaol, and the salary which they are willing to pay to the recorder in that behalf, and if his Majesty shall be pleased thereupon to grant that a separate court of sessions of the peace shall be thenceforward holden in and for such borough, his Majesty may appoint for such borough, or for any two or more of such boroughs conjointly, a fit person, being a barrister-at-law of not less than five years' standing, who shall be and be called the recorder of such borough or boroughs, and shall hold such office during his good behaviour; and his Majesty, upon any vacancy in any such office, may appoint another fit person, being a barrister-at-law of not less than five years' standing, to be the recorder in the place of the person so making such vacancy; and the recorder for the time being of any borough shall be a justice of the peace of and for such borough, and also of and for the county, within which such borough, or any part thereof respectively may be situated, and also of and for every county, within seven miles of any part of such borough, and shall execute the powers and duties of a justice of the peace for the same respectively, although he may not have such qualification by estate as is required by law in the case of any other person being a justice of the peace for a county; and such recorder shall have precedence in all places within the borough of which he may be the recorder, next after the mayor or thereof; and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to direct that an annual salary, not exceeding the sum stated in the petition of the council, shall be paid to such recorder by the treasurer of such borough, out of the borough fund: provided always, that no person, being such recorder as aforesaid, shall be a councillor or police magistrate of any borough of which he shall be recorder: provided also, that in every borough in and for which a separate court of sessions of the peace is now holden, and of which the present recorder or deputy recorder is a barrister of five years standing, the

council may signify in their petition, their desire that such recorder or deputy recorder, being qualified as aforesaid, shall be continued or appointed recorder under the provisions of this Act; and in every such case, if his Majesty shall be pleased to grant a separate court of sessions of the peace to such borough, the recorder or deputy recorder so named in the said petition, shall be the first recorder of such borough under the provisions of this Act."

Once in every quarter of a year at least, the recorder is to hold a court of session of the peace in and for the borough, of which court he shall sit as the sole judge: the mayor, however, in the absence of the recorder, is to open and adjourn the court.

By another clause capital jurisdictions, and all other criminal jurisdictions in boroughs, other than specified in this Act, are abolished.

In all boroughs which have not a separate court of the peace under the Act, the county justices are to have jurisdiction.

After a separate court of the peace has been granted to any borough, it shall be no longer lawful for the justices of the peace of the county to assess that borough to the county rates; but the expenses of the prosecution, maintenance, and punishment of all offenders committed for trial to the county assizes from the borough, shall be defrayed from the borough funds. Such boroughs are in the same manner to pay a proportion to be agreed upon of all other county expenditure.

Another clause (the ninety-eighth) provides for the continuance of the existing borough courts of record, and for the extension of their jurisdiction in certain cases. The council of the borough in which any court of record is held, is to appoint a registrar of such court, and the other necessary officers and servants.

The 101st clause, which appoints who shall be jurors in the borough courts, we give at length:—

"And be it enacted, that every person being a burgess of any borough wherein there shall be a separate court of sessions of the peace, or a court of record for the trial of civil actions (unless he shall be exempt or disqualified otherwise than in respect of property from serving on juries, by virtue of an Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of King George the Fourth, intituled 'An Act for consolidating and amending the Laws relative to Jurors and Juries,') shall be qualified and liable to serve on grand juries in such borough, and also upon juries, for the trial of all issues joined in any court of sessions of the peace, and in any court of record for the trial of civil actions, triable within the borough of which such person shall be a burgess; and the clerk of the peace of every such borough shall give public notice of the time and place of holding every such sessions of the peace ten days at the least before the holding thereof, and shall, seven days at the least before the holding thereof, cause to be summoned a sufficient number of persons, being qualified and liable as aforesaid, to serve as grand jurors at such sessions; and the clerk of the peace and registrar of the court of record respectively shall also cause to be summoned not less than thirty-six, nor more than sixty persons, so qualified and liable as aforesaid, to serve as jurors at every such sessions, and at the holding of every such court of record for the trial of causes; and such summons shall be made by showing to the person to be summoned, or, in case he shall be absent from the usual place of his abode, by leaving with some person therein inhabiting a note in writing, under the hand of such clerk of the peace, or registrar respectively, containing the substance of such summons; and such clerk of the peace shall make out a list of the names of such persons so summoned as grand jurors, and the clerk of the peace and registrar respectively shall also make out a panel of such persons so summoned other than grand jurors; and such list and panel shall respectively contain therein the Christian names and surnames, places of abode, and descriptions of the several persons therein named; and if any person, having been duly summoned to attend on any jury, shall not attend in pursuance of such summons, or, being thrice called, shall not answer to his name, or after his appearance, wilfully withdraw himself from the presence of the court, the court shall impose such fine upon every person so making default (unless some reasonable excuse shall be proved to the satisfaction of the court) as the court shall think meet; and if any person on whom such fine shall be imposed shall refuse to pay the same to the person who shall be authorised by the court to receive the same, it shall be lawful for the court then, or at its next sitting, by order of the court signed by the clerk of the peace or registrar respectively, to cause to be levied, by distress and sale of the goods of the person on whom such fine shall have been imposed, every such fine and the reasonable charges of such distress and sale; and every fine so received, shall be paid to the treasurer of the borough, to be by him carried to the account of the borough fund hereinbefore mentioned: provided nevertheless, that no person shall be summoned to serve as a juror at such sessions or court of record oftener than once in one year."

The borough councillors, justices of the peace, treasurers, and town-clerks, are exempted from serving on juries; and burgesses of boroughs which have quarter sessions are exempted from serving as jurors at county quarter sessions.

By other clauses it is ordered that the council shall, six months after their election, settle a table of the fees to be paid to the clerk of the peace, the clerk to the magistrates, and the registrar and officers of the court of record; and that copies of this table shall be hung up in the several courts.

Other clauses relate to the application of penalties, the limitation of time for the prosecution of offences punishable on summary conviction under the Act, the summoning of offenders, the summoning of witnesses, the competency of witnesses, the mode of levying penalties, the form of conviction, the right of appeal to the quarter sessions against summary convictions under the Act, the quashing of convictions for want of form, or their removal by *certiorari* or otherwise into any of the courts of Westminster (both which are prohibited), the venue in proceedings against persons acting in execution of the Act, the notice of action, the tender of amends, &c.

The 114th clause of the Bill is very important, and runs as follows:—

"And whereas sundry towns of England and Wales are not towns corporate, and it is expedient that several of them should be incorporated; be it enacted, that, if the inhabitants of any town in England and Wales should petition his Majesty to grant to them a charter of incorporation, it shall be lawful for his Majesty, by any such charter, to extend to the inhabitants of any such town all or any of the powers and provisions in this Act contained."

The concluding enactment is the usual one, that the Act may be altered or amended in the present session.

Since the above abstract was drawn up, the bill has been in part discussed by a Committee of the whole House, and a few alterations (chiefly affecting the phraseology) have been made in some of the clauses. We have thought it best, however, not to embarrass the present statement by any notice of what has been done in the course of a revisal which, at the time when we go to press, has only been carried over the first ten or twelve clauses of the bill. When the measure has passed through the Committee, we shall give an account of all the amendments that have been made upon it.

SCHEDULES TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

SCHEDULE (A).

ENGLAND AND WALES.

BOROUGHS which are to have a COMMISSION of the PEACE.

DIVISION I.—BOROUGHS to be divided into WARDS:

Section 1.—Parliamentary boundaries to be taken—

Bath (48) mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Bath.

Bristol (66), mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the city of Bristol.

Exeter (42), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Exeter.

Kingston-upon Hull (48), mayor and burgesses of the town and borough of Kingston-upon-Hull.

Leeds (72), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Leeds, in the county of York

Leicester (45) mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Leicester.

Liverpool (90), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Liverpool.

Macclesfield (39), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Macclesfield.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne (51), mayor and burgesses of the town of Newcastle upon-Tyne, in the county of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Norwich (54), mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Norwich.

Nottingham (54), mayor and burgesses of the town of Nottingham.

Portsmouth (46), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton.

Preston (42), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Preston, in the county palatine of Lancaster.
Stockport (45), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Stockport.
Sunderland (45), mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the borough of Sunderland.
Worcester (36), mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Worcester.
Yarmouth Great (36), mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk.
York (36), mayor and commonalty of the city of York.

Section 2. Boundaries to be declared by the King in Council—

Coventry (36), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Coventry.
Plymouth (39), mayor and commonalty of the borough of Plymouth.

Division II.—Boroughs not to be divided into Wards:

Section 1.—Parliamentary boundaries to be taken—

Aberystwith (18), mayor and burgesses of the town, borough, and liberty of Aberystwith.
Abingdon (21), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Abingdon.
Andover (18), bailiff, approved men, and burgesses of the borough of Andover.
Banbury (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Banbury, in the county of Oxford.
Barnstaple (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough and parish of Barnstaple, in the county of Devon.
Bedford (21), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town of Bedford.
Beverley (24), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Beverley, in the county of York.
Brecon (21), bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Brecon.
Bridgewater (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Bridgewater.
Bridport (21), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Bridport.
Bury St. Edmund's (27), aldermen and burgesses of Bury St. Edmund's, in the county of Suffolk.
Cambridge (33), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Cambridge.
Canterbury (30), mayor and commonalty of the city of Canterbury.
Cardiff (21), bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Cardiff.
Carlisle (33), mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Carlisle.
Carmarthen (24), mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Carmarthen.
Carnarvon (21), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town and borough of Caernarvon.
Chester (33), mayor and citizens of the city of Chester.
Chichester (21), mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester.
Colchester (30), mayor and commonalty of the borough of Colchester.
Dartmouth (18), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Clifton Dartmouth Hardness, in the county of Devon.
Derby (36), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Derby.
Devizes (21), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Devizes.
Dorchester (18), mayor, bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Dorchester, in the county of Dorset.
Dover (30), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Dover.
Durham (24), mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of Durham and Framwelgate.
Gateshead (30), borough holders and freemen of the borough of Gateshead.
Gloucester (27), mayor and burgesses of the city of Gloucester, in the county of the city of Gloucester.
Guildford (18), mayor and burgesses of the town of Guldeford, in the county of Surrey.
Harwich (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Harwich.
Haverfordwest (21), mayor, sheriffs, bailiffs, and burgesses of the county of the town of Haverfordwest, or of the town and county of the town of Haverfordwest.
Hereford (27), mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Hereford.
Ipswich (33), bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the town or borough of Ipswich.
Kendal (27), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Kirby-in-Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland.
Kidderminster, (30), high bailiff and commonalty of the borough of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester.
King's Lynn (27), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Lynn Regis.
Lancaster (30), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the town of Lancaster, in the county palatine of Lancaster.
Lichfield (21), bailiff and citizens of the city of Lichfield.
Lincoln (27), mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Lincoln.
Ludlow (21), bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the town and borough of Ludlow.
Maidstone (30), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the King's town and parish of Maidstone, in the county of Kent.
Monmouth (21), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the town and borough of Monmouth.
Neath (18), portreeve, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Neath.
Newark (24), mayor and aldermen of the borough of Newark, in the county of Nottingham.
Newcastle-under-Lyne (24), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyne, in the county of Stafford.
Newport, Isle of Wight (21), mayor, aldermen, and chief burgesses of the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in the county of Southampton.
Newport, Monmouth (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Newport.
Northampton (30), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Northampton.
Oxford (33), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Oxford, in the county of Oxford.
Pembroke (21), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town and borough of Pembroke.
Penzance (21), mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the town of Penzance, in the county of Cornwall.
Pontefract (24), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough or town of Pontefract.
Poole (21), mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the town of Poole.
Reading (30), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Reading, in the county of Berks.
Richmond (18), mayor and aldermen of the borough of Richmond, in the county of York.
Ripon (21), mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Ripon, in the county of York.
Rochester (27), mayor and citizens of the city of Rochester, in the county of Kent.
St. Alban's (21), mayor and aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford.
Sarum, New (27), mayor and commonalty of the city of New Sarum, in the county of Wilts.
Scarborough (24), bailiffs and burgesses of the town of Scarborough.
Shrewsbury (30), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Shrewsbury, in the county of Salop.
Southampton (33), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town of Southampton.
Stafford (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Stafford.
Stamford (21), mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the town or borough of Stamford, in the county of Lincoln.
Swansea (30), burgesses of the borough of Swansea.
Tewkesbury (21), bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Tewkesbury, in the county of Gloucester.
Tiverton (24), mayor and burgesses of the town and parish of Tiverton, in the county of Devon.
Truro (24), mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the borough of Truro.
Warwick (24), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Warwick.
Wells (18), mayor, masters, and burgesses of the city or borough of Wells, in the county of Somerset.
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis (24), mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough and town of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in the county of Dorset.
Wigan (33), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Wigan.
Winchester (24), mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Winchester.
Windsor (21), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, in the county of Berks.

Section 2.—Boundaries to be declared by the King in Council—

Alnwick (18), chamberlains, common council, and burgesses of the borough of Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland.
Berwick-upon-Tweed (27), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed.
Bideford (18), mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the borough, town, and manor of Bideford, in the county of Devon.
Boston (27), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Boston.
Bridgenorth (21), bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Bridgenorth.
Clitheroe (21), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Clitheroe, in the county of Lancaster.
Congleton (24), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Congleton, in the county of Chester.
Deal (21), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town of Deal, in the county of Kent.
Doncaster (27), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Doncaster, in the county of York.
Falmouth (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Falmouth, in the county of Cornwall.
Grantham (24), aldermen and burgesses of the town or borough of Grantham.
Gravesend (24), mayor, jurats, and inhabitants of the villages and parishes of Gravesend and Milton, in the county of Kent.
Grimsby (18), mayor and burgesses of the town of Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln.

Hastings (18), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Hastings, in the county of Sussex.
Hertford (21), mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the borough of Hertford.
Kingston-upon-Thames (21), bailiffs and freemen of the borough of Kingston-upon Thames.
Leominster (18), bailiff and burgesses of the borough of Leominster.
Liskeard (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Liskerret, otherwise Liskeard, in the county of Cornwall.
Llanelly (18), portreeve and burgesses of the borough of Llanelly, in the county of Carmarthen.
Louth (21), warden and six assistants of the town of Louth, and Free School of King Edward VI., in Louth.
Newbury (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Newbury.
Oswestry (21), mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and burgesses of Oswestry.
Romford (21), tenants and inhabitants of Havering-atte-Bower.
Romsey (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Romsey, *infra*, in the county of Southampton.
St. Ives (21), mayor and burgesses of the borough of St. Ives.
Saffron Walden (21), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Saffron Walden.
Sudbury (21), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Sudbury.
Walsall (30), mayor and commonalty of the borough and foreign of Walsall, in the county of Stafford.
Welchpool (18), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Welchpool.
Wenlock (27), burgesses of the borough of Wenlock.
Wisbech (21), burgesses of the borough of Wisbech.

SCHEDULE (B).

ENGLAND AND WALES.

BOROUGHS which have not a COMMISSION of the PEACE, unless on Petition and Grant.

Section 1.—Parliamentary Boundaries to be taken—

Cardigan (18), mayor, common council, and burgesses of the town and borough of Cardigan.
Denbigh (18), aldermen, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Denbigh.
Evesham (18), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Evesham.
Maldon (18), mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses and commonalty of Maldon.

Section 2.—Boundaries to be settled by the King in Council—

Arundel (15), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Arundel.
Basingstoke (18), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town of Basingstoke, in the county of Southampton.
Beaumaris (15), mayor, bailiff, and burgesses of the borough of Beaumaris.
Beccles (18), portreeve, surveyors and commonalty of the Fen of Beccles, in the county of Suffolk.
Bewdley (21), bailiffs, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town and borough of Bewdley.
Bodmin (21), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Bodmin, in the county of Cornwall.
Buckingham (18), bailiff and burgesses of the borough and parish of Buckingham, in the county of Buckingham.
Calne (15), guild stewards and burgesses of the borough of Calne.
Chard (15), portreeve and burgesses of the borough of Chard, in the county of Somerset.
Chesterfield (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Chesterfield.
Chippenham (18), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Chippenham, in the county of Wilts.
Chipping Norton (15), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Chipping Norton, in the county of Oxford.
Daventry (18), bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Daventry, in the county of Northampton.
Droitwich (18), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Wych, otherwise Droitwich, in the county of Worcester.
Eye (15), bailiff, burgesses, and commonalty of the town and burgh of Eye.
Faversham (18), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town of Faversham.
Folkestone (18), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town of Folkestone.
Flint (15), mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Flint.
Glastonbury (15), mayor and burgesses of the town of Glastonbury, in the county of Somerset.
Godalming (18), warden and inhabitants of the town of Godalming.
Godmanchester (15), bailiffs, assistants and commonalty of the borough of Cirencester, alias Godmanchester.
Helstone (18), mayor and commonalty of the borough of Helston.
Henley-upon-Thames (15), mayor, aldermen, bridgemen, and burgesses of Henley-upon-Thames.
Huntingdon (21), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Huntingdon.
Hythe (15), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Hythe, in the county of Kent.
Llanidloes (15), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Llanidloes.
Launceston (15), mayor and commonalty of the borough of Dunncheved, otherwise Launceston.
Lyme Regis (15), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Lyme, in the county of Dorset.
Lymington (15), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Lymington.
Machynlleth.
Maidenhead (15), mayor, bridgemasters, and burgesses of the town of Maydenheth.
Malmesbury (18), aldermen and capital burgesses of the borough of Malmesbury.
Marlborough (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough and town of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.
Morpeth (18), bailiffs and burgesses of the borough of Morpeth, in the county of Northumberland.
Penryn (21), mayor and burgesses of Penryn, in the county of Cornwall.
Radnor, New (15), bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of New Radnor.
Retford, East (15), bailiffs and burgesses of East Retford, in the county of Nottingham.
Ruthin, aldermen and burgesses of the borough of Ruthin.
Rye (18), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the ancient town of Rye.
Sandwich (18), mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Sandwich, in the county of Kent.
Shaftesbury (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Shafton, otherwise Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset.
Southwold (15).
South Molton (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough and parish of South Molton, in the county of Devon.
Stockton (15), mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Stockton.
Stratford-on-Avon (18), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon.
Sutton Coldfield (18), warden and Society of the royal town of Sutton Coldfield.
Tamworth (18), bailiffs and commonalty of the borough of Tamworth.
Tenby (15), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Tenby.
Tenterden (18), mayor, jurats, and commons of the town and hundred of Tenterden, in the county of Kent.
Thetford (18), mayor of the borough of Thetford.
Torrington (18), mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough and town of Great Torrington, in the county of Devon.
Totnes (18), mayor and burgesses of the borough of Totnes, in the county of Devon.
Wallingford (15), mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Wallingford.
Wycombe, Chepping (18), mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Chipping Wycombe (otherwise Wicombe), in the county of Buckingham.
Yeovil (15), portreeve and burgesses of the borough of Yeovil, in the county of Somerset.

AMENDMENT OF THE MARRIAGE LAW.

FROM various measures which are either already before the legislature, or which have been announced as about to be brought forward, it appears that the attention of the public is likely to be immediately called to more than one branch of that important, extensive, and complicated subject, the Marriage Law. Besides the great question of the marriages of dissenters, which must be set at rest as soon as possible, there is the motion of which Lord Brougham has given notice for a revision of the whole marriage law of Scotland, and there is also the bill which has been brought into the House of Lords by Lord Lyndhurst, for amending in certain respects the law respecting marriages contracted by persons within the prohibited degrees. But valuable as the partial improvements thus contemplated may be in themselves, it may be hoped that they will work still greater benefit by leading eventually, through the general attention to the subject which they will excite, to a revision and consolidation of the whole of our law of marriage, which in almost all its parts is in the most perplexed and unsatisfactory state. If we had to begin upon an entirely new foundation, this subject, considered as a matter of legislation, would not present any inherent difficulties of much consequence. But our existing marriage law is a mass of confusion and uncertainty, in consequence of the irregular manner in which it has been allowed to grow up, and the inefficiency of the arrangements that have been made from time to time to meet the emergencies that have arisen. The principal points in which the law requires amendment may be thus enumerated:—

1. The law as to the parties between whom, in any circumstances, marriage may take place and subsist, ought to be revised. The canon law has adopted upon this head the ordinances of the Levitical law, and has even extended the prohibition against the marriages of kindred in some cases beyond the limits laid down by the Jewish legislator.

This portion of the canon law is understood to have been received into the law of England by a statute of Henry the Eighth. By this statute also all questions relating to marriage have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical courts. In the course of the contest, however, between the principles of the ecclesiastical and of the civil law, some strange and almost contradictory results have evolved themselves. For instance, while, on the one hand, a marriage between persons within the prohibited degrees is held to be so far illegal, that, if proceeded against in the ecclesiastical courts by parties competent to stir in the matter, it must be dissolved, it is held to be so far legal on the other hand, that it will stand good to all intents and purposes if not so questioned, or even if either of the parties to it should die before a decision shall have been pronounced in the case. Thus, of three such marriages it may happen, that the first shall never be questioned at all, there being either no parties in existence that have a right to proceed against it, or the persons that have such a right neglecting to exercise it, or being disinclined to do so, or being bribed or otherwise induced to remain quiet: that a suit shall be brought to dissolve the second, which however shall be interrupted and put an end to before judgment has been pronounced, by the death of one of the parties to the marriage, in both which cases the children of the marriage shall be legitimate, shall inherit property, and shall enjoy all the other rights of legitimacy; while the third marriage shall be dissolved, and the issue bastardised. No length of time during which the marriage may have subsisted is here any protection either to the parents or their children; nay, either of the parents may, when he or she pleases, desert the other, and their common offspring, and by his or her own agency procure a dissolution of the marriage. One result of this contradictory state of the law is, that such marriages have come to be not very unfrequently contracted. As the law only censures and dissolves them, when it has as it were been forced to notice them, and in all other cases not only tolerates them, but accords them its sanction and protection, it is natural that their immorality should often be considered as rather artificial or accidental than real. In so far as they are essentially immoral and wrong, such a misapprehension is undoubtedly a very great evil: and it would be no slight evil, even if it should be alleged that the thing in question was in some of its forms only made wrong by the declaration of the law. The object of Lord Lyndhurst's bill is to legalize all marriages of this description that now subsist; in other words, to place the few against whom libels have been, or, in the present state of the law would be, exhibited in the ecclesiastical courts, in the same secure position with the much greater number that have not been, and never will be so assailed. But, although such a measure will be no more than an act of justice in so far as it goes, it will be far from placing this part of the law of marriage on the foundation on which it ought to stand. For the future it will be necessary to declare what marriages shall be legal, and what shall be illegal, in all circumstances. As, however, to prohibit absolutely all such marriages as may now only be dissolved by a process which is much more frequently neglected than resorted to, would be greatly to increase the severity of the present law; it will probably be found expedient to reconsider the whole law of marriages within the prohibited degrees, with a view to its relaxation in such of its enactments as may be found least accordant with modern feelings and opinions. It may be safely announced that few intelligent persons will now think it requisite that this matter should be regulated in our times in England simply according to the ceremonial institutions of the Jews. The considerations which make marriages between persons nearly related to each other improper may be either physiological or moral. In a large class of such marriages, namely, those between persons connected with each other by what the lawyers call *affinity*, that is, relationship not of blood but by marriage, the physiological objection does not exist. In regard to those therefore it only remains to consider what is the value of the moral objection. The principle of the canon law, and also that of the present law of England, is, that, when a man and a woman marry, all the relations by consanguinity of each become the relations in the same degree of the other, and no marriage can ever afterwards take place within the prohibited degrees between either and the new relations thus acquired. It is in this way that a man is prevented, for instance, after the death of his wife, from marrying her sister, or her niece, or rather that such a marriage, if it be made, is liable to be dissolved by a judgment of the ecclesiastical courts. In revising this part of the law it may be matter for consideration whether the principle in question might not with advantage be relaxed in some degree. But at all events it will hardly be disputed that, whatever rule shall be laid down, it ought to be one, framed, not merely for the accommodation of certain individuals, but with the view of preventing generally the offences against which it is directed. The marriages which it is held desirable to prohibit should be declared illegal, and as such null and void, whether they be questioned or not.

2. The next part of the law of marriage that requires revisal is that which relates to the celebration of the ceremony, or the manner of giving legal effect to the contract. This embraces of course the question of the marriages of the great body of dissenters, whom nothing has yet been done to relieve from the necessity of having their marriages performed according to the ritual of the established church, and also whatever points may still remain undetermined in regard to the marriages of Jews, of Quakers, and of Catholics in Ireland, who have been at least partially exempted from that necessity. Undoubtedly, the form which alone the law requires ought to be one perfectly unobjectionable to all religious sects—the members of each of which should be left to add whatever further ceremony they may severally think fit. Some regular form the state is entitled to demand in order to secure the publicity of a transaction which it undertakes to maintain, and which is deeply interesting in its consequences to many persons besides the actual parties to it; but more than is sufficient for that end the state has no right to insist upon.

3. A large portion of the perplexity of the present marriage law of this country arises from the discordance that there is between the law of England and the law of Scotland on this subject. What makes a marriage in Scotland does not make a marriage in England, and what dissolves a marriage in the former country does not dissolve it in the latter. But as the two countries are perfectly united, and the natives or inhabitants of both are in all respects equal in the eye of the law, it has been generally supposed that any legal act done in the one is binding also in the other. Thus, a marriage between two natives of England, performed in Scotland, and according to the Scottish form (which is scarcely any form at all), is commonly held to be a good marriage even in England, although it may have been effected in evasion, or in direct defiance of the law of that part of the kingdom; and in like manner, if an English married couple can contrive to get themselves divorced in Scotland, (where that process also is a very easy and expeditious one,) it is contended by many that the marriage is equally to all intents and purposes dissolved in England. Even if all the points thus arising were clearly and incontrovertibly settled, the inconvenience and evil would obviously be very great of having two codes of law respecting such a matter thus clashing with and running counter to each other—two sets of rights, two sets of duties and obligations, the choice of the one of which amounts (for this is really the fact) to a direct rejection of, and rebellion against the other, while yet everybody is allowed to choose which he pleases. It is plain that no law upon the subject at all, or at least no second law affecting to restrict the greater liberty given by the first, would be preferable to such a state of things. In that case the law, such as it was, would at least be obeyed, which now it is not except by such as choose, and by those who cannot afford the expense of a journey to Scotland to escape from its jurisdiction. But this is only a part, and a small part of the evil. Notwithstanding many decisions, several most important points, arising out of the conflict of the two laws, must still be considered as by no means settled; and as cases attended with new circumstances present themselves, new doubts and puzzles are constantly turning up. We do not yet know the whole force and effect in England, either of a Scotch marriage or of a Scotch divorce. Would the former legitimize children previously born to the parties in England, as it undoubtedly would do their children so born in Scotland? Would it in all cases entitle even the children born subsequent to it to inherit English property and English honours? Suppose the case of a nobleman holding a Scotch and English title, both descendible to his eldest son, to have married a woman by whom he leaves one son born before marriage and another after it, would his Scotch peerage fall to the former and his English to the latter? or would the former

inheritance, or would anything depend upon the circumstance of whether the eldest son was born in Scotland or in England? We believe any one of these questions might yet give rise to much litigation. The effect of a Scotch divorce, in the case of an English marriage, is perhaps still less ascertained. Does it really dissolve such a marriage to all purposes, or even to any purpose? Is either party, after obtaining such a divorce, perfectly safe in contracting a new marriage? Suppose the woman so divorced were afterwards to have a child under circumstances under which in ordinary cases the law would or might presume that it was her first husband's, would the fact of the Scotch divorce take that case out of the ordinary rule, or might not the child so born still take that husband's name, and claim to inherit his property or his honours? We need not say that cases involving such questions as these, are, in the present state of the law, by no means of unlikely occurrence.

4. The operation of marriages between English subjects, performed abroad or in certain of the colonies, is another matter which might also perhaps in some respects be found to require clearing up. There is more difficulty than there appears to be at first sight in the application of the principle commonly recognized, that a marriage which would be accounted good in the country where it took place, must be accounted, to all intents and purposes, good here also. We have seen that even in the case of Scotch marriages, it is still somewhat doubtful if this principle is to be regarded as holding to its full extent. But two English subjects may get themselves married, or what they call or one of them calls married, in a country where the business is commonly gone about with even still less of form than the law demands in Scotland. For example, what would the English courts say to a marriage said to have taken place between two of his Majesty's subjects, while residing with some tribe of negroes in the interior of Africa, or among the savages of New Zealand—where perhaps no particular form at all may be observed—or the form may be one altogether revolting to our notions—such as the forcible abduction of the woman, or even the compulsory union of the two, without the consent, at the time, of either? Would such a marriage stand good here on the ground that it was good in the country where it was thus unceremoniously or barbarously solemnized? Again, is it quite determined in what manner an Englishman must be married even in some of our own colonies, or foreign possessions? In India, for instance, where a branch of the church has been established, would marriages performed by all descriptions of dissenting clergymen be valid? or might Scotch residents be married, as in their own country, without a clergyman at all? or runaway English couples by a blacksmith, as they do at Gretna Green? or, finally, would a marriage between English people, solemnized there according to the ritual of the Mahometans or the Hindoos, be held by the English law to be in all respects a proper English marriage?

5. In the present state of the law almost as many questions might be raised about what dissolves as about what makes a marriage. We have already slightly touched upon this head in noticing the discrepancy between the English and Scotch laws of marriage: but the whole difficulty does not arise from that. Can an English marriage, in fact, be completely dissolved, that is, so as to leave the parties at liberty to marry again, by a judgment of the law authorities of any other country? or if a judgment of the Scotch courts is to be held as having this force, in consequence of the union and incorporation of the two countries, is a divorce obtained in a foreign country to be equally effectual? or is the rule to be that a marriage, universally, can only be dissolved by the same law according to which it was constituted—English marriages by the English law, Scotch marriages by the Scotch law, French marriages by the French law, &c.? Or would parties, who had been married elsewhere, be allowed, so long as they resided in England, to avail themselves even of the right which that rule would give them? Would a Scotch or a French divorce dissolve even a Scotch or a French marriage in England?

6. In the general consolidation and amendment of the law of marriage, the principles of the present law, as to the nature and effect of marriage, might perhaps in some respects be advantageously altered and liberalized. In particular, it might be worth consideration, whether on the one hand the rule of the canon law ought not to be adopted according to which children previously born become legitimate on the marriage of their parents, (as is at present the case in Scotland,) and on the other, whether the complete dissolution of a marriage for sufficient reasons might not be allowed to be effected without the necessity of a resort to Parliament—a remedy, in many respects, of the most objectionable description.

THE DANISH CLAIMS.

The subject of what are called the *Danish Claims*—that is, the claims of certain British merchants for compensation on account of losses sustained in consequence of the attack made on Denmark by this country in 1807—is about to be this session again brought before Parliament by Mr. Hutt, one of the members for Hull. The honourable gentleman has, without naming any particular day for his motion, given notice that he will call the attention of the House of Commons to these claims, as far as relates to ships, cargoes, and goods, on the House going into a Committee of Supply.

In 1807, whilst England and Denmark were at peace, with very extensive mercantile dealings between the countries, and ambassadors residing at the respective courts, the English Government, from an apprehension that the Danish fleet then lying at Copenhagen might be made use of by Buonaparte in his war against this country, sent out a secret expedition to take possession of that fleet without a previous declaration of war, or any aggression committed by the Danish Government. The object of the expedition was accomplished, and war ensued between the countries. The immediate consequences of that war were the confiscations of British and Danish property in the respective hostile countries; of Danish to the amount of nearly a million and a half, which became droits of the Admiralty; and of English, from which the present claims originate, to the amount of about 100,000*l.*

Whether the conduct of the British Government towards Denmark was justifiable or not, is immaterial with reference to the justice of the present claims. The suddenness of the unprecedented attack on that country, which allowed of no precautionary measures being taken by persons who had property in Denmark, with the large amount of Danish property confiscated in England, which afforded ample means for compensating those persons for the loss of that property, may be held to justify a part of that property being so appropriated, more especially as this Government promised to reserve a portion of the droits so acquired as a fund for the compensation of claimants.* Able reasoners have maintained, indeed, that 'the only ground on which the disposal of droits being left to the crown was justified, was that they should be kept as a fund for compensating British subjects for losses sustained at the breaking out of a war.' (*Speech of Mr. Warburton in the House of Commons on 4th July*, 1828.) The claims in question not only come within the rule thus laid down, but if necessary it might be contended that as the attack, from its unprecedented character, could not have been foreseen or guarded against by the caution of the most prudent merchant, the claimants would on that ground be entitled to compensation out of the public purse. This, however, is unnecessary, as there was an ample fund from which to make them compensation.

When the expedition against Copenhagen was determined upon by this Government, it followed that all British property in Denmark subject to confiscation by the law of nations, would be sequestrated as soon as that determination became known to the government of the latter country; and admitting it to have been impracticable, consistently with the success of the expedition, to give notice to British merchants to withdraw their property, yet it was certainly a matter of peculiar hardship, and of dangerous refinement in government stratagism, that after the expedition had been determined upon, there not only was no publicity given to that determination, but Admiralty licenses were granted to British merchants freighting vessels to Denmark, down to, and even subsequently to the sailing of the expedition. This deception—for even if justifiable it was nothing else—seems to place the sufferers in the most favourable position to entitle them to compensation out of the before-mentioned droits of the Admiralty, or out of the public purse if those droits are disposed of.

Such is one ground on which compensation is claimed

* See Resolutions of public meeting of claimants on 26th January, 1829.

for all kinds of British property confiscated in Denmark, whether sent there before or after the expedition in question was determined upon. But one class of the claimants have not only this general ground of justice to entitle them to compensation out of the Admiralty droits, but from the unprecedented conduct pursued towards them by the Danish government, against the law of nations, their claims should have been provided for by the government so offending against national law, before peace was concluded with that government. This is the principle recognised and adopted between nations, and if the British Government neglected to take care of the interests of its subjects, they have a right to compensation out of the public purse.

This last-mentioned class of claimants consist as well of the owners of English good son shore in Denmark, as of the merchants to whom book debts were owing by Danish subjects on the breaking out of the war; for the Danish government, exasperated by the nature of the attack on the part of this country, did not confine itself to seizing the description of property which, according to national law, was liable to confiscation, but confiscated also goods on shore, the property of English subjects, contrary to the common usage of nations; and after issuing an ordinance of 9th September, 1807, requiring its subjects to return into the Treasury a list of all book debts due to British subjects, gave discharges for the amount of the debts so given in.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the illegality of the conduct of the Danish government in these proceedings. Lord Ellenborough, in delivering judgment in the Court of King's Bench in 1816, upon an action brought by a British creditor against a Danish debtor who happened to come to this country, said, 'that such confiscation was not general at any period of time; that no instance of it, except the ordinance in question, was to be found for more than a century; and that the judgment of the court would be pregnant with mischief to future times, if they did not declare the ordinance and the payment under it did not furnish a defence to the action.' (*Maule and Selwyn's Reports*, vol. vi. p 106.) On the subject of the confiscation of the goods on shore which were confiscated by the Danish government, we have seen an opinion of Dr. Lushington to this effect,—'That it is not the common usage on the breaking out of war to seize the goods on shore of private individuals, subjects of the state become hostile. In this respect *I think there is no essential distinction between goods seized on shore and book debts;* nor do I see any just cause for holding that goods were not equally comprehended with book debts within the third additional article of the Treaty of Kiel. I think goods seized on shore were within the treaty.'

Upon the ordinance in question being made, and all the goods on shore being seized, the claimants appointed a committee, of which the late Sir Charles Price was the chairman, to communicate with the Government of this country with the view to procuring compensation for their losses. Their claim was met by ministers alleging that to grant compensation at that time would be recognising the legality of the ordinance and seizure; but although no immediate relief could be given, yet that *no treaty of peace would be made with Denmark until the property so illegally confiscated was compensated for.*

We by no means admit the validity of the reason here advanced by Government, as it must be obvious that, although it had at once compensated the claimants, the doing so, whilst it probably would have saved from ruin many respectable individuals, could not have operated to prevent the Government from insisting on compensation from Denmark before making peace with that country. If the objection was started merely to keep the Admiralty droits at the disposal of Government, by postponing the compensation until peace between the countries, the object has been tolerably well accomplished. Nearly thirty years have elapsed without the claimants having procured any compensation; and now that many of them are dead, and many are altogether ruined, there appears to be some disposition altogether to avoid making any compensation, in consequence of the lapse of time since the losses were sustained. Such a result could never have been anticipated when the answer of the Government was first received. However, the objection had the effect of inducing the claimants to desist from urging their claims at the time, and to depend on the Government procuring them justice as soon as possible.

In 1814 a treaty of peace was concluded between this country and Denmark; and the British sufferers having, from the representations of Government during the preceding seven years, looked forward to that event, as the means of enabling the Government to get justice done them, applied to know how their claims had been provided for. In answer to the application, a letter was received from the Privy Council, dated the 20th September, 1814, which stated 'that the treaty contained an article on the subject of sequestrations,' and the parties were instructed how to proceed respecting them.

Incredible as it may appear, it was found on reference to the article referred to in the treaty, that so far from taking care of the interests of the British claimants, by securing compensation from the Danish government for the illegal confiscations, the treaty of peace actually precluded the possibility of justice being done to them, by recognising the legality of the confiscations made by the Danish government, and by handing over the claimants for justice to the Danish law courts. The eleventh article of the treaty declared, 'that all sequestrated property, *not already confiscated*, should be restored on each side.' The effect of this was to recognise what had been confiscated, and it may be fairly concluded that, after the lapse of seven years, all the property was confiscated, and that the words were introduced to give a colour to the transaction.

Let us pause here for a moment to notice the situation of the Danish debtor. Many of these debtors—some of them from preferring that the money should remain in their own pockets, others rightly conceiving that the before-mentioned Danish ordinance, being at variance with the law of nations, would be no defence to an action by a British creditor—had omitted to pay the amount of their debts into the Danish Treasury; but as soon as the nature of the article in the treaty of peace was known, they in great numbers hastened to get discharges for their debts, before the treaty was ratified. These discharges were procured by payment of from one to two per cent. of the actual amount of the debts, such being the effect of the alteration in the rate of exchange since 1807.

Thus, the British negociator, not contented with recognising the illegal Danish confiscations of British property, actually invited the Danish debtors to get rid of their outstanding debts, by making the above trifling payment for their discharge before the treaty was ratified!

The most singular feature attending this mismanaged affair, is, that after the interest of the British merchants had been abandoned by their Government, the effect of Lord Ellenborough's decision was such, that the King of Sweden —which country as to the claims then stood in the place of Denmark—felt it necessary to give up the advantage ground conceded by the British negociator, from the impracticability of continuing mercantile dealings between the countries without paying the old debts. The Swedish government 'resolved to repay to the Danish debtors the amount paid into the States Treasury, provided they on their parts will engage to settle with their British creditors.'

Although this convenient act of justice by Sweden, was done with a bad grace, yet it was better than no justice. But what can be thought of our own Government, after its professions of insisting on compensation before concluding peace, actually throwing overboard the interest of its subjects, and leaving to the Swedish government to do half justice to them, from the impracticability without doing so of securing the advantages of subsequent dealings between the countries?

There cannot, we conceive, be a shadow of doubt in the breast of any person with a sense of right and wrong, that not to compensate the claimants for '*book debts*' and '*goods on shore*,' so illegally confiscated, would be 'downright robbery,' as it has been stigmatized by Mr. Hume. That the Government of this country have evaded doing justice to these claimants from 1807 to the present time, instead of being any justification for the continuance of the injustice, should be viewed as an aggravation of it.

But let us now consider the claims for compensation of another class of British merchants, on a distinct ground from the preceding—that is, from the Danish property confiscated in this country, applicable for such compensation, being ten times the amount required. In this class we include all those whose losses arose from ships or goods *afloat*, seized and confiscated in Denmark. These goods we admit to have been properly dealt with after war was

declared between the countries; and therefore that it is necessary to establish peculiar circumstances, with reference to those losses, before the Government would be justified in appropriating the public property to make them good, if it should be found that the Admiralty droits, from being expended, are beyond the control of Parliament. The grounds on which we think that these claimants are equally entitled to compensation with those for 'book debts' and 'goods *on shore*,' are,

1st. That the attack on Copenhagen, to seize the Danish fleet, which led to the confiscation of British property, was of an unprecedented character.

2nd. That the English Government, by licensing vessels to take British goods to Denmark, after determining upon the expedition, became parties to a deception by which the vessels and goods were lost.

3rd. That from the hopes held out by Government of compensation to the claimants generally at the peace, without distinguishing between the different classes, 'expectations were in consequence excited.' This was admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goulburn) in the House of Commons, on 4th July, 1828, on discussing the petition of Mr. Shillito, one of the claimants.

4th. That a part of the Danish property confiscated should have been converted into a fund with which to compensate these losses.

The manner in which these claims have been viewed by Government, and in the House of Commons, in the course of frequent discussions on their character, is curious, as showing the mutable nature of political justice!

In 1808, and subsequently, the before mentioned committee of the claimants had frequent communications with ministers. Innumerable petitions were presented by claimants to the House of Commons—the Treasury, the Privy Council, &c. The object of the answers appears to have been to delay a settlement with the claimants, on the pretence of its being necessary to wait for a treaty of peace with Denmark; yet this government made repeated assurances from time to time to the claimants, through their chairman Sir Charles Price, "that the distribution of a portion of the proceeds of the Danish property confiscated should be postponed on their behalf."

In 1814 peace came, but without any attendant blessings to the claimants; the Ministers of that year had got different ideas of justice from the Ministers of 1808; the lapse of six years had effected the change; and both the ministers of this country and of Denmark then agreed in one view of the subject, namely, that they would not give up any part of the property of the subjects of each other, which by confiscation had come to their hands, in order to compensate the losses of those subjects;—so that on the negociation for peace, it was agreed to between both governments that each should return the property *not actually confiscated*—very much after the manner of the negociations of thieves, for returning to those they have plundered goods *not actuallly melted!*

In 1817, a petition on the part of Mr. Shillito, one of the claimants, was presented to the House of Commons; when Lord Bexley, one of the ministers of that day, apparently at a loss what to say to gain further time—said—"he was not prepared to take the case into consideration *immediately*." This occurred ten years subsequently to the wrong committed! And if his lordship had added, that he hoped by the death, or ruin of all the climants, he would not be under the painful necessity of taking into consideration at all, the doing justice to British merchants, his speech would have been complete.

In 1823, Mr. Canning's ideas of justice came into operation; he thought "that the claim for compensation could only be recommended to the liberal consideration of the Swedish government, and under circumstances of great *delicacy* on the part of His Majesty's government."

In 1828, Sir James Mackintosh brought the claims before the House of Commons; and on that occasion we find the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day (Mr. Goulburn) saying, "that in consequence of the claimants having been told by government, that they must wait for negociations for peace, he did not mean to deny, that expectations were in consequence excited."

In 1830, Mr. Goulburn probably conceiving that in his former admission he had been carried away by his feelings of commiseration for the British sufferers, "now denied that any pledge had been given to liquidate those claims; if done, it would open the door to innumerable other claims."

In 1834, Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, in his place in the House of Commons, upon a motion by Mr. Parker for a committee to inquire into the claims, that the claim of the British sufferers was either against the Danish government, or against the droits of the Admiralty. In the treaty of Kiel no provision was made by this government to secure the rights of those parties; therefore these claims, if they existed at all,—existed then against the droits of the Admiralty. "It is perfectly true," he then proceeded, "by the capture of Copenhagen a large sum of money was realized by the crown as admiralty droits, and it does appear to me that, as it did not please this government to protect the rights of these individuals at the time of making the treaty of peace with Denmark, and as the crown by the same transaction which deprived these gentlemen of their property acquired considerable property in its own hands, the property so acquired ought to have been answerable for the loss sustained by British subjects by that transaction. But the question, since the accession of his present Majesty, has assumed in a great degree a different aspect. The droits of the crown have been expended in different ways since the period of 1814; and the claim now made by these gentlemen is not against the crown for droits which were the private property of the crown, but it is against the people of England who never received one farthing of their droits. I confess that looking at the case in this point of view—finding that the administration who concluded the treaty of peace at Kiel, and the different administrations who have succeeded it, did not feel it their duty to meet these claims, and considering that the money is no longer forthcoming to liquidate them, I do not feel justified in proposing to this house to tax the people of England for that purpose. The question has been very properly brought forward by the honorable gentleman (Mr. Parker) and it will be for the house to decide whether it will or not adopt his proposition. I feel it is a great hardship upon these claimants, but yet I do not think that, as a minister of the crown, I should do justice, under the circumstances I have stated, to grant this sum, and to charge the people of England with that for which they are not, in any respect, liable." *Mirror of Parliament of 16th May, 1834.*

Lord Viscount Morpeth, after adverting to the admission by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the justice of the claims and to his wish to throw the case into other hands, went on to say, "That when my noble friend reflects that this is essentially a commercial country, he must feel, as a minister of England, that what is asked is an act of justice to be done, and not of favour to be shown, to those who, under the guarantee of our flag, embarked in commercial pursuits with foreign nations."

Other members of parliament having followed in a similar strain, their unanimity again called forward the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, after adverting to that unanimity, said, *that measures should be taken to pay such claims as may be found to be just.* "I certainly felt," he added, "throughout the discussion, that it was impossible to resist the justice of those claims; at the same time I did not think I ought, individually and without the sanction of the house, take upon myself the responsibility of proposing their liquidation."

We cannot believe that Lord Althorp, after admitting the justice of the claims generally, could be serious in saying, that in consequence of the Admiralty droits being expended by the crown, the claimants could have no redress; for as his lordship made no distinction, this would be, in our opinion, a direct denial of justice, inasmuch as the claims for book debts and goods *ashore* constitute an undoubted valid claim against the public, from the oversight of a preceding government in not getting them compensated by Denmark. To oppose justice on the ground of its not having been done by preceding ministers, is a convenient way of perpetuating wrong when once committed; but this country is not yet in the condition that it cannot meet the "just claims" of its creditors. It can never be forgotten that upon Mr. Parker withdrawing his motion for a committtee on the claims, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave this pledge, THAT MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN TO PAY SUCH CLAIMS AS SHOULD BE FOUND TO BE JUST. We concede the necessity of limiting the compensation to just claims, but after prolonged delay and the torturing hopes excited, [illegible] limitation would be both hardship and injustice.

priety of compensating just claims is admitted on all hands; do not let us reckon the cost; to do so would indeed justify the charge sometimes brought against us of being a nation of pedlars. Even Mr. Hume said, "If the Admiralty droits are expended, and there are no means thereby to grant compensation, we are bound to lay a tax for that purpose; for the claim was one founded in strict justice."*

CRIMINAL OFFENCES.

HITHERTO legislation for the prevention of crime has been but unsystematically pursued in this country; insulated efforts have been and are occasionally made to check any one particular evil, which at the time may have become prominent and offensive; but no enlightened views have been taken of the great whole. Punishments are inflicted, penalties enforced; but these have not been followed up by any inquiry as to whether they have been productive of the desired good, or whether they have been the best and wisest means for attaining this end; and until the present time no data have been furnished whereby the philanthropist could pursue such an investigation with the remotest hope of success. The Tables made up by order of government, of the number of criminal offenders in England and Wales in 1834, and lately laid before Parliament, exhibit a great and striking improvement on those given in former years; and their examination cannot fail to be interesting, as affording a somewhat clearer insight into this subject than we have hitherto had means of obtaining. Much still remains to be accomplished, but so important a step has in the present instance been made towards furnishing correct information on the statistics of crime in this country, that we may reasonably hope the desiderata still remaining may be supplied by degrees in future tables. In those which we are now about to examine, the several offences are more accurately distinguished and classified than in any statements heretofore prepared for presentation to parliament. The state of crime is shown with reference to each county. The age and sex of the persons charged are stated. The sentences passed in respect of each description of offences, and the execution of capital sentences or commuted punishments, are stated.

The classification of offenders might with advantage be made still more minute; and although we do not expect that it could be given with so much particularity and with so many subdivisions as are adopted in the annual reports made by the minister of justice in France, yet the trade and station in society of offenders might surely be readily ascertained by the keepers of the different prisons throughout the country. Above all, the importance of obtaining accurate information as to the degree of instruction of each individual committed to gaol, cannot be too strongly insisted upon; as from the knowledge of this fact the true value of education as a corrective of vice may be somewhat better ascertained than it now is, and important evidence may be obtained as to the degree and kind of instruction best calculated for fostering and confirming the moral principle.

Another very requisite particular is the distinguishing of those offenders who have been committed more than once, and the length of time which has elapsed between each offence of the same individual. At present there are no means of ascertaining how often the same offender is the perpetrator of different crimes, and therefore though these tables may accurately mark the amount of offences, they by no means exhibit the positive number of offenders, a great proportion of whom, it is well known, appear more than once as criminals at the bar of justice. A division pointing out this class of offenders is not only important as furnishing correct data whereby the real number of criminals may be determined, but it is of still more consequence in exhibiting the nature of prison discipline, and in showing whether the contagion of a gaol be indeed so noxious as there is too much reason to fear is the case. By a little arrangement it might also be readily shown which of our prisons are in this respect the best conducted, or which of em produces the most beneficial and lasting effects on moral character, and from which of them the enlarged it more quickly relapses into evil courses. We have pointed out what appear to us the leading omissions on th sible.

* From Discussions in Parliament on 4th July, 1828.

in these tables before entering into an analysis of their contents, not with any view of depreciating what has already been done, but with the hope that in future years the omissions we have noticed may be supplied. The following table shows the comparative state of crime in each county:—

Proportion of Offenders to the Population in each County of England and Wales; showing, also, the Centesimal Proportions of Male and Female Offenders in each County:

COUNTIES.	Proportion of Offenders to the Population. Calculated on the Census of 1831.	Centesimal Proportion of	
		Males.	Females.
England and Wales	1 in 619	84	16
Bristol (City)	1 in 290	85	15
Middlesex	1 in 336	76	24
Surrey	1 in 464	81	19
Lancaster	1 in 481	79	21
Chester	1 in 492	86	14
Hereford	1 in 510	86	14
Warwick	1 in 510	85	15
Southampton	1 in 536	89	11
Norfolk	1 in 552	91	9
Essex	1 in 554	92	8
Worcester	1 in 561	85	15
Berks	1 in 580	90	10
Oxford	1 in 581	91	9
Bedford	1 in 582	96	4
Hertford	1 in 592	94	6
Somerset	1 in 597	87	13
Nottingham	1 in 606	89	11
Gloucester	1 in 611	84	16
Suffolk	1 in 612	91	9
Northampton	1 in 616	94	6
Kent	1 in 618	87	13
Leicester	1 in 620	91	9
Wilts	1 in 625	92	8
Buckingham	1 in 632	94	6
Stafford	1 in 633	86	14
Sussex	1 in 675	89	11
Monmouth	1 in 738	86	14
Cambridge	1 in 746	92	8
Dorset	1 in 758	86	14
Lincoln	1 in 771	90	10
Rutland	1 in 775	92	8
Salop	1 in 818	87	13
Devon	1 in 881	80	20
York	1 in 956	85	15
Denbigh	1 in 1072	87	13
Huntingdon	1 in 1086	90	10
Glamorgan	1 in 1101	78	22
Derby	1 in 1223	95	5
Durham	1 in 1270	82	18
Brecon	1 in 1291	89	11
Radnor	1 in 1369	83	17
Cornwall	1 in 1406	83	17
Northumberland	1 in 1639	76	24
Merioneth	1 in 1682	76	24
Montgomery	1 in 1955	79	21
Westmorland	1 in 1966	93	7
Cumberland	1 in 1996	84	16
Carnarvon	1 in 2215	73	27
Pembroke	1 in 2627	87	13
Flint	1 in 2858	95	5
Carmarthen	1 in 2878	63	37
Cardigan	1 in 4049	94	6
Anglesea	1 in 8054	67	33

In the tables before us the offences are divided into two leading classes—crimes against the person, and crimes against property; this latter class is subdivided into four minor classes, and there is another division comprehending all offences not included in the other five classes. Thus there are altogether six divisions, in each of which the actual offence is respectively specified, exhibiting at one view the number of persons convicted and acquitted; the nature of the crimes committed, of the punishments inflicted, and the age and sex of each particular delinquent. According to these statements we find that the proportion

of offenders to the whole population of England and Wales is 1 in 619; if the number of relapsed criminals were given the ratio would be more favourable. The proportion of convicted offenders to the population is 1 in 868, and of those acquitted 1 in 2159. The following table contains an abstract of the number of offenders, distinguishing each class, the degree of punishment awarded, and various other interesting particulars.

Abstract of the Total Number of Persons charged with Offences in England and Wales, in the Year 1834, distinguished in Classes according to the Nature of the Offences, together with the result of the Accusations, and the Centesimal Proportion in each Class.

OFFENCES.	Total number of offenders.	Convicted.																Acquitted and discharged.			Insane.		Execution or commutation of capital sentences.										Centesimal proportion of offenders of each class.
		Death.	Transportation.			Imprisonment with, in some cases, whipping, &c.					Whipping.	Fine.	Discharge on sureties.	Sentence respited and pardon.	Total.	Found so on examination.	Not guilty on trial.	No bill found.	No prosecution.	Total.	Acquitted as being so.	Found so on examination.	Execution.	Commutation.									
			Life.	Fourteen years.	Seven years.	Other periods.	Above three years	Three years and above two years.	Two years and above one year.	One year and above six months.	Six months and under.													Transported for life.	Transported for fourteen years.	Transported for seven years.	Imprisoned for two years and above one year.	Imprisoned one year and above six months.	Imprisoned six months and under.				
No. 1.—Offences against the person	2,455	95	8	1	14	1	..	..	133	764	..	222	96	1	1,443	1	784	173	47	1,004	7	1	24	48	4	5	2	11	1	10.94
No. 2.—Offences against property committed with violence	1,459	340	221	113	147	3	..	1	86	91	..	1	..	..	1,027	..	311	93	28	433	..	..	2	236	39	25	6	21	10	10	6.50
No. 3.—Offences against property committed without violence	16,609	6	584	554	2,279	2	..	1	1,112	7,403	59	31	13	2	12,177	5	2,371	1,317	231	4,419	..	..	4	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	78.97
No. 4.—Malicious offences against property	162	26	8	1	8	1	..	..	4	15	..	1	..	1	66	..	59	33	3	95	1	8	8	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.73
No. 5.—Forgery and offences against the currency	431	1	41	4	25	..	1	3	47	122	..	1	..	1	361	..	61	19	7	70	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	1.98
No. 6.—Other offences not included in the above classes	1,336	12	2	15	93	..	..	..	112	430	59	158	146	2	931	..	271	67	77	415	..	5	5	34	43	30	1	39	11	..	5.36
Total	22,454	480	864	688	2,501	7	1	5	1,589	8,895	59	413	255	7	15,995	8	4,347	1,695	393	6,435	13	8	312	34	43	30	11	39	11	..	100.00

An examination of this table forcibly presents to the mind the faulty state of our criminal laws, and in how inconsistent and arbitrary a manner capital sentences are awarded and commuted. The following positions are now generally conceded as axioms—that punishment to be efficacious should be certain; that as far as it is possible a definite punishment should await every particular offence; and that no temptation should be given for the commission of crime by the severity of a sentence which it is known will therefore be commuted, and which very often deters the injured party from prosecuting. It will be seen that out of 480 offenders to whom the sentence of death was awarded in 1834 only 34 were executed, or 7.083 in every hundred; what punishment was really inflicted on the remaining large proportion was never stated in the tables of any of the preceding years; but in these before us we have it distinctly shown, and find that out of the whole number, 446, on whom the sentence of death was commuted, one received a free pardon; 13.453 in every hundred were sentenced to imprisonment for various periods from two years to six months and under; and 86.323 in every hundred were sentenced to transportation, the greater proportion for life. In No. 2 the proportion between the sentence of death and execution is still more remarkable, being only .588 in every hundred, or 1 in 170. Sentence of death is not actually passed on these criminals and a respite granted afterwards, but it is recorded against them, whereby they are subject to certain civil disqualifications, and this recording is therefore in itself a punishment superadded to the commutation of the capital offence: some persons defend this inconsistency and uncertainty of the law, and make a great distinction between sentence passed and sentence only recorded; but surely no reason can be offered for leaving so great a discretionary power in the hands of the ministers of justice. Of the twelve offenders in class No. 6 to whom sentence of death was awarded, five were found guilty of being at large under sentence of transportation, and seven were found guilty of assembling armed, &c. to aid smugglers. The *real* sentence passed on these latter was imprisonment; one offender for one year and above six months, the remainder for six months and under! What argument can be advanced in favour of this preposterous discrepancy between the penalty awarded by the law and that inflicted in practice?

It will be seen from an inspection of the foregoing table that of the number accused a large proportion were acquitted; about 100 in 349, or between one-fourth and one-third of the whole, being found not guilty. In No. 4 the number of those acquitted is greater than that of the convicted offenders; with this exception, the proportion of acquittals to convictions is greatest in offences committed against the person: many of these cases are assaults committed with extenuating circumstances, and charges of manslaughter are often found by the verdict of the jury to be justifiable homicide; out of 228 persons accused of manslaughter more than one half, or 119, were acquitted. The following are the proportions of the convictions to the acquittals:—

No. 1—10	6.96
2—10	4.21
3—10	3.63
4—10	14.545
5—10	1.61
6—10	4.5

In the following table the centesimal proportion of each age to the whole population above ten years is calculated from the population-tables of 1821, and on the assumption that there are no criminals under the age of ten years. We learn from this table that the amount of crime in the male population is very far beyond that among the females;—of every 100 offenders 84 are males, and at every age, and with regard to every description of crime, this great disproportion is found to exist. It is lamentable to find that the amount of crime is so great between the ages of 12 and 21,—that youth is so early initiated into the practice of vice and trained up to theft. The greatest number of offenders at the respective periods of age are from 16 to 21; but it will be seen by inspection that the offences are chiefly offences against property committed without violence; it is mostly in after years that these juvenile depredators become hardened in crime.

TABLE, shewing the Ages of Persons accused of Criminal Offences in England and Wales, in 1834, distinguishing the different Classes of Offences, and Males from Females; the proportion of Offenders at each Age compared with the Total Numbers of the Population of the same Ages, the Centesimal Proportion of Offenders of each Age and Sex compared with the Total Number of Persons of each Sex above Ten Years of Age, and the Centesimal Proportion of Offenders at the different Periods of Life.

AGES.	Numbers at different ages of the Population of England and Wales.			Offences against the person.		Offences against property committed with violence.		Offences against property committed without violence.		Malicious offences against property.		Forgery and offences against the currency.		Other offences not included in the preceding classes.		Total number of offenders.		Proportion of offenders to population of respective ages.		Centesimal proportion of each sex above 10 years of age.		Centesimal proportion of offenders at different periods of life.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	M.	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Aged 12 years, and under (assumed between 10 and 12 years)	241,445	227,746	469,291	5	3	13	3	310	55	3	–	2	2	4	–	337	63	1 in 716	1 in 3,617	6.60	5.81	1.78
Between 12 and 16	464,084	448,733	912,817	52	3	106	2	1,699	288	5	4	11	7	26	1	1,899	305	1 in 244	1 in 1,471	12.66	11.44	9.62
,, 16 and 21	483,247	518,589	1,001,836	466	28	573	30	4,203	775	36	2	72	33	248	7	5,598	875	1 in 86	1 in 592	13.18	13.22	28.83
,, 21 and 30	680,202	811,204	1,491,406	804	82	527	30	4,019	930	56	2	116	37	420	46	5,942	1,127	1 in 114	1 in 719	18.55	20.68	31.49
,, 30 and 40	593,662	649,507	1,243,169	346	39	113	4	1,822	505	21	–	52	22	183	39	2,537	609	1 in 234	1 in 1,066	16.19	16.56	14.01
,, 40 and 50	482,329	500,977	983,306	175	23	38	–	870	245	15	2	30	15	93	19	1,221	304	1 in 395	1 in 1,648	13.17	12.77	6.79
,, 50 and 60	342,204	352,160	694,364	80	10	10	2	392	129	8	1	12	7	33	2	535	151	1 in 639	1 in 2,332	9.33	8.98	3.66
,, 60 and upwards	378,441	413,556	791,997	43	2	4	–	179	48	3	1	5	5	13	–	247	56	1 in 1,492	1 in 7,385	10.32	10.54	1.35
Age could not be ascertained	—	—	—	253	41	5	–	114	24	3	–	1	2	188	14	564	81	—	—	—	—	2.47
Total	3,665,614	3,922,472	7,588,086	2,224	231	1,389	71	13,608	2,999	150	12	301	130	1,208	128	18,880	3,571	1 in 194	1 in 1,098	100·00	100·00	100·00

Does not this fact offer a strong argument in favour of education? If, at their tenderest years, the unhappy children of poverty were not left to the contamination of evil example and precept, so many could not become at early an age such reprobates as now fill our prisons, so greatly swell our list of criminals, and become still further educated in vice. From 21 to 30 years of age the proportion of the whole number of offences is not so great as in the preceding period, but that part of the criminals committed for offences against the person is in much greater proportion to the rest. Between 16 and 30 there is by far the greatest amount of crime; much more than half of the number of offenders of every age is included in these periods, while less than one-third of the whole population is comprised between these ages.

Hitherto, from the imperfect and incomplete data furnished by our English tables, we have not been able to compare, with any degree of accuracy, the state of crime existing in England and France; and even now, with our increased information, it is difficult to obtain more than an approximation to the truth, in consequence of the respective classifications of crime being different in the two countries, while the estimate made in each country as to the turpitude of various crimes is by no means the same.

Table, showing the absolute proportion in which crimes of different degrees were committed in France and England, calculated with reference to the population of each country. The proportion of their respective populations is as 7.03 to 3.

OFFENCES.	France. Proportion to absolute Population.		England. Proportion to absolute Population.		Proportion of number of Offences committed in France and England.		Proportion of number of Convictions in France and England.	
	Accused.	Convicted.	Accused.	Convicted.				
Murders, and other Offences of a heinous nature	1 in 30922	1 in 56333	1 in 20894	1 in 52039	1.58	1	2.164	1
Other Offences against the Person	1 in 1771	1 in 2292	1 in 7762	1 in 11815	10.27	1	12.077	1
Total of Offences against the Person	1 in 1675	1 in 2188	1 in 5659	1 in9 629	7.9	1	10.312	1
Offences against Property, &c	1 in 1302	1 in 1766	1 in 694	1 in 955	5	4	1.259	1

N.B. The latest table yet published, exhibiting the state of crime in France, applies to the year 1832: it is this from which the above comparison has been made. The English tables are those of 1834, previously to which time, as already stated, the mode of framing the returns in this country did not admit of the comparison being made with any approach to accuracy.

In France, many offences of a minor quality, against which criminal proceedings are taken in this country, are tried before the "correctional tribunals," and are noticed among petty delinquencies. Thus there are 13,324 offences classed under "*coups et blessures volontaires*," dealt with by the "correctional tribunals," and which, in the English tables, would be placed under the head of assaults. Cases of

larceny, swindling, uttering base coin, &c., are likewise tried before these "correctional tribunals." We have endeavoured, as far as possible, to extract the several offences correctly from the tables, and to class them under heads answering to the same in the English tables, in order to institute a fair comparison. It was our intention to have entered more fully into the subject than our present limits will allow, but we can only find space for briefly drawing the comparison in a tabular form, which is given in the preceding page, by which means the reader will be enabled, at one view, to judge of the state of the two countries in regard to crime.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

National Debt.—An account of the saving accrued to the public by the conversion of stock from a higher to a lower rate of interest:—

	Capital.	Interest on the Capital. At the highest rate of Interest.	Interest on the Capital. At the lowest rate of Interest.	Saving.
1822.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Capital 5*l.* per cts., after deducting 2,794,318*l.* dissents	149,687,825	7,481,391	. .	1,197,022
Capital of the new stock, 4*l.* per cents., including the bonus of 7,481,393*l.*	157,109,218	. .	6,284,368	
1826.				
Capital 4*l.* per cents., after deducting 6,149,246*l.* dissents	70,105,403	2,804,216	2,453,619	350,597
Capital 3*l.* 10*s.* per cents., the same.				
1830.				
Capital 4*l.* per cents. after deducting 2,649,366*l.* dissents	151,021,728	6,040,869	. .	755,110
Capital, 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent. . 150,344,051				
Do. 5*l.* per cent. 474,374				
	150,818,425	. .	5,285,759	
1834.				
Capital 4*l.* per cents .	10,622,911	424,916	371,800	53,116
The same capital in 3*l.* 10*s.* per cents.			Total . £.	2,355,845

Malt.—The following is an account of the number of quarters of malt made, and total duty charged thereon, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the year ending Oct. 10, 1834:—

	Quarters.	Duty. £.	s.	d.
England . .	4,194,966	4,334,797	5	11
Scotland . .	553,524	545,561	14	5
Ireland . . .	271,902	268,896	3	8
Total of United Kingdom	5,020,392	£.5,149,255	4	0

Taxes (net) repealed, expired, or reduced, in 1833-4:—

	1833. £.	1834. £.	Total. £.
Customs .	346,740	305,817	652,557
Excise .	626,000	505,200	1,131,200
Stamps . .	156,800	31,204	188,004
Taxes .	402,588	1,222,295	1,624,883
Post Office .		1,600	1,600
			£.3,598,244

Taxes imposed, 1834:—

Customs . . .	£.17,394
Excise	181,000
Post Office . . .	1,200
Total . . .	£.199,594
Taxes repealed or reduced in 1833-4 . .	£.3,598,244
Taxes imposed in 1834 . . .	199,594
Actual reduction of taxation . . .	£.3,398,650

Tobacco and Snuff imported into Great Britain in 1834:—

	lbs.
Unmanufactured tobacco . . .	38,517,860
Manufactured tobacco and cigars . .	959,882
Snuff	164½
Total	39,477,906½

Soap.—Quantity of soap made in Great Britain in 1834:—

	Hard Soap. lbs.	Soft Soap. lbs.
England:—London .	32,659,609	1,081,750
,, Country .	99,319,824	6,026,475
Scotland . . .	11,925,464	3,247,209
Total . .	143,904,897	10,355,425

Quantity exported in 1834 to foreign parts:—

Hard soap.	Soft soap.	Amount of drawback.
12,459,747 lbs.	8,458 lbs.	£.77,966 4 4

There have been thirty-six persons convicted in 1834 of frauds on the revenue arising from the duties on soap.

The following Abstract of Deposits and Depositors in Savings Banks, up to 20th November, 1834, has been drawn up from the Annual Returns made to the National Debt Office.

Summary of the Number of Depositors and Amount of Deposits (stated in Classes according to the Sums deposited) as they existed on the 20th of November, 1834, in England, Wales, and Ireland, compared with the numbers and amounts on the 20th November, 1832 and 1833 respectively.

DEPOSITORS.	ENGLAND. Number of Depositors.	ENGLAND. Amount of Investment.	ENGLAND. Average Investment by each Depositor.	WALES. Number of Depositors.	WALES. Amount of Investment.	WALES. Average Investment by each Depositor.	IRELAND. Number of Depositors.	IRELAND. Amount of Investments.	IRELAND. Average Investment by each Depositor.	TOTAL. Number of Depositors.	TOTAL. Amount of Investment.	TOTAL. Average Investment by each Depositor.
		£.			£.			£.			£.	
Under 20*l.*	229,247	1,604,900	7·0	5,555	42,936	7·7	25,561	193,919	7·5	260,363	1,841,755	7·1
20*l.* 50*l.*	121,769	3,731,254	30·6	3,619	109,358	30·2	19,769	606,985	30·7	145,157	4,447,597	30·6
50*l.* 100*l.*	52,757	3,636,332	68·9	1,367	92,452	67·6	5,946	385,393	64·8	60,070	4,114,177	68·5
100*l.* 150*l.*	18,313	2,198,417	120·	400	47,495	118·7	1,318	158,623	120·4	20,031	2,404,535	120·
150*l.* 200*l.*	9,678	1,638,209	169·3	181	30,272	167·2	516	88,472	171·5	10,375	1,756,953	169·3
Above 200*l.*	3,031	772,990	250·9	61	14,463	237·1	69	17,374	257·8	3,211	804,827	250·6
Total . .	434,845	£.13,582,102	31·2	11,183	£.336,976	30·1	53,179	£.1,450,766	27·3	499,207	£.15,369,844	30·8
Total, 20th Nov., 1833 .	402,607	£.12,680,512	31·4	11,015	£.329,887	29·9	49,170	£.1,327,122	26·99	462,792	£.14,337,521	30·9
Total, 20th Nov., 1832 .	373,704	£.11,956,269	31·9	10,014	£.301,509	30·	43,755	£.1,178,201	26.9	427,473	£.13,435,999	31

Sheep and Lambs' Wool.—The total quantity of sheep and lambs' wool imported into Great Britain from all parts of the world during 1834, was—

Foreign	46,455,282 lbs.
Isle of Man	35,488
Total	46,490,720 lbs.

British wool exported from the United Kingdom to all parts of the world:—

Sheep and lambs' wool	2,278,721 lbs.
Woollen and worsted yarn, &c.	1,861,814

Declared value of British woollen manufactures exported during 1834:—

£.5,736,870 11 0

Copper and Tin.—Copper manufactures imported into Great Britain during 1834, declared value:—

Total amount	£.3,873	8	2
	cwts.	qrs.	lbs
British copper exported:—Total amount	177,731	3	12
Tin imported	46,769	3	20
Tin exported, viz.:—Foreign tin	46,684	3	10
„ British tin	9,351	2	24

Hops.—The duty on hops in the year 1834 amounted to 329,941*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* The total quantity of foreign hops imported into Great Britain during 1834 was 52,699 lbs.

Assessed Taxes Prosecutions.—Number of persons prosecuted for non-payment of assessed taxes:—

1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.
802	844	623	657	2,054

Navy.—Number of officers in the navy on 1st January, 1835:—

	On Service.	Half Pay.
Admiral of the fleet	1	0
Admirals	34	2
Vice admirals	49	4
Rear admirals	60	8
Retired rear admirals	30	1
Captains	773	65
Captains retired	9	2
Commanders	857	110*
Retired under order of Council of 1816	100	0
Ditto of 1830	182	0
Lieutenants	3094	765†
Masters	467	108
Physicians	10	4
Surgeons retired	42	0
Assistant surgeons	288	199
Chaplains	62	33
Pursers	603	103

707	359	2405
7	6	42
749	89	500

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

The Falkland Islands.—It is understood that an application has lately been made to Government by some persons who wish to establish a company with the view of colonizing these islands. The following notice, for which we are indebted to a correspondent, may therefore be interesting at the present moment:—

The Falkland Islands, named by the Spaniards "Malvinas," form a group of nearly ninety in number, two of which are very large. They are situated in the Southern Ocean, distant about 480 miles east of the coast of South America, and about 300 north-east of Cape Horn, lying between the latitude of 51° and 52½° south, and between 57° and 61½° west longitude.

West Falkland, the largest of the two islands, is at present entirely uninhabited. It is about a hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth, surrounded on all sides by excellent harbours, of which Port Egmont on the north is the most frequented, being very capacious and well sheltered by several islands lying at its entrance. It was at Port Egmont that the English founded their first settlement in the year 1774. There are no cattle in the island, although the pasturage is excellent.

East Falkland, named Soledad, by the Spaniards, is separated from West Falkland by an extensive sound, containing numerous islands and rocks. This island is about seventy-eight miles in length, and forty-seven at its greatest breadth, but narrows to twenty-five or thirty miles in the southern parts.

Berkeley Sound is situated at the north-east point, and is six or seven miles wide at the entrance. It runs up nearly twelve miles, as far as Port Louis, where the British settlement is at present placed. There is plenty of depth of water for vessels of any size in Berkeley Sound, with good shelter and anchorage, as well as every convenience for heaving vessels down and repairing them.

The village of Port Louis is situated in lat. 51° 32′ south, and 58° 19′ west long., on the banks of a small creek, with about six or eight feet water. There were about eighteen persons in all settled on the island, most of whom are from Buenos Ayres, when Lieutenant Smith, with about ten or twelve seamen and marines, took possession of the island in the name of the British Government. A vessel of war is now generally stationed there as a further protection.

The country about East Falkland is of moderate elevation, but the western island is more hilly. The surface of the soil is of a peat nature, but capable of great improvement, and it can be easily manured as the coast abounds with sea-weed. The pasture even to the summit of the hills is very good in its natural state, and peculiarly well adapted for feeding sheep. There are no trees, and consequently no wood of any sort for fuel, but there is abundance of peat, which makes an excellent substitute. The absence of trees has this advantage, that it relieves the cultivator from the labour and expense of clearing the land. Water is everywhere abundant, and remarkably pure and good, rivulets intersecting the land in every direction. There is plenty of stone, which might easily be quarried, with abundance of clay for making bricks.

The climate of the Falkland Islands is temperate, and considered perfectly healthy, not being subject to extremes either of heat or cold; there is very little frost or snow in winter, the latter seldom lying on the ground twenty-four hours together, excepting upon the summit of the hills; and the harbours are never frozen. The quantity of rain that falls here is not greater than the average of temperate climates. The thermometer in winter generally averages 40° of Fahrenheit and is seldom so low as 32°. In summer it ranges from 60° to 70°, but never rises above 75°.

The prevailing winds are south-west and north-west; the weather is generally clear with the former, and foggy with the latter. During the winter season the winds at south and east blow occasionally with great violence. The summer months are from December to February, and the winter from June to August.

The principal production of East Falkland may be said to be cattle, of which there are supposed to be upwards of 5000 head, all wild; the beef, although small, is very tender. The cows give excellent milk; the wild cattle are caught by the Guachos or Buenos Ayres Indians, with their lassos, who drive them to a place about nine miles from Port Louis, where they slaughter them when required. There are about five hundred horses on the island, also wild, and of a small breed. Rabbits are extremely numerous, and of a large size; pigs are likewise plentiful in a wild state. There is a great variety of sea-fowl, particularly solan geese, wild ducks, teal, and snipes, most of which are good eating.

The creeks and waters abound with fish of various descriptions; the finest is a species of large mullet, which is salted down and sold to the shipping.

These islands also abound with seals and sea elephants. The skins of the former are very valuable, and the procuring of them forms the chief inducement for vessels to resort to the islands.

Of natural productions the sea-weed for making kelp is so abundant that vast quantities could be collected if a market offered for its sale.

Potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages, and all common sorts of vegetables grow excellently; and there is no doubt but currants, gooseberries, and other fruits would thrive equally well.

The hardy species of Scotch firs and larch would also probably succeed as timber trees.

* Two of whom receive half pay.
† Seventy-six of whom receive half pay.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

BILLS WHICH HAVE RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT.

June 12.

Oaths Abolition.
Honiton Church.
Westminster Improvement.
Barking Poor.
Deptford Pier.
New Quay Harbour.
Ramsgate Waterworks.
Grand Junction Railway Consolidation.
Croydon Railway.
Grand Junction Railway Acts Amendment.
Llanelly Gas.
Great Torrington Canal.
Devonport Market.
New Pembrey Harbour.
Rockingham Road.
Farnborough Road.
New Quay Road.
Hereford Roads.
Marylebone and Finchley Road.
Cockfield and Hurstperpoint Road.
Darlington Road.
Totness Road.
Ford and Lowick Road.
Nantwich Road.
Leven Drainage.
Couver's Divorce.
Allhusen's Naturalization.
Cortazzi's Naturalization.
Willert's Naturalisation.
Magnus' Naturalisation.
Mieville's Naturalization.
Albrecht's Naturalization.
Loewe's Naturalisation.

June 17.

Consolidated Fund.	Exeter Bridge and Ferry.
Manchester, Bury, and Bolton Railway.	Ashburton Road.
	Tong Lane End Road.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Railway.	Heage Road.
Cart Navigation.	Sandbach Road.
Edinburgh Water Company.	Amesbury Road.
Dublin Gas.	Hitchin and Bedford Road.
Birmingham Canal.	Norwich or Dereham Road.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

June 1. A bill for establishing the legitimacy of children born of marriage within prohibited degrees in certain cases.—*Lord Lyndhurst.*

3. A bill to amend the law touching patents for inventions.—*Lord Brougham.*

11. A bill prohibiting subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles in certain cases.—*Lord Radnor.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

June 1. Loan Societies Bill—"to encourage the establishment of loan societies in England and Wales."—*Mr. W. H. Ord.*

2. Stafford Disfranchisement Bill—"to exclude the borough of Stafford in the county of Stafford, from sending burgesses to serve in Parliament."—*Mr. Divett.*

4. Bribery at Elections Bill—"more effectually to prevent bribery and corruption and unnecessary charge and expense in the election of members to serve in Parliament."—*Mr. Hardy.*

— Civil Bill Courts (Ireland) Bill—"to extend the jurisdiction of the civil bill courts, and to facilitate the proving of wills and obtaining letters of administration in certain cases, and to fix the salaries of assistant barristers in Ireland."—*Mr. Lynch.*

5. Municipal Corporations Bill—"to provide for the regulation of Municipal corporations in England and Wales."—*Lord John Russell.*

— Instruments of Sasine (Scotland) Bill—"to amend certain acts of the Parliament of Scotland, respecting the registration of instruments of sasine, and other writings affecting heritable property within that part of the United Kingdom."—*Lord Advocate.*

— Savings' Banks (Scotland) Bill—"to extend to Scotland certain provisions of an act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to savings' banks, and to consolidate and amend the laws relating to savings' banks in Scotland."

— Offences against the Person Bill—"for amending the law relating to offences against the person in certain cases."—*Mr. Jervis.*

— Western Australian Settlements Bill—"to continue an act of the tenth year of his late Majesty's reign, for the government of his Majesty's settlements in Western Australia, on the western coast of New Holland."—*Sir George Grey.*

— Court of Session (Scotland) Bill—"to improve the present system of the Court of Session in Scotland, and regulate the number, powers, and duties of the judges, clerks, and officers of the said court, and of the Courts of Teinds and Justiciary; also, the number and duties of the clerks and other officers in the said courts, and pay them fixed salaries, and to abolish the fee fund, and other court dues levied from suitors."—*Mr. Wallace.*

— Postage Bill—"to extend the accommodation by the post to and from foreign parts, and for other purposes relating to the Post-office."—*Mr. Labouchere.*

— Sheriff Courts (Scotland) Bill—"to explain and regulate the jurisdiction of the Sheriff Courts of Scotland, and to transfer the benefits of jury trial in civil causes to a limited amount to the said courts; also, to regulate the duties and appointment of sheriffs, principal and substitute, and the appointment of procurators fiscal."

— Dominica Indemnity Bill—"to allow, for a limited period, the importation of certain articles, duty free, into the island of Dominica, and to indemnify the governor and others for having permitted the importation of such articles duty free."—*Mr. Baring.*

11. Education (Ireland) Bill—"for the establishment of a board of national education, and the advancement of elementary education in Ireland."—*Mr. Wyse.*

17. Civil Affairs (Ireland) Bill—"for the administration of certain civil affairs of a local nature in Ireland."—*Sir Richard Musgrave.*

19. Expenses at Elections Bill—"to regulate the expenses of elections of members to serve in Parliament for England and Wales."

— Trade in Corn (Isle of Man) Bill—"to regulate the importation of corn into the Isle of Man."—*Mr. P. Thompson.*

— Weights and Measures Bill—"to repeal an act of the fourth and fifth year of his present Majesty, relating to weights and measures, and to make other provisions instead thereof."—*Lord Viscount Ebrington.*

— Marriage Act Amendment Bill.

22. Linen Trade (Ireland) Bill—"to continue and amend certain regulations for the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland."

— Aberdeen Universities Bill—"for uniting King's College and University of Old Aberdeen, and Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, into one university and college."—*Mr. Bannerman.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

June 1. Committee "to take into consideration the duties on timber, and to report their observations thereupon to the House."

2. Committee to inquire into the nature, cause, and extent of those lamentable catastrophes which have occurred in the mines of Great Britain, with the view of ascertaining and suggesting the means for preventing the recurrence of similar fatal accidents."

— Committee "to inquire into the practicability and public advantage of making a navigable inland communication between Galway and Castlebar, through Lake Rakios; and between Ballina and Castlebar, through the Lakes Conn and Cullin."

11. Committee "to examine and consider the evidence in the several reports presented to this House from the commissioners appointed to inquire concerning charities in England and Wales, and also the measures which may be most effectually adopted to complete at an early period the inquiry relative to uninvestigated charities, and report their opinion by what mode the charity funds may be most efficiently, promptly, and economically administered."

22. Committee "to examine into the state, funds, and management of the diocesan, royal, and other schools of public foundation in Ireland, as also into the system of education pursued therein, with a view to increasing their utility, and to inquire how far it may be practicable and expedient, and in what manner, and from what sources, to improve, extend, and permanently maintain academical education in that country."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[The last Report is numbered the eighteenth, and is dated the 2nd June, 1835.]

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour	19	8,947
Ecclesiastical.		
Church Rates, in reference to the imprisonment of John Childs, for non-payment of	15	3,461
Church of Scotland, in support	494	122,606
" against a grant	200	92,999
Church of Ireland, in support	50	38,081
" in favour of appropriation measure	4	18,332
For immediate abolition of national establishments	1	268
Dissenters' Marriage Bill, against	5	1,733
Ecclesiastical Courts, against transferring the whole of the testamentary business to London, &c. &c.	158	9,685
Lord's Day, for better observance	32	3,127
Tithes, for abolition	3	811
Tithes, Ireland, for abolition	11	12,499
Taxes.		
Attornies' certificates	4	72
Rating of tenements	3	494
Spirit licenses	144	10,363
Stamps on receipts	5	6
Statute labour	2	249
Miscellaneous.		
Agricultural distress	58	27,114
Dorchester Unionists	28	45,749
Drunkenness, for restraint of	5	4,987
Hand-loom weavers, for relief	55	51,961
Imprisonment for Debt Bill, against	28	5,484
" " in favour	4	232
" " for alterations	8	719
" " for compensation	3	3
" " for an equitable adjustment of accounts	1	7
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland) Bill, against	15	2,813
" " for alterations	1	1
Joint property (Scotland)	2	2
Landed Securities (Ireland)	1	226
Leith Harbour	4	808
Merchant Seamen's Bill, against	2	207
Factories' Regulation Act	32	15,473

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Reciprocity of Duties Act	4	187
Preston election	1	3,224
Stamps on newspapers, for repeal	5	964
Seamen Enlistment Bill, against	3	671
Sale of beer, for placing retailers on the same footing as licensed victuallers	3	21,413
Registration of Births (Scotland) Bill, against	1	285
Poor Laws (Ireland) in favour of	1	93
Against the late administration	3	15,480
Poor Laws Amendment Act, for repeal	8	6,296
Game Law (Scotland)	2	1,013
Other miscellaneous petitions	16	2,052

NEW MEMBERS.

Tiverton—Lord Palmerston, without opposition, in the room of J. Kennedy, Esq., stewardship of Chiltern Hundreds.

Cork County—Richard Longfield, Esq., declared by a select committee duly elected, in the room of Feargus O'Connor, Esq., unseated.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

Places.	Successful Candidates.		Unsuccessful Candidates.	
Ipswich ...	Rigby Wason	533	Colonel Broke	455
	James Morrison	542	William Holmes.	435
Hull.....	Col. P. Thompson	1,428	H. St. John Mildmay	1,423
Carlow....	N. A. Vigors	627	H. Bruen	572
	Alexander Raphael	616	— Kavanah	571

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

Oldham—In the room of William Cobbett, deceased.

Bury St. Edmonds—In the room of Lord Charles Fitzroy, Chamberlain of the Household.

Bankruptcy Analysis from May 26 to June 19.

Auctioneer, 1; agent, 1; apothecary, 1; baker, 1; banker, 1; brewer, 1; brick-maker, 1; bricklayer, 1; broker, 1; brass-founder, 1; builders, 4; butcher, 1; carpenter, 1; chemists, 2; cheesemonger, 1; china-dealer, 1; cattle-dealers, 4; coach-maker, 1; coach-proprietors, 2; coach-lace manufacturer, 1; coal-merchants, 2; confectioner, 1; corn-merchant, 1; clothier, 1; curriers, 4; cutler, 1; draper, 1; farmer, 1; furniture-dealer, 1; glass-manufacturer, 1; grocers, 7; gardener, 1; hatter, 1; hop-merchant, 1; iron-master, 1; ironmonger, 1; innkeeper, 1; lead-merchant, 1; linen-drapers, 3; linen-manufacturer, 1; land-surveyor, 1; maltster, 1; millers, 2; machine-maker, 1; money-scrivener, 1; music-seller, 1; muslin-manufacturer, 1; merchants, 9; painter, 1; plumbers, 2; potter, 1; rectifier, 1; shoemaker, 1; ship-owner, 1; stationer, 1; tailor, 1; victuallers, 3; watch-maker, 1; wine-merchants, 4; wire-worker, 1; total, 95; total from the commencement of the year, 542.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JUNE, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

OUR last monthly retrospect carried down the account of parliamentary proceedings to the close of the week ending on the 23d of May.

Both Houses re-assembled on Monday the 25th. In the Lords Lord Melbourne, in answer to some observations of the Duke of Richmond on the report of the select committee on Prison Discipline, of which his grace had been chairman, stated that the Government would in the course of the session bring in a bill in accordance with the resolutions of the committee. Another discussion afterwards arose on the subject already so frequently debated of the procession which attended Lord Mulgrave on his late entry into Dublin. The dispute about the flags was this time commenced by Lord Roden, who wished the Government to produce the Lord Lieutenant's own despatch. This Lord Melbourne declined to do, but stated that if a distinct motion were made for the production of the despatch he should be prepared to meet it.

In the House of Commons the business of the evening commenced with an interesting discussion on the case of Mr. Child of Bungay, who had been committed to Ipswich Gaol on a sentence of the Diocesan Court of Norwich, in the course of proceedings taken against him by the church-wardens of Bungay, for the recovery of certain church-rates which he had refused to pay. The subject was brought before the House by various petitions presented by Sir William Folkes and other members. Lord John Russell expressed his belief that the churchwardens had not intended to expose Mr. Childs to any peculiar hardship; but it seemed to be the general opinion of the House that the mode of proceeding which had been adopted by these functionaries was illegal. It is understood that Mr. Childs has since commenced an action for damages against them.

In the latter part of the evening the Marquis of Chandos, on the question being put that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, rose to make the motion of which he had given notice, on the subject of agricultural distress. His lordship moved that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, expressing the anxious desire of the House that the attention of the Government might be directed without further delay to this subject, with a view to the removal of some portion of those burdens to which the land is subject, through the pressure of general and local taxation. In the course of his speech he recommended, besides the reduction of the county rate, and the commutation of tithes, the abolition of the taxes on spring-carts, and on windows in farm-houses, and the enactment of protecting duties on foreign butter, cheese, and seeds. To this motion, which was seconded by Lord Darlington, Lord John Russell moved as an amendment,—"That this House will direct its early attention to the recommendations of the committee which sat during the late session of Parliament on the subject of county rates, with a view to the utmost practical alleviation of those burdens to which the land is subject, through the pressure of local taxation." After a debate in which Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Clay, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Spring Rice, and Mr. O'Connell, took part, this amendment was carried by a majority of 211 against 150.

In the House of Lords on Tuesday the 26th a debate took place on a petition presented by Lord Duncannon from Mr. Craig, one of the commissioners of public education in Ireland, begging the House to call upon the Bishop of Exeter to bring forward without further delay certain charges against the petitioner which his lordship had some time before announced his intention of making on the authority of a Reverend Mr. Stoney, the incumbent of a parish in the county of Mayo. The Bishop of Exeter persisted in declining to bring forward the charges till the report of the commissioners should be laid on the table of the House.

In the Commons this evening, on the order of the day being read for the further consideration of the report on the Great Western Railway Bill, Mr. Miles moved the insertion of a clause to prevent travelling on the rail-road on Sunday. After a debate of some length, however, this proposal was, amid the loud cheering of the House, rejected by the decisive majority of 212 to 34. The House was afterwards counted out in the course of a speech by Mr. Robinson, introductory to a motion relative to the right of British subjects to a concurrent fishing on that part of the coast of Newfoundland called the French shore.

On Wednesday the 27th no business of importance was transacted in either House, although several petitions were presented which gave rise to some discussion. At their rising, both Houses adjourned to the 1st of June.

On that day in the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst brought in a bill, which was read a first time, for altering the law with regard to the dissolubility of marriages within the prohibited degrees. We have noticed this measure elsewhere.

In the House of Commons, after a short conversation on the recent interference of the military at Wolverhampton (see the Chronicle of Occurrences), in the course of which Lord John Russell intimated that a person should be sent down by the Government (as has since been done) to make an inquiry into the circumstances on the spot, Mr. Cayley brought forward his motion for a "Select Committee (based on the parliamentary declaration of agri-

cultural distress) to inquire if there be not effectual means within the reach of Parliament, to afford substantial relief to the agriculture of the United Kingdom, and especially to recommend to the attention of such committee the subject of a silver or conjoined standard of silver and gold." After a debate of some length this attempt to prevail upon the House to tamper with the currency, was defeated by a majority of 216 to 126.

On Tuesday the 2nd, in the House of Lords, in the course of another conversation about the Dublin procession, and a correspondence which had taken place on the subject between the Duke of Cumberland and the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Melbourne took an opportunity of emphatically repelling the charges which had been brought against the Government as having been guided in making the late legal appointments in Ireland by the direction and influence of Mr. O'Connell.—The Islington Market Bill was then read a second time by a majority of 30 to 1.

In the Commons one of the most interesting discussions of the session took place on the motion of Mr. Grote for the introduction of the vote by secret ballot, in the election of members of Parliament. In introducing this motion the honourable member addressed the House at great length. The motion was seconded by Sir William Molesworth. Mr. Gisborne, then, on the ground that he did not think secret voting was attainable, although he seemed to admit that it would be desirable if it could be attained, moved the previous question. The honourable member however afterwards withdrew this motion, and Lord John Russell having met Mr. Grote's motion with a direct negative, the House divided at two o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were found to be, 144 for the original motion, and 317 against it.

On Wednesday the 3rd, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham brought in a bill to remedy some of the defects of the existing patent laws, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

In the House of Commons this evening, after a good deal of time had been occupied in the adjustment of a misunderstanding between Mr Hume and Mr. Lechmere Charlton, member for Ludlow, arising out of some expressions which had been used in the debate of the previous evening, Mr. Poulter moved that the report of the committee on the Sabbath Observance Bill should be taken into further consideration. Mr. Ward, however, having moved that the report should be considered that day six months, this amendment (which gets rid of the measure) was after a short discussion carried by a majority of 54 to 43. Several other bills were then advanced a stage; among others the Wills Execution Bill was read a third time and passed, and the Roman Catholic Marriages Bill, the Inns, Ale-houses, and Victualling Houses Bill, the Hull Merchant Seamen's Bill, and the Limitation of Polls Bill, were all read a second time.—Mr. Ewart afterwards moved the second reading of the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, but withdrew the motion on the adjournment of the House being moved.

On the following evening the House was counted out while Mr. Bish was moving an address to the Crown that Parliaments might be occasionally held in Ireland.

On Friday, the 5th, the Metropolis Pure Soft-water Company Bill was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 134 to 60. Lord John Russell then rose to ask leave of the House to bring forward a Bill, on the part of the Government, to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. We have explained the principal provisions of this great measure in a preceding part of our present Number. The Bill, after a short debate, in which Sir Robert Peel and Mr. O'Connell took part, was brought in, read a first time, and ordered to be printed without opposition. It was agreed that the second reading should take place on Monday, the 15th. Both Houses, on their rising this night, adjourned to Wednesday, the 10th.

On that day, in the Lords, the second reading of the Great Western Railway Bill was carried, after a short debate, by a majority of 46 to 34.

In the Commons a long and interesting discussion took place on the Report of the Ipswich Election Committee, which was brought up by the Chairman, Mr. P. Stewart, and which declared that the sitting Members, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Kelly, had not been duly elected; that the petition against their return was not frivolous or vexatious: that the opposition to the petition was frivolous and vexatious; that the sitting Members were, by their agents and friends, guilty of bribery and corruption at the election; that certain other individuals were guilty of bribery; that others were guilty of absconding to avoid being served with the Speaker's warrants; that certain avowed agents of the sitting Members, and one of the counsel employed by them, had aided and abetted these persons in keeping out of the way; that one of the witnesses had been prevented from attending the Committee by being arrested on a charge of embezzlement under very suspicious circumstances; and that the conduct of the magistrates before whom he was so charged appeared to be a breach of the privileges of the House. The debate, which was commenced by Mr. Gisborne moving that six of the persons who had been declared guilty of bribery, should be taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, was at last adjourned till the following day. The County Coroners' Bill and the Prisoners' Counsel Bill were then each read a second time, and the Capital Punishments Bill went through committee. The Lord-Advocate afterwards obtained leave to bring in a Bill to explain and amend the Scotch Reform Act, so as to prevent the creation of fictitious votes by the division of property, to diminish the expenses of election, and to take the poll at all contested elections in one day.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, the 11th, the Newcastle and Selby Railway Bill was read a third time, and passed, after the rejection of a clause proposed by the Bishop of Hereford, to prevent travelling on the railway on the Sunday, by a majority of 40 to 19.

In the Commons, the debate on Mr. Gisborne's motion, with regard to the parties alleged to have been guilty of bribery at the Ipswich election, was renewed, when the motion, after being somewhat modified, was unanimously agreed to by the House. It was agreed to leave out the names of the two magistrates, and to refrain from any proceedings against them till the evidence taken by the Committee should be printed.

Mr. Harvey then rose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the public charities of England and Wales, with a view to render them more efficient for the education of the people and the comfort of the poor. The Honourable Member explained his views on this important subject at considerable length, and no opposition was made to the motion. After this, Sir S. Whalley moved a resolution to the effect that the tax on windows was injurious to the health and comfort of the people, and ought to be repealed, which, after an attempt had been made by the mover to withdraw it, was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 204 to 16.

Sir William Rae then moved that the petitions presented to the House relative to the building and endowing of places of worship connected with the Established Church of Scotland, be referred to a Select Committee. The motion was opposed by the Lord-Advocate, who moved as an amendment, that an address should be presented to his Majesty, praying him to appoint a commission to inquire into the opportunity of religious worship afforded to the people of Scotland, and especially to the poorer classes of the community, whether they belong to the Established Church, or be of any other religious persuasion. The debate was eventually adjourned till the following Monday, when the amendment of the Lord-Advocate was agreed to.

On Friday, the 12th, in the Lords, a short debate arose on the Government policy with respect to Canada, on a motion by Lord Aberdeen for an address to his Majesty, praying that a copy of the commission appointing the Earl of Gosford Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, should be laid before the House. The motion was agreed to.

This day, in the Commons, John Bury Dasent, one of the persons charged by the Ipswich Election Committee with absconding, having presented a petition to the House, it was moved by Mr. Stewart that he should be immediately called to the bar, and discharged from custody, after having been reprimanded by the Speaker. The motion, however, was negatived, and it was ordered that the petitioner should be brought up on the following Monday. A motion by Mr. Robinson, for the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the general taxation of the country was then negatived, after a short debate, by a majority of 105 to 42. The House then went into a Committee of Supply, when various sums of money were voted on the Miscellaneous Estimates: among others, a sum of 7,665*l.* to defray the expense of fitting-up the interior of Whitehall as a chapel

(by a majority of 116 to 24); and a sum of 44,000*l.* for the building and furnishing of the two temporary Houses of Parliament. It was explained that 30,000*l.* of this sum was for the buildings, and the remainder for the furniture.

On Monday, the 15th, in the Lords, Lord Lyndhurst's Marriages Legalizing Bill went through the Committee An address to his Majesty was then agreed to, on the motion of Lord Rosslyn, for the appointment of five Commissioners to examine and report to the two Houses of Parliament upon the different plans proffered by the competitors for the erection of the new Houses.

In the House of Commons this evening, all the eight persons in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms on charges connected with the Ipswich election, were, on the motion of Mr. Gisborne, committed to Newgate. The Corporation Reform Bill was then, on the motion of Lord John Russell read a second time, after a short discussion, and ordered to be committed on Monday, the 22nd. An address to his Majesty was afterwards agreed to, on the motion of Lord Granville Somerset, praying him to carry into effect the resolutions of the committee on rebuilding the Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 16th, the Marriages Legalizing Bill was reported. In the Commons there was not a sufficient attendance to make a House.

On Wednesday, the 17th, in the Commons, various Bills were advanced a stage; among others, the Prisoners' Counsel Bill went through the Committee, after a clause proposed by Mr. Sandford, providing that in cases of felony, unless the counsel for the prosecution should have made a speech, the counsel for the prisoner should not address the jury in defence, had been negatived by a majority of 30 to 26.

On Thursday the 18th, various petitions were presented in both Houses, but no business of importance was transacted in either. The House of Commons was counted out soon after seven o'clock, while Mr. Andrew Johnston was speaking in support of a motion which he proposed to bring forward for abolishing lay patronage in the Church of Scotland.

On Friday, the 19th, the Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland was presented in the House of Lords by Lord Duncannon, and in the Commons by Lord John Russell. In the Commons, on the question that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Thomas S. Duncombe moved for a copy of the instructions given to Lord Elliott and Colonel Gurwood upon their late mission to Spain, and severely reprobated the conduct of the late Government in that affair. The reply of Lord Mahon, however, in vindication of the mission, appeared to be satisfactory to the House in general, and Mr. Duncombe eventually withdrew his motion. A motion made by Mr. Buxton for a committee to inquire how far the provisions of the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies had proved efficacious, and whether, upon ascertaining their partial or total failure, it might not be advisable that the payment of the twenty millions of compensation to the planters should be arrested, was also, after an explanation by Sir G. Grey, withdrawn. The House then went into a Committee of Ways and Means, when the continuance of the sugar-duties for another year was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and agreed to.

FRANCE.

So far from the trial of the political prisoners being brought to a conclusion, it seems to promise, more than ever, to be interminable, and Messieurs the members of the Chamber of Deputies, and Messieurs the journalists and reporters, have been scratching and boxing one another about it, and the privileges of the newspaper press. We can scarcely relate these events in a serious humour, though the reflections to which they must give rise are certainly serious enough. In the course of a stormy debate, in which the galleries of the Chamber took part, General Bugeaud and some others of the ministerial party denounced the intemperance and sedition of the mass of the Parisian newspapers as evils that called for forcible correction. On this the stamping, roaring, and menacing gesticulation in the galleries increased ten fold. M. Jaubert, a deputy, declared that this disgraceful riot came chiefly from the gallery set apart for the reporters, and moved that it should be cleared. The gallery accordingly was cleared, the word of command being, "*Huissiers, faites evacuer la tribune des Journalistes!*" The reporters waited without, to *demand* an explanation from the house; and on the appearance of those who had voted their temporary expulsion, a scuffle and fight ensued, which was only put an end to by the interference of the National Guards on duty. The newspaper men say they were struck first, and that the fight was so unfair, that there were five doctrinaires, at least, against one journalist. On the following day, one of the ultra-liberal papers, the *Reformateur*, announced to M. Jaubert and his friends, that as they have begun the system of physical attack and of brute force against both right and reason, the doctrinaires may find that the journalists are as strong as they are, and they accordingly invite "the patriots" to inscribe their names at the bureau of the *Reformateur*, as willing to fight duels with M. Jaubert, and with all his friends.

In consequence of these not very gentle demonstrations, the learned editors of the *Reformateur* were ordered to attend at the bar of the Chamber, where the paper was made to pay dearly for its bravado, its registered or responsible proprietor being condemned in the maximum fine of 10,000 francs.

It would be a mere waste of time to go into the tedious details of all these proceedings and political trials: and so we shall leave the *procès monstre* until it draws towards a conclusion, or, at least, until something important or interesting arises out of it. We may mention, however, that those of the accused of April, 1834, who have consented to defend themselves before the Court of Peers, have received a declaration on the part of their co-accused who will not so consent, that they are considered as renegades from the republican cause they espoused, and are henceforth banished from the republican societies.

On the 10th of June the Chamber of Deputies went into the question of ways and means for the year 1836. In the course of the debate, M. d'Harcourt and General Demarçay proposed an amendment for immediately and considerably reducing the duty on foreign iron. This judicious amendment was, however, rejected by a small majority.

A few days after, the Chamber of Peers sanctioned the American Indemnity Bill by a majority of 122 to 25, stipulating, at the same time, for the honour of France, that the money is not to be paid until General President Jackson, explains away his threats, and makes a proper apology. It remains to be seen *how much* apology the old republican will make, or *how little* the French will be satisfied with.

Though evidently called upon by the Queen of Spain for an armed intervention, it appears that France, like England, is not disposed to enter into the war for the present. There is a talk, however, of Louis Philippe's withdrawing his "Foreign Legion" from Algiers, and *permitting it* to volunteer in Spain. We could have wished her young Majesty better auxiliaries, as the said legionaries have enjoyed but a very indifferent reputation in Africa. A considerable French squadron has sailed from Toulon to join the English in the waters of Athens, or the Piræus, and to do honour on the 24th of June, to the coronation of the young King Otho.

SPAIN.

The affairs of the Queen and the Constitutionalists have continued on the decline.

On the 16th of May, while the Procuradores were engaged in a debate on the national debt, intelligence reached Madrid of some insurrectionary movements at Cadiz, to suppress which General Riojas was immediately despatched.

In the north the Carlists have considerably enlarged the field of their operations, and had the best of several paltry skirmishes. They obliged the Christinos to withdraw from the Amescous, whither they had penetrated, and caused them a loss of three hundred men.

General Valdez, unable to do more than Mina, or Rodil, or the rest of his predecessors in the command of the army of the north, has entirely changed the plan of his campaign, and instead of advancing, has withdrawn, and taken up a position on the banks of the Ebro, which is to serve as the pivot of his future operations. For several weeks there has been a talk of removing Valdez from the command, and substituting the Count de Espeleta or the Marquis de las Amarillas. This would be the sixth change of Generals!

With the exception of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Bilboa, and Vittoria, the Constitutional army has abandoned all Biscay and Navarre to the Pretender. The Basque peasants, that chiefly compose the army of Don Carlos, have

not had much experience in sieges, and are not very likely, we should think, to quit their own mountains, where they are strongs to follow the enemy to a field of their own choosing, where they would lose all their advantages, and be comparatively weak.

In the mean time, by an order in council dated the 9th of June, the government of this country has suspended the Foreign Enlistment Bill in favour of the Constitutionalists; and we may confidently rely on the slowness and indecision of both parties, which will no doubt allow plenty of time for the British auxiliaries, who under this permission are about to proceed to the seat of war, to reach Spain before anything decisive takes place. The worst news for the Constitutionalists is, that the Catalonians have lately shown a pretty general disposition to take up arms in favour of Don Carlos. As they are a privileged people, like the inhabitants of Biscay and Navarre, under the old laws of the monarchy which the Pretender swears to respect, he has always had a party among them, and that party has been strengthened by the evasion and flight from France of the Count d'Espagne, who, it appears, after visiting Don Carlos' head-quarters, has returned among them. The Count, who is a fiery absolutist, possesses extraordinary influence throughout Catalonia. The manner in which he escaped is not very honourable; but honour and a man's word and oath are apt to be held as nothing when he can once persuade himself that all he does is for the cause of God and his legitimate king. According to a respectable French paper, "M. le Count d'Espagne had only received permission to sojourn on the French territory, on condition of residing at a very considerable distance from the frontiers of the Pyrenees, and not to take any part in any political intrigue. In order to assure itself that this engagement would be fulfilled," the government caused the Count to be the subject of a continued surveillance. This surveillance having greatly annoyed him, he requested to be relieved from it, 'on his engaging his word and honour, and that in writing, not to leave Tours without the consent of the French government. The following is the letter containing the engagement of the Count d'Espagne, the original of which is in the hands of the Minister of the Interior:—

"'I have the honour to thank you for the pains you have taken to cause to cease that surveillance of which I was so unjustly the object; and I promise, on my word of honour, not to leave Tours without your permission, so long as I shall not have obtained the revocation of the order which sent me here.

"'Your very humble servant,

"'THE COUNT D'ESPAGNE.'

"It was by breaking this written engagement that the Count d'Espagne succeeded in evading the police."

On the 14th of June the Carlists began to bombard Bilboa, but their attack was badly managed, the town was well disposed and garrisoned, and Valdez was in a state to succour it, if necessary, from Pampeluna. An English man-of-war in port at Bilboa, landed some guns and men for the protection of British property in the town.

The last news that has reached us through France, is very important, but in some particulars requires confirmation. We give it as we received it. On the 11th of June Triarte defeated with great loss a Carlist Corps which had advanced to an open position only two leagues from Vittoria. On the 16th of June, Zumalacarreguy, who had approached Bilboa, which a part of his army was still bombarding, was dangerously wounded in the right thigh, and compelled, in consequence, to give up his command to Eraso, and retire to Durango, whither he was carried in a litter. The loss of this chief, or even the circumstance of his being put *hors-de-combat* for any length of time will be a serious detriment to the cause of Don Carlos, who has no officer that can at all supply his place. On both sides there is surprising paucity of military talent, Saarsfeld being probably the best General on the Queen's side.

The intelligence which follows is authentic, and has been officially announced in the Government Gazette at Madrid.

The chief minister, Martinez de la Rosa, whose fall has been so often reported, has sent in his resignation, and the new cabinet is thus composed:—

Count Toreno, President of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Mendizabal (financial agent in London to the Portuguese Government), Minister of Finance: Marquis de Las Amarillas, Minister of War; M. Garcia Herreros, Minister of Grace and Justice; M. Alvarez Guerra, Minister of the Interior; General Alava, Minister of Marine.

Intelligence of the suspension of our Foreign Enlistment Bill has reached Madrid, where the prospect of the speedy appearance of Colonel Evans, with his British corps d'armée, has given great joy to the constitutionalists, who now hope, by such assistance, to be able to dispose of the Carlists without any more direct intervention on the part of the English, French, or Portuguese governments. They have sent agents into France to engage Polish, Italian, and German Refugees, and King Leopold is permitting them to recruit among the Belgians. Only the want of money can hinder them from raising a strong mercenary army. On the other hand, a curious report is in circulation, that the Emperor of Russia has invited the exiled Poles to enter the army of Don Carlos, promising them that when the good cause has triumphed, they shall all be pardoned and permitted to return to their homes.

In this brief summary of events we need not go into the question of the armed interference to which we were certainly bound by the quadruple alliance treaty. The present arrangement, is probably, under all circumstances, as much better for the parties interested, than the marching of a French army, and the sailing of an English fleet, as a settlement of the question, and the expulsion of Don Carlos by the Spaniards themselves would have been better than this arrangement, which makes the national cause – the decision whether constitutionalism or absolutism shall be the future rule of Spain—depend, in a great measure, on foreign bayonets; whereas it ought to have been worked out by their own feelings, convictions, and exertions.

Some thousands of stands of arms, with abundance of ammunition, have been sent from England by our Government, which is to give the Spanish Court a long credit for the amount.

PORTUGAL.

HERE there have been other and sweeping alterations in the cabinet. The Lisbon Gazette of the 27th of May, contained the following royal decree:—

"Considering the circumstances which concur in the person of the Marquis de Saldanha, Counsellor of State, I have thought fit to appoint him Secretary of State for the Affairs of War.

"Let the Count de Linhares, Minister and Secretary of State for the Affairs of the Marine, President of the Council of Ministers, thus understand it, and cause the same to be executed.

"Palace of the Necessidades, May 26.

(Signed by her Majesty's sign manual.)

"To the Conde Linhares."

On the next day the Marquis Saldanha was appointed President of the Council of Ministers, and the following cabinet was constructed:—

"The Duke of Palmella, Minister for Foreign Affairs, instead of the Count of Villa Real, who also held the War Department pro tempore.

"Senhor Joao de Souza Pinto Magalhaes, Minister for the Home Department, instead of Agostinho Jose Freire.

"The Marquis de Loule takes the place of the Count de Linhares as Minister for the Affairs of the Marine and Colonies.

"Senhor Francisco Antonio de Campos succeeds to the Department of Finance, which has hitherto been so ably directed by Jose da Silva de Carvalho.

"Senhor Manoel Antonio de Carvalho supplies the place of Manoel Duarte Leitao, as Minister and Secretary of State for Ecclesiastical and Judicial Affairs."

The country seems to enjoy considerable tranquillity, and the only recent quarrels at Lisbon have been between ministers and certain British and other foreign officers who had become clamorous for their arrears of pay. A considerable force of horse and foot is now kept on the frontiers of Gallicia to assist the Queen of Spain in case of need.

Donna Maria's marriage has not been settled as yet. Some of the Portuguese papers continue to speak of Louis Philippe's second son, the Duke of Nemours, as the most eligible match.

GERMANY.

ACCORDING to several of the newspapers of this country, the Grand Duchy of Baden has at length consented to join the Prussian trade-league, or, as it is now called in all the North, the general commercial union of Germany. The journals overflow with articles in praise of this league, which, they assert, will support German manufactures against those of England and France. They seem to contain very little more home news, except a long story about a mad soldier who blew up the powder magazine near Munich, and himself with it.

We have had occasion to allude more than once to certain differences which have long existed between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, respecting the precise demarcation or line of frontiers between the Prussian dominions of Silesia and Poland. It is now said that these disputes have been amicably arranged, and that the ratifications of a treaty of final adjustment were exchanged at Berlin some two months since.

A newspaper article, dated Vienna, speaks of the new steam navigation of the Danube as being very prosperous and rapidly improving. From the same quarter we learn that the new emperor has shortened the term of confinement of three of the political prisoners of Spielberg.

The grand review of Prussian and Russian troops which was to have taken place in the spring at Kalish, has been postponed. The emperor of Austria has been earnestly invited to be present at it.

The governments of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, have renewed in some degree their ancient amicable relations with their Swiss neighbours, in consequence of notes and explanations addressed to them by Berne as the Vorort, or president, for the time being of all the cantons.

[By mistake an acknowledgment was omitted in our last number of a letter received from an intelligent correspondent on the subject of the constitutional changes in the government of Denmark. If the writer of it will compare the simple result of his own statements with our short notes on that head, he will see that there is no material difference between us. As he seems to possess good sources of information we should feel obliged to him for any intelligence he may receive of an important change. There are certain quiet, respectable countries which our journalists and purveyors of news seldom or ever touch upon, and Denmark is one of them.]

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

May 20. At a convocation held at Oxford, it was proposed to substitute at matriculation a subscription to the following declaration, instead of the usual subscription to the thirty-nine articles:—"I. A. B. declare that I do, so far as my knowledge extends, assent to the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland, as set forth in her thirty-nine articles; that I will conform to her liturgy and discipline; and that I am ready and willing to be instructed in her articles of religion, as required by the statutes of this University." On a division, the numbers in favour of the alteration were 57, and against it 459.

— A meeting was held at the British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, Westminster, T. W. Coke, Esq. in the chair, at which it was resolved to establish a Reform Association, to ensure the registration of the electors of Great Britain and to protect them in the independent exercise of the elective franchise. A large number of names of noblemen and gentlemen appear in the published list of the committee; and G. Grote, Esq., M.P. is appointed treasurer of the association.

— At a meeting of the Pitt Club, held in Edinburgh, it was, on the motion of Lord Meadowbank, unanimously resolved to appropriate 1000*l.* sterling for the establishment, in the University of Edinburgh, of a prize to be given annually to the most deserving of the students attending the Divinity Hall, and which should be termed and known by the name of the "Pitt Prize." The trustees appointed were his Grace the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Glasgow, Viscount Melville, and Lord Meadowbank, to whom were committed full powers as to the regulations under which the prize should be bestowed.—*Scotsman.*

27. At the close of the contested election for South Staffordshire, (which the newspapers state to be the only contested election which has occurred there for the last 85 years) a disturbance took place at Wolverhampton, which led to the reading of the Riot Act and the intervention of the military. Several individuals received gunshot wounds in the affray, and others were injured in the crowd and confusion of the riot. Sir Frederick Roe was soon after sent down by government to investigate the matter. At first the inquiry was made private, and strangers and reporters were excluded, but on the representation of various parties who took a deep interest in the matter, an order was sent from the Home Office that the examinations should be conducted in public. The evidence taken has been reported in the newspapers, but nothing further has yet been done.

29. The London Pitt Club celebrated its triennial commemoration of the birth of the Right Hon. William Pitt, in Merchant Taylors' Hall, Lord Viscount Mahon was in the chair, and amongst the company, which was very numerous, were the Duke of Wellington, Marquises Camden, Chandos, Salisbury, Earls Dartmouth, Lonsdale, Brownlow, &c. Sir Robert Peel was not present.

— Mr. Hill applied, in the Court of King's Bench, for a writ of *habeas corpus ad testificandum*, to bring up a person of the name of Pilgrim, who was in the gaol of Norwich, to give evidence before the Ipswich election committee. The application was granted.

30. Lord Palmerston was elected for Tiverton without opposition, the representation of the borough being become vacant by the retirement of J. Kennedy, Esq.

June 2. The Rev. Mr. Dawson, a clergyman of the church of England, was murdered at Ballinacraig, about nine miles to the southward of Limerick. It is stated that the murder arose out of disputes with a portion of the rev. gentleman's tenantry respecting the renewal of their leases.

4. The anniversary of the charitable schools of the metropolis was held, as usual, in St. Paul's Cathedral The sermon was preached by the bishop of Worcester. Amongst the audience was prince Jameh-ood-deen, a son of the celebrated Tippoo Saib, and one of the hostages given to Lord Cornwallis in 1792, who is at present on a visit to this country.

5. At the Kent special sessions, the grand jury found a true bill against eighteen persons, most of whom were labourers, for being concerned in riots which took place on the introduction of the New Poor Law Bill into that district, and the consequent change of system. On the trial, several of the prisoners received good characters from the parochial officers. They were all found guilty, but were recommended to mercy.

6. The third anniversary of the London Almshouses Institution, to celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill, was held in the London Tavern, Lord Brougham in the chair.

8. Miss Kelly took a farewell benefit at Drury Lane Theatre, which was crowded on the occasion. In her parting address, she assigned the declining taste for theatrical performances as one cause of her quitting the stage.

The ceremony of distributing the rewards adjudged by the Society of Arts during the present session to successful essayists in matters connected with the arts and sciences, took place at Exeter Hall. Admiral Sir E. Coddrington, Bart., M.P., was in the chair.

9. The triennial ceremony, called the Eton Montem, which is always celebrated on Whit Tuesday, took place. Their Majesties, who were present, and the weather being fine, the company was very numerous.

11. At a meeting of the Merchant Tailors' Company, held according to annual custom, for the purpose of electing the head scholars of the School to St. John's College, Oxford, Viscount Canterbury, the late speaker of the House of Commons, was presented with the freedom of the company, after which a large party dined in the Hall.

17. The forty-seventh anniversary of the Literary Fund was celebrated at the Freemason's Hall. The Duke of Somerset was in the chair. On the health of Azmi Bey, the patron of the Lancasterian system in Persia, being drank, the compliment was acknowledged by him through his interpreter, who stated that full 10,000 children were receiving instruction under the Lancasterian system in Persia.

18. William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham, died this day, aged as stated by his son, about 73 years. The disease of which he died was inflammation of the throat, with which he had been attacked only a few days before. He retained his faculties to the last, and died without enduring much suffering.

— An explosion took place at one of Mr. Russell's mines at Wallsend, about four miles from Newcastle. Upwards of an hundred individuals, most of them young men and boys, lost their lives by this melancholy occurrence.

Government has converted the loan of 20*l.* to emigrants proceeding to Australia into a gift, and has issued orders that all outstanding boons be remitted, so as to place those who have already received assistance on the same footing with those who will receive it on the new arrangement.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 32. AUGUST 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Glass Manufacture . . .	429	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	441
The New Irish Church Bill .	433	Trade, Statistics, &c. . . .	442
Some Notes on the Trade of the Levant.—Turkey, Greece, and Syria	437	Parliamentary Register . . .	444
Amendments in the Municipal Corporations Bill	440	Political Retrospect for July	445
		Chronicle of Occurrences . .	451

THE GLASS MANUFACTURE.

THE beautiful art of making glass was known in ancient times not only to the Romans but to the people of India, and also in all probability to other oriental nations. Its invention indeed was attributed by the Romans to the Phœnicians: the common story being, that the crew of a merchant vessel of that country having landed at the mouth of the river Belus, had accidentally fallen upon it by using some pieces of nitre with which the vessel was loaded, in supporting their kettles on the fires which they kindled on the sand to cook their victuals. The nitre, which is an alkali, combining with the sand in fusion, produced lumps of glass. Pliny, who in his Natural History gives us this account, informs us also that the Phœnicians were wont to shape the articles which they formed of glass sometimes by blowing, and sometimes by grinding them on a lathe, and that they possessed the art of tinging the glass with different colours. We still possess many specimens of Roman vessels made of glass, and from the prices which are recorded to have been paid for some articles of this description, we may infer that the ornamental manufacture had been carried to a considerable degree of perfection and splendour. Pliny mentions two glass cups for which Nero gave 6000 sestertii, which, however, is not, according to the ordinary method of reckoning, 50,000*l.*, as stated by Mr. M'Culloch in his "Commercial Dictionary" (apparently from confounding *sestertii* with *sestertia*), but only about 50*l.* of our money. But like many of the other arts, which were very successfully cultivated by the ancients, in so far as they could be made to minister to the wants of the few wealthy persons in the community, the manufacture of glass does not appear to have been extensively applied by them to purposes of general utility. In particular, the most important modern application of glass, its employment in windows, was probably altogether unknown. "There is no authentic evidence," says Mr. M'Culloch, "of glass being used in windows previously to the third or fourth century; and then, and for long after, it was used only in churches and other public buildings."

Like most of the other processes, however, which had become subservient in any of their applications to the needs of common life, the art of making glass seems never to have been lost after its first introduction. With the household arts and all the ordinary handicrafts, it probably survived the great overthrow of ancient European civilization, the destruction of the Western empire, in which so many of the luxurious arts wholly perished. The modern nations of Europe appear to have received the art originally from the Italians.

"In this country," says Mr. M'Culloch, "even so late as the latter part of the sixteenth century, glass (he appears to mean, in windows) was very rarely met with. In a survey of Alnwick Castle made in 1573, it is stated—'And because through extreme winds the glass of the windows of this and other my lord's castles and houses here in the country doth decay and waste, it was good the whole lights of every window, at the departure of his lordship from lying at any of his said castles and houses, and during the time of his lordship's absence, or others lying in them, were taken down and laid up in safety; and at such time as either his lordship or any other should be at any of the said places, the same might then be set up of new, with small charges, whereas now the decay thereof shall be very costly and chargeable to be repaired.' (Northumberland Household Book, xvii.) Sir F. M. Eden thinks it probable that glass windows were not introduced into farm-houses in England much before the reign of James I. They are mentioned in a lease in 1615 in a parish in Suffolk. In Scotland, however, as late as 1661, the windows of ordinary country-houses were not glazed, and only the upper parts of even those in the king's palaces had glass, the lower ones having two wooden shutters, to open at pleasure, and admit the fresh air. From a passage in Harrison's Description of England it may be inferred that glass was introduced into country houses in the reign of Henry VIII. He says—'Of old time,' (meaning, probably, the beginning of the century,) 'our country houses, instead of glass, did use much lattice, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oak, in chequerwise; I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons, did make panels of horn instead of glass, and fixed them in wooden calms (casements); but as horn in windows is now (1584) quite laid down in every place, so our lattices are also grown into disuse, because glass is come to be so plentiful, and within very little so good cheap, if not better than the other.'"

In our edition of Holinshed and Harrison, which is that of 1587, the expression is that lattices had then grown not into disuse, but "into less use." But part of what immediately follows the passage quoted by Mr. M'Culloch, deserves also to be extracted, for the sake of some curious information which it contains, both on the substitutes anciently used for glass in England, and also on the state of the English glass manufacture in the time of the writer. In mentioning the Saxons as above, the writer remarks in a parenthesis that they "notwithstanding, used some glass also since the time of Benedict Bishop, the monk that brought the feat of glazing first into this land." This refers to a statement made by Bede respecting the rebuilding of the abbey and church of Wearmouth in the year 674. "Abbot Benedict," says that historian, "brought over from France, along with other artificers, those skilled in the making of glass, which till then had been unknown in Britain, wherewith he glazed the windows of that church and monastery, and thereby taught the English the art of glass-making, which has proved so useful in making of lamps for churches, and other vessels for divers uses." Harrison goes on: "I find obscure mention of the Specular stone also to have been found and applied to this use in England, but in such doubtful sort as I dare not affirm it for certain. Nevertheless, certain it is that antiquity used it before glass was known, under the name of Selenites." He then tells the story already quoted from Pliny about the alleged discovery of glass-making by the Phœnician mariners; after which he proceeds as follows:—"Now, to turn again to our windows. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beryl (an example whereof is yet to be seen in Sudley Castle), and in divers other places with fine crystal, but this especially in the time of the Romans, whereof also some fragments have been taken up in old ruins. But now these are not in use, so that only the dearest glass is most esteemed; for we have divers sorts, some brought out of

Burgundy, some out of Normandy, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best if we were diligent and careful to bestow more cost upon it, and yet, as it is, each one that may will have it for his building."

In a preceding part of his treatise (Book I. c. 18) Harrison says — "Glass also has been made here in great plenty before and in the time of the Romans; and the said stuff also, beside fine scissars, sheers, collars of gold and silver for women' necks, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcel of the tribute which Augustus in his days laid upon this island." What the old chronicler's authority for these assertions may be we do not know. Anderson, in his History of Commerce, under the year 1180, has the following paragraph:—"About this time glass windows are said to have been first in any kind of common use in England; they had been discovered long before, but were very scarce in private houses, and ranked even till now as a kind of luxury, and as a mark of great magnificence. Italy had them first, next France, from whence the fashion of using them came into England."

Other kinds of glass, besides that used for windows, had begun to be manufactured in England before the time when Harrison wrote. Dr. Chamberlayne, in his "Present State of England, for 1683," asserts that glasses (for drinking) were first begun to be made in England in the year 1557. "The finer sort," he says, "was made in the place called Crutched Friars, in London." And he adds, "The fine flint-glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy House, in the Strand, London; but the first glass-plates, for looking-glasses and coach-windows, were made about the year 1673, at Lambeth, by the encouragement of the Duke of Buckingham." Under the year 1670 Anderson writes, "About this time it was that the Duke of Buckingham sent for the best glass-makers, glass grinders, and polishers, from Venice; which public-spirited design has since so well succeeded, as to be now enabled to send to that very place, and to almost every other part of Europe, and to Asia, Africa, and America, the very finest glass of all sorts that the earth can produce." This was written in 1763.

There is also a very curious passage in Harrison's Description about the drinking-glasses in use in his time in England. In his Second Book, Chapter 6th, "Of the food and diet of the English," he says, "It is a world to see in these our days, wherein gold and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentility, as loathing those metals (because of the plenty), do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beer, than any of these metals or stone, wherein before-time we have been accustomed to drink; but such is the nature of man generally that it most coveteth things difficult to be attained, and such is the estimation of this stuff, that many become rich only with their new trade into Murana (a town near to Venice, situate on the Adriatic sea), from whence the very best are daily to be had, and such as for beauty do well near match the crystal, or the ancient *Murrhina Vasa*, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is seen in the gentility, so in the wealthy commonalty the like desire of glass is not neglected, whereby the gain gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased, to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest, also, will have glass if they may, but sith the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone; but in fine all go one way, that is, to shards, at the last; so that our great expenses in glasses (beside that they breed much strife toward such as have the charge of them), are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, because their pieces do turn unto no profit." And then he adds the following strange remark, with a reference on the margin to Roger Bacon, "If the philosophers' stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with forty of molten glass, it would induce such a metallical toughness thereunto, that a fall should nothing hurt it, in such manner, yet it might peradventure bunch or batter it, nevertheless that inconvenience were quickly to be redressed by the hammer." This notion will remind some of our readers of a story told by Pliny, about an artist having, in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, found out the way of making cold glass ductile and malleable. The man, says the story, having presented himself before Tiberius, put into his hands a phial, which the Emperor immediately threw with contempt on the ground. But the man, taking up the fragments, drew a small hammer from his bosom, and with a little beating soon made the phial whole again. The Emperor, on this, having first ascertained that no other person knew the secret, commanded the head of the unfortunate artist to be forthwith struck off, lest by his discovery gold and silver should lose their value. Pliny acknowledges, however, that this story had more currency than credibility. The project of making glass malleable seems to have been a favourite speculation of Harrison's. He returns to the subject in his Third Book, Chapter 11, 'Of metals to be had in our land,' where he complains that the smelting of iron "breedeth great expense and waste of wood, as doth," he adds, "the making of our pots and table vessels of glass, wherein is much loss, sith it is so quickly broken; and yet (as I think) easy to be made tougher, if our alchymists could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would induce a metallical toughness unto it, whereby it should abide the hammer." The prejudice entertained against the glass-manufacture, on account of its consumption of wood, breaks out again in the Chronicle, where, under the year 1575, the author writes, "The fourth of September, being Sunday, about seven of the clock in the morning, a certain glass-house, which some time had been in the Crossed Friars' Hall, near to the Tower of London, burst out on a terrible fire; whereunto the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with all expedition repaired, and practised there all means possible, by water-buckets, hooks, and otherwise, to have quenched it. All which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantity of wood by making of fine drinking glasses, now itself, having within it near forty thousand billets of wood, was all consumed to the stone walls, which walls greatly defended the fire from spreading further, and doing any more harm." This glass-house in Crossed, or Crutched Friars, was the same in which the finer sort of flint-glass was originally made, as mentioned above on the authority of Chamberlayne. The apprehensions about the waste of timber occasioned by the glass and iron manufactures continued to prevail long after Harrison's time. Some notices of the precautions adopted under the influence of this alarm in the case of the manufacture of iron may be found in our article on that manufacture, in the fifteenth number of the *Companion*. It appears that in 1619, Sir Robert Mansel, having discovered a method of making glass with coal, obtained a grant from James I., prohibiting all persons for a certain period from using timber for that purpose. The principal pretence for the prohibition was the better preservation of timber; but as the grant also prohibited the importation of foreign glass, we may infer that its real object was to secure to Mansel a monopoly of his invention, for which favour his majesty no doubt had received a proper consideration. This grant is recited in a proclamation issued in 1635 by King Charles I., which is printed in Rymer. "Yet," the proclamation proceeds, "ill-minded persons, to the prejudice of our own glass-works, having presumed to import foreign glass, we now strictly prohibit the same during the term granted by King James to Sir James Mansell for the sole making of glass; he having, by his industry and great expense, perfected that manufacture with sea-coal or pit-coal; whereby not only the woods and timber of this kingdom are greatly preserved, but the making of all kinds of glass is established here, to the saving of much treasure at home, and the employment of great numbers of our people; and our subjects are now furnished with glass at far more moderate prices than they were when brought from foreign parts." "Yet the king," says Anderson, from whom we take the notice, "permits the said Sir Robert Mansell to import such glasses from Venice, Morana, or other parts of Italy, as he should think fit, for special uses and services. This permission, without doubt, related to the fine Venetian flint-glasses for drinking, the making of which in England was not brought to perfection till the reign of King Charles's grandson, King William III."

The present state of the glass manufacture is the subject of the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment, which has just been laid before Parliament by the command of his Majesty. This Report, together with an appendix of documents and evidence, makes a folio volume of 158 pages. We shall endeavour to present an abstract of the most important of its statements, but without adhering in all cases to the order in which the different topics have been arranged by the Commissioners.

It may be necessary to premise that the several kinds and denominations of glass are the following:—

1. Flint Glass, of which are made drinking glasses, and most ornamental articles, and under which name are included enamel, stained, and paste glasses. By the present law, also, all "bottles of less size or content than what is commonly deemed and reputed a half pint bottle," must be made of flint, or, as it is often called to distinguish it from the material of common bottles, white glass; such small bottles are legally termed phials. Flint glass is also called glass of lead, because a considerable portion of it consists of that metal. It is not now manufactured, as originally, of ground flints, but of purified sand.

2. Plate Glass, or cast plate glass, called also glass of pure soda, because in manufacturing it carbonate of soda is employed as the flux, or ingredient for promoting the melting of the composition. All mirrors are made of plate glass, and it is also sometimes employed in windows. The very large pieces of glass forming the windows of many of the London shops are of plate glass.

3. Crown Glass. This is the proper window glass, of the finer sort. It is manufactured of sand vitrified by kelp. Under the same head with crown glass is included what is called German sheet glass, which is made from coarser materials, and is generally considered to be an inferior article.

4. Broad or Spread Glass, which is the coarser kind of window glass, and is made from a mixture of soapboilers' waste, kelp, and sand.

5. Bottle, or Green Glass, the material of all bottles except phials. It is made of sand and soapboilers' waste, without the addition of any fresh kelp.

It thus appears that Mirrors are made only of plate glass; Windows of crown glass, German sheet glass, broad glass, and sometimes of plate glass; Vessels for drinking and other purposes, and ornamental articles, of flint glass, and the coarser of green or bottle glass. Flint glass is commonly blown, but sometimes moulded or pressed;—Plate glass is commonly cast by being poured upon an iron table, and then having a roller passed over it; but it is also sometimes blown;—Crown glass is blown into hollow spheres, which being then perforated, are what is called *flashed*, that is, expanded by a rapid rotary motion into circular sheets called tables;—German sheet glass is blown into hollow cylinders, which are not flashed, but cut or split longitudinally, and flattened by pressure into tables of a rectangular shape;—Broad glass is blown like crown glass;—Bottle-glass is blown at once into the shape required. All kinds of glass, therefore, are most commonly shaped by blowing, except plate glass, which is usually cast.

The Report commences with a detail of the successive enactments of which the English glass manufacture has been the subject. "A duty upon glass wares," it is stated, "was first imposed by a statute of 6 and 7 W. and M., which enacts that a sum, varying in amount to the nature of the articles therein specified, shall be levied upon all such wares, whether manufactured in England, or imported from foreign ports. This duty, which had been granted for five years, was continued and made perpetual by an Act of the following year. By a statute of the session immediately succeeding, after reciting that 'it is found by experience that the said rates and duties upon glass and glass wares are too great, so that the makers of those manufactures in this kingdom are thereby discouraged,' it is enacted that one-half part of the said rates and duties should cease and determine. By another Act passed in the following year (10 and 11 Wm. III. c. 18), after reciting that 'it is found by experience that the remaining duties on glass and glass wares are very vexatious and troublesome in the levying and collecting the same, and of small advantage to the Crown, and should the same be continued would lessen the duty on coals much more than the said duties on glass wares will amount to, will hinder the employing great numbers of poor, and endanger the loss of so beneficial a manufacture to this kingdom,' it was enacted that the remaining moiety or half-part of the rates and duties imposed by the aforesaid Acts upon the said glass or glass wares should cease and determine.

"The preambles which we have quoted from the above-mentioned obsolete statutes appear to us to be worthy of attention, as placing upon record the impression produced upon the legislature of that day by an experience of two or three years of the effects resulting from the imposition of an Excise duty on glass; and we may add, that the repetition of the same experiment subsequently made, after the lapse of about half a century, will be found to have been attended with the same effects as those which are described in the statute of Wm. III., namely, that the 'rates and duties upon glass and glass wares are too great, and that this beneficial manufacture has been thereby discouraged.'"

After this the glass manufacture remained free from any duty for about forty-six years. At length in 1746 (by the 19 Geo. II. c. 12) all materials used in the manufacture of crown, plate, and flint glass, were subjected to a duty of 9*s.* 4*d.*, and all those used in the manufacture of green glass to a duty of 2*s.* 4*d.* the hundred weight, such duties to be under the management of the Excise; a protection being at the same time granted to the manufacturer by the imposition of certain additional duties upon all foreign glass imported into England.

The duties thus imposed were varied and increased by a long succession of subsequent Acts. At length in 1813 the duties on all the descriptions of the manufacture were at once raised to double their previous amount; that on flint and plate glass from 2*l.* 9*s.* to 4*l.* 18*s.* per cwt.; that on crown glass and German sheet, from 1*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* to 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; that on broad glass from 15*s.* to 1*l.* 10*s.*; and that on bottle glass from 4*s.* 1*d.* to 8*s.* 2*d.*

The duties continued at these rates till 1819, when that on plate glass was reduced to 3*l.* "This reduction," the Commissioners remark, "was probably made in consequence of the progressive falling off of the manufacture, and of the produce of the duty, in the six years succeeding the imposition of the high rate. In 1825 the change was made in the mode of taking the duty on flint and phial glass, by charging the duty on the pound weight of the fluxed materials, with a further charge per pound on the excess of the weight of the manufactured article above the weight of the materials. The last change in the rates of duty appears to have been in the year 1830, when the rate on common bottles was reduced from 8*s.* 2*d.* to 7*s.* per cwt. This reduction, however, does not appear to have been attended with a corresponding increase of consumption, the last year of the lower duty having produced about 10,000*l.* less than the last year of the higher rate."

From a return by the Excise Office specifying the rates of duty and gross amount of duty received upon each denomination of glass in each year since 1770, and from other accounts given in the report and the appendix, we abstract the following statements. Shillings and pence are omitted in the sums.

In 1770 the total gross amount of duty received upon glass in England was 85,260*l.*; being upon bottle glass 25,759*l.*, and upon all other descriptions, 59,500*l.*

In 1777, no change of rates having taken place in the mean time, the bottle glass duties yielded 28,994*l.*, and those on other descriptions, 67,343*l.*, making in all 96,337*l.*

In 1778 the duties upon plate and flint glass were doubled: those upon crown and German sheet were raised from 9*s.* 4*d.* to 14*s.*: those upon bottle glass were raised from 2*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, and a duty of 7*s.* per cwt. was for the first time imposed upon broad glass. The result was, that that year the gross amount of duty was 131,817*l.*; namely, from flint and plate, 40,176*l.*; from crown and German sheet, 44,310*l.*; from bottle, 39,627*l.*; and from broad, 7703*l.*

For some years following, however, the produce of the duties rather declined. In 1781 it amounted to 131,415*l.*; namely, from flint and plate, 13,655*l.*; from crown and German sheet, 46,486*l.*; from bottle, 34,072*l.*; and from broad, 7200*l.*

In 1793, a slight increase of the rates having taken place in the interval, the duties on flint and plate produced 67,423*l.*; those on crown and German sheet, 73,769*l.*; those on bottle, 54,626*l.*; and those on broad, 8581*l.*; making in all 204,400*l.*

In 1794 the duty on flint and plate was raised from 1*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* to 1*l.* 12*s.* 2½*d.*, and that on crown and German sheet, from 16*s.* 1¼*d.* to 1*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* In 1795 the flint and plate duties produced 88,632*l.*; the crown and German sheet, 71,763*l.*; the bottle, 47,617*l.*; and the broad, 8883*l.*; making in all, 216,897*l.*

In 1804, up to which time the duties had been increased only by a few pence per cwt., the produce of the flint and plate duties was 120,593*l.*; that of the crown and German sheet duties, 103,058*l.*; that of the bottle duties, 53,185*l.*; and that of the broad duties, 5205*l.*; making in all 282,043*l.*

In 1805 the duties on flint and plate were raised to 1*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*; those on crown and German sheet to 1*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; and those on broad to 12*s.* 3*d.* In 1807 those on flint and plate were farther raised to 2*l.* 9*s.*; and in 1810 those on broad glass were raised to 15*s.* In 1811 the gross receipts were, from flint and plate, 222,365*l.*; from crown and German sheet, 157,205*l.*; from bottle, 67,819*l.*; and from broad, 7251*l.*; making in all 454,641*l.*

In 1813, as already mentioned, the rate of duty upon every description of glass was doubled. Plate glass, which hitherto had been classed with flint, was now also classed as a separate description. In 1814 the gross amount of the duties received on flint glass was 240,476*l.*; on plate, 45,345*l.*; on crown and German sheet, 369,004*l.*; on bottle, 95,538*l.*; and on broad, 12,942*l.*; making in all 663,308*l.*

It appears, therefore, that the increase of the duty, though it brought a considerably larger sum into the Exchequer, diminished the consumption of glass upon the whole, and must have operated as a check upon the manufacture. The effect upon the consumption of plate glass in particular was very perceptible. In 1816 the duties received on that description of glass declined to 36,795*l.*, and in 1817 to 21,502*l.* In 1820 the duty having, as stated above, been lowered in the preceding year to 3*l.*, the amount received was 27,192*l.* The consumption has since increased, as we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel, from a cause which has operated favourably in spite of the duty; but still it appears to fluctuate considerably. In 1834 the produce of the duties was 56,781*l.*, but in 1832 it was only 36,810*l.* The consumption of flint glass, again, taking into account the increase of the population, must be considered as having also decidedly declined during the seven or eight years immediately following the augmentation of the duty in 1813. In 1820 the amount of the duties received on this description of glass was only 234,691*l.*, and in 1821 it was only 243,378*l.* In 1824 it was 287,799*l.* The same thing may be said of the consumption of the finer descriptions of window-glass, crown and German sheet. In 1820 the duties received on these descriptions amounted only to 258,723*l.*, and in 1821 only to 277,954*l.* In 1830 the amount was only 304,643*l.*, whereas in 1806, when the rate of duty was only half as great, it was 464,684*l.*, indicating a considerably larger consumption. In 1833, however, it rose to 477,693*l.*, and last year it was 502,401*l.* Of broad glass, judging by the produce of the duty, the consumption appears to have been, till very lately, scarcely more than half what it was more than twenty years ago, for in 1811, when the duty was only 15*s.*, it produced 7251*l.*; and in 1830, when it was 30*s.*, it produced only 7267*l.* In 1832 the amount was 7956*l.*, and in 1834, 10,119*l.* The consumption of bottle glass may also be said to have been stationary, if it has not declined. The amount of duties received on this description of glass, under the increased rate, has never yet risen to twice what it was in some years before the increase. For instance, in 1808, it was 65,119*l.*; in 1810, 67,138*l.*; and in 1811, 67,819*l.*; whereas the highest years since the augmentation of the duty have been 1818, when it was only 134,367*l.*; 1826, when it was 135,545*l.*; and 1827, when it was 135,358*l.* In 1828 the duty was reduced from 8*s.* 2*d.* to 7*s.*, and the produce for the last few years has been, in 1831, 85,568*l.*; in 1832, 90,052*l.*; in 1833, 93,902*l.*; and, in 1834, 98,357*l.*

It is to be remembered that all the sums here stated as the amount of duty received in each year, are the mere gross receipts, which must be taken as subject to diminution, not only by the allowances and drawbacks payable to the manufacturers and exporters, but also by the expenses of collection.

The highest gross amount of duty ever received on glass manufactured in Scotland was 169,190*l.*, which was received in 1827. Of this sum 21,229*l.* was derived from duties on flint glass 117,215*l.* from those on crown and German sheet; and 30,716*l.* from those on bottle. There is no plate glass manufactured in Scotland. In 1823 the duties on flint glass produced 23,328*l.*; in 1813 those on crown and German sheet produced 122,869*l.*; and in the same year those on bottle glass produced 29,520*l.* These have been the years of greatest productiveness in each branch of the manufacture. In 1832 the total gross amount of the duties was only 45,191*l.*, namely, 17,861*l.* received from flint glass, 2,318*l.* from crown and German sheet, and 15,308*l.* from bottle.

The first duty imposed upon glass manufactured in Ireland was in 1797, when a duty of 1*s.* 3½*d.* per cwt. was imposed upon bottle glass. Flint glass, the only other description manufactured, was not taxed till 1825. The largest total gross amount of duties received on Irish glass is 26,972*l.*, which was received in 1828, being 23,612*l.* on flint glass, and 3360*l.* on bottle glass. In 1834 the total gross amount of the duties was 18,974*l.*, being 14,919*l.* from flint glass, and 4054*l.* from bottle.

The duties on all descriptions of Scotch and Irish glass are now the same as on English, and all the regulations affecting the manufacture are the same for the three parts of the kingdom.

In the Appendix to the Report is given a return furnished by the Board of Excise, specifying the names of the several glass-makers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, the towns or places in which each manufactory is situated, the district or collection in which it is included, the amount of duty paid by each maker in the year ended 5th January, 1833, and the total number and expense of the officers employed in the collection of each duty. "From this return," the commissioners observe, "it will be seen that the total number of entered glass-houses, in the year 1832, was in England 106, and the total amount of duty received from them was 680,081*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.*; that in Scotland the number of glass-houses was ten, and the duty received 45,491*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; and that in Ireland the number of glass-houses was also ten, but the duty received from them only 22,399*l.* 19*s.* 0½*d.* From this return it also appears that the principal seat of the manufacture is at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and that from the establishments in that town, and the neighbouring district of Durham, an amount of duty, approaching to a moiety of the whole amount raised in England, is received. The district of manufacture next in extent to those of Newcastle and Durham, is that of Stourbridge, next to which are the works in the district of Liverpool, including those at Ravenhead, then those of Bristol, then those of Warrington in Cheshire, then those of Birmingham, then those of Leeds, with works paying inferior amounts of duty in the several districts of Manchester, Salop, Sheffield, Stafford, York, and within the limits of the chief office in London.

"Of the works in Scotland, the principal are in the Glasgow collection at Dumbarton, the others being in the districts of Edinburgh, Haddington, Ayr, and Stirling.

"In Ireland, the principal seat of the manufacture is in the neighbourhood of Dublin: there are also works at Cork, Waterford, Dundalk, and Lisburn.

"In the above return the expense of the officers employed in the collection of this head of duty is estimated at between seventeen and eighteen thousand pounds per annum, and the estimate is stated to have been formed on grounds similar to those which were used in forming an estimate for a purpose of the same kind with respect to the duties on soap. We have reason to think, however, that the statement as to glass will be found to be considerably below the real cost of the survey. We believe it will be admitted, that amongst all the growing-duty trades, including soap, there is not one upon which the survey is maintained at so heavy an expense as upon glass.

"We have already had occasion to observe upon the difficulty of obtaining an accurate estimate of the expense at which these excise surveys are maintained on any one class of traders, in consequence of the same officers being employed in the superintendence of several descriptions of traders: this diversity of employment, however, prevails less with respect to glass than with respect to other exciseable articles, since the attention of the officers stationed at a flint glass work is required to be unremitting during the twenty-four hours. Taking the number of glass houses in the United Kingdom at 130, many of which require the constant attendance of three officers, we are satisfied that the cost of the mere survey must be estimated at a considerably higher amount than what is above stated, and at all events it must be recollected that to this estimate must be added a portion of the expense incurred on account of supervisors and other superior or check officers, as well as the expense attending the superintendence of the exports and the allowance of the drawbacks, and that relating to the accounting for and management of this head of duty at the chief office.

"We also insert another account, which we have obtained from the Board of Excise, in which is stated the aggregate amount received from the glass duties in the year 1834, in

the several parts of the United Kingdom, distinguishing the gross receipt from the net receipt:—

	Gross Receipt.	Net Receipt.
England . .	£861,777	£627,803
Scotland . .	36,377	23,466
Ireland . .	18,668	15,176
	£916,822	£666,445

"The sum here stated as the gross receipt for the year 1834, it will be seen, varies in some degree from the sum appearing as the aggregate receipt for the same year in the general account inserted in a preceding page; this difference, however, we apprehend may be explained by the circumstance of the two accounts having been made up to different periods of the year. Our principal reason for calling attention to this separate account for one year is, because it bears upon the face of it one of the strong grounds of objection to be urged against this tax, namely, the large amount of difference between the gross and the net produce; and it must at the same time be observed, that this difference, amounting to 250,377*l.*, includes only those deductions from the gross receipt which consist of allowances made to the persons from whom the tax is collected, in the shape of repayments and drawbacks, and that the sum which is actually applicable to the public service as the produce of this tax, is still further diminished by the whole expense incurred by the department of Excise on account of the charge, collection, and management of this head of duty; so that it will be found that when that deduction has been made, the sum which, correctly speaking, ought to be returned as the net produce of the tax, will not be more than about two-thirds of its nominal gross amount."

The drawbacks allowed upon the exportation of glass to foreign parts, are principally the following:—For every square foot of ground or polished plate glass, 2*s.* 9*d.*; for every cwt. of unground or unpolished plate glass, 3*l.*; for every cwt. of crown or German sheet glass, 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; for every cwt. of panes of ditto, 4*l.* 18*s.*; for every cwt. of broad glass, 1*l.* 10*s.*; and for every cwt. of common bottles, or other vessels or utensils made of bottle glass, 7*s.*

The regulations established by law in regard to the manufacture of the different descriptions of glass, are so multifarious and complex that it is impossible for us here to do more than notice a very few of them, by way of sample. The extract, comprising a detail of them, which the commissioners give from the printed regulations of the Excise, extends to nearly six folio pages.

Among other things, only one of the five descriptions of glass can in any case be made in the same glass-house, with the single exception that plate glass may be made in a glass-house entered and used for making crown glass. Every glass-maker must annually make entry of his name, and of all workhouses, furnaces, pots, pot-chambers, annealing arches, warehouses, rooms, and other places intended to be made use of by him for making or keeping glass, or materials mixed and prepared for making glass, and of every lear for annealing glass, and mark and number every workhouse, pot-chamber, &c. so entered, and take out and pay for a licence for each glass-house, the duty on which is 20*l.* Then comes a host of minute enactments with regard to the construction of the ovens, the length of notices to be given before heating the annealing arch, charging the pots, drawing the glass from the lear, and indeed almost every other operation of the manufacture. "A very slight examination of these complicated regulations," the Commissioners remark, "will be sufficient to show in how great a degree they must necessarily interfere with the process of manufacture, and, in fact, take the general control and management of the business out of the hands of the proprietor; and when it is recollected that the business is one which, for its success, peculiarly depends on the application of scientific principles to the various combinations of the materials which are used either as fluxes, or to form the basis of the product, and especially to the due regulation of heat, both as to its intensity and its duration, it will at once be admitted at how great a disadvantage the business must be carried on, when every part of the process is subjected under all circumstances, however various, to a uniform system of regulations prescribed by Act of Parliament."

The Report next proceeds to consider the several branches of the manufacture in succession; but we must reserve our account of this portion of it till our next number.

THE NEW IRISH CHURCH BILL.

The Bill on the subject of the Irish Church, prepared and brought into the House of Commons on the 7th of July by Lord Viscount Morpeth, Lord John Russell, Lord Viscount Howick, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Hobhouse, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Attorney-General, and Mr. Solicitor General, is entitled "A Bill for the better regulation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, and the Promotion of Religious and Moral Instruction in Ireland," and consists of 101 clauses, as ordered by the House to be printed on the same day.

The preamble, after noticing the facts that various acts have been passed for the establishment of compositions for tithes throughout Ireland without effectually attaining the object of rendering the incomes arising from that source certain in amount and easy of collection—that a commission had been issued by his Majesty on the 5th of August last for inquiring whether adequate provision is now made for the religious instruction and for the general education of the people of Ireland—and that it appears by the first report of the said commission that in some parishes there are few members of the Established Church, and in other parishes no such members—proceeds as follows:—"And whereas it is just and necessary for the establishment of peace and good order in Ireland, and conducive to religion and morality, that after adequate provision made for the spiritual wants of the members of the Established Church, the surplus income of such parishes shall be applied to the moral and religious education of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion; and also that the said compositions for tithes shall be made payable by persons having a perpetual estate or interest in the lands subject thereto, a reasonable deduction being made upon the amount thereof, in consideration of the greater facility and security of collection arising out of such transfer of the liability to the payment thereof, from the occupying tenantry to the owners of such estates or interests."

Clause 1st abolishes the right of all persons in and to all tithes or compositions of tithes heretofore accrued, except arrears by or to persons entitled to the receipt or bound to the payment of the same by any agreement entered into under the tithe-composition act passed in 1832, and except tithes or compositions for the recovery of which any suit shall have been commenced previous to the 20th of March last.

The second clause enacts that in lieu of such tithes or tithe compositions all lands subject to their payment shall in future be charged with an annual rent-charge, equal to seven tenths of such compositions, to be payable by the party having the first estate of inheritance in the lands. Several following clauses relate to the manner in which this leading provision is to be carried into effect in various cases. Clause 7th enacts that the said rent charges shall be under the management of the Commissioners of Land Revenues, subject to the control of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

Clauses from 9 to 20 inclusive relate to the revision of existing compositions, on application to the said Commissioners, at any time within six weeks after the passing of the act, by any person or persons in any parish who would have been, in case this act had not been made, individually or collectively liable to the payment of more than one half of the amount of the whole composition established in and for such parish. Every such application must be accompanied by a statement in writing of the grounds and reasons for making the same, the material allegations being verified by the oath of some one or more credible person or persons. If the Commissioners shall, upon this representation, find adequate ground for the revision, they shall transmit a certificate to that effect to the lord lieutenant. The lord lieutenant is to appoint so many barristers as may be thought necessary, of not less than six years standing at the Irish bar, to act as revising barristers of all such compositions, and shall refer each case that may occur to any three of them. Various regulations are then laid down with regard to the manner in which the revisers are to proceed, the authority they are to possess, &c. Each is to be paid at

the rate of five guineas for every day that he shall be employed, over and above his travelling expenses, by the parties interested in the case, in such proportions as the lord lieutenant shall direct. Appeals respecting compositions now before the Privy Council may be referred to the barristers thus appointed.

Several enactments then follow, regulating the manner of proceeding in cases where the liability of lands to the rent-charge shall be disputed, and in other actions commenced under the act. By the 34th clause it is enacted that the rent-charges to be thus substituted for tithes shall have priority over all other charges, leases, mortgages, and incumbrances whatsoever.

The 39th clause enacts that for the purpose of calculating the amount of the rent-charges to be fixed in lieu of tithe compositions, the Commissioners of Land Revenue shall compare the average price of corn during the seven years now last past with its price as stated in the original certificate of the composition, and shall increase or diminish the amount of the new impost accordingly; and a similar re-adjustment is to be made every year.

By clause 10th the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are directed, on, or as soon as conveniently may be after the 1st of December in this present year, and on or after the 1st of November in every succeeding year, to cause an account to be taken of the gross amount of the rent-charges then accrued due out of each parish, and issue warrants to the parties entitled to the several payments on the Commissioners of Land Revenues, deducting, however, sixpence in the pound for the cost of collection. These warrants or cheques will be paid to the holders on being delivered to the cashier or cashiers of the Bank of Ireland appointed for that purpose.

The 12d clause enacts that all present incumbents shall, in addition to the sums thus awarded to them, receive a further payment of 5*l.* per cent. upon the amount of their compositions from the Perpetuity Purchase Fund. But corporations aggregate, incumbents without cure of souls, and lessees of tithes, are excluded from the benefit of this additional payment. Some clauses that follow relate to various subordinate points in the methods of proceeding arising out of the preceding enactments.

The subject of the clauses from 50 to 56 inclusive, which are printed in a different type, is the one million sterling advanced for the relief of owners of tithes by the act of 1833 (the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 100). It is enacted that those who have received any part of this advance shall not be liable to be called upon for its repayment; and that so much of the money as has not yet been paid away shall pass into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who shall apply it to the relief of tithe owners who may not have received payment of their compositions for 1834, and shall make application for such relief by memorial to the lord-lieutenant.

The next portion of the act respects the changes which it is proposed to make in the present establishment of the Irish Church.

The first case provided for is that of parishes containing, according to the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, not more than fifty members of the Established Church. In regard to every such parish it is enacted that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall direct that no appointment to the living shall be made until the lord-lieutenant shall think fit so to direct. In the mean time the church shall be deemed to be sequestered, and for the period it shall remain vacant all the profits and emoluments thereof shall be vested in and received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as sequestrators. If there shall be no members of the Established Church in the parish, the occasional ecclesiastical duties are to be performed by the incumbent of some adjoining parish, who shall be nominated by the ordinary, and shall be bound to perform such duties. If there be any members of the Established Church at all in the parish, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners may direct either that the duties shall be performed by the incumbent of some adjoining parish, or that a separate curate shall be nominated and licensed by the ordinary for that purpose.

A separate curate must be appointed in all such parishes, in which there is at present a place of worship duly consecrated, and a resident officiating minister. In cases where there are no members of the Established Church in the parish, the neighbouring incumbent, to whom the duties shall be committed, shall receive from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners an annual stipend of five pounds; and where there shall be some such members, his stipend shall vary from ten to fifty pounds, according as the Commissioners, having regard to the extent of the duties he may have to perform, shall, with the consent and approbation of the lord-lieutenant, appoint. When a separate curate is appointed, he shall have a stipend not exceeding one hundred pounds, nor exceeding the net annual value of the present profits and emoluments of the living. Where there is a glebe house, however, he shall be allowed to occupy it, on undertaking to keep it in repair; and where there is a glebe, the Commissioners, if they think proper, may allot to him, in addition to his salary, a portion of it not exceeding the annual value of twenty-five pounds.

Where there are any members of the Established Church in a parish, the living of which shall have been thus sequestered, in case there be in such parish no place of worship duly consecrated, it is enacted that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall apply a sum not exceeding a hundred pounds, or pay a rent not exceeding fifteen pounds, towards building or providing some place suitable for the celebration of divine worship therein. The bishop of the diocese in which the parish is situate shall always be associated with the Commissioners in determining upon the best mode of carrying the above objects into effect, and may vote upon all questions relating thereto as if he were a Commissioner. In cases where no curate is appointed, or where the curate does not desire to occupy the glebe-house, the Commissioners may demise or let it and the glebe lands for the period of the sequestration. All charges affecting suppressed benefices must be paid off by the Commissioners from the profits and emoluments of the living: and they may recover from any incumbent, or his executors or administrators, all such sums as his successor in the living would have had a claim for.

By clause 69th it is enacted, that if at any time the sequestration shall be removed, the Commissioner may recover from the person appointed to the living the whole, or such proportion as the Lord Lieutenant in council shall think fit to direct, of any sums paid or allowed by them in accounting with the last incumbent or his executors for dilapidations.

The next set of clauses relate to the separation of unions of parishes in each of which the members of the Established Church do not exceed fifty. It is provided that the Commissioners may, if they think proper, disunite such parishes on the next avoidance of the union, when each shall become subject to be dealt with in all respects as a single parish. And if it shall not appear expedient to the Commissioners to disunite the parishes, the Lord Lieutenant may order the income of the next incumbent to be reduced, in proportion to what shall appear to be the extent of duty to be performed. This enactment refers, as has been stated, only to united parishes in each of which there shall be no more than fifty members of the Established Church; but by clause 72 it is directed that in all cases in which any parish, or part of a parish, comprised in any union, is not contiguous to some other parish or part of a parish comprised in such union, such detached parish shall, upon the next vacancy in the living, be disunited from the rest. Some regulations follow in regard to cases arising out of these provisions. In future no union of parishes is to be made by any archbishop or bishop without one month's previous notice being given to the Commissioners.

The 76th clause enacts that, where no appointment may have been made to a parish, in consequence of the provision in the act of 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 37, authorising the commissioners to suspend such appointment in consequence of divine worship not having been celebrated in the parish for a period of three years, if the parish is one containing not more than fifty members of the Established Church, the emoluments of the benefice shall not be applied to the purposes in the said act mentioned, but shall vest in the ecclesiastical Commissioners as sequestrators under this act.

By the 77th clause it is enacted that, in all cases in which the income enjoyed by the incumbent of any parish or union shall exceed 300*l.*, the commissioners on the next vacancy shall make inquiry into the case, and on their report the Lord Lieutenant may, if he shall think proper, reduce the income to any extent, so that it shall still not be below 300*l.*

In all the parishes coming under the operation of this act, it is declared by clause 28th, that it shall not be lawful to fill up any vacancy until the expiration of two calendar

months after notice in writing of such vacancy shall have been given to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by the corporation or person having the patronage thereof. Private owners of advowsons, whose rights of presentation shall be taken away by the operation of the act, are to be compensated. If the sequestration shall at any time be removed, the advowson thus purchased shall vest in the crown.

The next clause, the 82nd, is that especially called the appropriation clause. It enacts that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall keep a separate account of all such sums or payments as shall accrue to them under the operation of the act, to be called the Reserve Fund; and that the monies so arising shall be applicable, in the first place, to the expenses attendant upon the revision of the memorials of persons applying for relief in respect of tithes due and unpaid for the last year; in the next place to the payment of such sums as shall, under the provisions of this act, become payable to such applicants; 'and, in the third place, to the payments of the stipends assigned under the hereinbefore contained provisions, to the curates or ministers entrusted with the cure of souls, or the performance of ecclesiastical duties; and to the provision of places of worship in parishes, the churches whereof may be sequestered under the provisions of this act; and to the payment of the charges and other sums payable under the herein-before contained provisions in respect of such parishes; and to the payment of the annual tax, and any other sums which would have been payable by the incumbents thereof, if the same had not been sequestered; and to the payment of any crown rents, post corn-rents, pensions and salaries to diocesan schoolmasters, or glebe rents, or proportion thereof, to be fixed and determined as herein-before provided; and to the payment of the expenses to be incurred in carrying this act into execution; and the residue of such monies from time to time accruing in each year to the credit of the said commissioners in the said Reserve Fund Account, shall be paid to such persons as the said Lord Lieutenant shall, by warrant under his hand, authorize to receive the same, to be applied to the moral and religious instruction of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion.'

In the meantime it is provided by the next clause that the Commissioners may borrow money on the credit of the Reserve Fund, for the purpose of indemnifying the owners of advowsons.

The 84th clause makes provision for the removal of the sequestration in parishes when their spiritual wants shall increase. It is enacted that when the arrangements made under the sequestration shall appear, in the judgment of the Commissioners, to be inadequate to such increased spiritual wants, they shall report the circumstances to the lord lieutenant, and make such propositions as to them shall seem expedient for applying a larger portion of the income of such parish or benefice for the better satisfaction of the spiritual wants thereof, or for the appointment of a clerk thereto; and if the lord lieutenant approve of the report, it shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and at any time after the expiration of six months thereafter, it shall be lawful for the lord lieutenant, unless Parliament shall otherwise direct, to order the same to be carried into effect.

By the 85th clause it is directed that the Commissioners shall annually report all their proceedings under the act to the lord lieutenant, with an account of all their receipts and disbursements.

The 86th clause enacts that the property of minor canons and vicars choral shall be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, subject to existing interests, and for the maintenance of such members of such corporations as have any duties to perform.

The 87th clause is explanatory of an unimportant point in the act 4 and 5 Will. IV. ch. 90, the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act of the last session of Parliament. By some subsequent clauses it is enacted that tithes, &c. disappropriated from bishoprics and other dignities under that act may be carried to the general fund under the administration of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, if the lord lieutenant shall so think fit; and that the tenants of Bishops, &c. may, instead of paying the purchase money for the fee simple of their lands, as provided for in the said act, give a mortgage upon the lands payable within ten years, with interest in the mean time at the rate of 3½ per cent.

By clauses 90 and 91 the Commissioners of land revenues and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are empowered to examine on oath, or receive depositions, in any proceedings under this Act; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are permitted to employ additional clerks.

The 92nd clause authorizes the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, in case it shall be found necessary, to advance to the Commissioners of the land revenues a sum of money on the credit of the rent-charges and other funds granted to the Commissioners by the Act, not exceeding the annual amount of the said funds; all sums thus advanced to be repaid with interest.

The 93rd and 94th clauses enact that the several tithe-composition Acts shall be taken to extend to tithes forming part of the hereditary revenues and possessions of the Crown in Ireland, and that all the provisions of the present Act shall also apply to compositions for tithes belonging to his Majesty.

The remaining clauses of the Act relate to the manner in which the several notices required to be given are to be served, to the exemption of all instruments required under the Act from stamp duty and office fees, to the punishment of forgery and perjury, to the limitation of actions, and to the interpretation of words used in the Act.

The present state of the Irish Church will be best exhibited by the following Tables, which we copy from a useful abstract of the First Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Inquiry, published by Mr. Hamilton, one of the Commissioners.

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.	Number of Benefices consisting of: a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous	Total Number of: Benefices.	Parishes.
Diocese of Armagh	74	11	3	88	98
,, Clogher	45	..	..	45	45
,, Meath	58	40	7	105	211
,, Down	28	8	1	37	42
,, Connor	32	10	5	47	72
,, Derry	55	2	..	57	55
,, Raphoe	32	2	..	34	33
,, Kilmore	30	8	..	38	37
,, Dromore	24	1	..	25	26
,, Ardagh	18	8	..	26	39
Total in Province	396	90	16	502	658

PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.	Number of Benefices consisting of: a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous	Total Number of: Benefices.	Parishes.
Diocese of Dublin	56	38	1	95	178
,, Kildare	21	16	4	41	80
,, Ferns	23	30	4	57	140
,, Leighlin	39	17	..	56	82
,, Ossory	35	14	13	62	144
Total in Province	174	115	22	311	624

PROVINCE OF TUAM.	Number of Benefices consisting of: a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous.	Total Number of: Benefices.	Parishes.
Diocese of Tuam	15	12	7	34	90
,, Elphin	13	19	..	32	74
,, Clonfert	..	9	2	11	38
,, Kilmacduagh	..	1	3	4	21
,, Killalla	6	7	..	13	27
,, Achonry	2	6	1	9	25
Total in Province	36	54	13	103	275

PROVINCE OF CASHEL.	Number of Benefices consisting of a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous.	Total Number of Benefices.	Parishes.
Diocese of Cashel	26	14	8	48	100
,, Emly	8	7	2	17	42
,, Limerick	52	11	2	65	88
,, Ardfert and Aghadoe	29	16	4	49	86
,, Waterford	7	5	3	15	32
,, Lismore	20	17	6	43	75
,, Cork	56	5	4	65	83
,, Ross	17	6	1	24	33
,, Cloyne	60	22	2	84	122
,, Killaloe	25	25	3	53	113
,, Kilfenora	1	4	1	6	17
Total in Province	301	132	36	469	791

IRELAND.	Number of Benefices consisting of a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous.	Total Number of Benefices.	Parishes.
Province of Armagh	396	90	16	502	658
,, Dublin	174	115	22	311	624
,, Cashel	301	132	36	469	791
,, Tuam	36	54	13	103	275
Total in Ireland	907	391	87	1,385	2,348

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.	Population in 1834. Members Estab. Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Armagh	103,012	309,447	84,837	3,340	500,636
,, Clogher	104,359	260,211	31,623	26	399,249
,, Meath	25,626	377,562	672	199	404,059
,, Down	27,662	58,105	98,961	3,530	188,558
,, Connor	66,888	95,545	193,261	5,924	361,618
,, Derry	50,350	196,614	118,339	1,738	367,041
,, Raphoe	33,507	145,385	28,914	24	207,830
,, Kilmore	46,879	210,593	8,736	97	296,305
,, Dromore	11,737	76,275	69,264	933	188,209
,, Ardagh	17,702	195,056	466	12	213,236
Total in Province	517,722	1,955,123	638,073	15,823	3,126,741

PROVINCE OF CASHEL.	Population in 1834. Members Estab. Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Cashel	6,178	196,256	62	26	202,522*
,, Emly	1,246	97,115	1	1	98,363
,, Limerick	11,122	246,302	85	191	257,700
,, Ardfert and Aghadoe	7,529	297,131	..	27	304,687
,, Waterford	5,301	43,371	110	433	49,215
,, Lismore	5,970	209,720	164	382	216,236
,, Cork	35,229	303,984	510	871	340,594
,, Ross	5,998	102,308	..	2	108,298
,, Cloyne	13,866	328,402	14	195	342,477
,, Killaloe	19,149	359,585	16	326	379,076
,, Kilfenora	235	36,166	4	..	36,405
Total in Province	111,813	2,220,340	966	2,454	2,335,573

* To this must be added 612 members of the Established Church, and 3296 Roman Catholics, contained in the benefice of Kilcooley, omitted in the Commissioners' Report.

PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.	Population in 1834. Members Estab. Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Dublin	106,599	391,006	2,290	2,082	501,977
,, Kildare	13,907	120,056	9	384	134,356
,, Ferns	24,672	172,789	19	300	197,780
,, Leighlin	20,391	169,982	191	288	190,852
,, Ossory	12,361	209,848	8	108	222,325
Total in Province	177,930	1,063,681	2,517	3,162	1,247,290

PROVINCE OF TUAM.	Population in 1834. Membs. Estab. Church	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Tuam	9,619	467,970	367	65	478,021
,, Elphin	16,417	310,822	250	135	327,624
,, Clonfert	4,761	119,082	2	3	123,848
,, Killmacduagh	656	45,476	..	..	46,132
,, Killalla	7,729	136,383	38	139	144,289
,, Achonry	5,417	108,835	143	27	114,422
Total in Province	44,599	1,188,568	800	369	1,234,336

IRELAND.	Population in 1834. Members Estab. Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters	Total in Parish.
Province of Armagh	517,722	1,955,123	638,073	15,823	3,126,741
,, Dublin	177,930	1,063,681	2,517	3,162	1,247,290
,, Cashel *	111,813	2,220,340	966	2,454	2,335,573
,, Tuam	44,599	1,188,568	800	369	1,234,336
Total Pop. of Ireland	852,064	6,427,712	642,356	21,808	7,943,940

* The benefice of Killcooly in this province, which contains 612 members of the Established Church, and 3296 Roman Catholics, should be added to the above enumeration.

PROVINCES	SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF BENEFICES in which the entire Population is more than 100	100 to 200	200 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 and 3000	3000 not 5000	5000 more 10,000	10,000 than 15,000	15,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 30,000	30,000
Armagh	..	1	7	22	95	113	189	54	13	6	2
Dublin	3	3	12	37	120	60	53	14	5	3	1
Cashel	2	3	17	31	150	96*	115	35	12	5	..
Tuam	..	..	..	1	3	8	48	22	9	7	5
Total for all Ireland	5	7	36	94	368	277*	405	125	39	21	8

PROVINCES.	In which there are no Membs. of the Est. Church.	SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF BENEFICES in which the Members of the Established Church are more than 1 to 20	20 to 50	50 and not 100	100 not 200	200 more 500	500 than 1000	1000 to 2000	2000 to 5000	5000
Armagh	3	9	19	32	53	105	121	87	65	8
Dublin	6	19	29	36	59	71	46	24	15	4
Cashel	31	68	71	76	80	91	26*	19	7	..
Tuam	1	3	5	14	32	19	16	9	4	..
Total for all Ireland	41	99	124	160	224	286	209	139	91	12

* One benefice omitted in the First Report, but introduced in the Appendix, should be added to this.

SOME NOTES ON THE TRADE OF THE LEVANT. TURKEY, GREECE, AND SYRIA.

The British and Frank merchants generally settled in Turkey have been for some time engaged in difficulties with the government, and alarmed by a reported change that the sultan contemplates in the tariff or scale of duties on foreign goods, which, as it now exists, is more liberal than the tariff of almost any other country in the world.

The actual difficulties arise out of the following circumstances:—By the existing commercial regulations—which have been very little altered in theory, though sometimes evaded in practice, during the last two hundred and more years—foreign goods, of whatever description, do not pay on an average more than an *ad valorem* duty of three per cent., and the Frank merchants importing them can expedite them inland from Constantinople, Salonica, Smyrna, or any other port, and sell them in any part of the country, without paying any additional duty or fee whatsoever. If however these goods are sold at the great ports or marts to Jewish, Arminian, Greek, or any other rayah or tributary subject of the Ottoman Porte, then such rayah, before he can carry them up the country, must pay an additional duty, which is nominally three per cent., but in fact generally six or nine per cent. Indeed, when the journey is long, or lies through the governments of powerful pashas, whose rapacity, whatever may be said to the contrary, has been as yet but little corrected by the reforms of the sultan, these second duties are frequently as high as twelve or fifteen per cent. Mr. Urquhart, who has written a clever book on Turkey and its resources, its municipal organization and *free trade*, and who is the best of the eulogists of the Turkish system and the extreme moderation of its import duties, has entirely overlooked this important fact, which certainly does not go to prove that the imposts on foreign trade are so *exceedingly* moderate, for whether the second duty be paid by the Jew or the Armenian, or by the European merchant, the effect is precisely the same, the weight of the duty falling equally on the goods, and checking, by an increase of price, their sale and consumption in the interior.

Now it happens, that except occasional transfers from Smyrna to Constantinople, Salonica, and one or two other ports, and *vice versa*, *from* those ports *to* Smyrna, the European importers universally sell their goods on the spots where they receive them, and *do not* expedite them on their own account to the interior, which they ought to do to claim the exemption from the second, or what we may call the inland duty. It is not necessary to detail the motives of convenience or security which prevent them. It is enough to say that they do not charge themselves with the interior trade, which, with the exception of some Turkish merchants, (who though exempted by the written law, are also made to pay something,) is entirely carried on by rayah subjects, by Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who are all expressly liable to the second duty.

To obviate this last charge the parties interested have very frequently come to an understanding, and the Frank merchant, by declaring the goods sold by a *bonâ fide* sale not to be sold at all, but still his property, and carrying into the interior of the country on his account, has obtained from the Turkish customhouse a *teskeré* or permit, with which the goods pass without paying the second duty.

The chief blame of the folly and short-sightedness which render such expedients available, rests with the government, and we believe commercial morality seldom stickles at such stratagems and subterfuges when they can be adopted with success and impunity. Indeed, we know for a certainty, that for a very long series of years, the most respectable European houses in the Levant have covered their rayah buyers and adopted this process without scruple.

Increasing poverty, however, has now made even the Turks sharp-sighted; and a prying, clever, active *douanier en chef* at Smyrna—a certain Tahir Bey, who is now high in the sultan's favour, and at the head of the customs at Constantinople—detected the ancient imposition, and began to refuse the usual teskerés for the interior, save and except on certain conditions difficult to be complied with in most cases.

The more intelligent of the British merchants on the spot, knowing well, as we have said, that it matters not who pays the second duty, so long as it is paid, would readily propose to have the two legal duties put into one, or their tariff raised from three to six per cent., if they could rely on the Turks, or be sure that after receiving the interior duty from them, they would not continue to exact fresh duties on the same goods when carried up the country by Jewish, Armenian, or Greek traders. And we confess, that from their long residence and practical experience in the country, the doubts and opinions of these individuals are more entitled to consideration than the letter of the commercial law, which, like all their laws, the Turks continually set at defiance, or than the paid declamations of the French writer of Sultan Mahmoud's newspaper, (*Le Moniteur Ottoman,*) to whose assertions Mr. Urquhart, uninquiringly, gives the weight of incontrovertible evidence.

Since Tahir Bey's arrival at Constantinople he is said to have been constantly engaged in drawing up an entirely new tariff, the appearance of which, with a general and greatly increased scale of duties, the merchants are now daily expecting. As Sultan Mahmoud has few manufactures to protect, the duties will be raised merely for revenue, but if his exigences and wants are to be the only limits to the increase, it will be difficult to conjecture, when he once begins, where he will stop.

Our readers, who no doubt have heard a great deal about the sultan's reforms and abolitions of oppressive monopolies, will be surprised to be told that for some time past he has made the trade in opium—one of the most important exports of his empire—a close monopoly in the hands of the Seraskier Pasha and one or two other grandees of his court, who, for the better protection of their own interest, have procured a law prohibiting the shipping of opium at any other port than that of Constantinople. Formerly very large quantities of opium were shipped at Smyrna, particularly in American ships, which carried it to the market of China.

In the same manner, but for a longer time, the raw silks of Brusa and other parts of Asia Minor have been struck by an interdiction of free exportation, and can now (*legally*) find their way to the markets of Europe only by being deposited at, or passing through Constantinople, where they are charged with export duties that are farmed out to a few individuals. The folly of all this is so much the greater, as the production and the demand for this silk is naturally on the increase, and the trade in it, if left unshackled, and to itself, would materially add to the resources of the country. By the entire loss of her export trade in the valuable commodities of opium and silk, and through other circumstances affecting her imports, which we shall presently mention, the very ancient commercial city of Smyrna is declining into poverty and comparative insignificance. The costly caravans from the interior being driven out of their old route, and turned to Constantinople, Smyrna has little else to ship than figs and raisins, yellow-berries and valonia.

On the other hand, the enterprising Greeks of the islands who have established not merely agencies, but houses in England, France, and Italy, have possessed themselves of nearly all the trade which Smyrna formerly carried on with Salonica and all the upper part of the Levant; while lower down in the Mediterranean, since the conquest of Syria by Mehemet Ali, Beyrout has become a much frequented port, and not only supplies Syria, but a great part of the Turkish dominions (as Caramania) that lie between Beyrout and Smyrna. Our vessels and cargoes go direct to Beyrout, and, according to a recent list we have seen, more British ships had cleared out for the small Greek island of Syra than for that ancient emporium, Smyrna. A company of Greek islanders possess two fine steam-boats, and the merchants of the same nation give the best part of their employment to two English steamers which run from Smyrna.

The Greeks have, indeed, taken their bread out of the mouths of our commission merchants, or agents, settled at Smyrna, and other Scales of the Levant; but the Greeks, at the same time, have greatly increased the sale of British goods, and found out, or created, new markets for them. The injury is limited, or scarcely an injury at all—the benefit is very considerable, and increasing. Our agents must take to other trades—but whether they do or not, we cannot let our regret for merely personal, local, and temporary losses, blind us to the conviction that by those very losses the trade of this nation, *en masse*, will gain. But even before the Greeks were free, their talents and enterprise checked the prosperity of the Frank commission merchants, and we can confirm by our own observation

and experience the following remarks made by Colonel Leake, shortly after the breaking out of the Greek revolution:—

"Notwithstanding the superiority which the Frank merchant enjoyed over the Greek, in paying a single *ad valorem* duty of 3 per cent. on imports and exports, while the Rayah, besides being subject to illegal extortions, paid 5 per cent., in addition to repeated charges on moving his merchandise, the advantage which a native merchant always possesses in economy and local information, had gradually enabled the Greeks to drive the Frank merchants from the fairs of Greece, to obtain a great part of the internal maritime commerce of Turkey, and at length to share very largely in the exchange of the corn, oil, cotton, silk, and other produce of Greece, for the manufactured goods, and colonial produce, of the European nations. Even in the latter part of the last century, the foreign commerce of the Greeks had so much increased, that their competition was the principal cause of the decline of the European factories, which had long flourished in the principal Turkish marts; that competition having been greatly favoured, against the interests of the Frank resident merchants, by their own diplomatic agents, who largely exercised the privilege of granting protections to the Christian or Rayah subjects of Turkey, in virtue of which they enjoyed the same commercial privileges as the merchants of the protecting state. * * * * * The French Revolution had a further effect in promoting the commerce of the Greeks, and with it the extension of education and knowledge throughout the nation, by placing in their hands the greater part of the carrying trade of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, which had formerly been enjoyed by the South of France and the Adriatic. For several years before the insurrection broke out, there were between four and five hundred Greek ships employed in the commerce of the Black Sea; at the same time that colleges, with professorships, in various branches of instruction, were established at Kydonies, Smyrna, Scio, Joannina, &c., &c."

Now, that their independence as a nation is acknowledged, the commercial position of the Greeks is wonderfully improved. They retain a good portion of the trade of the Black Sea—a portion which may be made greater than the whole trade was during the last war—they have nearly all the *cabotage*, or coasting trade, of the upper part of the Mediterranean—they frequent Sicily, and Italy, on both her seas—they have a considerable commerce with Marseilles—and, emerging from the Mediterranean and crossing the Atlantic, their flag is now frequently seen in America, in England, and in the northern and western ports of France. We have spoken of the agencies, or branch-houses, they have established. In Great Britain, alone, these new establishments are to be found in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow—wherever they have settled the Greeks have been admired for their commercial abilities, their activity and enterprise, and the facility with which they acquire the language, and adapt themselves to the customs of the country. These men have contributed, in no trifling degree, to the improvement of the trade in Brusa silk, an article of which we now import from 1500 to 1800 bales annually, whereas, formerly—even when Smyrna was allowed to export it, and the trade in it was altogether less shackled by the Turks than it now is,—our whole importation seldom exceeded seven or eight hundred bales.

In losing her ill-treated Greek subjects, Turkey, commercially speaking, lost her right-hand. The Mussulmans, the Jews, and Armenians, have scarcely a notion of an extensive maritime trade, though the Armenians are excellent for land journeys and in-land trade, and also are now beginning to look to the formation of establishments in England. For many years before the Revolution, the Turks had been becoming more and more dependent upon the Greeks in the transaction of business of almost every kind.

We think it cannot be denied that hitherto, in spite of sundry irregularities and hindrances, the course of events has, on the whole, gone to verify the predictions of those who were most friendly to the Greeks, and who had the satisfaction, *at last*, of seeing them erected into a separate and independent nation. We will not be too sanguine:—we know the barbarity that reigns in a great part of the country, both insular and continental, and the insubordination, rapacity, and perfidy of some of the capitani or chieftains of the interior—we feel also, that a few false steps of a government, which is scarcely in any sense a national government, might derange everything; but still we may hope that their rapidly extending trade and intercourse with the best nations of the earth, will introduce civilization and prosperity, and that happy state of being where every man has something, or at least a fair and free market, for his labour, and thus becomes averse to violence and changes, and attached to social order. It was her maritime commerce, more than any other cause, that made ancient Greece what she was; and the Greeks have still the same enviable position with reference to Europe, Asia Minor, and the north of Africa,—they have still the same extent of sea-coast, and with the exception of a few, the same numerous islands and excellent harbours. The steam-engine must be one of the great instruments of their civilization. When steam-boats are pretty numerous (as they now promise to become,) piracy, which is very rarely heard of, must cease altogether, and the same vessels, so admirably adapted for a narrow sea with strong currents, long summer calms, or winds that blow one way for three or four months of the year, will rescue commerce from its long and expensive delays. It is a very common occurrence for a sailing vessel starting from the Greek island of Syra, during the Etesian winds, for Constantinople, to be two months on her voyage—nay, more, we have known a complete fleet of vessels, of nearly every flag, to be detained immovably for three months off the coast of Troy, utterly unable to make way against the fixed wind and the strong current of the Dardanelles. At the same season a good steamer would easily perform the voyage in three days.

We will now call our readers' attention to Damascus and the Syrian trade, concerning which we have derived some information from an unpretending, but exceedingly interesting, book of travels, written by Dr. Edward Hogg.* We have also looked into the recent volumes of Messrs. Michaud, Poujoulat, and De Lamartine. In the Companion for June, 1834, we mentioned, on the very best authority, that in consequence of the conquest of the country by Mehemet Ali, the wild fanaticism of the people of Damascus, who had been in the habit of furiously opposing the settlement of any Europeans among them, had been so far subdued, that a British Consul-General (Mr. Farren) had been sent out and received in a kind and honourable manner—that four British houses of trade had been established at Damascus, and three at Aleppo—and that British vessels, of from 120 to 250 tons each, had begun to go to Beyrout, (the most convenient Syrian port,) where none had been accustomed to go before. Since that time this new trade has been gradually improving; the antipathy towards Europeans, which was once held as invincible in the breasts of the Damascenes, has been greatly diminished, if not wholly removed, and Englishmen have trafficked with them and other Syrians on their own territory. Dr. Hogg was in Egypt at the time of Ibraham's campaign against the arms of the Sultan in Syria. In a conversation with the Viceroy Mehemet Ali, about his projected journey to Damascus, the Doctor was told that the inhabitants of that city had always been "barbarous, fanatic, and untractable,"—"but," continued Mehemet, "before the end of a year, if it remain in my possession, the English Consul, who has formerly been refused admission, shall be established in peace and security, and hats no longer be considered a rarity."

The word of Mehemet was well kept. Mr. Farren, whose approach alone to the town had been one of the causes of a sanguinary insurrection, was, as we have seen, "established in peace;" and hats became not only common at Damascus, but were as much respected as green turbans. When Monsieur Poujoulat entered the city, in the time of the Turks, the people cried out—"There goes a Frank consul, let us burn him;" but when Dr. Hogg and his friend and Christian attendants arrived, after the conquest of Syria by Ibrahim, they were received in the most quiet and orderly manner possible. It would, however, be excessively unfair to conclude, from this difference, that Sultan Mahmoud is a bigot,—he is no more a bigot than Mehemet Ali; and at Constantinople, and the

* Visit to Alexandria, Damascus, and Jerusalem, during the successful Campaign of Ibraham Pacha.—London, Saunders and Otley.

places where he can enforce his authority, Franks and Christians are no more liable to insult than they are in the dominions of the Pasha of Egypt: but in Syria his power had dwindled away to a shadow, and Mahmoud could not check or control the fanaticism of the people,—he was impotent for good as for evil; whereas, on the other side, Mehemet's power was fresh and most formidable, and he could coerce even popular fanaticism as he chose. In spite of the Sultan's good intentions, we should have remained excluded from Damascus, as we had been; but the iron rod of the Pasha has opened its gates to us, and time, and trade, and friendly intercourse may do the rest.

The Turks of Damascus admitted Dr. Hogg and his companion to see their manufactories, even after they had stated they had no intention of being purchasers. The native Christians of different communities were already enabled to keep their religious festivals in a public manner, to make processions, and to celebrate military victories and triumphs. Had they, a few months before, attempted only a tithe of what Dr. Hogg saw, they would have been cut to pieces by the furious Mahometans. The Doctor's attention was aroused by the shouts and acclamations of an exulting crowd.

"It consisted," he says, "of a large concourse of young men, who were parading, in triumphal procession, their own quarter of the town. Each was supplied with a stick, which he shouldered like a musket. An artificial camel, decorated with flowers and bells, preceded them; numerous small drums regulated their movements; and banners, composed of wreaths of foliage, a cross conspicuously decorated, and other emblems of liberation, waved in the air. Their countenances were highly animated, their shouts long and loud; nor was that of "buoni Franki" forgotten. Verses in praise of Ibrahim Pasha were enthusiastically sung. * * * We could not have had a more convincing proof of the impression produced by Ibrahim's liberal policy."

Dr. Hogg does not tell us what proportion these Eastern Christians bear to the Mahometan population; but, no doubt, as in all the great cities in Syria and Turkey, the proportion at Damascus, is very considerable. It is always exceedingly difficult to obtain statistical information in the East, and we are, therefore, not surprised to see the Doctor and the other travellers differing considerably as to the amount of the whole population of Damascus. It seems probable, however, that the city may contain from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty thousand souls, and that the fertile and beautiful country which surrounds it to the distance of four or five miles on all sides, may make up a population of about half a million. Thus, in itself, Damascus is a market of some significance; but this is far from being all:—owing to circumstances of geography and devotion* she is a mart frequented annually by people from all parts of Syria, Arabia, and Asia Minor; she was an ancient depôt, and is still admirably provided with khans, warehouses, stabling for caravans, and all the other accommodations essential to land commerce in the East. Dr. Hogg says,

"From its central position, little more than forty miles from the sea, this town is admirably adapted to become the *entrepôt* of an extensive commerce between England and Asiatic Mahometan States. The annual resort of pilgrims offers a ready channel for conducting such a traffic; and were British capital and enterprize directed to this object, an important outlet might be established for many of our manufactures. As the sacred season approaches, the pilgrims collect in great numbers. All then is activity and movement. They arrive loaded with commodities,—remain several weeks,—make large purchases and exchanges,—and some idea may be formed of the consequence of this assemblage as a medium of commerce, from the circumstance of their camels alone amounting to thirty or forty thousand.

"The vicinity of Damascus yields silk of good quality and in great abundance. Cotton might be grown to any extent, and the coffee-tree is said to flourish luxuriantly, although its produce, hitherto, has never been turned to advantage. English earthenware, but of the commonest description, is already found here; and suitable articles in china and cut-glass, coloured crapes, certain kinds of cutlery, and the finer qualities of spun cotton, to supply native looms, might no doubt be successfully introduced. Other articles of British manufacture would also find a ready market, if the patterns, and taste of the different classes of natives, which never vary, were first ascertained."

If the Doctor had had more experience of the country people, and had looked at things with the eye of a merchant, he might have found several other articles demanded by the Damascus market. His remark, however, about the unvarying taste of the natives for certain patterns will be found worthy of the attention of such of our manufacturers of cotton, silk, or mixed goods as may be induced to try this new trade. For want of proper attention to this subject we have ourselves seen hundreds of bales of our fancy goods utterly sacrificed in Turkey in the course of a season or two. In the interior of Asia Minor as in Syria there is always a large demand for cheap cotton shawls for turbans, but the patterns of these shawls ought to be copied after those that have been in use in the country for ages, and ought to be varied according to the different districts for which they are intended; for in this last respect there is some variety, the Turk of *this* district not wearing the same patterned turban as the Turk in *that* district, and so on. With the exception of their designs, the small, cheap shawl-pieces manufactured at Glasgow seemed to us well adapted to the markets of Asia Minor.

Mr. Wyse, the present Member for Waterford, who travelled in the East some years ago, and who distinguished himself by the attention he paid to some of the commercial wants of the country, said in the course of his recent examination before the Committee on the Navigation of the Euphrates, &c.,

"Their turbans and shawls are composed of a mixture of silk and cotton; and wherever the Turks have come much in contact with English trade, they have almost universally adopted the English cotton turban in preference to the silk, which is considerably more expensive. The Arab turban and shawl are composed of a very coarse cotton and a mixture of yellow silk—the dresses, too, are of blue cotton. Under all circumstances, I think there would be a very considerable opportunity of introducing the cotton manufactures; and this has been further increased by the late wars which have taken place in the neighbourhood of Damascus and Mount Lebanon, from which much of the manufacture of silk in that part of the East was formerly supplied."

We are not aware that our manufacturers would be unable to produce the mixed cotton and silk goods at a cheaper rate than the natives, but whether this be the case or not, we think it would be worth their while to procure specimens of some of these articles which are made in the city of Brusa, at the foot of Mount Olympus. These samples would be a key to the prevailing taste in a large part of the East, and the beauty and variety of their patterns would, we suspect, astonish many of our countrymen. These patterns, we believe, are mostly invented, not by Turkish, but Armenian weavers; the stuffs are now in good part made of English cotton twist and Brusa silk, and they are used not for turbans or shawls, but for ladies' dresses.

Manchester, through its great outlet Liverpool, has begun to export manufactures to Beyrout and Damascus, and other articles have been sent to the same quarter. According to an account Dr. Hogg has received from Liverpool, our present trade with Syria stands thus:—Our usual exports for the Damascus market are cotton yarns or twists, muslins, white cottons, and, generally, manufactured cottons. No accurate estimate of the annual average amount of these exports could be formed, but the trade was daily increasing, and the exports of the present year would certainly exceed 200,000*l*. West Indian produce, as sugar and coffee, is exported to a moderate amount. All these exports are chiefly paid for in specie and Syrian produce. Our imports are silk, galls, madders, gums, opiums and sponges—raw-silk being imported from Damascus in considerable quantities. A few horses are also brought over for individual use.* The

* Damascus is the rendezvous of the greater part of the Musulman pilgrims,—it is accounted a "holy city" inferior in sanctity only to Mecca and Medina. Hence the fanaticism of the inhabitants. In former times the Pasha of Damascus was superior to all Pashas, and he was entrusted with the Sandjak-Scherif, or banner of Mahomet, under which the pilgrims marched every year from Damascus to Mecca. See D'Ohsson, Tableau Gen. de l'Empire Othoman.

annual amount of our imports cannot be ascertained, as the trade is quite new, but it is certainly rising.

The success of Captain Chesney's expedition, or the complete opening of the Euphrates to steam navigation, and the obtainment of a security for the passage from the predatory tribes of Arabs, would immensely increase the commercial importance of Damascus. But though this last case is hypothetical, there can be no doubt that as she now stands—with the position, and other advantages she is actually possessed of, Damascus may become a place of very great trade—*provided always* that Mehemet Ali does not grind his Syrian as he has done his other subjects, nor introduce his greedy, short-sighted monopolies, which are now a torment and a curse to Egypt. On this melancholy subject, Dr. Hogg, though on the whole favourably disposed to the Pasha, confirms some of the worst statements of preceding travellers, saying energetically—"*In Egypt all belongs to the government,—and the government is the Pasha;* the people are mere appendages to the soil—their labour and their lives equally subject to his arbitrary will. Like the Israelites of old, groaning under the burden, and smarting under the lash, their resources are unfeelingly diminished, and yet they are compelled to supply the insatiable demands of an inexorable task-master."

We shall conclude this subject, taking in some facts relative to Turkey, next month.

AMENDMENTS IN THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

The verbal amendments which have been made in the Corporation Reform Bill are numerous, but it is unnecessary to specify them minutely. The following are the material points in which the Bill, as it has come out of the Committee of the House of Commons, differs from the original draft.

In the fourth clause it is provided that the metes and bounds of those boroughs which are to be settled by the King in Council, are to be published in the 'London Gazette,' and thenceforward for the purposes of the Act to be the same as declared and published.

To the fifth clause, a special proviso has been added, that parts cut off from any borough, are to be declared part of the county adjoining: and that the senior justice of assize within the county, shall appoint a barrister to arbitrate between parties in any dispute that may thence arise respecting the payment of any rate made for the satisfying of any lawful debt to which the rate-payers of the borough or county were liable before the passing of the Act.

The sixth clause (the enfranchising clause) has been verbally reconstructed, but remains substantially the same.

The seventh clause is an insertion, and enacts that "no medical or surgical assistance given by the charitable trustees of any borough, shall be taken to be such charitable allowance as shall disqualify any person from being enrolled a burgess, nor shall any person be so disqualified by reason that any child of such person shall have been admitted and taught within any public or endowed school, governed by such charitable trustees."

To the eighth (seventh) clause, the following is added, "That during the first three years next, after the passing of this Act, every such occupier who shall have claimed to be put on every rate made for the relief of the poor, since the passing of this Act, in respect of such premises occupied by him, and who, on or before the last day of August, in any of the said three years, shall have actually paid or tendered the full amount of all such rates, due in respect of such premises, and who shall have been an inhabitant householder within the borough, or within seven miles of the borough, during the year in which he shall so claim, and the whole of the two preceding years, shall be entitled to be enrolled a burgess of such borough, in such year, provided he shall then be otherwise qualified."

The ninth clause is an insertion, and runs as follows:—"That where any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, in any borough, shall come to any person by descent, succession, marriage, marriage-settlement, devise or promotion to any benefice or office, such person shall be entitled to reckon the occupancy, and rating in respect of the occupancy thereof, by the person from, by, or in succession to whom such house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, shall have so come to him as his own occupancy and rating, and shall be entitled to be enrolled a burgess in respect of such occupancy and rating at such time, and in such manner as if he had occupied, and had been rated for the same during the time of the occupancy and rating of the person, from, by, or in succession to, whom such house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop, shall have so come to him, conjointly with the time during which he shall have since occupied and been rated for the same, provided he shall be otherwise qualified, as herein provided."

The tenth (eighth) clause directs that burgesses who have been enrolled, and have been *omitted* from the roll, may be restored within two years, if, on their application to be restored, they are *bonâ fide* occupiers and inhabitant householders within the borough, or within seven miles of the borough.

The twelfth (tenth) clause, which makes a reservation of certain rights of common, &c., and exemption from tolls, contains additional provisos, requiring persons whose rights are reserved to pay any fine, fee, or sum of money which they would have been entitled to pay in consideration of their freedom or title; and the mayors of boroughs are directed to make out, on or before the 25th of October in the present year, lists of all persons whose rights are reserved, to be delivered to the councils of the boroughs, and no person whose name is not included in such list shall receive any benefit or share of such reserved rights.

The thirteenth clause is an insertion, empowering the borough councils to purchase those rights of common, &c., and exemption from tolls, which are reserved by the preceding clause, and giving directions as to the mode in which the purchase may be made.

In clause fifteen (twelve) the day in every year on which the overseers of the poor of the parish are to make out lists of persons entitled to be enrolled as burgesses is altered from the last day of August to the fifth of September; and the overseers are required to furnish a copy of such list to any person demanding the same, on payment of a reasonable price for each copy.

The seventeenth (fourteenth) clause directs that the two assessors, afterwards mentioned, are, along with the mayor, to hold the courts for revising the lists.

The nineteenth clause is an insertion, permitting persons authorized by law to make an affirmation instead of an oath, in all cases under the Act in which an oath is required.

The thirty-third clause is an insertion, directing that on the 1st of March in every year two auditors and two assessors are to be chosen for each borough. This is in lieu of clause 80 in the original form of the Bill, by which three auditors were to be chosen. The assessors are joined with the mayor in presiding over elections, &c.

The thirty-fifth (thirtieth) clause, which directed certain boroughs to be divided into wards, enacts, "That if, by the last, or upon the taking of any future account of the population of Great Britain by authority of Parliament, it shall appear that the population of any borough within the limits to be assigned to such borough under the provisions of this Act, shall exceed the number of twelve thousand persons, and in case his Majesty shall be pleased to issue his letters-patent under the Great Seal, that he may be certified whether, and in what manner such division into wards ought to be made or altered, and upon inspection of the return thereunto made by the Commissioners to whom such letters-patent, as last aforesaid, shall have been directed, shall be pleased, by the advice of his Privy Council, to declare that such borough shall be divided or re-divided into wards, and to declare the number and extent of such wards, and the number of councillors who shall be chosen in each of such wards, in manner following: (that is to say), if the population of such borough shall then appear to exceed twelve thousand persons, and not to exceed eighteen thousand persons, that such borough shall be divided into two wards, and the number of councillors to be chosen in each ward shall be any number, so that the whole number of councillors of such borough shall not be less than twenty-four persons, and not more than thirty persons; and if the population of such borough shall then appear to exceed eighteen thousand persons, and not to exceed twenty-four thousand persons, that such

borough shall be divided into any number of wards not more than four, and that the number of councillors to be chosen in each ward shall be any number, so that the whole number of councillors shall not be less than thirty persons, and not more than thirty-six persons; and if the population of such borough shall then appear to exceed twenty-four thousand persons, that such borough shall be divided into so many wards, not less than four, as to his Majesty shall seem fit, and that the number of councillors to be chosen in each ward shall not be less than six; and if his Majesty shall be pleased to cause the particulars of such division or re-division into wards, and the number of councillors assigned to each ward in such borough, to be published by Royal Proclamation in the "London Gazette," every such borough shall thenceforward be deemed to be divided into such and so many wards as shall have been so last declared and published as aforesaid; and thenceforward there shall be elected two assessors for every such ward,—provided, nevertheless, that no such re-division shall be made in any borough after the first division into wards aforesaid, unless upon the petition to his Majesty by the council of such borough."

The thirty-sixth (thirty-first) clause, relating to the election of councillors and assessors in wards by the burgesses of the wards, provides, that "in every case in which there shall be a division or re-division into wards of any borough, after the first election of councillors in such borough under the provisions of this Act, the whole council of the borough, and the assessors of the borough, and of all the wards of the borough, on the twenty-fifth day of October next after such division or re-division, shall go out of office."

The forty-first clause is an insertion, and inflicts a penalty on any mayor, alderman, or assessor of any borough, who shall neglect to comply with the provisions of the Act, in the revision of the burgess-roll or conduct of elections; and on overseers of the poor and town-clerks failing or neglecting to make out, receive, print, and publish the lists of persons entitled to be on the burgess-roll.

In clause forty-seven (forty-one) the mayor is declared to be a justice of the peace for the borough merely, instead of for county and borough.

Clause fifty-five (forty-nine) gives particular directions respecting the claiming and granting of compensation to such officers of boroughs as shall be in any office of profit at the time of the first election of councillors under the Act. Clause fifty-six is an insertion, and directs compensation to be secured by bond, under the common seal of the borough; and clause fifty-seven makes a reservation of certain pensions and allowances.

Clause sixty-three (fifty-six) directs that the number of charitable trustees to be appointed is to be not less than nine, instead of fifteen; the time of annual elections is altered from first November to first of January; and one-third part of the number of trustees is to retire annually.

Clause seventy (sixty-three) contains verbal alterations on the clause appointing a certain number of councillors to be joint trustees for certain purposes; and seventy-one (*insertion*), directs present trustees of certain Acts to be continued for a definite time; and trustees not to go out of office by reason of ceasing to be of the council, until the time prescribed by the terms of the trust.

The eighty-seventh (seventy-ninth) clause contains more specific directions for the application of the borough fund, and provides that if any surplus exist after all claims are satisfied, the borough council may direct it to be applied for the public benefit of the inhabitants, or improvement of the borough. In certain cases a watch-rate may be levied.

By the ninety-fourth clause, the recorder is declared to be a justice of the peace for the borough, though he may not have the qualification required in the case of any other person being a justice of the peace for a county: he is not eligible to be elected as member of the House of Commons for the borough.

By clause one hundred and four (ninety-seven) disputes arising out of the payment of proportions of the county rates are to be decided by the arbitration of a barrister (as in 5 Geo. IV., c. 58), instead of the parties being allowed to appeal to the Privy Council.

By clause one hundred and twenty-one (one hundred and fourteen) notices of petitions to king in council for charters of incorporation are to be published in the 'London Gazette,' one month previous to being considered.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

LORD BROUGHAM'S RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION.

1. That although the number of schools, where some of the elementary branches of education are taught, has greatly increased within the last twenty years, yet that there still exists a deficiency of such schools, especially in the metropolis and other great towns, and that the means of elementary instruction are peculiarly deficient in the counties of Middlesex and Lancaster.

2. That the kind of education given at the greater number of the schools now established for the poorer classes of the people is of a kind by no means sufficient for their instruction, being for the most part confined to reading, writing, and a little arithmetic; whereas, at no greater expense, and in the same time, the children might easily be instructed in the elements of the more useful branches of knowledge, and thereby trained to sober, industrious, prudent, and virtuous habits.

3. That the number of infant schools is still exceedingly deficient, and especially in those great towns where they are most wanted for improving the morals of the people and preventing the commission of crimes.

4. That while it is expedient to do nothing which may relax the efforts of private beneficence in forming and supporting schools, or which may discourage the poorer classes of the people from contributing to the cost of educating their children, it is incumbent upon Parliament to aid in providing the effectual means of instruction where these cannot otherwise be obtained for the people.

5. That it is incumbent upon Parliament to encourage in like manner the establishment of infant schools, especially in the larger towns.

6. That, for the purpose of improving the kind of education given at schools for the people at large, it is expedient to establish, in several parts of the country, seminaries where good schoolmasters may be trained and taught the duties of their profession.

7. That there are at present existing, in different parts of the United Kingdom, funds, as well real as personal, to a large amount, given or bequeathed to charitable uses, connected with education, but which, partly from want of objects in the particular places to which such gifts are confined, partly from want of proper powers in the trustees, partly from other defects in the foundations, and partly from a change in the habits of the people, have become in many instances unavailing to the purposes for which they were originally intended, and are now productive of very inadequate benefit to the country; while, from want of publicity, abuses frequently creep into the management of them, only to be remedied by tedious and expensive litigation.

8. That, in order to superintend the due and just application of the funds from time to time voted by Parliament for the promotion of education, to establish proper seminaries for training teachers, to encourage the trustees of charities connected with education in using beneficially the powers now possessed by them, to watch over the abuses of trusts committed by such trustees, and to control the exercise of such new powers as Parliament may grant them, it is expedient that a board of commissioners be appointed, with powers and duties to be regulated by Act of Parliament.

9. That it is further expedient to give such board a power of filling up the number of trustees when these have fallen below the quorum in any will or deed of foundation, subject to the approval of the special visitor, where there is one; and to authorize, subject to the like approval, the sale, the mortgage, or exchange of any property given to charitable uses connected with education, for the promotion of the objects of the foundation, as far as these may be deemed beneficial to the community.

10. That it be further expedient to give such board a power, subject as aforesaid, of directing the trustees of any grammar-school, where the funds are sufficient, to apply such part thereof as may not be wanted for teaching grammar, in providing the means of common and improved education for the people at large.

11. That it is further expedient to give such board a power, subject as aforesaid, with consent of the trustees, and subject to appeal in Parliament, to apply a portion of the funds intrusted to them in such manner as to produce a more general benefit, and at a cheaper rate, in the education of the people at large, where the particular employment of the funds directed by the founder has become difficult from want of objects, or prejudicial from the employment pointed out being no longer beneficial to the community.

12. That it is further expedient to give such board the power, in conjunction with the trustees, of imposing conditions upon the masters of endowed schools, in respect of taking boarders, and otherwise conducting themselves; and of removing them, with consent of the trustees, in case of breach of such conditions.

13. That it is further expedient to give such board the power of calling, from time to time, for accounts of the management of endowed schools, both from the trustees and from the teachers.

14. That it is expedient to require all trustees of charities connected with education to deliver, yearly, to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State, an account of all sums of money received and expended by them in the execution of their trust.

THE REVENUE. *No. I.*—An ABSTRACT of the NET PRODUCE of the REVENUE of GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th July, 1834, and 5th July, 1835, showing the Increase or Decrease under each Head thereof.

	Quarters ended.				Year ended.	Quarters ended.				Year ended.	Year ended July 5, 1835.		Quar. ended July 5, 1835.	
	October 10, 1833.	January 5, 1834.	April 5, 1834.	July 5, 1834.	July 5, 1834.	October 10, 1834.	January 5, 1835.	April 5, 1835.	July 5, 1835.	July 5, 1835.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Customs—Consolidated Duties	2,957,539	2,664,469	2,403,199	2,847,390	..	3,478,036	3,085,826	3,374,754	3,129,288	18,004,725	2,457,515	..	384,490	
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund		601,692	1,200,063	..	..		917,847	912,123	1,328,339	11,599,607	..	3,194,265	..	551,461
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	1,314,910	428,126	..	1,229,887	..	1,473,464	309,048	..	4,000	6,493,098	..	131,574	..	73,143
Total Customs	£4,272,449	3,594,287	3,603,267	4,077,207	15,547,210	4,950,500	4,306,721	4,286,877	4,461,627	36,097,430	2,457,515	3,325,839	384,490	624,604
Excise	4,771,309	4,264,493	3,053,509	3,696,314	14,792,872	3,924,785	3,494,200	1,637,574	2,509,048	11,565,607	..	131,574	..	73,143
Stamps	1,681,796	1,579,112	1,671,450	1,995,439	6,684,607	1,659,008	1,555,462	1,654,387	1,684,171	6,493,028	..	191,579	..	425,036
Taxes	653,126	1,808,701	453,331	338,000	4,869,610	509,714	1,633,190	945,361	1,500,333	3,887,591	..	982,019	..	
Post Office	371,000	324,000	334,000	5,475	1,367,000	366,000	323,000	359,000	349,000	1,340,000	23,000	..	4,000	..
Miscellaneous	4,394	27,046	11,285		48,200	1,712	38,447	10,988	10,789	61,936	13,736	..	5,214	..
Total Ordinary Revenue	£11,753,007	11,593,639	8,806,914	11,095,934	43,249,494	11,410,719	11,339,950	8,944,190	10,441,029	41,435,887	54,731	..	..	1,501
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	87,803	103,886	128,461	102,760	422,410	99,527	59,611*	916,734	101,259	477,131				
Total Income	£11,840,310	11,697,525	8,935,375	11,198,694	43,671,904	11,510,246	11,399,561	8,460,924	10,542,287	41,913,018	2,548,972 Deduct Increase..	2,548,972	388,734 Deduct Increase..	1,060,141
The Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund	8,069,298	8,381,458	6,018,474	6,642,945	29,111,105	7,500,541	8,276,218	5,928,543	6,917,595	27,922,897		1,758,886 Decrease on the Year.		656,407 Decrease on the Quarter.
" to pay off Exchequer Bills charged on Sugar Duty	1,314,910	428,126	..	1,229,887	2,973,923	1,472,464	302,048	..	..	1,774,512				
" as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	2,457,172	2,887,941	2,916,901	3,325,862	11,587,876	2,537,241	2,821,295	3,232,381	3,624,692	12,215,609				
	£11,840,310	11,697,525	8,935,375	11,198,694	43,671,904	11,510,246	11,399,561	8,460,924	10,542,287	41,913,018				

Window Duty.—Amount of window duty paid by twelve towns which contribute the largest amount, except London:—

	£.	s.	d.
Cambridge town, &c.	3,749	14	0½
Leeds	4,190	11	2
Cheltenham	4,873	8	3
Clifton	4,491	14	1
Liverpool	19,722	0	5
Manchester	11,055	5	9
Norwich	4,863	15	10
Bristol	11,197	2	7
Bath	18,029	12	6
Portsmouth	3,830	18	5
Brighton	10,644	2	6
Birmingham	6,290	9	2½

Total number of dwelling houses assessed for windows in England:—

Houses in which the number of windows is from	
10 to 15	137,082
15 — 20	54,610
20 — 30	38,610
30 — 40	10,946
40 — 50	4,355
50 and upwards	5,314

Inter-Colonial Apportionment.—The Commissioners appointed by the Act for the Abolition of Slavery have, according to the directions and in the mode prescribed by the 45th clause of that act, assigned and apportioned the sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling to and amongst the said colonies, rateably and in proportion to the product so ascertained for each respectively, in the manner following, that is to say:—

Colony.	Average Value of a Slave from 1822 to 1830.			Number of Slaves by the last Registration in this Country	Proportion of the 20,000,000*l.* to which the Colony is entitled.		
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Bermuda	27	4	11¾	4,203	50,584	7	0½
Bahamas	29	18	9¾	9,705	128,340	7	5½
Jumaica	44	15	2½	311,692	6,161,927	5	10¾
Honduras	120	4	7¾	1,920	101,958	19	7½
Virgin Islands	31	16	1¾	5,192	72,940	8	5½
Antigua	32	12	10½	29,537	425,866	7	0¾
Montserrat	36	17	10¾	6,355	103,558	18	5
Nevis	39	3	11¾	8,722	151,007	2	11¾
St. Christopher's	36	6	10½	20,660	331,630	10	7½
Dominica	43	8	7½	14,384	275,923	12	8½
Barbadoes	47	1	3½	82,807	1,711,345	19	7
Grenada	59	6	0	23,536	616,444	17	7
St. Vincent's	58	6	8	22,997	592,508	18	0½
Tobago	45	12	0½	11,621	234,064	4	11¾
St. Lucia	56	18	7	13,348	335,627	15	11¾
Trinidad	105	4	5¼	22,359	1,039,119	1	3½
British Guiana	114	11	5¾	84,915	4,297,117	10	6½
Cape of Good Hope	73	9	11	38,427	1,247,101	0	7¾
Mauritius	69	14	3	68,613	2,112,632	10	11¾
				780,993	20,000,000	0	0

Bank of England.—Account of the Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, from April 7, to June 30, inclusive:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£18,315,000	Securities	£25,678,000
Deposits	10,954,000	Bullion	6,219,000
	£29,269,000		£31,897,000

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Statistics, Revenues, Debt, Trade, and Resources of the Republic of Venezuela.

This state comprises the whole of the north-eastern part of the late republic of Columbia as it existed prior to the separation in 1831. The present territory of Venezuela extends from the Equator as far north as Cape San Roman in 12° north lat., and from 60° to 71° 30′ west long., occupying altogether a line of coast about 900 miles in length, from the mouth of the River Orinoco to the entrance of the Gulph of Maracaibo. It includes also the Island of Margarita.

The sea-coast is divided from the plains by a chain of the Andes, which runs right through the country. The climate on

the sea-coast and in the plain is hot and unhealthy, but on the table land and in the valleys the air is pure and mild. The soil is generally everywhere fertile, the table land yielding most of the fruits and vegetables of Europe, while the plains afford pasture for numerous herds of cattle.

Venezuela is divided into four departments, containing thirteen provinces, with a population altogether of about 840,000 inhabitants, viz.:—

1. Department of Venezuela, capital, Caraccas; containing the provinces of Caraccas, with 260,000 inhabitants; Carabobo, 170,000.

2. Department of Cumana, capital, Cumana; containing the provinces of Cumana, with 70,000 inhabitants; Barcelona, 44,000; Island of Margarita, 15,000.

3. Department of the Orinoco, capital, Varinas; containing the provinces of Varinas, with 80,000 inhabitants; Apure, 55,000; Guayana, 45,000.

4. Department of Tulia, capital, Maracaibo; containing the provinces of Maracaibo, with 40,000 inhabitants; Coro, 30,000; Merida, 50,000; Truxillo, 34,000.

The chief rivers are the Orinoco and its various branches, the Apure, Meta, &c.

The principal sea ports are those of Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, La Guayra, and San Thomas; the latter is situated about 250 miles up the River Orinoco.

The average revenues of Venezuela, for the last two years, have amounted to about 1,290,000 dollars, (or 258,000*l.*,) and the expenditure to 1,375,000 dollars, (or 275,000*l.*,) leaving an apparent excess of expenditure over income of about 17,000*l.* sterling a year, against which, however, there is to be placed a fund belonging to the Treasury of 50,000*l.* sterling, which is employed in the tobacco monopoly.

The expenses for the present year, ending July next, have been estimated at 1,315,000 dollars, without however making any provision whatever for the interest due on the foreign debt.

The principal sources of the revenues of Venezuela are the duties on imports and exports; the former last year returned about 950,000 dollars, and the latter 200,000. The tobacco rents in 1833 produced about 115,000 dollars, but the monopoly has since then been given up, and tobacco may now be imported upon payment of a duty. The next branch of taxation is salt, which produces about 56,000 dollars a year; the remainder of the revenues is derived from rents, stamps, post-office, and other minor branches, yielding altogether about 150,000 dollars, and making a gross total of 1,750,000 dollars a year, the expenses of collecting which amount to about 450,000 dollars.

The portion of the foreign debt of the late Republic of Columbia, due by Venezuela, is about 1,900,000*l.* sterling, whilst the arrears of interest accumulated on this sum, up to the close of last year, amount to about 950,000*l.* more, making altogether a total of 2,850,000*l.*, the interest on which, at six per cent., would be upwards of 170,000*l.* a year.

The domestic debt of Venezuela, up to the close of July, 1834, was reduced to somewhere about one million of dollars, the government having annually appropriated a certain portion of their surplus revenue towards its extinction.

The staple articles of export from Venezuela are cocoa, coffee, cotton, indigo, dyewoods, and a few drugs. Venezuela does not produce either gold or silver, but there are some rich copper mines near Puerto Cabello, now working by the Bolivar Mining Company, which have latterly produced about 3000 tons of copper ore every year.

The value of the produce exported from Venezuela during the year ending July, 1833, amounted to about three millions of dollars, (or 600,000*l.*,) and that of goods imported to 3,100,000 dollars, (or 620,000*l.*,) including however about 80,000*l.* sterling in specie. The duties paid at the different custom-houses during the same period amounted to about 1,150,000 dollars (or 230,000*l.*)

Cocoa.—This article formed the staple produce of Venezuela, under the dominion of Spain; the annual exports to the mother country alone being not less than 7¼ millions of pounds weight. Of late years, however, the demand for this article has materially fallen off in Spain; and the owners of cocoa plantations in Venezuela have, in many parts, directed their attention to other branches of agriculture, particularly to the cultivation of the coffee plant. The total exports of cocoa from Venezuela in 1833, amounted to about 5¼ millions of pounds weight. The present price of this article in La Guayra is from fourteen to fifteen dollars per 100 lbs.

Coffee.—The cultivation of the coffee plant has greatly increased within these few last years in Venezuela, particularly in the valleys and on the sides of the hills. The exports from La Guayra 1833, were about 12 millions of lbs. weight being nearly double the quantity exported in 1830. The price of coffee is about ten dollars the 100 lbs., which is still too high to enable the article to enter into competition with the produce of Brazil or Cuba. Caracca coffee ranks in our market with good ordinary St. Domingo.

Cotton.—The cultivation of cotton has not increased in the same proportion as that of coffee, the soil not being so congenial to this plant as that of New Grenada, although the quality produced is somewhat superior. The exports in 1833 amounted to about 200,000 lbs., and the article sells at about eight dollars per 100 lbs.

Indigo.—The consumption of Caraccas indigo has been greatly interfered with by the preference given in Europe to strong East India indigo, which is both better and cheaper; and the cultivation of this plant has in consequence been neglected in Venezuela; some new plantations have however lately commenced in the plain of Varinas. The quantity produced in 1833 amounted to about 325,000 lbs. weight. The article sells from three quarters to one dollar per lb.

Tobacco.—During the government monopoly the cultivation of this article was restricted to particular districts, and not one-third of the tobacco consumed in the country was supplied from its own growth, the greater part being smuggled from the Brazils and other parts, while the enormous expense of administration absorbed almost all the profits on the monopoly. The Venezuelian government have now been convinced of the impolicy of this system, and the monopoly was in consequence given up in 1833. The best tobacco produced in Venezuela is that grown in the valley of Cumanaçoa, which is considered superior to the Varinas, and ranks next to that of Cuba. The Dutch were formerly the principal consumers of Varinas tobacco, but the price of the article having so much increased, owing to the falling off of the produce, other tobaccos are now used in Holland as a substitute. The exportation of tobacco in 1833 was 386,000 lbs., value about 6*d.* per lb.; but as Venezuela will be obliged to import tobacco for its own use, the article is not likely to be an important article of export for some time to come at least.

Particulars of the expenditure of Venezuela for the year ending July, 1835:—

Finances:—Official department			D.32,000
„ Custom-houses, tobacco, &c.			84,500
„ Salt monopoly			13,000
„ Coast guard			30,000
„ Post-Office			25,000
„ Sundries			29,000
			D.213,500
Congress, ministers of state, &c.			48,000
Justice			91,500
Clergy			85,000
Education			8,000
Foreign relations			32,000
Army:—Official department	21,000		
„ Field officers	39,000		
„ Pensions, &c.	324,000		
„ Fortifications	50,000		
„ Hospitals, prisons, &c.	204,500		
			638,500
Navy			73,500
Domestic debt			125,000
			D.1,315,000

Trade of Venezuela from July, 1832, to July, 1833:—

	Value of Imports.	Value of Imports.	Amount of Duties Paid.
United States	D.1,025,000	D.1,000,000	D.338,000
Great Britain	856,000	305,000	273,000
St. Thomas	834,000	747,000	280,000
Other countries	580,000	970,000	254,000
	D.3,295,000	D.3,022,000	D.1,145,000

Ports of entry of the above:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Duties.
La Guayra	D.2,123,000	D.1,345,000	D.706,000
Porto Cabello	560,000	910,000	184,000
Maracaibo	208,000	232,000	80,000
Guayana	181,000	203,000	82,000
Cumana	143,000	220,000	66,000
Other parts	80,000	112,000	27,000
	D.3,295,000	D.3,022,000	D.1,145,000

Particulars and amount of the Exports as above:—

Cocoa	55,000 quintals	D.812,000
Coffee	12,000,000 lbs.	1,200,000
Sugar	11,000 quintals	47,000
Cotton	195,000 lbs.	16,000
Indigo	325,000 lbs.	270,000
Hides	61,000 hides	100,000
Skins	105,000 skins	20,000
Dyewoods	14,600 quintals	17,000
Tobacco	380,000 lbs.	99,000
Cattle	1,700 head	22,000
Mules	580 head	37,000
	Carried over	D.2,640,000

able and Learned Member withdrew the resolution for the present. The first three clauses of the Bill were then agreed to by the Committee. When the 4th came to be considered, Lord Dudley Stuart moved that, instead of the King in Council being empowered to determine the future boundaries of boroughs, the existing boundaries should remain until they should be otherwise settled by Act of Parliament; but the amendment was lost on a division by a majority of 279 to 192. The 5th clause having been then agreed to, Lord John Russell proposed, that the terms of the 6th should be so altered as to make it necessary, that every voter should have occupied premises in the borough for at least two years and ten months before the revision of the burgess-roll. Mr. Divett then moved, as an amendment, that twelve months' residence and rating should be a sufficient qualification; but the motion was negatived on a division, by a majority of 321 to 97. Another amendment, proposed by Mr. Jervis, the object of which was to give the right of voting to persons carrying on business in the borough, even if they did not reside within seven miles of it, was, after a short conversation, withdrawn.

On Tuesday the 23rd, the House went again into Committee on the Bill, when the 6th, 7th, and 8th clauses were agreed to. On the 9th, an amendment was moved by Sir William Follett, to the effect, that, without interfering with the municipal government of corporate boroughs, all the rights, privileges, and properties of freemen for other purposes should be preserved. After the debate, however, had proceeded for some time, the Honourable and Learned Member, with the permission of the Committee, altered his motion to the following form:—"That the rights which were preserved by the Reform Bill to the freemen, and persons who should hereafter be entitled by birth and servitude to be freemen, should be continued." The discussion was then continued at great length; and when the Committee divided at its close, there appeared for the amendment 232, against it 278. Mr. Trevor afterwards moved that the clause should be expunged altogether; but this amendment was not pressed to a division.

On Wednesday the 24th, in the House of Lords, the Highways Bill was, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, after it had been read a second time, referred to a Select Committee. A resolution was then passed unanimously, expressive of the sense entertained by the House of the able and zealous services of the Earl of Devon (lately Mr. Courtenay) during the time he had acted as Clerk-Assistant. The Prison Regulation Bill was afterwards read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee.

In the Commons, the early part of the evening was occupied in the discussion of a motion brought forward by Lord Mahon, for copies of the late Order in Council, exempting persons who may enter the service of the Queen of Spain, from the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and also of all communications on that subject which may have passed between his Majesty's Ministers and the Minister at this Court of the Queen of Spain. The motion was withdrawn after a debate of some length, but of little interest except what arose from a personal altercation between the Noble Lord and Colonel Evans, which however was at length amicably arranged by the interference of the Speaker and the House. The House then went again into Committee on the Municipal Corporations Bill, when the 10th clause gave rise to a long discussion. It was, however, eventually agreed to with the modification proposed by Ministers, preserving the rights of property acquired by inhabitancy, and to be acquired by persons under indenture of apprenticeship.

On Thursday the 25th, discussions of considerable warmth took place in the House of Lords, first, on the subject of the introduction of a system of poor-laws into Ireland, and, next, on certain charges brought by the Bishop of Exeter against the Commissioners both of Public Instruction, and of Inquiry into the Irish Church; but there was no business, properly so called, before the House.

In the House of Commons the principal subject of discussion was the motion of Mr. Wakley, for the pardon and recall of the Dorchester labourers convicted of illegal combination in 1833. On a division the motion was negatived by a majority of 308 to 82. Before the debate commenced, however, Lord John Russell intimated that he had thought it his duty to recommend to the Crown that all the six convicts should be pardoned on condition that they remained in the colony, and that four of them should be allowed to return home at the end of two years from the time of their arrival in the colony, provided the governor should have approved of their conduct during that period. Mr. Fox Maule afterwards moved for leave to bring in a Bill for relief of the tenants and occupiers of land in Scotland from the damage done to their crops by hares, pheasants, and rabbits; but, after a short debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 76 to 50.

On Friday, the 26th, a discussion which had been commenced the preceding evening was renewed, on the subject of certain of the parties implicated in the affair of the late Ipswich election. Mr. P. M. Stewart having moved that Mr. Dasent should be brought to the bar, reprimanded, and discharged, the motion was carried after a debate of considerable length by a majority of 190 to 141. It was afterwards agreed, on the motion of Mr. Hawes, that the case of Pilgrim should be disposed of in the same manner. Lord Morpeth then moved for leave to bring in his Bill for the better regulation of ecclesiastical revenues and the promotion of religious and moral instruction in Ireland, and explained its provisions at considerable length. We have given an account of this important measure in another place. Leave was given to bring in the Bill, but Sir Henry Hardinge, Mr. Shaw, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley, all declared their decided opposition to its principle.

Both Houses met again on Monday, the 29th, but the little business done in the Lords was scarcely of any public importance. In the Commons, Lord John Russell intimated that it was the intention of Government to introduce, early next Session, both a Bill upon the subject of church rates, and another for the establishment of a general registration of such a nature as to leave but little difficulty afterwards in bringing forward a measure with respect to Dissenters' marriages. A discussion then took place in regard to the case of Mr. O'Malley, one of the persons confined by order of the House for his conduct in the affair of the Ipswich election. Mr. Devonshire Jackson having presented a certificate from Mr. Bransby Cooper, the surgeon, stating that Mr. O'Malley's health would be injured by a prolongation of his imprisonment, moved that he should be discharged after being reprimanded at the Bar; but it was eventually agreed that nothing should be done in the matter till Mr. Cooper had been examined by the House. Mr. Rigby Wason then moved that the Norwich magistrates, Messrs. Bignold and Booth, should be committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms for their breach of the privileges of the House in the matter of the Ipswich election; but an amendment proposed by Mr. P. M. Stewart, that they should be ordered to attend at the Bar of the House on the following Saturday, was agreed to after a short discussion. A debate then arose on a motion brought forward by Mr. Praed, for copies of any communications which had passed between the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India and the Court of Directors of the East India Company on the subject of the revocation of the appointment of Lord Heytesbury as Governor-General. The motion was eventually negatived by a majority of 254 to 179. The House then resolved itself into a Committee on the Corporations Bill, when the 11th, 12th, and 13th clauses were agreed to without any material alteration. The Roman Catholic Marriages (Ireland) Bill was afterwards read a third time, and passed.

On Tuesday the 30th, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham withdrew his resolutions on the subject of national education, for the purpose of embodying the substance of them in a Bill, at the suggestion of Lord Melbourne, who expressed his entire accordance in their general tenour, though he objected to pledge himself, by voting for them in the shape of resolutions, to everything they contained.

In the Commons, Mr. Bransby Cooper was examined at the bar in regard to the state of health of Mr. O'Malley, but his evidence was considered by the House so unsatisfactory, that it was resolved to proceed no further in the matter till the testimony of some other of Mr. O'Malley's medical attendants should be obtained. Messrs. Bond, Cooke, and Clamp, all confined on account of their participation in the transactions at Ipswich, were then repri-

manded and ordered to be discharged on payment of their fees. After this a motion, made by Mr. Gisborne, that the Attorney-General should be directed to prosecute all persons who appeared from the evidence taken by the Ipswich Election Committee to have been guilty of bribery, was unanimously agreed to. This business having been disposed of, the House, having gone into Committee, resumed the consideration of the Corporation Reform Bill, when Lord John Russell having proposed to modify the 14th clause, by providing that two of the three auditors of accounts should be associated with the mayor in revising the burgess-roll, but that for the first year the revising-barristers should be the revisers, Mr. Wynn moved, as an amendment, that the revision should continue to be performed by the revising-barristers. After some discussion this amendment was negatived by a majority of 86 to 53. The four immediately following clauses were then agreed to, as was also clause 19th, after an amendment proposed by Mr. Borthwick, to the effect, that the existing members of corporations should be made councillors for life, had been withdrawn. A long debate then arose on an amendment to clause 20th proposed by Sir Robert Peel, the object of which was to provide, that every member of council at the time of his election should be possessed of real or personal property to the clear value of 1000*l.*, or be rated on a rental of not less than 40*l.* a-year. Eventually this amendment also was negatived, the ayes being 204, and the noes 267.* The 21st clause having been then agreed to, Lord Stanley moved to amend the 22nd, by making it enact that one-third of the council should go out every two years instead of annually; but this amendment was also lost, the numbers on a division being 176 for, and 220 against it.

On Wednesday the 1st of July, in the Lords, various Bills were advanced a stage, and some remarks of the Duke of Richmond gave rise to a short conversation respecting the present practice of removing cases from the quarter-sessions by *certiorari*, into the Court of King's Bench, the law with respect to which it appeared to be generally admitted by their Lordships stood in need of amendment.

In the House of Commons, the minutes of evidence taken on the Wolverhampton inquiry were brought up by Lord John Russell, and ordered to be printed. His lordship, in reply to some observations by Sir Henry Hardinge, said it was his decided opinion that the conduct of the military at Wolverhampton was marked by the most commendable forbearance and the most correct judgment. Dr. Farr, one of Mr. O'Malley's medical attendants, having been then, on the motion of Mr. Jackson, called to the bar and examined on the state of that gentleman's health, and having given it as his opinion that his life would be endangered if he were much longer confined, Mr. O'Malley was in consequence, after receiving a reprimand from the Speaker, ordered to be discharged from custody. The order for the resumption of the debate adjourned from the 11th of the preceding month,* on the grant moved for by Sir William Rae, for increased church accommodation in Scotland, having been then read, it was after a short discussion resolved, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that an Address should be presented, praying his Majesty to appoint a commission to inquire, generally, into the opportunities of religious worship, and the means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and into what funds are, or may hereafter be, available for the purposes of the Established Church. The House then went into Committee on the Municipal Corporations Bill, when, with the exception of clause 30, relating to the division of the larger boroughs into wards, the consideration of which was postponed, the clauses up to the 36th inclusive, were agreed to, with only a few verbal amendments.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday the 2nd, conversations arose, first, on the subject of Spanish affairs, in consequence of some remarks made by Lord Londonderry respecting the recent proclamation of Don Carlos, declaring that all strangers taken in arms should be shot,—a proclamation which, if genuine, Lord Melbourne declared should not prevent the English recruits now going out from having the benefit of Lord Eliot's convention; and then on the charges brought by the Bishop of Exeter on a former evening against the Commissioners of Public Instruction in Ireland: a letter in defence of his conduct from one of whom, Mr. M'Dermott, who had been the principal object of the Bishop's attack, was read by Lord Duncannon. A Bill was afterwards introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for protecting the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical benefices without cure of souls; and another by Lord Denman, for amending the law respecting the removal of indictments into the Court of King's Bench by *certiorari*, in conformity with the suggestions thrown out at the previous sitting.

In the Commons the principal business was again the Municipal Corporation Bill, several more of the clauses of which were discussed in Committee. To the 42nd clause, which makes the town-clerk removable by the council at the expiration of every year, Lord Stanley moved as an amendment, that the officer in question should retain his office during good behaviour; but after a debate distinguished by considerable personality and warmth, the motion was negatived by a majority of 125 to 65. An amendment to the 52nd clause, proposed by Sir James Graham, with the object of continuing the power of licensing alehouses in the hands of the magistrates, afterwards met with a similar fate, the numbers, on a division, being 166 for, and 211 against it. The other clauses, up to the 55th inclusive, were agreed to. Two Bills introduced by Mr. Hume, were afterwards read a first time; the one to repeal so much of the Act 25 Geo. II., as restrains the amusements of music and dancing; the other to diminish the expenses of elections.

On Friday the 3rd, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham brought in his Bill on the subject of National Education, which was read a first time. Some conversation afterwards took place on Spanish and Irish affairs.

In the Commons an interesting conversation arose on the presentment by Mr. H. Bulwer of a petition from 6000 free inhabitants of New South Wales, praying for the establishment of a representative legislature in that colony. Sir George Grey stated that Ministers were strongly desirous to give to New South Wales the advantages of civil institutions. The order for calling Messrs. Bignold and Booth to the Bar of the House having been discharged, a Select Committee to consider their conduct was then appointed on the motion of Lord John Russell. After this, the House went into Committee on the Corporation Reform Bill, when the clauses up to the 94th inclusive (with the exception of the 79th, which was postponed), were agreed to, with but little discussion. The Linen Trade (Ireland) Bill, afterwards went through Committee, and the Aberdeen Universities Bill was read a second time. This latter measure has been since withdrawn.

On Monday, the 6th, the House having again resolved itself into Committee, all the remaining clauses of the Corporation Reform Bill, together with the 10th, the 30th, and the 79th, were successively agreed to without a division. The 10th clause, however, on the motion of Lord John Russell, was altered so as to provide that all boroughs in which the population amounts to 18,000 shall be divided into two wards, those with a population amounting to 24,000 into three, and those with a population exceeding 24,000 into as many as the King shall appoint.

On Tuesday, the 7th, it was agreed in the Lords, on the motion of Lord Lansdowne, that an Address should be presented, praying his Majesty to direct the erection of a temporary building for their Lordships' convenience in the next Session of Parliament. It was also agreed on the motion of the Marquis of Salisbury, that the Islington Market Bill should be argued at the Bar on Thursday the 9th.

In the House of Commons, at a morning sitting, the County Coroners' Bill was discussed in Committee, and an amendment moved by Mr. Poulter, for limiting the discretion of the coroner as to excluding the public from his court, by making it necessary that he should have the consent of the majority of the jury, was carried by a majority of 44 against 37. In the evening the Irish Church Bill was brought in and read a first time on the motion of Lord Morpeth.

On Wednesday, the 8th, Mr. Dixon brought before the

* It was stated by mistake in the last number of the "Companion," that this debate had terminated by the amendment of the Lord-Advocate having been agreed to.

House the subject of a notice of motion which had been placed on the Journals by Mr. Halse, the Member for St. Ives, with the evident intention of turning into ridicule the principle and fundamental provisions of the Corporation Reform Bill, and moved that the notice appearing to be a gross insult to the House, and to a great portion of the constituent householders of the kingdom, it should be expunged from the proceedings of the House. It was eventually resolved, on the motion of Mr. Hume, that the notice should be discontinued. A debate then took place on the motion for the second reading of a Bill brought in by Sir R. Musgrave for the introduction of a system of Poor Laws into Ireland, which ended by the motion being agreed to. It was afterwards ordered that the Bill should be committed that day fortnight. Several other Bills were then advanced a stage, and the Entailed Estates (Scotland) Bill was, on the motion of the Lord Advocate, thrown out by a majority of 89 to 19.

On Thursday, the 9th, in the Lords, the opinion of the Judges on certain questions put to them, in reference to the Islington Market Bill, was delivered by Sir J. A. Park, and was to the effect that the grant of a charter for a new market would be void, as against the privileges of the city. The Certiorari Bill was afterwards read a second time on the motion of Lord Brougham.

In the House of Commons, the Prisoners' Council Bill was read a third time and passed, after some discussion, and the rejection of several amendments by various majorities. The House having afterwards resolved itself into Committee, the schedules of the Municipal Corporations Bill were considered, and the alterations proposed in them by Lord John Russell agreed to. Mr. Roebuck moved that the number of Councillors for Bath should be thirty instead of forty-eight, as proposed in the Bill; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 105 to 74. Afterwards, a motion, brought forward by Mr. Wallace, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the management of the Post Office, gave rise to a discussion of some length; but on Mr. Labouchere engaging that a Commission should be appointed for the purpose, the Honourable Member did not persist in pressing his motion to a division.

On Friday, the 10th, Mr. Wallace moved for a copy of any document under the authority of which the sum of 30,000*l.* had been advanced to the Thames Tunnel Company, in a speech in which he characterized the advance in question as both ill-advised and irregular. Ministers intimated that there was no objection to produce the papers, and the motion was agreed to. Mr. A. Johnston then brought forward his motion for abolishing lay patronage in the Church of Scotland, but withdrew it after a short discussion. The House afterwards went into a Committee of Supply, when various sums were voted on the miscellaneous estimates. Mr. Hume then moved the second reading of his Bill for diminishing the expenses of elections. The motion was carried against an amendment that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months by a majority of 58 to 5.

On Monday, the 13th, in the Lords, the Prisoners' Counsel Bill was read a first time. The Duke of Richmond, and several other Noble Lords, afterwards addressed the House in refutation of the charges brought forward a few nights before in the House of Commons against the management of the Post Office.

In the House of Commons, a conversation of some length took place in the early part of the evening, on a petition presented from Mr. O'Dwyer, who had lately been deprived of his seat for Drogheda, by the decision of an Election Committee. It was contended by Mr. O'Connell and other Members, that the decision of the Committee was not according to law. Mr. Wynn, on the other hand, objected to the petition being received; but it was at last agreed that it should be laid on the Table. After this, Lord John Russell announced that he had received his Majesty's commands to state that he had been graciously pleased to place at the disposal of the House, for the purposes of the Irish Church Bill, all his interest in any benefices and dignities in the Church of Ireland. The Bill was then read a second time. The House next went into a Committee of Supply, when various additional sums were voted on the miscellaneous estimates; among others, a sum of 35,000*l.* for the advancement of education in Ireland, for the year ending 31st March, 1836, which gave rise to a warm altercation; but the money was at last voted by a majority of 143 to 41. Afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Rice, the House went into Committee on the Tea Duties, when it was resolved, that instead of the present discriminating duties on the various qualities of that article, a duty of 2*s.* 1*d.* per pound, should, in future, be levied on all teas taken for home consumption. Before the House rose, Mr. Tooke moved a resolution for the appointment of a Committee of nine Members, to whom all Divorce Bills should be referred, which was carried on a division, by a majority of 25 against 0.

On Tuesday, the 14th, in the House of Lords, Lord Radnor moved the second reading of his Bill for the abolition of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The motion gave rise to a long discussion, which terminated in the Bill being thrown out by a majority of 163 to 57. Of the Noble Lords present, 28 were for, and 85 against the Bill.

In the House of Commons, at an early sitting, the Cruelty to Animals Bill was discussed in Committee. In the evening Lord Lowther replied to some of the observations which had been made a few nights before in the House of Lords on the subject of the Post-Office. Afterwards, on the motion of Lord John Russell, the Municipal Corporations Bill was re-committed, when some additional amendments, proposed by his Lordship, were agreed to. The House having been resumed, a Committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Fowell Buxton, to inquire into the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of British Settlements; and another, on the motion of Mr. Ewart, to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts, and of the principles of design among the people. The next motion was one by Mr. Buckingham, for leave to bring in three Bills:—The first for the formation of walks and gardens for the recreation of the public in the vicinity of large towns; the second, for the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes; and, the third, for classifying houses of entertainment. Leave was given to bring in the two first Bills, but the motion, with regard to the third, was not persisted in. Mr. Gisborne then moved the re-appointment of the Committee of the last Session on the claims of the Baron de Bode; but the motion was negatived on a division, by a majority of 179 to 97. A warm debate followed on a motion by Mr. Wason, for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the petitions which had been presented from Great Yarmouth, alleging that the sum of two guineas had lately been paid to many of those among the inhabitants and freemen who, at the last election, had voted for the sitting Members; but the appointment of the Committee was eventually carried, by a majority of 186 to 132. It was also, before the House rose, resolved, without a division, on the motion of Mr. Aglionby, to refer the petitions containing similar allegations from the city of York to a Select Committee.

No business of any consequence was done in the Lords on Wednesday the 15th, and the Commons did not assemble in sufficient numbers to form a House.

On Thursday, the 16th, the Lords were occupied with a discussion on the subject of 'Dens's Theology,' and the sanction which the publication and circulation of that work had received from Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, and one of the members of the Irish Board of Education. The subject was introduced in a long address by the Bishop of Exeter.

In the Commons, the appointment of a Select Committee, to consider the best means of setting apart a portion of the Strangers' Gallery for the admission of ladies during the debates, was moved by Mr. G. Berkeley, and carried, notwithstanding the opposition of Lord John Russell, by a majority of 153 to 104. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Municipal Corporations Bill, when an amendment proposed by Mr. Praed, having in view to secure the right of voting for members of Parliament to the descendants of existing freemen, was negatived by a majority of 262 to 234; and another proposed by Mr. J. G. Ponsonby, to secure all the rights to which they would, under the existing law, be entitled, except that of voting for Parliamentary representatives, to the children of all freemen born before the 5th of June, 1835, and to all apprentices, was also rejected, the num-

bers being 234 for, and 203 against it. In some other divisions which followed, the Ministerial majorities were considerably larger. The first 48 clauses were agreed to, when the House resumed.

On the following evening, the House went again into Committee on the Bill, when the remaining clauses, with a few unimportant alterations, and also the schedules, were agreed to, and the Bill was ordered to be read a third time on Monday, the 20th.

On that evening, accordingly, it was read a third time, and passed, without a division, though not without strong expressions of opposition to its leading principles from several members. Several amendments were proposed and rejected; but one or two additional clauses and provisions, which were considered to be in accordance with the principle of the Bill, were agreed to.

FRANCE.

The French papers for the past month have abounded more in Spanish news and speculations on the affairs of the Peninsula, than in home intelligence. The Convention, respecting the foreign legions to be sent to Spain from Algiers, was signed by the Duke de Frias and the Duke de Broglie at the end of last month. A few days after, three French ships of the line sailed from Toulon to Algiers, and a Spanish and French Commission went to superintend the embarkation of the troops for Spain. In addition to this more immediate assistance, the French Government has imitated ours in allowing its subjects freely to enter the service of the young Queen. As to the foreign legionaires in Africa, there can be no doubt entertained of their bravery and hardihood; but their state of moral discipline, their plundering, reckless spirit, and general contempt for what they call the prejudices of religion, may, we greatly fear, render them obnoxious to the Spanish soldiery with whom they are to fight, and still more so to the credulous and devout Spanish peasantry.

At Paris, seven persons have been arrested on charge of a conspiracy to assassinate the King as he returned from Neuilly to the Tuileries. Some of the newspapers pretend that this plot had no existence save in the imaginings of Louis Philippe's police.

In the early part of July, it was confidently reported that the young Duke of Bourdeaux, whom the royalists persist in calling Henry V., was dead. The rumour was premature, but both the young Duke and his grandfather Charles X., have been dangerously ill at Toplitz. It is admitted by his warmest partisans, that the young Prince is of a delicate constitution, and this circumstance is equally regretted by republicans and ultra-royalists:—to the latter, his death would be the destruction of all hopes of a legitimate succession, and the republicans are afraid that his demise would greatly strengthen the government of Louis Philippe.

The Moniteur has published a number of excellent Ordonnances, in pursuance of votes previously passed by the Chambers, for rendering rivers navigable, for clearing and deepening the port of Boulogne, and assigning six millions of francs for the establishment of a line of packet-boats to run between France and the Levant.

A new interest has been given to the tedious proceedings of the State trials, by the escape of forty-one of the prisoners from the gaol of St. Pelagie. There were forty-four of the Parisian insurgents in this prison, three of whom declined escaping, which they might have done with the rest, their spirit being untamed by sixteen months' captivity. It should appear, however, that their confinement was not of a very rigorous nature, and that they were abundantly supplied by their friends outside the walls, with the means of enjoying themselves. "People may say what hey like about Newgate," said Oliver Goldsmith's pauper;—for his part he found it a very pleasant place, with nothing in the world to do, and prison-allowance served out regularly. But these Parisian insurgents had something better than bread and soup—their tables were supplied by a *restaurateur* of no mean fame—they had plenty of beer and wine, and eau-de-vie and cigars, and an abundance of society after their own hearts; and as a climax to their comfort and moral enjoyment, hundreds of people out of doors who considered them as martyrs suffering for the good cause.

Thirteen of the fugitives were retaken, but twenty-eight got clear off. The following account of the exploit is given in a French paper. It were a pity to abridge it:—

"The rooms assigned to the political prisoners look into a spacious court, in which they are permitted to meet and take recreation from the morning till ten o'clock at night. The prisoners being allowed to buy the wine and liquors they desire, Kersausie begged about three months ago to have the key of a cellar opening into the court, to put into it a supply of wine, beer, and liquors, and the key was given him by the director of the prison. Some time after the prefect of police having been informed that serious inconveniences arose from liquors being introduced in too large quantities, the key was ordered to be withdrawn from Kersausie. It was by this cellar that the prisoners escaped; and as the door had certainly not been broken open, it is evident that a false key had been made after the model of the other while it was in Kersausie's possession. This cellar extends under a part of the Chemin de Ronde, and required only a subterranean opening to communicate with the garden of No. 7, Rue Copeau. An opening, of about thirty feet in length by three in diameter, was made by some of the prisoners in the wall of the cellar and through the ground, and issued in the above garden beneath the shade of an alley of linden trees. This work being accomplished, their daily communications with their friends without enabled them to concert the means of passing through the garden without difficulty. The prisoners assembled every evening to read a newspaper, and afterwards sung patriotic songs, which they called their *evening prayers*, and this was the moment fixed upon for their escape. On Sunday night (12th July) soon after nine, all being in readiness, nothing remained to be done but to force the further extremity of the subterranean passage which had been left covered, which was effected in a few minutes. Twenty-eight of the prisoners thus passed, one after the other, into the garden, when the authorities having learned what was going on, fifteen others were stopped in their projected flight. A signal agreed upon had been given to their friends without, who took immediate measures to facilitate their escape from the garden. Madame V., the wife of the proprietor of the garden, has declared that, being alone with a servant at the hour above-mentioned, a gentleman, accompanied by a young lady, called and inquired for her husband. Upon her informing him that he was not at home, he begged her to give him some paper and a pen, that he might write a note to acquaint him with the object of his visit. These were given to him, and while he was writing, a violent knocking being heard at the garden door, this individual threw open the window and shutters, and told her not to be alarmed, as it was only the political prisoners making their escape. She immediately saw more than a score of persons break the panes of glass and pannels of the garden door, and pass, but having no one with her except a servant, she could not think of offering resistance. At the same time other friends of the prisoners kept watch over the porter at the street door, and thus the twenty-eight fugitives traversed the court, and reached the street in safety. A sum of money, and the address of an asylum that had been provided, were then given to each of them."

A day or two after their evasion the fugitives published a paper, stating that they could have escaped long before, but declined doing so, as they wished to avail themselves of the fine opportunity of desseminating their republican principles which was afforded them by the trial before the Peers—that they had now withdrawn themselves, only *because* their judges had resolved to separate one class of political prisoners from another, and, trying those of Lyons first, to leave them (the Parisians) in prison for another year before they should be called into court.

Not one of the fortunate twenty-eight has been retaken. Three of them, Cavaignac, Gunaird, and Imbert, have reached Brussels, where they will certainly be very unwelcome visitors. As a committee of the Court of Peers have decided by a majority of 110 to 19 to proceed with the trial in the absence of the refractory prisoners, it is said to be probable that the Lyonese part of this affair will be finished in another month. One of these republicans, Le Noir by name, and a Catholic priest—we believe an Abbé—by profession, has died in prison. Another of them, a certain Reverchon, has been sentenced to five

years' imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs, not for his original offence, but for a violent attack on the Court of Peers.

It appears from the Paris papers that part of the army of Africa, under General Trezel, sustained a severe check from the Arabs commanded by Abdel Kader, on the 27th of June last, at Macta, in the neighbourhood of Oran, and that, besides most of their guns and baggage, the French lost 500 men. Since this event has been known, Marshal Clausel has received sudden orders to embark for Algiers, and once more take upon himself the government of that colony. We believe Count Clausel to be the very best man for the purpose, and we warmly wish his moderate conciliating measures and humane projects may not be thwarted by a set of scoundrels, as they were in 1830 and 1831.

We regret to say that the cholera is raging at Toulon. It broke out on the 8th of July, and by the following day had destroyed 468 lives.

SPAIN.

The modern Montrose of Spain—the chief prop of the Carlist cause—is no more. We mentioned in our last Number, that Zumalacarreguy was dangerously wounded, and a few days after we wrote, news reached England that, by producing locked-jaw, his wound had proved mortal. The Carlist journals in France, and the Tory papers in England, brought the brave partisan to life several times, and even assured the world that his wound was a mere scratch. But it would not do: after all their assertions, these journalists were obliged to allow that the commander-in-chief of the Legitimatists was a mortal man—nay, even that he was dead. We have no sympathy for the cause in which he perished, but we have some admiration for the individual, and do not think he has left his equal behind him, either on the part of the Carlists, or on that of the young Queen.

Almost immediately after his death, the Carlists raised the siege of Bilboa, and retired in dismay. The young Queen's army, said to amount to 20,000 men, entered Bilboa on the 1st of July, when Don Carlos had established his head-quarters at Onate. Valdez, the commander-in-chief of the Constitutional army of the north, has resigned, and been succeeded by General Santos de la Hera, who is (like Zumalacarreguy) a Basque by birth, who has seen some war in America, and who is said, moreover, to be a man of courage and activity. It seems allowed, however, that General Saarsfield would have been a better choice.

On the side of the Carlists, Zumalacarreguy's command has fallen to a well-known, but very inferior man, *i. e.* to Moreno, who presided at the execution of General Torrijos and Mr. Boyd, and who was so seriously annoyed during his stay in England last year.

The mass of the Queen's troops, commanded by General Cordova, left Bilboa on the 5th of July, with the intention, it was said, of attacking Moreno and the Carlists. On the same day a set of mad students, and other youths raised the standard of revolt at Saragossa, proclaiming, not Don Carlos, but the democratic and unsuitable constitution of 1812. It appears that the affair has alarmed the queen regent.

A battalion of the English auxiliary troops raising in London, and which are to be commanded by Colonel de Lacy Evans, arrived and disembarked at St. Sebastian as early as the 10th of July. Other detachments have followed, and are following rapidly, and thus there will soon be eight or ten thousand British soldiers in the Basque provinces. Don Carlos, it is said, has proclaimed that no quarter will be given to these foreign auxiliaries, but he must at least catch them before he shoots them; and the proclamation is not worth a moment's notice, inasmuch as both Carlists and Christinos continue to murder their prisoners in cold blood—though they are Spaniards—just as they were accustomed to do before Lord Eliot's convention. There will, therefore, be no distinction as to nations, and the British recruits have had opportunities enough of knowing the nature of the warfare in which they have engaged. General Iriarte having taken about fifty Carlists at Tafalla, shot a dozen of them, on learning which Moreno retaliated, by shooting thirty-six of his prisoners, who had all been officers in the constitutional army.

There was some sharp fighting, which ended unfavourably to the Carlists, at Mondragon on the 8th of July, and at Puenta la Reyna on the 13th; and by telegraphic intelligence received to-day (23rd) it appears that the constitutionalists gained a victory of some importance on the 16th at Larraga and Artagona, driving the troops under Don Carlos and Moreno back to Lagarda and Estella.

Moreno, on assuming the command, issued a characteristic proclamation. In it he alludes to persecutions he has undergone both in France and England, and which persecutions, he says, proceeded from the agents of usurpation and the *Masonic Lodges*, because he did his duty in putting to death the rebel Torrijos and his companions. In concluding this precious document, he pledges himself "always to do his utmost to exterminate the wicked." Since his elevation, and the loss of Zumalacarreguy, many of the Carlist troops have gone over to the young Queen.

PORTUGAL.

This country has been the scene of no striking events: the sale of the monastic property and of the rest of that property, now called "national," has been carried on in public without any disturbance, and is still proceeded with, though rather slowly, as there is an evident backwardness in some of the Portuguese to purchase what belonged to the Church, and in others a still more apparent want of ready money. A considerable number of foreigners have attended the auctions and been among the purchasers.

On the 20th of July the schooner *Viper* arrived suddenly from Lisbon with secret, and it is said, *important* despatches for our Government. She left the Tagus on a quarter-of-an-hour's notice, and strict orders were issued that no private letters should be taken on board. Whenever these circumstances occur, people must be allowed to surmise and speculate. It is said by some that fresh commotions have broken out in the interior—by others that the despatches merely relate to Donna Maria's marriage, which is longer in settling than the hurried match-makers foresaw,—and by others, again, that they are to intimate fresh changes in the Portuguese Cabinet.

A corps-d'armée amounting to 6000 men is still kept on the Spanish frontiers, and ready to march should the Queen Regent require its assistance.

TURKEY.

The insurrection in Albania, which we mentioned some months ago, has never been wholly suppressed, and appears, from recent accounts despatched from the frontiers of Bosnia, to have acquired more vigour and extension than ever. Although the Pasha of Scutari had received a reinforcement of 2000 men, he was not in a condition to move from that city, which was surrounded by the insurgents, in good part reduced to a heap of ruins, and in want of provisions. Discontents have also broken out among the Bosniaks, and the Servians now under the protection of Russia, have had some quarrels with the Turks.

Many of our newspapers have been declaiming and raving these last three weeks about the indignity put upon Great Britain by Turkey, or rather, as they say, by Russia, in prohibiting the passage of the Dardanelles to the man-of-war which is to carry out Lord Durham. Now, it happens that there is nothing new in all this, but on the contrary, that the regulation is of a very respectable antiquity, and has been submitted to as usage, and so far acknowledged as a right, by many ambassadors and ships of war, under all kinds of administrations, Tory as well as Whig. The practice, indeed, has always been for an ambassador to quit the man-of-war sent out with him, on the coast of Troy or at the entrance of the Dardanelles, and thence to continue his voyage to Constantinople in country boats, or small unarmed vessels; or, if a land journey were preferred, to cross the Dardanelles to the town of Gallipoli, and then travel along the European side of the Sea of Marmora to the capital, the man-of-war, on scarcely any occasion, being allowed to pass the first castle on the Dardanelles. In this way envoy after envoy has proceeded

on his mission, and we may name among the instances which come within the present century—Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Allan, Mr. Stratford Canning, Sir Robert Liston, Lord Strangford, and Mr. Stratford Canning again. This rule has been observed long before Russia had any influence over the Sultan, and has been insisted upon even when the Sultan and the Czar were at war with each other, and when the conflict between them was far from being of that unequal, and (for Turkey) hopeless nature that it has become since 1828. France has submitted as well as England, the regulations being, for many ages, that while unarmed merchantmen of all friendly nations might pass and repass the Dardanelles, on allowing a search by Turkish officers, both in going and returning, no man-of-war, of any nation, should pass the strait *with her guns on board*. On one or two occasions a frigate has landed her artillery and then proceeded; and of late years the Sultan has granted express permission for a frigate or two, or a sloop-of-war with some smaller craft, to go up to Constantinople in full warlike trim, and without any hindrance, but this was held in the light of a special favour or an exception to the general rule, and not as a right. During Sir Robert Gordon's recent and very unsatisfactory embassy, the Blonde frigate and another vessel lay for months in the Bosphorus, but that was at a season when the Sultan was greatly embarrassed. If permission be asked for the passage of the ship conveying Lord Durham, we believe it will be readily granted. We have said these few words to show the unreasonableness of the Tory attacks on our present Ministry on this head, and the incorrectness of the journalists in treating this matter as if it were altogether new.

HOLLAND.

The loyalty of the Dutch has been somewhat affected by the heavy demands upon their purse, which the King has been obliged to make in consequence of his late expensive warlike demonstrations; and they begin seriously to think it were better to give up Luxembourg and the other points that stand in the way of a final adjustment with Belgium, than pay so dearly for a very uncertain delay. In several parts of the country popular discontent at a new tax has manifested itself in riots, and there have been some serious disturbances at Amsterdam. It should appear that the King can afford to be more obstinate abroad than at home, for, it is said, that his government has formally announced its intention not to press the payment of the obnoxious tax and to wipe out all arrears.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

June 24. D. Salomons, Esq., a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion, was elected one of the sheriffs for the city of London. Objections have been made to the validity of the election on the ground that the oath required of sheriffs on entering office contains the words "on the true faith of a Christian," and that the act of indemnity does not reach the case.

25. A duel took place in Dublin between Mr. Haire, the chairman of the commission appointed to inquire into the disputed election of Messrs. O'Connell and Ruthven, and Mr. Murphy, a barrister acting in the interest of the sitting members. The parties fired twice without effect.

27. Mr. Charles Matthews, so justly celebrated in the theatrical world for the exquisite life and humour of his delineations of character and manners, died at Devonport, after a lingering illness. He was nearly sixty years of age, of which upwards of forty had been spent in his profession.

— The late Mr. Cobbett was buried this day in the churchyard of Farnham, in Surrey, his native town. The funeral was attended by Messrs. O'Connell, Wakley, Fielden, and a number of other gentlemen. The mortal remains of this remarkable man, after his long and busy life, rest with those of his humble ancestors. Many thousand persons witnessed the ceremony.

29. Serious disturbances occurred at Great Bircham, in Norfolk, owing to the execution of that part of the Poor Law Amendment Bill, which enacts that relief shall be given in kind instead of in money. The peasantry rose in a body against the parish officers, refused to work for the farmers, and assaulted two men who were willing to work. The house of the principal farmer of the parish was attacked and set on fire; but on the military being called out the riot was suppressed without bloodshed.

30. Lord Suffield met with an accident, which caused his death on the 6th of July. As he was riding down Constitution Hill, on his way to the House of Lords, his horse stumbled, and rolled over him, by which he received several injuries, which, however, were not at first suspected to be of a nature to endanger life. His lordship was in his fifty-fourth year.

— In the Court of King's Bench Sir John De Beauvoir (who, after being returned to Parliament for the borough of Windsor, was unseated by the decision of a Select Committee of the House of Commons) was tried for perjury, on the allegation of having sworn to an insufficient qualification. The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of not guilty.

July 1. The eighth annual meeting of the Royal National Institution for the preservation of life from shipwreck, was held at its rooms in Austin-friars, Thomas Wilson, Esq., in the chair. The report stated that since the last meeting 663 persons have been saved from shipwreck, a great number of whom have been preserved through the immediate instrumentality of the society, by the means it has provided on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and the remainder by persons to whom the committee have granted honorary or pecuniary rewards. At the last anniversary dinner, the Trinity House, which had previously presented the institution with 500*l.*, gave a further donation of 200*l.*, and the East India Company 100*l.*, in addition to a previous donation of 300*l.* Additional life-boats had been placed the last year at Irvine, N.B., the mouth of the Tees, Carmarthen, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, and, by the French government, off Boulogne; and very satisfactory results have attended the experiments with Mr. Dennet's rocket apparatus. Since its first establishment the institution has granted 50 gold medallions and 200 silver medallions as honorary distinctions of merit; has paid more than 4000*l.* as pecuniary rewards to upwards of 3400 persons who have been instrumental in saving the lives of above 3500 shipwrecked mariners, and expended a sum exceeding 3800*l.* for life-boats and other improved apparatus, which have been placed on various parts of the coasts of the United Kingdom.

— Special orders were issued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the prevention of party processions on this day, being the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne. A procession however having taken place in Monaghan, a riot ensued, when one person was shot and several wounded. A barrister has been sent down by Government to investigate the matter, but his report has not yet been published.

— At a levee, held at St. James's, the Earl of Durham had an audience of the King, on taking leave, as ambassador to St. Petersburgh.

2. The proprietors of the 'John Bull' newspaper brought an action in the Court of Common Pleas against a Mr. Rosier, who, it was alleged, had induced the editor to publish a libellous paragraph on an individual, on his engagement to take the responsibility. The person against whom the paragraph was directed having recovered damages from the newspaper proprietors, the present action was brought to compel the author of the paragraph to defray the expenses. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs.

— The Royal Tar steamer, of 700 tons burthen, left the Thames for San Sebastian, having on board the first detachment of the British Auxiliary Legion, now raising in England, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Evans, M.P. for Westminster, destined for the service of the Queen of Spain. Official intimation has been made that all pensioners entering the service of the Queen of Spain will retain their pensions.

3. Seventeen persons were drowned in a coal-pit about four miles from Bolton, by the flowing in of the water from the river Irwell, on the banks of which the pit is situated.

4. A number of individuals charged with being concerned in the riots at Wolverhampton, [see last month's Chronicle,] were sentenced at the Stafford sessions to various periods of imprisonment.

— This day the usual ceremonies and entertainments commenced at Cambridge on the installation of the Marquis of Camden as Chancellor of the University. A great many distinguished indi-

viduals were present; among others, Prince Pozzo di Borgo, the Dukes of Cumberland, Wellington, and Grafton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lords Lyndhurst, Abinger, &c. &c.

— About 120 gentlemen dined together at Blackwall to celebrate the triumph of Messrs. Morrison and Wason in their late election for Ipswich, after having succeeded in unseating the former members, and exposing the bribery which had been practised. Mr. O'Connell was in the chair.

— In the Court of Common Pleas, Dublin, a special jury case, the parties being Lord Trimblestone *versus* Kemmis, and the matter being an action of ejectment on the title, to recover possession of the manor of Roebuck, was decided for the defendant, after occupying six days. Property to the amount of 400,000*l.* was said to depend on the result.

8. At a levee, Sir F. Shuckburgh, chairman of a Committee of Baronets, presented to his Majesty two petitions from certain of the baronets of England, of Scotland, of Ireland, and of the United Kingdom, and their eldest sons, praying a restoration of various privileges originally belonging to the order, but stated to have been in abeyance since the Restoration.

9. The eighth vessel which has been taken up by Government, under the management of the Emigration Committee, for the conveyance of females to New South Wales, sailed from the Thames. The number sent out in this instance was 160 single females, and about forty other persons, chiefly agriculturists, and their families.

12. Dr. Elrington, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, died at Liverpool, having landed there on his way to London, in order to be present at an intended conference of Irish bishops, about to be held in the British metropolis. He was upwards of seventy years of age, and had the character of being a learned and able man. The bishopric of Ferns becomes, by his death, in virtue of the Irish Church Temporalities Act, united to that of Ossory.

— On the evening of this day and the whole of the succeeding day, the town of Liverpool was in a state of great excitement owing to the riotous conduct of large portions of the lower class of Irishmen. The 12th of July being the anniversary of the Battle of Aughrim, these misguided people were under an impression that an Orange procession was to take place, and they therefore assembled, armed with bludgeons, and committed some desperate breaches of the peace. Many persons were severely injured.

— On the same day, in Belfast, a serious riot occurred, produced by the obnoxious party processions which have so frequently disturbed the peace of the country. The Riot Act was read, the military called out, one young woman was shot, and many persons wounded.

— Riots have also occurred in Port Glasgow and Airdrie, a small town near Glasgow, caused by attempts to get up imitations of the Irish processions. In the case of Airdrie the military were called out, and a great number of the rioters were seized and committed to prison. No lives were lost in these instances.

13. The New Goldsmiths' Hall, in London, was formally opened by a banquet, at which the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, the Marquis of Camden, &c., were present, and on their healths being drunk made speeches.

16. A frightful accident occurred at Watford, on the London and Birmingham Railway, by the falling in of a portion of a tunnel in progress of formation, by which many of the workmen lost their lives. Several of the Directors of the Company, accompanied by the Secretary, went down from London to examine the spot, and their Report has been published. It states that the men engaged on the works on the shaft having all perished, the proximinate cause of the calamity can only be conjectured. The shaft having been sunk in chalk, it is supposed to have given way to the pressure. On the same morning, and on the same railroad, another accident occurred on a part of the works on the north side of Primrose Hill, near London. A portion of the roof of a newly excavated part of the tunnel fell in. There were seven men at work, six of whom escaped, but the seventh was buried beneath the earth, and though got out alive was carried to the North London Hospital in a hopeless state.

17. The Rev. Mr. Dupré, master of the endowed school of Berkhamstead, the management of which was the subject of recent animadversion in the House of Commons, brought an action against a Mr. Campbell for libel, which was tried at Winchester. The libel complained of was published in the 'Bucks Herald;' the matter of it consisted of comments on the conduct of the schools, and the defence set up was a plea of justification, alleging the truth of the charges. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff with 25*l.* damages, on certain of the issues raised by the pleas, and for the defendant upon two of the issues, those which asserted the right of the public generally to admission to the school, and also that for twenty-five years there had not been a scholar educated in the establishment.

18. A public meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, for the purpose of adopting petitions to both Houses of Parliament, praying for a total repeal of the stamp duties on newspapers. The meeting was attended by upwards of 2000 individuals. Lord Brougham presided; and the resolutions were proposed by Dr. Birkbeck, Messrs. Hume, Grote, O'Connell, Dr. Bowring, Rev. W. J. Fox, &c.

24. At a quarter to six in the evening of this day, the 'Earl Grey' steam-packet from Rothesay and other places to Glasgow, having stopped for a short time at Greenock to disembark passengers and receive others, just as she was about to depart suddenly exploded. The effect was dreadful. The boiler of the vessel was rent asunder, the top of it standing erect, having torn up the deck, and blown into the air all the passengers who had been standing between the funnel and the cabin-door. A great number of the passengers fell into the sea, where many were severely wounded from the falling fragments of the deck and large pieces of coal. The spectators on the quay, also, who were at the time very numerous, suffered greatly, many being knocked down and scalded by the boiling water, and others wounded by the falling missiles, some of which were thrown fifty or sixty yards from the vessel. The number of lives lost has not yet been accurately ascertained; but the 'Greenock Intelligencer' gives a list of six persons whose bodies have been discovered, and of thirty others who have been more or less injured. A judicial investigation into the causes of this melancholy occurrence has been instituted.

28. A telegraphic dispatch announces that on this day, as the King of the French was on his way to the Place Vendôme, his Majesty, and the cortège by which he was surrounded, were thrown into confusion "by the explosion of an infernal machine, placed behind a window, by which his Majesty's horse was killed, but his Majesty, as well as the princes, escaped unhurt. The Duke of Treviso was killed, and several generals, aides-de-camp, and individuals of the National Guard, were either killed or wounded. The people rushed after the King with acclamations of loyalty, after this horrible attempt, at which all Paris was indignant. The metropolis was otherwise calm."

Great distress, reaching to absolute famine, has prevailed for the last two months among the peasantry on the west coast of Ireland, and principally in the county of Mayo. The deplorable situation of the miserable people has excited the active sympathy of benevolent individuals, and various efforts have been made to supply them with food. Some very heart-rending details of privation and destitution have appeared in the newspapers.

Intelligence has been received respecting a China ship, named the Eliza, for which considerable anxiety had been felt by the merchants of the city. The ship, on her way home from Macao to England, struck on some rocks in the China sea; she was subsequently boarded by the people of a Chinese fishing-boat, who ill-used the crew, and plundered the vessel; and a few days afterwards two Chinese junks arrived, and putting on board twenty men, completely rifled the unfortunate ship. The captain and crew, with the exception of four men who were left on a small island, ventured to sea in the boats, and were picked up and brought to Singapore.

At the Cape of Good Hope it appears that the incursions of the Caffres have been effectually checked, and that a treaty was about to be entered into, by which compensation was to be made by the invaders in the shape of so many thousand head of cattle, and that a new boundary was to be formed. But few of the scattered colonists have yet returned to their farms.

Intelligence from South America states that an earthquake on the 20th February last laid waste the cities of Conception and Talcahuana.

It is stated that a newspaper of eight quarto pages has been established at Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands,) which is illustrated with wood-cuts of animals.

Great damage has been done to the British shipping at Quebec, by a tremendous gale. Many of the timber rafts were broken up and sent adrift.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. Parkes.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 33. SEPTEMBER 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Changes of Administration and History of Parties	453	Bill for Preventing the Publication of Lectures without consent	469
Reports of Committees on Hand-loom Weavers' Petitions	459	Parliamentary Register	469
Irish Municipal Corporation Reform Bill	464	Political Retrospect for August	471
Some Notes on the Trade of the Levant, &c.	465	Chronicle of Occurrences	476

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION, AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

[Continued from Number 29.]

[Errata in Number 29.—p. 366, col. 2, line 20 from bottom, *for* "parting" *read* "hurting."—p. 370, col. 1, line 11 from bottom, *dele* the sentence beginning "In the Household, the Duke of Portland," &c.]

ALTHOUGH the principal appointments in the Government had at last been filled up by Lord Chatham for the present in the manner that has been mentioned, his lordship seems to have felt that the administration he had formed was not, as yet, by any means strong enough to face the combined parties which were likely to constitute the Opposition in the ensuing Session of Parliament. He therefore directed his views to the arrangement of such new connexions as might at once enlarge the basis of the Government, and detach part of the force which threatened to be arrayed against it.

To gain time for these negociations, the meeting of Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 16th of September, was further postponed till the 11th of November. This step was adopted at a moment when, owing to the deficiency of the harvest, the public mind was in a state of the greatest alarm from the apprehension of a scarcity of food. To provide against this danger, and to quiet the excitement, on the 2nd of October ministers took upon them to issue an order in council prohibiting the exportation of grain, although prices had not yet arrived at the point fixed for such prohibition by the law, and laying an embargo on all vessels about to proceed abroad with that article. Soon after this Lord Chatham withdrew for the benefit of his health to Bath.

Here he presently sought and obtained an interview with the Duke of Bedford, who had also come to Bath with the same object. Having stated that he was anxious to secure the Duke's support to the new administration—an intimation to which his Grace made no reply—he went on to describe the foreign and domestic policy which he was resolved to pursue. It was comprised, he said, under three heads: first, to preserve the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the continental powers that they did the same; secondly, to enter into no continental connexions, and to make no treaty with any continental power binding Great Britain to the payment of a subsidy; and, thirdly, to observe the strictest and most rigid economy. The Duke replied that these were precisely the measures for which he had always contended, and he certainly would support them, whether his friends were in power or not. On this they parted, with the understanding, however, that they would soon meet again.

Accordingly, Parliament having met on the day appointed, (the 11th of November,) the Bedford party at first took little share in the contests which immediately ensued. The Address was opposed in both Houses, and in the Commons no fewer than four amendments upon it were successively moved; but on every division the majority was with the Government. In none of the amendments was the subject of America alluded to. The principal topic on which the Opposition took their ground was the unjustifiable delay which, as they alleged, had taken place in the assembling of Parliament in the critical circumstances in which the country stood. The step taken by the Ministry in preventing the exportation of corn was admitted by all to have been, at the moment when it was adopted, a necessary stretch of power; but the Opposition contended, first, that it was rendered necessary only by the prorogation of Parliament; and, secondly, that the Ministers ought now to come to Parliament for a Bill of Indemnity to cover their violation of the law and the constitution. These points appear to have been discussed in the two Houses, both in the debates on the Address, and again in the consideration of a bill which was soon after brought in by the Government to indemnify the subordinate agents employed in executing the embargo, but in which the Ministers at first refused to allow their own names to be comprehended. The parliamentary proceedings of this session have been very imperfectly reported; but the arguments employed on both sides of the present question, in the House of Lords, have been preserved both in a tract entitled 'A Speech in behalf of the Constitution, against the Suspending and Dispensing Prerogative,' which is now known to have been written by Mr. Mackintosh, assisted by Earl Temple and Lord Lyttleton, although it was at first supposed to have been the production of Lord Mansfield—and in one of the letters from the Right Honourable Henry Flood to Lord Charlemont, printed in the collection which appeared in 1820. The Speech is given in the 'Parliamentary History,' as embodying the arguments which were used in a debate on the 10th of December, when the Bill of Indemnity, having passed the Commons, was brought up to the Lords. The debate, however, of which Mr. Flood gives an account, is evidently that which took place on the Address.

According to the testimony of Mr. Flood, Lord Chatham appears to have defended the issuing of the embargo during the interval of Parliament by legal authority, simply as an act of power to be justified before Parliament on the ground of necessity; so far from expressing himself as opposed to a Bill of Indemnity for ministers, his argument might be taken as implying the necessity of such a bill. It seems to have been Lord Northington, the President of the Council, who first broached the doctrine that the embargo was not only justifiable but legal, and that the crown had a right, in cases of necessity, to interpose even against a positive act of Parliament. His lordship, in advancing this extraordinary position, Mr. Flood records, said he was no patron of the people, and used something like sarcasm towards Lord Chatham. "He challenged any lawyer," continues the writer, "to contradict him. Lord Mansfield, for the first time on the side of the constitution, rose up, but, good as his ground was, he was afraid to tread upon it. . . . At length he asserted the want of power in the crown in plain terms, though when charged with it by Lord Camden, he denied his having said so. He was accurate, and able, and almost eloquent, but the character of the man defeated his capacity; for with the most popular and constitutional ground under his feet, and Lord Camden on the contrary, he was afraid to speak out. He relinquished efficacy for insinuation, and force for management. Both the men were misplaced; the artifice and almost chicanery of Lord Mansfield was suited to Lord Camden's ground, and the simplicity, frankness, and warmth of Lord Camden would

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

have become Lord Mansfield's situation. Thus the nature of these two men, wise and great as they are, prevailed over their judgments, and the one could not rise, nor could the other fall to his condition. Lord Camden supported Lord Northington's tenet; I grieve to say it, and I cannot dwell upon it. He is always eloquent, for he always feels, and he made the worse appear the better cause. This tenet made a prodigious noise. I ought to have remembered that after Lords Northington and Camden had spoken, Lord Chatham spoke again, and concluded with calling the embargo an act of *power*. Such I still think it, said he, *justified* by *necessity*, and with referring himself to the judgment of Parliament. Lord Spencer, I saw, moved the Address; he was inaudible. Lord Hillsborough seconded the Address, and what he said was a bad opposition to it. Lord Suffolk did it much more favour by opposing it; he spoke pompous nothings. Lord Shelburne was better, and the Duke of Grafton worse, than I expected. Lord Lyttleton was reasonable, and Lord Temple as bad as he could be. I have mentioned that this doctrine made much noise; but as Lord Chatham had kept clear of it, it would have died if Beckford had not revived it, in two days after, in the House of Commons, in more offensive words, by saying, that the crown had, in cases of necessity, a power to *dispense* with laws. This, which at another time would have been laughed out of the House, became serious, though spoken by such a scattering man. George Grenville took down the words; they were condemned by every body. The doctrine, in the Lords, was mentioned with very severe strictures, and Mr. Beckford was obliged to explain, by a retraction, and contradiction, in fact, of what he had said, which remains in the Journals. This was a triumph to George Grenville; he urged that a Bill of Indemnity was further necessary to indemnity the advisers, as well as the actors, under that order. General Conway agreed in condemning the doctrine, but did not seem to think that it was necessary to indemnify the advisers. He moved for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify the persons acting under the order. Lord Chatham, like himself, on hearing this affair, desired the bill to be made as strong as possible, and to be extended to the advisers, and to be made declaratory as well as indemnifying. It has been thus framed accordingly, and is brought in; but it is still thought that Mr. Grenville will offer amendments, and keep the ball on foot."

If we may trust the account given in the 'Parliamentary History,' the discussion was in fact renewed in the House of Lords when the Bill of Indemnity was brought up to that House on the 10th of December. But we are ignorant of the grounds or authority upon which the editor of that publication has attributed the delivery of the arguments embodied in the "Speech in behalf of the Constitution," &c. to that occasion. It is, however, expressly stated in the Annual Register, "that the bill produced much altercation and debate, especially in the House of Lords." The bill, in its original form, was brought into the House of Commons, by General Conway, on the 24th of November. The writer in the Annual Register says that it was amended and made perfect before being sent up to the Lords, in so far as both to include the advisers of the embargo, and to express fully in its preamble the illegality of the measure. We may observe, by the by, that according to the statement in the Parliamentary History, which in this instance, appears to be copied from the Journals, Alderman Beckford's remarks, spoken of by Mr. Flood, were made on the 18th of November, and in the course of debating the motion for leave to bring in the Bill of Indemnity. The words were that "whenever the public is in danger, the King has a dispensing power."

Meanwhile the premier proceeded with his endeavours to disunite and break up the opposition. The next negociation which he opened was with the party of the Duke of Newcastle. According to a statement copied by Almon in his 'Anecdotes of Lord Chatham' from the publication called the Political Register, his lordship, on the 20th of November sent a note to Lord Edgcumbe, requesting to see him at his house in Bond Street. At the interview which took place, he informed Lord Edgcumbe, after many apologies, and with much awkwardness, that it was necessary he should resign to another his post of Treasurer of the Household. An angry altercation ensued, which terminated by the minister exclaiming, in reply to a remark Lord Edgcumbe made about the impolicy of turning out persons of [illegible] great parliamentary interest, "I despise your parliamentary interest! I do not want your assistance!" and adding "that he trusted to the uprightness of his measures for the support and confidence of the King, and the favour and attachment of the people, and that acting upon these principles he dared look in the face of the proudest connexions in the country." They then parted, Lord Edgcumbe having previously intimated that after the usage he had received he would neither accept of any other place, nor resign that which he held to any one but the King himself. The Minister in the course of the conversation had offered to make his lordship a Lord of the Bedchamber. Two days after Lord Edgcumbe received a note from his Majesty, desiring him to return his staff. On Monday the 24th, accordingly, his lordship went to the King, and gave up his office, which was immediately bestowed upon Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Shelley, a near relation of the Duke of Newcastle. On the 26th the Duke of Portland resigned the office of Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Scarborough that of Cofferer, the Earl of Besborough that of Joint-Postmaster-General, and Lord Monson that of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre. To these resignations were speedily added those of Sir Charles Saunders, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and of Admiral Keppel and Sir William Meredith, two of the junior Lords.

It is understood that these secessions induced the Minister to resume the negociation with the Duke of Bedford, which he had otherwise intended to have dropped. He now offered the appointment of First Lord of the Admiralty to the Duke's cousin and brother-in-law, Lord Gower, who immediately repaired to Woburn to consult his Grace. In the meantime, however, his Majesty being informed of what had taken place, intimated to the Premier, in a long conference to which he admitted him, that although he would give him his cordial support in other respects, the conduct of the Duke of Bedford on a former occasion had been so offensive that he must entreat that his name should not be again mentioned. This placed Lord Chatham in a most embarrassing situation. He and the Duke met again at the house of the former in Bond Street, on the 1st of December. His Grace proposed that several of the vacant offices should be given to certain of his friends whom he named, and that an English peerage should be conferred upon the Marquis of Lorne. Upon this last proposition the Minister at once put his negative. He then stated, to the astonishment of the Duke, that the places in question had been already disposed of, and mentioned the persons to whom they had been given. In a few days after, the Gazette announced the appointment of Sir Edward Hawke as First Lord of the Admiralty; of Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) and Sir Piercy Brett, as the two new junior Lords, and of Lord Le Despencer as the new Joint-Postmaster-General. Lord Cornwallis was also appointed Chief Justice in Eyre; the Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain of the Household; and Mr. Hans Stanley, Cofferer.

The strangest part of the whole history is, that after the negociation with the Duke of Bedford had been completely broken off in the manner that has just been stated, Lord Chatham, of his own accord, bestowed upon Lord Lorne the English peerage, which he had so peremptorily refused when proposed by his Grace. The Marquis (afterwards Duke of Argyle) was created Baron Sundridge of Coombank, in Kent, by a patent dated the 22nd of December. About the same time also the Earl of Hillsborough was removed from the head of the Board of Trade, and the place given to another of the Duke of Bedford's friends, Robert Nugent, Esquire, with the title of Viscount Clare, in the peerage of Ireland. Some years after Lord Clare was made an Irish Earl, by the title of Earl Nugent.

Lord Chesterfield in one of his letters, writing before these changes were announced, says, "Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his people, but they could by no means agree, and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, so that negociation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have; even *he* cannot be alone, *contra mundum*."

"He made an administration"—says Burke, in a celebrated passage of his Speech on American Taxation—"so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented, and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black

stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsafe to stand on. The colleagues whom he had married at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me.—Mr. such a one.—I beg a thousand pardons.' I venture to say, it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoke to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed." The allusion here is to the Joint-Paymasters-General, Lord North and Mr. George Cooke.

When all the new appointments had been made, Lord Chatham returned to Bath, where soon after a violent attack of gout for some time rendered him totally incapable of taking any part in the direction of affairs. What followed with the ill-assorted collection of persons with which he had filled the Cabinet has been graphically described by Burke. "Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a Minister. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of Ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him that was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends, and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy."

One of the earliest subjects which engaged the attention of Parliament was the regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, which had just been suddenly raised from its original condition of a trading association to the possession of extensive dominions, by the extraordinary victories of Clive. We mention the matter here, however, merely as contributing to indicate the state of parties. A sketch of the first debate to which it gave rise in the House of Commons, has been preserved by Mr. Flood in the same letter to which we have already referred. The affair of Alderman Beckford's unfortunate remarks, he says, aggravated by the multitude of private discontents which mingled with it, produced a ferment, and encouraged all the parties that were unsatisfied to join against Lord Chatham on the day that the motion was made for examining into the state of the Company. Strangely enough, Beckford had been chosen to make the motion, which, Flood says, both contained offensive matter, and was offensively introduced. "Our friend Burke," he continues, "rose first in opposition, and acquitted himself very honourably. Yorke, G. Grenville, Thurlow, Rigby, Dowdeswell, Wedderburn, all joined." On the ministerial side the speakers were, Charles Townshend, Barré, Conway, the Attorney-General, the Master of the Rolls (Sir Thomas Sewel), Mr. Hans Stanley, &c. "Upon the whole, however," continues the writer, "there was little concert, and not much ability in the defence. The opponents were more successful upon the whole, though no one person near Townshend. He is the orator—the rest are speakers." The motion (or rather a modification of it, proposed by General Conway) was at last carried, about half-past eleven, by a majority of 129 to 76; so that the strength of the Ministry appears, after all, to have been not so inconsiderable. Yet on this occasion, according to Flood, the adherents of the Duke of Bedford, of the Marquis of Rockingham, of the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Temple, George Grenville, and the Yorkes, together with the friends of the Company, all united against them. They were also opposed by some of the Bute party, while others of that section went away, and two of its most eminent members, Oswald and Elliot, sate silent, and, we presume, did not vote. This debate appears to have taken place on Tuesday the 25th of November, the day before the resignations of the Duke of Portland and the other officers of the Household already mentioned. Mr. Flood goes on to observe, "Resignations will spread wide, it is said, and who is to come in, or whether any administration can be fixed, is unknown. Four or five days ago Lord Edgecumbe was dismissed, and Jack Shelley put into his place. This offended. Lord Chatham has refused all explanations upon the subject, it is said; complains that there is nothing but faction round him, and seems determined to go on unmoved, and to break through it or fall."

It was not till February, 1767, that Lord Chatham found himself sufficiently recovered to attempt leaving Bath; and even then he was taken ill again on the way, and did not reach London till after the lapse of some weeks. In a letter to Mr. Flood, written from London on the 19th of that month, Lord Charlemont says, "All matters here go on as usual. Lord Chatham is daily expected, and till he arrives nothing worth informing you of is likely to happen. There has been, upon various topics, a great deal of conversation in the House of Commons, but no divisions. One thing, however, appears very extraordinary, if not indecent—no member of the Opposition speaks without directly abusing Lord Chatham, and no friend ever rises to take his part. . . . . Is it possible that such a man can be friendless?" The following account is given in the Life of Lord Chatham by Mr. Thackeray:—"At length he reached the metropolis, but being wholly incompetent to the transaction of public business, he retired to Hampstead. Conceiving the air of this place too sharp for his disorder, he expressed a wish to repossess his former house at Hayes. The owner, Mr. Walpole, very handsomely gratified his desire, and allowed him to repurchase the property. Whilst Lord Chatham was at Hampstead, the King sent frequent messages to inquire after his health, and to desire him not to be disconcerted by his confinement, or by his necessary absence from public business, as his Majesty was determined to support him. But however consolatory these gracious messages from the Sovereign proved to Lord Chatham, he now perceived that his influence with his colleagues in office was at an end, and that he could hope to effect scarcely anything for the public welfare."

Meanwhile the unsteady character of the ministerial majority in the Commons was demonstrated by a vote to which that House came on the 2nd of March, on the motion of Mr. George Grenville, for reducing the land-tax for the ensuing year from four to three shillings in the pound. This motion, after a debate, was carried against Ministers by a majority of 206 to 188. "This," says the 'Annual Register,' "was said to have been the first money-bill in which any minister had been disappointed since the Revolution."

On the 6th of April Lord Chesterfield writes:—"I can give you no account of our political world, which is in a situation that I never saw in my whole life. Lord Chatham has been so ill these last two months, that he has not been able (some say not willing) to do or hear of any business; and for his *sous-ministres*, they either cannot, or dare not, do any without his directions, so that everything is now at a stand. This situation, I think, cannot last much longer."

On the 9th of the same month Lord Charlemont writes to Mr. Flood:—"Lord Chatham is still Minister, but how long he may continue so is a problem that would pose the deepest politician. The Opposition grows more and more violent, and seems to gain ground; his ill health as yet prevents his doing any business. The Ministry is divided into as many parties as there are men in it; all complain of his want of participation. Charles Townshend is at open war, Conway is angry, Lord Shelburne out of humour, and the Duke of Grafton by no means pleased."

The proceedings of this interesting session of the legislature have been so imperfectly transmitted through the ordinary channels, that, with the exception of two or three fragments of the speeches of particular members, the 'Parliamentary History' contains no account of any debate from the end of the year till the middle of May. Any addition, therefore, that can be made to the scanty record, becomes of more than ordinary value. In the Manuscript Collection of General Conway's Letters, are two referring to this period, which are not in his handwriting, and have neither address

nor signature, so that we cannot tell by or from whom they may have been written. It is possible that they may have been dictated by General Conway to an amanuensis, though the tone and manner certainly would not indicate that the writer was one of the Ministers. The probability at any rate is, that they were prepared, like the other letters, for the information of Lord Hertford. We shall here give the first entire, referring as it does to the subject of American affairs, of the important proceedings that took place with regard to which this session, the published accounts are so extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. The letter is dated "Saturday, 11th April, (probably a mistake for the 12th, which was a Saturday,) 1767," and is as follows:—

"Yesterday I was present at a long debate in the House of Lords, which lasted five hours, upon a motion made by the Duke of Bedford concerning North America. The case was this:—Among the papers laid before the House from that quarter was an act passed by the Assembly of Massachusets Bay (at the requisition of the Secretaries of State here) for raising money to make compensation to the sufferers by the riots occasioned by the Stamp Act, in which was likewise inserted a clause containing a full pardon to the rioters, which is considered here, and justly, as a piece of great presumption in them, and altogether unprecedented; for, according to the British constitution, all general acts of pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, never take their rise in either House of Parliament, but are sent from the King, are read only once in each House, and are immediately accepted and passed, precisely as they come from his Majesty. Governor Bernard's letter accompanying this act was read, upon which the Duke of Bedford moved that the House should address his Majesty, to take the validity of that act into his royal consideration; and if it should be found to be null and void, that he would be pleased to take such measures as he should think proper to support the dignity of his own prerogative, and the legislative authority of this kingdom over the colonies, or words to this effect. In the debate which ensued, the Lords appeared to be all of one opinion in regard to the impropriety and absurdity of the act in question, nor do I remember anything urged in extenuation of the conduct of the Massachusets Assembly, but by one Lord, who said he imagined they *meant* nothing insolent in this procedure. Some objected to the words of the motion (I think very justly) as recommending to his Majesty to take into consideration the validity of a bill which was obviously illegal. The Lords in the Ministry alleged there was no occasion for this address, as the bill was before the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, and would be rejected by the Privy Council of course. The method of proceeding with American bills is briefly this:—They come over to the Secretary of State, who lays them before the Board of Trade, who generally refer them to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who report their opinion to the King in Council, who either approve or reject them. Some were inclined to censure the Governor who passed the bill, but the generality were of opinion that he had acted with great propriety and spirit during the whole contest about the Stamp Act. Some reflexions were thrown upon the Ministry, as if they had been dilatory in this matter, which they, on their part, endeavoured to wipe off. All seemed disposed to do everything that could conduce to bringing the colonies back to their duty; and a hint was thrown out as if some plan was in agitation with the Ministry which would be laid before the House in due time. Lord Mansfield, in a very pathetic speech, set forth, with his usual force and eloquence, the necessity of a strict union between this country and the colonies; that he was for supporting the legislative authority of Great Britain over them, by all possible methods, under every administration; that unanimity among ourselves, and vigour in the Ministry, was never more wanted; that, if ever so many independent governments should shake themselves loose from their mother country, the consequence would be first fatal to themselves, by their either falling a prey to one another or to some foreign invader; that we should feel it next in our trade and manufactures; and that during whatever administration this deplorable event should happen, it would be but a poor consolation to the subsequent Ministry that the colonies were lost to this country by their predecessors. As for the act in question, he thought a bare refusal of it in the ordinary course was treating it too mildly, and that some greater marks of resentment and indignation ought to be set upon it—with much more to the same purpose, which I am not able to recollect, and which, indeed, there would be no end in repeating. The House divided, and by a majority of about two to one it was carried against presenting the address. The speakers were—Duke of Bedford, Duke of Richmond, Duke of Grafton, Lords Northington, Halifax, Shelburne, Hillsborough, Weymouth, Suffolk, Lord Chancellor, Mansfield, Sandys, Talbot, Townshend, Botetourt, Cathcart, and Lyttleton. I forgot to mention that Lord Mansfield was strongly for presenting the address, since it had been proposed, that it might not appear upon their Journals that the House postponed, or refused to enter warmly into, a matter so essential to the very being of the British empire."

The second letter is without a date, but the proceedings of which it gives an account appear to have taken place on the 16th of April, which would be a Wednesday, and was one of the days on which the House sat as a Committee of Ways and Means. The writer says—"On Wednesday I heard the budget opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he did, in my humble opinion, in a very masterly manner. His speech was a full hour in length, and was delivered with great decency, perspicuity, and force. He appeared to have taken some pains in the execution of his office, which is the more meritorious in him, as, you know, he was pressed into the service, and hath for some time, for what reason I know not, seemed uneasy in his situation." A detail is then given of the financial arrangements proposed in the speech, which it is unnecessary to transcribe. In noticing some of the observations which the speaker made as he went along, the writer of the letter says—"Among the sums unappropriated was 90,000*l.*, the balance of Lord Chatham's account when he left the place of Paymaster of the Forces. He said that noble Lord had pressed the settling his accounts, with a view, probably, of setting a good example to his successors in office; and added some encomiums upon him on that score, which he bestowed with seeming candour. . . . He spoke with modesty of his own abilities, hinted at his inexperience, and did not offer to throw the smallest reflexion on any of his predecessors in office. G. Grenville, you may be sure, was present, and I thought he seemed to sit abashed at the superior figure which Mr. Townshend made, when compared to the prolix, verbose, and perplexed manner in which he had delivered himself on the like occasion. I will not enter further into the comparison of these two men, as you know them both better than I do. . . . He insisted likewise, very properly, on the expediency and necessity, during times of peace, of discharging part of our enormous debt, and for that end the endeavouring to ameliorate the public revenue, and retrenching the vast and increasing expense of our peace establishment, in order to provide for a state of war when that should become unavoidable! He observed that the charges of several services were of late years much enhanced, and particularly instanced the navy, which being a popular service was less attended to, and least apt to be grudged; but, he said, for that very reason—*because it was popular*—it ought to be narrowly looked into, and recommended it warmly, both to the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty, to have a watchful eye to prevent unnecessary exceedings in that or any other department. In the course of this excellent speech he observed that our trade in general was by no means upon the decline, which he proved by comparing the produce of the customs for some years past with that of the like number of years preceding the last war; that the revenue of the British empire was very great, including the American revenue, which he should never lose sight of. In short, says he, this country is a mine of resources; but to avail ourselves of this happy situation, it is necessary that we should lay aside all party prejudices, and unite in the public service; that men of the greatest consideration and ability ought to be called forth—men whose ancestors were the deliverers of this country, and who are themselves equal to the trust; that an able and permanent ministry might at length be formed—such a ministry as the people might look up to with confidence, Europe with respect, and America with obedience. Had I been able to do him justice in this imperfect detail, you would have clearly discovered that he equalled his predecessor, Mr. Legge, in point of accuracy and precision, and in his knowledge of the finances, and that in point of genius he surpassed him. What a pity is it, therefore, that the natural fickleness of his disposition (a failing which he frequently mentions him-

self; and did in this very speech) should deprive his country of the full benefit of his singular talents."

There can be no question that Charles Townshend had more than one undisclosed project in his head when he delivered this speech, and that various passages of it were artfully turned so as to prepare the way for the accomplishment of what he aimed at. His remark about not losing sight of the revenue to be derived from America was an ominous intimation; but his more immediate object, and that nearer his heart, no doubt, was his own elevation to the head of that "able and permanent ministry" which he contended ought at length to be formed from among the persons of greatest consideration and ability that the country contained. His own descent from the second Viscount Townshend, the minister of George I., whose grandson he was, explains his pointed allusion to the "men whose ancestors were the deliverers of this country."

To these ambitious views the continued illness of the Premier offered the most flattering prospects of success. On the 5th of May we find Lord Chesterfield writing—"Things are here in exactly the same situation in which they were when I wrote to you last. Lord Chatham is still ill, and only goes abroad for an hour in a day in his coach. The King has, to my certain knowledge, sent him repeated messages desiring him not to be concerned at his confinement, for that he is resolved to support him, *pour et contre tous*." Under date of the 1st of June, he says—"Great changes are talked of, and I believe will happen very soon, perhaps next week, but who is to be changed for whom I do not know, though everybody else does. I am apt to think that it will be a mosaic ministry, made up *de pièces rapportées* from different connexions." One of the figures in Burke's description of Lord Chatham's ministry, which we have quoted above, is supposed to have been suggested by this expression. Lord Chesterfield's Letters were published in the same year (1774) in which Burke's speech was delivered.

It was on the 2d of June that Mr. Townshend appears to have brought forward those fatal resolutions imposing duties upon glass, paper, tea, and certain other articles imported into America, which instantly rekindled in the colonies the flame of insurrection, and eventually led to their separation from the mother country. But in the accounts that have been preserved of the parliamentary proceedings of this session, the manner in which these most important propositions were received is not so much as noticed. It is understood, however, that the scheme of raising, in this mode, a revenue from America, was suggested by Mr. Townshend himself, and was resolved upon by the rest of the Ministers, without Lord Chatham, the nominal head of the Cabinet, having been even consulted. "As if it were to insult as well as to betray him," says Burke, "even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when everything was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir—even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was yet in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant."

It is said that Charles Townshend was supported in his views of placing himself at the head of affairs by General Conway; and that the two accordingly had opened a negociation with the Rockingham party, with the immediate object of effecting, with their assistance, the removal of the Duke of Grafton from his place of First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Chatham's return from Bath, however, interrupted the prosecution of this design, and an apparent reconciliation took place between Mr. Townshend and the Duke.

On the 1st of July we find Lord Chesterfield writing—"Ministerial affairs are still in the same ridiculous and doubtful situation as when I wrote to you last. Lord Chatham will neither hear of or do any business, but lives at Hampstead, and rides about the heath: his gout is said to be fallen upon his nerves."

On the 2d of July the Parliament was prorogued to the 31st of August, from which day it was afterwards further prorogued to the 24th of November.

The interval that elapsed before the re-assembling of the legislature was a time of busy negociation and intrigue. Lord Northington and General Conway having both expressed a strong desire to resign—the former on the plea of infirm health, the latter from a growing wish to rejoin his former friends now in opposition—the King, a few days after the rising of Parliament, wrote, with his own hand, a letter to Lord Chatham, asking his advice in regard to the changes that had become necessary. To this application his Lordship returned merely a verbal answer, "That such was his ill state of health that his Majesty must not expect from him any further advice or assistance in any arrangements whatsoever."

It was now generally understood that the administration was to be considered as broken up, by the abdication of him who had been hitherto regarded as its chief. In this state of things cabals were formed, and conferences held, in various quarters. It is said that, in the first instance, a slight movement was made by Lord Bute, assisted by Lord Holland, with the object of replacing himself in his former position in the state. The more strenuous efforts, however, to obtain possession of the government were made by the leaders of the regular opposition—the Newcastle, and the Rockingham, and the Bedford interests. The Duke of Newcastle was particularly active in drawing these several parties into as close a union as possible. Meanwhile the Duke of Grafton was desired by his Majesty to open a negociation with the Marquis of Rockingham; and, accordingly, at the second of two conferences which these two noblemen held together, his Grace offered the Marquis, in the King's name, his own place of First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Rockingham's reply was, that he must consult his friends; and he immediately proceeded to Woburn to confer with the Duke of Bedford. This was on the 11th of July. The Duke expressed himself willing to acquiesce both in the appointment of the Marquis as Premier, and in his own exclusion from the Cabinet; but he insisted that some of his friends should be taken in. Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville being afterwards consulted, expressed themselves in similar terms; as did also the Duke of Newcastle. These propositions, having been communicated to the Duke of Grafton, were laid by his Grace before the King. In two days an answer was returned, "That his Majesty adopted and approved the idea of a comprehensive system, and hoped it was not meant to exclude his friends and those about his person." In consequence of this answer, a meeting was held at Newcastle House, at which were present the Dukes of Newcastle, Bedford, Richmond, and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Weymouth, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Rigby, and Admiral Keppel. The several associated parties now for the first time proceeded seriously to discuss what should be the policy of the administration to be formed from their union. The Duke of Bedford, along with Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, had, when first consulted, stated it as one of the conditions of the support they should give to the new government, that whoever were ministers should assert and establish the supremacy of Great Britain over America. A letter was now read from Mr. Grenville, promising his support, provided the dependence and obedience of America was *asserted* and *maintained*. To these expressions Lord Rockingham objected; and after some debate, an apparent agreement was effected by the substitution of the words—"that the authority of Great Britain over America should be supported and established," for those used in Mr. Grenville's letter. The really opposite views, however, of the two parties were not to be thus reconciled; and the difference broke out again, when, from discussing proposed measures, the meeting proceeded to fix upon the men who were to execute them. No objection was made to Lord Rockingham's nomination of himself for the place of First Lord of the Treasury, and of Mr. Dowdeswell for that of Chancellor of the Exchequer; but when he proposed that General Conway should continue to be one of the Secretaries of State, and take the management of the House of Commons, the Duke of Bedford positively refused to assent to that arrangement. His Grace insisted that these offices should be given to his own friend, Mr. Rigby. On this the meeting broke up. Another conference, which was held a few days afterwards, ended in the same manner.

Notwithstanding what had taken place, the Marquis of Rockingham still refused to place himself at the head of the government without the support of the Bedford party. In these circumstances, it is probable that Charles Townshend would have been eventually appointed Premier. He showed his power by getting his brother, Viscount Townshend, (afterwards the Marquis Townshend,) raised to the

office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and by procuring a peerage for his wife, who was, on the 28th of August, created Baroness of Greenwich, with remainder to her issue male by her present husband. On the 4th of September, however, Mr. Townshend was suddenly cut off by an attack of putrid fever, in the forty-second year of his age.

On the 24th of November Parliament re-assembled pursuant to the prorogation, when the Address was carried in both Houses without a division. In the meantime the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer had been again committed to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, till a permanent appointment could be made. The place was offered, in the first instance, to Lord North, and, upon his declining it, to Viscount Barrington, by whom it had been held during Mr. Pitt's second ministry in 1757, and who was now Secretary at War. His Lordship, however, recommended that Lord North should be again applied to; and eventually the latter was prevailed upon, by the persuasion, it is said, of the Princess of Wales and his father, the Earl of Guildford, to accept the appointment. Lord North appears to have been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 1st of December. Mr. Thomas Townshend (afterwards Viscount Sydney), a cousin of the late Mr. Charles Townshend, succeeded his Lordship as Joint Paymaster of the Forces; and Mr. Townshend's place as one of the Lords of the Treasury was given to Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Baron Hawksbury and Earl of Liverpool. All these arrangements are said to have been made without the least communication with Lord Chatham.

Previous to the appointment of Lord North to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, a negociation had been ineffectually attempted with the Duke of Bedford through the medium of Lord Mansfield. Lord Northington and Mr. Conway still persisting in their wish to retire, the support of his Grace was again sought by ministers on an offer of nominating two of his friends to the situations that would thus become vacant. Accordingly, on the 19th of December, Earl Gower became President of the Council in the room of Lord Northington, and on the 20th of January, 1768, General Conway was succeeded as one of the Secretaries of State by Viscount Weymouth, afterwards Marquis of Bath. On the same day the Earl of Hillsborough, afterwards Marquis of Downshire, was appointed to the new office of Secretary of State for America. Lord Hillsborough was succeeded as Joint Postmaster by the Earl of Sandwich. General Conway, on leaving the Cabinet, was appointed to the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, which had been vacated by Viscount Townshend.

The Ministry thus reconstituted took henceforth the name of the Duke of Grafton's Ministry. Mr. Thackeray states, that while the arrangements were in progress, Lord Chatham, who had gone to Burton Pynsent, his estate in Somersetshire, returned to Hayes, but in such a state of health as still entirely incapacitated him for business. On the 19th of December, Lord Chesterfield writes from Bath—"His physician, Dr. ———, as I am told, had very ignorantly checked a coming fit of the gout, and scattered it about his body. It fell particularly upon his nerves, so that he continues exceedingly vapourish, and would neither see nor speak to anybody while he was here." On the 29th of January, 1768, his Lordship again writes—"Lord Chatham is at his house at Hayes, but sees no mortal. Some say that he has a fit of the gout, which would do him good, but many think that his worst complaint is in his head, which I am afraid is too true." On the 2nd of February, three commissioners were appointed to execute his office of Keeper of the Privy Seal for six weeks. The seal was redelivered to his Lordship on the 21st of March. The session, during which the principal subject of discussion had been the affairs of the East India Company, terminated on the 10th of March, and two days after the Parliament was dissolved.

It was at the general election which followed, that John Wilkes, having suddenly returned from France, where he had resided since his outlawry, was, after being thrown out in the city of London, returned by a large majority as one of the members for the county of Middlesex. This was on the 28th of March. Immediately after his election he made his appearance in the Court of King's Bench, when the question of his being committed on his sentence of outlawry was discussed. He was eventually ordered into custody, but it was not till he had been first rescued by the mob, and had made his escape from them, and surrendered himself, that he was at length safely lodged in the King's Bench prison. The vicinity of the prison became from this time the scene of daily and nightly riots, during which it was more than once found necessary to call out the military.

The new Parliament met on the 10th of May. On this day the populace assembled in St. George's Fields in great force, with the determination of getting possession of Wilkes, and conveying him in triumph to the House of Commons. A dreadful tumult ensued; the Riot Act was read, or rather attempted to be read; and the soldiers having been ordered to fire, five or six persons were killed, and about fifteen wounded.

The session of Parliament lasted only till the 2nd of June. During the whole of it the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was strictly enforced in both Houses. No subject, however, of much interest or importance came before either. In the Commons a motion was made—"That the proper officer of the Crown do inform this House why the laws were not immediately put in force against John Wilkes, Esq., an outlaw, when he returned to this kingdom in February last;" but the House did not choose at that time to enter into the matter, and the question was got rid of by a motion that the House should adjourn, which was agreed to without a division. The prorogation of Parliament, which was in the first instance to the 21st of June, was afterwards extended to the 8th of November.

Before that day arrived, a farther change took place in the composition of the ministry. The French government having purchased the island of Corsica from the Genoese, had proceeded to take possession of the country, in opposition to the resistance of the inhabitants, by force of arms. A remonstrance against this conduct was addressed to the French minister, the Duke de Choiseul, by the English ambassador at Paris, Lord Rochford, "in consequence," as Mr. Burke asserts in his 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents' (published in 1770), "of a direct authority from Lord Shelburne." "This remonstrance," continues Mr. Burke, "the French minister treated with the contempt that was natural, as he was assured, from the ambassador of his court to ours, that these orders of Lord Shelburne were not supported by the rest of the (I had like to have said British) administration. Lord Rochford, a man of spirit, could not endure this situation. The consequences were, however, curious. He returns from Paris, and comes home full of anger. Lord Shelburne, who gave the orders, is obliged to give up the seals; Lord Rochford, who obeyed these orders, receives them. He goes, however, into another department of the same office, that he might not be obliged officially to acquiesce in one situation, under what he had officially remonstrated against in another." In fact, William Henry, fourth Earl of Rochford, became Secretary of State in the room of Lord Shelburne, on the 21st of October. At the same time a much greater name, though now a name and no more, was withdrawn for ever from the King's government. "I have already expressed my astonishment," says Mr. Thackeray, "that Lord Chatham should so long have consented to form a part, even nominally, of an administration whose sentiments and proceedings were so opposite to his own. It is probable that he had hoped to recover sufficient bodily strength to enable him once more to come forward and exert himself for the public good; but whatever were heretofore his motives for remaining in office, the recent conduct of the ministry was so gross an outrage upon his feelings, both as they regarded his public measures and his private friendships, that he now felt himself compelled to resign. The spirit of his advice with regard to America had been wholly neglected; Corsica was abandoned to France; and his friend Lord Shelburne was dismissed from office. On the 15th of October, 1768, Lord Camden, on the part of Lord Chatham, resigned the Privy Seal into his Majesty's hands. A greater contrast in the feelings of the Cabinet and of the nation upon the present resignation of Lord Chatham to those which were evinced upon his dismission from office in 1757, and upon his retirement in 1761, can scarcely be imagined. His dismission in 1757 excited one common cry of enthusiastic admiration towards himself, and of indignation towards his political opponents. The attention, not only of Great Britain, but of the whole of Europe, was attracted by his resignation in 1761; and although the voices of his countrymen were not so universally united in his favour as upon the former occasion, the event was considered as affecting the interests of nations in the four quarters of the globe. The resignation of Lord Chatham in 1768 was in fact

nothing more than the official relinquishment of an appointment in which he had long ceased to exercise his authority, or to exert his abilities. "It was expected by the ministry—it was little regarded by the people of Great Britain—it was almost unknown to the Continent of Europe." The office which Lord Chatham had resigned was given on the 2nd of November to George William Harvey, Earl of Bristol. His Lordship had been nominated to succeed the Earl of Hertford as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, immediately before the breaking up of the Rockingham Ministry in August, 1766, but had never gone over.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON HAND-LOOM WEAVERS' PETITIONS.

One of the most melancholy subjects for contemplation connected with civilized society, is the distress occasioned by the constant fluctuations experienced in the demand for labour in particular branches of industry. Improvements in machinery, the caprice of fashion, and a variety of other causes, are constantly tending to produce these changes; but however deeply the distress thus occasioned may be deplored, no adequate remedy for it has yet been discovered. Certain most fallacious and pernicious doctrines bearing upon the subject are sometimes broached by persons who, in seeking to remedy the one particular evil under discussion, do not look beyond at the wide spreading misery their proposed measures could not fail to produce. The case of the hand-loom weavers affords a melancholy instance of the misery to which the working classes may be thus subjected. This body comprises, according to the best computation, 840,000 individuals. The inquiry whether any means can be adopted for ameliorating their condition has occupied the attention of select committees of the House of Commons during the last and present sessions. The Reports of these committees, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them, comprise two very bulky volumes; one of these was printed in August last, and another has only very recently been delivered to the members. It is to be regretted that these reports do not afford any very strong proof of enlightened and enlarged views on the part of their authors, and that they do not suggest any reasonable measures by which the particular distress under investigation may be alleviated without injury to the public, or injustice to any other class. The subject naturally divides itself into three heads: the amount of distress, the causes by which it is supposed to be occasioned, and the remedies by which it is proposed that it should be met.

The following extracts (from the evidence) will sufficiently show the state of privation and misery to which this numerous class of artisans is at present reduced:—

"What is the condition of the operatives (in Glasgow) as to wages and their circumstances?—Their condition is extremely poor in that respect, both with regard to food and clothing. Have they worse food and clothing than they used to have formerly?—Yes, considerably so. When they had possibly three or four times the wages they have at present for the same fabric, of course they must necessarily be able to purchase more of the necessaries of life, food and clothing included. Have they worse furniture?—Their furniture is in a great measure run out, and they are certainly not able to purchase new furniture at the present time. And their houses, taking them in general, are extremely poorly furnished. Do they attend public worship as much as they did formerly?—Ever since their condition has deteriorated they have in a great measure lost heart; and because they have not the same outward look as other tradespeople they generally stay at home, or take skulking walks in the country to get out of sight." Mackenzie, 1st Report, p. 41.

The answers of numerous other operatives to these questions are to the same effect. James Orr, a silk gauze weaver, states—"When I was young it was quite common for a hand-loom weaver to lay in as much meal, potatoes, cheese, and butter in harvest, as would serve till spring, and coals were laid in in larger quantities; and very commonly hand-loom weavers salted meat at Martinmas for winter. Now, it requires the clubbing of all the little earnings of the family on a Saturday to make provision for the ensuing week. And with regard to intemperance, that has increased much in Paisley; my opinion is that it is from poverty also. Twenty or thirty years ago young men and women would never have thought of entering into the marriage state without some provision for housekeeping; now, wages are such that the conclusion come to, after due consideration, is generally this: If we are to wait till we have something laid up, we must wait for ever; thus connexions are formed early and inconsiderately." 1st Report, p. 61.

In the evidence of Mr. Makin, of Bolton, it is stated that the weavers are labouring under the most incredible privation although they are fully employed, every hand having been engaged during the last three or four years; that they do not earn a sufficiency to procure them meat, except occasionally, not more frequently than once in the week; that their ordinary food is oatmeal and potatoes; that a man having a family of five children cannot, with the assistance of his wife and two of his children, earn more than 2½*d.* for each per day applicable for food and clothing. Mr. Makin continues—"I cannot recollect any instance but one where any weaver of mine has bought a new jacket for many years, and I am only sorry I did not bring one or two jackets to let the committee see the average state in which they are clothed."—1st Report, p. 388. He adds, "that as to bedding they have scarcely any, and of other furniture less; they are generally without chairs, having nothing but two or three stools to sit on."—p. 5. It is stated in the Second Report, from calculations made by Mr. Ashworth, a woollen manufacturer of Manchester, "that out of the earnings of a weaver and his family, 9*s.* per week remain for clothing, bedding, and food for eight persons." Further, he (Mr. Ashworth) has found that charity debased the objects of it, and made them cringing sycophants; that the morals of the people were greatly influenced by their distresses, and that they have become intemperate and neglectful of their religious duties; that their homes exhibit no appearance of comfort, being almost totally destitute of furniture, and the inmates frequently lying upon straw.—p. vii.

David Shaw, a weaver at Nuneaton, states that nine-tenths of the population of Nuneaton are dependant on the silk trade, and that they are in a state of unutterable distress, even now with plenty of work to do. "I myself," he says, "have got almost if not quite three times as much per week personally as I can get now, working the same number of hours upon the same article. If I had nothing to do now, and there is an article I have been at work upon since Christmas and have had plenty to do—if I had nothing to do now but to work at that loom alone, I should work very hard to get 4*s.* 8*d.* per week."—p. 251. The distress of the weavers does not seem to be confined to any particular district, or to depend on the particular fabric manufactured, but is diffused throughout the United Kingdom, and is thus described in general terms from the evidence of Mr. Fielden. "It will be seen on reference to the evidence that a very great number of the weavers are unable to provide for themselves and their families a sufficiency of food of the plainest and cheapest kind; that they are clothed in rags, and indisposed on this account to go to any place of worship, or to send their children to the Sunday schools; that they have scarcely any thing like furniture in their houses, their beds and bedding are of the most wretched description, and many of them sleep upon straw. Notwithstanding their want of food, clothing, furniture, and bedding, they for the most part have full employment: their labour is excessive, not unfrequently sixteen hours a day: this state of destitution and excessive labour induces them to drink ardent spirits to revive their drooping powers and allay their sorrows, whereby their suffering is increased. Their poverty and wretchedness cause many to embezzle and sell the materials entrusted to them to be worked up; and to such an extent has this now gone that there are now notoriously receiving houses at which the weavers can exchange such embezzled materials for spirits, victuals, and money; and there are manufacturers who buy of these receivers the principal part of the weft which they manufacture; thus destroying the morals of the weavers, the tradespeople with whom they deal, and even of the manufacturers themselves."—p. 1.

The best and fairest means of judging, however, of the actual facts, are to be obtained by examining the rates of wages at respective periods. Upon this part of the subject we give the following extract from the Second Report:—

"It appears that the wages of the hand-loom weavers have been reduced generally since 1815 to one-half or one-third of the wages paid at that period, and that the sums reduced were largest in 1816, 1817, 1826, and 1829. The weekly wages a fair average weaver can now earn at

the work a majority of the weavers are employed on, is stated in the evidence of weavers, manufacturers, and other witnesses, to be as follows:—

"At Aberdeen, 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* net; Bolton, 4*s.* 1½*d.* net; Dundee, 6*s.* to 7*s.* net; Forfar, 6*s.* net; Glasgow, 4*s.* to 8*s.* gross; Huddersfield, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*, a few 16*s.*; Lanark, 5*s.* 1*d.* net; Manchester, 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* net; Paisley, 6*s.* to 7*s.* gross; Perth, 4*s.* 9*d.* to 7*s.* 9*d.* net; Preston, 4*s.* 9*d.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* gross; Spitalfields, 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* gross; Stockport, 9*s.* gross; Coventry, 7*s.* 6*d.* net; Nuneaton, 4*s.* 8*d.* net; Drogheda, 2*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* net; Belfast, 3*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* gross."—p. xii.

The average earnings of 657 weavers of different classes at Leeds were found by Mr. Baines to be, for the first class, men, 11*s.* 3*d.*; women, 5*s.* 9*d.*; boys, 7*s.* 3*d.*; girls, 5*s.* 9*d.*; but that these have employment during ten months in the year only. For the second class, men, 8*s.* 6*d.*; women, 5*s.*; boys, 5*s.*; but that these are employed during six months in the year only. The following statement shows the relative proportion of wages to the cost of the necessaries of life through a period of more than thirty years. "From 1797 to 1804 a weaver could earn 26*s.* 8*d.* per week, which would buy him 100 lbs. of flour or 142 lbs. of oatmeal, 826 lbs. of potatoes or 55 lbs. of butchers' meat; which would give a general average of a relative proportion of these articles of 281 lbs.

	s.	*d.*		lbs.
From 1804 to 1811 wages	20	0	general average of food,	238
1811 „ 1818 „	14	7	„ „	131
„ 1818 „ 1825 „	8	9	„ „	108
„ 1825 „ 1832 „	6	4	„ „	83
„ 1832 „ 1834 „	5	6	„ „	83

"This diminution in the command of food is not the only ground of the weaver's complaint; there is also his rent; and a short statement will suffice to show the number of pieces that he has at different times been obliged to weave in order to pay it. Your committee, unable to arrive at a certainty as to all his outgoings, will take this important one by way of illustration. In the first seven years the wages for weaving six pieces would pay his rent; in the second seven years it required him to weave nine pieces; in the third seven years, twelve and a third pieces; in the fourth seven years, sixteen pieces; in the fifth seven years, twenty-two pieces; in the two last years, twenty-five pieces."—p. xiii.

The following statement shows the average earnings and required expenses of a journeyman weaver, who, according to the evidence, performs as much labour as any other person employed in the cotton trade per week. 6/4, 60 cambric, 5*s.* 6*d.* per cut, is a week's work. Out of this his employer takes a fourth for necessary expenses, which leaves the weaver 4*s.* 1½*d.* to purchase food, clothing and lodging.

	s.	*d.*
For lodging he has to pay (per week)	0	9
Washing and cooking	0	3
Porridge	0	6
Potatoes	0	6
½ lb. sugar	0	3
1 lb. butter	0	4½
1 lb. bread per day	0	10½
Tea or coffee	0	2
Milk	0	4
Butcher's meat, 1½*d.* per day	0	9
Looming his warp, &c.	0	3
Candles to work by	0	3
Tobacco	0	2½
	5	5½

So that he is 1*s.* 4*d.* in debt after he has performed a full week's work sufficient for any man, and for which he ought to have a living; there is nothing left for clothes, so that he must go naked, unless some friend or other gives him some to cover him."—*Report* 1, p. 441.

In the evidence of a Belfast weaver a statement is given of the various items required for the support, at the lowest rate, of a family consisting of a man, his wife, and two children, including coals, candles, and soap; the whole amounts to 6*s.* 5½*d.*

In subjoining the following extracts, it is not our intention to impugn the above evidence, or to endeavour to gloss over an evil which cannot, unhappily, be disproved; but it is right to give an impartial view of the case; and it is also a little consolatory to have some slight foundation on which to build a hope that the amount of misery is not perhaps quite so great or so general as the above cheerless accounts would shew, and that where there are uniform industry and temperate habits, the condition of even the hand-loom weaver is not so utterly destitute and hopeless as it would at first seem.

"What is the state of hand-loom weaving in Manchester at present?—Better than it has been for the last two or three years. When did the improvement begin?—The early part of October or November last. Do you attribute that improvement to any particular cause?—Not any farther than the demand has been greater. Is it an export demand, or home?—Principally export, I should say: an American demand; it is the time of year they purchase, and from the peculiar state of their finances last year they did not purchase the usual quantity, and I think have purchased more than the usual quantity this season. . . . . Do you think that improvement is likely to be continued?—Yes . . . . Are the wages of the weavers higher in consequence of this late improvement than they were last year?—I think they are, on the whole; I think weavers' wages, generally speaking, are higher than what they were the early part of last year."—p. 126 (Mr. Gardner.) "Take the average of men who work pretty steadily, and who are perhaps seventeen or eighteen years of age, what do they earn per week?—I should think that men who would weave sixty hours a week (good weavers) may get from 10*s.* to 13*s.* per week."—p. 130. "I put in an account of wages taken from our book indiscriminately; I also requested my overlooker to give me particular cases of country families. There are one or two of those I should beg to put in. One is the case of James Bradshaw, of Penworth, near Preston. He has three sons, seventeen, nineteen, and twenty-one years; he has two daughters, eighteen and twenty-four, whose average earnings, for the last twenty-one weeks, are 43*s.* Another country weaver, Peter Forrest of Goosnaigh, a family of ten persons, of whom six are weavers, who average 8*s.* each, besides taking care of three cows. Richard Rigby, Whittingham, six in family, ages from sixteen to twenty-six, five of them weavers; earnings 42*s.* per week."—p. 170. "What is the state of hand-loom weavers generally in the neighbourhood of Coventry?—At this moment that portion working in engine-looms are very well off, but that portion who work at single-hand-looms are paid very low. What do you mean exactly by being well off; what average earnings do you consider to be well off for the weaver?—They have now full employment, which is a material point; they can earn from 10*s.* to 30*s.* or 40*s.* a week. Each person?—Yes. How long have they been able to earn these wages?—When fully employed, for many years past. . . . . Are you aware that the testimony then, (1818,) was that the average gains of the hand-loom weavers did not exceed 5*s.* 6*d.* a week, in which both master and man concurred?—In some years there has been an extraordinary depression of wages; in 1818 there was one; in 1819 there was a list formed, and in that year it was not so low. The highest wages given for the average rate of engine loom weaving was stated by the weavers to be under 10*s.* I believe it was under-stated: there is a strong feeling upon the subject always exhibited. Taking your impression generally, do you think that the state of the hand-loom weaver was better or worse before 1824 or since 1824?—Better since. Do you mean that they earn more per week since 1824?—Yes, from the circumstance of the Jacquard-loom being introduced, that affords high wages. Do you think they are able now to command as many of the necessaries and comforts of life as before 1824?—Yes. And they are contented in their situation?—Yes."—p. 265. (Mr. Jenkins.) In the evidence given by Mr. Milner, a manufacturer at Huddersfield (p. 57), he states that industrious weavers can earn 15*s.* per week, and that he thinks they have as much furniture and are as well clothed as they used to be. Mr. Moncrieffe, manufacturer of muslins at Belfast, says (p. 109), that the last year and a half has been an extremely brisk time for the weavers.

The following statement shows the effects of bad customs, which often work to the detriment of the most temperate.

"*Harness-tying.*—This is a particular kind of mounting for raised or flowered work. On this occasion the weaver collects a number of his neighbours and acquaintances to assist him; and as there is no payment for this kind of work, a treat of bread and cheese and plenty of whiskey is

the acknowledgment. As the weaver's trade is regulated this usage takes place at night, and the consequence of this kind of reciprocity perhaps from some of the party, is that some are not in a capacity for working next day. This usage is so imperative that one individual dare not abandon it. We have however succeeded in procuring the abrogation of more inveterate usages by combination."—p. 27.

We now come to the *causes* of the distress. Upon this part of the subject there is great diversity of opinion among the witnesses, as will appear by the following extracts from the evidence:—

"It is allowed by all that the immediate cause of this distress has been unfair reduction of wages, by a few manufacturers in the first instance, but of necessity adopted by others who had a strong aversion to it, whereby has resulted reduction after reduction, and the present state of things." —p. 2 (Mr. Fielden.) "I assign the cause mainly to the uncontrolled and extended application of mechanical power; that is the first great cause of the depression."—p. 28. "It has always been considered by the intelligent hand-loom weavers that the repeal of the duty on printed cottons was just giving the power-loom weaver a bonus at the expense of the pullicate and gingham department."—*Report* 1, p. 211. "We have paid particular attention to that for many years, and we certainly do attribute the sufferings principally to the unprincipled competition amongst the manufacturers at home."—*Report* 1, p. 41.

The following statements, made by Mr. Gardner, are worthy of attention, and perhaps offer a sufficient explanation of the causes of the distress:—"You think the power-loom one main ingredient in the cause of the reduction of the hand-loom weavers' wages?—No question about it; there cannot, I think, be two opinions about it. Does the power-loom affect every species of hand-loom weaving?—Not hitherto, because there is every year a very great demand for those fabrics on which the power-looms are at present employed, therefore no power-loom weaver has occasion to look about for any fresh fabric; but at this present moment there is every prospect of being a very large increase of power-looms, that I think the fabrics that are at present worked by power-looms will be overdone, and every power-loom weaver will be led to look upon what other fabrics he can bring the power-loom to bear upon; and I would give it as my decided opinion, that three-fourths of all the various fabrics of cloths woven at present by hand-loom weavers may be woven by power. Do you mean by power as it now exists, without any added improvements?—There are improvements in power-looms almost every week; and I think one half at least of the whole of the different fabrics now wove by hand will be wove by power-looms, either as they at present exist, or by other machinery. . . . . There are some departments of weaving with which the power-loom cannot come into competition?—It does not at present. Can you at all account for those departments of the trade with which the power-loom cannot come into competition not being in a better state than the hand-loom weavers with whom the power-loom does come into competition?—I think the fancy goods which the power-loom would have the greatest difficulty in competing with, are perhaps better paid than those it does more easily compete with. Then if the competition of power-loom with hand-loom be one main ingredient in the cause of the reduction of the wages of the hand-loom weavers, they ought to be much worse off than those weavers with whom power-loom does not come into competition?—No; because if one description of work is paid lower than another, they then fly to other sorts; weavers can weave various descriptions of cloth; if one thing is badly paid there is something perhaps within his reach that is better paid, and he goes to that. . . . . Is it a fact within your knowledge that the weavers in the department of the weaving trade with which power-loom does not come into competition have increased of late years?—Yes, they must have increased, because such a very great proportion of the various fabrics that were formerly wove by hand are wove altogether by power at present; I apprehend fustians, which at one time employed a great many—I cannot speak exactly to the number, perhaps 6000, or 7000, or 8000 hand-loom weavers; and I should think—of course I speak very much at guess, but I should think there are not 200 hand-loom fustian weavers now in the whole county of Lancashire. I spoke to a gentleman interested in the trade on Saturday from Heywood: he stated formerly they had about 3000 hand-loom fustian weavers; then I pressed him very much to guess at the quantity now. I said, 'Do you think there are twenty now?' and he said, 'I can tell you one thing, I should be sorry to be compelled to find six before I go to bed.'"—pp. 128, 129. . . . . "I stated that a weaver can support his family, I should suppose, in those countries (Switzerland and Saxony) at a third, or perhaps one-quarter the same expense he can do here; I think the foreign weavers are also more patient and pains-taking weavers; they absolutely produce better cloth than we do, out of inferior materials. But at a higher cost? No, I apprehend, not at a higher cost, they have a higher yarn to work it, but then there is a greater difference in their wages, or maintenance than there is in the price of the yarn. They begin to interfere with us in many of our foreign markets." —p. 135. . . . . "I stated that the present season the Dutch and Belgian buyers and the Germans have ceased to buy several fabrics of cloth from my house that they have been in the habit of buying every previous year; and they say, 'We can buy these goods cheaper from the Swiss or the Saxon manufacturers.' They show samples of what they are purchasing, and they say, 'If you can charge them as low as this, we will still buy them of you;' but we cannot, they undersell us."—p. 165.

In the 5th resolution, passed at a meeting of deputies from the hand-loom worsted weavers of Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax, and adjacent parishes, held at Bradford in March, 1835, we find among the causes which are considered to have been productive of the present distress, the following:—

"A ruinous foreign trade." "The unrestricted use (or rather abuse) of improved, and continually improving machinery, especially of steam or power-looms, as well as combing machines." "The adaptation of machines in every improvement to *children* and *youth* and *women*, to the exclusion of those who ought to labour—the men." The following are the 6th and 7th resolutions in this curious document:—

Resolved, 6th—"That to fill a country with inanimate and non-consuming machines, and to drive away the cultivators of the soil, and the consumers of produce to foreign climes, when there are seventeen millions of acres of uncultivated land in Great Britain and Ireland, for the most part capable of being made productive, is a species of combined political folly and cruelty; of folly which a worsted weaver ought to be ashamed, and of cruelty, which barbarians would not, and Christians ought not to practise."

Resolved, 7th—"That this meeting is convinced that no remission of taxes, no reduction of provisions, and no enlargement of political privileges, however desirable, will suffice to uphold the just interests of the labouring classes, in manufacturing parts especially, unless a due and wholesome legislative restraint be placed upon the time of working machinery, so as to prevent the ruinous glutting of home and foreign markets, and so as to keep the human machines in profitable employment."—p. 291.

This passage affords a lamentable proof of the extreme ignorance of the weavers on the subject—ignorance which we had hoped could not have been found among our artizans of the present day. While they have such erroneous views it is quite impossible they can take any but wrong steps towards lessening their distress. They believe the remedy depends upon others and not upon their own exertions, and consider themselves aggrieved because measures are not adopted which, in the end, would be as ruinous to themselves as to the rest of the working classes. Can it be believed that a committee of the House of Commons could admit such a document in their minutes of evidence without one word in their Report tending to convince these misguided people of their errors, and without protesting against opinions so replete with mischief, as well as absurdity? and yet more, can it be possible that they have not only thus given a sanction to these erroneous notions by their silence, but that they have actually put forth as their own doctrines very much of the same character? The following is taken from the Report itself:—

"Of the combination of causes to which the reduction of wages, and consequent distress of the weavers, may be attributed, the following appear to be the most prominent:—1. Increase of machinery propelled by steam. 2. Heavy and oppressive taxation occasioned by the war. 3. Increased pressure thereof from operations on the currency, and contractions of the circulating medium in 1816, 1826,

and 1829. 4. The exportation of British yarn, and foreign competition created thereby, from the increase of rival manufactures abroad. 5. The impulse given by low wages and low profits to longer hours of work."—p. xvii.

An analysis of the different causes, too long for entire insertion, then follows, but it would not be doing justice to the subject, or sufficiently prove what we have advanced, did we not present a few extracts:—

"Your Committee cannot withold their conviction that the bill of 1819, commonly called Mr. Peel's Bill, has been the main cause of the great pressure on industry resulting from the fall in prices.

"Your Committee are not in the least disposed to deny the influence the power-loom has had upon the condition of the hand-loom weaver; but they cannot help lamenting that such should have been the course of our legislation that, instead of breaking the force of this (at its commencement) almost necessary evil, on the hand-loom weaver; and, instead of causing it to be as gradual as possible, it has actually gone out of its way to quicken its progress, and to aggravate to an inconceivable extent the burden and the pressure of it.

"Your Committee cannot but lament that any temporary pressure in the manufacturing interest, subsequent to 1815, should have led to so great an increase in the export of yarn; because, however individually profitable in the first instance, nothing can be more certain than that by encouraging weaving abroad we allow the foreigner to get between the British manufacturer and the market, and so to cut off a lasting source of profitable employment to our fellow-countrymen."—p. xviii.

"The witness observed to your Committee that if the operative manufacturers were properly paid for their labour it would be greatly beneficial to agriculture, by making them greater consumers of agricultural produce; and further, that a repeal of the corn laws would be the ruin of the manufacturer, inasmuch as it would necessarily ruin the shopkeepers who depend on the farmers, and whose ruin would involve that of the manufacturer and his dependents: and your Committee feel themselves bound to observe that many of the witnesses examined by them, especially operative weavers, have concurred in the opinion thus elaborately stated by Mr. Hale on the necessity for the maintenance of British agriculture."—p. xi.

This curious deduction is put forth in the Report without a single comment as to its unsoundness. The real and sufficient causes appear to be that our hand-loom weavers cannot compete with power-looms, which can work much faster in weaving some descriptions of fabric; and that in the weaving of others, where machinery has not yet superseded manual labour, they cannot compete with the foreign weaver, who can work much cheaper. He is altogether a different being, and can dance and make merry on his scanty and coarse fare, while the Englishman sits down in sullen despair under what appears to him almost starvation: or, what is still worse, flies for relief to the gin-shop. It is not at all desirable, on the contrary it is to be deprecated, that such a state of things should be produced as to make the English weaver contented with the privation and poverty of some of the poorer classes on the Continent. Every endeavour should be made to raise him in the scale of being, and make him aspire after an improvement in his condition. It is almost hopeless to suppose that he can, by mere manual labour, compete with the foreigner, and still obtain a larger rate of profit than satisfies the latter. It is only by our improved machinery that we can expect to maintain our position in the foreign market, and therefore to this the attention of our labouring classes should be turned, as the source of their future prosperity. They should be made to understand that machinery is their best friend, instead of being incited by others, who they must suppose have had opportunities of judging better than themselves, to believe that machinery stands in the way of their industry.

One of the witnesses, Mr. Marshall (not of Leeds), proposes to repress the competition of the power-looms by imposing a tax upon them; and several others join in the same *wise* proposition! Many of those who give their evidence seriously propose to restrict the number of hours for working the power-looms, and also the quantity of goods produced by them. How are we to advance if improvement is thus to be made nugatory? The case is well put by Mr. Gardner at p. 161:—"I think, with respect to protection, that the coach proprietors on the Liverpool road might as well apply for an interference of Parliament because the rail-road beat them off the ground. I think also the owners of sailing-boats on the river Thames might also apply for protection against the steam-boats exactly on the same principle, as the cheapest article will always supersede the dearer."

Many other remedies, besides this war against power-looms, have been suggested, most of them upon the principle that a minimum of wages ought to be established. The condensation of the evidence on this subject, as given in the Report, is as follows:—

"The plan proposed by some of the witnesses is, that a *Central Board* of Trade should be established for the purpose of regulating wages, and that the same price should be paid for weaving the same article in every part of the United Kingdom. Others recommend *Local Boards* of Trade, composed of an equal number of masters and workmen; these Boards to have the power of regulating wages from time to time, according to circumstances, by fixing the minimum in their respective districts, so as to prevent individual masters from lowering wages unnecessarily and at pleasure.

"A third plan has been proposed by a member of the Committee, and given in evidence; a leading feature of which is, that returns shall be made of the prices of weaving paid by such a number of manufacturers as, collectively, make one-half of the goods of any description in the parish or township from whence the returns are sent, and the average of the highest prices paid by a majority of such manufacturers, shall be the lowest price to be paid in such parish or township during the succeeding three months."—p. xx.

"I now come to the remedy. The remedy appears to be to create a competition amongst manufacturers, to give good wages by protecting those who are disposed to do so, placing the controlling power of regulating wages in their hands, instead of allowing that power to be, as it now is, in the hands of those who generally take the lead in reducing wages. A plan of taking periodical averages of wages paid for all sorts of hand-loom weaving on which to found a minimum has been suggested to effect this object, as preferable to boards of trade composed of masters and men. The former plan has been discussed amongst the weavers since the Report of the Committee was framed, and has met pretty generally with their approval."—p. 5. "The necessity for legislative interference on the subject seems to us, from all our experience and observation, to be therefore undoubted; and we humbly think that a very simple remedy could be provided for the appalling evil. It is this, that the system of operation by means of minimum rates of payment should be recognised and protected by express statute."—p. 292.

It might easily be proved by reasoning that this minimum of the rate of wages would act perniciously, but it may perhaps be made more distinctly evident by means of the experiment which actually took place at Lyons, and the disastrous effects of which are detailed in the evidence given by Dr. Bowring. To render this statement perfectly intelligible we shall begin by extracting a short account of the society of manufacturers and weavers formed at Lyons, by which it is preceded:—

"There does exist in France an admirable institution founded by Napoleon, which enables the masters and the men to come into friendly contact; it is a representative council formed of masters and men, the masters having a majority of one, and this council exercises certain valuable and important functions in the misunderstandings that take place. It does not establish wages; it is not a tribunal that can be appealed to, to decide what general price ought to be paid for any particular work, but it has the power of interfering to enforce the contracts made between masters and weavers, and a great many points are constantly referred to it as a court of conciliation, and it settles almost every question, other than the question of the average rate of wages, by amicable interference. This council is a representative body, both as respects the masters and as respects the men; and every weaver who has a certain number of looms is an elector to the council. It was believed, when the distress became extreme, that this organization might be extended, and made useful for introducing an arbitrary minimum rate of wages, inasmuch as all the masters were represented and a very large number of the weavers. This tribunal was a highly popular one, and I think something

like it might advantageously be established in this country. Whether it can exercise all the functions that have been suggested by certain honourable members I very much doubt, though sure I am that habitual intercourse between masters and men is a valuable and useful object to be attained, and that it does facilitate the settlement of many questions. In Lyons the weavers and a certain portion of the masters thought that a similar delegation from both bodies might be charged with the function of regulating wages; that the masters meeting in general assembly, and the weavers meeting in general assembly, a given number of men should be chosen by each, possessing mutual confidence, and that they might discuss the establishment of a tariff of wages, which should be peremptory; they did so meet, and the authorities consented that, if they could determine a rate of wages to be paid after a due examination of the position of the masters and the men, the authorities, I say, having heard of the discussions which took place, did determine that they would give to the decisions of those bodies the force of law; and a decree was published, which established the rate or *mercuriale* of wages, as it was called. There were returns received from all quarters as to the existing contracts between masters and men; an average tariff was fixed on, which was recognised by the authorities, by the prefect on the part of government, and by the municipality on the part of the town: the authorities claimed the power of interference to give effect to the tariff."—pp. 10, 11.

This tariff was in effect for only a few weeks in 1832. The disastrous events which occurred at Lyons in that year are considered by Dr. Bowring to have been entirely consequent on a measure which was put in operation with the hope of lessening the distress. After stating the consequences which resulted, and which are too well known to need repetition here, Dr. Bowring continues:—"I shall give no opinion at present as to the different circumstances which may exist here, but of course I cannot but have received a certain impression from the substantive and positive fact that the experiment of establishing a forced rate of wages was made on a great scale, and the distress consequent upon it was dreadful, particularly to the working classes, who were the principal sufferers; the whole organization of society was disturbed, and Lyons from that moment to this has never recovered its former position. Not but that it is desirable that some means should be found for bringing men and masters together amicably, to discuss many points where the discussion might be beneficial; and the time I hope is coming when Parliament will come to the serious consideration of those causes which displace labour, and for the distress resulting from which the legislature is bound, if it can, to find some alleviation or remedy."—p. 11. The operation of the tariff is thus described by Dr. Bowring:—"The high-minded and intelligent and wealthy masters felt themselves bound by the engagement they had undertaken: but others, desirous to enrich themselves, (and there were a great many such) made bargains with weavers at lower terms than the tariff; and it was very soon found that though for a certain time the majority were submissive to the tariff, yet its regulations were soon broken, there being a much stronger interest in violating the tariff than there was in preserving it; an interest created on one side by the distress of the weavers, who could not all obtain work upon the terms of the tariff, and were willing to work for lower wages; and that of the masters on the other hand, who naturally wished to pay as low wages as possible. Thus those among them who were obedient to the laws were made the victims of those who were not obedient. A certain number of the principal manufacturers kept faith; they were earnestly desirous of making the experiment; some I saw said they would give anything to keep up the rate of wages, but they were interfered with by interlopers, so that the tariff placed the honourable in a worse position than the dishonourable. The course of things was precisely this: a distressed weaver would go to a master and say, 'Sir, I want work,' and is answered, 'I cannot pay you according to the terms of the tariff; it gives me no profit.' The weaver says, 'But I must have work at all events; I will not starve. The tariff gives ten, I will take it at nine; nine is better than nothing; I will tell nobody.' The article is produced; the man who has paid ten finds himself in the market meeting one who has paid nine; how can he compete with him? he is forced to lower his own rate of wages; a general fall becomes inevitable while there is a supply of labour beyond the demand."—p. 12.

The following extract does not perhaps apply directly to the particular subject under consideration, but it is inserted, as it has an indirect and by no means a remote influence upon the general condition of weavers. "Taste is a costly article in this country; there (in France) it is a cheap one, and the causes are easily explainable; every thing that represents taste is accessible to every body. The holidays even of the people are spent among sights and visiting beautiful objects; whereas here in England we have no museums open to them, and there is rather a disposition to destroy than to admire works of art: in France it is quite the contrary. The result is, the whole tendency of the manufacturing industry of France is towards the regions of taste, and in that part of the field we cannot compete with it."—p. 24.

"Before the Revolution there was a body called Maitre-gardes, which interfered arbitarily under the directions of various guilds or companies, whose powers of legislation were very great, and which assumed a direction over labour in a thousand ways. They decided on the length and breadth and manner of weaving and dyeing; they had a right of entry into the houses of weavers without notice, and they in fact represented all the ancient despotism of the guilds which at a more remote period existed here and elsewhere. Of course this institution was completely broken up by those decrees which grew out of the French Revolution, and which proclaimed what was called 'the liberty of industry. They destroyed all the laws with respect to apprenticeship, and recognised equality as a general right. This state of things still exists, so that any man may work at any trade in which he can find any body to employ him; the sole condition of the general law being that he is to bear with him a small book called a "Livret," which contains the history of his engagements, the names of his masters, his general conduct and character, and which book he is required to present to any master into whose service he desires to enter; it is, in fact, a sort of introductory passport. . . . . Is a livret a book on which he is sworn? —No, a mere record of his manufacturing bargains. The master states there the fact that he was employed for so many years or months or days, and the master is bound by law to do it. . . . . Is that regulation established by force of law, or is it a voluntary regulation?—By force of law; I now speak of nothing but that which is recognised by law. It was imagined by Buonaparte that if he could create an institution by which the quarrels between master and man could in some way or other be regulated, and masters and men be brought together, he should get rid of many disagreeable questions, and it would take a great number of cases out of the ordinary tribunals; such a tribunal being charged with many functions of a local nature. In 1806 the first decree appeared; at all events I believe that is the first decree which established what was called a *Conseil des Prud hommes* This decree regarded the town of Lyons alone. In 1809 a general decree came out, of which I will give the principal heads:—it determines that a council shall be established, composed of master manufacturers and operatives of the different branches of manufacturing labour, the master manufacturers to have, in all cases, a majority of one. That any town which through its chamber of commerce shall apply for the establishment of such a council, and has the sanction of the prefect for doing so, shall obtain the right to establish such an institution; and that a third of the members of the Conseil des Prud'hommes shall be renewed every year.'—p. 13.

Whether any advantage might be likely to be derived from the establishment in this country of courts similar to these Conseils des Prud hommes, may be worth consideration. By bringing the masters and men together, and affording them the opportunity of mutual explanation, they might perhaps have some effect in preventing disputes, or bringing those that arose between the two parties to a more speedy adjustment. At all events it is perfectly evident that the remedies principally relied upon by the authors of the report are perfectly delusive. The only efficient remedy proposed by any of the witnesses is, that hand-loom weavers should turn to other branches of industry. "I have no suggestion to make," says one witness, (Mr. Gardiner, p. 145,) "my own opinion is, that bad as their situation is at present, it will be worse if they do not get other employment; and therefore what I would recommend is, if the legislature could do anything in providing for the children being apprenticed to other trades (mechanical trades,) I feel satisfied

and carried, *en caravan*, inland from Trebizond to Erzeroum, Tabriz, &c. For more than two centuries these traders were in the habit of purchasing at Constantinople large quantities of European manufactured goods for the Persian market, and these goods were chiefly, but not entirely, introduced into the Schah's dominions in the manner just described.

In the winter season, deterred by the terrors of the Black Sea, which are frequently formidable even to skilful navigators with good ships, the merchants, on leaving Constantinople, crossed the Bosphorus to Scutari, which may be called an Asiatic suburb of the capital, and thence transported their goods by land through the interior of Asia Minor, by Bolo and Erzeroum, which last-named city was in all cases a key and pivot of their operations. The average length of the over-land journey from Constantinople to Tabriz, or Tauris, was from eighty to ninety days, and the expense, which fell upon the goods, was from fifteen to eighteen per cent. The partly sea-route by the Black Sea and Trebizond was shorter and cheaper. Notwithstanding the very inferior quality of the vessels generally employed, on an average goods were not longer than sixty-five days from Constantinople to Tabriz. Of late years the carrying trade from Constantinople to Trebizond had been in the hands of the Genoese with the Sardinian flag, and of Ragusans under the Austrian flag. These vessels also took grain and salt to Trebizond, and brought back to Constantinople, among other articles, considerable quantities of boxwood, which is one of the valuable productions of the country. But the great gain of these Ragusans and Genoese was made in a contraband trade they carried on in copper; which valuable mineral has always been monopolized by the Sultan, who holds as his property all the mines which are farmed out to individuals on the spot. Smugglers of copper are threatened with the severest punishments, but between Turkish indolence on the one hand, and the cupidity and corruptibility of the officers of customs, on the other, the laws were easily evaded.

These shipmasters, and more particularly the Ragusans, seldom hesitated in engaging in the slave-trade; and in spite of all the laws, denunciations, and penalties existing in Europe, they not unfrequently took in whole or partial cargoes of white slaves at Trebizond, or other parts of the coast, for Constantinople. In addition to these *Christian* vessels, there was a certain number of saccolevas and other Turkish barks of the rudest and least safe construction, which made the voyage to and from the capital. With clumsy, antiquated stern quarters high out of the water, like Chinese junks, with their masts raking forwards and not aft like ours, with their anchors thrown out at their midships as in the time of the shipwreck of St. Paul, with their oddly-shaped sails and yards, which are cumbrous and difficult to move, and admit of no reefing, and with the signs of age and the rot, which are generally pretty visible in their timbers, nothing can well be conceived more antiquated and picturesquely grotesque than these Turkish trading vessels. The rais, or captain, being totally ignorant of the simplest scientific part of his profession, has never any maps on board, and very seldom so much as a compass. He trusts in Allah, and Mahomet his prophet, and in his own knowledge of the capes and headlands he has to pass; and so he creeps along the coast, performing in so many weeks what an English vessel would do in as many days. Notwithstanding that they generally, if not always, choose the fine season, several of these vessels, with cargoes and crews, are lost every year.

It had long struck some intelligent merchants engaged in the Levant trade that advantage might be taken of all these circumstances, and that Trebizond would be a proper place for establishing a depôt, to which British goods might be carried direct at much less expense. In consequence of some representations of this sort our government, about five years ago, sent out a consul to Trebizond. For some time this gentleman appears to have had little or nothing to do except to collect information. Wedded to their old customs the Persians and Turkish traders made their usual caravan journeys, or embarked at Trebizond once in the year, still continuing to look to Constantinople as the only proper mart, and giving small encouragement to the formation of a market nearer home. On the other side, the European traders at Constantinople and the other scales of the Levant did not very readily enter into the new scheme, and as full freights were not to be procured, our shipping left the carrying trade to Trebizond in the old hands. We believe it was chiefly through Said-khan, an Armenian-Christian born in Persia, who has been several times to England as commercial agent for the late hereditary prince, Abbas Mirza, that the spell was first broken. In conjunction with an opulent and enterprising London house, a ship with a mixed cargo was sent out from the Thames to Trebizond direct, in the summer of 1831. If we have been correctly informed, the speculation, being mixed up with a return cargo chiefly of copper, which (in itself a new and untried trade) was to be brought *from Persia* over-land to Trebizond, turned out far from successful. But in commerce, as in everything else, first experiments are generally failures, and their very errors and miscalculations lead to after correctness and success. It was a great point to show our flag in that quarter, and to prove to the people of the country that a direct trade was very practicable.

By degrees the natives became inclined to relinquish their old routine, and to buy at Trebizond instead of going to Constantinople. Several ventures were sent up the Black Sea from the Turkish capital and Smyrna in British bottoms. Vessels were dispatched from England with cargoes to be delivered in part at the ports last-mentioned, and in part at Trebizond, and we now hear that a large English sloop is to be kept in constant course between these three places.

We are aware that it will require time, and that several difficulties are to be overcome ere this new trade can become extensive and flourishing; but with regard to one of the greatest of these difficulties, *i.e.*, the turbulent character of the people, we know nothing likely to correct and humanize it half so soon as a gradually extending commercial intercourse.

The market is a tolerably large one, even without looking far into the interior, or across the frontier into Persia. Trebizond has a population of about 50,000; Baïbout, at the distance of two days' journey, of 5000; Erzeroum, at about four days' journey, of 70,000 or 80,000; Cara-Hissar, with the adjoining villages, of 15,000; Sivas, at six days' distance, is nearly as large as Trebizond; and Tocate, at six or seven days', is nearly as well peopled as Erzeroum; Amassia, a great depôt of raw silks, and only one day's journey from Tocate, has from 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; and, not to mention others, Ipsera, Tekjeh, Vijan, and Terdjan are all considerable towns. A pretty constant communication between the port of Trebizond and all these towns is kept up by means of caravans. Again, the line of coast on either side of Trebizond, for the distance of upwards of 100 miles, though there are few large towns, abounds in villages and detached residences, which, united, contain a very considerable population. As he came down the Black Sea in a Turkish boat from the port of Redout-Kale in Mingrelia, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, and passed the province of Gourieh (a part of the antient Colchis, so famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, and for being in antient times the centre of a great trade between Europe and Asia), M. Fontanier was forcibly struck with the richness of the land. "No country in the world," he says, "would be more fertile than these shores of the Black Sea, were they not the theatre of such barbarism and anarchy." On getting nearer to Trebizond he was equally struck with the exceeding beauty of the scenery, and the number of scattered and picturesquely-situated houses, placed for the most part in the midst of gardens or orange-groves. The olive tree grows there in perfection, and oil might be soon classed among the exports of the country. At Betoum, at Vitzeh, at Rizeh (a town which, with an adjoining village, counts 3000 inhabitants), at Mahané, and other points, there are little harbours which suffice for the country boats that carry on the cabotage, or coasting trade, and that frequently go to Trebizond to exchange produce for manufactured and other goods. Coffee is an article in constant demand; and we are assured that a valuable little trade will be created in cheap cutlery, woollen cloths, cotton-yarn, low printed muslins, calicoes, &c.

In nearly every part of the country the Turkish population is mixed in the proportion of about one to three, with Asiatic Greeks, who are tolerably industrious and intelligent in cultivating the soil, and with Armenians, who, all over Asia, and indeed wherever they are scattered, have a remarkable predilection and talent for trade. Many of these Armenians, for the sake of such a modicum of profit as would make the keeper of a chandler's shop in England

smile incredulously, will undertake inland journeys of an extraordinary extent, braving the terrors of the desert, the plague, the Pashas, the Courds and other robbers, and plodding on their way in fair weather and foul, being stopped neither by the ice and snows of the Caucasus and Mount Taurus, nor by the heat and drought of the vast plains of Asia Minor, Syria, or Arabia. The Turks call them men-camels, and they merit the name by their patient endurance of fatigue and privation, their perseverance, and habitual abstinence. In whatever place a few of these traders is to be found, *there is* a nucleus and a medium of an expanding commerce; and although in the large cities, as Constantinople and Smyrna, the high reputation of the Armenians for probity and good faith in all their transactions, has been somewhat tarnished of late years, we have reason to believe that the provincial dealers are in general remarkably honest and trust-worthy.

The most important export from Trebizond, and one that might be rendered, by a change in the monopolizing or farming system of government, the most readily available, is probably the copper; though it is by no means unlikely that the mines of Gumush-Khane, which are not above thirty miles from the port, and which formerly rendered not only lead but considerable quantities of silver, might be worked to advantage. The nearest copper mines now in activity are at Maaden, about twelve miles from the town of Baïbout, and between fifty and sixty from the port of Trebizond. In 1826 M. Fontanier, accompanied by an Armenian trader, visited the spot, where he found a Greek village containing 500 families, all the working members of which were employed in the mines. "The Grand Signior," he says, "exempted them from all kinds of taxes, and make them work by *corvées*; the workmen received, besides, an indemnity which rose from half a piastre to two piastres (from 2*d.* to 8*d.*) per day, and they were allowed to cultivate for their own use the fields in the neighbourhood, which appeared to be in a tolerably good state of culture. The director *had purchased his employment at Constantinople*, and his speculation included the silver mines of Gumush-Khane; he engaged to deliver to government a given quantity of copper at the fixed price of thirty piastres *per batman* (about twelve francs for twenty lbs. French); the mining expenses were at his charge. Before bringing the copper to its state of purity he was obliged to submit it ten times to a charcoal fire, which was made of pine or fir-wood brought from the distance of about twelve miles. In mining, the workmen made use of the crow-bar and pick-axe, without employing gunpowder. This second method, however, would be more advantageous, to judge from the geological nature of the spot; its formation, indeed, is nothing but a succession of reddish, calcareous layers distinctly stratified, traversed by veins composed of calx, or lime, and of mica, which contains the metal."

We have no doubt whatever that European science would soon introduce a hundred different improvements in the methods of working these mines, in which, mixed up with the copper, Tournefort was informed that that beautiful and valuable substance called *Lapis Lazuli* was occasionally found. It appears, however, that the mines of Cuné in the interior, which are said to be the richest copper mines in the world, are tolerably well worked, and are placed under a more liberal administration than the other mines, having long been in the hands of Armenians, who allow private speculators to extract and smelt the ore. Besides being exported from different points to Persia, and, indirectly, to India and China, considerable quantities of this Cuné copper find their way, by caravans, to Trebizond. But the surest way to render this article an advantageous export from Trebizond would be to work the mines in the neighbourhood, and so save the expenses of a long carriage by land; and we have been informed that rich veins of copper, though now neglected, on account of the unwise system of the Sultan's government, exist much nearer to Trebizond, or at least nearer to the coast (whence the carriage by water would cost exceedingly little) than the mines at Maaden, where the copper is for the most part dug and smelted.

One of the greatest hardships of which the people had to complain was their being forced to transport the copper from the interior. In this labour their camels, horses, and mules were frequently sacrificed, and their owners were never paid for the loss. When a *corvée* of this sort was talked of whole districts were thrown into dismay, and the camel drivers ran in all directions to conceal themselves and their valuable animals. With a proper remuneration for their labour and risk, and on a voluntary bargain they are, however, always ready to convey copper to the coast.

At greater or less distances the interior furnishes, besides silk, plenty of goats' hair, some cotton, red cotton thread, beautifully dyed, fine, soft Morocco leather, some furs of tolerably good quality, anise, gum ammoniac, galls, and other drugs and substances in demand in our markets. If we look to the north-western provinces of Persia, to which, as we have already said, Trebizond is the most direct, as it is the most frequented port, the amount of these commodities proper for exportation will be considerably increased.

Ever since 1821 the Russians have been trying, but in vain, to change this old trading route, to induce the Persian merchants to go through their possessions in Georgia to the Czar's port on the Black Sea, and to make the now essentially Russian city of Tiflis, the point of operations and the centre of the commerce between Persia and Constantinople, instead of the Turkish city of Erzeroum, which now enjoys that advantage. Nothing, we believe, short of such farther conquest or usurpation of territory as shall give Russia the entire command of the old route, will ever induce either Persians or Turks to change it. During last year a caravan from Trebizond, which was chiefly conveying English goods into the interior, was attacked and pillaged by the Courds, who, as it was rather openly hinted, had been incited to that act by Russian agents expressly employed to bring that route into discredit, and to check the importation of British manufactures.

We will not positively deny that such might have been the case, but we think it ought to be remembered that the Courds, like the Arabs of the desert, are a people of predatory habits, who have been accustomed for many ages to plunder caravans without any other suggestion than that of their own cupidity. We should observe, however, that M. Fontanier says that the fear of these robbers was not near so great as people generally supposed in Europe. "I have questioned," he says, "a great many merchants, who have assured me that they had not been pillaged by the Courds for twenty years, and that even when that misfortune happened they in most cases got back their goods by means of a small sacrifice." These remarks were made in 1826, but in 1828 we know, of our own knowledge, that the caravan of Abbas Mirza's agent, Saïd Khan, which also carried British goods,* was plundered by the Courds on its way from Trebizond to Persia. Is it that these semi-barbarians have a peculiar taste and preference for British merchandise? Is it that in these two cases proper steps were not taken to ensure a safe transit across the country occupied by the tents, cattle, and flocks of the Courds? We really are averse to admit the other supposition, although from all that we have read, heard, and seen, we have no very exalted notion of the honour or scrupulousness of that host of nondescript *employés* which Russia throws out on all her frontiers. Be this as it may, we are inclined to hope—to trust, that the Nomadic tribes, who hate and dread the Russians, will be easily detached from them, (supposing that any relations exist between them) and that by slight payments, which may be set down as a transit duty, the Courds will allow the caravans to pass unmolested. Like the Arabs they are faithful to their bargain, and their word, when once pledged, is to be depended upon.

A considerable colony of Persian merchants exists at Erzeroum, and the late Prince Abbas Mirza had a *chargé d' Affaires*, with a regular establishment in that important city, to protect the interests of the colony, and to superintend the trade with Trebizond, Tocate, Constantinople, and other markets. In 1828 there were four caravanserais occupied by Persians, attending almost exclusively to the trade with Europe. These speculators dealt largely in shawls and in cherry-sticks, which last are drilled and converted into pipe-tubes, and form a very important article of trade at Constantinople.

By treaty the Persians were to pay on the Turkish frontier a transit duty of five per cent., but in spite of their address, and the vigilance and exertions of their resident at Erzeroum, they were generally obliged to pay another *irregular* duty, or a series of impositions varying from five to ten per cent. in the interior. Not a farthing of these after payments, probably, ever reached the coffers of the sultan;

* These goods were conveyed from Constantinople in a Genoese brig.

they were enjoyed by the pashas and local governors, who levied them as best they could, and made them as heavy as possible. We apprehend that the death of Abbas Mirza was a severe blow, and that since the death of his father, the late king, owing to the confusion Persian affairs have fallen into, this interesting line of commerce has been neglected, and has suffered considerably.

It has not been our intention in these notes to awaken any *immediate* brilliant expectations; Trebizond is only an opening; from many adverse circumstances its trade must be a limited one, and we can scarcely hope for a speedy removal of the causes which check and embarrass it. These causes arise out of the wretched condition and misgovernment both of Persia and Turkey. The first of these two countries seems to be in a state of disorganization; the right of succession is not yet settled, the young king sits unsteadily on his throne, and Tehran and Tabriz swarm with Russian agents, whose objects and views are, *at least*, doubtful. If the British embassy under the Honourable E. Ellis, which has just left these shores, prove efficacious in maintaining the peace with Russia, and in restoring general tranquillity to Persia, then indeed, on that side, trade might make rapid growth and increase, for there is a fine elasticity and rebound in the Persian character, and according to Sir John Malcolm and other observers the steps they have sometimes made towards prosperity in a very few years are altogether extraordinary.* But all this is hypothetical; and then there remain the evils of the intermediate country, of Turkey, which lies between our ships and any counting-houses we may establish at Trebizond and the Persian frontier.

In the course of these Notes in our last Number we ventured to dissent from some of Mr. Urquhart's opinions concerning the facilities afforded to commerce, and the exceeding moderation of duties on foreign goods in Turkey. That gentleman's notions on free-trade—on an entire freedom of trade—are so much in accordance with our own, and with those of others whose opinions we value more than we do our own, and his views are generally so liberal and philanthropic, that it is almost with pain that we say that we differ from him *toto cœlo;* not so much indeed with regard to the natural resources of the Turkish dominions as with regard to the system of administration which he almost invariably extols, and the faculty and inclination of the Porte to make the best of these resources, in which, though he now and then contradicts himself, he seems firmly to believe.

The fact is, Mr. Urquhart has been somewhat deluded by the generalizations, and paid ex-parte pleadings of the Sultan's newspaper, "Le Moniteur Ottoman;" he has given too ready a belief to the statements of Turks and Armenians employed in different branches of the administration; he has looked upon their systems on paper and not in practice; and he has taken the pictures of Muradjea d'Ohsson, which represent what the Turkish religion, government, and people *ought to be*, for faithful representations of what they actually *are*. It were just as wise to judge of our bench of bishops by the accounts of the apostles and primitive fathers of the church, or of the tradesmen of the Minories and Tower Hill after the scriptural portraitures of the shepherd warriors under Moses, Joshua, and David. Were the Ottoman code, as set down by the learned Armenian, acted up to, there is no doubt that with some capital errors and anti-social tendencies, it would contribute to make a happy and a prosperous people, but nearly every clause of that code has been nullified for ages, as it still continues to be by the ignorance, caprice, and insatiable greediness of despotism through all its grades, from sultans and pashas down to the agas of villages. With regard to commerce, indeed, even D'Ohsson could not conceal that the practice of government did not agree with its theory, and he *moderately* indicated the causes that checked the prosperity of the empire in the following words:—

"The trade of the states of the Grand Signior is, without doubt, considerable; but it would be much more so if the Mahometans were better instructed, and if the government *protected agriculture*, encouraged the arts, and paid attention to the proper means of making their subjects enjoy the resources that *might be* procured from vast provinces, a rich and fertile soil, abundant and varied productions, and an infinitude of seaports adapted to become the *entrepôts* of the trade of the East and the West." But Mr. Urquhart himself says:—

"The immunities which commerce and merchants enjoy are unfortunately not extended to other avocations; *the cultivator of the soil is ever a helpless prey to injustice and oppression.* The government agents have to suffer in their turn from the cruelty and rapacity of which they themselves have been guilty, and the manufacturer has to bear his full share of the common insecurity; he is fixed to the spot, and cannot escape the grasp of the local governor. The raw material monopolized by a bey or ayan, may be forced upon him at a higher price than he could purchase it himself, and perhaps of inferior quality, and fines may be imposed on him; he may be taken for forced labour, or troops may be quartered on his workshop."*

Now we look upon this as conclusive. In a country whose chief and capital resource is, after all, agriculture, when the agriculturist "*is ever a helpless prey to injustice and oppression,*" (and that he positively is so we could establish by a hundred facts gleaned during our own travels in Turkey, or from the testimony of others who have visited that country), there can be none of that security and internal prosperity which alone give aliment and increase to trade. It is of no use granting immunities to the seller of foreign goods if the buyers, by whom he is to live, are impoverished and crushed by taxation and impositions of all kinds. The merchant is only a purveyor, who increases or decreases his supplies according to the faculty of his customers; their interest is his interest; he only prospers by their prosperity, and whatever impoverishes them embarrasses and narrows the scale of those operations by which he gains his bread. To put an extreme case: let a government place a dealer in foreign goods in a large town—let it exempt him from all taxation and from every duty or excise on the goods he imports, and it will all be useless to him if the inhabitants of that town and district, with whom alone he is to deal, are sunk to one level of pauperism by taxes and arbitrary exactions. But the commercial immunities Mr. Urquhart speaks of do not exist; the duties are much heavier than he assumes them to be, and merchants, like all other classes of the sultan's subjects, are constantly exposed to avaniahs, rapacity, and tyranny.

Mr. Urquhart is eloquent in praise of the municipal institutions of the empire and of the privilege the Turks have left even their rayah subjects in the villages, burgs, and sections of the country, to make their own assessments;—but where is the benefit of this privilege when there is no protection for either in-door or out-of door property—when the corn-fields, the vineyards, the olive-groves are constantly exposed to the grasp of the strong hand—when the bastinado is in attendance at the outside of the door for those who have not voted enough money, or made the taxes such as the Pasha or Moutzellim requires?

We shall never forget the breaking up of one of these municipal meetings, or, as Mr. Urquhart calls them, "Amphictyonic councils," which we witnessed at a village in Asia Minor! Two Greek primates lay sprawling on the ground with maimed and bleeding feet, and a posse of Turks were seizing and carrying off every article they could lay their hands on, not even excepting the implements of agriculture. In the face of such an alternative we question whether Mr. Hume himself would not vote a tax as *per order!*

One of the primary causes of the ruin of the Turkish empire arose out of the government practice of selling the Pashaliks to those who would pay down and promise the most money. Within the last few years there has been much talk about the Sultan's having reformed this crying abuse; but having taken some pains to ascertain the fact, we can confidently say that there has been scarcely any reform at all. The Pashas in the provinces are not changed quite so frequently: their appointments are formally announced in the Sultan's newspaper; but Mahmoud, constantly pressed by want of money, *sells the Pashaliks to the highest bidders just the same as ever.*

We fear that the formidable insurrection now raging in Albania, and the discontents in Bosnia, will not contribute to supersede this pernicious practice. For the present we cannot go farther into the subject, and must conclude with a very few more words on Trebizond.

* "The city of Ispahan has more than doubled its inhabitants, and quadrupled its manufactures of rich silk and brocade, during the twenty years that Haji Ibrahim has been governor."—*Malcolm's Sketches of Persia.*

* "Turkey and its Resources," &c. 1 vol. 8vo. Lond. 1833.

The port affords pretty good anchorage, but as it is not protected against the north winds, which blow with great violence in the Black Sea during the winter, vessels are obliged in that season to take refuge at Platana, about three miles to the west of Trebizond. The town, except during the occasional visits of the plague, is very healthy; the bazaars are tolerably well supplied with provisions; the neighbouring country is, as we have said, beautiful and picturesque, abounding with houses and villas. Old Tournefort was so struck with the beauty and pleasantness of a spot on the hills, in the midst of woods and meadows, falling waters, and limpid streams swarming with the finest trout, that he says he could have wished to pass the rest of his life there.

Under the influences of civilization what might not this country become? With carriageable roads cut to Erzeroum, Tocat, Diabekir, the mines of Cuné, and the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates, with other roads leading round the shoulder of Mount Ararat to the Araxes, and across Persia, Trebizond might be one of the first marts in the world; but, for the present, this is only a brilliant day-dream.

BILL FOR PREVENTING THE PUBLICATION OF LECTURES WITHOUT CONSENT.

THE preamble of this bill states that "Printers, publishers, and other persons, have frequently taken the liberty of printing and publishing lectures delivered upon divers subjects, without the consent of the authors of such lectures, or the persons delivering the same in public, to the great detriment of such authors and lecturers."

The first clause gives to authors of lectures, or their assigns, the sole right of publication; and all persons publishing and exposing for sale any lecture, or portions of any lecture, without the consent of the proprietors, are liable to forfeiture of all copies in their possession, either printed, lithographed, or otherwise copied, together with a penalty of one penny for every sheet of such copies.

2. Printers or publishers of newspapers reporting and publishing any lecture, without consent, are liable to the same forfeiture and penalty.

3. Persons having leave to attend lectures are not on that account to be allowed to publish them.

4. The act is not to extend to prohibit the republication of lectures which have been once printed, after the expiration of the copyright, given by the 8 Anne, c. 19, entituled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or purchasers of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and the 54 Geo. III., c. 156, entituled "An Act to amend the several acts for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies and copyright of printed books to the authors of such books or their assigns."

5. The act is not to protect any lecture or lectures, of the delivery of which notice in writing has not been given to two justices living within five miles of the place where the delivery is to take place, two days at the least previous.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

BILLS WHICH HAVE RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT.

July 30.

Stamps and Tax Offices Bill.
Merchant Seamen Registration.
Property in Infants.
Contempts in Equity.
Manure Toll Exemption.
Southend Pier.
Sheffield Gas.
Newtyle and Glammis Railway.
Bodmin and Wadebridge Railway.
Holyhead and Shrewsbury Road.
Lambert's Divorce.
Bergman's Naturalization.

Aug. 21.

Tea Duties Bill.
Postage Duties.
Bankrupt Estates.
Public Roads (Ireland).
Assizes Removal (Ireland).
Ecclesiastical Revenues.
Linen Manufactures (Ireland).
Sheriff's Declaration.
Seamen Enlistment.
Lunatic Acts—Continuance.
Registrar Office.
Certiorari Bill.
Loans Societies.
London Small Debts.
Grand Junction Water-works.
Llanelly Railway and Dock.
Exeter Water Company.
Reading Water-works.
Ballachney Railway.
Truro Improvement.
Willington Bridge.
Bognor Improvement.
Botley and Fifield Road.
Tetness Roads.
Bodmin Roads.
Marquis of Cholmondeley's Estate.
Westerhampton Curacy Estate.
Zoller's Naturalization.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

June 11. Prohibiting subscription to Thirty-nine Articles in certain cases.—*Lord Radnor.* (Thrown out July 14.)

— 22. For effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of the several prisons in England and Wales.—*Lord Melbourne.*

July 2. For protecting the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical benefices without the cure of souls, and for preventing the lapse thereof during the pending inquiries respecting the state of the Established Church in England and Wales.—*Archbishop of Canterbury.*

— For enabling the Court of King's Bench to take recognizances to any amount from defendants who remove indictments and presentments into that court by writ of *certiorari*, and for preventing prosecutors from obtaining such writ without leave of the court.—*Lord Denman.* (Withdrawn July 13.)

3. For promoting education and regulating charities.—*Lord Brougham.*

13. For preventing vexatious removals of indictments into Court of King's Bench, and for extending the provisions of an act 5 William and Mary, for preventing delays at quarter sessions to obtain indictments.—*Lord Brougham.*

Aug. 5. To amend two clerical errors in act 9 Geo. IV., for consolidating and amending the laws in Ireland relating to larceny, &c.—*Lord Farnham.*

10. For preventing the publication of lectures without consent.—*Lord Brougham.*

14. To amend an act of the present session, entitled "An Act for the more effectual abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in lieu thereof," and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extra-judicial oaths and affidavits.—*Duke of Richmond.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

June 24. Select Committee to consider and report on the subject of the Prisons Regulation Bill.

29. To inquire into the expediency of substituting a Declaration in lieu of Oaths in certain cases.

30. To consider plans for more convenient temporary accommodation of their Lordships.

July 15. Select Committee on Prisoners' Defence Bill.

Aug. 17. Select Committee on Bill for Reduction of Militia Staff.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

July 24. Sheriffs' Declaration Bill—"for removing doubts as to the declaration to be made, and oaths to be taken, by persons appointed to the office of sheriff of any city or town, being a county of itself."—*Attorney-General.*

— Excise Incorporation (Scotland) Bill—"for abolishing the excise incorporation in Scotland, and for transferring the funds of the said incorporation to the consolidated fund, and providing for the payment of the annuities to the widows and orphans of the late and present members of the incorporation fund.—*Mr. Baring.*

— 27. Sale of Beer Acts Amendment Bill—"to amend two acts of the first, and fourth and fifth years of his present Majesty, to permit the general sale of beer and cider by retail in England."

— Turnpike Trusts Consolidation Bill—"to authorize the consolidation of the trusts of turnpike roads in that part of Great Britain called England."—*Mr. Fox Maule.*

— Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill—"for continuing, for a limited time, the several acts for regulating the turnpike roads in Great Britain, which will expire with the next session of Parliament."—*Mr. Fox Maule.*

— 30. Public Roads (Ireland) Bill—"to give effect and validity to certain contracts and presentments for repairing and keeping in repair certain public roads in Ireland, and to the sureties entered into for the execution thereof."—*Mr. More O'Ferrall.*

31. Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Bill—"to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations and borough towns in Ireland."—*Attorney-General for Ireland.*

— Tonnage Admeasurement Bill—"to regulate the admeasurement of the tonnage and burthen of the merchant shipping in the United Kingdom."—*Mr. P. Thompson.*

— Steam-vessels (Thames) Bill—"to regulate the navigation of steam-vessels upon the river Thames."—*Mr. Alderman Wood.*

Aug. 3. Militia Staff Reduction Bill—"for the further reduction of the militia staff, and to suspend the ballot for the militia."—*Lord John Russell.*

— Fines and Recoveries Office Bill—"to abolish certain offices connected with fines and recoveries, and the cursitors in the court of Chancery, and to make provision for the abolition of certain offices in the superior courts of common law in England."—*Mr. Baring.*

4. Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill—"for the better preservation and more speedy punishment of offences endangering the public peace in Ireland."—*Lord Morpeth.*

— Tea Duties Bill—"to impose certain duties on tea."

7. Sheriffs' (Ireland) Bill—"for facilitating the appointment of sheriffs in Ireland, and the more effectual audit and passing of their accounts, and for the more speedy return and recovery of fines, issues, forfeited recognizances, penalties, and deodands; and to abolish certain offices in the court of Exchequer in Ireland, and to amend the laws relating to grants *in custodiam* and recovery of debts in Ireland, and to amend an act passed in the second and third years of his Majesty's reign, intitutled "An Act for transferring the powers and duties of the commissioners of public accounts in Ireland to the commissioners for auditing the public accounts of Great Britain."—*Mr. Serjeant O'Loghlin.*

10. Constabulary Force (Ireland) Bill—"to amend an act of the third year of the reign of his late majesty king George the fourth, for the appointment of constables in Ireland."—*Lord Morpeth.*

— Paymaster-General Bill—"for consolidating the offices of paymaster-general, paymaster, and treasurer of the navy, and treasurer of the ordnance."—*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

— Slave Compensation Bill—"to carry into further execution the provisions of an act passed in the third and fourth year of his present Majesty, for compensating owners of slaves upon the abolition of slavery."

— Charities Commissioners Bill—"for appointing commissioners to continue the inquiries concerning charities in England and Wales."

— Tithes on Turnips Bill—"for the amendment of the law as to the tithing of turnips in certain cases."—*Captain Pechell.*

— Tithes Recovery Bill—"for the more easy recovery of tithes."—*Captain Pechell.*

11. Hereditary Revenue (Scotland) Bill—"to amend the acts relating to the hereditary land revenues of the crown in Scotland."—*Mr. R. Steuart.*

— Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill—"to amend the law relative to the registry of voters in Ireland, and to taking the poll at elections in that part of the United Kingdom, and to assimilate the same as nearly as may be to the law in force in England and Wales."—*Serjeant O'Loghlin.*

12. Insolvent Courts (Ireland) Bill—"to authorise the granting of superannuation allowances to the commissioners and officers of the courts for the relief of insolvent debtors in Ireland."—*Serjeant O'Loghlin.*

— Poor-Law Amendment Bill—"to amend an act for the amendment of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales, so far as the same respects the expenses to be incurred in the building or purchasing of workhouses."—*Mr. Law Hodges.*

13. Forgery (Scotland) Bill—"to provide that persons accused of forgery in Scotland shall not be entitled to bail unless in certain cases."

— Court of Exchequer (Scotland) Bill—"to amend an act of the second year of his present Majesty, for making provision for the dispatch of the business now done by the Court of Exchequer."—*Lord Advocate.*

— Factories Bill—"to repeal an act passed in the third and fourth years of his present Majesty King William the Fourth, for regulating the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom, and to substitute other provisions in lieu thereof."—*Mr. Hindley.*

14. Special Constables Bill—"for enlarging the powers of magistrates in the appointment of special constables."—*Mr. Fox Maule.*

— Parochial Workhouses Bill—"to facilitate the conveyance of workhouses, and other property of parishes, and of incorporations or unions of parishes in England and Wales"—*Mr. Fox Maule.*

15. Spirit Licenses and Wine Permits Bill—"to exempt certain retailers of spirits to a small amount from the additional duties on licenses, and to discontinue the excise survey on wine, and and the use of permits for the removal thereof."

— Clerk of the Crown Bill—"to repeal so much of an act passed in the 3rd and 4th years of his present Majesty, as relates to the amount of the salary granted to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and to make other provisions in relation to the said office."

— St. Margaret's Rectory Bill—"for making one of the prebends of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, subservient to the spiritual wants of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster."—*Lord John Russell.*

— Consolidated Fund Bill—"to apply a sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund, and the surplus of the Ways and Means, to the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five."

— Exchequer Bills Bill—"for raising a sum by Exchequer bills for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five."

— Glass Duties Bill—"to repeal the duty and drawback on flint glass, to impose other duties and another drawback in lieu thereof, and to reduce the drawback on German sheet glass exported in panes, and to repeal the drawback on unground and unpolished plate glass, and to amend the laws relating to the duties on glass."

— Dublin Police Bill—"for improving the police in the district of Dublin metropolis."—*Lord Morpeth.*

— Legacy Duties Bill—"to exempt legacies to charitable institutions from duties of stamps."—*Mr. Raphael.*

19. Customs Duties Bill—"to amend the law relating to the customs."

— Dominica Relief Bill—"for granting relief to the Island of Dominica, and to amend an act of the second and third years of his present Majesty, for enabling his Majesty to direct the issue of Exchequer bills to a limited amount for the purposes therein mentioned."

21. Slave Treaty (Denmark) Bill—"for carrying into effect the treaty with the King of the French and the King of Denmark, for suppressing the slave-trade."—*Lord Palmerston.*

— Slave-Treaty (Sardinia) Bill—"for carrying into effect a treaty with the King of the French and the King of Sardinia, for suppressing the slave-trade."—*Lord Palmerston.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

House of Commons.

July 29. Committee "to consider of the best mode of ventilating and warming the new Houses of Parliament, and of rendering the same favourable to the transmission of sound."

— Committee to inquire into the conduct of General Darling while governor of New South Wales.

August 11. Committee "to inquire into the origin, nature, extent, and tendency of the Orange institutions in Great Britain and the colonies, and to report the evidence, and their opinion thereon."

19. Committee to inquire into certain circumstances attending a contract entered into with the Admiralty in the year 1835.

NEW MEMBERS.

Thomas Kavanagh, Esq., and Henry Bruen, Esq., for the county of Carlow, in the room of N. A. Vigors, Esq., and A. Raphael, Esq., unseated by the decision of a select committee.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

For Belfast, in the room of John M'Cance, Esq., deceased.

For Cashel, in the room of the Right Honourable Louis Perrin, a Judge of the Court of King's Bench in Ireland.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[The Thirty-Sixth Report, dated 7th August, 1835.]

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour	28	16,895
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Scotland, in support	749	190,923
" against any grant	324	129,337
Church of Ireland Bill, against	294	73,343
" in favour	12	11,559
Lord's Day, for better observance	64	8,605
Tithes, for commutation	11	407
Tithes, Ireland, for abolition	43	36,558
" for a re-valuation	11	1,313
" for a commutation	4	705
Ministers' Money, Ireland, for relief	1	238
Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, against	172	10,607
Taxes.		
Malt, for repeal of duty	122	33,244
Newspaper stamps, for repeal of duty	95	39,021
Attornies' certificates	6	95
Post-horse duties	10	202
Soap drawback, Ireland	2	11
Timber duties, against alteration	40	5,463
" for reduction	1	85
Spirit licences, for repeal of duty	191	13,021

Miscellaneous.	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Agricultural distress, for relief	73	20,102
Aberdeen Universities Bill, against	27	897
Arrestment of Wages (Scotland) Bill, in favour	6	13,353
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland) Bill, against	28	6,291
Royal Burghs (Scotland) Bill, against	7	36
Shannon navigation	2	20
Roman Catholic freeholders, Ireland	2	1,205
Beer houses	2	305
Bonding warehouses	8	273
Drunkenness, for restraint of	73	24,313
Dublin and Valentia railway	1	3,610
Factories Regulation Act	46	24,620
Instruments of Sasine (Scotland) Bill, against	3	20
Steam Vessels Pilotage Bill, against	2	61
Carlow election	2	58
General Darling, for inquiry into charges	3	102
East India Company's monopoly of salt	1	47
Fisheries, Ireland	4	533
Poor-Laws, Ireland	12	25,672
Royal Burghs (Scotland) Bill, against	6	28
Glass duties	4	1,041
Education, Scotland	2	622
Handloom weavers, in favour of	3	737
" for a Board of Trade	73	72,542
Merchant shipping	3	649
Stage carriages	3	182
Other miscellaneous petitions	40	1,353

Bankruptcy Analysis from July 24 to August 22.

Baker, 1; bookseller, 1; bootmaker, 1; brassfounder, 1; brewer, 1; bricklayer, 1; broker, 1; builder, 1; cabinetmaker, 1; cardmaker, 1; carpenter, 1; chemist, 1; cloth-manufacturer, 1; coachmaker, 1; coal-merchant, 1; commission-agent, 1; cotton-spinner, 1; cutler, 1; druggist, 3; fishmonger, 1; florist, 1; fruit-merchant, 1; grocers, 4; hop-merchant, 1; horse-hair manufacturer, 1; horse-dealer, 1; ironmonger, 1; joiner, 1; law-stationer, 1; linendraper, 1; lodging-house keeper, 1; merchants, 3; miller, 1; milliner, 1; music-sellers, 2; printer, 1; picture-dealer, 1; plasterer, 1; plumber, 1; pin and needle-maker, 1; sack manufacturer, 1; schoolmaster, 1; shoe-dealer, 1; silk-ware manufacturer, 1; spirit-merchants, 2; tailors, 2; tanner, 1; victuallers, 2; wax-chandler, 1; wine-merchants, 2; woollendrapers, 2; woollen-manufacturer, 1. Total, 64. Total from the commencement of the year, 708.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR AUGUST, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

On Tuesday the 21st of July the Municipal Corporations Reform Bill, having been brought up from the House of Commons by Lord John Russell and other members, was, on the motion of Lord Melbourne, read a first time in the House of Lords. The Sinecure Church Preferment Bill was afterwards, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, considered in Committee, and reported.

On the same evening in the Commons, Lord Morpeth moved the order of the day for the commitment of the Irish Church Bill; upon which Sir Robert Peel moved that the Committee should be instructed to divide the bill into two bills. He and his friends, the right honourable baronet intimated, were disposed to acquiesce at least in the principle of that part of the measure which was directed to the settlement of the tithe question, but could not consent to the other part, which provided for the appropriation of Church property to other than ecclesiastical purposes. The debate which arose upon this amendment was continued by adjournments over the following two nights. When the House at last divided on Thursday night, or rather about three o'clock on the morning of Friday, there appeared for the amendment 282, against it 319. The House then went into Committee on the bill.

During these evenings, and also on that of Friday the 24th, various bills were advanced a stage in both Houses. Among others, the Imprisonment for Debt Bill went, on Friday, through the Committee in the Commons.

On Monday the 27th the House of Commons went again into Committee on the Irish Church Bill, and proceeded in the consideration of it as far as to the 49th clause, without any material alterations being made in the measures. Some of the clauses, however, were postponed.

On Tuesday the 28th it was, after a long discussion, agreed upon by the Lords that counsel should be heard against the Municipal Corporations Bill before it should be committed. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wetherell, and afterwards Mr. Knight, addressed their Lordships upon the subject, at great length, on the following Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

In the House of Commons on the 28th, Mr. John Maxwell brought forward his motion for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the hand-loom weavers, by the establishment of a minimum rate of wages. After some debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 129 to 41. Mr. Spring Rice afterwards obtained leave to bring in a bill for consolidating the offices of Paymaster of the Forces, Paymaster of the Navy, Paymaster of Chelsea Hospital, and Treasurer of the Ordnance.

On Wednesday the 29th, a motion that Mr. Clipperton, one of the persons confined in Newgate for his participation in the affair of the Ipswich election, should be brought to the bar, reprimanded, and discharged, was carried, after some discussion, by a majority of 129 to 41. He was accordingly discharged the following evening. Mr. Sparrow, another of the persons implicated in the same transactions, had been in like manner discharged on the preceding Thursday. In the latter part of this evening the House sat again in Committee on the Irish Church Bill, the remaining clauses of which, with the exception of those formerly postponed, were all considered and agreed to. The bill for regulating the polls at elections also went through Committee.

On Thursday the 30th, Lord Francis Egerton, the chairman of the Yarmouth Bribery Committee, having reported to the House that a witness of the name of Prentice, who had been called before the Committee, had refused to answer the questions put to him, on the ground that by so doing he should criminate himself, it was ordered that Prentice should attend at the bar the following day. It was then ordered, on the motion of Mr. Hume, that Mr. Keith, attorney of Norwich, who had been charged by the Ipswich Committee with aiding and abetting in procuring and continuing the absence of the witness Pilgrim, should be committed to custody for breach of privilege. The remainder of the evening was occupied with a debate of some length upon a motion by Mr. M. O'Connell for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of General Darling while Governor of New South Wales. The motion, which was opposed by Ministers, was carried by a majority of 55 to 47.

On Friday the 31st, Mr. Prentice appeared at the bar, and having persisted, after admonition, in his refusal to answer the questions of the Committee, was ordered to be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. After this business was settled, the Attorney-General for Ireland brought forward and explained the ministerial measure for the better regulation of the municipal corporations of that country. The motion for leave to bring in the bill having been agreed to, it was immediately brought in and read a first time. Lord Morpeth then obtained leave to bring in a bill for the better prevention of offences against the peace in Ireland. His Lordship explained at some length the provisions of the proposed measure, which was intended as a substitute for the Coercion Act. It authorizes the Lord Lieutenant to issue special commissions to Sergeants-at-Law, who are to be empowered to hold courts for the trial of offenders in disturbed districts, and also to warn the inhabitants to keep at home at nights, to require them to make out lists of their families, and to adopt other similar precautionary measures, but not in any case to order domiciliary visits.

On Monday, the 3rd of August, Lord Melbourne in the Lords, moved the committal of the Corporation Reform Bill, when a long debate arose on an amendment proposed by Lord Carnarvon, that evidence should be received in support of the allegations of the petitioners who had prayed to be heard against the bill. When their lordships divided, at nearly four o'clock on Tuesday morning, there appeared

was ready to return home. This noble bearing—this show of courage, in which quality we believe none of the family are deficient, increased the admiration and enthusiasm of the Parisians, who seem to appreciate courage more than any other virtue, and for four-and-twenty hours the whole Orleans dynasty was probably more universally popular than ever it had been before.

In the evening a certain number of the members of the chambers, the mayor and deputy mayors of Paris and its environs, and other deputations waited upon the King, after which his Majesty issued the following proclamation:—

"Frenchmen!—The National Guard and the army are in mourning; French families are in a state of desolation; my heart has been rent by a frightful spectacle. An old warrior—an old friend—who had been spared by the fires of a hundred battles, has fallen at my side, from blows which assassins destined for me. In order to reach my person, they did not hesitate to sacrifice glory, honour, patriotism, peaceable citizens, women, and children; and Paris has seen the blood of the best Frenchmen shed on the same spot and on the same day on which, five years ago, it flowed for the maintenance of the laws of the country! Those whom we have now to regret have fallen in the same cause. Again, it is the constitutional monarchy, the freedom of the laws, the honour of the nation, the safety of families, the welfare of all, that are once more threatened by my enemies and yours; but the public grief, which answers to mine, is at once a homage offered to the noble victims, and a forcible testimony of the union between France and her King. My government knows its duties, and will fulfil them. However, let the fêtes, which were intended to celebrate the last of these days, give place to ceremonies more in conformity with the sentiments with which our minds are impressed—let all due honours be rendered to the memory of those whom the country has just lost, and let those veils of mourning which yesterday shrouded the tri-coloured flag again be put over this faithful emblem of all the sentiments of the country. Given at the palace of the Tuilleries, this 28th July, 1835.

(Signed) "Louis Philippe.

"By the King.

"The President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs,

"V. Broglie."

When, on the following day, the civil authorities leisurely examined the results of the atrocious affair, it appeared that the carnage was even greater than was at first expected. According to the "Journal des Debats," thirty-four persons were killed or wounded by the discharge; of these sixteen died on the spot, or immediately after their removal from it; and all the wounds were of a dangerous nature. Out of eight victims who were carried to one hospital (Hôpital Saint Louis), four were obliged to undergo amputation. Several women and children, who had gone to the review as to a *fête*, were either killed or wounded. Near to the spot where the brave old Duke of Treviso (Marshal Mortier) fell dead, the Generals Colbert, Heymés, Pilet, and Blin were all dangerously wounded. Besides bullets and shot the murderer had charged the barrels of his infernal machine with rusty nails, oblong square pieces of iron, and other missiles, so that most of those who were struck at all, had not one but several wounds. General Heymé's coat was pierced in four different places, besides which a ball struck him in the face. The spectacle of the anguish and despair of the survivors was in some instances more horrible than all the rest. In one place a mother was shrieking over the lifeless body of a beautiful female child only eight years of age; in another a father was fixed in silent, motionless despair by the remains of his daughter, a handsome girl of seventeen; in another a wife lay wounded by the side of her dead husband.

A day of solemn religious ceremonies, including prayers for the dead, and thanksgiving for those who had escaped, was fixed for the 4th of August; and on the 31st of July, Louis Philippe addressed a letter to all the French bishops, calling upon them to have these services celebrated in every church of their respective dioceses. But, before this circular left Paris, the Cardinal Prince de Croi, Archbishop of Rouen, affected by the recent catastrophe, of his own volun-
after-thought, repeated instructions addressed a letter on the 30th of July to all
made, with the ob to the same effect as the King's note. This
by Mr. Hume for th not unimportant. Ever since the revolu-
into the Orange L and the expulsion of the elder branch of
Mr. Hume's opinion atholic church, and especially the high
day, when it was ag dignitaries of that church, have studiously kept themselves apart from the new dynasty, showing, not indeed an active hostility (which they dared not do), but a silent aversion to the present government. The Archbishop of Rouen has been the first to show symptoms of reconciliation and good will; other great churchmen have followed his example, and the crime of Fieschi has had the effect of somewhat uniting the church and state, which for five years had stood separate and diffident, in mutual ill-humour and suspicion. If we judge only of the population of Paris and the great cities, the whole matter will be indifferent enough; but in the southern and western provinces, in central France, and among the country people pretty generally there is still some religious feeling and a Catholic tendency more or less strong, and there are many men and more women who would never believe that Louis Philippe was their lawful king, as long as Monsieur le Curé asserted or implied that he was *not*. Therefore the circumstance *is* important, and we are not surprised to see all the government papers treat it as such.

On the 31st of July, seven young men who were all "ouvriers bijoutiers *en faux*," or, what we may call *journeymen Brummagem jewellers*, and all dressed à la Robespierre, attempted to get up an *émeute* by shouting "Down with Louis Philippe—Long live the Republic!" but with the recent tragedy in their minds, none were found to join this farce, and the working people of Paris assisted the gens-d'armes in seizing the rioters and conveying them to prison.

On the day after the explosion in the faubourg, the minister of justice ordered a series of arrests, and some few persons have been daily arrested on suspicion ever since. Among these we find scarcely an individual of any name or note. In a list before us, we see tailors, stone-cutters, weavers, lock-smiths, and rag-sellers, the most conspicuous man named being a certain Napoleon-Narcissus Rabouin, who is set down as a "rentier," or private gentleman living on his rents, a designation assumed by half the vagabonds of Paris who have no visible means of subsistence. A few students in law and medicine, appear however to have been seized since the list was drawn up, and a number of editors of newspapers and writers in the Carlist and Republican journals have been arrested, and their papers stopped. Co-temporary with these proceedings, the police visited all the shops in Paris where caricatures of the members of the royal family, the government and church, and obscene books were sold, and made a general seizure.

On the 4th of August, the president of the Council, the Duke de Broglie, proposed to the Chamber of Deputies a series of severe, and we must add, arbitrary laws, for the punishment and prevention of state crimes and attempts at revolution. The first class of these laws was directed wholly and solely against the press, of the dangerous fanaticism and profound immorality of which the Duke complained in strong terms, though he did not expressly identify any part of the press with Fieschi's attempt. M. Persil, the Minister of Justice, who followed the President, went farther than the Duke, declaring, that though the censorship, abolished for ever by the revolution of 1830, should not be re-established, nor so much as mentioned, yet "ministers wished to render a Republican and Carlist press *impossible;* for the existence of such a press was incompatible with the very principle of the government."

The following are some of the more important clauses of the tremendous bill, which tends to the annihilation of *all* free printing:—

"Art. 1. Any one found guilty of an offence against the person of the King by any mode of publication whatever, to be punished with imprisonment and fine of from 400*l.* to 2000*l.*

"2. For ridiculing the person or authority of the King, from six months to five years in prison—fine 20*l.* to 400*l.* The offender moreover to be deprived of the whole or part of the civil rights mentioned in article 42 of the Penal Code, for the entire duration of his penalty, and for a term equal to that of the imprisonment to which he may have been condemned.

"3. For mentioning or even ALLUDING to the NAME of the King in any disquisition upon the acts of government, imprisonment from one month to a year, and a fine of from 20*l.* to 200*l.*

"4. To reflect in writing upon the form and principle of the King's government, or to put forth any direct or indi-

rect provocation to change them, is high treason, to be punished by detention (unlimited) and fine of from 400*l.* to 2000*l.*

"5. Whoso shall publicly avow himself a Republican, or suggest a wish, hope, or threat, that the Government ought to assume that form, to be imprisoned from six months to five years, and fined from 20*l.* to 400*l.*

"6. Similar denunciation to the letter against all who shall call themselves Carlists, or profess Carlist views of government.

"7. A journal convicted twice, to be fined doubly, and even four times the amount for every succeeding offence.

"8. Any editor opening subscriptions to pay off a fine, to be imprisoned for that offence from one month to one year, and fined from 20*l.* to 200*l.*

"9. Forbids publishing the names of jurors, either before or after political trials.

"10. Every editor must sign each number of his paper. Any editor who may beforehand have signed a blank sheet, to be punished correctionally with imprisonment, for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 20*l.* to 120*l.*

"11. Refusing to insert government contradictions of statements (being previously paid)—imprisonment one month to a year, and fine from 20*l.* to 200*l.*

"12. An editor refusing to disclose the name of the author of any article, imprisonment for that offence alone, from a month to a year, and fine from 40*l.* to 200*l.*

"13. A new editor must be named if a journal is to continue its publication during the imprisonment of an editor for any breach of the laws against the press.

"14. No engravings, drawings, lithographic prints, or emblems of any description to be published, exposed, or sold, without the authorisation, in Paris, of the Minister of the Interior, and in the departments, of the prefect—fine from 4*l.* to 40*l.* and imprisonment.

"15 and 16 relate to political representations at the theatres, which are proscribed under severe penalties."

There are twenty-one more articles in this Bill, chiefly of a technical nature, but some of them are devised to give the law-officers of the Crown an advantage over the defendant, and to narrow the right of appeal to the Court of Cassation. Another Bill cuts up root and branch all that is valuable in trial by jury. It proposes to authorize secret voting, and in lieu of unanimity, empowers a jury to return a verdict of guilty by a majority of 7 to 5.

A third Bill relates to the treatment the tribunals should give to contumacious prisoners who refuse to plead, misconducting themselves and insulting the court, as was recently practised by the Lyons and Paris Republicans.

The Chamber of Deputies named three separate committees to consider these project of law, and a majority appeared inclined to vote for the bills in their full extent, or with very slight modifications. The first bill, carried by a majority in the Deputies, of 229 to 149, was that relating to the jury. The press bill now under discussion, will probably have an equal number of votes in its favour, and among the amendments and addenda proposed, all that we have seen go to increase rather than diminish the rigour of the measures. One of the new provisions is, that the obligatory deposit of 50,000 francs now required from newspaper proprietors as security for the payment of damages and costs in case of action or prosecution, shall be raised to 200,000 francs, or about 8000*l.* sterling; an amount not easily obtained by literary or political speculators in France.

On the 14th of August the peers pronounced sentence on the Lyons' prisoners, condemning the more culpable to transportation or long imprisonment, and the rest to the surveillance of the police. The Court has since adjourned until the last week of September, when they will proceed with the trial of the other political prisoners.

It appears that Fieschi is not likely to die of his wounds, but that he obstinately refuses to make any revelation. A special commission has been despatched to Corsica, his native country, to inquire into the assassin's connexions and motives.

These details, which however speak "trumpet-tongued" for themselves, have occupied so much room that there is none left for remark or comment. We deeply deplore what has happened, and what is taking place; nor can we help thinking that Louis Philippe might have made a more liberal, a wiser, and every way better use of the sanguinary catastrophe, and of the active sympathy it created in his favour. As it is, France must cease to take her rank among the constitutional and free governments of Europe. Her liberty is now not worth a pint of *vin ordinaire*. Ministers affirm that the French people are not fit for the enjoyment of liberty: we shall soon see how they will tolerate a despotism as complete as that which Charles X. only contemplated, and for the contemplation of which they drove him from his throne and country.

SPAIN.

The affairs of this unhappy country have been proceeding in as bad a manner as possible. Inactivity or defeat in the field, dissentions in the cabinet, insubordination and outrage among the people, are among the most prominent and saddening features that present themselves, and announce something very like a fast-coming and general anarchy. Instead of turning their arms against the pretender, and ending the horrors of a civil war by heroic actions and patriotic sacrifices, Spaniards have been massacring defenceless monks and plundering convents. Instead of rallying round their infant Queen and the Constitution as now established, which affords them a reasonable prospect of freedom, a set of incurable fanatics and mad ultra-liberal students, who cannot or will not see the character and inclination of the vast majority of their own countrymen, have been setting up the standard of revolt against the Queen, embarrassing beyond the power of calculation all the operations of the government, and affording the finest opportunities and the brighest hopes to the despotic party, who, if they succeed, will succeed mainly through the insanity of these men that are dreaming of a republic or democracy, utterly impossible in Spain, as incompatible with all the feelings and notions of the mass of the people.

We have all along apprehended these dissensions and outbreaks, and we have been looking in vain for *one* man with the qualities of a statesman—for a single glimpse of practical political wisdom of a high order among the Spanish legislators. Spain seems to have lost her energy of production, and the mould in which such men are formed. Wars, and revolutions, and representative assemblies, which call forth talent and genius elsewhere, seem to have been thrown away upon her.

Trace her through the war of the French invasion, the Cortes of 1812, the revolution and Cortes of 1820, the campaign against the Bourbon army of the Duke of Angoulême in 1823, and then again in the Cortes of 1834, and what has Spain put forth beyond a guerilla chief or two, wholly incapable of conducting a regular army, and some half dozen of flashy orators, whose political wisdom and administrative talents bore no proportion to the brilliancy and enthusiasm of their set speeches? This is a melancholy fact, which almost makes us despair of the Constitutional cause in Spain.

It appears that the system of a gradual suppression of the monastic orders has been given up, as not being in accordance with the impatience of the movement party and with the wants of the government. At the end of July, Count Toreno in one paper ordered the immodiate sale of 900 convents, the money proceeding from which was to be paid, on account, to the *home* debt, which bears no interest. This preference to the domestic over the foreign creditor has much shocked the impartiality of our Stock-Exchange. The total number of the monks atrociously murdered by the Urban militia and the mob in different cities, is stated as high as eighty; and, besides these, many other persons have been killed in riots at Barcelona, Saragossa, and Seville. In consequence of the insurrection at Barcelona, Llauder, the Captain-General of Catalonia, and one of the best friends of the existing Constitution, has been obliged to flee with his family into France, where he bitterly complains of the state of destitution and abandonment in which he was left at a moment of crisis by the cabinet at Madrid.

On the 10th of August Don Carlos marched upon Vitoria, and it should seem that his troops are now penetrating into the interior of Old Castile. Meanwhile the English and other foreign levies are pouring into the Peninsula to strengthen the Queen's party, and the French legions from Algiers, which sailed from Africa early in August, are in all probability safely landed before this. Tejano, moreover, is said to have pressed the Cabinet of Lisbon for the immediate marching of the Portuguese contingent.

The insurrections and revolts in the provinces caused the greatest consternation in Madrid, where the Council of Ministers sat for a whole day and night, distracted and divided in opinion as to the measures to be adopted. People expected that the storm would burst in the capital also, nor were they disappointed in the sad expectation.

On Saturday the 15th of August, amidst the cries of "Long live the constitution of Isabella II.," and "Death to Ministers—death to Toreno," "Long live Liberty," the infantry of the Urban militia rose against the government, and fortified themselves in the great square, or Plaza Real, by overturning carts and carriages and erecting barricades. They then got up a petition to the throne, praying for a change of men and measures, for the total extinction of convents, and the immediate order of a levy of 200,000 men to be sent against the Carlists. There they stopped, and, after changing the name of the "Royal Square" into that of "Constitution Square," they passed the night under arms in singing Riego's hymn, "Tragala Peros," and other liberal songs. From the beginning it was evident that these burgher soldiers were more inclined to make a noise than to come to blows; but the aspect of things was, notwithstanding, very alarming.

On the 16th the Queen Regent, who was absent at Ildefonso, sent in a royal decree declaring Madrid to be in a state of siege, and calling upon all the military and civil authorities to repair instantly to their posts.

Fortunately the troops of the line in garrison, under the command of General Espeleta, and the artillery remained steady, and these, being joined by most of the cavalry of the militia, put down the mutineers without firing or receiving a shot, and the whole affair ended, *for the moment*, in a few knife and dagger assassinations, the Urbanos cutting the throats of some men suspected of royalism. We shall probably have to relate a frightful sequel to this disgusting story, in our next Number.

PORTUGAL.

THE Ministry has been again changed. Senhor Jose da Silva Carvalho has been recalled to the office of Finance Minister, and has introduced into the cabinet Senhor Rodrigo de Fonseca Magalhaes as Minister for the Home Department. The change is attributed to the total incapacity of Senhor Campos, and the general discredit which his financial operations were throwing on the country. It is said that the new Minister will be supported by all the monied interest of Portugal. The Marquises Saldanha and Loule, and the Duke of Palmella, remain at the head of the departments of War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs.

The official paper, the 'Diario do Goberno,' published some important government measures towards the end of July last, and among others some decrees regulating the municipal affairs of Portugal on a new plan, and dividing the country according to a different arrangement. Another decree is one dated the 22nd, signed by the Duke of Palmella, announcing that the treaty of 1810, between England and Portugal, is suspended. The ministerial journals justify the suspension on the ground that our government violated the treaty by reducing the duties on French wines, and equalizing them with the duties on Port wine, &c. The last corps of the English troops in the service of Donna Maria has been ordered to be paid off. The sale of the national property continues, and with more success than had been in general anticipated.

SOUTH AMERICA.

SINCE we last noticed this part of the world, there may have been some half dozen of revolts, petty revolutions, or preludes to things of that sort; but though, no doubt, each of them has been destructive of some individual comfort and prosperity, as political events affecting the rest of the world, they have all been very contemptible. We subjoin an account of the *last*, which happened in Venezuela. This account is taken from an English letter dated Caraccas, July 9th, a day or two after the event:—"The night after the packet was dispatched from this place, which sailed from La Guayra yesterday, a revolution broke out here, headed by the party called Bolivians, who seduced the few troops which were in garrison, took prisoner their colonel and captains, and proceeded to arrest the authorities. Dr. Vargas, the President, the Vice-President, and the Councillors of State, are all confined as prisoners in the Government House. The rebels have proclaimed General Marino their chief. Our Consul applied to the new Governor, who replied, most satisfactorily, that all property would be respected. There is, in my opinion, nothing to fear in this respect. General Paez is at his estate, and within six days will, in all probability, take part with the constitutional government and upset the rebels. His name alone is an army. As this is a most unexpected event, and of a novel character, it is possible that some time may be required to put things in order." The writer of this letter seems to be a cool, sensible person, for he adds—"We are accustomed to revolutions here, and they sound more than they really are. No bloodshed will take place, except perhaps amongst the rebels." *Tant mieux!*

MEXICO.

THERE has also been a struggle in Mexico, which has terminated in the overthrow of the army of the Federal Constitution, and the establishment of a new form of government, having the President Santa Anna at its head, with the title of Emperor, or Dictator.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

July 29. Michael Thomas Sadler, Esq., formerly M.P. for Newark, and afterwards for Aldborough, in Yorkshire, and so well known for his exertions in connexion with the factory question, and for his works on population and on Ireland, died at Belfast of disease of the heart, aged fifty-five,

August 1. Their Majesties, accompanied by a large party, and attended by the civic authorities of the City of London, in their barges, &c., went by water from Whitehall Stairs to Greenwich. After inspecting Greenwich Hospital, and partaking of refreshments at the house of Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, governor of of the hospital, the royal party returned up the river.

3. Considerable excitement prevailed in Dublin from the circumstance of a meeting being held there, for the purpose of censuring a speech made at a corporation meeting by the Recorder, Mr. Shaw, M.P. The meeting being threatened with interruption by a band of Orangemen, who had broken up a previous meeting called for the same purpose, the people were induced to assemble armed with bludgeons and other weapons. Upwards of 20,000 persons were present, and the meeting passed off quietly, with the exception of a tumult caused by the attempt of about two hundred men to force their way to the platform, in which a number of individuals were injured.

5. The fifth annual meeting of the British Association for the advancement of Science commenced at Dublin. On the 15th the Provost of Trinity College gave an entertainment to about three hundred members, including all the foreigners then in the city. Before dinner the company assembled in the library of the University, when the Lord Lieutenant, who was one of the guests, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Professor, now Sir William Hamilton (the Professor of Astronomy in the University). Mr. Thomas Moore, who had been admitted a member of the association by acclamation, and without payment of the usual fees, was also among the guests, and an entire absence of party feeling and political allusion distinguished the entertainment,

13. At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, it was moved by Dr. P. Macfarlane, that the Commission lately appointed by the Crown for inquiring into the opportunities of religious worship and means of pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland was composed of men whose principles did not entitle them to the confidence of the friends of the Church. After some discussion, the motion was carried by a majority of 90 to 3.

— A Chapter of the Order of the Garter was held by his Majesty at Windsor Castle, when Prince George of Cumberland and Prince George of Cambridge were elected knights, with the usual ceremonies.

Meetings have been held during the month in almost all the large towns and cities of England, for the purpose of petitioning both Houses of Parliament in favour of the Municipal Reform Bills.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East.* *Clerk*, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 34. OCTOBER 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Working of the New Poor Law	477	Public General Acts — Session 1835	492
Report of Commissioners of Excise Inquiry on the Glass Manufacture	482	Parliamentary Abstracts	494
Prison Discipline and Prison Education in America	486	Trade, Statistics, &c.	495
The Trade with China since the Abolition of the Monopoly	491	Parliamentary Register	495
		Political Retrospect for September	496
		Chronicle of Occurrences	500

THE WORKING OF THE NEW POOR LAW.

It will be recollected that by one of the clauses of the late Poor Law Amendment Act the three commissioners appointed to carry the act into execution are directed to submit annually a general report of their proceedings to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in order that it may be laid before both Houses of Parliament. The first Report made by the commissioners in compliance with this provision has just been printed, and is one of the most satisfactory, as well as most interesting, public documents to which our attention has ever been called. It is intended, we understand, to reprint it immediately in a form suitable for general circulation, and therefore we shall not attempt to give any minute abstract of it here; that task, indeed, would be one of no little difficulty, owing to the compactness of the form in which the facts and arguments are presented, and the great economy of words which is preserved throughout the statement, along with the utmost clearness and sufficiency of explanation. The importance of the subject however is such that we must shortly notice a few of the variety of points adverted to in the Report, were it only with the view of thereby exciting our readers to procure and peruse the document for themselves.

The first exertions of the commissioners were directed to the removal of certain misapprehensions respecting the provisions of the new act which were found to prevail extensively among parochial functionaries. For this purpose, in addition to a vast number of answers to individual applications, several circulars were successively addressed to all the parishes in England and Wales. One of these, dated the 8th of November last, set forth, as general recommendations, some of the chief preparatory measures which it might be necessary to adopt in introducing the new system. "In the instances of voluntary change made by the parish officers," says the Report, "it was stated that the most severe alterations were too frequently adopted towards the aged and infirm persons, they being the least capable of opposing a powerful resistance. In this communication, as in most others relating to the first alterations of relief, we deemed it necessary to urge caution as regarded this class of paupers, and to endeavour to extend protection to them. With reference to the able-bodied paupers, we endeavoured to enforce the adoption of a more correct principle for their employment, namely, by task work, at such wages as would render the condition of the independent labourer the most eligible. Another measure, which we then urged in our recommendations, as a preparative to the final adoption of the system which it was the view of the legislature to carry into complete operation, was the gradual substitution of relief in kind, *i. e.* in bread, and other necessaries, for relief in money. We have never failed to urge the adoption of this form of relief, whether in cases in which it was necessary to give relief accompanied by the exaction of a return of labour, or in cases in which it appeared that no parish labour could be enforced."—p. 6.

Among the advantages connected with relief in kind, one is mentioned which is not commonly noticed, namely, that "in the present condition of the country, it diminishes the fluctuations of allowance in the way of unintended and unwarranted increases." The commissioners add, "The reports which we have received from a considerable number of parishes, show that the recommendation of this substitution of relief in kind has been extensively acted upon, and that the effects in every instance that has been presented to us, have been, to a greater or less extent, beneficial. In some of the London parishes the adoption of this form of relief has occasioned a reduction of the burthen of the out-door pauperism to the extent of nearly one-third. In the rural parishes the change is marked by complaints on the part of the beer-shopkeepers, and in towns by the diminished consumption of gin, immediately following the adoption of this mode of relief."—p. 7.

The circumstances in which many parishes were placed, however, led the commissioners to direct their chief attention to the general introduction, as speedily as possible, of the workhouse system. Many difficulties and disadvantages were found in practice to be incidental to the mode of relieving able bodied paupers by setting them to work during the day, and allowing them to return to their own homes during the night. "Without, therefore," continue the commissioners, "omitting to sanction or enforce the application of out-door labour in aid of or as preparatory to the use of the workhouse, wherever preponderant obstacles and inconveniences did not occur to prevent it, we have been led to the conclusion, that in the greater proportion of cases the public time and means are best economized by immediate proceedings for the earliest and most direct adoption of the workhouse system."—p. 8.

The nine assistant commissioners whom the commissioners were authorised to appoint in the first instance on their own authority were not all appointed till the 1st of December. Subsequently six additional assistant commissioners have been appointed with the consent of the Lords of the Treasury. With this agency the commissioners have been engaged in taking steps for the establishment of the workhouse system by the uniting of parishes in various parts of the country. "The principle," they observe, "which we have adopted for the selection of the districts for our proceedings in the formation of unions, has been to commence with those in which vicious modes of administration had become the most deeply rooted, and where the pauperized classes were the most demoralized, and the burthens of the rate-payers were the heaviest. It was, however, soon perceived in practice that the amount of the pecuniary burthen beyond the general average of the amount of rates per head on the population of England and Wales, formed the most correct index of the relative amount of disorder arising in a district from mal-administration."—p. 9.

The applications made by parishes for the appointment of Boards of Guardians have been numerous, the commissioners state, beyond their power of immediate compliance. "In several instances, however," they add, "where we have so far complied with them that we have caused an assistant commissioner to visit the district, it has been found upon examination that although evils of the [illegible] did exist, yet that in amount they were [illegible] below the evils in action elsewhere, we directed a suspension of proceedings in favour of the most heavily burdened districts."—p. 9.

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

In all their proceedings in relation to parishes the commissioners of course act upon the reports of their assistant commissioners, who have personally investigated the circumstances of the case. The manner in which the inquiry is conducted appears to be well adapted both to obtain the necessary information and to secure for the measures to be taken the approbation and support of the interests immediately concerned. "It has been a general practice," says the Report, "with each assistant commissioner, before finally determining upon his recommendations with relation to any district, to convene a meeting of the parties the most deeply interested in the proposed arrangements, namely, the principal owners and rate-payers and parish officers. At this meeting he has explained the measures which it was his intention to recommend to the board for adoption, and has invited the exposition of any objections, and the suggestion of any additions, to those measures.

"It is satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that in scarcely any instance have the measures thus submitted for a change of system in any district failed of obtaining the concurrence of a large majority of the meeting. In the greater proportion of cases the measures proposed have met with almost unanimous approbation."—p. 10.

Various important advantages are obtained by the union of parishes. Among others "it has," to use the words of the Report, "been proved that the expense and loss of time in building new workhouses may, in many cases, be saved by a union of parishes and the combination of their existing workhouses and poor-houses, by assigning one or two classes of the paupers to one of the separate workhouses within the district, which house would be unsuitable to the more extended classification of paupers required even for a single parish." Again, it is stated that "in several of the unions the expense of management by paid officers giving the whole of their services to the parishes united, is found to be less than the personal expenses heretofore charged to the rate-payers by the unpaid annual officers." "Another advantage of extended management," the commissioners remark, "has been manifested in the course of our proceedings, namely, the abatement of the influence of local jealousies and animosities." "The most convenient limits of unions which we have found," they add, "has been that of a circle, taking a market-town as a centre, and comprehending those surrounding parishes whose inhabitants are accustomed to resort to the same market. This arrangement was found highly convenient for the weekly attendances of the parish officers, and some portion of the guardians and other auxiliaries to good management were derived from the town itself."—p. 12.

It is to be observed, however, that the use made of the workhouse under the new system is entirely different from that contemplated by the act commonly called Gilbert's Act and by many local acts, which direct that the only persons received into the workhouse shall be children, and "such as are become indigent by old age, sickness, or infirmities, and are unable to acquire a maintenance by their labour." The principle of the new system is to consider the workhouse as the depôt of the whole pauperism of the parish or union, and its principal use as being for the reception of able-bodied paupers. Were there no able-bodied paupers, or no danger of such making their appearance, workhouses might be dispensed with. Comparatively little inconvenience would be occasioned by dispensing relief to children, and aged, and sick persons, at their own homes, if these were the only descriptions of persons that ever became, or threatened to become, paupers. But to meet and stay the spreading plague of able-bodied pauperism, little or nothing can be done without workhouses. We cannot better illustrate this than by transcribing a portion of the evidence as quoted in the present Report of the Rev. Thomas Whately, the gentleman who conducted the processes which were so successfully applied before the new act was passed in dispauperizing the parish of Cookham in Berkshire. "You have spoken of the workhouse system as the only means of producing the desired effect, and yet you appear to have dispauperized the parish without offering the able-bodied paupers the workhouse?—Yes. Although we got rid of the able-bodied paupers by giving them trenching, and without taking them into the workhouse, yet that was only a temporary expedient; and it would not have been possible to have effected this without having had the workhouse in the rear to fall back upon: nor will it be possible, as I conceive, to continue the beneficial arrangements in the parish without it. The first irruption of paupers were got rid of by specific labour; but the incidental paupers, who were continually coming as the *avant couriers* to a tribe of others, could not have been provided with work, especially in the time of frost or snow; and these were silenced by the offer of the workhouse. When a single pauper came in, we could not provide out-door work: we could not have employed a superintendent to superintend the work of one man, nor could we have got trenching for one man, or for two men. If we had not had the workhouse to retire upon, we should have had an influx of paupers applying for work during the winter, whenever the ground was closed by frost or snow. The workhouse, we have found, is the only means of stopping gaps of this kind; and I am persuaded that it is the only means by which the same results can be effected throughout the country."—pp. 7, 8.

Guided by these views the commissioners state that they have invariably felt it their duty, as an indispensable preliminary to any beneficial change of system, to advise the immediate dissolution of the unions formed under the authority of Gilbert's Act and other local acts involving the same principles. The incorporations formed under these acts they have generally found among the most deeply pauperized of the districts which the assistant commissioners have examined.

Along with the extension of the districts of management, the commissioners have had their attention called to the election and constitution of the Boards of Guardians created by the new act. It being provided by the act that the votes of the rate-payers in the election of the Guardians "shall be given or taken in writing, collected and returned in such manner as the said commissioners should direct," the commissioners have prescribed that the mode of voting shall be by a paper drawn up according to a certain form, which shall be left by the parochial officers at the house of each rate-payer, in order that he may set forth upon it in his own handwriting the name of the person or persons for whom he votes, and which after having been left with him one clear day shall be called for by the collecting officer. "We must observe," they say, "upon the preceding statement, that by leaving the vote to be certified at the house of the voter, he is enabled to perform the act with more calmness and deliberation than we believe is obtainable by any mode of voting in ordinary practice. As the progress of the votes is unknown, so are the motives to use undue means to affect the result diminished, and the voter is proportionately shielded from the use of those means. Though the process required additional officers for the collection of the votes, we should nevertheless consider the arrangement economical: for, supposing one officer should be capable of collecting within the prescribed time three hundred votes, we deem it the best economy of the public time that one officer should be required to go to three hundred persons and collect their votes, in a form which at the same time serves for the formation of the most perfect register, than that three hundred persons should, in order to exercise their franchise, be taken from their business and to a distant place of election, and lose their time amidst tumult and the liability to insult in attending to have their votes registered by one officer."—p. 16.

In the great majority of instances the elections of the new Boards of Guardians have been made unanimously; but in the instances where contests have taken place the mode of voting above described has been found to answer perfectly. At the election in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields voting papers were collected from 1522 persons, whereas at no previous election, even when the most strenuous exertions were used, had the number of voters exceeded 750.

The Guardians having been elected, it next became necessary to settle the manner in which these functionaries were to proceed in conducting their business. The leading principle adopted by the commissioners on this head was, that the substitution of the new system for the old should be very gradually effected. A few simple rules for the regulation of out-door relief were in the first instance laid down; while "to make the transition still more easy," continues the Report, "a distant day has usually been fixed for the peremptory operation of the rules, leaving an interval for their gradual enforcement, according to the discretion of the Guardians. In some cases this period has been further extended at the request of the Boards. In many

cases modifications of the rules, either as to their matter, or as to the time of their enforcement, appeared necessary to adapt them to the wants of the district; and as yet these regulations have not been promulgated as general rules. In districts where the administration of relief is in advance of the pauperized districts, the rules have been modified to promote a further advance. In the Cookham union we have ordered that all out-door relief to the able-bodied shall be discontinued. We have established that in the parish of Sandridge no out-door relief whatsoever shall be allowed."

The commissioners have been able to carry their plans into effect without the erection of many new workhouses, those already existing having been employed whenever they could be made even partially available for the new system. In upwards of 2000 parishes, which have been formed into 112 unions, the total number of new workhouses at this time in preparation is stated to be only thirty-seven.

The Report now proceeds to advert to the regulations which it has been deemed necessary to lay down for the management of the paupers who become inmates of the workhouses. Of these one which the commissioners consider as essential to good workhouse management, is the separation of the sexes in separate apartments, usually of the same house. The statement contained in the Report upon this point is particularly deserving of attention, and cannot, we think, be perused by any candid and unprejudiced mind without removing any feeling which may have been imbibed adverse to the course adopted by the commissioners. The fact, they observe, is "that in nearly all the workhouses in the larger metropolitan parishes, and in all the well-regulated and efficient workhouses throughout the country, the rule which we propose to continue has been acted upon for many years." "All the past experience," they afterwards add, "of well-managed workhouses proves that the continued residence in the workhouse of any considerable proportion of the usual out-door paupers would be but temporary. In none of the new unions where the workhouse system has been applied have any considerable number of married couples, who were out-door paupers, accepted relief within the workhouse. The instances of the reception of married couples, even temporarily, into the workhouse, where the separation of the sexes is enforced, are extremely rare; we can only therefore contemplate the necessity of submitting to the rule as likely to occur in a small proportion of the cases of the out-door paupers, and in those cases only as occurring for a short time. Permanent domiciliation in a workhouse is the result we least of all contemplate as arising from the proposed arrangement. Should that result occur in any peculiar localities, we should consider that the cases called for the application of other remedies, and amongst them, of a migration to a field where the demand for labour is more extensive and certain. We therefore apprehend that it would be a most dangerous experiment were we to authorize such a new and extensive qualification of the recognized workhouse system, as might have the effect of domiciliating and reconciling to a habitation in a workhouse, a class which, experience clearly proves, would not otherwise be induced to accept of this mode of relief."

It appears, besides, from the foreign communications to the late Commissioners of Inquiry, that the rule in question is adopted in the most efficient workhouses in the United States, and generally in every civilized country in Europe where a system of relief, analogous to relief in a workhouse, prevails.

One of the most interesting sections of the Report is that which relates to the result of the experiment that has been made of facilitating the migration of families of labourers from the southern agricultural to the northern manufacturing counties. The commissioners, however, appear to have been led by their inquiries to entertain considerable doubts as to the reality, or at least as to the extent, of the superabundant population generally asserted to exist in the former part of the kingdom. "In the rural districts, where the allowance system prevails," they observe, "it is common to represent the whole of those who are for any considerable period thrown upon the rates as a surplus population. Until the system of making allowances in aid of wages, or of making the parish the labour mart, is completely eradicated; until relief is given only under circumstances rendering the acceptance of it conclusive evidence of entire destitution; until the acceptor is taken completely upon the parish, and this change of system has been made, not only in the single parish, but throughout the district, and has been for some time in operation, we should, as at present advised, scarcely feel warranted in pronouncing on the reality of the strongest cases of an apparent surplus of population which have at any time been presented to us. We have had instances of parishes which appeared, *primâ facie*, to be burthened with a surplus population of more than one-third, which surplus has been absorbed almost entirely within the parish itself, by the operation of the workhouse system."

In most districts, nevertheless, it is admitted "are found large families of children, widows with young families capable of labour, but for whom there appears to be no immediate employment within the rural districts." On the other hand, "the rate of wages for families comprehending three or four working hands in the manufacturing districts, is at least double the amount of the best wages obtained by families of the same description within the agricultural districts; and, moreover, the demand for labour at such wages is steadily increasing."

"On these grounds," the commissioners proceed, "we directed a circular letter, of the date of 2nd of March, to be sent to certain of the manufacturers in Lancashire and other districts, where we were informed that there existed the greatest demand for labourers. In this letter we offered to those who had a demand for labourers, to make the circumstances known in rural parishes containing families willing to migrate, from whom such a selection could be made as might meet the wishes of the employer. . . . . The first trial of the measure was made in the parish of Bledlow, Bucks, where it had been represented to us that numerous families were subsisting in extreme distress, and where it was threatened that the lands would be thrown out of cultivation, in consequence of the increasing burthen of the rates.

"We found greater reluctance on the parts of the labourers to accept offers of employment than we anticipated. It had been previously made known within the district, that our proceedings were preparatory to the gradual abolition of all out-door relief to the able-bodied, and the introduction of the workhouse system; but we were desirous that the migration should be voluntary on the parts of the pauperized labourers. We had not sanctioned the withdrawal of their accustomed allowance, or countenanced any intimation of such a reduction as being likely to follow their refusal. That this might not be done, we directed the assistant-commissioners to communicate the offers personally to the families who were dependent on the rates. He went from house to house of the labourers' families of that parish who had stated that they were the most deeply distressed, who had in their public memorial addressed to the Board, declared that they were then living only on 7*s.* per week wages, obtained by families consisting of several individuals. To these he successively offered engagements for constant employment, on terms ensuring about 24*s.* per week per family of four working hands, for the first year of their service, and 30*s.* for the second. But not one family could in the first instance be induced to accept the offer. The majority intimated that they would in preference, in the coming spring, renounce their 'parish pay' rather than remove. After this general refusal, one family was persuaded to accept; before their departure another family accepted employment on the terms proposed. After these had departed, and had tried their new situations, a number of others accepted the offers, making in all eighty-three individuals who migrated from that parish. Subsequently, a large migration took place from the parish of Princes Risborough, and the example was followed in other places without our intervention. . . . . The results are in substance, that nearly the whole of the individuals who have migrated are now in constant employment in Lancashire, and earning collectively as families, three times the amount of wages which they had at any time earned in the districts which they had quitted. They have been provided with superior cottages, which they have been enabled to furnish by means of advances of money from their employers, to be repaid by instalments from their wages. They have abundant supplies of fuel, at such low rates as to be enabled to enjoy the luxury of a fire to an extent unknown to the labourers of the southern counties. The head of the first family who migrated declared that not all the horses in Buckinghamshire should draw himself and family back to his parish. Similar ex-

pressions of satisfaction at the change were made by others of the heads of families to Dr. Kay. The employers of the workpeople have expressed themselves well satisfied with the conduct of these southern families, and have declared their intention of seeking families from the same districts in the event of their requiring additional hands. On the other hand, the migrants have been cordially received by the established manufacturing operatives. This circumstance is accounted for partly by their natural preference for their own countrymen, and partly from the fact that the adult operatives participate in the advantages of a supply of young working hands, as the increase is requisite for the advancement of their own more skilled labour. It has been reported to us, that so sensible have been the adult operatives of those districts of the necessity of an increased supply of hands, that although they have sometimes been guilty of acts of riot to prevent the introduction of new machinery, scarcely any instances are on record where they have taken steps to resist with violence the influx of new hands.

"The effect of the migration upon the parishes has been a proportionate reduction of the rates. It has been reported to us that in the parish of Bledlow, where the experiment was first tried, the rates were reduced one half, mainly in consequence of the migration."

In conclusion, the commissioners express themselves upon this head as follows:—

"To whatever extent it may be found expedient to promote further migration, we should in no case promote a removal of any labourers to the manufacturing districts where there was not a clear and specific demand for the labourers to be removed; and in all cases we deem the gradual absorption, family by family, preferable to the removal of considerable numbers. The expenses of these removals have, in the first instance, mostly been defrayed by the parishes from which the families have been removed. These expenses have been considered as relief. The expense of removal of 113 persons from Princes Risborough was 1*l.* per head."

It appears that the expedient of foreign or colonial emigration, for which the act authorizes parishes to raise money by loans, either from the Commissioners of Exchequer Bills, or from private individuals, has been very sparingly resorted to. Only nineteen parishes have borrowed the sum of 2473*l.*, with which they have sent abroad 320 individuals, mostly to Upper Canada. The number of applications from parishes is stated to have been 80 in all; but the commissioners add—"It is a remarkable fact, that hitherto no demands for the sanction to emigration have been made to us from any of the parishes which have been wholly or partially dispauperized; nor have we at present any reason to expect that this cautionary provision of the legislature will be extensively used."

The amount of what the commissioners have accomplished during the first year the system has been in operation is summed up in the following statement:—

"The total number of parishes which have been united by us since the 6th of December last, the date of the first union, and subjected to the progressive introduction of the new act, is 2066, constituting 112 unions. The population of the parishes united and placed under Boards of Guardians forms one-tenth of the population of England and Wales; but in consequence of the most heavily-burthened districts being selected for our earliest proceedings, the proportion of the rates affected by the change is one-sixth of the total amount of rates in England and Wales.

"In the county of Kent eight old incorporations have been dissolved by consent; 211 parishes have been formed into 13 unions, which include the whole of East Kent.

"In the county of Sussex five old incorporations have been dissolved, and 242 parishes, comprising nearly the whole of the county, have been formed into 16 unions.

"Nearly the whole of Hants has been re-organized into 21 unions, comprising 275 parishes.

"The whole of the county of Berks has now been united into 11 unions, comprising 176 parishes.

"In the county of Oxford 185 parishes have been formed into five unions.

"The greater proportion of the county of Bucks has been included in seven unions, comprising 162 parishes.

"In the county of Suffolk three of the old incorporations have been dissolved, and 129 parishes have been united into four unions.

"In the county of Northampton 153 parishes have been formed into seven unions.

"In the county of Cambridge 61 parishes have been united into three unions.

"In the county of Essex 91 parishes have been united into three unions.

"Nearly the whole of the parishes in the county of Bedford have been united into four unions.

"The whole of the parishes of the county of Hertford have been formed into 12 unions.

"In the county of Norfolk, where proceedings have been recently commenced, 63 parishes have been included in two unions.

"In Wilts two unions, comprising 45 parishes, have been formed.

"In Middlesex one union has been formed.

"In the county of Gloucester, 37 parishes have been formed into one union."

As to the pecuniary results either already realized from the partial introduction of the new system, or likely to be secured by it when it is generally in operation, it has as yet been found impossible to speak with much definiteness. From a tabular abstract, however, comprehending the cases of twenty of the earlier unions, it appears that their expenditure, calculated upon corresponding periods, has been reduced this year to about only two-thirds of what it was last year.

In regard to the more important subject of the general effects produced by the change upon the condition of the able-bodied paupers, whose allowances in aid of wages have been discontinued, more distinct information has been obtained. "Careful inquiries," says the Report, "have been made as to the subsequent condition of those who had refused to accept relief in a workhouse. In the Faringdon union, for example, all out-door relief was discontinued, and relief in the workhouse was offered to 240 able-bodied labourers. Of these, not more than about 20 entered the workhouse, and not one-half remained there more than a few days; the diet in the workhouse being at the same time high as compared with the diet of large classes of independent labourers. Mr. Gulson found, at the time of his inquiry, that the whole of these labourers had got into independent employment. On inquiry of some of the farmers who had previously represented to him that they had then no means of employing any additional labourers, he received for answer, that the additional employment was now given in consequence of the improved character of the labourer."

It is added:—"In all our more recent reports from the dispauperized parishes, it is stated that the wages are improved, and that the amount paid is greater than in the adjacent pauperized parishes. As an exemplification of the tenor of our information relating to the circumstances under which wages are affected by the change, we give the following portion of an examination of Mr. John Clark, a farmer of Bledlow, a parish in the Wycombe union, Bucks: 'If I have the free use on Saturday night of 5*l.* instead of paying it to the overseer, I shall be able to lay this out in labour on my land in the next week. Whilst the labourer was half pauper and half labourer, he was like a man with two masters, and could do justice to neither; but now he feels that he is only a labourer, he works hard and willingly. My 8*s.* wages will purchase for me labour sufficient to produce 10*s.* worth of crop; but with a pauper, my 5*s.* paid will be a loss; for all the labour such a man will do would not be worth half-a-crown. With independent labourers, the more I have in moderation the more I make; but for the paupers, the more I have the more I lose. I will employ as many of the former and as few of the latter as I can. Ten independent labourers would do me more good than five; whilst of paupers, five would be more desirable than ten.'

"Where the indolence generated by the old system of parochial employment has been thus superseded by habits of industry, the train of vices generated by indolence are found to be gradually diminishing. The increase of sobriety is frequently denoted to us, in the progress of the change, by the complaints of the beer-shop keepers that the consumption of beer has diminished, and by their activity in opposing the progress of a further change. In the parish of Iver, it was found that the change of system was marked by the almost immediate discontinuance of the poaching and pilfering, which had before that time prevailed to an unusual extent. Now that an external appearance of misery will no longer avail in the dispauperized parishes as a means of obtaining increased allowances, and that the

bounties on filth and improvidence offered by the old system of out-door relief are removed, it is reported to us that an increased attention to cleanliness, neatness, and comfort, is beginning to be observable in the cottages of the labourers.

"A further moral result which is reported to us as being conspicuous in the dispauperized districts, is that the venal and improvident marriages, which were consequent upon the allowance system, have immediately been diminished."

The following passage will afford some notion of the amount of saving that may be counted upon merely from the more advantageous terms on which provisions for the inmates of workhouses are procured under the new system.

"George Tattam, Esq., the chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Wycombe union, in the course of an examination as to the operation of that union, states, in answer to an inquiry as to the effects of making contracts for provisions in the union.

"'I learn that all the little tradesmen are violent in their opposition to the contract. It is clear that under the old system they had an advantage in the number of paupers which they have not now. The more money there was paid to the paupers, the more there was to be spent amongst the tradesmen, but the reverse is now the case. And under the old system paupers were often encouraged to get into debt, in order that an increased price might be charged upon the several articles they bought, and their custom ensured for the future.

"'Is there a saving effected to the union by the system of contract?—Decidedly there is. We give one-half in kind (subject of course to exception under particular circumstances). The price of bread by contract being 4*d.* for the loaf, and the charge of the little tradesman being generally 6*d.*, there is a saving of one third upon the quantity we give in kind; that is a saving of one-sixth upon the whole relief. The average cost of relief of all the parishes before the union, was about 30,000*l.* a year; therefore, by this contract alone, 5000*l.* a year will be saved,—a sum more than sufficient to pay all the expenses of management of the whole union for eleven years to come, and a reduction alone of one-sixth of all the rates upon every parish in the union.'"

"We cite," the commissioners add, "another instance of the further effects of the change, as stated in the evidence of an overseer of a parish in the same union:

"'Do you find any other result from the payment in kind?—Yes: I do find that the little tradesman, who had formerly an interest in the increase of pauperism, now persuade the paupers to find work. Formerly, the more paupers, the more money the little tradesmen made; but now that a contractor supplies the bread, the less pauperism and the more independent labour, the more money to the shopkeeper. One of these shopkeepers called and remonstrated with me that all the men were not employed, and I know that he and others do all they can to prevent the men being paupers, and encourage their becoming independent labourers."

The section of the Report which relates to the operation of the clauses of the Act providing for the support of illegitimate children, we must content ourselves with strongly recommending to the attention of all upon whom an outcry, very perseveringly kept up, may have produced an impression adverse to this part of the new law. The commissioners state that the testimony conveyed both in the reports of the assistant-commissioners and in communications made to them from all parts of the country, strongly preponderates in favour of the principles adopted on this subject by the legislature. "In several of the more populous parishes," it is added, "the reduction of the cases of bastardy has been to the extent of one order made now, where ten were made before the passing of the Act." And they conclude their statement as follows:

"The evidence of the benefits now daily becoming manifest from the approximation to a sound principle in the administration of relief in this class of cases has not been accompanied by any countervailing statements of evils or injuries traceable as consequences of the alteration of the law. Cases of hardship might have been expected to occur; cases of the desertion of children and of infanticide always formed a large class of cases in the returns of the statistics of crime during the existence of the old law; but we have seen no evidence of the increase of such cases subsequently to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, nor amidst all the complaints unreservedly made to us, with claims for our aid to provide remedies for any real or supposed evil or inconvenience, have we received any authenticated cases of hardship. Some alleged cases of this description have been displayed before the public, but on investigation, in every instance which came to our knowledge, they were found to be fraudulent."

The only other head of the Report we can now notice is that which adverts to the late riotous proceedings on the part of the paupers in several of the parishes or unions in which the new mode of administration has been introduced. "An opinion," it is observed in the first place, "of the character of these riots, and of the state of the paupers in the districts where the riots occurred, may be formed from the fact, that in nearly the whole of the cases the riots were occasioned by the rule which requires that one-half of the relief should be in bread or other necessaries." "It is to be observed," the commissioners add, "that the introduction of these changes, and especially of the regulations for the substitution of relief in kind for relief in money, were preceded by complaints, not from the labourers, whom alone the change could legitimately affect, but from the shopkeepers and others engaged in furnishing supplies of goods for the use of parishes." These persons are not charged with having actually taken a part in the breaches of the peace which ensued; but the rioters are affirmed to have been undoubtedly incited in most instances by their "violent expressions of hostility to the measure, denunciations of its principles, always incorrectly stated, and expressions couched in the form of predictions, suggesting the probable occurrence of riotous proceedings, and how the acts of violence might or would happen."

In every case, however, the riots have been promptly suppressed, and generally without the aid of the military. Indeed only in a single instance have the military been called upon to act, and then a party of yeomanry merely assisted the metropolitan police in taking some of the rioters into custody. "When we recollect," say the commissioners, "the extent of erroneous impressions respecting the principles and provisions of the act which have prevailed, even amongst the educated and better-informed classes, and the persevering misrepresentations with which the public mind has to the last been assailed on this subject, we cannot but consider that the obstructions which have been attempted to be created on the part of the labouring classes are, on the whole, much less than might have been expected. We have great satisfaction in being able to state that we have received information that a considerable proportion of the labouring classes in some of the agricultural districts are not adverse to the change. We have learned that a few weeks since several persons, in the character of delegates from some trades' unions in the manufacturing districts, went amongst the agricultural labourers of Sussex, using violent language, and, representing to them that the act was intended to depress their condition, urged them to join the other unions, and take measures for resisting the law. In consequence of these proceedings, conferences were held amongst the agricultural labourers, who ultimately declined connecting themselves in any way with the alleged delegates, and stated 'that although they were apprehensive that they should have to endure much suffering in making the change, yet that they were satisfied it would be the best for them at last to be freed from the parish.'"

Finally, in concluding this their first Annual Report, the commissioners tender their assurance that their "labours are sustained by an entire conviction that the act, in every main provision, will fulfil the beneficent intentions of the legislature, and will conduce to elevate the moral and social condition of the labouring classes, and promote the welfare of all." In this conviction we entirely share. The only danger which there was that the great measure we have been considering should to any material extent miscarry, may now be regarded as over. The difficulty of setting it in motion has, under the judicious management of the commissioners, been fairly overcome; and let us add, what is an additional subject for congratulation, that their task, although undoubtedly one of great delicacy, has been facilitated even beyond what the most sanguine expectation could have anticipated that it would have been, by the good sense of the general body of the people. Certainly it has not been for want of excitement abundantly administered to them that the labouring classes have so generally refrained from taking any part in opposition to a change which it would not have been at all surprising if, even with-

out being thus stimulated, they had looked upon with some apprehension and dislike. With a considerateness, however, which does as much honour to their moral nature as to their head, they have perceived, in spite of all the violent exhortations addressed to their passions, that their interest, in common with the rest of society, is not the maintenance of pauperism, but its extirpation; and they are not to be moved by any rhetoric, however loud, which assumes the opposite proposition. The consequence is, that the admirers of a numerous and well-fed pauper population, and a liberal encouragement of bastardy, appear to be at last almost convinced that the day for that particular species of national glory is gone by, and that it is needless for them to waste any more breath or ink in trying to bring back a taste for it. The task of being eloquent, and argumentative, and satirical, and pathetic, upon such matters, seems to be now chiefly devolved upon the police-reporters, the accident-men, and the other members of the penny-a-line order of literati.

REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS OF EXCISE INQUIRY ON THE GLASS MANUFACTURE.

[Concluded from No. 32.]

ACCORDING to the representations of a deputation of CROWN GLASS manufacturers which waited upon the Commissioners at Newcastle, the cause of the depression under which this branch of the trade labours is not so much any thing in the mode of charging or collecting the duties, as their heavy amount. So long indeed as the duty is continued at its present rate, the manufacturers are rather averse to the removal even of those regulations which are injurious to their manufacture, from an apprehension that they would thereby be exposed to still greater injury from the door which would be opened to the commission of frauds in regard to the duty. It is asserted "that repeated instances of fraud in the crown glass trade have occurred, and that in consequence of such frauds the prices of the article have been brought down so low, that for the last two or three years the trade has been to the honest manufacturer wholly unproductive." Upon this subject the following statement is well deserving of attention:—"In regard to the frauds here alluded to it may be observed, that this deputation express a strong concurrence in the opinions which we have submitted on former occasions, as to the injurious consequences resulting from the manner in which offences against the revenue laws are usually dealt with by the Excise: they state, that the cases of fraud 'have been always compromised, which is what we complain of: we say, that if a man is detected in a fraud, he should never be allowed to be a manufacturer again. They give their opinion, that the frauds have not been followed up to the extent they ought to be; and they add,—'We know that they have not been followed up, and that the same parties have done the same thing once, twice, and thrice, and that they have always been compromised, and not brought into the Exchequer.'—'The same manufacturers are still going on. In our trade, for a great length of time, we have been selling at a loss. and and we know those low prices were first established by the parties who had committed frauds, and that others were compelled to follow them.'"

One of the complaints made by the deputation referred to the alleged unfair operation of the enactment which allows the same drawback upon the exportation of the squares of German sheet glass as upon those of crown glass, notwithstanding the fact already explained, that the former, from the manner in which it is blown, admits of being cut into such squares, without any of the waste that arises in the case of the latter from the circular form which it assumes after being flashed, and from its thick selvage or bullion. In these circumstances it is contended that the drawback becomes a direct bounty, given without any reason, to the manufacturer of the inferior or German sheet glass. "The extent of this bounty," say the Commissioners, "may be conceived from the statement of Mr. Hetherington, that on the exportation of squares of German sheet glass, the drawback ought not, at the utmost, to be above five per cent. more than the duty, whereas the drawback actually allowed, amounts to more than one-third, or 33 per cent. on the amount of the duty. The consequence, as might have been expected, is, that the manufacture of this description of glass is undertaken for the sake of the bounty. Mr. Cookson states, 'there is no consumption in this country. I have no doubt a man would make as much in a month as there is demand for in the course of a year: it is not an article that will sell in this country.' Mr. Cuthbert also states, 'what we made, we made for exportation: we found no demand for it in England, and did not go on with it.' Mr. Hetherington also expresses his belief that the manufacturers of this glass 'export the principal part of what they make,' and he naturally adds his opinion that the law is defective in this respect.'"

The Commissioners, however, it is proper to add, afterwards had an opportunity of examining Mr. R. L. Chance, of the firm of Chance and Hartley at Birmingham, which is stated to be the greatest crown glass works now in England; and he asserted that the denomination of glass called German sheet, so far from being an article for which there is no demand except as an article of export, has not only superseded all other kinds of window glass on the Continent, but that its use is rapidly extending in this country. Mr. Chance and his partners manufacture German sheet glass to a large amount both for exportation and for home consumption. According to his calculation the present duty on crown glass is at the rate of from 200 to 250 per cent. on the cost price of the manufacture. He does not complain, however, of the regulations for the charge and collection of the duty. The Commissioners call attention to his examination, "as affording a striking illustration of the disposition prevalent amongst traders under the Excise laws, and especially with those who are proprietors of the highest class of establishments, to become from habit so much reconciled to the interference with their business occasioned by the Excise regulations, as not to appear sensible of the disadvantages and inconvenience which they actually suffer by those means." "It will be seen," they observe, "that Mr. Chance, in the early part of his examination, describes the regulations, in as far as they affect his business, to be in the highest degree unexceptionable, and to occasion no annoyance or interruption whatever. In the course of that examination, however, he fully concurs with other witnesses in designating those regulations, in the various points upon which we have been commenting, to occasion to the manufacturer a useless waste of time and expense, and in some instances to be fraught with absurdity and injustice."

Upon the subject of BROAD or SPREAD GLASS the Commissioners say—"Mr. Thomas Dunn, who belongs to the only work in which the broad or spread glass is made, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, states that a very small quantity is now manufactured; 'the demand is now so small, we cannot keep the house at work the whole year, we lie idle three months:' he adds, 'that if the duty was repealed, that glass would not be made at all, for we could make the crown nearly as cheap.'"

The state of the manufacture of FLINT GLASS is the next head of the Report. Among the Newcastle manufacturers in this branch, the Commissioners found the same willingness, as the crown glass manufacturers expressed, "to submit to the inquiry and inconvenience to which they are subjected by the Excise regulations for the sake of the security which those regulations are supposed to afford to the revenue, and at the same time to the fair trader, against the competition of the fraudulent, who would make the evasion of the duties the means of underselling him." "They still, however," it is added, "are led to think that there must be considerable evasions in order to account for the low prices at which the articles are in some places sold: they state from their own knowledge the instance of wine-glasses, commonly sold by the retailers in London at 3*s.* 7*d.* a dozen, which the manufacturer, paying the duty, could not have sold, at a profit, under 6*s.* a dozen."

The following are some additional extracts from this part of the Report: "On being asked whether, in their opinion, a total repeal of the duty on flint glass would lead to a great extension of the trade, they (the deputation) answer, 'There is no question of that; many articles would be made of glass which are not, and that would lead to great increase of consumption and a great improvement, from which we are deterred by the Excise regulations.' As evidence that the duties interfere with invention, they state, 'We are compelled to produce forty per cent. of manufactured goods out of a pot charged with the metal, and if we do not we pay the duty for the deficiency. Suppose a man chose to try experiments by making one article or another, he could not produce his forty per cent.' . . . . The evidence of Mr.

William Powell, an extensive and experienced manufacturer from Bristol, will be found to confirm strongly the representations we had received from so many other quarters, of the depressed state of the legal trade, more especially in flint glass. Having given his opinion, that with respect to the bottle trade the revenue was protected, and the system pursued not very objectionable, he states, that with respect to flint glass that certainly is not the case; and he adds, 'I do not see what legislative protection can be given to the flint-glass trade, unless there were officers about as thick as the tiles on houses, for there are thirty manufacturers in this city (London), at this moment unknown to the government, employed in melting up what we call cullet, or broken glass, such as the stems of goblets, bottoms of tumblers, the thick parts of decanters, and so on; they can be melted in a garret or a cellar, and made up into saltcellars, cruets and casters, bird-boxes, smelling bottles, and a variety of articles used by perfumers, and it is done to a very large extent; and my belief is, that there is no legislative precaution can prevent it.' He is of opinion, however, that a reduction of duty would have its effect in remedying the evils. He also strongly points out the mischief which may be done in the market by even one house that will run the risk of evading the duty. Mr. Powell confirms what has been stated by the other witnesses, as to the bar to all improvements in the manufacture, arising from the existing regulations. He observes, 'I do not see how he (the manufacturer) could make those improvements; for, in point of fact, the Excise laws lay down a certain system, and he must comply with that system.' On being asked, whether it would be possible to make much relaxation without giving rise to fraud, he answers, 'I should say not. From the very nature of the thing, I do not think any legislative regulation would protect the revenue effectually, or protect the fair trader effectually, particularly in flint glass. I should say, in regard to flint glass, nothing would do but a total abolition of the duty.'"

A memorial is afterwards given, which was presented to government in March last by a deputation of flint glass manufacturers, who state that in consequence of the extensive system of fraudulent dealing occasioned by the duties, the trade has at length become totally unremunerative—the memorialists "being ready to prove that in London, which is the great market for their manufactures, scarcely one individual article can be sold for prime cost, upon fair and honest means, and many are sold very far below it."

"In confirmation," the Report proceeds, "of the representations contained in the above memorial, Mr. Hawkes (M. P. for Dudley) distinctly states that his own business, which is one of the best established in the kingdom, has been actually relinquished by two members of his family after an experience of the fruitlessness of any attempt to carry it on successfully, and at the same time legitimately; and that he is himself induced to keep up the concern merely as an employment for one of his sons, and under the expectation that a change in the circumstances of the trade must necessarily take place by the repeal, or at least the reduction of, the present Excise duties. The above statement of Mr. Hawkes, it should be observed, is completely in accordance with the representation to which we have already referred, as having been received from the proprietors or managers of other established glass works in various parts of the united kingdom. And this concurrence of evidence would certainly lead to the conclusion, that if things are permitted to remain much longer in their present state, the business in question must at no distant period be universally abandoned by the established and legal manufacturers, and left altogether in the hands of those who, either with or without a licence, are allowed the opportunities of making the same branch of trade a lucrative concern, solely by means of evasions of the law. The progress which this illegal carrying on of the trade has already made in supplanting the legal practice, may be in some measure estimated from some of the examinations taken in Scotland and Ireland, where it is shewn that the supply of large and distant markets, in those parts of the kingdom, has been furnished in great part at prices which render it evident that the duties could not have been paid in addition to the ordinary cost of production."

The estimate of the Newcastle deputation is, that evasion of duty takes place in London alone to the extent of 65,000*l.* annually; "and they add," say the Commissioners, "that the source of illegal profits is not confined to this immense amount of simple evasion, but is also largely supplied in the shape of a direct premium on fraud at the public expense, by obtaining the drawback on exportation for goods which have never been charged with duty. . . . . Such practices may obviously be resorted to by persons having no other connection with the glass trade, but it is understood that they are carried on to a great extent by regularly licensed houses; and it will be seen that it is the opinion of the deputation, to whose evidence we are referring, that no inconsiderable portion of such houses is maintained wholly by the means, and for the purposes of such frauds."

Some very valuable information is also given from the examination of Mr. Pellatt, of the long-established house of Pellatt and Co., one of the leading establishments in the kingdom for this branch of the manufacture. Mr. Pellatt states that he has recently relinquished the business of his manufactory, which was decidedly the largest in London, in consequence of the disadvantageous circumstances under which a business of that description must at present be carried on. "Mr. Pellatt," it is added, "gives decisive evidence as to the great extent of the interference of the Excise regulations with the process of manufacture, and he especially alludes to the English manufacturer being prevented from adopting an improved mode of working, which has for some time been practised in France, where it has been found advantageous that the two operations of fusing the materials, and of working them up into wares, should be carried on at separate times. The English manufacturer is prevented from adopting this course in consequence of our Excise regulations, which compel him under all circumstances to carry on the operations of fusing and working simultaneously, or at least within the same week. Mr. Pellatt states that when he was working at the full, he was in consequence of the Excise duty and regulations put to an expense of about 1000*l.* per annum, in addition to the cost which he should have incurred in the conduct of his establishment, if the duty and restrictions had not existed; and he adds that he conceives it to be on this account that the French manufacturer can undersell him."

The BOTTLE-GLASS manufacture is the next branch to the consideration of which the Commissioners proceed. Here also the manufacturers complain in the strongest terms of the annoyance and injury they suffer from the Excise regulations. "They urge," say the Commissioners, "another point upon which we are satisfied that your lordships will agree with us in thinking that efficacious measures should be immediately adopted, for the purpose of removing the doubt and uncertainty which at present appear to prevail as to the law on the subject.

"The statement of Mr. Cookson on this subject is as follows —'The materials of which common bottles are composed are various. The crown-glass manufacturers have a refuse which is too impure for them to use, which has been used by bottle manufacturers; it has improved the colour of the common bottle glass, inasmuch as they apply it particularly for chemical purposes and in making large vessels for oil of vitriol and carboys. The finer the material the tougher the glass; but all this refuse is considered by the Excise as an improper thing to be used in common bottle metal, consequently it is prohibited and must be thrown away, though a very useful article; but I believe many of us are using it at this moment, though contrary to law. I was prosecuted in the Exchequer, and it did not cost me less than twenty journeys up to London till I got it settled. I have no doubt that every one of us uses it now, though contrary to law.' Mr. Cuthbert adds, 'I do not consider that there is any law to prevent it; but it has created a terror on our minds so great, that I had rather give up the use of it than go into the Exchequer to contest it.' The only ground suggested for prohibiting the use of the material is, that 'it would make the goods so fine that it would bring them into competition with flint glass.' The article in question is called crown-cullet, and is described as being thrown away upon the ballast-hills, and as being 'utterly useless for making crown glass; but in the bottle glass it is a cheaper material than any we can use.' Mr. Cuthbert adds, 'I have no doubt, if our hills were dug up, there are hundreds of tons of it buried.'

"It would be hardly possible to imagine an instance in which the injurious operation of Excise regulations could be placed in a stronger light than that of which the particulars are above detailed, in which, as a consequence of those laws, we see hundreds of tons of an article which is known to be the cheapest and at the same time the best

that could be used in one of our most useful and most extensive domestic manufactures, lying uselessly at the very doors of the manufacturers, who are prevented from making any use of it solely by the dread of the construction which might be put upon a doubtful clause of an Excise statute."

In commencing their statement with respect to the PLATE-GLASS manufacture, the Commissioners observe—"Newcastle is the seat of one of the only two manufactories of plate glass in the United Kingdom, the other being that of a joint-stock company, called the British Plate Glass Company, whose works are at Ravenhead, in Lancashire. The public are highly indebted to the enterprise and skill of Messrs. Cookson and Cuthbert, which enabled them about twenty years ago to enter into successful competition with the monopoly which, up to that period, had been enjoyed by the company: the result of that competition has been a reduction of full fifty per cent. on the former prices of plate glass, and in consequence the acquisition of this beautiful article of manufacture has been proportionably facilitated, and its use extended amongst all classes of consumers."

In the Appendix to the Report are given the examinations both of Mr. Isaac Cookson and Mr. William Cuthbert, and of Mr. Cockburn, the governor of the British Plate Glass Company. Messrs. Cookson and Cuthbert state, that the general regulations affecting the manufacturers of plate glass place them under difficulties greater than are experienced by any other branch of the glass trade. They mention among other things that, in consequence of the regulations respecting the duty, they had been prevented from executing an order for an experimental lens for the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses on a new principle, which promised to be attended with important advantages. "The difficulty in this case arose," says the Report, "from the plate glass manufacturers being restrained to a certain thickness in their plates, and from the thickness required for the proposed lenses, being such as would have brought them under a charge of 98*s.* per hundred weight, being formerly the rate of duty on flint glass, but which rate, though it has been since reduced as to that description of glass, is continued on plate glass, if made beyond a certain thickness, with a view to the protection of the manufacture of flint glass."

Most of the statements made by Messrs. Cookson and Cuthbert are confirmed by the evidence of Mr. Cockburn. "That gentleman states," observe the Commissioners, "that in the earlier stages of the manufacture in England the profits were sufficient to cover the losses arising from those various accidents, but that since the very great reduction of prices, which is well known to have taken place within these few years, the interests of the concern which he represents have suffered materially from the necessity of paying the duty upon the materials or manufactured goods, the sale of which has, by any of the above-mentioned accidents, been altogether or in great measure prevented; as an instance of this fall in price, it is mentioned that the large-sized plates which formerly sold for 21*l.* can now be bought for 5*l.*"

In Mr. Cockburn's examination," it is added, "will be found some interesting information on the comparative state of the manufacture of plate glass in France and Great Britain. The result of such a comparison is upon the whole satisfactory, inasmuch as it shows that by the application of skill and machinery we are enabled to produce plates of a size superior to any that are produced in foreign manufactories, and that in all the larger sizes of plates the price in England is lower than in other countries—at the same time, however, such a comparison affords a striking instance of the injurious effects of our high Excise duties, since, whilst with respect to the larger and more costly plates in which the amount of the duty forms a comparatively insignificant addition to the price of the article, the superior skill and resources of the British manufacturer receives its appropriate reward by his being enabled to prevail over all competition; with respect to the smaller plates on the other hand, in which the amount of duty necessarily forms a large component part in the price of the goods, the same manufacturer is universally undersold in the French and other foreign markets. Mr. Cockburn it will be seen is of opinion that the advantage which the British manufacturer is generally considered to possess over all foreigners, from the abundance of coal, is more than compensated to the French manufacturer by the superiority of the process when wood is used, in consequence of the fire from wood being much less liable than that from coal to be affected by the extraneous substances, which frequently injure both the texture and the colour of the glass."

We cannot enter at any length upon those parts of the Report which refer to the state of the glass manufacture in Scotland and in Ireland. In both countries the duties appear to have reduced it to a state of the greatest depression. The capital of the Leith Glass Company, the largest in Scotland, amounted originally to 135,000*l.*; but no dividend has been received upon it for eighty years past. Indeed it appears that the works have been stopped altogether for the last three or four years. The Appendix also contains the examination of Mr. Peter Brown, "who represents himself," to quote the words of the Report, "to have been engaged in establishing one of the finest glass works in the kingdom, at an expense of more than 30,000*l.*, which now lies wholly idle, entirely, as he conceives, in consequence of the operation of the Excise laws, and especially of the means which they afford of evading the duties." "The whole of the evidence in regard to Ireland, it will be seen," observe the Commissioners, "paints in strong colours the depressed state of this branch of manufacture since the imposition of the Excise duty in 1825. At that period it is stated that there was one bottle-house in a very flourishing state, and four flint-glass houses doing very extensive business in Dublin; but that at present, in that city, bottle glass is made to a very limited extent, and only one flint-house is actually at work; that there were two establishments at Cork, of which only one remains; one at Waterford, where at present there is none: and three at Belfast, of which only one remains. The falling off of the revenue received from glass in Ireland of course corresponds with this decrease in the number of the licensed manufacturers, as it will appear from the preceding account, that in the year 1826, the amount of the flint-glass duty in Ireland was 19,146*l.*, whilst in last year it had fallen to 14,919*l.*"

A subsequent portion of the Report presents some striking evidence in illustration of the impediments thrown by the Excise duties and regulations in the way of the application of the various kinds of glass to some of the most important purposes connected with the arts and sciences. Mr. Aiken, the secretary to the Society of Arts, "expresses," say the Commissioners, "a decided opinion that the Excise regulations on the preparation of the various kinds of glass must unquestionably present a great impediment, and in many cases a complete bar in the way of those experimental researches which are necessary for the adequate pursuit of objects connected with some of the most important branches of science, and some of the most ornamental of the arts in which the material of glass is an indispensable ingredient. In illustration of this interference in the latter cases, he mentions the beautiful art of painting or enamelling on glass, in which, as is well known, we are far less successful than our ancestors: this inferiority of the modern productions, Mr. Aikin attributes to the impediments arising from the Excise restrictions, to the repeated application of heat or other processes, varying according to circumstances, which may be required during the preparation of the glass, in order to bring it to the proper texture for bearing the process of enamelling, and especially to the requisite degree of hardness. The art of making artificial precious stones or gems from glass, he states to be in great measure relinquished by the regular manufacturers, because the preparation of the materials adapted for this purpose cannot be carried on according to the existing regulations of the Excise, and the process is accordingly conducted by means of small pots of a size not recognized by the regulations which are sent to ovens or furnaces constructed for potters or other trades. With respect to the more scientific purposes, Mr. Aikin refers to the instance of glass for optical instruments, to which we have already alluded in a former Report, and he gives an interesting and clear detail of the manner in which the most essential requisite of glass intended for these purposes, namely, uniformity of substance throughout, is prevented from being obtained through the Excise regulations, which do not allow of the repeated fusions and subsequent levigations or reductions to powder which is found to be the most successful mode of attaining the desired uniformity of texture."

The witness states that, in consequence of these impediments, there is a transfer going on of the manufacture of lenses for telescopes from England to the continent. A letter which is added from M. Dollond the optician strongly

confirms this evidence, which is further corroborated by the statements of Mr. Frederick Fincham, a gentleman engaged in extensive business as a manufacturing chemist, who, after having succeeded in making green or bottle glass of a quality far superior to any that had hitherto been produced in this country, was compelled to desist from prosecuting his experiments by the Excise. "He was informed," says the Report, "that his work could not be allowed to continue, because he produced an article so good that it could not be sufficiently distinguished from flint glass, the danger being that this article, which for a great variety of purposes was admitted to be in all respects as good as the comparatively highly taxed, and therefore high-priced, article of flint glass, would be substituted for that description of glass to the detriment of the revenue, however much the substitution might conduce to the convenience of the public. The question relating to this particular kind of manufacture becomes of more importance from its being shown, by the evidence of Mr. Aikin and of Mr. Fincham, that the description of glass called green glass is much better adapted to some purposes of high importance in the arts than the white or flint glass —the purposes specified are for some chemical operations or experiments in which certain acids are used, which are found sensibly to act upon the oxide of lead, a proportion of which is contained in all vessels prepared from flint glass. This effect of the acid is so injurious to the operation, that for the purposes in question green glass (which is free from the oxide of lead) can only be used: but as the vessels made from green glass in England are in great measure confined to quart or pint bottles, and are not allowed to be made of a less capacity than such as will contain six ounces, our chemists are, for the purposes alluded to, obliged to have recourse to vessels of green glass made in other countries; and it is for this reason, as observed by Mr. Aikin, that the Italian oil bottles, usually called Florence flasks, are so generally employed in chemical experiments."

In relation to this part of the subject we may notice a circumstance which is not adverted to by the commissioners, the recent discovery of a sand in New South Wales which is stated to be admirably adapted for the manufacture of optical instruments and all other articles of flint glass. From a memorial, dated Sydney, 1st July, 1833, addressed to the Government in this country, by the discoverer, Mr. James King, who complains, with apparent justice, that the merit of his discovery has been very inadequately appreciated in the quarters where he had a right to expect encouragement, we extract the following passage of a letter from James Dunlop, Esq., F.R.S., the eminent Government astronomer at Paramatta. "But the important result of your discovery of that unexhaustible deposit of sand between Sydney and Botany Bay will be to furnish the glass manufacturers with the principal ingredient of flint glass in a state of greater purity than it has hitherto been obtained for the manufacture of flint glass for optical instruments, the perfection in which has not yet been attained to satisfy the wants of science. The sand being free of iron and other metallic impurities, is of itself a sufficient recommendation to the manufacturer by removing a difficulty in the way of obtaining glass unobjectionably free from colour, *and to the optician of great importance in the construction of the achromatic telescope*, the loss of light in them being dependent upon and in proportion of the colour of the glass used in their construction. The mean of the specific gravity of the four specimens which you sent me is 3.274, which is very nearly the medium specific gravity of that usually manufactured by Messrs. Pellatt and Co. for optical purposes, of which I send you a specimen (by Watsford's coach) which I purchased at their works about January, 1828; its colour (looking through the edge) resembles that of pale roll-sulphur or yellow, which is in all probability occasioned by the presence of iron in the sand, from which it is made, *while your specimens are of the colour of pure water, and will therefore intercept less light.*"

To this we may add the following extract from the Report of Messrs. Pellatt and Co., the glass manufacturers of London:—

"We have much pleasure in acquainting you, that having used the quantity of sand furnished by your house from Sydney, we find it *decidedly* superior to any we have previously employed.

"The most esteemed property of this sand, and which makes it *of the greatest importance to glass-makers*, is derived from the absence of oxide of iron and every other combination that would affect the colour of the glass when made.

"It is also free from insoluble matter; *glass made from this sand is more brilliant and watery than any other.*

"We consider it fortunate at this period that this sand has been discovered, as the sand from Lynn Regis, with which most glass-makers were supplied, is now very bad in quality, and has in consequence been given up by many."

The commissioners conclude their able and interesting Report by some general observations and recommendations, the spirit of which may be gathered from the opening paragraph:—

"After the observations," they say, "which we have submitted on the various points which have formed the subject of remark in the course of our preceding references to examinations and other evidence, the result of our general consideration of that evidence, and of all the other information which we have obtained in the course of our inquiries on this subject, may have been anticipated; and it is hardly necessary to report, in any detail, our decided opinion as to the objectionable nature and extensively injurious effects of the head of duty under consideration. We are satisfied that, if we had the opportunity of pursuing our inquiries on this complicated subject into all the details which belong to it, the impolicy and evil consequences of the tax, as regards the interests of the native manufacturer and consumer, and also of our foreign commerce, would appear in so strong a light, when compared with the amount of net revenue produced from it, as to call for its general condemnation.'

The manufacture of flint-glass, however, they remark, is undoubtedly the branch of the trade which requires the most immediate attention to the circumstances under which it is at present carried on. Of the duties upon this description of glass they recommend the total repeal, as soon as the financial arrangements of the Government shall admit of the adoption of so desirable a measure. In regard to plate-glass, they consider it to be extremely desirable that a reduction of the duty, to the amount of one-half of its present amount, should be conceded as soon as possible. The duty on crown-glass they recommend should be reduced to its amount before the last augmentation in 1813. In the case of bottle-glass, they recommend the total repeal of the duty, on the simple ground, that one-half of it is at present returned in the shape of drawback. In regard to all the branches of the manufacture, a revision in simplification of the excise regulations involved the abolition of many of them, which appear to be either wholly useless, or particularly vexatious and injurious in their operation, is also strongly urged.

The extent to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has seen meet to comply with the recommendations of the Commissioners in his late Budget, will appear from the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the House of Commons on the 15th of August:—

"1. That the duties and drawback on flint glass should cease and determine; and that, in lieu of the said duties, there shall be charged, levied, and collected, for and upon every one hundred pounds weight of the fluxed materials, or metal, or other preparations made in the United Kingdom for the making of flint glass, six shillings and eight pence; that, in lieu of the said drawbacks, there shall be allowed and paid for and upon every one hundred pounds weight of flint glass which shall be made in the United Kingdom, and for and in respect of which, or of the materials, metal, or other preparations from which the same shall have been made, all excise duties payable thereon shall have been duly charged, and which shall be exported as merchandize to foreign parts, eighteen shillings and nine pence."

"2. That, in lieu of the drawback of four pounds eighteen shillings per hundred weight now payable on German sheet glass exported in panes, there shall be allowed and paid, for every hundred weight of panes of German sheet glass made in any part of the United Kingdom, and for which the excise duty thereon shall have been duly charged, and which shall be exported as merchandize to foreign parts, such panes not being of less dimensions than six inches in length by four inches in breadth, four pounds two shillings and eight pence."

"3. That the drawback now payable on unground and unpolished plate glass shall cease and determine."

PRISON DISCIPLINE AND PRISON EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

A Prison, when properly organized and conducted, may be looked upon as a house of education for persons who have been badly brought up, but differing from other schools in this respect:—that those to whom its management is entrusted, must labour to eradicate bad habits and dispositions, as well as to inculcate others of a different character. The necessity for the construction and support of these penal seminaries is, in some considerable degree, a penalty which the community is called upon to pay, for neglecting to train aright during childhood, the classes which furnish the majority of those for whom prisons are needed; and it appears only reasonable to hope, that when the necessity for such earlier discipline shall have been recognised and generally acted upon, so as to include in its benefits all within the ages at which the tendency to criminal causes is the strongest, our successors may have less reason than we now have, to be anxious inquirers after the most efficacious system of prison discipline.

Hitherto our prisons have indeed been seminaries, but of what a description! They have been schools for the conversion of venial offenders into the most accomplished criminals,—places from which it has been hardly possible for any to emerge without the loss of the last lingering spark of virtue,—haunts in which schemes of villany have been planned and prepared, to a degree which has rendered them worse than useless, making them instrumental for the encouragement, instead of the repression of crime, and promoters of the evil for the suppression of which they are instituted.

This statement has been brought forward, and its truth has been acknowledged again and again; societies have been formed; and volume after volume has been written, with a view to the correction of the evil; but from some cause or other, and principally, no doubt, owing to the supineness of the legislature and of the executive government, little or nothing has hitherto been attempted for arresting the mischief. Happily for the best interests of society, the legislature and the government of the present day appear to be awaking from that supineness. One evidence of this better state of things is offered by a volume now before us, the Report on the Penitentiaries of the United States, made in August, 1834, by Mr. William Crawford, and printed by order of the House of Commons. His Report furnishes the result of inquiries into the systems of prison discipline enforced in the United States of America, which have been made under instructions given by Lord Melbourne, when Secretary of State for the Home Department.

It is a mistake to imagine that any particular system of prison discipline is extensively pursued in America: scarcely any two States of the Union exhibit entire uniformity in this respect. Seventeen out of the twenty-four States which compose the Union, have established prisons which are called Penitentiaries, and in which, efforts are made for reclaiming the prisoners confined in them: but the system under which it is sought to accomplish this end, is greatly dependent in each case, upon the views and opinions of individual inhabitants of the state, and most frequently of the superintendent of the prison. In addition to these penitentiaries, there are in America two other descriptions of prisons,—county gaols and town gaols, which are used for the confinement of persons before trial, and of convicts the term of whose imprisonment does not exceed one, or at most two years. These gaols contain convicts guilty of every shade and description of minor crimes, and these persons are indiscriminately, and without any attempt at classification, confined with prisoners awaiting their trial, some of whom may be entirely innocent of the offences with which they are charged, but who are nevertheless subjected, for months together, to every evil that can result from corrupt association. It is clear, that as regards those institutions, we have not anything to learn from the Americans. "I have visited," says Mr. Crawford, "many miserable places of confinement, but seldom, if ever, witnessed such a combination of wretchedness and depravity as is to be found in some of the county gaols and town prisons of the United States." It is only of the penitentiaries, established in he different states that Mr. Crawford gives any detailed account, rightly judging that there could be no necessity for travelling so far from his own country, in order to describe a badly managed prison. Our description of those penitentiaries, and of the system of discipline adopted in them, will be given in the order wherein they occur in Mr. Crawford's Report.

The eastern penitentiary of Pennsylvania stands about two miles from the centre of the city of Philadelphia. The site occupies about twelve acres. The building is of stone; every room in it is vaulted and fire-proof, and the whole is surrounded by a wall thirty feet high, in the form of a square, and having a tower placed at each angle, for the purpose of overlooking the establishment. In the centre of the area thus inclosed, is a circular building, radiating from which are the corridors, and on each side of these the cells are placed. Each corridor, of which, when the prison is completed, there will be seven, may be inspected through its entire length, from the centre building. The corridors consist of two stories, and are to contain altogether 844 separate cells, three containing 100 each, and the remaining four being planned each to contain 136 cells. The cells on the ground floor of those wings which were first erected, are eleven feet nine inches long, eight feet wide, and sixteen feet six inches in height in the centre of the arched ceiling. These cells have each an airing yard attached, eighteen feet long and eight feet wide, in which the inhabitants of the cells are allowed to walk for an hour daily. The cells on the upper story are of course without this outlet, neither is there any airing yard provided for either of the four corridors last erected. To compensate for this want, the cells in the new corridors are made three feet longer than those already described. The partition walls between the cells are built of stone, and are eighteen inches thick, which effectually prevents all communication between prisoners in adjoining cells. The lower cells are constructed three feet longer than those above, to admit of their being lighted by means of a sloping skylight; the upper cells are lighted from the roof, by which means all communication between the inmates of the upper and lower cells is prevented. Arrangements are made for preserving the cleanliness of the cells, each of which is amply supplied with water.

On his first reception, a prisoner is examined; his age, height, complexion, &c. are recorded; he is then undressed, his hair is cut short, his person is cleansed in a warm bath, and he is clothed in the prison uniform. He is next blindfolded and led to his cell, the regulations of the prison are explained to him, and he is admonished to adhere strictly to them, when the hood by which he is blinded is removed, and he is left alone. After this, during the whole term of his imprisonment, which frequently lasts for many years, and sometimes for the whole of life, he is visited only by the warden, the deputy keeper, and occasionally by one of the official visitors of the prison. The state of solitude and inaction soon becomes so irksome, that the prisoners petition for some employment, which, if they appear sufficiently subdued, is given to them as a favour. It never occurs that the interval which precedes employment exceeds a fortnight, and this interval, whatever its duration, is uniformly alluded to by the prisoners as having been the most painful part of their imprisonment. The two leading features in the discipline of this penitentiary are,—first, the entire separation of the convicts at all times, and their exclusion from every human being, except the officers of the prison and the visitors, authorised by the state legislature; and secondly, the deprivation of all intercourse with the world, extending even to any knowledge concerning their family and friends.

Under these circumstances, the power vested in the warden of the prison and his officers, might be grossly abused. To guard against this evil, several salutary provisions have been made by the state legislature: the inspectors are required to visit the prison at least twice in the week, and on each of these occasions to speak to each prisoner, and to listen to any complaint that may be made of oppression on the part of the officers: it is of course provided that these visits of inspection shall be made without the presence of the warden or any of his assistants. The visitors appointed by the legislature are, the governor of the state, the speaker and members of the senate, the speaker and members of the House of Representatives, the secretary of the state, the judges of the supreme court, the attorney-general and his deputies, the judges of all the courts in the state, the mayors and recorders of the cities of Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh, the commissioners and sheriffs of the several counties, and the acting committee of the "Philadelphia Society for the alleviation of the miseries of public prisons,"

These visitors are forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to deliver to, or to receive from, a convict any letter or message, or to supply him with any article.

Such of the convicts as are employed at trades which cannot be carried on in a cell, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, are allowed to leave their cells and work separately in small shops, in which they are locked up, or they are associated with some other artificer, not a prisoner; the greatest care is taken in these cases to prevent one convict from seeing another.

The Auburn penitentiary, about which so much has been said and written in this country, was built in 1816, by direction of the legislature of New York, as a place of confinement for the western division of that state. It was not until 1820 that this prison was completed, so as to assume the character which it has since borne. A new range of cells, five stories high, containing 220 chambers, was completed in 1832, making the whole number in the prison 770. The whole establishment occupies a square plot of ground 500 feet in length on each side; the boundary wall, which is consequently 2000 feet in extent, is thirty feet high. The form of building adopted at Auburn does not offer the same facilities for inspection from a central point, as are afforded in the Pennsylvania penitentiary just described.

The system adopted in this prison differs essentially from that pursued in the Philadelphia penitentiary. The seclusion and separation of the convicts are not attempted during the day, but at night each convict is locked up in his own cell, without the power of communicating with any other inmate of the prison. During the day, they work and take their meals in the presence of one another; but during the whole of this time, no communication whatever, by word, sign, or look, is allowed to pass between the convicts; and if any such are observed, the detection is immediately followed by punishment with the whip. This correction is certain and immediate, its quantity and severity depending altogether upon the will of the attendants, against whose acts there is no appeal. All that is required from the attendants is, that they shall report the name of the prisoner corrected, the nature of his offence, and the number of lashes that have been inflicted: but there is no check upon the accuracy of reports thus made, and they consequently afford no protection against the abuse of power.

In 1825, the legislature of New York determined upon building another penitentiary within the state, and fixed its sight at Sing-Sing, on the east bank of the Hudson, thirty-two miles from the city of New York. The choice of this site was determined by the presence of marble quarries, it being believed that the convicts might be profitably employed in quarrying the marble, and preparing it for sale in New York. It is a singular fact with regard to the building of this prison, that it was constructed by a party of convicts from Auburn, who lived during the time of its building, in a shed, run up by themselves; and that not one of them made his escape during the progress of the work. The prison of Sing-Sing is 600 feet long, and forty feet broad: it contains 1000 separate sleeping cells. In most of its arrangements, this prison resembles the penitentiary of Auburn: the principal difference observable is, that the inmates do not take their meals in company, but each one in his own cell. Except on Sunday, the chaplain of the prison has not any communication with the convicts, and as the number of these is frequently about 800, it can but rarely fall to the lot of any individual prisoner to be thus attended.

Whatever advantages may attend the systems here explained, they are confined to male convicts. Not any females are received at Sing-Sing; those committed in the eastern divisions of the state, for the use of which division this prison was built, are sent to Belleve, a prison under the superintendence of the municipal authorities of the city of New York. Here the wretched inmates are all confined in one room; "the old, the young, all colours and conditions, are indiscriminately confined together; the adept in crime is the companion of the novice in guilt. If virtuous sentiments linger about the new convict sent to Belleve, they are sure to be obliterated by the infamy of the character and conduct of those with whom they are associated."* Not any attempt is made to introduce any order or discipline among the convicts. At Auburn, female convicts are received, and are placed under the direction of a matron; but the discipline of the prison adopted with regard to males is not extended to females, and in fact, the space allotted to females is so contracted as to render it impossible to effect either classification or almost any other beneficial arrangement.

The penitentiary for the state of Connecticut stands on the south side of a large bay, formed by the Connecticut river at Wethersfield, about three miles from the town of Hartford. The building was finished for the reception of male prisoners in 1827; but the female department was not completed until 1830.

This prison is conducted on the same plan as those at Auburn and Sing-Sing. The prisoners are lodged in separate cells at night, and labour together during the day; all intercourse by conversation or gesture being strictly prohibited. Silence is not, however, enforced as in those two establishments, by the use of the lash; a difference which is altogether owing to the judicious management of the warden, as there is no positive regulation which forbids that degrading species of discipline. If any convict is reported guilty of a breach of the prison regulations, the complaint is carefully investigated, and if substantiated, the delinquent is punished by solitary confinement in a dark cell, without employment; his allowance of food is diminished, and for every day thus passed, a day is added to the term of his sentence. We are told that "this mode of correction has in no instance failed to subdue the most refractory."

"Great attention is paid at this penitentiary to the moral and religious welfare of the convicts: attendance at prayers is required every morning, and the evening is employed in teaching the most ignorant. A Sunday school has been established by, and under the superintendence of the chaplain. After the performance of service on Sundays, he is assiduously engaged in visiting the prisoners from cell to cell."

Three directors of the penitentiary, who have not any immediate authority over the convicts or the funds of the institution, visit it weekly, in rotation, to examine the state of the prison and the treatment of the convicts, and to inspect the accounts.

That the good which is said to have been effected in this prison in the way of reforming the convicts, is owing to the peculiar qualifications of the warden, has been rendered evident by the fact, that circumstances having induced that officer to retire for a time from the duties of the post, the discipline became disordered in a frightful degree, but was altogether restored in a few weeks after he had been induced again to take the management upon himself.

The state prison of Virginia, which is situated at Richmond, is conducted upon the same plan as those of Auburn and Sing-Sing, with this difference, that the imprisonment —the shortest period for which convicts are sent being two years—is composed partly of solitary confinement and partly of labour, in company with others. This regulation does, indeed, exist in the statutes of some other states, but with respect to all, save Virginia, the practice of solitary confinement by day, as part of the punishment, has fallen into disuse. In Virginia this practice appears to have been the subject of much discussion and consideration, and the law has frequently undergone alteration in respect of it. It is the present practice to cause a twelfth part of the term of imprisonment to be passed in solitude. The times at which this punishment is inflicted are one week in every three months, during all except the last year of imprisonment, and then four weeks' solitude, being the maximum allowed at any one period, is inflicted immediately previous to the prisoner's discharge. The variations in this part of the practice of the Richmond penitentiary have been occasioned by different acts of the State Legislature. In 1824 it was laid down as the rule from which no departure was to be allowed, that every convict brought to the penitentiary should, "within ten days after his commitment, or as soon as is found practicable, be confined in a dark and solitary cell, and continued therein on low and coarse diet, without interruption, for the period of six months, unless such period exceed the time for which he was sentenced to solitary confinement, or he be sooner discharged by law (pardon?) The residue of the sentence for solitary confinement shall be executed at convenient intervals, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, but in portions of time not less than a fortnight each, and so distributed that they shall fall as nearly as may be at regular intervals from each other."

* Report of the inspectors to the legislature of New York, quoted by Mr. Crawford.

By an act of 1826 it was required that the period of solitary confinement, soon after entering the prison, should be three months only instead of six, and that an equal period of three months should be inflicted on each prisoner immediately preceding his discharge. In the following year it was found necessary by the legislature to intrust the superintendent (with the approval of the physician) with the power of removing any prisoner from solitary confinement should his health require it; but this indulgence was not allowed to abridge the term for which that portion of the punishment was awarded; the convict was again, when his health permitted it, to be returned to solitude, there to complete the term which had been interrupted. In 1829 an act was passed, which decreed that every convict should be confined in his solitary cell at convenient intervals of time, reserving, to be inflicted immediately preceding his discharge, three months of his sentence of solitary confinement; but the power intrusted to the superintendent of removing from solitary confinement on the score of health, was continued under the sanction of the physician. It was not until 1833 that the system now enforced, and which has already been explained, became the law.

The penitentiaries maintained in the remainder of the seventeen states by which they have been erected, are administered, with some slight modifications, upon the plan of association, with silence during the day, and separation during the night. It is not necessary for our purpose to transcribe from Mr. Crawford's Report any more precise description of them, since this would be little more than a repetition of our account of the New York penitentiaries. Our space will be better employed in exhibiting the apparent effects which have followed from the various modes of discipline which have been adopted.

In adopting their systems of discipline, the different states have for the most part given the preference to plans which provide for the associated labour of the convicts. One cogent reason for this preference appears to be the greater profit derived from labour thus conducted, and consequently the diminishing of the burthen upon the state for the maintenance of its criminals. This motive, if all other things are equal, might be allowed to weigh seriously in favour of the adoption of such a plan: but if it should be found that in practice it offers less security for the future good conduct of the convicts, the greater present gain will be purchased at too dear a price, even if the matter be viewed as a mere money question, and wholly apart from all moral considerations. It is universally acknowledged that to bring about the reformation of criminals, it is indispensably necessary to prevent any communications from passing between them; and in every case where associated labour is used—with the solitary exception that has been noticed—this necessary object is enforced by a discipline at once brutal and degrading, which may be efficacious in enforcing a certain degree of slavish obedience, but which is powerless as a means of recovering the character and purifying the hearts of those to whom it is applied. "It is true," says Mr. Crawford, "that the dominion of the lash produces instantaneous and unqualified submission, but this obedience is but of a temporary nature. It imparts no valuable feeling, and presents no motive that is calculated to deter eventually from the commission of crime and amend the moral character. In the year 1828 the superintendent of this penitentiary (at Auburn) published a work, in which he gave a list of 160 convicts, four-fifths of whom were stated on their liberation to have become honest and respectable. On my visit to the penitentiary of Sing-Sing, I was informed that thirty of those persons were then in that prison, and I was assured that an additional number of twenty had also been there since the appearance of that publication."

It is but too probable that the proportion of recommitments was much greater than is here stated. Fifty out of 160 were known to have continued unreformed from the circumstance of their re-appearance at one of the prisons of the same state as that in which their previous punishment had been inflicted; but no inquiries are ever made into the after conduct of discharged convicts; and in a country like the United States, which furnishes considerable facilities for travelling to great distances, it is surprising that so large a proportion as that just mentioned should have remained in that part of the country in which they could be recognised so easily. How many of the remaining 110 availed themselves of the facilities afforded for conveying themselves to distant parts where they were previously unknown, and might therefore more easily pursue their criminal courses, it were vain to inquire; but there seems no good ground for hoping that the proportion so acting was otherwise than considerable.

One of the strongest arguments that have been adduced against the moral efficacy of the system of combined labour, under any modifications, is the facility which it affords for recognising former inmates of prisons. This position has been thus strongly taken up by Mr. Crawford:—"The propensity of convicts on their liberation to revive acquaintances formed in prison, is notorious. If any individual so situated be disposed to abandon his criminal habits, he is too often assailed by temptations from his late associates, and threatened by exposure. An instance of this kind was related to me by a convict, who had manifested great contrition for his past life, and conducted himself so well as to obtain his pardon from the Walnut Street prison. Having been recommitted, he was asked why he had returned. He replied, "I intended to behave well, and I went for that purpose into the State of Ohio, where I hoped that my former character would be unknown, and I might set out anew in life. I got employment, and was doing well, when unfortunately I one day met a man who had been a convict here at the same time as myself. I passed him, feigning not to know him: he followed me and said, "I know and will expose you, so you need not expect to shun me. It is folly to set out to be honest, come with me and drink, and we will talk over old affairs. I could not escape from him; my spirit sunk in despair, and I went with him. The result you know." The evil thus pointed out is aggravated at Auburn and most of the other penitentiaries, by the admission of the public to visit them on the payment of a quarter dollar (about a shilling) by each visiter. The amount of money thus collected cannot be an object worthy of any consideration in estimating the propriety of the system; but it has been urged that the presence of visiters acts as a check upon the attendants, preventing undue severity towards the convicts. The advantage here pointed out can of course only be experienced during the actual presence of visiters; and as it is probable that the largest portion of time will be passed in their absence, this check will not be productive of much practical good. Another evil resulting from these visits arises from the relief which it must afford to the convicts during what would otherwise be felt the irksome monotony of their confinement, thus continually to see new faces, and to hear the kindly voices of fellow creatures, who may innocently and unconsciously bring tidings to them of the world which for a time has cast them off, and with which it is so desirable that they should hold no communion that can tend to lighten the weight of their punishment.

One part of the system pursued in all the penitentiaries in the United States appears to meet with universal approval. That men who have temporarily forfeited their liberty by indulgence in criminal courses should be suffered to pass the period of their seclusion in idleness, is a moral solecism which finds but few advocates in the present day. By means of the crimes to which they owe their imprisonment they have already sufficiently burthened the community, and if no motive connected with their own future good suggested the usefulness of labour in their case, it would assuredly be right that they should be made to contribute towards the expenses of institutions which they alone have rendered necessary. It was seriously urged at one time, before the subject of prison discipline had undergone investigation so fully as it now has, that the profitable employment of criminals during their confinement was hurtful to society, through the tendency thus created to diminish the demand for labour on the part of the honest and industrious. The objection here stated has not indeed been brought forward in the United States, where there is always a sufficiency of employment awaiting all who are willing to labour; but in this country, where we have at various times experienced the evils of a redundant labouring population, the notion has been allowed sufficient weight to occasion its appearance and approval in reports gravely put forth by the more popular branch of our legislature. The fallacy involved in this opinion has been well exposed by Mr. Crawford in his Report, and we cannot perhaps better dispose of the question than in his own words:—

"Objections have, I know, been urged against the employment of criminals in any trade, on the ground that the practice tends to diminish the demand for the labour of the honest and industrious; but the same may be said of the

introduction of labour into a parish workhouse. Every man, whether convict or pauper, is entitled to his fair share in the productive employment which the country affords; nor does he forfeit the right of earning his subsistence by becoming the tenant either of a poor-house or a gaol. The law does not doom the criminal to idleness as well as to imprisonment. If the individual were previously engaged in habits of industry, his employment during confinement cannot diminish the demand for the labour of others. Should this not have been the case, it becomes the duty of society, by the applications of such means as may be essential for the purpose, to render the idle industrious, in order to convert him into an honest man."

If the argument of those who deprecate the competition in the labour market of the criminal with the honest part of society be good for anything, it involves this contradictory conclusion, that the well-being of one part of the community depends upon the criminality and idleness of the rest, to support whom there are no means other than taxing the industry, and thus abridging the comforts of the more deserving.

There is hardly any practice, however good its tendency when under proper regulations, that may not be perverted to evil consequences. This appears, from Mr. Crawford's statement, to be the case with regard to the employment of convicts in some of the American penitentiaries.

"A few years since," he observes, "the ordinary terms of imprisonment were thought inconveniently long, and hundreds were pardoned to make room for new commitments. In certain of the states a sentence of even two years is considered as insufficient to render a prisoner's labour available, and hence it is not improbable that the present periods will, ere long, be extended. It is remarkable that this change of opinion has been produced without reference to the degree of punishments due to specific crimes, but with a view to pecuniary results. The profitable labour of the prisoners is in fact the popular feature in the management of the American penitentiaries: and I am inclined to think that the great desire which exists to rid the community of the burthen of supporting criminals has occasioned in most of the states the establishment of penitentiaries: while, throughout the whole country, this feeling has evidently given a great impulse to the progress of prison discipline. There are unquestionably, in every state, those whose interest in these institutions springs from higher motives: but with the exception of New England and Pennsylvania, I have generally found that the public approbation in reference to prisons has been measured, not by their permanent effects on the moral character of the liberated convict, but by the profits of the establishment. The productive employment of prisoners is certainly an object of considerable importance, and every exertion should be made for its accomplishment consistently with the great moral purposes of a gaol. I am however of opinion, that to attain this result too large a sacrifice is made in some of the penitentiaries in the United States. Various trades are introduced, and beneficial arrangements neglected, solely with a view to profit. The objects of punishment have been thus lost sight of. The gloom of the penitentiary has been dispelled, and the attention of the convict distracted by the continual bustle and varied occupations of the manufactory. It is one thing to render a convict a skilful mechanic, and another to induce him to become an honest man; and the interests of society are injured instead of being benefitted, when, for the sake of profit, the penalties of the law are weakened, and the moral effects of imprisonment suppressed."

Among the various experiments on the subject of prison discipline made in the United States, has been that of continued solitary confinement, without labour. The following account of some of these experiments is taken from Mr. Crawford's Report:—

"Solitary imprisonment has been objected to as unequal in its effects, operating with greater severity upon active than upon sluggish minds: but inequality applies to every species of punishment, affecting men more or less according to the endless varieties of character, disposition, and even physical conformation. The experience of both England and America has however shown, that the penalties of solitude are of a more just and general nature than is usually ascribed to them, and that they are peculiarly irksome, not to the sensitive and cultivated mind so much as to the hardened and depraved. The terrors of solitude operate most powerfully on that class, in the treatment of whom severity is most desirable. The warden of the Eastern Penitentiary has remarked, that in every instance in which a prisoner has been brought to see the errors of his past life, his cell has in a great measure appeared to lose its horrors. Many vague and confused notions are entertained on this subject. In America the opponents of this system have produced very erroneous impressions by the publication of certain experiments made a few years since of solitude without labour; statements which have also been widely circulated in England, to the great prejudice of solitary imprisonment of every description. Having carefully inspected the prisons in question, I feel bound to state my conviction that the fatal effects which have been described were not the result of solitude, but of the contracted dimensions and unhealthy condition of the cells in which the experiments were conducted. A trial of solitary confinement, day and night without labour, was made at Auburn in the year 1822, for ten months, upon eighty of the most hardened convicts. They were each confined in a cell only seven feet long, three feet and a half wide, and seven feet high. They were on no account permitted to leave the cell during that long period on any occasion—not even for the purposes of nature. They had no means of obtaining any change of air, nor opportunities of taking exercise. The most disastrous consequences were naturally the result. Several persons became insane, health was impaired and life endangered. The discipline of the prison at that time was one of unmixed severity. There was no moral nor religious instruction of any kind communicated within its walls, nor any consolation administered by which the convict was enabled to bear up against the cruelty of this treatment. Nor was a trial of the same description, which took place in the State of Maine, conducted under more advantageous circumstances. The night-rooms or cells at this prison are literally pits entered from the top by a ladder, through an aperture about two feet square. The opening is secured by an iron grate, used as a trap-door; the only other orifice is one at the bottom, about an inch and a half in diameter, for the admission of warm air from underneath. The cells are eight feet nine inches long, four feet six inches wide, and nine feet eight inches high. Their gloom is indescribable. The diet, during confinement, was bread and water only. Thus immured, and without any occupation, it will excite no surprise to learn that a man who had been sentenced to pass seventy days in one of these miserable pits hung himself after four days' imprisonment. Another condemned to sixty days also committed suicide on the twenty-fourth day. It became necessary to remove four others—who were unable to endure this cruelty—from the cell to the hospital repeatedly, before the expiration of their sentence. It is said that similar experiments have been made in Virginia, and that various diseases, terminating in death, were the result. The cells in which the prisoners were confined have been since disused; they are, in fact, dangerous, being on the basement story, and so dark as to require a lamp on visiting them. In damp weather the water stands in drops on the walls. The cells were not warmed at any season of the year. A prisoner's feet were actually frozen during his confinement. No fair trial of the effects of solitude could have taken place, as has been alleged, in the penitentiary of New Jersey, the cells being so arranged that the convicts can converse with perfect freedom. From experiments of this character no just conclusions can therefore be derived unfriendly to solitary imprisonment of any kind, especially when accompanied by employment in large and well ventilated cells, the arrangements of which have reference to the preservation of the health, regular employment, and improvement of the mind of the offender."

Such a condition of things as is here described by Mr. Crawford is stated by him to exist in the Philadelphia penitentiary. The principle upon which this prison is conducted has been already described. It is worthy of remark, that the system of this prison was adopted by the State Legislature, not from any well-grounded hope of its efficacy, but to effect a compromise between two parties holding very opposite opinions upon the subject of prison discipline. One of these parties, possessed of great influence in the Legislative Chamber, warmly advocated the infliction of solitary confinement without labour; while the other party, influenced by the opinion of commissioners who had been appointed to visit other gaols and to report their opinion as to the most eligible plan, as strenuously urged that the convicts should be employed in association in the day and be confined apart

at night. Thus pressed in two opposite directions, the legislature adopted the middle course of solitude both by day and night, but accompanied by labour.

The seclusion in which the inmates of this prison are kept is perfect. They know nothing of what is passing in the world, or among their friends and relations, and are even kept profoundly ignorant of everything occurring in the prison beyond the walls of their own cells. In illustration of this latter fact, Mr. Crawford, in his recent examination before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the state of gaols in England, relates the following anecdote:—A convict confined in this prison one day said to the warden, "I have a very great favour to ask of you, Sir: I should very much like to know whether or not such a one (whom he named) who was concerned with me in the robbery, was ever apprehended." The warden replied, that he could give him no information upon such a subject. He said, "Little did the man think that the individual after whom he inquired had been confined for ten months in the very adjoining cell."

Another proof of the completeness of this seclusion is deserving of mention for another reason. The prisoners in this building were kept in entire ignorance of the existence of the cholera, which had committed great ravages in the city; and it appears reasonable to ascribe to this ignorance the fact, that during the whole time of the prevalence of the disease, not a single convict was attacked by it, although the hospital for the reception of cholera patients was in the neighbourhood of the penitentiary. It is a very extraordinary fact, that in the Glasgow Bridewell—a prison conducted upon the same principle as the Philadelphia Penitentiary, and which we shall presently notice—the inmates experienced a similar immunity. We learn from a paper concerning the Glasgow Bridewell, drawn up by Dr. Cleland, that although, from the 13th of February to the 3rd of June, 1832, there occurred 1325 cases of cholera in that city, followed by 687 deaths, not a single prisoner was attacked by that dreadful disorder.

Of the different plans pursued in the American penitentiaries, Mr. Crawford gives a very decided preference to that of the Philadelphia prison. In his opinion, "solitary imprisonment is not only an exemplary punishment, but a powerful agent in the reformation of morals. It inevitably tends to arrest the progress of corruption. In the silence of the cell contamination cannot be received or imparted. A sense of degradation cannot be excited by exposure, nor reformation checked by false shame. Day after day, with no companions but his thoughts, the convict is compelled to reflect and listen to the reproofs of conscience. He is led to dwell upon past errors, and to cherish whatever better feelings he may at any time have imbibed. These circumstances are in the highest degree calculated to ameliorate the affections and reclaim the heart. The mind becomes open to the best impressions, and prepared for the reception of those truths and consolations which Christianity can alone impart. Instances have occurred in which prisoners have expressed their gratitude for the moral benefit which they have thus derived."

The remarks and reflections here quoted are applicable to solitary confinement under every modification. In speaking of its effects as applied in combination with labour in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, Mr. Crawford thus expresses himself:—"Having had the unrestrained privilege of visiting the cells at all times, I have had many opportunities of conversing in private with a considerable number of the prisoners. Aware of the strong feeling which exists of the danger resulting from long periods of solitary confinement thus strictly enforced, my inquiries were carefully directed to the effects which it had produced upon the health, mind, and character of the convict. I have uniformly found that the deterring influence is extremely great, and such as, I believe, belongs to no other system of good management; for although in large bodies, associated together, silence may by strict discipline be in a great measure maintained, prisoners thus debarred from speaking have inevitably recourse to other modes of communication. I do not wish it to be inferred that moral corruption can result from intercourse so limited; yet when men are, day after day, thrown into the society of each other, the irksomeness of imprisonment becomes impaired, and its terrors materially diminished. The eastern penitentiary imparts no such relief: of the convicts with whom I conversed, many had been previously confined in the New York and other prisons, where corporal punishments were frequent; but these persons have declared, that that discipline was less corrective than the restraints of continued solitude."

Mr. Crawford complains of the neglect of the legislatures, in not providing religious teachers for the instruction of the convicts. In Pennsylvania the law does indeed authorize the appointment of a chaplain, but makes no pecuniary provision for his support. "It is true, that occasions occur, highly honourable to the parties, in which clergymen visit the penitentiary, and gratuitously afford their assistance, by the performance of divine worship." Mr. Crawford says, what will be readily believed, that these services are gratefully appreciated by the prisoners. In the impressive stillness of the cell even the sound of the human voice is a relief, and few situations can be more favourable to the reception of religious truth. But valuable as are these services, however desultory, their benefits are but partial and temporary, and utterly inadequate as a substitute for a systematic and unremitted course of religious instruction. Books are provided, but convicts who are unable to read remain uninstructed. The deficiency here noticed has been repeatedly made the subject of public complaint by the officers of the prison, and it is, to say the least, a very extraordinary circumstance, that where so much has been done, and where so much money has been expended for proving the efficacy of an experiment for the reformation of criminals, so very obvious and necessary an accessory should be omitted in the establishment.

One very important consideration in the management of a prison, whatever may be the system of discipline adopted, is the character and qualifications of the superintendent. It is a consideration, however, to which, unfortunately, but little attention has usually been paid in this country. It has been thought quite sufficient that the person to whom the management of criminals has been entrusted, should bear a fair character for honesty and sobriety, so that it has not been uncommon to see persons whose acquirements have not amounted even to the mere elementary branches of reading and writing, appointed to the fulfilment of duties which require from them the constant exercise of firmness, temper, and discretion, that they may avoid the commission of errors, and be enabled to impart some of those benefits which the punishment of a prison is designed to produce. It is to be feared, that in some cases, and particularly where gaols are placed under the jurisdiction of the smaller class of municipal corporations, even the slight degree of *moral* qualification that has been mentioned, has not always been insisted upon. This is an abuse which, under the spirit of inquiry and reformation now abroad, it is not possible should long continue to exist. Much has been done already to remedy it in the metropolis, and in other large towns, as well as in some county prisons, the governors of which have been selected from the well educated classes of society; and if any judgment can be formed by means of the evidence recently given by some of these officers, before the committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of gaols, their selection has been made with great judgment and discretion. The governors or wardens of American penitentiaries are usually gentlemen by station and habits, and devote themselves to the performance of their arduous duties with a degree of enlightened zeal, which is found productive of the best results. In many places in England the same class of officers will now bear a comparison with those of America, and we are convinced that when, by further discussions and inquiries, magistrates shall become generally convinced of the good effects resulting from a more careful selection of officers, the ignorant race of gaolers will be everywhere replaced by better qualified persons.

The bridewell, or house of correction at Glasgow, to which we have already made allusion, is governed upon the same plan as the Philadelphia penitentiary, and it is proper to observe, was so managed for five years before the erection of the American prison. Judging from the number of recommitments alone, we shall not be justified in asserting the successful operation of the Glasgow bridewell, but we have little doubt that the unfavourable comparison which in this respect the Scotch prison will bear with the American, is owing to the much shorter periods for which commitments are made to the former than to the latter.

The small comparative good effected by prison discipline,

of even the most efficacious description, when applied for very limited periods, is rendered strikingly apparent by the following statement, made out by Mr. Brebner, the keeper of the Glasgow bridewell, and recently laid before the House of Lords. Of prisoners sent into the prison for the first time, for

14 days'	confinement, about	75 per cent. returned.
30 "	"	60 "
40 "	"	50 "
60 "	"	40 "
3 months'	"	25 "
6 "	"	10 "
9 "	"	7½ "
12 "	"	4 "
18 "	"	1 "
24 "	"	0 "

During seventeen years, in which Mr. Brebner has been keeper of the bridewell, there have been ninety-three commitments for two years, and out of the whole of these, there has not been an instance of the recommitment of one of them.

The shortest period for which commitments are made to the Philadelphia penitentiary is one year; the greater number have to undergo sentences of two, three, and four years confinement, and some are imprisoned for ten and even twelve years.

The total number of convicts confined in this prison, from its opening in 1829, to November, 1833, was 209; of whom

24	were under 20	years of age
102	were between 20	and 30
51	" 30	and 40
20	" 40	and 50
8	" 50	and 60
3	" 60	and 70
1	" 70	and 80
209		

156	of these were 1st	convictions
25	" 2nd	"
16	" 3rd	"
6	" 4th	"
2	" 5th	"
4	" 6th	"
209		

Up to the time when this statement was made up, not any recommitment to the Philadelphia Penitentiary had occurred: one person has since been recommitted. But it is not possible to form any correct judgment from this circumstance, in regard to the efficacy of the discipline in deterring from crime; because, at the time that the statement was given, 162 out of the 209 persons committed were still undergoing their sentence; and of the remaining forty-seven, which number includes seven who were pardoned, ten had died, including one sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, who committed suicide after undergoing about two years' confinement.

One part of the instructions given to Mr. Crawford on leaving England, directed him to visit the houses of refuge established for the support and reformation of young persons in the cities of New York and Philadelphia. Having for the period of nearly twenty years been connected with the management of the institution in London, known as the "Refuge for the Destitute," Mr. Crawford was well qualified to judge concerning the efficacy of the American establishments; and it is, therefore, a subject of regret, to see that he does not find much to approve in the system upon which they are conducted.

Establishments of this kind in England, receive only as their inmates, young persons who have been not simply charged, but actually convicted of crimes; whereas in New York and Philadelphia, the houses of refuge are open to vagrant youth of every description, who, when once placed within them, forfeit their personal liberty, and are placed at the entire disposal of the managers of the institutions, until they have attained their majority. For thus depriving them of their liberty, the sentence of a court is not at all necessary: and it appears from an extract that Mr. Crawford has given from a report of the managers of the New York refuge, that they are desirous of receiving all who may be brought to them, under circumstances which prove them to be "more sinned against than sinning." In their ninth report, the managers say, "We think that we can safely urge, that the condition of all children in the habits of vagrancy, or who are abandoned, or have no parents or guardians, or who have drunken parents, would be much improved if they were sent to the refuge. That there are many hundred of such children in this city cannot be doubted, and it is much to be regretted if, from any mistaken views of clemency, either on the part of parents or magistrates, they are not sent to this establishment."

The remarks which Mr. Crawford makes upon this almost indiscriminate invitation, appear to us so good, that we are induced to give them insertion:—

"Houses of refuge for the reception of destitute children, like most other charitable asylums, require to be very carefully guarded by such restrictions as will prevent the encouragement of the evil which they are designed to suppress.

The same reasons for which foundling hospitals have proved mischievous, apply with equal force to other establishments which open their doors indiscriminately to destitute youth, thus weakening the bonds of parental obligation, and affording encouragement to the vicious and depraved, to neglect and forsake their offspring. It is true, that in a thinly peopled country, where the pressure of indigence is not felt, and where the services of a young family soon become, in a pecuniary sense, a source of profit, there can be but few inducements to a parent to forsake his children; and consequently, the evils which flow from indiscriminate charity, although they cannot fail in some degree to exist, are not strikingly apparent. The principle of an enactment is, however, not the less unsound, which invites the idle and the dissolute to throw upon a public institution the maintenance of their children, which renders a mere act of vagrancy on the part of a youth a qualification for admission into an asylum, in which he shall be supported, educated, and taught a trade, and thus derive advantages superior to those which are enjoyed by the offspring of the honest and deserving. Such an institution is a direct bounty on parental neglect, and operates most unjustly upon those who, disdaining to have recourse to charitable aid, strive to maintain their families by prudent habits and honest industry."

THE TRADE WITH CHINA SINCE THE ABOLITION OF THE MONOPOLY.

When it was proposed to put an end to the East India Company's monopoly of the trade to China, strong apprehensions were entertained by many persons that the result of the experiment would be to cut us off from all commercial intercourse whatever with that great country—that henceforth we should neither be able to obtain our wonted supplies of tea and silk thence, nor to find there any longer a market for our manufactured goods. As yet we have no means of ascertaining the value of our exports to China since the opening of the trade, the shipments being in a great measure confounded in the Custom House books with those made to the possessions of the East India Company; but we know enough upon this branch of the subject to be assurred that the value of our manufactures introduced into Canton since the overthrow of the monopoly has been considerably greater than that of the shipments previously made by the Company. Upon the other branch of the subject—our imports from China—that being altogether a direct trade, we have more precise information; and we have much gratification in presenting the following highly satisfactory statements:—

Table of the importations of raw silk from China in each of the last eight years:

	lbs.
In 1827	128,234
1828	212,895
1829	120,970
1830	19,198
1831	8,374
1832	28,105
1833	22,181
and in 1834	582,834

Comparative Statement of the Quantities of Tea imported into the United Kingdom in the Season 1833–4, being the last year of the East India Company's monopoly, and the Season 1834–5 being the first year of open trade.

Description.	London.	Liverpool.	Bristol.	Leith.	Glasgow.	Dublin.	Total Import in the Season 1834—5.	Total Import in the Season 1833—4.
Fokien Bohea . . . lbs.	3,007,655	619,499	45,704	110,451	. .	107,693	3,891,002	4,398,120
Canton Bohea . . . ,	5,791,977	887,495	119,382	92,984	72,002	150,114	7,113,954	3,763,922
Congou . . . . ,	14,760,304	2,700,752	795,746	327,283	249,533	566,572	19,400,190	15,233,012
Caper . . . . ,	349,467	131,859	. .	11,951	18,649	4,859	516,785	344,240
Ankoi , ... ,	66,055	19,175	. .	. .	. .	. .	85,230	. .
Souchong . . . . ,	592,858	97,438	113,341	3,940	11,032	. .	808,609	439,827
Orange Pekoe . . . ,	801,793	111,633	. .	27,186	. .	13,134	953,746	257,787
Campoi . . . . ,	744,005	168,531	20,619	783	78,668	. .	1,012,611	. .
Pekoe . . . . ,	377,816	52,139	21,428	6,304	11,557	. .	472,274	199,916
Twankay . . . . ,	3,310,949	337,526	20,832	14,053	16,851	3,263	3,703,544	3,898,563
Hyson . . . . ,	1,382,422	178,740	96,005	6,135	21,276	3,283	1,688,161	887,444
Hyson Skin . . . ,	299,810	10,769	. .	1,051	6,576	. .	318,206	104,990
Young Hyson . . . ,	403,751	26,792	2,283	657	. .	. .	433,483	. .
Gunpowder . . . ,	305,832	13,002	14,972	3,415	9,325	263	346,809	32,046
Imperial . . . . ,	166,714	15,235	21,276	. .	8,668	. .	211,893	. .
Presents, &c. . . . ,	85,346	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	85,346	32,418
Total . ,	32,436,781	5,370,585	1,271,638	606,498	504,137	849,201	41,011,843	29,592,310

Two or three ships of the Season 1834–5 are not yet arrived. Their cargoes may amount to about two millions of pounds, and in that case the imports of the present season will exceed those of the last by thirteen and a half millions of pounds weight; but as the imports of 1833–4 were about 1,500,000 pounds short of the average importations of that and the two preceding years, we may consider the importations of the present season to be twelve millions of pounds greater than the annual shipments under the East India Company's monopoly.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.—SESSION 1835.

1. An Act to explain an Act of the first year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual administration of justice in England and Wales, so far as relates to the execution of criminals in the county of Chester.

2. An Act to amend an Act of the thirty-eighth year of King George the Third, for preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing and publication of such papers in other respects; and to discontinue certain actions commenced under the provisions of the said Act.

3. An Act to apply certain sums to the service of the year 1835.

4. An Act for raising the sum of fifteen millions by exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1835.

5. An Act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

6. An Act to indemnify the governor-general and other persons in respect of certain acts done in the administration of the government of the British territories in the East Indies, subsequent to the 22nd day of April, 1834, and to make those acts valid.

7. An Act for the regulation of his Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on shore.

8. An Act for the more effectual abolition of oaths and affirmations taken and made in various departments of the state, and to substitute declarations in lieu thereof; and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extra-judicial oaths and affidavits.

9. An Act to apply a sum of eight millions, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the service of the year 1835.

10. An Act to allow, until the 28th day of July, 1835, the importation of certain articles, duty-free, into the island of Dominica, and to indemnify the governor and others for having permitted the importation of such articles duty-free.

11. An Act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively until the 25th day of March, 1836; to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attorneys and solicitors to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary Term, 1836; and to allow persons to make and file such affidavits, although the persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their annual certificates.

12. An Act for continuing to his Majesty, until the 5th day of July, 1836, certain duties on sugar imported into the United Kingdom, for the service of the year 1835.

13. An Act to regulate the importation of corn into the Isle of Man.

14. An Act to continue to the 31st day of December, 1836, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, an Act of the tenth year of his late Majesty's reign, for providing for the government of his Majesty's settlements in Western Australia on the western coast of New Holland.

15. An Act to continue until the 31st day of May, 1838, and to the end of the then next session of parliament, the allowances of the duty of excise on soap used in certain manufactures.

16. An Act for altering and amending the law regarding commitments by courts of equity for contempts, and the taking bills *pro confesso*, in Ireland.

17. An Act to extend to Ireland certain provisions of an Act made and passed in the first year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled 'An Act for consolidating and amending the laws relating to property belonging to infants, femes covert, lunatics, and persons of unsound mind.'

18. An Act to exempt carriages carrying manure from toll.

19. An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the merchant seamen of the United Kingdom, and for forming and maintaining a register of all the men engaged in that service.

20. An Act to consolidate certain offices in the collection of the revenues of stamps and taxes, and to amend the laws relating thereto.

21. An Act to amend and alter an Act of the fifty-ninth year of his late Majesty King George the Third, for vesting in commissioners the line of road from Shrewsbury in the county of Salop to Bangor Ferry in the county of Carnarvon; and for discharging the trustees under several Acts of the seventeenth, twenty-eighth, thirty sixth, forty-first, forty-second, forty-seventh, and fiftieth years of his then present Majesty, from the future repair and maintenance thereof, and for repealing so much of the said Acts as affects the same line of road.

22. An Act to continue for three years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, two Acts of the second and third year and the third and fourth year of his present Majesty, relating to the care and treatment of insane persons in England.

23. An Act for the establishment of loan societies in England and Wales; and to extend the provisions of the Friendly Societies Acts to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man.

24. An Act for the encouragement of the voluntary enlistment of seamen, and to make regulations for more effectually manning his Majesty's navy.

25. An Act to extend the accommodation by the post to and from foreign parts, and for other purposes relating to the post-office.

26. An Act for the appointment of convenient places for the holding of assizes in Ireland.

27. An Act to continue and amend certain regulations for the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland.

28. An Act for removing doubts as to the declaration to be made and oaths to be taken by persons appointed to the office of sheriff of any city or town being a county of itself.

29. An Act for investing in government securities a portion of the cash lying unemployed in the Bank of England belonging to bankrupts' estates, and applying the interest thereon in discharge of the expenses of the court of bankruptcy, and for the relief of the suitors in the said court; and for removing doubts as to the extent of the powers of the court of review and of the subdivision courts.

30. An Act for protecting the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical dignities, prebends, canonries, and benefices without cure of souls, and for preventing the lapse thereof, during the pending inquiries respecting the state of the Established Church in England and Wales.

31. An Act to give effect and validity to certain contracts and presentments for repairing and keeping in repair certain public roads in Ireland and the sureties entered into for the execution thereof.

32. An Act to impose certain duties on tea.

33. An Act for preventing the vexatious removal of indictments into the Court of King's Bench; and for extending the provisions of an Act of the fifth year of King William and Queen Mary, for preventing delays at the Quarter Sessions of the peace, to other indictments; and for extending the provisions of an Act of the seventh year of King George the Fourth, as to taking bail in cases of felony.

34. An Act to amend two clerical errors contained in an Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, entitled 'An Act for consolidating and amending the laws in Ireland relative to larceny and other offences connected therewith.'

35. An Act for consolidating the offices of paymaster-general, paymaster and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, treasurer of the navy, and treasurer of the ordnance.

36. An Act to limit the time of taking the poll in boroughs at contested elections of members to serve in parliament to one day.

37. An Act for the further reduction of the militia staff, and to suspend the ballot for the militia.

38. An Act for effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of the several prisons in England and Wales; and for appointing inspectors of prisons in Great Britain.

39. An Act to exempt certain retailers of spirits to a small amount from the additional duties on licences; and to discontinue the excise survey on wine, and the use of permits for the removal thereof.

40. An Act to provide for the better collection of the duties on wood the produce of places in Europe.

41. An Act to amend the law relating to securities given for considerations arising out of gaming, usurious, and certain other illegal transactions.

42. An Act to authorize the granting of superannuation allowances to the commissioners and officers of the courts for the relief of insolvent debtors.

43. An Act for enlarging the powers of magistrates in the appointment of special constables.

44. An Act for raising the sum of thirteen millions five hundred twenty-one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds by exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1835.

45. An Act to carry into further execution the provisions of an Act passed in the third and fourth years of his present Majesty, for compensating owners of slaves upon the abolition of slavery.

46. An Act to amend, until the end of the next session of parliament, an Act of the second year of his present Majesty, for making provision for the dispatch of the business now done by the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

47. An Act to repeal so much of an Act, passed in the third and fourth years of his present Majesty as relates to the amount of the salary granted to the clerk of the crown in chancery; and to make other provisions in relation to the said office.

48. An Act for the better prevention and more speedy punishment of offences endangering the public peace in Ireland.

49. An Act for continuing, until the 1st day of June, 1837, the several Acts for regulating the turnpike roads in Great Britain, which will expire on the 1st day of June, 1836, or with the next session of parliament.

50. An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to highways in that part of Great Britain called England.

51. An Act for granting relief to the Island of Dominica; and to amend an Act of the second and third years of His present Majesty, for enabling His Majesty to direct the issue of exchequer bills to a limited amount for the purposes therein mentioned.

52. An Act to authorize the court of directors of the East India Company to suspend the execution of the provisions of the Act of the third and fourth William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, so far as they relate to the creation of the government of Agra.

53. An Act to repeal an Act of the ninth year of His late Majesty, for regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels from the United Kingdom to the British possessions on the Continent and Islands of North America; and to make further provisions for regulating the carriage of passengers from the United Kingdom.

54. An Act to render certain marriages valid, and to alter the law with respect to certain voidable marriages.

55. An Act for facilitating the appointment of Sheriffs in Ireland, and the more effectual audit and passing of their accounts; and for the more speedy return and recovery of fines, fees, forfeitures, recognizances, penalties, and deodands; and to abolish certain offices in the court of exchequer in Ireland; and to amend the laws relating to grants in custodiam and recovery of debts in Ireland; and to amend an Act of the second and third years of His present Majesty, for transferring the powers and duties of the commissioners of public accounts in Ireland to the commissioners for auditing the public accounts of Great Britain.

56. An Act to regulate the admeasurement of the tonnage and burthen of the merchant shipping of the United Kingdom.

57. An Act to extend to Scotland certain provisions of an Act of the ninth year of His late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to savings' banks; and to consolidate and amend the laws relating to savings' banks in Scotland.

58. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the hereditary land revenues of the Crown in Scotland.

59. An Act to consolidate and amend the several laws relating to the cruel and improper treatment of animals, and the mischiefs arising from the driving of cattle, and to make other provisions in regard thereto.

60. An Act for carrying into effect a treaty with the King of the French and the King of Sardinia, for suppressing the slave trade.

61. An Act for carrying into effect the treaty with the King of the French and the King of Denmark, for suppressing the slave trade.

62. An Act to repeal an Act of the present session of parliament, intituled 'An Act for the more effectual Abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various Departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in lieu thereof, and for the more entire Suppression of voluntary and extra-judicial Oaths and Affidavits;' and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary oaths.

63. An Act to repeal an Act of the fourth and fifth year of His present Majesty, relating to weights and measures, and to make other provisions instead thereof.

64. An Act to alter certain duties of stamps and assessed taxes, and to regulate the collection thereof.

65. An Act for preventing the publication of lectures without consent.

66. An Act to amend the law relating to the customs.

67. An Act for the improvement of the navigation of the river Shannon.

68. An Act to defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain and Ireland; and to grant allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, paymasters, quarter-masters, surgeons, assistant surgeons, mates, and serjeant-majors of the militia, until the first day of July, 1836.

69. An Act to facilitate the conveyance of workhouses

and other property of parishes and of Incorporations or unions of parishes in England and Wales.

70. An Act for abolishing, in Scotland, imprisonment for civil debts of small amount.

71. An Act for appointing commissioners to continue the inquiries concerning charities in England and Wales until the first day of March, 1837.

72. An Act for abolishing the excise incorporation in Scotland, and for transferring the funds of the said incorporation to the consolidated fund, and providing for the payment of the annuities to the widows and orphans of late and present members of the incorporation fund.

73. An Act to provide that persons accused of forgery in Scotland, shall not be entitled to bail unless in certain cases.

74. An Act for the more easy recovery of tithes.

75. An Act for the amendment of the law as to the tithing of turnips in certain cases.

76. An Act to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales.

77. An Act to repeal the duty and drawback on flint glass, to impose other duties and another drawback in lieu thereof, and to reduce the drawback on German sheet glass exported in panes; and to repeal the drawback on unground and unpolished plate glass; and to amend the laws relating to the duties on glass.

78. An Act to explain and amend an Act passed in the second and third year of the reign of King William the Fourth, for amending the representation of the people in Scotland; and to diminish the expenses there.

79. An Act to suspend, until after the 6th day of April, 1836, proceedings for recovering payment of certain instalments of the money advanced under the Acts for establishing tithe compositions in Ireland.

80. An Act to apply a sum of money out of the consolidated fund and the surplus of ways and means to the service of the year 1835, and to appropriate the supplies granted in this session of Parliament.

81. An Act for abolishing capital punishments in cases of letter stealing and sacrilege.

82. An Act to abolish certain offices connected with fines and recoveries and the cursitors in the Court of Chancery, and to make provision for the abolition of certain offices in the superior courts of common law in England.

83. An Act to amend the law touching letters patent for inventions.

84. An Act to empower grand juries in Ireland to raise money by presentment for the construction, enlargement, or repair of piers and quays.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

Analysis of Public Expenditure, as taken from the Account of Public Income and Expenditure, printed by order of the House of Commons, March 17, 1835, moved for by Mr. Gillon.—No. 302.

		Effective.	Non-Effective, or Dead Weight.	
Public Debt.	£.			
Permanent Debt	23,890,000			
Terminable Debt	3,654,000			
Interest on Exchequer Bills	696,000			
Management of Debt	260,000			
	28,500,000	£.	£.	£. 28,500,000
Collection of the Revenue of Customs, Excise, Stamps, Taxes, and Post-Office		3,220,000	430,000	3,650,000
Expenses of the Royal Family and Civil Government		970,000	600,000	1,570,000
Expenses of Courts of Justice, Police and Correction		822,500	..	822,500
Diplomatic Expenses		214,000	71,000	285,000
Public Works and other Miscellaneous Services, not included in the above		2,330,000	..	2,330,000
Army, Navy, and Ordnance		7,918,000	4,148,000	12,066,000
Total Expenditure	£28,500,000	£14,274,500	£5,249,000	£49,233,500
Surplus of Income				£1,410,000
Total Income				£50,633,000

Appropriation of the grant of 20,000l. voted by Parliament in aid of building Schools in England.—The amount of the applications which have been made and reported upon by the British School and National School Societies during 1834, to the Treasury, is 44,238l. To meet these applications a sum of 20,000l. (the second grant) was voted by Parliament. From this 484l. 14s. was deducted, the grant of the previous year having been exceeded by that sum; and also a sum of 175l. which had been promised, but accidentally overlooked. There remained, therefore, 19,340l. 6s. at the disposal of the Board, and the principle adopted in the distribution was to give priority to those applications, in which it was proposed to forward the education of the largest number of scholars by the smallest expenditure. Acting on this principle, the applications from such schools as proposed to educate two scholars for every 1l. applied for received consideration, and, as far as the money in the hands of the Board would allow, were attended to. The following table exhibits the amount of the population in the towns and districts where the schools are situated, which have received aid from the grant; the number of scholars in the schools, the estimated expense of erection, the sum applied for, and the sum granted:—

	Amount of Population in towns & districts where schools are situated.	Number of Scholars proposed to be educated.	Estimated expense of erection, &c.	Amount asked for.	Amount granted.
Granted on 11th July, 1834	349,912	18,254	£18,177	£8,040	£7,978
Granted on 27th Jan. 1835, to schools connected with British School Society	382,374	7,040	13,340	6,335	3,520
Ditto to National School Society	581,696	11,152	20,318	9,034	5,576
Granted on 3rd February, 1835	521,836	4,288	7,484	3,607	2,144
Granted on 18th March, 1834, for school at Bungay	5,000	300	300	150	150
Totals	1,840,818	41,034	£59,619	£27,166	£19,368
Add the sum required to make good the amount appropriated over the grant of the previous year					£484 14 6
Total amount appropriated during 1834					£19,852 14 0

The total amount of the applications which the Board were unable to comply with, and which therefore had to stand over, was as follows:

	Population.	Scholars.	Expense.	Amount asked for.
Total applications not complied with	1,283,291	37,510	58,746	25,366

Respecting the appropriation of that portion* of the 10,000l. voted by Parliament in 1834 in aid of schools in Scotland, the following rules have been laid down:

"1. That no portion of this sum be applied to any purpose whatever, except for the erection of new school-houses, and that in the definition of a school-house the residence for masters be not included.

"2. That no application be entertained, unless a sum be raised by private contribution equal at the least to one-half of the total estimated expenditure.

"3. That the amount of private subscription be received, expended, and accounted for, before the issue of public money for such school be directed.

"4. That the applicants whose cases are favourably entertained, be required to bind themselves to submit to any audit of their accounts which this Board may direct, as well as to such periodical reports respecting the state of their schools, and the number of scholars educated, as may be called for."

Fire Insurance Companies.—An account of the sums paid into the stamp Office for duty on insurance from fire, and of the sums insured by each fire office on farming stock exempt from duty during 1834:—

London Offices.	Duty on Insurance. £	s.	d.	Amount of Farming Stock Insured exempt from Duty. £
Alliance	21,034	1	6	372,145
Atlas	21,398	10	0	614,983
British	16,428	13	3	311,602
County	40,471	13	4	5,194,386
Globe	27,355	1	7	633,648
Guardian	32,114	1	4	664,745
Hand-in-Hand	10,950	2	4	2,125
Imperial	27,020	12	1	200,035
London	9,490	9	5	55,465
Phœnix	72,821	14	5	2,862,371
Protector	56,676	17	8	1,588,555
Royal Exchange	55,266	1	9	3,109,545
Sun	127,470	8	11	3,801,766
Union	16,370	5	10	190,029
Westminster	15,531	3	8	21,410

* Part of the 10,000l. is to aid in building model schools in England.

Country Offices.	Duty on Insurance. £	s.	d.	Amount of Farming Stock Insured exempt from Duty. £
Bath Sun	1,568	12	6	49,670
Birmingham	6,042	2	9	507,255
Bristol	3,652	4	2	20,905
Bristol Crown	1,753	4	1	1,000
Bristol Union	2,552	18	9	4,527
District Birmingham	147	19	2	6,720
Essex Economic	2,595	9	3	496,553
Essex and Suffolk	5,356	0	3	955,963
Hants, Sussex, and Dorset	2,598	2	1	239,690
Kent	10,290	5	1	1,024,486
Leeds and Yorkshire	8,966	3	2	177,445
Manchester	18,318	12	9	237,687
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	5,108	14	0	281,167
New Norwich Equitable	1,294	19	8	229,633
Norwich Union	59,826	3	8	8,080,890
Reading	202	4	2	
Salamander	5,021	2	1	615,951
Salop	2,812	11	8	280,342
Sheffield	2,056	13	4	89,520
Shields, North and South	758	5	1	
Suffolk, East	4,117	6	8	820,450
„ West	5,781	16	11	1,096,825
West of England	20,284	16	3	671,313
Yorkshire	4,992	15	10	1,403,478

Comparative Abstract of the Militia Estimates for the periods from 1st April, 1834, to 31st March, 1836:—

	From 1st April, 1835, to 31st March, 1836. Nos.	Amount.	*From 1st April, 1834, to 31st March, 1835. Nos.	Amount.
GREAT BRITAIN.				
Staff, subalterns, reduced and disabled officers	1,584	£37,996 11 2	2,752	£116,467 17 0
Out-pensions of the regular militia of Great Britain and Ireland	3,987	57,925 18 0	3,954	50,417 18 4
Total	5,571	£155,922 9 2	6,706	£160,885 15 4
Amount for local militia	387	15,043 7 6	404	15,541 0 5
Total of regular and local militia for Great Britain	5,985	£170,965 16 8	7,110	£176,426 15 9
IRELAND.				
Regular militia, exclusive of out pensions	807	48,535 6 8	1,252	53,866 18 9
Total for Great Britain and Ireland	6,765	£218,861 3 4	8,362	£230,293 14 6
Decrease on the year ending 31st March, 1836	1,597	£11,432 11 2		

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Mexican Finances.—State of the Foreign Debt of Mexico, 1st September, 1835:—

	Principal. £	Annual Interest. £	Arrears. £
Actual—5 per cent.	2,130,000	106,525	213,050
„ 6 „	3,150,000	189,055	378,110
	£5,280,000	£295,580	£591,160
Deferred—5 per cent.	640,000	32,000	
„ 6 „	950,000	57,000	
	£6,870,000	£384,580	
1836—5 per cent.	426,000	21,000	
„ 6 „	650,000	39,000	
Total	£7,946,000	£444,880	

The bonds of the foreign debt originally contracted by Mexico and now remaining in circulation, amount to 5,280,000*l.*; since then there has been created 1,590,000*l.* additional stock in payment of the arrears of interest due up to 1st April, 1831, interest to commence on the 1st April next, at which period a further issue is to take place of 1,076,000*l.*, being one half of the annual interest reserved on the bonds since July, 1831. On the 1st April, 1836, the foreign debt of Mexico will therefore amount to about eight millions sterling, independently of the sum of 650,000*l.* more, which will then be due for arrears; and it will require an annual remittance of at least two millions and a half of dollars to provide for the interest.

The gross revenues of Mexico have averaged for some years past about twelve millions and a half of dollars, from which must be deducted between two and three millions for the expenses of collection. The ordinary expenditure of Mexico may be estimated at thirteen millions and a half of dollars, exclusive of the interest due on the foreign loans; owing however to the extraordinary expenses of the government during the late civil wars, the actual expenditure has exceeded fifteen millions; in fact, the expenses of the army alone have annually absorbed more than two-thirds of the ostensible revenues of the country.

The principal sources from which Mexico derives her income are the duties levied on imports and exports, which have varied from five to as much as eight millions of dollars a year. The tobacco monopoly has produced as much as one million of dollars, but nearly half is absorbed in the management; the other ordinary branches of revenue consist of the stamps, coinage, and post-office, producing altogether about half a million of dollars, whilst the contingent levied on the different states may be rated at from one to one milion and a half more.

There can be but little doubt that the resources of Mexico, under a proper administration, might be made to provide for her ordinary expenditure, and leave something for the foreign creditor; until, however, the army is greatly reduced, it will continue to absorb all the surplus revenues of the country, whilst the high rate of duties gives such encouragement to smuggling, carried on through the northern provinces with the United States, that the fair trader can stand no chance, and the principal source of revenue will inevitably diminish in proportion.

Steam Vessels.—Number of steam-vessels registered in Great Britain in July, 1835:—Number of vessels, 397; tonnage, 36,849. Number belonging to Great Britain not registered, 84; tonnage unknown. Number building in Great Britain, 46; tonnage unknown. Of the registered vessels 98 belong to the port of London, 56 to Glasgow, 28 to Liverpool, 14 to Bristol, 15 to Hull, 80 to Newcastle, and 14 to Sunderland. The vessels belonging to the two latter places are all small, the tonnage of each varying from 10 to 30. The remaining places are, Beaumaris, 1; Biddeford, 1; Cardiff, 1; Carlisle, 2; Chepstow, 3; Colchester, 1; Cowes, 3; Dover, 6; Gloucester, 1; Goole, 3; Ipswich, 2; Lancaster, 2; Ramsgate, 4; St. Ives, 1; Southampton, 8; Stockton, 7; Swansea, 4; Whitehaven, 4; Yarmouth, 1; Aberdeen, 7; Alloa, 4; Cambeltown, 2; Dundee, 4; Inverness, 1; Kirkaldy, 3; Leith, 4; Port-Glasgow, 2, and Stranraer, 1.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

BILLS WHICH HAVE RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT.

Aug. 25.

Militia Staff Reduction Bill.
Polls at Elections.
Larceny (Ireland) Bill.
Paymaster General.
Prisons' Regulation.
Sparrow's Estate.
Malpas's Divorce.

Aug. 31.

Exchequer Bills Bill.
Spirit Licenses and Wine Permits.
Illegal Securities.
Insolvent Courts.
Slavery Compensation.
Dominica Relief.
Agra Government.
North American Association.
Peace Preservation (Ireland).
Court of Exchequer (Scotland).
Turnpike Acts continuance.
Clerk of the Crown.
Special Constables.
Wood Duties.
Marriage Act Amendment.
Highways Bill.
Great Western Railway.
Tottenham Improvement.
Port Dundas Road.
Earl Nelson's Estate.

Sept. 9.

Customs Duties Bill.
Glass Duties.
Stamps and Assessed Taxes.
Militia Pay Bill.
Municipal Corporations Bill.
Tonnage Admeasurement.
Slave Trade (Sardinia).
Slave Trade (Denmark).
Weights and Measures Act Amendment.
Charities Commissioners.
Parochial Workhouses.
Cruelty to Animals.
Lectures Publication.
Tithes Recovery.
Tithes on Turnips.
Oaths Abolition.
Hereditary Revenues (Scotland).
Reform of Parliament (Scotland).
Savings Banks (Scotland).
Forgery (Scotland) Bill.
Imprisonment for Debt (Scotland).
Excise Incorporation (Scotland).
Tithes Instalments Suspension (Ireland).
Sheriffs (Ireland) Bill.
Shannon Navigation.
North American Land Association.
Islington Market.
Belfast and Cavehill Railway.

Sept. 10.

Consolidation Fund (Appropriation) Bill.
Capital Punishments.
Fines and Recoveries
Letters Patent.
Piers (Ireland).

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Sept. 3. A Bill for Amending and Declaring the Law of Marriage, presented by Lord Brougham.

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Aug. 17. Select Committee on militia staff reduction.

— Select Committee on Standing Order No. 198, relative to Bills for regulating Trade, for considering Bill for regulating Sale of Bread.

19. Select Committee *revived* for considering plans for temporary accommodation for the House of Lords.

25. Select Committee to consider Report on Weights and Measures Bill.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Aug. 24. Oyster Fisheries Bill—"for the regulation and improvement of the public oyster fisheries in England and Wales."

— Stamps and Assessed Taxes Bill—"to alter certain duties of stamps and assessed taxes, and to regulate the collection thereof."—*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

27. Shannon Navigation Bill—"for the improvement of the navigation of the River Shannon."—*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

29. Tithes Instalments Suspension Bill—"to suspend proceedings for recovering payment of certain instalments of the money advanced under acts for establishing tithe compositions in Ireland."—*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

— Militia Pay Bill—"to defray for a limited time the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses in Great Britain and Ireland, and to grant allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, paymasters, quarter-masters, surgeons, assistant-surgeons, surgeons' mates, and serjeant-majors of the militia."—*Lord Howick.*

Sept. 4. Copyhold Bill—"for the amendment of the law relating to lands held by copy of court roll."—*Attorney-General.*

Sept. 4. Escheats Bill—"for the amendment of the law of escheat, and of the law relating to terms of years to which persons dying intestate, and without kindred, shall be entitled at law or in equity, and for abolishing customary modes of descent, and the taking of heriots in specie."—*Attorney-General.*

— Manorial Boundaries Bill—"to authorise the identifying or ascertaining of the boundaries of manors and lands where such boundaries are confused or unknown."—*Attorney-General.*

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Aug. 24.—Select Committee "to prepare estimates of the charge of the disembodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland, for a year to 31st March, 1836."

28. Committee "to inspect the Lords' Journals in respect of any proceedings upon the Execution of Wills Bill and the Executors and Administrators Bill."

NEW MEMBERS.

Belfast, George Dunbar, Esq. Cashel, Serjeant Woulfe. Waterford, William Stewart, Esq.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Aug. 25 *to Sept.* 18.

Bleacher, 1; brewers, 2; builders, 4; brush-makers, 2; carpenters, 2; clothier, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; cement manufacturer, 1; corn-chandler, 1; chemists, 2; cattle salesman, 1; carrier, 1; drapers, 3; drysalter, 1; earthenware manufacturer, 1; fustian manufacturer, 1; floor cloth manufacturer, 1; grocers, 9; hat manufacturer, 1; horse dealer, 1; hosier, 1; innkeepers, 3; iron merchants, 3; jeweller, 1; lodging-house keeper, 1; linendraper, 1; master mariner, 1; merchants, 4; miller, 1; mahogany merchant, 1; printer, 1; paper manufacturer, 1; saddler, 1; scriveners, 2; timber merchants, 2; tailors, 2; victuallers, 5; wine-merchants, 2. Total, 67. Total from the commencement of the year, 775.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR SEPTEMBER, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE last month has at length brought the proceedings of Parliament to a close, after a session of unusual duration and labour.

The Commons sat for about an hour on the morning of Saturday, the 22nd of August, but nothing of importance took place.

On Monday, the 24th, both Houses re-assembled, when the Lords, on the motion of Viscount Melbourne, went into Committee on the Irish Church Bill. At the commencement of the discussion, it was stated by Lord Ellenborough that he and his friends intended to oppose what were called the appropriation clauses of the Bill, but would lend their assistance to make the rest of the measure as perfect as possible. When the clauses came to be considered, the 10th, which authorized the re-opening of former tithe compositions, was struck out on the motion of Lord Ellenborough, without a division. On the 40th clause, providing that tithe compositions should be increased or diminished, according to the price of corn for the preceding seven years, the numbers on a division were 35 for the clause, and 126 against it. The Earl of Haddington then moved that all the clauses providing for the suppression of sinecure benefices, and the appropriation of their revenues to the purposes of education, being those from the 61st to the 88th inclusive, should be omitted. A long debate followed, at the close of which their Lordships divided, at half-past two o'clock in the morning, when the numbers appeared to be,—for Lord Haddington's motion, 138; against it, 41. The clauses accordingly were struck out;—and the Ministers having subsequently declared that they did not intend to proceed with the Bill after it had been thus mutilated, the entire measure was dropped.

In the Commons, this evening various Bills were advanced a stage, but no discussion of much interest took place. Among others, the Report on the Glass Duties' Bill was brought up, and the Bill recommitted, that a clause might be inserted, enacting that the reduction of the duty and the drawback should commence from the 10th of October. The Stamps and Assessed Taxes' Bill was also recommitted, and a clause inserted in it reducing the stamps on life insurances not exceeding the amount of 500*l.* The Registration of Voters' (Ireland) Bill went through Committee. The clause declaring the invalidity of future marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity, which had been thrown out by the Committee, was restored to the Marriage Law Amendment Bill: and the Lectures Publication Bill was read a second time.

On Tuesday, the 25th, in the Lords, after the Imprisonment for Debt Bill had been postponed till next Session, the Weights and Measures Bill referred to a Select Committee, and several other Bills passed through Committee, or read a second time, the Municipal Corporations' Bill was recommitted, on the motion of Lord Melbourne. The following alterations were then made on this measure:—Clause 5 was so altered, on the motion of the Duke of Wellington, as to take the Cinque Ports out of the operation of the Bill;—an insertion was made, on the motion of the Earl of Devon, in clause 15, providing, that in towns divided into four or more wards, persons possessed of 1000*l.*, real or personal estate, and, in other towns, those worth 500*l.*, should be eligible as councillors;—on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, clause 39 was so amended as to impose the duty of dividing the boroughs into wards on the revising-barristers, instead of the county magistrates;—in the 59th clause, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, a provision was introduced, enacting that the present town-clerks, and all future town-clerks, should hold their offices for life, the motion having been carried by a majority of 104 to 36;—and finally, on the motion of the same Noble Lord, and after a debate of considerable length, a clause was added to the Bill confining the exercise of the ecclesiastical patronage vested in municipal corporations to such members of the council as should be members of the Church of England. The remaining clauses were then agreed to.

The Commons met this morning at twelve, when various Bills were read a second or third time, with scarcely any discussion. In the Committee on the Lectures Publication Bill, Mr. Wakley moved that lectures delivered at public establishments should be exempted from the operation of

the Bill; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 29 to 9.

On Wednesday, the 26th, in the Lords, after a short conversation respecting the affairs of Spain had arisen on the Marquess of Londonderry withdrawing his motion on that subject, a debate took place on the motion for the second reading of the Constabulary Force (Ireland) Bill, which terminated in the Bill being thrown out, on the motion of Lord Roden, by a majority of 51 to 39.

The Commons did not assemble in sufficient numbers to form a House.

On Thursday, the 27th, the Lords divided on the question that the Report (which was in favour of the measure) of the Committee on the Great Western Railway Bill should be received, when the motion was carried by a majority of 50 to 28. A debate, characterized by much heat and personality, then arose, on Lord Melbourne moving the Order of the Day for receiving the Report on the Municipal Corporations Bill, and addressing the House in explanation of the course which Ministers intended to pursue with regard to that measure. After the Report had been received, Lord Melbourne moved that the words in the 6th and subsequent clauses, relating to the appointment of aldermen as councillors for life, should be struck out; but the motion was rejected by a majority of 160 to 89 (there being 57 proxies with the majority, and 43 with the minority).

The Commons met only for a short time in the morning.

On Friday, the 28th, in the Lords, on the motion that the Municipal Corporations Bill should be read a third time, Lord Winchilsea moved, as an amendment, that the Bill should be read a third time that day six months; but, on a division, the amendment was negatived by a majority of 69 to 5. The Bill was then passed. The remainder of the evening was occupied by a conversation on the subject of the Scottish Church Commission, which led to nothing.

The Commons having this evening gone into a Committee of Supply, the sum of 218,861*l.* was voted to defray the charge of the disembodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland. The Municipal Corporations Bill was then brought down, as amended, from the Lords; when it was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Spring Rice, and after some observations from Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell, that the entire Bill should be reprinted. In a later part of the evening, Mr. Buckingham's Compensation Bill was withdrawn, after a short conversation, on the Speaker intimating that it was a Private Bill, and ought to have gone through the preliminary forms laid down for such Bills by the Standing Orders of the House.

Both houses also assembled on Saturday, the 29th. In the Lords, various Bills (among others, the Islington Market Bill) were read a third time, and passed. In the Commons, on the motion of Mr. Spring Rice, a Bill was brought in, and read a first time, authorizing the Government, in urgent cases, to refrain from calling upon the owners of tithes in Ireland, who had received relief from the Million Loan, for repayment of the advances made to them, before the 5th of April next.

In the Lords, on Monday, the 31st, the Dublin Police Bill was read a second time, after a short discussion.

In the Commons, Lord John Russell called the attention of the House to the Lords' amendments on the Municipal Corporations Bill. A long debate followed his Lordship's speech—after which the consideration of the amendments was proceeded with. The provision appointing aldermen for life was agreed to be struck out; and an enactment was substituted for it, to the effect that a third part of the town councillors, elected by the whole number, should bear the name of aldermen, and remain in office for six years, one-half of them going out at the end of every three years. The clause providing for the continuance of the present justices of peace for their lives was then restored to its original form, according to which it had been provided that they should go out of office on the 1st of May next.

On Tuesday, the 1st of September, among other bills which were passed or advanced in the Lords, the Patent Bill, as amended by the Commons, was taken into consideration, when it was agreed, on the motion of Lord Brougham, that a conference should be applied for on the subject of one of the changes which had been made by the other House.

The Commons, who met at twelve o'clock, proceeded with the consideration of the Municipal Corporations Bill. In regard to the qualification clause, it was agreed that every rate-payer should be eligible as a councillor, who, in towns having four or more wards, should be rated at 30*l.* a-year, or should declare himself to be possessed of 1000*l.*; and in the smaller boroughs, who should be rated at 15*l.*, or should be possessed, on his own declaration, of 500*l.* Mr. Roebuck moved, as an amendment, that a rating of 10*l.* should be a qualification in all towns, but the motion was negatived by a majority of 271 to 37. An amendment, proposed by Sir John Campbell, the effect of which was to do away with the necessity of any further property qualification than one existing at the time of making the declaration, was then carried by a majority of 167 to 53. On the objection being made, however, that the qualification was thus got rid of altogether by a side-wind, Ministers, who declared that they had no such intention in giving their support to the amendment, agreed that the clause should be re-considered the following day. It was next agreed that clause 52 should be amended, so as to give the town-councils the power of dismissing the town-clerks at their pleasure. Some debate took place on Lord John Russell moving the restoration of the clause giving town-councils the power of recommending justices of the peace to the Crown, but the motion was carried on a division by a majority of 164 to 69. The Tithes Instalment (Ireland) Suspension Bill then went through Committee, without being opposed, though the progress of business was for some time interrupted by an altercation of unusual violence between Sir Henry Hardinge and Mr. Henry Grattan.

On Wednesday the 2nd, in the House of Lords, a discussion of some length took place on the motion for the second reading of the Bill for improving the mode of registering voters in Ireland, which ended in the Bill being thrown out by a majority of 84 to 27.

In the Commons the Municipal Corporations Bill was taken into further consideration. On the motion of Lord John Russell, the clause relating to the rights of freemen was amended so as to take from them their privilege of exemption from toll. The insertion in the qualification clause of words making it necessary that councillors should be duly qualified during the whole time of their continuance in office, was then after some debate carried on the motion of the same Noble Lord, by a majority of 155 against 56. In regard to the Church patronage in the hands of corporations, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr. Spring Rice, that the town-councils should be compelled to sell all the rights of presentation they possessed within a certain time, and to invest the produce of the sale in public securities for the benefit of the borough fund, and that in the mean time the patronage should be exercised by the bishop of the diocese. The clause relating to the division of towns into wards was next considered; when an amendment upon the clause was carried, providing that the division into wards should commence with towns having not less than 9000 inhabitants, instead of with those of 6000, as proposed by the Lords. Finally, the boroughs of Alnwick, Llanelly, and Yeovil, were restored to the schedule of boroughs coming under the operation of the Bill, from which they had been struck out by the Lords. A Committee to draw up reasons for these amendments to be stated in a conference with the Peers was then appointed on the motion of Lord John Russell; and it was agreed that a conference should be requested. After this, the Lords' amendments on the Weights and Measures Bill, on the Tithes on Turnips Bill, and on the Tithes Recovery Bill, were agreed to; and the Lectures Publication Bill was read a third time, and passed.

On Thursday the 3rd, the Lords, on the motion of Lord Salisbury, threw out the Music and Dancing Bill, which stood for a third reading that day. It was then agreed that the request of the House of Commons for a conference on the amendments to the Municipal Corporations Bill should be complied with; and certain Noble Lords having been appointed to conduct it, it soon afterwards took place in one of the Committee-rooms. On the return of their Lordships, the amendments and reasons of the Commons were read by the clerk; and it was agreed that they should be taken into consideration on the following day.

In the House of Commons, on the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer moving the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, Mr. Hume moved that the third reading of the Bill should be postponed till the Monday following, in order that the House might have an opportunity of seeing in the mean time what the Lords did with the Corporations Bill; but after a short conversation, this amendment was withdrawn. A Committee of Members, headed by Lord John Russell, then proceeded to hold the conference which had been agreed upon with the Lords; and soon after their return, the House was counted out.

On Friday the 4th, the Lords threw out the Dublin Police Bill, which stood for committal that day. Lord Melbourne then called the attention of their Lordships to the amendments of the Commons on the Municipal Corporations Bill, upon which the House went into Committee, and the discussions which followed lasted till four o'clock in the morning. The amendment of the Commons, empowering the town councils to recommend justices of peace to the Crown, was struck out by a majority of 144 to 82. On the motion of Lord Ellenborough, it was carried by a majority of 79 to 33, that the division into wards should commence with boroughs having 6000 inhabitants. Finally, the boroughs of Alnwick and Yeovil were again struck out of the Bill. The other amendments of the Commons were agreed to.

Their Lordships also assembled on Saturday, the 5th, when the Report of the Committee on the amendments was received.

On Monday, the 7th, another Conference took place between the two Houses, at which the amendments of the Lords were communicated to the Commons. When the Commons returned to their own House, Lord John Russell proposed that the Bill, in the state in which it was now left, should be agreed to; and, after a short debate, this motion was assented to by the House. Mr. Hume then brought up the Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Orange Lodges in England; and, after stating its recommendations, moved that it should be printed, which motion was agreed to. The House, at its rising, adjourned till Wednesday.

On Tuesday the Municipal Corporations' Bill was again brought up to the Lords, along with several other Bills; their Lordships amendments on which had likewise been agreed to by the Commons. The Tithes Instalment (Ireland) Bill was then read a third time, and passed.

On Wednesday, the 9th, in the Lords, the Consolidated Fund Bill was read a third time, and passed. The House of Commons was counted out, after it had sat about half an hour.

On Thursday the 10th, his Majesty, soon after two o'clock, came to the House of Peers, and, the Commons, headed by their Speaker, having appeared at the Bar, read a speech, in which he stated that he continued to receive from all foreign powers, satisfactory assurances of their desire to maintain the most friendly understanding with this country—that he should continue, in concert with the three powers with whom he had concluded the treaty of quadruple alliance, to direct the most anxious attention to the state of Spain—that he had concluded fresh conventions calculated to prevent the traffic in African slaves with Denmark, Sardinia, and Sweden—that he hoped soon to receive the ratification of a similar treaty which had been signed with Spain,—and that he was engaged in negotiations with other powers of Europe, and in South America for the same purpose. His Majesty then proceeded;—"I perceive, with entire approbation, that you have directed your attention to the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales; and I have cheerfully given my assent to the Bill which you have passed for that purpose. I cordially concur in this important measure; which is calculated to allay discontent, to promote peace and union, and to procure for those communities, the advantages of responsible government." After noticing the improved internal condition of Ireland, which had permitted the substitution of enactments of a milder nature for the necessary severity of the expired Coercion Act, and thanking the Commons for the readiness with which they had voted the supplies, his Majesty concluded as follows:—"My Lords and Gentlemen, I know that I may securely rely upon your loyalty and patriotism; and I feel confident that in returning to your respective counties, and in resuming those functions which you discharge with so much advantage to the community, you will recommend to all classes of your countrymen, obedience to the law, attachment to the constitution, and a spirit of temperate amendment, which, under Divine Providence, are the surest means of preserving the tranquillity, and increasing the prosperity which this country enjoys."

Lord Denman, as Speaker, then declared the Parliament to be prorogued to the 10th of November.

FRANCE.

The Chambers have scarcely opposed a single clause of the obnoxious laws proposed by Ministers after the affair of the infernal machine, but have in some instances seemed inclined to go even farther in restricting the liberty of the subject than the King proposed or wished.

We noticed the passing of the Jury Bill by the Deputies, last month. It has since gone through the Peers, and as the law now stands in France, a majority of seven jurymen to five can give a verdict. The celebrated mathematician and philosopher Monsieur Arago strenuously opposed the Bill, and went into some curious calculations to show the injuries to the cause of justice and humanity, that would inevitably arise out of the alteration of the law of jury. But though he took up ground where the very susceptible self-esteem of the nation was committed, he wholly failed in his opposition to the ministerial plan. As the subject is of life and death importance to all of us, we have made some extracts from M. Arago's speech, which place the advantages of our own jury system in a strong light.

"The judgment of man is, after all, but a probability, and probabilities are determined by numbers. If, then, a verdict is resolved upon by ten men out of twelve, there is greater probability that it will be a just verdict, than if it had been resolved upon by seven in twelve. The degree of certainty of a judgment is in direct proportion to the number of judges who have delivered it. And you yourselves, would you not place greater confidence in a judgment pronounced by a majority of 200 against 100, than of two against one? I was sorry to hear the minister of justice, and the reporter of the Committee speak lightly and contemptuously of the unanimity required by the English jury system. If we are inclined to treat that unanimity with derision, so much the worse for us, for it was not only the other day that it was instituted, and it has been found a very proper defence to the lives and properties of British subjects.

* * * * * *

"If you take the hypothesis that the verdict of a jury be decided by a majority of seven against five, as the Bill before you proposes, you will find the result of your calculation to be a fearful one. The chances of error in such a case are in the proportion of one to four. I cannot go through all the calculations before you, without appearing as if I were delivering a lecture to you; but I can assure you they were formed in the most conscientious manner on mathematical principles, and they are supported by the authority of Condorcet, Condillac, Laplace, and all who are versed in the science of calculating probabilities. In all that, however, there is no merit whatever, for nothing can be plainer. But, in order to be just, we must admit that the jury's error may be as often in favour of the accused as against him; so that instead of a proportion of one to four, let us suppose that the probability of error to his prejudice, if the absolute majority be seven against five, is one to eight, or even one to ten. We shall then have it rigorously and mathematically demonstrated, that among the men led to execution there is one in ten who is innocent.

"According to the present system, by which the verdict of a jury may be formed by a majority of eight against four, the probability of error is in the proportion only of one to eight; and as the error may be as much in favour of the accused as against him, let us suppose the proportion to be one in sixteen. Well, then, at the present day we have one innocent man in sixteen who suffers. And you find this is not enough! Even with the English system of unanimity error may occur, for the human mind is everywhere liable to error; but in that case the chances of error are infinitely smaller, for they are in the proportion of one in 8000. Thus, gentlemen, you see what are

the advantages of the system of unanimity in juries over every other, and which you seem to treat as beneath your notice. For my part, relying on the progress of human reason, I shall look with hope for the day when that unanimity will be imperatively required by the laws of my country. Our national pride would revolt at the idea of our not being placed, when framing a treaty of commerce with another power, on the footing of the most favoured nations; and yet to us legislators, now about to contract anew with our own country, it is proposed that we should place it at a deplorable distance behind England!"

The general debate on the projected law against the press closed, on the 24th of August, with a long speech by the Duke de Broglie, who, before the Revolution of 1830, was president of a patriotic society, styled "Les Amis de la Presse," but who now denounced the liberty of the press as a thing wholly incompatible with the existence of any regular form of government or public order in France. The Duke did not directly charge the guilt of the assassin Fieschi on the newspapers, but, in common with his colleagues, who, at one time of their lives, have all taken the popular side of the question, both in speaking and writing, he alleged that the sanguinary insurrections in Paris and Lyons, and all the *émeutes* and troubles that have happened since 1830, have been occasioned by a ferocious, a demoralized, and demoralizing press. We will not attempt to decide how much truth there is in this assertion; but de Broglie was placed in an awkward position, when he was asked what share the press had had in bringing about the Revolution of July, which had made him a minister, and his master a King! On this debate, M. Royer Collard, who is called the very father and founder of the Doctrinaire sect, declared his open hostility to his former pupils and bosom-associates, and spoke strongly against the measures. His defection was felt as a serious and embarrassing loss, but it in no way mitigated the severity of the Cabinet. On this occasion Chateaubriand was delivered of one of his usual declamatory lectures. He said that the present measures would not answer their purpose—that ministers must establish the censure after all, and that on the day they did establish it they would surely die; and he added, that the freedom of the press could only exist under a legitimate monarchy, or under a republic.

Some petitions were got up in the departments against the press law, but, generally speaking, the French have shewn but a luke-warm zeal on the subject, whilst the people—the *bourgeoisie* of Paris—have expressed any feeling rather than one of sympathy for the newspaper editors. On Saturday, the 29th of August, the Bill was carried, in the Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of 226 to 153, the only alteration introduced of any importance being the reducing of the caution-money required of a newspaper, from 200,000 francs, or 8000*l.*, to 100,000 francs, or 4000*l.*

On the 1st of September the law was carried up to the Chamber of Peers, who referred it, as usual, to a Committee. The Committee made their Report through the Baron de Barante, an eminent literary character, who strongly recommended the adoption of the Bill, and it was accordingly adopted by the Peers, without change or limitation, on the 9th of September, by a majority of 101 to 20! The three laws, namely—that of the press, that of the jury, and that relating to the conduct of courts of justice, were all published in the *Moniteur* as soon as the Press Bill passed the Peers, and they were accompanied, in that paper, by two supplementary clauses, which, coming in the shape of "Royal Ordonances," look about as unconstitutional as those which hurried on the crisis of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Several journals were immediately given up. The Session of the Chambers, which had been of extraordinary length, closed on Saturday, the 12th of September. Thirty new Peers have been added to the Upper Chamber.

It appears that the trial of Fieschi, before the Court of Peers, is fixed for the 20th of October.

The popularity of Louis Philippe and his family, with the national guards, and all the middling class (which, in France is, indeed, everything) has not suffered by these recent and most arbitrary measures. The fact is as evident as it is extraordinary. The King, who is travelling in the departments, accompanied by his wife and some of his children, has been everywhere received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty and affection. The industrious *bourgeois* have had changes enough—they want peace at home and abroad, and to be allowed to earn and to eat their bread in tranquillity. It will remain to be seen whether even these blessings may not sometimes be purchased at too dear a price, and whether the French people will continue in the same loyal temper for a twelvemonth?

The army of observation, on the French side of the Pyrenees, is said to have received some insults from the troops of Don Carlos; but it is now quite evident that Louis Philippe has greater apprehensions of the ultra-liberal party—the eighteen hundred and twelve Cortes-men, who have thrown everything in Spain into confusion—than he has of the Carlist faction.

SPAIN.

We left the affairs of this country in a deplorable state last month, and they certainly have not improved since then. The revolt of the Urban militia in Madrid was not followed by any very serious consequences; but several of the disaffected cities in the provinces have established Provisional Governments, independent of the Queen Regent and the Cortes at Madrid, and have addressed the National, or Central Government, in a tone that renders its authority almost contemptible. The Royal proclamations addressed to these Juntas, and denying the legality of their authority, as well as all the measures they may adopt, seem to have been everywhere burnt, and Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Cadiz, Seville, Granada, Malaga, Corunna, now make their own laws, and boast of the union which subsists between their respective Juntas. In some of these places, they have formally proclaimed the Democratic Constitution of 1812, with its Cortes of one Chamber. The disaffection to the established Government seems to be spreading with a continually increasing rapidity. A few days ago, we read that Algesiraz and Saint Roch, two towns in Andalusia, and only a few miles from Gibraltar, and the city of Caceres, in Estremadura, had declared for "the cause of liberty," (as the Spaniards call their revolts, which put all liberty in jeopardy), and we now see it confidently reported that the Asturias have also risen, and proclaimed a Provincial Junta at Oviedo. Even without counting the Basque provinces, and the ground occupied by Don Carlos, more than one-half of Spain has shaken off the weak authority of the Queen Regent. We do not hear of any progress made by the Carlists in Catalonia, or in Arragon; but the partizans of the Pretender—who are become more numerous, not only in those provinces, but all over the kingdom, in consequence of the sudden seizure of Church property, and the violence exercised upon them by the Ultra-Liberals—are only waiting their time for reprisals and retaliation, and the dreadful dissensions among the Constitutionalists can hardly fail to favour their cause everywhere.

A few days after the Urbanos commotion at Madrid, the Queen's Government adopted some severe measures against the press. One paper was suppressed as revolutionary and anarchial, and the editors and writers of two or three other journals were arrested, while some gentlemen of the press saved themselves by flight. At the same time, measures were taken to remodel the unpopular Ministry.

On the 30th of August, the Government Gazette published the resignation of the Marquis de las Amarillas, and the appointment in his place of Castro Toreno. Don José Sartorio was substituted for General Alava, in the Navy Department, and Don Manuel de Rivaherrera for Alvarez Guerra, in the Home Department. M. Mendizabal was urgently called from Lisbon, and with his aid Toreno hoped to be able to keep something like a Government together. The garrison of the capital was reinforced, by 3000 men, who were drawn from the provinces, [illegible] formity of their serviees were much wanted—but without [illegible]ons in Engtional force the tranquillity of the capital co[illegible]rs of prisons depended upon. [illegible] in the spirit

Early in September, it was reported here that t[illegible] nearly the had dismissed the Toreno Ministry, and app[illegible] throughout wholly new and Ultra-Liberal Cabinet, with Arg[illegible] Majesty's the head of it. The report was premature, thoug[illegible] regulations whatsoever,

appears that some such sweeping change took place a few days after. We are still, however, in doubt whether the orator Arguelles, or Mendizabal, who is a man of business, is to be considered as Prime Minister. The latter of these two gentlemen arrived at Madrid on the 7th of September, where, after declaring he would not accept office either under, or with Toreno, he proposed a new plan for the military operations against Don Carlos, and shewed the Queen the necessity of adopting more liberal measures, *and contracting a new loan!* The newspaper accounts of these events are more than usually confused, and we will not puzzle ourselves about them, as very probably, while we are writing, fresh Ministerial changes are taking, or have taken, place at Madrid.

In the North of Spain there has been some hard fighting; and the British and Irish auxiliaries, commanded by General Evans, though they have not gained any great advantage, have maintained their national character for bravery and steadiness. For the first time since this tedious contest began, bayonets have been crossed, and whole regiments have charged at once, without standing and looking at the enemy for days together. An experienced military man who has served with the Queen's troops—a Frenchman, who has seen very different service—gives a deplorable account of the unwarlike, spiritless, manner in which both Carlists and Christinos have hitherto fought. After marches and countermarches, he says—"*ils étaient là à se regarder.*"

On Sunday, the 30th of August, General Evans, with 1600 men, and Jauregui, the governor of the province, with 1400 Spaniards, and a battalion of the regiment of Africa, made a sortie from St. Sebastian, and carried and destroyed some strong entrenchments the Carlists had erected on the Venta-hill, at the distance of four miles from the town. On retiring to St. Sebastian, the Spanish volunteers in the Queen's service, who had expended all their ammunition, were hotly pressed by the Carlists; General Evans moved up a regiment of British grenadiers, who, after pouring in a well-directed fire, drove back the Carlists at the point of the bayonet. The loss sustained in this sortie appears to have been very trifling.

On the 11th of September, a much more serious engagement took place in the neighbourhood of Bilboa, to which city and to Portugalette, most of the British auxiliaries had been removed. This battle is said to have lasted ten hours, but the results of it are stated to have been rather favourable to the Carlists. Some of their outposts on the river, have fired into the boat of an English man-of-war, and wounded two or three men.

According to the French papers, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, the Duke de Frias, has received from Louis Philippe, a positive refusal of all armed interference.

Don Carlos has named a new commander-in-chief, having appointed in all due form, and with extraordinary solemnity, the Virgin de los Dolores, a particular kind of local Virgin Mary, in high repute among the Basques, to be generalissimo of his troops. It would be spoiling this "Royal Decree" to abridge it; it ought to be read at full length.

PORTUGAL.

This country seems just now to be enjoying considerable internal tranquillity, but her fate hangs on a thread, and depends on circumstances which she has not the power to control. If the Constitutional cause be again sacrificed in Spain, it will be once more ruined in Portugal. In their foreign relations, the cabinet of Lisbon have contrived to get into a quarrel with the Court of Turin. Donna Maria who appears to be a very difficult person to re-marry, is said to have refused the Prince of Carignan, the son of his Sardinian Majesty, who, indignant thereat, has offered an insult to the diplomatic agent of Portugal. Perhaps a simpler and a truer story is, that the King of Sardinia never contemplated any such marriage, and in favouring the emissaries of Don Miguel, has only acted upon sympathies and antipathies, which are common to all the absolute sovereigns on the Continent. However this may be, the Duke of Palmella set forth a decree on the 31st of August, proclaiming, that in retaliation for insults received, the exequatur given by him in Donna Maria's name to the Sardinian consuls and inferior agents in Portugal, was suspended, and that in two months from the date of the decree, no vessel bearing the King of Sardinia's flag, unless driven in by stress of weather, should be admitted into Portuguese ports.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Sept. 1. A meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge was held at the residence of Lord Kenyon, which was called in consequence of the recent parliamentary investigations. The Duke of Cumberland, as Grand Master, was in the chair.

3. A public dinner was given to Sir Robert Peel, by about 200 gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood of Tamworth.

4. A respectable individual, the proprietor of an extensive library and newspaper office in the Edgeware Road, killed his son, a boy about nine years of age, and made a desperate attempt on his own life, from the effects of which however he is recovering. He has since been tried for the murder, but acquitted as being insane. A respectable neighbour, who kept a shop adjoining, and was intimate with the family, was so much excited by all the circumstances of the case, that a fit of apoplexy ensued, which caused his death.

5. A dinner was given to Lord Auckland at the Albion Tavern, Aldersgate Street, by the Directors of the East India Company, previously to his Lordship setting out for India as Governor-General.

8. A musical festival commenced this day at York, which was continued for several successive days. The oratorios were given in York Minster. Among the most distinguished of the visiters to York on this occasion were the Duchess of Kent, Princess Victoria, Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, Earls Cawdor, Fitzwilliam, Lords Milton, Morpeth, &c. &c.

— Captain Back and his companions arrived at Liverpool in the packet ship, North America, from their perilous Arctic Land expedition. The gallant officer and his companions have visited the Great Fish River, and examined its course to the Polar Seas. On the same day Joseph Bonaparte and suite sailed from Liverpool for Philadelphia.

milder nat… dinner was given to Captain Hindmarsh, R.N., at the
Coercion Act… vern, Aldersgate Street, as the governor of the newly
ness with whic… ny of South Australia. The Duke of Wellington had
concluded as … to attend and preside, but he sent an apology, ex-
know that I … good wishes for the success of the speculation—
patriotism; an… Torrens took the chair In the course of the chairman's
respective cou… Australian Act requires to be sold previous to the com-
you discharge… of the colony had been disposed of.

…eeting was held at the Ladye Chapel, Southwark, for the purpose of hearing a farewell address from the well-known traveller and missionary to the Jews, Joseph Woulfe, who is about to proceed to Timbuctoo.

14. Dr. Brinkley, bishop of Cloyne, died in Dublin. Previous to his promotion to the bishopric of Cloyne, Dr. Brinkley held the astronomical chair in Trinity College, Dublin. Cloyne is one of the sees abolished by the Irish Church Temporalities Act.

On the nights of the 12th and 13th August last, the Islands of Antigua and St. Kitts were visited by a violent hurricane, which has been the cause of the loss of many lives, and an extensive destruction of property. The Governor of Antigua has permitted the importation, duty free, for six months into that island, of provisions and building materials, as some alleviation of the calamity.

Mr. O'Connell, having been invited to public dinners in several places, has been making a tour through England and Scotland. Public dinners were given to him in Manchester, Newcastle, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; and in addition to the speeches delivered upon these occasions, he has addressed large congregations of individuals who assembled to receive him on his entries into the different towns.

A convict ship, the George the Third, Captain Moxay, is stated to have been lost in the month of April last, at the mouth of the Derwent, Hobart Town, when 132 persons perished, the greater part of whom were convicts.

The Sir Walter Scott, with a cargo of cotton, from New Orleans to Liverpool, encountered a heavy storm in coming down the Gulf stream, on the 21st of May last, during which the vessel was struck by lightning, and set on fire. The crew and passengers, among whom was a lady, had barely time to save themselves in the small boats. They were ultimately picked up by a ship, and safely re-landed in America.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. Parkes.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 35. NOVEMBER 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Reports of the Lords' Committee on the Prisons of England and Wales	501	Changes of Administration, and History of Parties	508
House of Commons' Offices and Fees	505	The Excise on Hops	514
First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Working Classes in Ireland	507	Glass Duties	516
Alterations in the French Tariff	508	Abstract of Private Bills	517
		Parliamentary Abstracts	517
		Trade, Statistics, &c.	519
		Political Retrospect for October	521
		Chronicle of Occurrences	524

REPORTS OF THE LORDS' COMMITTEE ON THE PRISONS OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

In the paper inserted in our last Number on the subject of Prison discipline in America, we took occasion to advert to the pernicious effects of our own gaols as they have heretofore been conducted, where crime, instead of being diminished, is fostered and increased. It is one of the most gratifying proofs of the moral advancement of the present age, that the importance of this subject has become fully recognised, that the legislature has given to it a most patient investigation, and that the government is desirous of promoting the best digested plans for reforming the discipline of our prisons. The interest thus awakened, and the exertions prompted by it, will, we may confidently hope, be in course of time productive of a striking improvement in the moral condition of society.

At the beginning of the last Session (March, 1835) a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Lords to inquire into the present state of the several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales. The Duke of Richmond, who was the promoter of this inquiry, took throughout, the leading part in the investigation. The Committee has been most indefatigable in its exertions to obtain an accurate knowledge of every thing appertaining to the subject they were appointed to examine. The members of it have visited the prisons in and about London, where they have sought to ascertain the nature and extent of the evils of the present system, by the examination of numerous individuals, while they have endeavoured to arrive at just conclusions, in regard to the remedies most proper to be applied, by consulting many persons who were known to have given much previous attention to this subject. The result of this well-conducted investigation is embodied in the following resolutions which were announced in the second of the five Reports of the Committee, ordered to be printed 1st July, 1835:

1st. That it is expedient that one uniform system of prison discipline be established in every gaol and house of correction in England and Wales.

2nd. That for the sake of securing uniformity of discipline, it is expedient that the Rules and Regulations of the gaols shall in future be submitted to the Secretary of State for his approval, instead of as at present to the Judges of Assize.

3rd. That inspectors of prisons be appointed to visit the prisons from time to time, and to report to the Secretary of State.

4th. That entire separation, except during the hours of labour and religious worship and instruction, is absolutely necessary for preventing contamination and for securing a proper system of prison discipline.

5th. That silence be enforced, so as to prevent all communication between prisoners both before and after trial.

6th. That persons whose trials have been postponed, or who, having been tried, have been acquitted on the ground of insanity, shall not be confined in the gaols or houses of correction.

7th. That the officers of the prisons shall not be permitted to receive any portion of the prisoners' earnings.

8th. That the earnings of convicted prisoners shall be hereafter paid to the fund out of which the prison is maintained.

9th. That the dietary of every prison be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, as a part of the prison rules and regulations, and that it is most desirable that convicted prisoners should not be permitted to receive other than the gaol allowance; but if in any case of very urgent and special necessity, the surgeon should order any increase of diet to a prisoner not in the infirmary, he shall state in his journal the cause and extent of such order.

10th. That the practice in some prisons, and in certain cases, of paying money to the prisoners in lieu of supplying them either wholly or in part with food or fuel, be declared to be illegal.

11th That the use of tobacco in any shape by the prisoners be prohibited in every prison.

12th. That convicted prisoners be not permitted to receive visits or letters from their friends during the first six months of their imprisonment, unless under peculiar and pressing circumstances.

13th. That the use of day rooms, as such, be discontinued.

14th. That no wardsman, monitor, yardsman, or prisoner be permitted to sell any thing whatever, or to let out to hire any article to any person confined in the prison.

15th. That where a chaplain shall be appointed to a prison or prisons, and the number of prisoners including debtors, which it is calculated may be received therein shall not be less than fifty, it is most desirable that the time of such chaplain should be devoted to the duties of such prison or prisons, that he should not hold any other preferment with cure of souls, and that he should reside as near as possible to the same.

16th. That in every prison wherein the number of prisoners exceeds fifty, a schoolmaster, not being one of the prisoners, shall be appointed.

17th. That every prison be provided with a certain number of solitary cells for the punishment of refractory prisoners.

18th. That in cases where the punishment of whipping is resorted to, it is expedient that it should be defined, as regards both the extent to which it may be carried, and the instruments with which it may be inflicted.

19th. That at every Michaelmas Quarter Sessions twelve specified days be appointed, viz., three in each quarter; and that on each of such days the visiting justices do visit and inspect the prison under their charge, according to the provisions of the sixteenth and seventeenth sections of the Gaol Act.

In consequence of the labours and reports of this Committee, an act of parliament was last Session passed, entitled "An Act for effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of the several prisons in England and Wales; and for appointing inspectors of prisons in Great Britain." This act has been framed in the spirit of the above resolutions, and is in substance nearly the same. The whole government of the prisons throughout England and Wales is now invested in his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; all rules and regulations made by justices of the peace, or other persons whatsoever,

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

which they have been heretofore authorized by law to make for the government of any prisons in England and Wales, or for the duties to be performed by the officers of such prisons, are in future to be submitted to one of the principal Secretaries of State, who, if he thinks fit, may alter such rules and regulations, or make additional rules and regulations thereto. When he has signed a declaration that the rules, &c., are proper to be enforced, they become binding upon the Sheriff and all other persons, without any other sanction or approval.

By the new act, also, Government is empowered to nominate and appoint five inspectors, whose duty it is to visit and inspect, either singly or together, every prison in any part of the Kingdom of Great Britain. These inspectors have full authority to inquire into all matters touching prisons and prison discipline, to examine the officers attached to the respective establishments, to inspect the books and papers relating thereto, &c. Each of the inspectors is required, on or before the first day of February in every year, to make a separate and distinct Report in writing, of the state of every prison visited by him, and to transmit the same to the Secretary of State; and a copy of every such Report is to be laid before both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days after the 1st of February, if they shall be then assembled. The five inspectors are already appointed, and are about to enter upon the performance of their duties. It is only necessary for us to add, that Mr. Crawford is one of the persons appointed to this high and important trust, in order to produce a conviction that this measure will not prove nugatory, or be found a mere nominal reformation. Our limits will not allow us to enter into the remaining enactments of the bill; the points already stated are the most important, and are calculated to produce the most striking changes in our prison discipline.

That a reformation was needed is now universally admitted. In going over the evidence presented with the reports, it becomes matter of surprise that the evil should never have been efficiently grappled with before, that it should have been an acknowledged fact that our prisons were nurseries of vice, and yet that no extended means should be applied to arrest the mischief. In the minutes of evidence, annexed to the First Report, the examinations of between forty and fifty persons are given. A very considerable proportion of these are governors or chaplains of gaols in the country, and they all, without one dissentient voice, concur in opinion as to the contaminating influence of prisons as at present conducted. Mr. Chesterton, governor of Coldbath Fields House of Correction for nearly six years, says he is "quite sure of it." Lieutenant Sibly, governor of the Brixton House of Correction, asserts that "most assuredly a prison is destructive to every casual offender." Mr. Orridge, thirty-seven years governor of the prison at Bury St. Edmund's, gives similar testimony. Mr. T. C. Neale, for ten years governor of the Springfield Prison, Essex, affirms that the prisoners leave his prison decidedly worse than when they were committed. He continues—"We have had in that prison 600 solitary prisoners, and in those cases where they were absolutely in solitude, I consider that they were no worse; but before trial, associating indiscriminately with men committed for all sorts of crimes, they are so liable to contamination, that I think anything you can do afterwards would not remedy it." The testimony of a prisoner committed to the Springfield Prison, and afterwards removed to the Penitentiary, Milbank, more than corroborates the above statement, and gives a dreadful picture of the baneful influence of that gaol. The following is but a small part of his evidence:—"You think the discipline in the prison at Springfield is not such as would make any man better?—Many a lad went in there on the most trivial charge, and went out a confirmed and complete villain. Those men, for example, who were there for three months for comparatively minor offences, associated with men who were sentenced by law to be transported?—Yes. And they were allowed to communicate with one another as much as they thought fit?—Yes, exactly, there was no restraint; they were put in the yard together, and brought down; they kept on so many on the wheel, and so many were to keep off; there was no one to look over us. We had free communication, and we got off the wheel when we liked. Sometimes the turnkey would call out that there was not the number, and he would threaten to stop our bread and cheese at night: that was all the constraint we had. . . . . Some (of the prisoners) if put under proper restraint would have reformed; I know that, not only from my own observation, but from what I heard from others, who stated that they had been convicted on various trivial charges, and when they came to be transported they reflected upon it; I have heard them state that if they had been properly checked, and had received punishment, they would never have committed the crime they were going to leave the country for." Mr. Walker, keeper of the Abingdon House of Correction, says that he could mention several instances which have come to his knowledge of young offenders having gone out of prison much worse than when first committed, and this can only be attributed to their having of necessity become companions of the worst description of thieves. "One young lad was lately executed for a highway robbery where much violence had been used; he had been out of prison little more than a month, where he had been before three or four times. The evening before he suffered he told me he attributed his wretched end to the ill advice of fellow prisoners."

The Rev. W. Russel, chaplain of the Penitentiary, Milbank (who has been appointed one of the five inspectors under the act just passed), in his evidence before the Committee gives the substance of a conversation he had with a prisoner who had been sent from Stafford Gaol, and of whom he made enquiries as to the state of the prisoners before trial in that gaol. "His answer was, that from thirty to fifty were associated together before trial, of all ages, all kinds and degrees of crimes; and that he had seen men who had come into that prison perfectly unacquainted with all the art and science of crime quit that gaol as well informed as the most experienced London thief. . . . . After trial they were from ten to twenty together in the day-rooms, where they have an opportunity of conversing unreservedly; and the same system of instruction in crime, the same conversation as to their former exploits, and as to the best modes of perpetrating crime and escaping detection, went on daily. His observation was, they are herded together like a flock of sheep."

It would be useless to quote the evidence of a similar character which might be adduced to show the pernicious effects of a committal to most of our prisons; but we cannot entirely dismiss the subject without a few words concerning the prison of Newgate. The account of the depravity existing within the walls of this great metropolitan prison, as shown in the evidence, is in the highest degree revolting. We can here give but one or two very short extracts. The evidence of a boy fifteen years of age was read to the governor, who did not impugn his statement in any material point. He was placed with the tried and untried, five or six of whom had been convicted before, and one of them no less than four times; there were persons for different offences, some for house-breaking, some for highway robbery, &c. "He slept in a room with about twenty prisoners; three slept on two mats placed on the ground; there were no bedsteads." "This youth describes the conduct and language made use of by the greater number of prisoners he was obliged to associate with as most depraved and shocking; some boasting of their former robberies, some cursing and swearing, some telling obscene stories, and some singing vile songs. There was a wardsman who had been a tried prisoner upwards of two years; he was appointed to keep order and regularity in the yard and in the room, but he was full as bad as any of the rest."—p. 307. This prison is under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. From the evidence of Mr. Hoare, chairman of the committee of the Society for Improving Prison Discipline, it appears that it is too generally the case throughout the kingdom for prisons under corporate management to be badly conducted. He was asked—"Do you not believe that the gaols under the corporate bodies of this country are, from various causes, in a much worse state of discipline than the county gaols and houses of correction?—Some of the larger gaols are pretty well regulated; the smaller gaols are extremely bad, and I should say without hesitation great nurseries of crime. Where there is a very small number of prisoners confined in one place, prison discipline cannot be enforced; they have not the requisites. Many gaols are without any religious instruction, many without any place of separate confinement, almost all without employment; a gaoler who is occupied about other things perhaps a great part of the day, the establishment not sufficiently large to employ proper officers. In short, they are so exceedingly bad that

the sooner they are abolished the better; they cannot be carried on as at present without great evil."

The following excellent remarks on the state of our prisons are by Lieutenant Sibly:—

"That our prisons were formerly disgracefully neglected is probably quite true; many were in the hands of men who were perhaps vicious themselves, and who therefore could not be expected to attend to the moral improvement of their unfortunate charge, or to set a good example by their own conduct; or the prisons were by far too confined for the number of unhappy wretches who were constantly thrust into them; and it may be reasonably feared that not only neglect but petty cruelty and violence were not unfrequently practised towards prisoners who were unwilling to pay for comforts, or too humble to command attention and redress; while the richer villain could indulge in all sorts of riotous debauchery uncontrolled. But I believe most thinking men who are acquainted with the subject will agree that public opinion, and after it the law, has gone quite as much on the opposite side—that a timorous feeling, miscalled humanity, has usurped the seat of sound judgment and wholesome rigour, and that the ease, comfort, and care of a prison is rather an inducement to the commission of crime than a warning to deter.

"From the degraded state of wretchedness, idleness, and vice which it is feared were but too common to our gaols, the change to hard labour was a great and decided improvement; it immediately produced some degree of order and regularity, and by employing some part of the prisoners' time it prevented, or at least diverted, the current of evil; but at the same time this regularity, this order, and cleanliness have produced ameliorations and comforts which too strongly tend to destroy the ends of discipline, and increase the mischief it was intended to prevent.

"The great and overwhelming evil of prisons, is well known to be the contamination of offenders, young and old: even the most expert and wicked of their class cannot enter a prison without being still further initiated in the mysteries of crime, while the young, the timid, and the novice immediately become hardened and reckless from the example of their infamous associates. It is most strange that the magnitude of this evil has been acknowledged so long and so universally that it has almost become a by-word uttered without producing emotion, or else a feeling of despair, as if the mischief was felt to be irremediable, and that thousands who complain of any thing like severity in our prisons feel little or no compunction in submitting a young offender to their influence. The legislature also has so feebly endeavoured to meet this enormous evil by 'classification,' that the attempt can only excite a smile in any one who will take the trouble to think on the subject. Supposing any class to be ever so well formed, supposing it possible for the individuals composing it to have committed only one species of crime, will not their proficiency be as various as the individuals themselves? and will not the placing a young offender in it be exactly like putting a young apprentice in a manufactory among other apprentices and workmen, some of whom will be first-rate hands? and will it not be placing him precisely in that branch which the young tradesman has chosen for himself, which he is therefore likely to learn with avidity, and in which he is likely to be most expert?"

Silence, and, as far as possible, separation, are recommended by all the witnesses examined as the only means of preventing contamination and producing reformation. The extent and degree of separation are rather matter of discussion, and all the witnesses are not exactly agreed as to those points; but that silence should be strictly enforced is now universally admitted. The Rev. W. Russel, chaplain to the Penitentiary, gives his unqualified testimony in favour of this system in the following evidence:—

"You are an advocate for carrying the system of silence to the greatest extent to which it can be carried?—Undoubtedly so. As the means of preventing the more experienced thieves from contaminating those who are comparatively innocent?—Not only to prevent the more experienced thieves from contaminating others, but for giving the prisoners more opportunities of reflection, depriving them of those means they now have of solacing themselves with companions of similar tastes and habits, and driving away serious thoughts, and also with a view of deterring others from entering a situation where they will be subject to so serious a privation; in every way I consider it of importance."

Mr. Chesterton, the governor of Coldbath-fields prison, says, "I cannot sufficiently express my opinion of the excellent character of the system; I think it is admirable. I do not know anything which has been suggested for many years which is likely to be attended with so much public benefit, since under it further contamination becomes impossible."

Mr. Mance, keeper of the Petworth House of Correction, and inventor of the Ergometer, is strongly in favour of silence. He observes, "I am fully persuaded that no discipline short of universal silence (including a prevention of intercourse with friends from without the prison) and separate confinement will check crime or reform the criminal."

Silence being considered essential to the discipline of a prison, the manner in which it can be best enforced remains to be ascertained. If it be considered that all communication between prisoners should be prevented, it appears impossible to effect this object unless by entire separation. Those prisoners especially who were acquainted with each other before their arrival in prison will be anxious for verbal communication; "they will have the same or indeed better means to elude the officer than he has to *detect them*; the employment will be amusement to *them*."

The Rev. W. Russel recommends a separate cell for each prisoner as the only means of preserving silence. He thinks that if prisoners are brought together in the day-time they will communicate, that there is no other effectual security against this communication than to lock up the prisoners in separate cells the moment they come from work, and that their work should be of such a description that they should be kept as separate from each other as if in their distinct cells. This gentleman's distinction between *separate* and *solitary* is worthy of notice.

"You think that silence cannot be effectually enforced at all except in solitary cells?—Except in separate cells. Solitary I conceive something infinitely greater than that now spoken of: solitude is a very different thing from separation. Do you refer to cells in which prisoners can speak to one another?—No; in which they cannot speak to one another; but then they are drawn together in bodies to work, that breaks the solitude; they communicate with the officers, that breaks the solitude; they are conscious that there is a man in the next cell to them, and that breaks the solitude. The full effects of solitude can never be produced upon the mind and the constitution of a man who feels that he is surrounded by his fellow-creatures. He is permitted opportunities of communicating with the governor, chaplain, and surgeon, and of speaking to the officers immediately in charge of him, and from time to time seeing his fellow-prisoners and working together with them."—p. 35.

It may be doubted, however, whether it can ever be consistent with efficacious management for prisoners to work *together*, even though it were possible to preserve, under such circumstances, the most rigid silence. They have a constant temptation to transgress; they will naturally seek means for gratifying this wish, and their minds will be in a state of excitement and irritation very unfavourable to reformation. Would it not be much better to withdraw the inducement? In many prisons silence is attempted to be enforced by appointing monitors from among the prisoners, and thus another evil is superadded without the required result being attained. These monitors are selected because they are intelligent and clever, and consequently are, in many instances, the greatest criminals; placed in these responsible situations they are excused from other labour, have additional allowances of food, &c., and thus their own imprisonment is rendered nugatory; while, instead of assisting the turnkeys, they will, in most cases, combine to deceive them on all occasions. It may be doubted whether, under the best regulations acted upon under the best officers, strict silence could be perfectly preserved when coupled with hard labour; but even if the insuperable difficulties for enforcing this system could be overcome, still the congregating together is in itself a great obstacle to reformation. It is well observed by Lieut. Sibly, that "if prisoners can communicate by signs or looks, they might nearly as well be permitted to do so without restraint, inasmuch as the watching for times and opportunities drives away reflection, furnishes employment and amusement, and thereby alleviates almost all the irksomeness of confinement and discipline."

It has been attempted to combine hard labour with separation, by having the tread-wheel divided into compart-

ments, so that each prisoner works upon it without seeing or having any communication with the others. This plan has been adopted in the gaols at Gloucester, Maidstone, Bedford, and elsewhere. But since *entire* separation is not practised in those prisons, the effects of hard labour combined with separation have not been ascertained by positive experiment. It may, however, well be questioned whether a system of hard labour be calculated to produce that state of mind most conducive to reformation. Many individuals well qualified to judge of the subject are decidedly of opinion that hard labour in itself is unfavourable to this desired result. Lieut. Sibly, who appears to have given the question his serious consideration, observes, "that hard labour punishment, and especially tread-wheel labour, contains in itself a counteracting principle to reformation on account of its bodily excitement, its mental irritation, its irregularity, and partial operation; or any other kind of labour, since all labour *must* afford much scope for deception, *must* give way to medical excuses, and *must* require or admit of some communication. * * * That hard labour punishment with a restricted diet, as at present, makes bodily punishment the *primary*, and mental punishment the *secondary* consideration, whereas it should be the reverse. * * * That the operation of the present law is lenity and mercy to the hardened and abandoned culprit, while it presses with tenfold severity on the casual offender, and indeed tends irresistibly to destroy him. That solitary confinement or mental punishment is the most simple and only natural and proper mode of punishing a rational being.

In a long and able paper on the nature and merits of solitary confinement, and on the bad tendency of prison discipline as at present conducted, he concludes with the following summary. "Thus it will be seen that the plan I recommend as the only one which will render punishment efficient and certain is a *modified* system of solitary confinement, allowing restricted communication with the officers of the prison, permitting as much air and exercise as may be necessary for the preservation of health, and no more; providing suitable mental instruction and occasional handicraft employment; combining increased severity of punishment with its shortened duration; inducing habits of soberness and reflection; decreasing the expense of prisons; and above all, wholly preventing that most fatal and enormous evil, *gaol contamination*."

The evidence of several persons examined is decidedly against solitary confinement, and many instances have been brought to show its pernicious influence on the health, bodily and mental, of individuals subjected to it. But the *modified* solitary confinement here recommended is totally different from that inhuman incarceration which was formerly meant by this punishment. It is the offender's total separation from his fellow-prisoners, but not absolute and unmitigated solitude; confinement in an airy, light, and well-ventilated cell, in the arrangement of which due regard is paid to cleanliness; air and exercise allowed sufficient for health; and intercourse with his fellow-men for the purpose of spiritual and moral instruction, when the mind and heart become softened by solitude and are in a favourable condition for receiving good impressions, while the severity of the sentence may be alleviated or increased according to the state of mind of the prisoner, by a more free or a more restricted communication with the officers of the gaol, at the discretion of the superintendent. That every punishment is more or less severe according to the disposition of the individual on whom it is inflicted, the following case, as related by Sir James Williams, affords an example.

"There were two soldiers whom I visited myself in our solitary cells at Coldbath-fields. I put the question to one of them, 'How long have you been here?' 'Six weeks,' I think he said, but I know that he said he had been half his time; and I said, 'Which do you think is the best, receiving corporal chastisement, or being confined in this cell?' He said, 'I would rather, though I have served half my time, receive the punishment to-morrow morning at the halberds than remain here the other half of the time.' In the very next cell I went to was a rough Irishman, and when I put the same question to him, he said, 'Oh, your honour, I have no arms to keep clean, nor no duty to perform, and nothing to do but to be here; it is no punishment at all.'"

The evidence of a few of the keepers of the different gaols tends to show that modified solitary confinement has no bad effects on the health and mind. The two following extracts are given in support of this opinion.

"Solitary confinement on such as have transgressed by not observing the rules of the prison has proved of great service; and the gaoler is of opinion that one month of solitary confinement would be a more severe punishment than twelvemonths' hard labour without it. Solitary confinement has never been attended with any ill consequence to the health of any of the prisoners who have been subjected to it."

The above evidence is from the town-clerk of Sandwich; that which follows is from the governor of Winchester County Bridewell.

"Some years back I was in the habit of having very many military men committed to me for solitary confinement for three, four, and six months. In no instance was mind or body impaired by it, though I have scores of times heard them confidently declare, that rather than undergo three weeks' solitary confinement, they would take 500 lashes."

The next question to be considered is, how this system of silence and separation can be put in force throughout the country. It is the opinion of Mr. Crawford, and of many others, that in the end it would be most economical for the country to increase the prisons to the extent of furnishing separate cells for the accommodation of each prisoner. In a shorter period a much severer punishment could be inflicted, and consequently there would be a great saving in many ways: in the diminished time during which the prisoner would have to be maintained in prison, in the smaller portion of his labour which would be lost to his family and to society, and, what is of far more importance, in restoring to the community a character improved, if not entirely reformed, instead of being deteriorated by the present contamination of a prison. Mr. George Bullar, secretary of the Prison Discipline Society, has found, from an analysis of the gaol returns, that of 136 prisons which are included in the act 4 Geo. IV. c. 64, 36 only had a sufficient number of cells to admit of each offender being placed apart at night. The total number of persons confined in these prisons at one time in the last year was 18,197; but the number of sleeping-rooms and cells was only 11,704, leaving a deficiency of about 6500 cells. There are altogether in the prisons included in the act about 1300 day-rooms, most of which, with the large sleeping-rooms, may be altered and divided into single cells; but even with this subdivision there would still be about 3500 cells too few to provide for the separation of the greatest number of prisoners in confinement at one time: to this extent, therefore, it will be necessary to construct additional buildings. It is estimated that the requisite alterations and additions, the particulars of which with respect to each gaol are furnished by Mr. Bullar, will cost 203,061*l*. Two causes, however, should be taken into consideration, which may materially diminish the number of prisoners confined, and therefore render unnecessary so large an addition of cells as here contemplated. It is the opinion of many persons experienced on the subject, that sentences to imprisonment with solitary confinement should be for a very much shorter term than imprisonment under the present discipline. It is considered that a quarter of the time, or, in some circumstances, even less, will be sufficient; if so, the occupants of our prisons will change more frequently; and they may possibly, therefore, without enlargement, afford accommodation in solitary confinement for the same annual number of prisoners as are at present committed. A large portion of our present gaol accommodation is taken up with prisoners who are confined for debt. Out of 12,765 prisoners, the total number of those under confinement at Michaelmas, 1834, there were 1770 debtors. But if imprisonment for debt should be abolished, a large proportion of the space of our prisons would become vacant, and might be appropriated to the accommodation of criminals.

From a careful examination of the plans of the several prisons included in the gaol act, Mr. Bullar furnishes the following classification of them:—

Prisons on the radiating plan, having the means of central inspection into the buildings and airing-courts	15
On the same plan, with wing buildings attached to the centre	10
Carried forward . .	25

Brought forward . .	25
Ditto, but in which the inspection is incomplete . .	18
On the circular or polygonal plan, with buildings round the courts	13
On the quadrangular plan, or with parallel buildings	41
Irregular plans, with modern additions . .	11
Ditto (chiefly old prisons)	28
Total . .	136

The prisons on the radiating plan are all of modern erection, originating with Mr. Bentham. Those on the quadrangular plan were mostly built in Howard's time (about 1780), and although on very improved principles in comparison with the old gaols, they are still very defective. Previous to that period the prisons were erected principally with the object of ensuring the safe custody of the prisoners, and the internal arrangement was, except as it related to this point, but little regarded.

Very recently, since the question of prison-discipline has been made a subject of inquiry and interest, great improvements have taken place in several of our gaols, and many of the visiting justices and governors of the respective prisons seem to be enlightened men, and anxious to carry forward the projected improvements. In April, 1834, an entire new system of discipline was introduced into the Wakefield house of correction, by the strict enforcement of silence at all times; at work, at mess, during the hours of exercise, and at night. The prisoners are, except when the house is excessively crowded, confined each in a separate cell at night. The various rules and regulations for preserving order and cleanliness, for preventing contamination, and producing reformation, are so good, and appear likely to be so beneficial, that the governor of Coldbath-fields prison has likewise adopted them, and with similar advantage. There has lately been a great and striking improvement in that place of confinement, testified by the governor, chaplain, visiting justices, and all who have had an opportunity of judging. In Bedford gaol there was great laxity of discipline, and many abuses were going forward. About three years ago a visiting justice undertook to recommend and enforce some great change: he at first met with opposition, but at length succeeded in introducing alterations and improvements, and for the last two years silence has been enforced as strictly as possible, with very satisfactory results. During the last year the silent system has been maintained in several prisons in various counties with the same good effect, and the evidence of many of the prisoners has been brought forward to show the good working of this system. In Wakefield prison, sixty-four unconvicted prisoners were questioned by a visiting magistrate; out of this number only ten said they disliked the enforcement of silence: seven of these had been re-committed (one five times for felony), and were therefore supposed to be in some measure hardened offenders. The irksomeness of this discipline is felt to be greater in proportion to the badness of the individual's character, and therefore the plan carries with it this great recommendation, that the severity of the punishment is greatest towards those who deserve it most.

It was our intention to give an account of the Penitentiary at Milbank, which is used only for convicted prisoners, and is conducted on an improved principle, not found however quite with so much success as was at first expected. The manufacturing system carried on prevents the practice of that strict silence and separation most favourable to reformation; while the health of the convicts is injured by their sedentary habits, and by the effects of the unfavourable situation of the prison, in the middle of a marsh and in the immediate neighbourhood of manufactories. We regret that our limits will not allow us to enter further into detail concerning this institution. The following statement is extracted from the evidence of Mr. Griffith, governor of Salop County Gaol:—"The principles acted on here are to keep the prisoners as much and as usefully employed as possible; to allow them rest at stated intervals, when the mind is still kept active by reading lessons, &c. I entirely disapprove of solitary confinement without employment, unless it be for short periods. No doubt the punishment must be intolerable, but it tends rather to enervate and crush the mind, than to give it that energetic action which may effectually reform the character. * * * The disease is in the mind, and by no means incurable if properly treated. A rigid discipline calculated to keep the mind in lively action, and prevent it as much as possible from sinking into its old machinations, is, I conceive, the only means of restoring it to its proper tone. * * * I do not make the above observations as being merely speculative, as I have in numerous instances seen them realized. My present groom was a convicted felon, and sentenced to two years imprisonment. His father also was convicted of a different crime and received a like sentence. Being an old man, I had less hope of success than with his son, as the juvenile mind is more easily dealt with. I however observed each of them daily to conform to the enforced regulations with less pain to themselves, and before the expiration of their durance they performed their duty with alacrity and apparent willingness. Each appeared to have acquired systematically some principle for the regulation of his future conduct. On their release, I employed the old man in my garden until he was engaged by the Shropshire Coal Company, where he still is. The young man, as I before observed, is my groom. They have been out of prison upwards of three years, and now can be well recommended should they want employment."

The want of uniformity in the discipline of the different prisons throughout the country is certainly in itself an evil. The regulations of many of the gaols are at variance both with the Gaol Act and with each other, and the discipline will naturally be found still less uniform and consistent than the regulations. It is a common practice at present among the prisoners to discuss the comparative merits of different prisons, and mark their preference by saying, that a month in such a gaol is worse than a year in another. Mrs. Fry states in her evidence, that "It is very lamentable to see the great variety of treatment, and what I call unfairness in the prisons; in one prison they have every comfort of life, and in another they are in a state of misery, distress, and want."

This produces an inequality of punishment, and consequently an injustice, which it is most desirable should be remedied. The only measures which could remove the evil are those which have just been adopted—the appointment of inspectors, and the vesting of the general control and government of the prisons in the Secretary of State instead of the local authorities.

The prisons of Scotland are found, from the returns, to require reformation still more than those of England and Wales, and it is to be hoped they will be the subject of another Bill in the ensuing Session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS' OFFICES AND FEES.

The third Report from the Select Committee on Printed Papers is occupied with the results of the inquiry into the House of Commons' offices and fees, it being a branch of that Committee's duties to continue the inquiry made by the Committee "on House of Commons' offices," of session 1833. The following is an abstract of the Report.

The Committee of 1833 recommended that certain offices should have fixed salaries assigned to them; and in pursuance of that recommendation, an act was passed in 1834, by which such salaries were settled prospectively. [See *Companion*, Nos. 12 and 21.] The present speaker, his secretary, and the serjeant-at-arms, having been appointed since the passing of that act, hold their offices in conformity with its provisions.

Journal Office.—The Committee of 1833 recommended a scale of salaries for the clerks of the Journal Office, namely, to the chief clerk 1000*l.*, and to seven assisting clerks 2500*l.*, in different proportions. Mr. Bull, the late clerk of the Journals, having died during the session, the present Committee think that his successor should receive a fixed sum of 1000*l.*, but that with respect to the assisting clerks the present mode of paying them is preferable to assigning them definite sums. Their emoluments arise from various items, and, as there is much work at night, it is thought that some inducement to industry, and to the speedy dispatch of business, ought to exist.

Public Bill and Fee Office.—The gross amount of fees paid in the offices of the House of Commons in session 1834 was as follows:—

House fees	£5,753 11 6
Committee fees	9,412 9 5
Carried forward . .	£15,166 0 11

Brought forward . .	£15,166	0	11
Ingrossing fees . . .	5,814	10	0
Private Bill Office fees . .	1,552	5	0
Housekeeper's, &c., fees . .	1,458	15	0
Election fees . . .	476	15	4
Recognizance fees . . .	30	0	0
For inspections and copies of papers .	243	13	4
Total . .	£24,741	19	7

The Committee concur in the opinion of the previous Committee, that it is very desirable that the collection of all fees receivable on the passing of private bills, and on other business of the House, should be made by one and the same person. They therefore think that the receiver of the House and ingrossing fees should collect all other fees now collected by the deputy housekeeper, speaker's secretary, and committee clerks, &c., for which he should be allowed, over and above his salary, a per centage of 1*l.* 10*s.* on the amount collected; and that he should also be paymaster of all salaries and charges on the House establishment, giving sufficient security for the performance of his duties, and making out a yearly account of receipts and expenditure, to be laid before the House.

The clerk and receiver of fees is also agent for the Treasury in the management of revenue and other public bills. This arrangement the Committee think economical and satisfactory, but instead of his present allowances, amounting, on an average of the years 1833-34, to 1381*l.*, they suggest that he should receive a fixed salary of 1000*l.* a year (exclusive of the per centage on the collection of fees), and that no other payments should be made to him. It is also suggested that his four clerks, instead of being paid by fees, should receive fixed salaries of 600*l.*, 400*l.*, 200*l.*, and 150*l.* respectively.

Committee Clerks' Office.—The four principal clerkships were abolished by the act of 1834, as being sinecures: but the Committee think that the office should also be placed on a more efficient footing. So much of the business of the House of Commons is now performed in Committees, as to render it desirable that the clerks should have an accurate knowledge of the routine of business, and be active and attentive to their duties. At present the committee clerks are appointed to public and private committees in rotation, taking the chance of the continuance of the committee for one day or during the session. But as all the fees on private business are, at the end of the session, brought into one sum, of which each clerk receives an equal share, they have been in the practice of handing over to their assistants as many of the private, and retaining themselves as many of the public committees as possible. It is suggested that the office of Superintendent of Committee Clerks should be forthwith abolished: that all the clerks should be responsible to the Chief Clerk of the House of Commons, and to him alone, as his position and authority must enable him better than any other person to enforce a regular and punctual performance of duties; and that, as the pressure of business is very unequal in different periods of the session, he should have full authority to provide for its dispatch by bringing temporary assistance from other departments. It is also suggested that the ancient allowance of 50*l.* from the Exchequer to the four clerks should be discontinued; that the office should be (prospectively) arranged into three desks, with three clerks to each, the first three having 800*l.* yearly each, the three senior assistants 300*l.* each, and the three junior assistants 100*l.* each, making 3600*l.* in all: but as an encouragement to industry on the part of the assistants, they should be allowed to charge for copies of minutes of evidence made out for private parties, at a rate suggested by Mr. Ley, in his evidence—viz. 4*d.* a sheet of 72 words, the same quantity for which, by the present table of fees, one shilling is charged.

Clerk of Committee of Privileges, &c.—An annual salary of 100*l.* has been paid by the Treasury to the clerk of privileges and of elections, which the gentleman holding the offices considers as a retaining fee on account of both. The standing committee of privileges being now dropped, the office of clerk may be abolished, as the duties of attending any such committee which may hereafter be appointed may be transferred to the committee clerks. The emoluments of the clerk of elections are large, varying however according to the number of election committees that are appointed, and the time over which their sittings extend. An account is rendered in the Appendix to the Report, which gives his net receipts for the years 1833-4, and also for session 1835, up to 31st July. The net receipts for last session, without including the Carlow election committee, which was sitting at the time of rendering the account, amount to 1503*l.* The Committee of 1833 recommended that the duties of clerk of elections should be transferred altogether to the committee clerks: but the present Committee do not concur in that recommendation, being convinced that the office should be preserved as a distinct one, having a room independent of the committee clerks' office, for the transaction of business. In addition to his duties as clerk of elections, it is suggested that the individual holding the appointment should act as clerk of recognizances for election petitions (at present a separate office), and also have the duty of settling allowances to election witnesses, and act as clerk to the taxers of private bills. It is proposed that a fixed salary be assigned to the office, of 600*l.* per annum.

Private Bill Office.—The fees received in this office are recommended to be carried to the fee-fund, and the four clerks to be paid salaries of 800*l.*, 450*l.*, 350*l.*, and 150*l.* each, and no other emoluments to be allowed.

Ingrossing Office.—The office of clerk of ingrossments having been abolished on the recommendation of the Committee of 1833, it is suggested, on the same principle adopted in regard to the Private Bill Office, that the three working clerks receive 700*l.*, 400*l.*, and 150*l.* each annually, the fees being carried to the fee-fund. The Committee think it worthy of consideration whether in ingrossing the black letter might not be changed to the common letter.

Vote Office.—No change has been made in this office in consequence of the recommendations of the former Committee. These recommendations the present Committee think should be forthwith adopted; that the charge of 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to members for delivering parliamentary papers in town, or forwarding them to the country should be abolished, on the broad principle that members ought not to be put to any expense in the performance of their duties; and that the expense of delivery thus thrown upon the public may be met by a reduction in the expense of the office. The present charge is 2762*l.*, which, with fees from members for delivery of papers amounting to 1957*l.*, makes an annual charge of 4719*l.* The future charge is recommended to be 1900*l.*, by which a saving to the public will be effected of 862*l.*, and, along with the saving to members of fees, a total saving of 2819*l.* The present deliverer of votes having been appointed since the recommendations of the Committee of 1833, the Committee think that the alterations might take place next session.

Serjeant-at-Arms, Housekeeper, &c.—The serjeant-at-arms is the official housekeeper, but his other duties preclude the possibility of his attending to the housekeeper's duty, which is performed by deputy. The Committee recommend strongly to the attention of the House an application from Sir William Gosset for an official residence within the precincts of the new House, in order to enable him to look better after the entire establishment. Various recommendations are made with a view of reducing the expense of the housekeeper's department, and of exercising control over the different items of it.

Doorkeepers and Messengers.—The emoluments of the three doorkeepers are considered to be quite disproportionate to the nature of their duties and office. It is proposed to abolish the situation of lower doorkeeper, and that the other two should receive 500*l.* and 400*l.* each of salary, in lieu of all allowances from members and fees of any kind from the public. It is recommended that there be a head messenger at a fixed salary of 400*l.*; four others at 300*l.* each; two at 200*l.* each; four supernumeraries at 105*l.* each, to be afterwards increased to 120*l.*; and a library messenger, whose salary may be settled by the Library Committee. Two persons are employed in the letter office; but the Committee think this department susceptible of improvement, and recommend it to the attention of the lords of the treasury and the postmaster-general.

Payment of Witnesses.—Little uniformity has hitherto prevailed in the amount of allowances made to witnesses in attendance on Select Committees. Usually from 5*s.* to 10*s.* a day has been paid to tradesmen; gentlemen a guinea; professional men two guineas, or, if from a dis-

tance, three guineas. The allowances for travelling expenses have also been various, according to rank and circumstances. It is now proposed to place all such expenses under proper control, and methods are suggested by which this may be done with a due attention to regularity and economy.

MEMBERS' WAITING ROOM.—This room is not at present considered as part of the establishment of the House of Commons, and is supported by fees paid by members. It is now proposed to be included in the establishment, the fees to be abolished, and the charge of the persons in attendance upon it to be placed upon the accounts of the Serjeant-at-arms.

A number of other subjects connected with the business and expenses of the offices and general establishment of the House are considered, but they are too minute to be specified in such a summary as the present. The object of all the suggestions thrown out is to ensure efficiency, and reduce expense. The Report concludes with the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the Committee:—

1. That this Committee, adopting the principle expressed by the Committee on House of Commons Offices in 1833, are of opinion that no clerk or officer of this House appointed since session 1833, shall be henceforth permitted to transact private business, or indirectly to participate in any benefit arising therefrom.

2. That the Committee clerks and their assistants, as well as the clerks in the Private Bill Office (who are at present restricted), be henceforth prohibited from acting as agents for private bills, or from being concerned, either directly or indirectly, for petitioners, or sitting members before Election Committees.

3. That as regards such clerks or officers as may have been on the establishment previous to session 1833, such practice shall cease and determine on the 1st of January, 1840, unless within twelve months from the date of this Report any such clerk or officer so circumstanced shall declare his intention to surrender his public office; in which case he shall be entitled to such compensation as may be determined upon by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

4. That all payments made by members for the delivery of sessional papers from the Vote Office, all gratuities paid to doorkeepers, messengers, and superintendent of the members' waiting room, shall cease after the present session.

5. That in reference to all those officers whose emoluments shall be affected by the preceding Resolutions, it is the opinion of this Committee that the Treasury should make such allowance as they shall, under all the circumstances, consider equitable, with the view of commencing the new scale and arrangement of the offices of the House in the next Session of Parliament.

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR INQUIRING INTO THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN IRELAND.

THIS Report, with an Appendix and Supplement, makes a folio volume of 1120 pages, but of these the Report itself only occupies ten. The commission directs inquiry to be made "into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, and into the various institutions at present established by law for their relief; and also whether any and what further remedial measures appear to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor, or any portion of them." The evidence as yet collected relates solely to the first branch of the inquiry. The Report goes no farther than giving a list of the counties in which the evidence was taken, and of the heads under which it is arranged, and then briefly states the difficulties which were encountered in the inquiry; the course pursued so as to show how far the evidence is full and impartial, and therefore worthy of reliance; and the reasons why the commissioners have been unable as yet to report on the second branch of inquiry.

The difficulties of the inquiry are stated to have arisen from the great proportion of the population about and amongst whom the inquiry was to be made constantly fluctuating between mendicity and independent labour; from the extreme and painful circumspection which it was necessary to exercise; and from the numerous theories which assailed the commissioners on every side. "In whole districts," states the Report, "scarcely one of that class of substantial capitalist farmers so universal in England can be found. The small resident gentry are but few, and the substantial tradesman is not to be met with at intervals of two or three miles as in England; for there are but few towns of sufficient trade to create such a class. The clergy of the various persuasions, and the proprietors, when resident, are in many cases so much at variance with each other, or with the working population, on political questions, that great caution was requisite in regard to the manner and degree in which we could avail ourselves of their assistance. Similar difficulties existed with regard to the constabulary, from the frequent collision in which they are placed with the people; and parochial authorities can scarcely be said to exist."

The first act of the commissioners in collecting information was to circulate a set of statistical questions. Of these about 7600 were circulated, 3100 were returned filled up, and the state of about 1100 parishes was described by them. As however the information thus obtained could neither be sufficient nor extensive enough, it was necessary that personal inquiry and investigation should take place. The Board could not proceed from one part of the country to another to receive local evidence with any prospect of completing the inquiry within a reasonable period; it was therefore resolved to depute individuals for the purpose. "The difficulty, great under any circumstances, of selecting persons upon whom reliance could be placed as possessing intelligence in tracing the truth, diligence in pursuit of it, patience in examining a variety of persons of different views and habits, and impartiality in deciding between conflicting statements, was much increased by the peculiar state of society. In a community which had long been divided into politico-religious parties, each regarding the other with jealousy and animosity, it was extremely difficult to find persons who would be able, even if they were desirous, to divest themselves of every partial feeling, nurtured as they had been in an anti-social state. And even when persons should have been found who really were themselves thus impartial, there was still a danger that they would be suspected of partaking of the prejudices with which their relatives, friends, and connexions were known to be imbued." The mode adopted by the commissioners to avoid, on the one hand, the evils just stated, and, on the other, the danger of employing persons in the inquiry ignorant of the social construction of society in Ireland, of the habits and feelings of the people, and of the peculiar idioms of the language, was by joining in the inquiry in all cases a native of Great Britain with a resident native of Ireland.

Each assistant commissioner was directed to pursue the following course:—

"1st. To request the attendance of persons of each grade in society, of each of the various religious persuasions, and of each party in politics: to give to the testimony of each class an equal degree of attention, and to make the examinations in the presence of all—in fact in open court. Not to allow any person to join in conducting the examination, and to state at the opening of the proceedings that any statement made by an individual, and not impugned by any person present, would be considered to be acknowledged as at least probable by all.

"2ndly. To note down, at the time of examination, the replies given, or the remarks which occurred to him; to register, as nearly as might be possible in the words of each witness, the statements which might be made; to register the names of all the persons who attended the examination; and before proceeding to examine another district, to send the minutes of the previous examination to the office of the commissioners in Dublin, signed by both the assistant commissioners."

In assigning reasons why they have not yet been able to report upon the second branch of inquiry, viz. "Whether any and what further remedial measures appear to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor," the commissioners defend themselves against complaints made both within and out of Parliament as to the time and money expended in prosecuting the inquiry. They contrast the complicated nature of their duties, and the extensive field which the commission opened, with the nature and extent of other commissions, such as the inquiries into corporations, and into the poor-laws. The date of the present Report is 8th July, 1835. A second Report, accompanied by obser-

vations as to certain parts of the subject referred to the commissioners, is expected to be in readiness to be submitted to his Majesty towards the end of the present year; and in February, 1836, it is anticipated that the commission will be closed by a final Report.

ALTERATIONS IN THE FRENCH TARIFF.

The government of France is proceeding, slowly indeed, and not very efficiently, in the improvement of the laws and the modification of the duties by which its trade with foreign countries has been regulated.

Several *projets de loi* connected with this subject have at different times of late been laid for consideration before the French legislature, but have not been pressed upon its attention by the government, and not any one of the proposed alterations has consequently passed into a law. In the year 1826 some amendments were indeed made by the Chambers in their Customs' Laws, but numerous prohibitions and restrictions upon commerce were suffered to continue in force. The advocates of various interests who have felt themselves aggrieved by these restrictions, however, have not ceased to urge their claims for alteration upon the government and the Chambers. On the other hand, the party which has, or fancies it has, an interest in upholding the restrictions, has been sufficiently numerous and powerful to render any material change of system by means of the legislature difficult of accomplishment, and, under these circumstances, the government has availed itself of the provisions of a law passed in December, 1814, which gives to the executive the power of reducing or modifying certain duties provisionally, and without the preliminary sanction of the Chambers.

This course was adopted in July, 1834, when several prohibitions were abolished in favour of the importation of certain articles previously furnished to consumers in France by contraband dealers, and the removal of another kind of prohibition, that preventing the exportation of raw, thrown, and dyed silk, was confirmed.

By an ordonnance, dated 10th October, 1835, several additional alterations have been made in the regulations and duties affecting the importation of articles of foreign produce. We shall notice these alterations as far as they materially affect the commercial relations of this country.

By the ordonnance of July, 1834, plain India silk handkerchiefs (bandannoes) called by our neighbours *foulards*, were first allowed to be imported on payment of the duty of 16 francs per kilogramme, equal to 5*s*. 10*d*. per lb. This duty, having been found too high to take the trade out of the smuggler's hands, is by the present ordonnance reduced to 11 francs per kilogramme, or 4*s*. per lb. In the report of M. Duchâtel, by which the ordonnance is introduced, the wish is expressed of equally permitting the importation of dyed or printed India handkerchiefs, but the law of 1814 does not endow the government with power to do so. Indigo brought direct from India in French ships pays a duty of 50 centimes per kilogramme, about 2½*d*. per lb., while other importations of this dye were liable to four times that duty. This distinction is now abolished, and indigo the produce of any country out of Europe may be imported direct in French ships at the duty of 50 centimes. Olive-oil has hitherto been divided into two classes, that fit for culinary purposes paying 35 francs per 100 kilogramme, about 14*l*. per ton, while that of inferior quality used in manufacturing processes paid only 25 francs, about 10*l*. per ton. The higher duty is now abolished, and olive-oil of all qualities is to be charged at the rate last mentioned. The duty charged upon the admission of olive-oil to consumption in this country was reduced in 1834 from eight guineas to four guineas per ton. The high duty charged by France is intended as a protection to her native oil growers. The quantity of this produce imported into France from Italy, which is very great, is required to supply the soap manufactories, which are extensive. France exports largely of soap, upon the shipment of which to foreign countries a drawback is granted equal to the duty paid upon the oil of which it is made. It is much to be regretted that the high duty long charged in this country upon olive-oil has occasioned the employment of tallow by our soap manufacturers, and as foreigners have not had the same inducement for using that we have had for making an inferior article, we have, comparatively speaking, no export trade in soap; under different circumstances there is no reason why we should not compete successfully with France in that branch of commerce. The little soap which we do export is made of palm-oil, the duty upon which has lately been reduced to 1*s*. 3*d*. per cwt. In this respect the French government has now imitated our example by reducing the duty on palm-oil to one half its former rate, leaving it, however, at four times the sum paid in England.

The question of the importation of coals is one of importance both to France and to this country. Under any fair system of duties we might expect to export very largely of that article to France, and it has been a matter of complaint on our part, not so much that France should, in order to protect the interests of the proprietors of forests, impose heavy duties on the admission of coals, as that she should make an invidious distinction between the produce of one country and another, charging our coals, which must be sea-borne, with a duty equal to 8*s*. per ton, and admitting the produce of the Belgian mines across the frontier at only three-tenths of that rate. This distinction is now so far reduced by the ordonnance, that sea-borne coals may be admitted into all ports to the southward of Les Sables D'Olonne (a small town of La Vendée, a little to the north of La Rochelle), at the same rate of duty as coals admitted by land. The old duty of 1 franc per metrical quintal is still charged in all the ports of the Channel and of the Bay of Biscay, which lie to the northward of Les Sables D'Olonne. This relaxation, partial as it is, may somewhat facilitate our trading operations with Bordeaux, Charente, and the French ports in the Mediterranean. Our export of coals to the different ports of France amounted in 1834 to 59,690 tons.

The only remaining alteration in the French tariff which we think it necessary to notice, is that which relates to the duty on cast and wrought iron. Having on a former occasion (No. 15, March, 1834) gone at some length into the examination of this subject, we shall now content ourselves with simply stating the alteration provided in the ordonnance.

Pig-iron, the duty on which has been 9 francs per metrical quintal (about 3*l*. 12*s*. per ton), will now pay 8 francs (about 3*l*. 4*s*. per ton), and bar-iron, upon which 25 francs per quintal (10*l*. per ton) has been levied, will now be admitted upon payment of 20 francs (8*l*. per ton.)

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION, AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

[Continued from Number 33.]

On the 8th of November (1768) Parliament reassembled, with the Duke of Grafton still at the head of the ministry, and indeed, now that Charles Townshend was dead, with, it may be said, the uncontrolled management of affairs in his own hands. Lord North is understood to have confined himself almost entirely to his own department as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Camden, the only other member of the Cabinet whose talents and standing were such as to give him much influence, having lost Lord Chatham, with whom he had hitherto acted, appears merely to have retained his place in the feeling that a few months more would either restore his party and principles to their former ascendancy, or afford him a fair opportunity of following the example of his friend, and giving in his resignation. It is obvious that he had not at the present moment the same excuse for retiring which existed in the case of Lord Chatham, who, besides the state of his health, which wholly incapacitated him for business of any kind, had to allege the consideration that after having accepted office as premier he was bound in justice to himself to withdraw after the actual direction of the government had fallen wholly into the hands of another. Lord Camden, on the contrary, having served under Lord Chatham, could not well object to serve under the Duke of Grafton, who, notwithstanding their temporary separation during the short time that the Marquis of Rockingham was in power, had always declared himself to be one of Lord Chatham's most attached disciples and followers, and to no one of whose acts, in the formation of the present ministry, Lord Chatham himself had as yet thought proper to offer any public opposition.

The Address proposed by ministers was agreed to by the

Lords without opposition; but in the Commons the question is stated to have given rise to some warm debates, no account of which, however, has been preserved. The conduct of the government in regard both to America and to the affair of Corsica and other matters of continental policy, appears to have been severely condemned by both the Rockingham and the Grenville parties. It is material to observe that about this time a reconciliation was effected, through the medium of Mr. John Calcraft, member for Rochester, between Lord Temple and Lord Chatham. The health also of the latter noble lord began rapidly to improve after his retirement from office, although it does not appear that he took any part in the discussions of parliament during the present session.

The two great subjects of contest during this session were, the case of Mr. Wilkes, and the affairs of America. We shall notice some of the principal divisions, in so far as they are recorded, which took place upon each in either House, with the view of illustrating the state of parties at this interesting crisis.

The case of Mr. Wilkes was brought before the House of Commons on the 14th of November by a petition from himself, in which he prayed for the interference of the House to enable him to take his seat as a member. After a great deal of discussion it was agreed that the petitioner should have liberty to attend the House to support the allegations of his petition, and should also be allowed the assistance of counsel, on the 2d of December.

Meanwhile, on the 17th of November, a motion was made with the view of obtaining an inquiry into what was popularly called the late massacre in St. George's Fields; but it was negatived by a very great majority. According to the Parliamentary History, "many gentlemen thought that, though in some instances some measures of government could not easily be defended, yet, in the present temper of the times, too minute an inquiry into the acts of government upon that occasion, or any public censure passed upon them, might serve too much to lower it in the public opinion, and to increase that licentiousness which was already too prevalent among the populace: on this principle many in opposition either remained neuter, or fell in with administration."

The hearing of Mr. Wilkes's petition, having been twice postponed, had not yet come on, when on the 23rd of January, 1769, it was moved "That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of publishing a seditious libel, is entitled to privilege of parliament." This motion was made by Mr. Joseph Martin, one of the members for Gatton, who, as he stated in his speech, had always voted against Wilkes at his elections.* The manner in which it was treated affords a curious example of a species of unworthy advantage, which we have already had occasion to notice as having, in those times, been not unfrequently taken over their opponents by the majority in the House, although now altogether discarded from parliamentary warfare. In the first place an amendment was moved by Lord North, and carried after a warm debate by a majority of 165 to 71, the effect of which was to give to the original motion the following new form:—"That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of printing and publishing a malignant, seditious, and scandalous libel, and of printing and publishing three obscene and impious libels, and now stands committed to the King's Bench prison, by virtue of two several judgments in the Court of King's Bench for the said offences, is entitled, by privilege of parliament, to be discharged from his imprisonment for the said offences." The main question being then put in this altered shape was negatived at once, even the original mover himself and his friends probably declining to support it. It would still, however, according to the usual mode of acting, appear in the Votes as his motion; and it was no doubt the object of the minister by the course which he had taken, to bring in this way his opponents into odium, in addition to defeating the motion. Aware of this Mr. Martin now moved, "That, in entering in the Votes of this day the proceedings of the House upon the said question, the original motion be stated, with the proceedings of the House in making the several amendments thereunto." The minister however would not yield the point, and, to the discredit of the House, it was resolved by a majority of 96 to 52 that the Votes should be drawn up in the usual misrepresenting, or at least misleading form. It may be recollected that the same manœuvre was attempted on the 29th of January, 1765, in the case of Sir William Meredith's motion for declaring the illegality of general warrants; but upon that occasion the House eventually agreed that the Votes should be so made out as to exhibit the whole proceedings in the manner in which they had actually occurred. (See *Companion*, No. 28, p. 343). It was now contended that whatever temporary misconception might be produced by the Votes, "in the Journals the state of the case would be seen at large, which was sufficient to establish any member's character to posterity." Unfortunately, however, the mischief would be done long before posterity could interfere in the matter.

The hearing of Wilkes's petition was at length taken into consideration on the 27th of this month, when Lord North moved that counsel should be confined to two points only, which he specified, in the petitioner's allegations. One object of this proposition seems to have been to divide the supporters of the petition. In the Parliamentary History there is printed from the Hardwicke papers a Letter to Lord Hardwicke giving an account of the debate, in which it is said, "Wilkes's friends and most of Lord Rockingham's, together with the young patriots, were for taking in the whole (that is, the whole matter of the petition), Sir Joseph Mawbey (one of the members for Southwark), the person by whom the petition had been presented, taking the conduct and lead. Mr. Grenville thought with Lord North, and defended the limitation." Sir George Saville, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Burke, Sergeant Glynn, and Colonel Barré, are mentioned as having been the principal speakers against the motion of the minister; which on a division was carried by a majority of 278 to 131.

Several succeeding days were occupied in discussing the petition in the manner determined by this motion. On the 1st of February, it was agreed without a division, that the petitioner had not made good the two allegations upon which he had been heard. On the 2nd it was resolved by a majority of 239 to 136, that he had been guilty of the publication of "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel," in printing a letter which had fallen into his hands, addressed by Lord Weymouth, one of the Secretaries of State, to the magistrates of Surrey, some time before the riots in St. George's Fields, and which he had denounced, in a prefatory statement, as having been the cause of the blood that had flowed on that occasion.

On the day following, a motion for the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House was made by Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, and seconded by Mr. Rigby, the Paymaster-General. The motion was opposed by Mr. Burke, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. T. Pitt, (afterwards Lord Camelford, the elder brother of Lord Chatham) Mr. Beckford, Mr. Cornwall, and Mr. Grenville, but was carried on a division by a majority of 219 to 137. Mr. Burke called this the fifth act of the tragi-comedy, acted by his Majesty's Servants, at the desire of several persons of quality, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes, and at the expense of the constitution.

On the 16th of the same month, Mr. Wilkes was re-elected for Middlesex, no other candidate having appeared, although a Mr. Dingley, a merchant of London, had intended to get himself proposed, but was induced, owing, as he alleged, to the intimidation exercised by the mob, to retire before the nomination.

On the 17th Lord Strange moved, "That John Wilkes, Esq., having been in this Session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament;" and, an amendment proposed by Mr. Dowdeswell having been first rejected by a majority of 228 to 102, the motion was carried in its original form by a majority of 235 to 89.

On the 16th of March, Wilkes was returned for Middlesex the third time. On the following day the return was again declared null and void by the House, and a new writ ordered.

The next election took place on the 13th of April. This time an opponent to the popular favourite appeared in the person of Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, son of Mr. Simon Luttrell (afterwards Lord Irnham), who, that he might become a candidate for Middlesex, vacated his seat for Bossiney. Colonel Luttrell having obtained only 296 votes, while Mr. Wilkes had 1143, the latter was again returned by the Sheriffs. On the 14th, Mr. Onslow, to quote the account given in the Parliamentary History, "moved that the Sheriffs of Middlesex should immediately attend the House with the poll; which was agreed to; but the Ministry having neglected to give the Sheriffs notice,

they were so long in coming, that the House got into confusion and riot for two hours, and then the night was so far advanced, that it became improper to enter into any new debate that night. A motion was made by the Ministry to adjourn to next day, which was Saturday. The opposition opposed Saturday as contrary to the custom of Parliament, which never did any thing of consequence on that day; that Saturday was dedicated to other business, or pleasure; that it seemed as if the hurrying on this business was such a measure of Government, that unusual means were taken to ensure its success; that precipitation might sooner inflame than quiet the minds of the people. However, the Ministry were so eager to finish the affair, that they voted for Saturday by a majority of 207 to 115." On that day accordingly a motion made by Mr. Onslow, "That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq., ought to have been returned a Knight of the Shire to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Middlesex," was after an animated debate carried by a majority of 197 against 143. Among the opponents of the motion was Mr. Grenville, whose speech is said to have been one of remarkable force and ability. The return was now amended by the substitution of the name of Colonel Luttrell for that of Mr. Wilkes. The only other proceeding that took place in the course of the Session in relation to this matter, was a vote to which the House came on the 8th of May, after hearing counsel in support of a petition of the freeholders of Middlesex against the return being thus amended. A resolution, asserting that Colonel Luttrell had been duly elected, was carried on this occasion by a majority of 221 to 152.

Very soon after the opening of the session Committees had been appointed in both Houses to examine and report upon certain papers relating to American affairs which were submitted by the crown. Ever since the news of the passing of the taxation act of the session of 1767 (see *Companion* No. 33, p. 457) had arrived in America, a re-awakened spirit of dissatisfaction had been strengthening and extending itself in that country. The centre from which the flame spread to the other colonies was the province of Massachusets Bay, and its capital, the town of Boston. So early as the 28th of October in the same year, the freeholders and other inhabitants of that town at a public meeting unanimously entered into resolutions, pledging themselves to prevent as far as possible the importation of the different articles on which the new duties were imposed. On the 15th of February, 1768, the Assembly, or House of Representatives, of the province, placed itself at the head of the popular movement by addressing a circular letter to all the other colonies, inviting them to combine with it in taking measures to defeat the Act. In June following, during the next session of the legislature, the seizure of a ship in the port of Boston by the officers of the customs for contravention of the new law, occasioned a violent tumult in the town, which the Assembly, when applied to by the governor for their assistance, declined interfering to put down. Being also required to rescind their proceedings of the previous session in the matter of the circular letter, they refused to do so by a majority of 92 to 17. Upon this the governor, pursuant to instructions he had received from the government at home, dissolved the Assembly. This measure, however, had only the effect of still further inflaming and exasperating the public mind. Soon after, also, information was received that the English ministry had determined to send over a body of troops to keep the town in awe, and that in fact two regiments had already embarked on that destination. This intelligence raised the ferment to the highest pitch. At a public meeting held on the 12th of September, a petition was drawn up and forwarded to the governor requesting him to reassemble the legislature, and, on his refusal, it was next day resolved to summon a general convention of all the colonies, to be held at Boston on the 22nd of the same month. On that day accordingly the convention met, composed of delegates from ninety-eight towns and eight districts. This body went no farther, however, than to draw up a petition to the king against the late act of parliament, and an address to the people recommending the observance of peace and subordination. The meeting then dissolved itself on the 29th, and on the same day the first division of the troops entered the town, which now returned to its wonted tranquillity.

Such were the events narrated in the papers laid before parliament. The discussions to which they gave rise commenced in the House of Lords, where, on the 15th of Dec., 1768, Lord Hillsborough moved eight resolutions strongly condemnatory of the proceedings of the Assembly of Massachusets Bay and the people of Boston. The resolutions were carried without a division, as was also an address to the crown subsequently proposed by the Duke of Bedford, approving of the conduct of the administration. Although there was no division however upon these motions, it appears from a minute among the Hardwicke papers that they gave rise to some debate, in the course of which sentiments unfavourable to the resolutions were expressed both by Lord Temple and the Duke of Richmond. Lord Shelburne, also seems to have given them only a qualified approval. Lord Camden said nothing. "The Duke of Grafton," says the minute, "spoke as a minister for maintaining the right of parliament, and that he desired every body to understand that by these resolutions and address parliament had precluded itself from respecting (that is, we suppose, from reconsidering) any of the acts for laying duties in the colonies for this session."

The Resolutions and Address were then sent down to the Commons for their concurrence; and the question was discussed at great length in that House on the 26th of January, 1769. The debate terminated in great disorder. The opponents of Ministers maintaining that the motion upon one point asserted a direct falsehood, inasmuch as it attributed to the Assembly of Massachusets the passing of a resolution which in fact never had been passed by that body, Mr. Grenville got up and said that this was a short question:—if there was any such resolution on the Journals of the Boston Assembly, he desired it might be read. "Others," proceeds the Parliamentary History, "called out 'Read, read.' This threw the whole bench of ministers and clerks into a most ridiculous confusion, as they could not, when now called upon in the face of the House, find any such; the business of the House stood still; one side laughing, the other side in the most shameful perplexity, for more than a quarter of an hour." Then, "the chorusmen," continues the account, "who at proper times call for the question, helped them out at this dead lift by an incessant recitative of the words 'Question, question, question.' At length, at four o'clock in the morning, the whole House in confusion, laughing, &c, the Resolutions and Address were agreed to." It is stated in the Annual Register, which was at this time under the conduct of Mr. Burke, that the Rockingham and Grenville parties now entirely united in condemning the taxation acts of 1767, although upon that point they had hitherto been supposed to be irreconcilably at variance. It is also affirmed, that the Ministers (from whatever cause) were unusually cold and languid in support of the Resolutions and Address.

The subject was again discussed on the 8th of February, when the Report of the Committee which had passed the Resolutions was brought up. In the course of this debate, Alderman Trecothick (one of the members for London) stated a remarkable fact, namely, that when Mr. Charles Townshend's project of raising a revenue by the taxation of the colonists was in agitation, the merchants all told him the effects the attempt would produce in America, and offered to pay the taxes here in England. On a division the Report was received by a majority of 169 to 65.

Later in the session Mr. Townshend's Act was again brought before the House, by a motion for its repeal introduced in a long speech by Governor Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusets Bay, and one of the most steady opponents of the American policy of the administration. "Every person," says the account in the Parliamentary History, "seemed to agree with the motion: but the ministry complaining that the late time of the session would not allow a matter of so much consequence to be properly agitated, as they were not prepared for it, a motion was therefore made to put it off till next session." The day on which Governor Pownall's motion was made is not given; but from his speech it appears to have been after the disturbances in the Colonies were understood to have been completely put down. He urged the repeal on the Government mainly on the considerations that the authority and power of the English legislature had at that time its full effect—that the people had submitted, were paying the taxes, and were at peace. In point of fact, however, the inhabitants both of Boston and New York had, in conformity with resolutions into which they entered—the former on the 1st of August, 1768, and the latter on the 15th of September following—almost entirely ceased to im-

port or purchase any of the newly taxed articles from the 1st of January in the present year.

On the 9th of May Parliament was prorogued.

The month of January in the present year had been distinguished by the first appearance in the political warfare of the day, (under that signature,) of the celebrated JUNIUS. This powerful assailant, from that concealment which has been as inscrutable to succeeding times as it was to his own, began by directing his attacks more particularly against the Prime Minister, with an energy and perseverance, which appeared determined to give him no rest until he should have been driven from power.

The public mind, however, scarcely required the virulent excitements administered to it from this quarter to keep it in a state of the utmost inflammation and dissatisfaction. The attack which was conceived to be made upon the rights of electors throughout the whole kingdom by the proceedings in the case of Wilkes, and the pains which were taken to keep alive the popular indignation which had been aroused by the affair of St. George's Fields—combined with the general contempt into which the administration had fallen, both through the opinion which was entertained of the want of anything like commanding talent in its leaders, and through the exposures of its mismanagement and inefficiency which had been made in the late parliamentary discussions of the American question—to make the great majority of the country restless under the present state of things, and impatient for a change. Petitions to the Crown, complaining in the strongest terms of the conduct of ministers, and praying for their dismissal and also for a dissolution of the parliament, were sent up during the summer from all parts of the kingdom.

In this temper the nation was when Parliament was again called together on the 9th of January, 1770, and his Majesty addressed the two Houses in a speech commencing in the following astounding manner:—"My Lords and Gentlemen, it is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the session of Parliament with acquainting you, that the distemper among the Horned Cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom, notwithstanding every precaution that could be used for preventing the infection from foreign parts,"- and so on, to the end of a long paragraph in the same strain. The ridicule with which this portentous ministerial effusion was everywhere received was unbounded. The Session immediately received the nickname of the Horned Cattle Session. "While the whole kingdom," said Junius in a Letter to the Duke of Grafton, "was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a King, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier."

The debates upon the Address in both Houses were of the highest interest. In the Lords, Lord Chatham, now completely restored to health, led the opposition, by moving the insertion of a paragraph noticing the discontents prevailing in many parts of the kingdom, and the late proceedings of the House of Commons in the case of Wilkes—to neither of which topics the Address proposed by ministers, being as usual a mere echo of the Speech, made any allusion. But the most remarkable of the speeches delivered was that of Lord Camden, the Chancellor. His lordship, according to the report in the Gentleman's Magazine, "declared that he had accepted the seals at first without any conditions; that he meant not, therefore, to be trammelled by his Majesty—I beg pardon, said he, by his ministers; that he had suffered himself to be so too long; that, for some time, he had beheld with silent indignation, the arbitrary measures which were pursuing by the ministry; that he had often drooped and hung down his head in Council, and disapproved by his looks, those steps which he knew his warmest opposition could not prevent; that, however, he would do so no longer, but would openly and boldly speak his sentiments. That as to the incapacitating vote, he was of the same opinion with the noble Lord who spoke before him (Lord Chatham); that he considered it as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution; and that if, in giving his decision as a judge, he was to pay any regard to that vote, or any other vote of the House of Commons, in opposition to the known and established laws of the land, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust, and an enemy to his country; that the ministry, by their violent and tyrannical conduct, had alienated the minds of the people from his Majesty's government—he had almost said from his Majesty's person; that, in consequence, a spirit of discontent had spread itself into every corner of the kingdom, and was every day increasing; and that if some methods were not devised to appease the clamours that so universally prevailed, he did not know but the people, in despair, might turn their own avengers, and take the redress of their grievances into their own hands." "In a word," it is added, "he accused the ministry, if not in express terms, yet by direct implication, of having formed a conspiracy against the liberties of their country." There can be little doubt, from events that followed, that some such speech as this was actually delivered by Lord Camden; but it is strange that in another report, understood to have been furnished by Sir Philip Francis, and given in the Parliamentary History, there is no notice of his Lordship having taken any part whatever in the debate. In that report, however, Lord Temple is made to observe, at the conclusion of the debate, on a motion for an adjournment of some days having been made by Lord Pomfret, "that the House well knew for what purpose the ministry wanted an adjournment; it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, which was now shattered in a most miserable manner, and in all likelihood would soon fall to pieces: and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent Lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place with some obsequious lawyer, who would do as he was commanded." According to this report, also, Lord Shelburne, "said nearly the same (with Lord Temple,) and added, that after the dismissal of the present worthy Chancellor, the seals would go a-begging: but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited, as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered." The original Address was eventually carried by a majority of 203 to 36. Lord Camden voted with the minority.

In the Commons the opposition to the ministerial Address was led by Mr. Dowdeswell, who moved the insertion of words, acquainting his Majesty with the necessity "of immediately inquiring into the causes of the unhappy discontents which at present prevail in every part of his Majesty's dominions." The amendment was rejected by a majority of 254 to 138. Among others who took part in the long and keen debate which preceded this division was the Marquis of Granby (the Master-General of the Ordnance, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army), who publicly expressed his regret for having in the last Session voted with the majority on the question of the disqualification of Mr. Wilkes. "That vote," he said, "I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life. I see that I was in error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment." On the other hand, General Conway, who held the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, and who might have been expected also to join Lord Camden and the other dissentients in the Government, expressed himself in favour of the disqualifying vote, and against the present amendment. In this debate likewise the Honourable Charles Fox, afterwards so celebrated as the opponent of everything illiberal and arbitrary in politics, defended the original Address, in his first speech in Parliament of which any report has been preserved.

After what had occurred in the debate on the Address in the Lords, Ministers could hardly avoid demanding that Lord Camden should give up the Great Seal. When it was proposed, however, that their Lordships should adjourn for a few days, for the purpose of making certain arrangements relative to an office so closely connected with the House, that it could not sit without the person filling it, a strong protest was entered against the proposition, concluding in the following terms: "It is difficult for us to give our sentiments upon a motion, which the Lord who mentioned it (Lord Weymouth, one of the principal Secretaries of State), though called upon, refused to explain. But when we reflect that this hint came from a noble Lord in high and confidential office, we think it could have alluded only to the removal of the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Speaker of this House; and when we recollect the part, so honourable to himself, but perhaps so offensive to administration, which that noble Lord had taken the first day of this Session, we cannot but be apprehensive that there may be some evil counsellor hardy enough to attempt punishments for freedom of debate in Parliament, and to

dare advise his Majesty to remove from his office a peer of this House, at the head of the law, for his vote in Parliament."

Lord Shelburne's prediction, that the Great Seal, when taken from Lord Camden, would go a-begging, was literally verified. It was indeed, in the first instance, at the pressing entreaty of the king, accepted with the greatest reluctance by the Honourable Charles Yorke, the second son of the former Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and who, it may be remembered, had been Attorney-General, first during the administration of Lord Bute in 1762, and again during that of the Marquis of Rockingham in 1765. Mr. Yorke received the Great Seal on the 18th of January, but died by his own hand on the 20th. He was to have been ennobled by the title of Baron Morden, but his death took place before his patent of peerage was completed. The Chancellorship was then offered successively to Sir Eardley Wilmot and Lord Mansfield (the Chief Justices of the Common Pleas and the King's Bench), but refused by both. Eventually Lord Mansfield was appointed interim Speaker of the House of the Lords, and the Great Seal was put into commission.

The removal of Lord Camden was immediately followed by the resignations of his friend Mr. Dunning, the Solicitor-General, and of Mr. James Grenville, who held the office of one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland. The following officers of the Household at the same time threw up their places: the Earl of Huntingdon, Groom of the Stole; the Duke of Manchester and the Earl of Coventry, Lords of the Bedchamber; and the Duke of Beaufort, Master of the Horse to the Queen. The Marquis of Granby also resigned all his appointments except his regiment of the Blues.

On the 22nd of January a short debate, rendered interesting by the circumstances of the moment, took place in the House of Lords, on the Marquis of Rockingham moving that the House would take into consideration the State of the Nation on Thursday, the 24th inst. As soon as his Lordship had sat down, the Duke of Grafton rose, and said that he did not intend to oppose the motion; on the contrary, he was ready to go into the question whenever the House should think proper. He added a few observations in defence of the government upon some points on which it had been attacked by Lord Rockingham. But the most remarkable speech was that of Lord Chatham, who followed his Grace. Leaving the immediate subject before the House, he took occasion to declare himself an advocate for a reform of the representation of the people in the House of Commons. "The boroughs of this country," he said, "have properly enough been called the rotten part of the constitution. . . . . But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but amputation might be death." This, it is to be observed, if the words have been correctly reported, is by no means the same with the view which has been taken by some other defenders of this part of the old representative constitution, who have illustrated their theory of the body politic by a somewhat similar analogy drawn from the natural body,—to that which is original and essential in which, however, and not to any merely accidental and superinduced infirmity, they have compared the rotten boroughs. Lord Chatham went on to recommend, as the proper mode of infusing fresh blood and new health into the representation, the extension of the representation of the counties. His Lordship concluded his speech with the following announcement of the coalition of himself and his friends with the Rockingham party: "My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us; of my attachment to those principles, which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my Lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble Lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess or divide the emoluments of government; but, if possible, to save the state. On this ground we met; on this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance."

The motion was accordingly agreed to; but when the 24th arrived the House was still without a Speaker, and the discussion was postponed till the 2nd of February.

In the meantime, greatly to the surprise of everybody, on the 28th of January the Duke of Grafton resigned. It was commonly believed at the moment that the removal of Lord Camden had been the act of his Grace, as the head of the administration, and indeed the person who had the credit of being almost the sole mover and director of the government. It has since, however, been asserted that this supposition was altogether a mistake. "The dismission of Lord Camden," says Mr. Belsham in his 'History of Great Britain,' "injuriously imputed to the influence of the Duke of Grafton, was in fact the immediate cause of his Grace's resignation; and the friendship which had long subsisted between these two noblemen suffered no interruption in consequence of the unhappy political differences now prevailing." If this statement be correct, we must conclude that the almost unparticipated control in the government generally attributed to the Duke was not really possessed by him—that instead of being, as was popularly imagined, the King's sole minister, he was not even so much as chief minister, except in name. It is indeed in the highest degree probable that some of his colleagues, especially Lord North, had, latterly at least, acquired an ascendancy in the Cabinet which was not generally suspected. At the same time it is scarcely to be believed that the Duke of Grafton had either, up to the time at which he left the government, shown any inclination to the views entertained by Lord Camden in preference to those of Lord North and his other colleagues, or even that he would have resigned the premiership simply on account of the removal of Lord Camden. He did not in point of fact resign until the additional difficulties and embarrassments occasioned by several other resignations, by the sudden death of Mr. Yorke, and by the mortifying rejection of the Great Seal in every quarter to which application was made, had accumulated around his position. It is also said that the sharp and incessant scourge of Junius gave him real and great pain; and the wish to escape from an infliction which he felt so keenly, may doubtless be reasonably enough supposed to have had some share in forming his determination. His torturer, however, pursued him into his retirement in a farewell invective of undiminished bitterness.

The resignation of the premier made a complete reconstruction of the administration necessary. Lord North was now placed at the head of the government, with the office of First Lord of the Treasury, in addition to that which he already held of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The other places left vacant by the recent resignations were then filled up as follows. The post of Groom of the Stole, resigned by the Earl of Huntingdon, was given to the Earl of Bristol, who, again, was succeeded in his office of Lord Privy Seal by the Earl of Halifax, the same who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1761, during Mr. Pitt's second ministry. The Earl of Waldegrave, who was a son-in-law of Earl Gower, was made Master of the Horse to the Queen, in room of the Duke of Beaufort. The Earl of Coventry was succeeded as a Lord of the Bedchamber by the Earl of Pembroke; it does not appear that any successor was appointed to the Duke of Manchester, the other Lord who resigned. Nor was any appointment immediately made to the office of Master of the Ordnance, vacated by the Marquis of Granby, who died very soon after his resignation. In the Treasurership of the Navy, Viscount Howe gave place to Sir Gilbert Elliot, whose office in the Household of Treasurer of the Chamber was given to Mr. George Rice, previously one of the Lords of Trade. Mr. Rice was soon after replaced at the Board of Trade by Mr. Bamber Gascoigne. In the office of Master of the Household, Sir F. H. Drake, Bart., was substituted for the Hon. H. F. Thynne. A few new names were also introduced in some of the subordinate departments of the government; the most remarkable of which was that of the Hon. Charles James Fox, who was made one of the Junior Lords of the

Admiralty. Finally, Mr. Dunning was succeeded as Solicitor General by Mr. Edward Thurlow; and Mr. Welbore Ellis (afterwards Lord Mendip) became one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland in the place of Mr. James Grenville. It may also be mentioned that the lower House of Parliament as well as the upper received about this time a new Speaker, by the election on the 22nd of January of Sir Fletcher Norton in place of Sir John Cust, who died that day. Sir Fletcher had been shortly before appointed by the government to the sinecure place of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre, which had been heretofore held by the Earl (afterwards Marquis) Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis was transferred to the office of Constable of the Tower.

Lord North's ministry, therefore, it will be perceived, was, in its first construction, a continuation, for the greater part, of that of the Duke of Grafton. That of the Earl of Halifax, indeed, was the only new name added to the Cabinet; and even in the subordinate places of the government the changes were very few. As the formation of this ministry, however, brought to a close the long series of rapid changes which, with the exception of the comparatively considerable period that Mr. Pelham was in power, had allowed scarcely any thing beyond a temporary arrangement of the government to exist since the overthrow of Sir Robert Walpole, twenty-eight years before, it will be convenient that we here present a tabular view of all the several appointments usually affected by a change of administration as they were filled both under the Duke of Grafton and under his successor, when he first assumed the direction of affairs. A reference on any occasion to this table will at once make clearly intelligible the notices we shall afterwards have to give of the further changes in various offices that took place during the continuance of Lord North's tenure of power. The new appointments, we may remark, though mostly made before the end of February, were not completed in all respects as we are now to state them till after the lapse of some months. There appear for instance to have been two Commissions of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the one dated the 12th and the other the 16th April, before that dated the 16th May, in which the name of Mr. B. Gascoigne was inserted. In the first the name of Lord Greville (afterwards Earl of Warwick) was substituted for that of the Hon. Thomas Robinson, made Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, who was the son of Sir Thomas Robinson, the Duke of Newcastle's Secretary of State in 1754, and a few months after this time succeeded his father as Lord Grantham; and in the second the name of William Northey, Esq. (previously a Groom of the Bedchamber), was inserted in place of that of Viscount Lisburn, made one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

	DUKE OF GRAFTON'S MINISTRY. January, 1770.	LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY. February, March, April, May, 1770.
First Lord of the Treasury and Premier .	Augustus Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton.	Frederick North, Lord North (afterwards Earl of Guilford).
Lord Chancellor . . .	Charles Pratt, Baron Camden (afterwards Earl Camden).	Commissioners, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe (one of the Barons of the Exchequer), Hon. Henry Bathurst (one of the Justices of the Common Pleas), and Sir Richard Aston (one of the Justices of the King's Bench).
Lord President of the Council . .	Granville Leveson Gower, Earl Gower (afterwards Marquis of Stafford).	Continued.
Lord Privy Seal . . .	George William Hervey, Earl of Bristol.	George Montagu Dunk, Earl of Halifax.
First Lord of the Admiralty . .	Sir Edward Hawke (afterwards Baron Hawke).	Continued.
First Lord of Trade and Plantations .	Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough (afterwards Marquess of Downshire).	Continued.
Chancellor of the Exchequer . .	Lord North.	Continued.
Principal Secretaries of State . .	Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth (afterwards Marquess of Bath), and	Continued.
	William Henry Nassau de Zuleistein, Earl of Rochford.	Continued.
Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies	Earl of Hillsborough.	Continued.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster .	James Smith Stanley (properly Lord Stanley, but commonly called) Lord Strange (eldest son of the Earl of Derby).	Continued.
Secretary at War . . .	William Wildman Barrington, Viscount Barrington.	Continued.
Paymaster-General of the Land Forces .	Richard Rigby, Esq.	Continued.
Treasurer of the Navy . . .	Richard Howe, Viscount Howe (afterwards Earl Howe.)	Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart. (father of the first Earl of Minto).
Postmasters-General . . .	Francis Dashwood, Baron Le Despencer, and	Continued.
	John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich.	Continued.
Chief Justices in Eyre . . .	Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, and	Continued.
	Charles Cornwallis, Earl Cornwallis (afterwards Marquess Cornwallis).	Sir Fletcher Norton (afterwards Baron Grantley).
Junior Lords of the Treasury . .	George Onslow, Esq. (afterwards Baron Cranley, Baron Onslow, and Earl of Onslow).	Continued.
	Charles Jenkinson, Esq. (afterwards Baron Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool).	Continued.
	Jeremiah Dyson, Esq.	Continued, and Charles Townshend, Esq.
Junior Lords of the Admiralty . .	John Buller, Esq.	Continued.
	Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston.	Continued.
	Lord Charles Spencer (second son of the Duke of Marlborough).	Continued.
	Charles Townshend, Esq.	Wilmot Vaughan, Viscount Lisburne (afterwards Earl of Lisburne).
	Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Admiral Francis Holburne.
	Sir Piercy Brett, Knt.	Hon. Charles James Fox (afterwards Lord Holland).
Junior Lords of Trade . . .	Soame Jenyns, Esq.	Continued.
	Edward Eliot, Esq. (afterwards Baron Elliot, father of the present Earl of St. Germains).	Continued.

urious
proved,"
ich he ob-
tional com-
the famous
igland against
ls, in regard

	William Fitzherbert, Esq.	Continued.
	John Roberts, Esq.	Continued.
	Hon. Thomas Robinson (afterwards Baron Grantham).	George Greville, Lord Greville, (afterwards Earl of Warwick).
	Viscount Lisburne.	William Northey, Esq.
	George Rice, Esq. (afterwards the Right Hon. G. Rice, father of the present Lord Dynevor).	Bamber Gascoigne, Esq.
Attorney-General	William De Grey, Esq. (afterwards Baron Walsingham).	Continued.
Solicitor-General	John Dunning, Esq. (afterwards Baron Ashburton).	Edward Thurlow, Esq. (afterwards Baron Thurlow).
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	George Townshend, Viscount Townshend (afterwards Marquess Townshend).	Continued.
Vice-Treasurers of Ireland	Hon. James Grenville (younger brother of Earl Temple and the Right Hon. George Grenville).	Welbore Ellis, Esq. (afterwards Baron Mendip).
	Robert Nugent, Esq., Viscount Clare (afterwards Earl Nugent), and	Continued.
	Earl Cornwallis.	Continued.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	James Hewitt, Baron Lifford (afterwards Viscount Lifford).	Continued.
Commander-in-Chief	John Manners, Marquess of Granby (eldest son of the Duke of Rutland).	No new appointment.
Master-General of the Ordnance.	Marquess of Granby.	No new appointment.
Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance	Hon. Lieut.-General Henry Seymour Conway (afterwards Field-Marshal Conway, second son of Baron Conway, and younger brother of the Earl of Hertford).	Continued.
	THE HOUSEHOLD.	
Lord Chamberlain	Francis Seymour Conway, Earl of Hertford (afterwards Marquess of Hertford).	Continued.
Lord Steward	William Talbot, Earl Talbot.	Continued.
Groom of the Stole	Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.	Earl of Bristol.
Treasurer	John Shelley, Esq. (afterwards Sir John Shelley).	Continued.
Comptroller	Thomas Pelham, Esq. (afterwards Baron Pelham, and Earl of Chichester, cousin of the Duke of Newcastle).	Continued.
Cofferer	Hans Stanley, Esq.	Continued.
Master	Hon. Henry Frederick Thynne (afterwards Baron Carteret, younger brother of Viscount Weymouth).	Sir Francis Henry Drake, Bart.
Treasurer of the Chamber	Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.	George Rice, Esq.
Master of the Horse	Robert Bertie, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven.	Continued.
Keeper of the Great Wardrobe	John Ashburnham, Earl of Ashburnham.	Continued.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth.	Continued.
Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.	George William Lee, Earl of Lichfield.	
Lords of the Bedchamber	George William Coventry, Earl of Coventry.	Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
	George Montagu, Duke of Manchester.	No new appointment.
	Frederick St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.	Continued.
	John Ker, Duke of Roxburghe.	Continued.
	John Peyto Verney, Baron Willoughby De Broke.	Continued.
	George Fermor, Earl of Pomfret.	Continued.
	Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.	Continued.
	William Douglas, Earl of March (afterwards Duke of Queensberry).	Continued.
	Thomas Bruce Brudenell, Baron Bruce (afterwards Earl of Ailesbury).	
	Lord Robert Bertie (uncle to the Duke of Ancaster).	Continued.
	George Walpole, Earl of Orford.	Continued.
	George Bussey Villiers, Earl of Jersey.	Continued.
Master of Horse to the Queen	Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort.	John Waldegrave, Earl of Waldegrave.

THE EXCISE ON HOPS.

Although ale (or a liquor brewed from malted corn) is stated by various ancient authors to have been the common drink in very early times of the Egyptians (who have the credit of its invention), and also of the Germans and other northern nations, nay, even according to Strabo, of the nas been and Spaniards before they took to the extensive cul- neither of of the vine, there is no mention of hops having found a sufficie as one of its ingredients till a comparatively us both. But the Our own Saxon ancestors, like the Germans, of this country whey sprung, were great drinkers of ale. There the noble Lord and for the regulation of ale-houses in the laws mine, upon a princ of Wessex, which were published in the be- ne eighth century. It has been supposed by some writers that wormwood, or some other plant of a similar nature, was employed in the brewing of ale before hops were made use of for that purpose.

Hops are said to have been first used by the German brewers in the early part of the fourteenth century. From Germany the use of the new ingredient found its way to the Netherlands, and also, probably, after no long time to other continental countries. It was very late, however, in being introduced into England, if we may trust the old rhymes,

"Turkeys, carp, hops, piccarel, and beer,
Came into England all in one year;"

and

"Hops, Reformation, bays, and beer,
Came into England all in one year."

We must understand these statements, however, with an allowance for poetic licence. Turkies, which were at first called Guinea cocks, or India fowls, are recorded to have been first brought to this country in the fifteenth year of Henry the VIIIth, that is in 1524. The Reformation can hardly be said to have come in quite so early. As for beer, again, whatever may be considered to be the proper distinction between that species of malt liquor and ale, the name at least appears to have been known long before this time. Anderson, in his 'History of Commerce,' quotes a statute of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1482, (the twenty-third year of James the IIIrd.,) entitled, 'Of the bringers home and sellers of corrupt wine,' in which it is enacted, 'That no person shall mix wine *or beer* under pain of death.' He afterwards also refers to a license, printed in 'Rymer's Fœdera,' and dated in the year 1492, from Henry the VIIIth to a Fleming therein named, to export fifty tons "of the ale called beer" (*cervisiæ vocatæ bere*). In the same year it appears that one of the King's attendants into France was Peter Vanek, who is described as a beer-brewer of Greenwich in Kent. The name, however, in this instance would seem to indicate that Peter was a foreigner —probably a Fleming. The use of hops in ale or beer brewing is said to have been received by us from the people of the district of Artois in French Flanders.

There can be no doubt, however, that hops were cultivated to some extent in England before the middle of the sixteenth century. In a statute passed in 1552, in the reign of Edward the VIth, lands set with hops are expressly excepted from the regulations laid down in the act, with the view of promoting tillage and the growing of corn. The hop is indigenous in England. Harrison, in his 'Description of Britain,' published in 1586, says, 'Hops in time past were plentiful in this land; afterwards also their maintenance did cease; and now being revived, where are any better to be found? Where any greater commodity to be raised by them? Only poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men have learned of late to sow ashen-trees in ash-yards by themselves, that inconvenience in short time will be redressed' (Book ii. chap. 19). The language here used would seem to imply that the hop had not merely grown in the country as a weed in former times, but had been cultivated as a crop.

At first, the hops used by the English brewers were all imported from Flanders; but the home plantations soon began to afford a considerable supply. In another part of his work (Book i. chap. 18), Harrison writes as follows:— "Of late years, also, we have found and taken up a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moory hitherto and unprofitable grounds do yield such plenty and increase, that there are few farmers or occupiers in the country which have not gardens and hops growing of their own, and those far better than those do come from Flanders unto us. Certes the corruptions used by the Flemings, and forgery daily practised in this kind of ware, gave us occasion to plant them here at home; so that now we may spare and send many over unto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man, by conversion of his moory grounds into hop-yards, whereof before he had no commodity, doth raise yearly by so little as twelve acres in compass two hundred marks; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his family—which industry God continue! though some secret friends of Flemings let not [cease not] to exclaim against this commodity as a spoil of wood, by reason of the poles; which, nevertheless, after three years do also come to the fire, and spare their other fuel." From another passage (in Book ii. chap. 6), it appears that the price of hops was then about 10*d.* a pound. With eight bushels of malt, it is stated that the usual practice was to throw in "a pound and a half of new hops, or peradventure two pounds," according to their quality. "I value my malt at ten shillings," concludes the writer, "my wood at four shillings, which I buy, my hops at twenty-pence, the spice (this is specified as "half an ounce of arras, and half a quartern of an ounce of bay-berries finely powdered") at two-pence, servants' wages two shillings and six-pence, with meat and drink, and the wearing of my vessel at twenty pence; so that for my twenty-shillings I have ten score gallons of beer or more, notwithstanding the loss in seething, which some being loth to forego do not observe the time, and therefore speed thereafter [that is, accordingly] as their success, and worthily. The continuance of the drink is always determined after the quantity of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer; for it feedeth upon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drink must be spent or else it dieth, and becometh of no value.'

Harrison's own practice appears to have been regulated by a deep sense of the importance of not giving the hop time to lose its virtue. In entering upon his description he premises that he is "scarce a good malster;" "nevertheless," he adds, "since I have taken occasion to speak of brewing, I will exemplify in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it is the usual rate for mine own family, and once in a month practised by my wife and her maid-servants, who proceed withal after this manner, as she hath oft informed me." "Some," he goes on to observe, "instead of arras and bays, add so much long pepper only, but in her opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first; and hereof we make three hogsheads of good beer, such, I mean, as is meet for poor men as I am to live withal, whose small maintainance (for what great thing is forty pounds a year *computatis computandis* able to perform?) may endure no deeper cut." Most of our readers will probably be of opinion that a consumption of beer at the rate of a hundred and twenty gallons per month, and an expenditure upon that one article amounting to nearly a third part of a man's whole income, was cutting deep enough.

Thomas Tusser, in his "Hundred Good Points of Husbandry," first printed in 1557, gives the following particular directions on the subject of hop-planting:—

"Whom fancy persuadeth, among other crops,
To have for his spending sufficient of hops,
Must willingly follow, of choices to choose,
Such lessons approved as skilful do use.

Ground gravelly, sandy, and mixed with clay,
Is naughty for hops any manner of way;
Or if it be mingled with rubbish and stone,
For dryness and barrenness let it alone.

Choose soil for the hop of the rottenest mould,
Well dunged and wrought as a garden-plot should;
Not far from the water, but not overflown:
This lesson well noted is meet to be known.

The sun in the south, or else southly and west,
Is joy to the hop, as a welcomed guest;
But wind in the north, or else northerly east,
To the hop is as ill as a fray in a feast.

Meet plot for a hop-yard once found as is told,
Make thereof account as of jewel of gold;
Now dig it, and leave it the sun for to burn,
And afterward fence it, to serve for that turn.

The hop for his profit I thus do exalt;
It strengtheneth drink and it favoureth malt;
And being well brewed long kept it will last,
And drawing abide, if ye draw not too fast."

The importation from Flanders, however, of a portion of the hops used in brewing appears to have continued till after the beginning of the next century. In an act of parliament passed in the first year of James I. (1603) the importation of bad foreign hops, or the employment of such in brewing, is prohibited; and heavy complaints are made of the adulteration of foreign hops, in the sacks of which, it is stated, were often found great quantities of stalks, powder, sand, straw, &c.; "by means whereof," it is added, "the subjects of this realm have been of late years abused to the value of twenty thousand pounds yearly, besides the danger of their healths."

Like most other improvements the use of hops was at first denounced as a pernicious innovation; and Henry the VIIIth actually prohibited their being mixed with ale. It is true that this prejudice did not take in such judges as our friend Harrison, who speaks with great contempt of a sort of ale which was still made in his day without hops, as being "thick, fulsome, and of no continuance." But the sticklers for "the ancient way" had by no means, it would seem, all died out at a much later period. Mr. Macculloch, in his "Commercial Dictionary," has quoted a curious passage from a book entitled "The Improver Improved," by Walter Blithe, first printed in 1649, in which he observes "that hops were then grown to be a national commodity, but that it was not many years since the famous city of London petitioned the parliament of England against two nuisances; and these were Newcastle coals, in regard

to their stench, &c., and hops, in regard they would spoil the taste of drink, and endanger the people; and had the parliament been no wiser than they, we had in a measure pined, and in a great measure starved; which is just answerable to the principles of those men who cry down all devices, or ingenious discoveries, or projects, and thereby stifle and choak improvement."

The duty on hops is the subject of one of the late Reports of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry. The following abstract of this Report from the Digest prepared by order of the Commissioners, presents a sufficiently-complete view of the present state of the hop plantations and trade of this country.

"The first duty on hops was imposed by the 9th Anne, c. 12, at 1*d.* per lb. It was fixed at its present rate of 2*d.* per lb. by the 45th Geo. III. c. 94.

"The duty does not extend to Ireland; but hops imported from thence pay the English duty.

"No drawback is allowed on hops exported to Ireland; but a drawback of the whole duty is allowed on hops exported to the Isle of Man and to foreign parts.

"A return of the rates and amount of duty since 1770 is given at page 3 of the Report, showing the extraordinary fluctuations of the duty, varying from 14,913*l.*, the lowest amount in any one year, viz., in 1783, to 476,895*l.*, the highest amount, which was in 1826.

"A return is also given of the number of acres under cultivation for hops in each year since 1807, which shows a gradual increase since 1832, the number of acres cultivated in the three following years having been,—

In 1832	. . .	47,101 acres.
1833	. . .	49,187 „
1834	. . .	51,273 „

"The number of persons surveyed in 1834 is stated to have been 7242, being the greatest number surveyed under any one of the growing-duty trades, except that of malt.

"A full statement is given in the Report of the regulations for charging and collecting the duty on hops, which objects are carried on in a different manner from that of the other duties of excise, being invariably completed in a period of one or two months, temporary assistant officers being employed for the purpose, which has been found more economical than employing a part of the permanent establishment of the excise.

"The total number of such officers has been in each of the last three years 270, and the total expense as follows, viz.—

In 1832	. . .	£3,316
1833	. . .	3,432
1834	. . .	3,675

forming a very small per-centage on the revenue derived from a good crop.

"It appears from letters addressed to the Commissioners by Members of Parliament representing the hop districts, that the growers are generally satisfied with the present arrangement for the collection of the duty, and are not desirous of any change, either in the rate of duty, or in the regulations under which it is charged.

"The Commissioners call attention to the evidence of Mr. Ellis of Barming, as entitled to particular weight, from his being the most extensive, as well as one of the most experienced cultivators of hops in the kingdom, the number of acres cultivated by him being at present 500, the greatest number cultivated by any other person being 164 acres.

"Sir Francis Doyle and Mr. Dehany consider the duty to be well and cheaply collected: but they suggest that the period allowed for claiming the drawback on hops exported, which is now indefinite, should be restricted to three years from the growth. The Commissioners of Inquiry recommend the adoption of this suggestion.

"Mr. Dehany also suggests the extension of the duty to Ireland, by which one of the few remaining distinctions which prevent the trade between the two countries from being in all respects a coasting trade would be removed—and he considers there will be the less objection to it, as there are very few, if any, hop-growers in Ireland.

"The Commissioners express their concurrence in Mr. Dehany's suggestion.

"The question of the extent of credit which is allowed by law to the grower of hops, before his duty is collected, is fully entered into in the Report.

"By the original Act of Anne a credit of six months was allowed, but under the 1st and 2d Wm. 4, c. 53, a full year must now elapse before the duties are entirely discharged—an extent of credit very much exceeding that which is allowed in any other case. It will be sufficient here to state, that the Commissioners of Inquiry refer to their Reports on paper and on malt, in which they have fully explained the opinion they entertain, 'that excise duties ought to be collected upon the articles charged, as soon as those articles shall be ready to be disposed of by the maker,'—an opinion which they conceive to apply with greater force to the case of hops, in which a much more protracted period of payment is given, although the sale of hops generally takes place as soon as they are ready for consumption.

"The Commissioners, however, express their sense of the difficulty of withdrawing an indulgence, which is in part coeval with the imposition of the duty itself; but, being persuaded of the mischief which arises from the extension of credit in excise duties, they recommend that the attention of the department of excise should be called to the possibility of effecting an arrangement on terms satisfactory to the planters, under which this duty might, with respect to the time of payment, be assimilated to the other duties of excise.

The Commissioners conclude their observations by a few comments on the effect which the high customs duty of 8*l.* 11*s.* per cwt. on hops imported from foreign countries has, in confining the supply in a great degree to the home grower, and thereby increasing the cost to the consumer in England—a species of monopoly which would prevent the consumer deriving the benefit of a reduction of duty, by a corresponding reduction of price in the market; and, under these circumstances, they express their opinion, that there seems to be no reason why the revenue should not benefit by the present amount of duty, more especially as hops are comprised in that class of articles to which they have already referred in their Seventh Report, as being more fitting subjects for taxation than those which may be reckoned among useful manufactures."

GLASS DUTIES.

(5 and 6 Will. IV. c. 77.)

THE new duty is 6*s.* 8*d.* on every one hundred pounds' weight of fluxed materials for making flint glass, with an additional duty of 2*d.* per pound, instead of the former duty of 6*d.*, on all excess in the manufactured article above the weight of the fluxed materials. A drawback of 18*s.* 9*d.* is allowed on every hundred pounds' weight of flint glass exported. The drawback on German sheet glass exported in panes is 4*l.* 4*s.* per hundred weight. But the act does not alter the drawback on crown glass not being German sheet glass.

Flint glass for exportation is not to be entitled to drawback unless properly manufactured and finished, and worth at least 5*d.* per lb. And glass exported in panes of a greater specific gravity than 2.800, and all coloured glass exported on drawback, are not to be entitled to the drawback allowed on crown glass, but only to the drawback allowed on flint glass.

Plate glass and German sheet or crown glass are not allowed to be made at the same time in the same house.

The drawback on unground and unpolished plate glass is repealed.

The restriction as to the making of plate glass of a greater thickness than five-eighths of an inch is repealed, and plate glass may now be made of any thickness. But no plate glass for exportation is entitled to the drawback which when ground and polished is of a less thickness than one-eigth of an inch.

There are various excise regulations in this Act of importance to the glass manufacturer.

We subjoin the following note on this subject from the Second Digest of the Reports of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, which has just been printed:—

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer has concurred in and acted upon the recommendations of the Commissioners of Inquiry, in so far as regards the abolition of the excise permits on wine, and to a limited extent of the excise survey on wine-dealers, agreeably to the Second Report of the Commissioners, and also by reducing the duty on flint glass from 6*d.* to 2*d.* per lb., in reference to which latter measure there cannot be a stronger confirmation of the correctness of the views of the Commissioners, as well as

of the expediency of the course pursued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than the fact, which it is as gratifying to know, as it is important in a national point of view, that already, within the short period which has elapsed since the announcement of the reduction of the duty, extensive glass manufactures, who had been compelled to close their works from the impossibility of carrying them on against the ruinous competition with illicit makers, are taking measures for putting their works again into a state of immediate activity.

"In point of fact, there seems to be every prospect, every right to assume that the loss of revenue consequent upon the beneficial measure which has been adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will be even at first but small, and prospectively, none;—whilst an impetus will have been given to a most important branch of our national manufactures, which will operate the more powerfully, and the benefits of which will be the more extensively diffused and felt, in proportion as that manufacture has hitherto been labouring under the depressing hand of the excise, subject to a ruinous duty, and to a still more ruinous competition with illegal manufacturers as well as to restrictions in the modes, and times, and processes, of the manufacture, such as to have proved altogether prohibitory of any attempt at those immense improvements of which it is well known the manufacture is susceptible, were the manufacturer left to the free and unfettered exercise of his skill, enterprise, and capital.

"It is clearly, therefore, an object of national importance, as well as one in which the interests of the manufacturers are deeply concerned, that such freedom from excise restriction should, in conformity with the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry, be afforded at as early a period as possible, by the total abolition of the reduced duty of 2*d.* per lb.; and it is superfluous, after what has been stated, to point to the extensive national benefits which will arise from a similar abolition of the other heads of glass duties, and of their concomitant restrictions and regulations, whenever the finances of the country will admit of so important a measure of relief."

ABSTRACT OF PRIVATE BILLS.

SESSION 1835.

Abstract of Petitions and Private Bills in Parliament, Session 1835.

Petitions presented to the Commons	181
Lord's Bills	44
	225
Bills read a first time	201
" second time	180
" third time	166
Number which received the royal assent	161

Comparative Classification of Private Bills.

	Petitions.	Passed.	Not Passed.
I. AGRICULTURE.—			
1. Inclosures	9	4	5
2. Draining	1	1	0
II. COMPANIES.—			
1. Argus Life Assurance	1	1	0
2. Bogs (Ireland) Improvement	1	0	1
3. Donlan Preservative Flax and Hemp	1	0	1
4. North American Association	1	1	0
5. University Life Assurance	1	1	0
6. Waste Lands, Ireland	1	0	1
III. IMPROVEMENTS OF TOWNS AND DISTRICTS.—			
1. General Improvement	16	11	5
2. Churches, Gaols, Markets, Bridges, &c.	27	16	11
3. Local Waterworks	16	10	6
4. Municipal Regulation, &c.	10	3	7
IV. INTERNAL COMMUNICATION.—			
1. Roads	45	32	13
2. Railways	20	16	4
3. Canals	5	4	1
4 Rivers	3	1	2
V. NAVIGATION—			
1. Harbours, &c.	13	7	6
2. Piers	3	2	1
3. Docks, &c.	3	3	0
VI. PRIVATE REGULATION.—			
1. Estates	23	23	0
2. Naturalization	16	16	0
3. Divorce	5	5	0
	225	161	64

The number of petitions presented, or bills brought from the Lords, in session 1835, is 10 less than that of the previous year, while the number of private bills which received the royal assent during last session exceeds that of the previous one by 18.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

The Revenue.—An ABSTRACT of the NET PRODUCE of the REVENUE of GREAT BRITAIN, in the Year and Quarters ended 10th October, 1835, showing the Increase or Decrease under each head thereof, as compared with the previous Year.

Quarters ended.	January 5, 1836.	April 5, 1836.	July 5, 1836.	October 10, 1835.	Year ended. October 10, 1835.	Year ended. October 10, 1834.	Year ended October 10. Increase.	Year ended October 10. Decrease.	Quarters ended October 10, 1834.	Quarters ended October 10, 1834-5. Increase.	Quarters ended October 10, 1834-5. Decrease.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Customs—Consolidated Duties	3,085,896	3,374,754	3,199,289	3,891,872	18,408,212	16,225,261	2,182,951		3,478,036		
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund	917,847	912,183	1,393,339	1,462,115	11,681,197	13,946,348		2,265,151	1,473,464		
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	309,043		4,000		6,505,324	6,601,864		96,660			
TOTAL CUSTOMS	£4,305,731	4,286,877	4,461,627	5,353,987	4,796,195	4,796,195		992,198			
EXCISE	3,494,200	1,687,574	2,502,048	4,007,375	3,733,997	3,733,997			4,950,500	403,487	
STAMPS	1,555,462	1,654,387	1,624,171	1,671,204	1,362,000	1,396,000		34,000	3,924,785	82,590	
TAXES	1,633,130	945,364	1,500,393	353,180	45,518	76,737		31,219	1,659,008	12,196	
POST OFFICE	393,000	359,000	342,000	372,000					508,714		153,594
MISCELLANEOUS	38,447	10,488	10,789	16,513					366,000	6,000	
									1,712	14,901	
TOTAL ORDINARY REVENUE	£11,339,950	8,944,190	10,441,028	11,776,199	41,801,367	42,907,396			11,410,719		
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	59,611	216,734	101,259	78,269	455,873	434,634	21,239		99,627		21,253
TOTAL INCOME	£11,399,561	8,460,924	10,542,287	11,854,468	42,257,240	43,341,840	2,369,409	3,304,009	11,510,246	519,074	174,853
							Deduct Increase.	2,969,409		174,853	Deduct Decrease.
								1,094,600	7,500,541	344,222	Increase on the Quarter.
The Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund	8,276,218	5,928,543	6,917,595	7,359,989	97,782,345	98,543,418		Decrease on the Year.	1,473,464		
" to pay off Exchequer Bills charged on Sugar Duty	302,049	..	..	1,462,115	1,764,163	3,130,477			2,537,241		
" as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	2,821,295	3,232,381	3,624,692	3,033,364	12,710,739	11,667,945			11,510,246		
	£11,399,561	8,460,924	10,542,287	11,854,468	43,257,240	43,341,840					

NEWSPAPER STAMPS.—A Return of the Number of Stamps issued by the Stamp Office for all the London Newspapers, from the 30th June, 1833, to the 1st January, 1834; specifying each Newspaper by name, and the Number of Stamps issued in that Period to the Printer and Publisher of each Newspaper: also, similar Returns from 1st of January to 30th June, 1834; 30th June, 1834, to 1st January, 1835; and 1st January to 30th June, 1835.

TITLES OF THE NEWSPAPERS.	Number of Stamps issued from 30th June, 1833, to 1st Jan. 1834.	Number of Stamps issued from 1st January to 30th June, 1834.	Number of Stamps issued from 30th June, 1834, to 1st Jan. 1835.	Number of Stamps issued from 1st of January to 30th June, 1835.
Albion and Star	114,000	98,000	103,000	130,000
Age	308,000	194,000	291,750	275,000
Atlas	65,000	65,000	65,000	60,000
Bell's Weekly Messenger	293,000	302,000	319,000	308,500
Bell's New Weekly Messenger	118,000	119,000	138,975	133,000
Bent's Literary Advertiser	4,650	6,125	6,250	7,000
†British Liberator	2,300			
Courier	308,000	289,000	273,000	247,000
*County Chronicle; *County Herald	68,500	65,000	65,000	65,000
* Court Journal; * Naval and Military Gazette	68,750	65,093	57,543	57,460
Christian Advocate	32,700	32,864	45,050	47,100
Cobbett's Political Register	31,350	28,500	27,894	28,250
Corn Trade Circular	1,000	1,000		
Circular to Bankers	6,000	6,950	6,000	7,000
Course of the Exchange	3,120	1,860	60	120
†Champion	. .	5,000		
†English Gentleman	. .	. .	. .	7,000
Examiner	98,590	93,284	83,575	91,300
†Eye	1,500			
†Financial and Commercial Record	1,920	1,920	doubtful	1,968
Globe and Traveller	537,000	512,000	504,000	483,000
†General Advertiser for Town and Country	. .	42,000	73,000	56,000
Guardian and Public Ledger	97,500			
John Bull	124,500	142,732	122,000	128,090
†King	. .	2,700		
London Gazette	60,000	73,000	57,000	70,000
London Mercantile Journal	10,905	15,085	14,300	8,350
London Mercantile Prices Current	2,250	1,500	doubtful	1,500
London New Prices Current	6,901	3,495	232	35
Literary Gazette	18,006	16,450	14,250	13,850
*Law Chronicle; *Law Gazette	3,150	3,275	3,375	2,800
†Librarian	. .	doubtful		
Morning Advertiser	610,000	570,000	594,800	642,250
*Morning Chronicle; *Observer; *†Englishman; *Bell's Life in London	772,219	721,997	519,000	452,125
*Morning Chronicle; *†Evening Chronicle	. .	15,000	324,500	953,500
*Morning Herald; *English Chronicle	1,286,500	1,282,007	1,330,000	1,187,005
Morning Post	318,500	369,000	358,000	367,000
Morning News and Public Ledger	. .	88,500	66,000	
*Mark Lane Express; *New Farmer's Journal	31,970	32,550	32,900	33,600
Moore's Stock List	600	doubtful	doubtful	doubtful
†National	. .	. .	. .	doubtful
News	49,000	47,000	47,500	38,750
Nicholson's Commercial Gazette	18,050	22,750	27,425	24,500
*Old England; *United Service Gazette; *†Surrey Standard	39,000	48,300	59,500	107,000
Patriot	45,000	48,750	81,250	75,000
Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent Gazette	7,155	6,620	6,971	6,955
Public Ledger	. .	. .	. .	68,500
Record	121,000	135,100	127,000	128,000
Racing Calendar	13,925	9,800	15,200	10,775
*Standard; *St. James's Chronicle; *London Packet; *London Weekly Journal	727,000	705,500	751,868	865,000
Sun	289,000	287,000	293,000	395,000
*Sunday Times; *Essex and Herts Mercury	181,000	182,000	203,000	200,000
*Sunday Herald and †United Kingdom, &c.	27,000	70,682	59,025	44,775
*Spectator; *†Municipal Corporation Reformer	49,500	50,000	51,500	63,000
†Satirist	62,500	120,200	173,538	83,000
†State	6,000	1,418		
*Times; *Evening Mail	1,779,494	1,758,000	1,607,499	1,406,997
*True Sun; *Weekly True Sun	287,000	319,500	269,000	229,000
†Town	20,580	16,555	1,800	
United Kingdom	64,000			
Universal Corn Reporter	5,000	4,000	2,075	2,613
†Watchman	. .	. .	. .	70,000
Weekly Dispatch	740,642	670,158	764,000	815,000
†Weekly (New) Dispatch and *†British Liberator	20,580	24,100	30,850	16,200

Note.—The Papers marked thus (*), and inserted together in the foregoing Return, being printed and published by the same persons, and in whose names the Stamps are taken out, the numbers supplied for each Paper cannot be distinguished.

The Papers marked (†) are for broken periods, having been commenced, discontinued, and in some instances incorporated with other Papers within the period for which this Return is made out.

This return has been corrected from a second printed paper, which exhibits the returns as originally prepared by the Stamp Office.

Post-Office Establishment.—State of the Post-Office Establishment as it stood on April 5, 1835:—

LONDON.

Number of Individuals employed.	Offices.	Total Payments from the Revenue in 1835. £.	s.	d.	Maximum of Scales. £.	s.	d.
1	Postmaster-General	2,500	0	0	2,500	0	0
17	Secretary's Office	8,625	6	4	6,350	0	0
12	Mail-Coach Office	1,326	10	0	1,396	10	0
1	Solicitor	300	0	0	300	0	0
9	Receiver-General	2,830	0	0	2,840	0	0
15	Accountant-General	3,330	0	0	3,550	0	0
7	Surveyors	1,990	0	0	2,300	0	0
8	Ship-Letter Office	1,330	0	0	1,520	0	0
18	Dead-Letter Office	2,359	0	0	2,518	0	0
16	Foreign Office	3,630	0	0	3,630	0	0
80	Inland Office	17,817	6	8	15,075	0	0
4	Inspectors of letter carriers	1,250	0	0	890	0	0
30	Messengers	2,464	12	0	2,404	12	0
281	General post letter carriers	15,912	0	0	15,912	0	0
220	Mail guards	8,104	4	0	8,104	4	0
8	Sea mail guards	624	0	0	624	0	0
23	Housekeeper, bagmen, watchmen, &c.	1,291	14	0	1,291	14	0
54	Twopenny post	7,350	0	0	7,640	0	0
464	Twopenny post letter-carriers	23,813	8	0	23,813	8	0
1,338							
	Actual charge in 1835	£106,848	1	0	£102,659	8	0
	Deduct compensations, being temporary	7,329	6	4			
	Fixed payment from the revenue	£99,518	14	8			
	Less amount of fees brought to account	3,283	16	9½			
	Total	£96,234	17	10½			

DUBLIN.

Number of Individuals employed.	Offices.	Total Payments from the Revenue in 1835. £.	s.	d.	Maximum of Scales. £.	s.	d.
7	Secretary's Office	1,660	0	0	2,010	0	0
3	Receiver-General	720	0	0	870	0	0
7	Accountant-General	1,170	0	0	1,370	0	0
8	Dead letter	1,040	0	0	1,320	0	0
3	Surveyors	276	19	0	276	19	0
2	Inspectors of mails	180	0	0	180	0	0
1	Solicitor	92	6	4	92	6	4
32	Inland Office	6,149	0	0	5,600	0	0
8	Messengers and stampers	543	16	0	543	16	0
2	Inspectors of letter carriers	250	0	0	250	0	0
89	Letter-carriers	4,219	16	0	4,219	16	0
82	Mail guards	2,758	12	0	2,758	12	0
7	Housekeeper and servants	258	14	4	258	14	4
7	Labourers, porters, &c.	326	1	0	326	1	0
258							
	Actual charge in 1835	£19,645	4	8	£20,076	4	8
	Deduct compensation, being temporary	969	0	0			
	Fixed payment from the revenue	£18,676	4	8			
	Less fees brought to account	281	5	6			
	Total	£18,394	19	2			

EDINBURGH.

Number of Individuals employed.	Offices.	Total Payments from the Revenue in 1835. £.	s.	d.	Maximum of Scales. £.	s.	d.
4	Secretary's Office	1,320	0	0	1,430	0	0
2	Cashier's Office	500	0	0	600	0	0
2	Surveyors	600	0	0	600	0	0
5	Accountants' Office	870	0	0	950	0	0
1	Solicitor	100	0	0	100	0	0
3	Dead-Letter Office	579	0	0	560	0	0
23	Inland Office	3,359	0	0	2,280	0	0
1	Inspector of letter-carriers	120	0	0	150	0	0
1	Housekeeper	100	0	0	100	0	0
55	Letter-carriers, stampers, and messengers	2,605	6	0	2,605	6	0
97							
	Actual charge in 1835	£10,153	6	0	£11,375	6	0
	Deduct compensations, being temporary	418	0	0			
	Fixed payment from the revenue	£9,735	6	0			

In London, the Chief Secretary, Sir Francis Freeling, receives,—

Salary	£500	0	0
For special services	700	0	0
Compensation for loss of emoluments converted into revenue	2,965	6	4
	£4,165	6	4

(This is to be regulated on a vacancy.)

The compensation is allowed for loss of privilege by the 6 Geo. IV., c. 68. In addition to the total amount of income, he is allowed a house, with coal and candles. The assistant secretary, G. H. Freeling, Esq, receives a salary of 800*l*. In Dublin, the secretary, Augustus Godby, Esq., receives a salary of 800*l*., with house, coals, and candles; and in Edinburgh, Sir E. S. Lees, the secretary, receives a salary of 600*l*., with an additional allowance of 200*l*. contingent during his continuance in office, and also house, coals, and candles.

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

HOPS.—Number of acres of land under cultivation of HOPS in each year since 1807:—

Years.	Acres.	Years.	Acres.
1807	38,218	1821	45,662
1808	38,436	1822	43,554
1809	38,357	1823	41,458
1810	38,265	1824	43,449
1811	38,401	1825	46,718
1812	38,700	1826	50,471
1813	39,521	1827	49,485
1814	40,571	1828	48,365
1815	42,150	1829	46,135
1816	44,219	1830	46,726
1817	46,293	1831	47,129
1818	48,593	1832	47,101
1819	51,014	1833	49,187
1820	50,148	1834	51,273

Expense of collecting the hop duties for the three years ending 5th Jan. 1835.

1833	£3,316
1834	3,432
1835	3,675

Total amount of duty collected:—

1833	£241,771
1834	272,878
1835	329,941

Western Australia.—Population, &c., on the 31st Dec. 1834.

	Males.	Females.
Swan River	911	712
Canning River	60	30
York	20	3
Murray River	8	7
Augusta	36	20
King George's Sound	59	29
	1,094	781

Exclusive of troops.

Produce, Stock, &c.—Quantity of acres under cultivation, 1,036; horses, 162; horned cattle, 500; sheep, 3,545; goats and pigs, 492.

Revenue.—

Import duties on Spirits, and licenses to sell Spirits	2,292	17	5
Fees in Public Offices	11	15	0
Sale of Land and Public Allotments	15	6	3
	£2,319	18	8

Exports.—

Wool, 5,884 lbs., value	£500
Salted fish, 2,240 lbs. value	20
Seal skins	500
	£1,020

Maynooth College.—The amount voted annually during the last five years to Maynooth College has been 8,928*l.*, with the exception of the last grant, which was 8,978*l.*: total amount in five years 44,690*l.* The number of professors in the College, and the amount of their salaries, is as follows:

The prefect of the Dunboyne establishment	£122
First professor of theology	122
Second ditto	122
Third ditto	122
Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew	£122
,, ,, mathematics and experimental philosophy	112
,, ,, logic, metaphysics, and ethics	112
,, ,, rhetoric	112
,, ,, humanity	112
,, ,, English, elocution, and French	112
,, ,, Irish	112
,, ,, declamation, about a month each year	21

In Spain there are 12 newspapers; in Portugal, 17; in Switzerland, 36; in Belgium, 62; in Denmark, 80; in Austria, 82; in Russia and Poland, 84; in Holland, 150; in Great Britain, 274; in Prussia, 288; in the other Germanic States, 305; in Australia, 9; in Africa, 1; in Asia, 27; and in America, 1,138. The total number of newspapers published in Europe, is 2,148.—*German paper.*

Mineral Produce of Prussia.—The following table gives as accurate a statement as can be obtained of the produce of the mines worked in the mountainous districts of the provinces of Prussia for the year 1833:—

	Brandenburg and the Prussias.	Silesia.	Saxony and Thuringia.	Westphalia.	Rhenish Provinces	Total.
	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.
Crude Iron, including Steel-Iron	7,160 0†	518,194 0	22,171 27½†	2,555 70	629,778 0	179,853 64½
Cast Iron	31,687 0†	49,792 18½	7,310 38	77,935 41	104,256 12	270,980 109½
Wrought Iron	50,903 55	335,730 37	39,697 13¾	11,578 34	370,144 30	808,053 59¾
Crude Steel		4,251 0	2,802 0		53,214 0†	57,267 40
Cemented Steel	870 0	1,322 0		{Cast 5 35 / Steel 81 90}		2,197 55
Black Plate-Iron	7,889 0†	7,047 82½	6,974 41¾	No return.	20,863 0	42,280 13¾
Lead		783 67†			10,176 82	10,960 39
Litharge		5,355 0†			3,127 69	8,482 69
Alquifour (a Lead Ore used for glazing earthen ware)					29,171 76	29,171 76
		lbs. Troy.	lbs. Troy.		lbs. Troy.	lbs. Troy.
Silver		620†	11,485½†		2,749	14,854½†
		cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.		cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.
Copper		420 84†	13,946 36†		706 6	15,073 16†
Zinc		134,473 27½†		989 10†		135,462 37½
Brass	3,867 0†	432 0		1,037 20	11,692 55	17,028 75
Cobalt		340 0	1,551 14†	No return.	929 63	2,820 77†
Arsenic		2,791 55†				2,791 55
Antimony Ore			2,113 82½†		729 90†	2,843 62½†
Sulphur		752 68¾†				752 68¾
	tons.	tons.	tons.	tons.	tons.	tons.
Black Coal		1,939,210†	62,210†	3,046,042†	1,555,978†	6,603,440†
Brown Coal	No return.	No return.	1,023,188		690,834	1,714,022
Culinary Salt	456†		9,660†	1,854†	964†	12,932†
	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.		cwt. lbs.	cwt. lbs.
Alum	6,513 0†	8,144 0†	2,588 0†	No return.	21,283 7†	38,528 7
Iron-Vitriol		15,842 0†	2,911 0†		5,252 40†	24,005 40†
Copper-Vitriol*		62 55†	894 0†		468 20	1,424 75
Mixed Vitriol*		658 0	1,354 0		1,750 0	3,762 0
Zinc-Vitriol					42 0	42 0

* The quantity of vitriol *manufactured* is not given in the original returns.

† In all these cases the number is as accurate as can be expected in statistical returns, and in every case it will be found rather under than above the true amount.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

[The Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions have issued during the session forty-one Reports, the last of which is dated 10th Sept. 1835.]

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour of	32	19,275
For the maintenance of the independence of each branch of the legislature	19	10,869
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Scotland, in support	754	192,229
,, against any additional endowment	327	129,493
Church of Ireland Bill, against	407	105,143
,, ,, in favour	15	12,044
Tithes, Ireland, for abolition	44	36,786
,, ,, for a revaluation	15	2,188
,, ,, for commutation	5	814
Church Rates	3	1,573
Ecclesiastical Courts' Bill, against	174	11,401
Taxes.		
Newspaper Stamps, for repeal of duty	142	57,848
Malt, for repeal of duty	123	33,245
Window tax, for repeal of	19	7,479
Spirit licenses, for repeal of additional duty	200	13,407
Attornies' certificates	9	205
Timber duties, for reduction	3	809
,, against alteration	44	6,173
Miscellaneous.		
Dorchester Unionists, for remission of sentence	96	154,447
Hand-loom weavers, for relief	76	74,253
Agricultural distress, for relief	78	33,279
Municipal Corporations' Bill, in favour	206	259,801
,, ,, against	88	26,534
,, ,, Ireland, in favour	2	6,718
,, ,, against	6	129
Poor Laws Amendment Act, for repeal	16	15,680
Poor Laws (Ireland) for introduction	15	27,665
Factories Regulation Act, for amendment	52	36,247
Drunkenness, for suppression of	78	28,070
Imprisonment for Debt Bill, in favour	11	682
,, ,, (Scotland) against	29	6,292
Polish exiles, in favour of	5	1,795
Fisheries (Ireland) for relief	5	1,083
Sale of Beer Amendment Bill, against	3	144

Bankruptcy Analysis from Sept. 22 to Oct. 23.

Auctioneers, 3; brewers, 2; British plate manufacturer, 1; bookseller, 1; builders, 4; chandler, 1; chemist, 1; coal merchant, 1; coach maker, 1; commission agents, 2; corn factors, 2; cow keeper, 1; dealer, 1; drapers, 2; flint grinder, 1; grocers, 5; hatters, 2; haberdasher, 1; hotel keeper, 1; horse dealer, 1; iron merchants, 2; leather seller, 1; linen drapers, 2; livery stable keeper, 1; merchants, 4; master mariner, 1; paper merchant, 1; plumbers, 2; provision merchant, 1; ship owner, 1; ship broker, 1; ship builder 1; smelter, 1; tailor, 1; timber merchant, 1; upholder, 1; victuallers, 5; wine merchant, 1. Total 62; total from commencement of the year, 837.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR OCTOBER, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE past month has afforded scarcely any thing to relate under the head of our domestic politics.

The public attention since the rising of parliament has been chiefly occupied with the proceedings of the courts which have been held throughout the country for the annual revision of the registration lists of electors. This year the contest of parties has been waged on this arena with much more zealous effort and more systematic tactics than on any former occasion. The objections that have been made to names in the overseers' lists have been unusually numerous, and the decisions of the barristers have accordingly been watched in all quarters, as furnishing important indications in regard to the results of the ultimate struggle at the polling-booths, whenever that may come. It is extremely difficult however to say what is the real amount and character of the effect produced by the great exertions that have been made, or in what state the constituency has been left upon the whole by the purification it has received. As usual, in their public organs, both the friends of the ministry and their opponents profess to have been the gainers—each party, probably, being led to that conclusion as much by their wishes and hopes as by any thing else, and at all events holding it good policy to keep up the spirits of their adherents by such representations.

The prorogation of parliament, and the dispersion of public men over the country after their seven months' close imprisonment in the metropolis, have also been taken advantage of, for the getting up of numerous provincial displays in the way of dinner-eating and speech-making. The tone which this kind of agitation has hitherto taken, certainly indicates any thing rather than an approximation of the two great contending parties in the state.

FRANCE.

THERE are rumours of fresh changes in the French Cabinet, but for the present every thing remains in much the same state as when we last wrote, nor have any very important events occurred within the kingdom. According to one account, which, however, is disputed, and does not seem very probable, the ministerial differences are said to proceed from questions of finance, Louis Philippe having opposed the plan of M. Humann, the minister of Finance, to reduce the Five per Cents.

Acting on the new laws as passed by the two chambers, government is following up its persecution of the press. What the French papers call "a commission of censorship" (and the *thing* seems to merit the *name*) has been established in all the large cities that possess a theatre, a copper-plate or newspaper press.

Certain secret political societies have been discovered in the army. These were mainly introduced and kept up by a few of the common soldiers and non-commissioned officers, that had been tampered with by the Republican party, who seem resolved to consider their game not yet lost. A captain of the 37th regiment of the line has been implicated. According to their constitution and the oaths of their members, these military lodges or clubs were to communicate with one another on every possible occasion, and they were to continue their secret labours until the number of their proselytes should enable them to strike a blow—dethrone the king, and establish a pure democracy. The proceedings of these societies, which are fatal to the discipline of that army in which they once get established, never are kept secret. While these silly men were amusing themselves with their shiboleth and mysterious signs, every thing they did was reported to the government.

It appears that the demoralizing infection of this clubism had reached the army of observation on the Spanish frontier. An order has been sent to General Castellan, who commands a division of that army, to send every regiment, in which it should be proved that secret societies existed, to Algiers and the coast of Africa. The French government seem determined to persevere in a system that will be fatal to the tranquillity of that country, and eventually to the security of their new conquest and colony. They throw all their turbulent and vicious men—all their most desperate blackguards upon Algiers, where it would be necessary above all things to conciliate the Arabs and other natives, by an exhibition of European virtue, moderation, and gentleness. We have alluded on a former occasion to the atrocities that have been committed on the African coast by a reckless, fierce, and dissolute soldiery. Even according to French officers and writers they are frightful!

As long as these practices obtain Algiers can never be any thing but a loss to the French nation.

Early in October, four men were arrested on suspicion of being engaged in a plot to assassinate the King on his road from Paris to Fontainebleau. Some of the political prisoners who lately escaped from their confinement have been retaken.

Louis Philippe has announced furloughs or leaves of absence for 40,000 men, which is, in other words, a temporary reduction of his army to that amount. Coupled with similar reductions in other continental armies, this should seem to indicate that the chances of a war are more remote than ever. We see it mentioned in various places that a plan for the rapid transmission of telegraphic despatches between London and Paris is almost completed. Nine telegraph stations are to connect London with our Channel coast, and fourteen stations will connect Paris with the opposite side of the Channel. It is calculated that thus (when the weather is clear), news may pass from London to Paris, or *vice versâ*, in an hour and a half. Some doubts, however, are entertained, as to whether the French government will permit the establishment of this means of communication. The first employment of the telegraphs would be to transmit the price of stocks, but they of course could be made to serve other purposes.

According to the Parisian newspapers the French funds are improving. A part of the new force about to be sent out to Africa is to proceed to Oran, and there take vengeance on the Arabs for the insults they are said to have offered to the French flag.

What Messieurs les Journalists call "insults," we should term a victory gained by the natives in defence of their country. The French, who have been some years at Oran without making the least impression on the country, attempted during the past summer to advance their line of posts from the narrow slip of coast, and subject the territory by force of arms, and in this attempt they were thoroughly beaten and driven back to the shelter of the walls of Oran by a host of Arabs, who, in their frequent encounters with regular troops, have learned some military discipline, and who are said on this occasion to have had several Europeans among them to manœuvre and to direct their attacks.

The interminable story about the American indemnity, to which we have had to allude so often, has not yet reached its *dénouement*. General Jackson will not apologize for his hard words, and the French government who made the apology a *sine qua non* will not part with their hard cash. It is now stated that the stern old president threatens to stop all commercial intercourse between the United States and France, in case the fixed instalment of the indemnity of 25,000,000 francs should not be paid into the States' treasury by the 1st of December.

SPAIN.

IN our retrospect of last month we were not quite certain as to the composition of the new liberal cabinet, which it now appears stood as follows:—

M. Mendizabal, President of the Council and Minister of Finance.

General Alava, Foreign Affairs.

Gomez Becerra, Chief of the Saragossa Junta, and an old member of the Cortes, Minister of Justice.

M. Ulloa, Procurador for Cadiz, Minister of Marine.

M. Almodovar, Chief of the Junta of Valencia, Minister of War.

M. Martin de los Heros, Minister of the Interior.

These ministers immediately revoked the royal order that declared Madrid to be in a state of siege, and, among other important measures, tried to suppress or gain over by an exposition of their new and liberal plan of government, all

those provincial revolutionary juntas that had arisen under Toreno's administration in different parts of the kingdom. With the exception of the juntas of Andalusia, they were successful in all these explanations, but the Marquis de las Navas, the head of those juntas, who was with an Andalusian army of 10,000 men, continued his march on Madrid, where people were for some time in great anxiety and doubt as to his scope and intentions.

The late, or Toreno ministry, by a decree, dated Sept. 3rd, had denounced all the juntas as illegal and treasonable; but Mendizabal, by a decree of the 25th, annulled that of the 3rd, granting a full amnesty to all comprised within it. This was natural enough, seeing that two of Mendizabal's colleagues in office had belonged to these juntas only a few days before. It was also judicious, in the deplorable weakness of government, to make concessions, and conciliate those whom they could not control by force; but moderate men are afraid that the new cabinet may have pledged itself to *too much*, and have given confidence and strength to a party that does not seem disposed to forego old democratical dreams, or be satisfied with anything less or more than the One Chamber Cortes.

The Urban militia of Madrid, dismissed and disarmed by the Torenos for their revolt on the 16th and 17th of August last, have received back their arms and been re-organized. Commissioners have been appointed to draw up a new electoral law. These men have all been chosen from the extreme rank of the ultra-liberal party. Everything goes to show that Spain is on the eve of many new and hazardous changes.

It certainly appears that since the appointment of the Mendizabal cabinet, more life and spirit has been thrown into the management of affairs and the prosecution of the war against Don Carlos. The subaltern functionaries, the *employés* and clerks of government, who have long been in Spain about the laziest and most dilatory of mortals, have been pretty generally replaced by more active men, and some discrimination has been shown, not merely in naming generals and commanders-in-chief, but in filling up the inferior ranks of the army. A recent traveller tells us that half of the captains and lieutenants of Rodil's and Mina's army were corpulent old gentlemen who had entered the service some seven and twenty years ago, and, after fighting the French in the war of Independence, had done nothing for twenty years. No wonder that they could never keep up with the light-footed Basques, and the young indefatigable Navarrese, of Don Carlos.

But the capital resource of the new ministry lies in the financiering talent and stock-exchange experience of Mendizabal, who is now labouring to restore the ruined credit of Spain, and procure fresh loans by the appropriation and sale of church and monastic, or, as they call it, national, property. The struggle of patriotism and constitutionalism is more and more resolving itself into a stock broker's job, and the fate of the Spanish Queen and Cortes is locked up in the *Bourses* of London and Paris.

Count de las Navas and his juntas, with the mass of the very ultra-liberals, proposed that a constituent assembly of the Cortes should be convoked forthwith, to modify the constitution, to set aside the regal convocation and derive their charte directly from the nation, instead of considering it as octroyé, or granted by the sovereign. Under these generalities, however, there was doubtless concealed the secret design, or wish, of driving Christina, the Queen Regent, from the government, dissolving the council of regency named by her husband, the late King Ferdinand, and extinguishing the Chamber of Proceres or upper house.

As to the council of regency it is almost as well as dissolved already, for about the best members of it, as Las Amarillas and Zea Bermudez, after having figured unsuccessfully in the ministry, have not only been discredited both by court and country, but have lost their confidence in themselves and much of their earnestness in the cause. Under these circumstances Christina must depend wholly on whatsoever cabinet may be imposed upon her, and the regency council will become a mere name. For the moment, it appears that Mendizabal has induced Las Navas and the Andalusian juntas to submit and allow time for the political modifications. The Andalusians who were at Despenaperros and Manzanares, within a few short marches of Madrid, have volunteered, and are now being organized into battalions that will be sent as soon as possible into the north against Don Carlos. In this manner it is said that 20,000 men will be disposable. It is as difficult as ever to get at the truth, but it seems to be generally allowed that the Queenite army has gained several advantages over the Carlists. Not to mention other skirmishes and operations on a small scale, General Cordova defeated, with considerable loss, a Carlist corps-d'armée on the 25th of September at Villacayo. On the 9th of October the Navarrese battalion of Don Carlos which had penetrated into Catalonia was signally defeated, and O'Donnell, the second in command, made prisoner. On the 11th General Cordova entered Puenta de la Reyna with a considerable convoy of provisions; on the 12th a Christino column of 6000 foot and 200 horse entered Pampeluna without encountering any opposition from the Carlists; on the 13th 3000 of the Queen's troops advanced from Puento de la Reyna to Mendigorria, and re-established the bridge; Gurrea's column marched from Lerin to Larraga equally without opposition. The Count d'Espagne, one of the main props of the Carlist cause, was obliged to fly for safety into France. This was a most serious loss to the pretender, but we see it is stated that the Count has *evaded the vigilance of the French police* and again joined the army of Catalonia. A ship conveying arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., to the Carlists, has been captured by the Queenites. On the 15th of October a long conference took place at Larraga between General Cordova and the Carlist commander Eguia, who has succeeded General Starralde. After the interview, which lasted six hours, Eguia returned to the head-quarters of Don Carlos, who had been for several days at Estella.

Gangs of robbers, who sometimes pass for Carlists and at others for Constitutionalists, have been taking great advantage of the troubled, horrid state of the northern provinces. On the 13th a party of twenty of the Queen's soldiers fell in with a troop of the kind, and killed their chief and one of the banditti; but this will do little towards suppressing those marauders, who will increase in numbers and audacity as this detestable civil war is prolonged. According to some of those "private letters" which newspapers *publish*, the nobility of Spain have come forward to assist Mendizabal with their own private fortunes. A committee of seven grandees is said to have offered, in the name of their order, to raise, arm, and support ten battalions during the rest of the civil war; while the Duke of Ossuna, besides paying his part of the general subscription of the peers, has volunteered to arm and maintain 100 lancers at his individual expense. The Spanish agents in London have been instructed to apply to our government for a further accommodation of 50,000 stand of arms.

We regret to say that General Alava, whose prudence and political moderation are well known, remained but a very few days on the cabinet list as minister for foreign affairs. On the 4th of October the Queen Regent, by a royal decree, made known her acceptance of his resignation, and that his portfolio should be held *ad interim* by Mendizabal, who was already president of the council and minister of finance. The general was to return to his embassy at London.

PORTUGAL.

A NEW candidate for the hand of Donna Maria has started up in the person of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg Gotha, who, it appears, is travelling somewhere among the Turks.

Don Miguel, who supports the royal style, and keeps a Portuguese newspaper of his own in Italy, has put forth in that journal a curious address to his nation. The point on which he chiefly dwells, and one on which he will carry the sympathies of many of the Portuguese with him, is the seizure and sale of church property. But for several reasons it is worth while transferring this characteristic document to our pages.

"Portuguese!—The ills which overwhelm you pierce me to the soul. The vile slavery to which the insurgents are desirous of reducing you fills me with indignation and horror. The revolutionists have not been satisfied with lighting up, in the midst of you, the most unjust, the most perfidious, the most atrocious war—with uniting themselves to foreign mercenaries, for the annihilation of the wise and salutary institutions of our ancestors—with having insulted religion—with having trodden under foot the most sacred laws—with having separated themselves from the supreme empire of the church—and with having established a most infamous and most horrible schism; they are now making prepara-

tions for disposing of a great mass of Portugal to ambitious foreigners. Ecclesiastical property—that fine property—those majestic edifices, the gifts and legacies of the piety of our ancestors, which were possessed and inhabited by your sons, your relatives, your friends, and by so many virtuous men, and which brought to mind so many glorious epochs of the monarchy, are about to be put up to public auction, to pass into the hands of foreigners—the old and irreconcileable enemies of our industry, of our religion, and our customs. This property—these edifices—these temples—where hitherto virtue found an asylum, and misery daily succour where God was served, and where the holy ceremonies were celebrated with so much pomp, will soon be converted into warehouses, and theatres, and houses of gaiety, and perhaps of prostitution. Nothing more can in fact be expected from foreigners, corrupted and depraved in their doctrines and their customs—enemies and depreciators of the true church and the holy religion of Jesus Christ. Portuguese! Our country is about to be sold, and the product of the sale will, by fraudulent and dark transactions, return into the hands of these same purchasers. The clergy are about to be reduced to horrible misery and a fatal dependence; it will fall into contempt; it will receive the wages of government and be its slave; and the Lusitanian Church, formerly so flourishing, will be reduced to nothing—will lose its glory, its majesty, and the pomp of its worship. Portuguese! These are the fatal precepts of impious men, who entitle themselves the liberators of the country. As for me, I am always your defender, your real friend. I will never cease to oppose the ills which oppress you, and the tyranny by which you are enslaved. I protest against the sale of the ecclesiastical property, and against all the usurpations and sacrilegious acts of violence that the usurping government has dared to commit. I will do all that I can to defeat its projects—all that can be required of me by religion, honour, and the love I bear you. I again declare that, when I shall re-appear in the midst of you—when I shall re-ascend the throne which belongs to me, and which I hope will be restored to me by the God of the great Alphonso, I will not recognise the validity of the sale of this property; I will be inexorable. All the purchasers, whether natives or foreigners, shall lose their capital. No law, no right, can validate such a sale, nor oppose my protest with justice. Portuguese! Look upon your tyrants with horror—detest their measures and their dark designs. Consent not that the patrimony of relatives—the property of the church, should go into the hands of foreigners; but wait awhile—wait—the time of salvation is not far off. Portuguese take no vengeance—entertain no private hatred. When I shall be in the midst of you, I shall be the first to pardon. All the Portuguese are my children. I shall forget the indiscretions of which they have been guilty. I have no intention but that of healing your wounds, and of uniting in one bond the great Portuguese family. My wishes are for the happiness of the nation; my desire is to repair the evils of revolution. All who join me and abandon an impious faction shall be received as friends. Be of good cheer, Portuguese. Let valour and intrepidity be your motto when the favourable moment shall have arrived—be firm against tyranny, and heaven shall crown your fidelity and your patience, as well as the wishes and efforts of your sovereign,

"MIGUEL."

The Don's hit at heretical, wicked foreigners, is meant for us Englishmen, though it should appear he is mistaken in one of his facts, as scarcely a capitalist of our nation has gone into the market for the Portuguese church property, which, however, finds rather a ready sale, and fetches high prices.

This prince, who declares himself to be so certain of recovering possession of the throne of Portugal, has been residing for some time at Venice, but has recently returned to Rome, where he is treated with the greatest distinction. He travels under the name of Count de Ramalhao. Instead of being in want of money he seems to have copious treasures at his command, and his expenditure is said to be enormous. The nobility, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and all the hierarchy of Rome treat him as if he were king. This is quite natural. The internal affairs of Portugal are tranquil, and the government has been chiefly occupied by questions of trade and finance. The official paper, the "Diario do Goberno," of the 3rd of October, contained the following decree:—

"Her Majesty having, by a decree of the 23rd April, this year, resolved to reduce to 4 per cent. the interest of the debt which was at 6 per cent., this operation being nearly completed, has now determined, with the same view to the diminution of the national burdens, that the measures prescribed by the said decree of 23rd April, shall be applied to all those stocks which bear interest at 5 per cent., and the payment of which is confided to the Counsellors of the Junta of Public Credit. The holders of five per cents. who dissent must present their bonds (apolices) to the committee from the 1st to the 31st October. Those who do not declare their dissent within that time will be presumed to have agreed to the conversion. The payment of the principal and interest due to the end of the present half year will be made by the committee from the 2nd of May, 1836."

It has been determined to march the auxiliary corps, which has been so long kept on the frontier, (to assist the Queen Regent, in case of need,) into the northern provinces of Spain; and the latest French papers state that 1500 men, forming the advanced guard of the corps, entered Zamosa on the 6th of October.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

THE grand review at Kalisch, on which point troops had been so long concentrating, and which, according to some of our newspaper theorists, was to lead to an almost general continental war, has passed over as a splendid pageantry, and so has the conference of the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia at Toplitz.

An event that has immediately succeeded does not look very warlike. The Emperor of Austria has made a considerable reduction in his army, and this good or consoling example is said to have been followed by his Prussian Majesty. It is allowed on all sides that the finances of Russia are in a sadly embarrassed state—another excellent assurance that peace will not be disturbed for the present. We do not pretend to know what passed at that close meeting, but another result of the Toplitz conference is not unreasonably supposed to be a determination to preserve tranquillity between the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium.

The States General of Holland met on the 20th of October. The King's speech was moderate and pacific, containing a favourable picture of the internal prosperity of the country. It had a marked influence on the funds. The speech made no allusion to the Toplitz conference, but it seems to be understood that it was *there* arranged that the differences still subsisting between the Dutch and Belgians should be settled without any recourse to arms.

HUNGARY.

THOUGH this country is included in the dominions of the imperial House of Hapsburg, it has a constitution of its own, and unlike Austria and the dependencies of that empire, it is governed, in most essentials, by an hereditary and an elective chamber. The efforts which have been made here of late years for the extension of a rational liberty—for the education of the people—for the improvement of roads—the opening of canals, and the rendering navigable the magnificent river Danube—are in the highest degree interesting; but unfortunately our news-collectors hardly ever devote a line to the subject. This omission, we suspect, does not arise merely from their mistake of considering Hungary as nothing but a pale satellite of Austria. The transactions of the national diet, the reports, newspapers, and books of the Hungarians, which formerly used to be in Latin, are now all in the Magyar, or Hungarian language—an idiom that is most difficult to learn, and that is known to very few foreigners indeed.

The Diet has been sitting, and many important national questions have been debated in it with great spirit. The magnates, or peers, had a conference with the deputies, or commons, on the 22nd of September, which ended in a friendly and satisfactory manner. Having settled the point of their new Emperor-King's title, which is to be Ferdinand V. of Hungary, the two houses passed a law relative to the peasantry. This law, called the Urbanic Law, had long been a subject of contention. We believe the object of it is to extend the rights of the peasants, who not very long ago were complete serfs. There certainly remains an im-

mense deal to do in Hungary, but the recent progress, the signs and indications are very promising.

This is a subject to which, on some early opportunity, we shall devote a separate article.

TURKEY.

After an expensive and somewhat exhausting effort Sultan Mahmoud has succeeded in suppressing the Albanian insurrection, which, however, is very likely to break out afresh next year. In the middle of September the Vizier of Roumelia defeated the insurgents, who imprudently gave him battle on an open field. After this the Turks entered Scutari, which may be considered as the Albanian capital, without any resistance. The Turkish squadron, which had been employed in blockading the Albanian coast, was then ordered to Tripoli.

Both Mr. Ellis, our envoy to Persia, and Lord Durham, our ambassador to Russia, were allowed to pass the Dardanelles with less than their usual impediments on the part of the Turks; and, whatever our party newspapers may say, the reception they met with at Constantinople was, in all respects, such as was due to the representatives of the majesty of Britain, nor was any, the least slight put upon our nation in their persons either by Russians or Turks.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Sept. 24. The Right Hon. John Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the son of the first and the brother of the second William Pitt, died in his 80th year. The title is now extinct.

29. An extraordinary meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held, to consider the course which should be adopted with respect to the commission for inquiring into the state of the Church. Drs. Cook and Chalmers made long and warm speeches on the subject, but ultimately it was agreed that every encouragement should be given to the inquiry.

— The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria went to Ramsgate, to receive the King and Queen of Belgium, who arrived in the course of the day.

— The election of Lord Mayor for the city of London took place at Guildhall. The alderman in rotation, W. T. Copeland, Esq., M.P. was chosen.

Oct. 1. The new sheriffs, John Lainson and David Salomons, Esqrs. were in the usual manner inducted into office. Considerable interest was attached to the event, from the circumstance of Mr. Salomons being of the Jewish persuasion. In the evening, a dinner, at which the Lord Mayor presided, was given, to celebrate the inauguration. A letter from the Duke of Sussex expressed regret at the state of his health not permitting him to be present at a meeting which celebrated another triumph of liberal principles.

4. This day happening to fall on a Sunday, was pretty generally celebrated over the country in the different churches and chapels, as a centenary of the Reformation, the printing of the first English Bible (that of Bishop Coverdale) having, as appears from the Colophon, been finished on the 4th of October, 1535.

7. A fire broke out at the Milbank Penitentiary, near Vauxhall-bridge, which at one time assumed a very alarming appearance. Viscount Melbourne, Lord Bexley, and other noblemen and gentlemen arrived during its progress, and were very active in their exertions. No accident occurred, nor did any of the prisoners effect their escape. The fire has been ascertained to have originated accidentally.

11. Their Majesties, attended by a party, visited Greenwich, being the anniversary of the battle of Camperdown. A monument by Chantrey, erected under the orders of the King to the memory of Sir R. G. Keats, formerly governor of Greenwich Hospital, was exposed to public view for the first time. The inscription records that the late admiral was his Majesty's shipmate on board the Prince George, and that the monument was erected by the King to testify private friendship as well as esteem for the public character of the deceased.

13. The Pique frigate, having on board Lord and Lady Aylmer, returning from Canada, arrived at Portsmouth from Quebec, after a stormy passage. She struck on the coast of Labrador, in the straits of Belisle, but with great exertion was got off. The injuries which she received rendered the passage across the Atlantic a perilous adventure, and on her arrival in the Channel it was with great difficulty that she was brought into port. Her captain, the Hon. Henry Rous, brother to the Earl of Stradbroke, and the sailing master, were tried by a court martial for having run the vessel upon Point Forteau, but were fully acquitted from all blame, the evidence adduced tending to show that they had acted with skill, coolness, and intrepidity

14. A meeting was held at the town-hall, Birmingham, "to take into consideration the cruel oppression and aggravated sufferings to which the negroes of our West India colonies are still subjected, under the name of apprenticeship, notwithstanding the enormous sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling granted to the West India proprietors by the British parliament; also to consider the propriety of presenting a memorial to Lord Melbourne, on the adoption of such resolutions as the meeting may deem expedient." Resolutions in the spirit of the requisition were agreed to.

19. The Queen, on a short tour through the country, arrived at Oxford, accompanied by Prince George of Cambridge and the Duchess of Saxe Weimar. Her Majesty visited the University, where the Duke of Wellington, as Chancellor, read an address of congratulation, to which a suitable reply was given.

21. The first stone of the city of London School (on the site of Honey-lane Market, Cheapside) was laid by Lord Brougham, in the presence of the committee appointed by the Common Council to superintend the institution, and the officers of the Corporation. A very large assemblage was present; and in the evening the event was celebrated by a dinner at the City of London tavern.

The Corporation of Cork having chosen a mayor and two sheriffs, the names of the parties were submitted, as is usual, to the lord lieutenant and privy council of Ireland for approval. The approbation was however withheld, on the ground of the elected individuals being Orangemen, and by implication partizans. Another election was thus rendered necessary, when a new mayor was chosen, but the rejected sheriffs were re-elected. After some discussion this election was approved. On the new lord mayor of Dublin being presented to the lord lieutenant, the recorder (F. Shaw, Esq. M.P.) made a speech, in which he expressed a hope that in any municipal reform which might be made, regard would be had to the peculiar construction of society in Ireland. His Excellency, in his reply, told the lord mayor to consider himself not as the chief or yearly nominee of a party, but as the head of a great community, and intimated that prosperity could only be attained by doing away with that artificial state of society alluded to by the Recorder, and assimilating the government of Ireland to that of Britain.

The Irish government, in answer to many applications, have decided that the military or police shall not be permitted to aid in the collection of tithes, nor be called out in any case of the enforcement of civil rights by distress, unless their presence be rendered necessary by actual riot.

On the 10th of August the Governor of Jamaica (Marquis of Sligo) suddenly dissolved the Assembly under somewhat singular circumstances. The address of the Assembly, in answer to the Governor's address on the opening of the session, being in a tone and spirit which the Governor did not approve, he came to the resolution of immediately dissolving the Assembly before it could proceed to any business, which he did in a speech pointing out the improprieties of the answer to his address, and throwing the blame of any ultimate proceedings on the conduct which had been pursued by the Assembly.

Some singular scenes have occurred during the month in Dublin at the sittings of the Commission to inquire into the election of Messrs. O'Connell and Ruthven. By a rule which the Commissioners had laid down no oral communications were permitted in court, every thing being conducted in writing. They had also decided against entering into a certain class of evidence tendered by the counsel for the sitting members. Upon this Mr. O'Connell appeared in court, to enforce, in person, his right to be heard; but was refused permission to speak. As he persisted, the chairman of the Commission adjourned the court, and the adjournment was repeated for three successive days, Mr. O'Connell appearing daily in support of his claim. On the two following days adjournments were again rendered necessary by the illness of the Chairman; and in the mean time Mr. O'Connell went down to Limerick to be present at a public dinner given to him in that city. Subsequently, after considerable altercation as to the choice of a proper individual, a new chairman has been appointed.

Major-General Middlemore, of his Majesty's service, and not an officer of the East India Company, has been appointed governor of St. Helena, which island will henceforth be under the direct authority of his Majesty's government, and not under that of the Board of Directors of the East India Company; the garrison, it is also stated, will consist of troops of the line, by which arrangement a great saving to the public will be effected in the reduction of the St. Helena corps.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. Parkes.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 36. DECEMBER 1, 1835. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Approaching Municipal Elections	525	Duties on Tea	539
Changes of Administration, and History of Parties	532	Stamps and Assessed Taxes Reduction Act	539
Polling at Elections Acts	538	Parliamentary Abstracts	540
Act for the Abolition of Unnecessary Oaths	538	Trade, Statistics, &c.	543
Letters Patent Amendment Act	539	Political Retrospect for November	543
Marriage Amendment Act	539	Chronicle of Occurrences	548

APPROACHING MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

THE great subject of political interest during the coming month will be the elections of the new town councils throughout England and Wales under the Corporation Reform Act. Those whom this matter chiefly concerns are no doubt the inhabitants of the boroughs which are to enjoy the immediate advantage of the new system of government, and above all the householders who are actually to exercise for the first time the franchise which the law has put into their hands. Both these classes of persons, and the last mentioned especially, may be reasonably supposed to have in general already made themselves familiar with all the forms connected with the exercise of their new rights and duties; but there are probably many others of our readers whose attention has not been so directly called to the subject, to whom we shall be doing an acceptable service by presenting here a detail of those provisions of the statute which relate to the approaching elections, separated from the great mass of other matter with which they are mixed up in the hundred and forty-three long enactments which constitute the entire body of directions promulgated by the legislature for the regulation of our municipal corporations. This great measure of reform is really interesting to the whole country; and yet it may be apprehended that the extent and complication of the act have confined any intimate knowledge of its provisions to a comparatively small portion of the community.

The first thing that is to be noticed is, that by the 140th clause it is enacted that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, if he shall think fit, by the advice of his Privy Council, to substitute, for the present year, any other days coming before the 1st of February next for those mentioned in the act as the days on which the elections are to take place, or other matters to be done.

An Order in Council accordingly was issued on the 11th of September last, thus altering the times for the principal parts of the act coming into operation; but it is to be remembered that although such postponement has taken place for the present year, the days originally named in the act are those which must be adhered to for the several things required to be done in it in all future years.

The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th clauses are the enfranchising enactments of the statute, or those which specify the description of persons who are henceforth to form the municipal constituency. They are as follows:—

"9. And be it enacted, that every male person of full age who on the last day of August in any year shall have occupied any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop within any borough during that year and the whole of each of the two preceding years, and also during the time of such occupation shall have been an inhabitant householder within the said borough, or within seven miles of the said borough, shall, if duly enrolled in that year according to the provisions herein-after contained, be a burgess of such borough and member of the body corporate of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of such borough: provided always that no such person shall be so enrolled in any year, unless he shall have been rated in respect of such premises so occupied by him within the borough to all rates made for the relief of the poor of the parish wherein such premises are situated during the time of his occupation as aforesaid, and unless he shall have paid on or before the last day of August as aforesaid all such rates, including therein all borough rates, if any, directed to be paid under the provisions of this Act, as shall have become payable by him in respect of the said premises, except such as shall become payable within six calendar months next before the said last day of August: provided also, that the premises in respect of the occupation of which any person shall have been so rated need not be the same premises or in the same parish, but may be different premises in the same parish or in different parishes: provided also, that no person being an alien shall be so enrolled in any year, and that no person shall be so enrolled in any year who within twelve calendar months next before the said last day of August shall have received parochial relief or other alms, or any pension or charitable allowance from any fund intrusted to the charitable trustees of such borough herein-after mentioned: provided, that in every case provided in this Act the distance of seven miles shall be computed by the nearest public road or way by land or water.

"10. And be it enacted, that no medical or surgical assistance given by the charitable trustees of any borough shall be taken to be such charitable allowance as shall disqualify any person from being enrolled a burgess as aforesaid; nor shall any person be so disqualified by reason that any child of such person shall have been admitted and taught within any public or endowed school.

"11. And be it enacted, that in every borough it shall be lawful for any person occupying any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop to claim to be rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such premises, whether the landlord shall or shall not be liable to be rated to the relief of the poor in respect thereof; and upon such occupier so claiming, and actually paying or tendering the full amount of the last-made rate then payable in respect of such premises, the overseers of the parish in which such premises are situate are hereby required to put the name of such occupier upon the rate for the time being; and in case such overseer shall neglect or refuse so to do, such occupier shall nevertheless, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to have been rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such premises from the period at which the rate shall have been made in respect of which he shall have so claimed to be rated as aforesaid: provided always, that where by virtue of any Act of Parliament the landlord shall be liable to the payment of the rate for the relief of the poor in respect of any premises occupied by his tenant, nothing herein contained shall be deemed to vary or discharge the liability of such landlord, but in case the tenant who shall have been rated for such premises, in consequence of any such claim as aforesaid, shall make default in the payment of the poor's rate payable in respect thereof, such landlord shall be and remain liable for the payment thereof in the same manner as if he alone had been rated in respect of the premises so occupied by his tenant.

"12. And be it enacted, that where any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop in any borough shall come to any person by descent, marriage, marriage settlement, devise, or promotion to any benefice or office, such person shall be entitled to reckon the occupancy and rating, in respect of the

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

occupancy thereof by the person from or by whom such house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop shall have so come to him, as his own occupancy and rating conjointly with the time during which he shall have since occupied and been rated for the same, and shall be entitled to be enrolled a burgess in respect of such successive occupancy and rating, provided he shall be otherwise qualified as herein provided.

"13. And be it enacted, that after the passing of this Act no person shall be enrolled a burgess of any borough, for the purpose of enjoying the rights conferred for the first time by this Act, in respect of any title other than by occupancy and payment of rates within such borough, according to the meaning and provisions of this Act."

By the 15th clause it is directed that on the 5th of September in every year (but by the Order in Council, on the 7th of November for this year), the overseers of the poor of every parish wholly or in part within any borough shall make out an alphabetical list, to be called the Burgess List, of all persons who shall be entitled to be enrolled in the Burgess Roll of that year, according to the provisions of the act, in respect of property within such parish. These lists, signed by the overseers, are to be delivered by them to the Town Clerk of the borough on the said 5th of September (but this year on the 7th of November), and copies of them are also to be kept by the overseers to be perused by any person without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours between the 5th and 15th of September (but this year between the 7th and 17th of November). The Town Clerk, moreover, is forthwith to get these lists printed, and to let any person have a copy on payment of a reasonable price, and is besides to cause a copy of all of them to be fixed on or near the outer door of the Town Hall, or in some public and conspicuous situation within the borough, for the whole of the week immediately preceding the 15th of September in every year (but this year for the week preceding the 17th of November). Of course, this has already been done in all the boroughs coming under the act. By the 16th clause it is provided that where there shall be no Town Clerk, or where that officer shall be dead or incapable of acting, all matters required by the act to be done by and with regard to the Town Clerk, shall be done by and with regard to the person executing duties in such borough similar to those of Town Clerk; and if there be no such person, then by and with regard to such fit person as the Mayor shall appoint. It is also directed that every precinct or place having no overseers shall, for the purpose of making out the aforesaid lists, be deemed within the least populous of the borough parishes adjoining thereto.

The 17th clause directs in what manner persons whose names have been omitted from the overseers' lists are to make their claims, and the manner in which notices of objections are to be given. A person whose name has been omitted is to give notice thereof to the Town Clerk in writing on or before the 15th of September in every year (but this year on or before the 17th of November). And every person whose name shall have been inserted in any Burgess List may object to any other person as not being entitled to have his name retained on the list, by giving notice of his objection in writing both to the Town Clerk and also to the person objected to on or before the 15th of September (but this year on or before the 17th of November). The Town Clerk is then to make out separate lists both of the claimants and of the persons objected to, and cause copies of each to be publicly exhibited for the eight days immediately preceding the 1st of October in every year (but this year for the eight days preceding the 1st of December). He is also to keep copies to be perused during the same time by any person, without payment of any fee, at all reasonable hours; and is to deliver a copy of either to any person applying for it, on payment of a sum not exceeding one shilling.

The 18th and 19th clauses direct the manner in which the revision of the lists is to be proceeded with. They are as follows:—

"18. And be it enacted, that the Mayor and the two Assessors hereinafter mentioned, to be chosen in every year by the burgesses of every borough, shall hold an open court within such borough, for the purpose of revising the said Burgess Lists at some time between the 1st day of October inclusive and the 15th day of October inclusive in the year 1836, and every succeeding year, having first given three clear days' notice of the holding of such court, to be fixed on or near the outer door of the Town Hall or in some public and conspicuous situation within the borough; and the Town Clerk of every such borough shall, at the opening of the court, produce the said lists, and a copy of the lists of the persons claiming and of the persons objected to, so made out as aforesaid; and the overseers, vestry clerks, and collectors of poor's rates of every parish wholly or in part within every such borough shall attend the court, and shall answer upon oath all such questions as the court may put to them or any of them touching any matter necessary for revising the Burgess Lists; and the Mayor shall insert in such lists the name of every person who shall be proved, to the satisfaction of the court, to be entitled to be inserted therein, according to the provisions of this act, and shall retain on the said list the names of all persons to whom no objection shall have been duly made, and shall also retain on the said lists the name of every person who shall have been objected to by any person, unless the party so objecting shall appear by himself or by some one on his behalf in support of such objection; and where the name of any person inserted in any one of the said lists shall have been duly objected to, and the person objecting shall appear, by himself or by some one on his behalf in support of such objection, the court shall require proof of the qualification of the person so objected to; and in case the qualification of such person shall not be proved to the satisfaction of the court the Mayor shall expunge the name of every such person from the said lists, and he shall also expunge from the said lists the name of every person who shall be proved to the court to be dead, and shall correct any mistake or supply any omission which shall be proved to the court to have been made in any of the said lists in respect of the name or place of abode of any person who shall be included in any such list, or in respect of the local description of his property: provided always, that no person's name shall be inserted by the Mayor in any such list, or shall be expunged therefrom, except in the case of death, unless notice shall have been given as is hereinbefore required in each of the said cases.

"19. And be it enacted, that every Mayor holding any court under this act for the revision of the said lists shall have power to adjourn the same from time to time, so that no such adjourned court shall be held after the 15th day of October in any year, and shall have power to require any overseer, or person having the custody of any book containing any rate made for the relief of the poor during that or any preceding year, in any parish wholly or in part within the borough, to produce the same and allow the same to be inspected at any court to be held for revision of the Burgess Lists, and shall have power to administer an oath to the Town Clerk and to the overseers, and to all persons claiming to be inserted in or making objection to the omission or insertion of any name in any of the said lists, and to all persons objected to in any of such lists, and to all persons claiming to have any mistake in any of such lists corrected, and to all witnesses who may be tendered or examined on either side; and the mayor and assessors shall, upon the hearing in open court, determine upon the validity of such claims and objections, and the Mayor shall, in open court, write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and against any part of the said lists in which any mistakes shall have been corrected, and shall sign his name to every page of the several lists so settled."—pp. 17—20.

For this first year, however, the 20th clause directs that the lists shall be revised by so many barristers as may be deemed necessary for that purpose by the authority empowered to appoint them, namely, the senior Judge, or in case of his absence from the kingdom, the next Judge in the commission of assize for the summer circuit in this year for every county. The appointment is directed to be made before the last day of September. Power is given to the Judge to appoint either one or more barristers to revise the lists for each borough in the county, and the same barrister to revise the lists of more than one borough. The pay of the revising barristers, at the rate of five guineas to each for every day he shall have been employed, over and above his travelling and other expenses, is to be paid out of the borough fund. The revising barristers are by the Order in Council to hold their courts at some time between the 1st and 15th of December (instead of between the 1st and 15th of October, as originally directed); and "shall," says the clause, "for that purpose during this year be in the

place and stead of the Mayor and Assessors, and shall revise the lists of burgesses in this year in the manner hereinbefore enacted concerning the Mayor and Assessors in every succeeding year." It is also enacted that if it shall be made to appear to the appointing Judge that for any cause the lists cannot be revised within the specified period, it shall be lawful for him and he is required to appoint one or more barristers to act in the place of, or in addition to, those originally appointed. The business of the first half of the month which is now about to begin will therefore consist of the proceedings in the courts of the revising barristers.

The 21st clause enacts that "every person authorized by law to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath shall make such affirmation in every case in which by this act an oath is required to be taken; and if any person taking any oath required by this Act, or making any affirmation instead of taking such oath, shall wilfully swear or affirm falsely, such person shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be punished accordingly."

By the 22nd clause the town-clerk is ordered to cause the Burgess Lists thus revised to be fairly and truly copied into one general alphabetical list in a book, with every name therein numbered according to the order in which they stand, and he shall cause such book to be completed on or before the 22nd of October in every year (but on or before the 22d of December in this year). "And every such book," it is added, "in which the said Burgess Lists shall have been copied shall be the Burgess Roll of the burgesses of such borough entitled to vote, after the passing of this Act, in the choice of the Councillors, Assessors, and Auditors of such borough as hereinafter mentioned, at any election which may take place in such borough between the 1st day of November inclusive in the year wherein such Burgess Roll shall have been made and the 1st day of November in the succeeding year."

By the 23rd clause it is directed that copies of the Burgess Roll thus completed shall be every year printed, and sold at a reasonable price.

The 25th clause enacts that the persons to be elected as magistrates in every borough shall be a Mayor, a certain number of Aldermen, and a certain number of Councillors. These persons altogether for the time being shall be called the Council of such borough. The Aldermen shall be in all cases one-third of the number of the Councillors: and on the 31st of December in this year (as it is directed by the order in Council, instead of the 9th of November as originally appointed) the Councillors first to be elected under the provisions of the Act, and on the 9th of November in the year 1838, and in every third succeeding year, the council for the time being of every borough shall elect from the councillors, or from the persons qualified to be councillors, the aldermen of such borough, or so many as shall be needed to supply the places of those who shall then go out of office according to the provisions now to be stated; namely, "that upon the 9th day of November, 1838, and in every third succeeding year one-half of the number appointed as aforesaid to be the whole number of the aldermen of every borough shall go out of office, and the councillors immediately after the first election of aldermen shall appoint who shall be the aldermen who shall go out of office in 1838, and thereafter those who shall go out of office shall always be those who have been aldermen for the longest time without re-election: Provided always, that any aldermen so going out of office may be forthwith re-elected, if then qualified as herein provided; provided also, that the aldermen so going out of office shall not be entitled to vote in the election of a new alderman."

The 26th, 27th, and 28th clauses also relate to the election and retirement of the aldermen, and are as follows:—

"26. And be it enacted, That the mayor and aldermen shall, during their respective offices, continue to be members of the council of the borough, notwithstanding anything hereinafter contained as to councillors going out of office at the end of three years.

"27. And be it enacted, That whenever any extraordinary vacancy shall take place in the office of alderman of any borough, the council of such borough shall, within ten days after such vacancy shall occur, on a day to be fixed by the mayor for such purpose, elect some other fit person to fill such vacancy, either from the councillors or from the persons qualified to be councillors; and in any case any councillor shall be elected to fill the office of alderman, then the vacancy which will thereby be occasioned in the council shall be filled up at the time and in the manner hereinafter directed; and every person so elected an alderman to fill an extraordinary vacancy shall hold such office until the time when the person in the room of whom he was chosen would regularly have gone out of office, and he shall then go out of office, but may be re-elected if then qualified as herein provided.

"28. And be it enacted, That no person being in holy orders, or being the regular minister of any dissenting congregation, shall be qualified to be elected or to be a councillor of any such borough or an alderman of any such borough; nor shall any person be qualified to be elected or to be a councillor or an alderman of any such borough who shall not be entitled to be on the Burgess List of such borough, nor unless he shall be seised or possessed of real or personal estate or both to the following amount, that is to say, in all boroughs directed by this Act to be divided into four or more wards to the amount of 1000*l.*, or be rated to the relief of the poor of such borough upon the annual value of not less than 30*l.*, and in all boroughs directed to be divided into less than four wards, or which shall not be divided into wards, to the amount of 500*l.*, or be rated to the relief of the poor in such borough upon the annual value of not less than 15*l.*, or during such time as he shall hold any office or place of profit, other than that of mayor, in the gift or disposal of the council of such borough, or during such time as he shall have directly or indirectly, by himself or his partner, any share or interest in any contract or employment with, by, or on behalf of such council; provided that no person shall be disqualified from being a councillor or alderman of any borough as aforesaid by reason of his being a proprietor or shareholder of any company which shall contract with the council of such borough for lighting or supplying with water or insuring against fire any part of such borough."

The 30th clause enacts that the annual election of councillors shall take place on the 1st of November in every year; but by the order in council it is directed that for this present year the election shall be on the 26th of December. Then come the following six clauses, directing how many new councillors are to be elected every year, and the manner in which the election is to be conducted:—

"31. And be it enacted, that upon the 1st day of November, 1836, and in every succeeding year, one-third part of the number appointed as aforesaid to be the whole number of the councillors of every borough shall go out of office; and in the said year 1836, those who shall go out of office shall be the councillors who were elected under the provisions of this Act by the smallest numbers of votes in this present year, and in the next year, 1837, those who shall so go out of office shall be the councillors who were elected under the provisions of this Act by the next smallest numbers of votes in this present year, the majority of the whole council always determining, when the votes for any such persons shall have been equal, who shall be the persons so to go out of office; and thereafter those who shall so go out of office shall always be the councillors who have been for the longest time in office without re-election: provided always, that any councillors so going out of office shall be capable of being forthwith re-elected, if then qualified as herein provided.

"32. And be it enacted, that every election of councillors within any borough, according to the provisions of this Act, shall be held before the mayor and assessors for the time being of such borough, except as herein is excepted; and the voting at every such election shall commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon, and shall finally close at four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, and shall be conducted in manner following: that is to say, every burgess entitled to vote in the election of councillors may vote for any number of persons not exceeding the number of councillors then to be chosen, by delivering to the mayor and assessors or other presiding officer as hereinafter mentioned a voting paper, containing the christian names and surnames of the persons for whom he votes, with their respective places of abode and descriptions, such paper being previously signed with the name of the burgess voting, and with the name of the street, lane, or other place in which the property for which he appears to be rated on the Burgess Roll is situated.

"33. And be it enacted, that at every election in any borough, the mayor, if it shall appear to him expedient for

taking the poll at such election, may cause booths to be erected, or rooms to be hired and used as such booths, for different parts of such borough, which may be situated either in one place or in several places, and shall be so divided and allotted into compartments as to the mayor shall seem most convenient; and the mayor shall appoint a clerk to take the poll at each compartment, and shall cause to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of each of the said booths the names of the parts for which such booth is respectively allotted; and no person shall be admitted to vote at any such election except at the booth allotted for the part wherein the house, warehouse, countinghouse, or shop occupied by him as described in the Burgess Roll may be; but in case no booth shall happen to be provided for any particular part as aforesaid, the votes of the persons voting in respect of property situate in any part so omitted, may be taken at any of the said booths; and public notice of the situation, division, and allotments of the different booths shall be given two days before the commencement of the poll by the mayor; and in case the booths shall be situated in different places, the mayor may appoint a deputy to preside at each place: provided also, that no election shall be holden under this Act in any borough in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship. * * *

"34. And be it enacted, that no inquiry shall be permitted at any election as to the right of any person to vote as a burgess in any borough, except only as follows; that is to say, that the mayor or other presiding officer shall, if required by any two burgesses entitled to vote in the same borough, put to any voter at the time of his delivering in his voting paper, and not afterwards, the following questions, or any of them, and no other:—

"1. Are you the person whose name is signed as *A. B.* to the Voting Paper now delivered in by you?

"2. Are you the person whose name appears as *A. B.* on the Burgess Roll now in force for this borough, being registered therein as rated for property described to be situated in ? [*Here specify the street, &c., as described in the Burgess Roll.*]

"3. Have you already voted at the present election?

And no person required to answer any of the said questions shall be permitted or qualified to vote until he shall have answered the same; and if any person shall wilfully make a false answer to any of the questions aforesaid, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be indicted and punished accordingly.

"35. And be it enacted, that the mayor and assessors shall examine the Voting Papers so delivered as aforesaid, for the purpose of ascertaining which of the several persons voted for are elected; and so many of such persons, being equal to the number of persons then to be chosen, as shall have the greatest number of votes, shall be deemed to be elected; and in case of an equality in the number of votes for any two or more persons, the mayor and assessors, or any two of them, shall name from amongst those persons for whom the number of votes shall be equal so many as shall be necessary to complete the requisite number of persons to be chosen; and the mayor shall cause the Voting Papers to be kept in the office of the town clerk during six calendar months at the least after every such election; and the town clerk shall permit any burgess to inspect the Voting Papers of any year, on payment of 1*s.* for every search; and the mayor shall publish a list of the names of the persons so elected not later than two o'clock in the afternoon of the day next but one following the day of such election, unless such day be Sunday, and then on the Monday following.

"36. And be it enacted, that if the mayor of any borough shall, at the time when it shall be necessary to execute the powers and duties herein provided with respect to elections, be dead, absent, or otherwise incapable of acting, the council of such borough shall forthwith elect one of the aldermen to execute all such powers and duties in the place of the mayor; provided that in the first election of councillors and of auditors and assessors, as hereinafter provided, the mayor alone shall act with all the powers and duties hereinbefore enacted concerning the mayor and assessors jointly in such elections."

The 37th clause relates to the election of the two auditors and the two assessors, who are to be chosen by the burgesses from the persons qualified to be councillors. The day for the first election of these officers is appointed to be the 1st of March, 1836; and for every subsequent election the same day of every following year. The manner of the election is to be the same as for the councillors. No burgess is to be elgible as auditor or assessor who shall be of the council, or who shall be the town-clerk or treasurer of the borough.

By the 38th clause it is directed that all the existing members of the Common Council or governing body of the borough shall go out of office, and their whole powers and duties shall cease, immediately after the declaration of the first election of councillors under the new Act; "provided nevertheless," it is added, "that any of the persons so going out of office shall be eligible to be elected and appointed under the provisions of this Act: provided also, that such persons as are justices of the peace in any borough at the time of passing this Act shall continue to have and exercise all the powers which at the time of passing this Act they have as justices of the peace, until the 1st day of May, 1836, and no longer: provided also, that in every borough in which, by statute, charter, bye-law, or custom, any election is appointed to be holden between the day of passing this Act and the 1st of May next, both inclusive, no such election shall be holden, but every person holding office in any borough on the day of the passing of this Act shall continue to hold such office, and to have all the powers, and be subject to all the duties, and be entitled to the same salary and fees of such office, as he would have had and been if elected to such office between the day of the passing of this Act and the said 1st of May until the time provided by this Act for him to go out of office; any statute, charter, bye-law, or custom notwithstanding."

The next series of clauses relate to the division of certain boroughs into wards.

By clause 39th the revising barristers are authorised and required to divide the boroughs into the number of wards which the Act assigns to each within six weeks after the passing of the Act, and to determine and set out the extent, limits, and boundary lines of such wards, and what portions of the borough shall be included therein respectively. This division being transmitted to one of the Secretaries of State, and published in the London Gazette, shall, if approved by his Majesty, by advice of his Privy Council, be deemed to be in force till altered by authority of Parliament. If not approved by the King in Council, it shall still be in force "until such time as his Majesty shall by advice of his Privy Council, upon further information and report from such barristers, definitively approve the division of such borough into wards in manner hereinbefore mentioned."

After having fixed the boundaries of the wards, the barristers are directed by the 40th clause to apportion the whole number of councillors assigned by the Act to the borough among the several wards; "and in assigning," the clause goes on, "the number of councillors to each ward, the said barrister or barristers shall, as far as in his or their judgment he or they may deem it to be practicable, have regard as well to the number of persons rated to the relief of the poor in such ward as to the aggregate amount of the sums at which all the said persons shall be so rated: provided always, that the number of councillors assigned to each ward shall be a number divisible by three; and a copy of the particulars of the number of councillors so assigned to the several wards of the borough shall be forthwith transmitted to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and, subject as aforesaid to the approval of his Majesty by the advice of his Privy Council, shall be published in the London Gazette, and another copy of such particulars shall be delivered to the town clerk of the borough, to be by him safely kept among the public documents of such borough; and the number of councillors so assigned to each ward of such borough shall, after such publication as aforesaid, be the number to be elected in such ward, and shall so continue until the same shall be altered by authority of Parliament: provided always, that if his Majesty, by the advice of his Privy Council, shall not approve the number of councillors so assigned to each ward, such publication shall nevertheless be made, and the number of councillors so assigned to each ward of such borough by such barrister shall be the number to be elected in such ward at any election of councillors under this Act until such time as his Majesty shall, by advice of his Privy Council, upon further information and report from such barrister, definitely approve such assignment in manner hereinbefore mentioned."

The following clauses direct the manner of proceeding in the ward elections:—

"43. And be it enacted, that in every case in which there shall be a division into wards of any borough, the burgesses of every such ward, and none others, shall on the day fixed for the first election of councillors, separately elect from the persons qualified to be councillors the whole number of councillors assigned to such ward respectively; and on the 1st day of November in any subsequent year shall separately elect from the persons qualified to be councillors one third part of the whole number of councillors assigned to such ward, and on the 1st day of March next after the first election of councillors in such ward, and in every subsequent year, shall separately elect from the persons qualified to be councillors two assessors for such ward; and every such ward election first after such division into wards of any such borough shall be held before the mayor, or the person whom the mayor for the time being shall appoint in that behalf, and in every succeeding year shall be held before the alderman whom the councillors chosen in such ward shall yearly appoint in that behalf and before the two assessors of such ward; and the assessors who shall hold the Court for revising the Burgess Lists with the mayor shall be the assessors of the mayor's ward, and the votings and others proceedings in all other respects at such ward elections shall be conducted in the same manner as at elections for councillors or assessors respectively by the burgesses of the whole borough, and the alderman and assessors of each ward shall have the same powers in regard to elections in their ward as the mayor and assessors for the whole borough if not divided into wards; and every person so elected a councillor or assessor in such ward shall hold his office for the same time that he would have held it if he had been elected by the burgesses of the whole borough and if the number elected in such ward had been the whole number for the borough.

"44. And be it enacted, that every burgess of any borough shall be entitled to vote in the election of the councillors and assessors to be chosen within that ward in which the property of such burgess for which he appears to be rated on the Burgess Roll for the time being of such borough shall appear to be situated, and not otherwise; and if any burgess shall be rated in respect of distinct premises in two or more wards, then he shall be entitled to be enrolled and to vote in such one of the said wards as he shall select, but not in more than one.

"45. And be it enacted, that for the purpose of better ascertaining who are the burgesses of any such ward, the Burgess Roll of every borough so divided into wards shall thenceforward be made out, by or under the direction of the town clerk, in alphabetical lists of the burgesses in each ward, to be called "Ward Lists."

"46. And be it enacted, that if at any election of councillors or assessors for any borough any person shall be elected a councillor or assessor in more than one of the wards of such borough, he shall within three days after notice thereof choose, or in his default the mayor shall declare, for which one of the said wards such councillor or assessor shall serve, and such person shall thereupon be held to be elected in that ward only which he shall so choose, or which the mayor shall so declare."

In case of any extraordinary vacancy in the office of councillor, auditor, or assessor for any borough, it is directed by the 47th clause, that on a day to be fixed by the mayor, or in the case of a councillor or assessor, where the borough shall have been divided into wards, by the alderman of the ward in which such vacancy has happened (such day not to be later than ten days after such vacancy), the burgesses entitled to vote shall elect another qualified person to supply the vacancy. The mode of election shall be the same as that provided for the ordinary election of councillors; and the person elected shall hold his office until the time at which the person in room of whom he was chosen would regularly have gone out. The clause concludes, however, with the proviso, "That after the full number to be regularly elected of the councillors in any year shall have declared their acceptance of office no new election of councillors shall be made by reason of such extraordinary vacancy, unless the number of councillors remaining after such vacancy shall not exceed two-thirds of the whole number of the council of such borough."

By clause 48 it is enacted, "That if any mayor, alderman, or assessor of any borough who shall be in office at the time herein appointed for the revision by them of the Burgess List under this Act, or for any election of councillors, assessors, or auditors which he is required to conduct or declare, shall neglect or refuse to revise such Burgess List, or to conduct or declare such election as aforesaid, every such mayor, alderman, and assessor shall for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds; and if any overseer of any parish wholly or in part within any borough shall neglect or refuse to make out, sign, and deliver such list as aforesaid, or if the town clerk of any borough shall neglect or refuse to receive, print, and publish such lists as aforesaid, or if any such overseer or town clerk shall refuse to allow any such list to be perused by any person having right thereunto, every such overseer and town clerk respectively for every such offence shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds; and the said penalties hereby in such case imposed shall be recovered, with full costs of suit, by any person who will sue for the same within three calendar months after the commission of such offence, by action of debt or on the case in any of his Majesty's superior courts of record; and the money so to be recovered shall, after payment of the costs and expences attending the recovery thereof, be paid and apportioned as follows; that is to say, one moiety thereof to the person so suing, and the other moiety thereof to the treasurer to be appointed by virtue of this Act, to be by him applied in aid of the borough fund herein-after mentioned."

The 49th clause is that which provides for the annual election of the mayor. By the order in council, it is directed that the first election of mayor in each borough shall take place on the 1st of January, 1836; but for the future, the clause enacts, that "On the ninth day of November in every year the council of the borough shall elect out of the aldermen or councillors of such borough a fit person to be the mayor of such borough, who shall continue in his office for one whole year; and in case a vacancy shall be occasioned in the office of mayor of the borough during such year by reason of any person who shall have been elected to such office not accepting the same, or by reason of his dying or ceasing to hold the said office, the council of the borough shall within ten days after such vacancy elect out of the aldermen or councillors of the said borough another fit person to be the mayor thereof for the remainder of the then current year."

The 50th and and 51st clauses are as follows:—

"And be it enacted, That no person elected a mayor, alderman, or councillor, or auditor or assessor, for any borough, shall be capable of acting as such, except in administering the declaration herein-after contained, until he shall have made and subscribed before any two or more such aldermen or councillors (who are hereby respectively authorized and required to administer the same to each other) a declaration in the words or to the effect following; that is to say,

'I, A. B., having been elected mayor [*or* alderman, councillor, auditor, or assessor] for the borough of do hereby declare, that I take the said office upon myself, and will duly and faithfully fulfil the duties thereof according to the best of my judgment and ability; [*and in the case of the party being qualified by estate say,* "And I do hereby declare that I am seised or possessed of real or personal estate, or both, [*as the case may be*] to the amount of one thousand pounds, or five hundred pounds [*as the case may require*] over and above what will satisfy all my debts']." And that every alderman who shall have made and subscribed the foregoing declaration in respect of estate shall once in every period of three years, if required in writing so to do by any two members of the council, make and subscribe a declaration that he is qualified to the same amount in real or personal estate, or both, as the case may then be, as the amount mentioned in the declaration originally made and subscribed by him: Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to dispense with the obligation of any person to make and subscribe the declaration provided and enjoined by an Act made in the ninth year of his late Majesty George the Fourth, intituled, 'An Act for repealing so much of several Acts as imposes the necessity of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a qualification for certain offices and employments.'

"And be it enacted, That every person duly qualified who shall be elected to the office of alderman, councillor, auditor, or assessor, and every councillor who shall be elected to the office of mayor for any borough, shall accept such

office, to which he shall have been elected, or shall in lieu thereof pay to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of such borough such fine not exceeding fifty pounds in case of aldermen, councillors, auditors, or assessors, and such fine not exceeding one hundred pounds in case of mayor, as the council of such borough by a bye-law to be made as hereinafter provided shall declare in their behalf; and such fine if not duly paid shall be levied by the warrant of any justice having jurisdiction within the borough, who is hereby required on the application of the council to issue the same, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the person so refusing to accept office, with the reasonable charges of such distress; and every such person so elected shall accept such office by making and subscribing the declaration herein before mentioned within five days after notice of his election, otherwise such person shall be liable to pay the said fine as for his non-acceptance of such office, and such office shall thereupon be deemed to be vacant and shall be filled up by a fresh election to be made in the manner hereinbefore mentioned: Provided always, that no person disabled by lunacy or imbecility of mind, or by deafness, blindness, or other permanent infirmity of body, shall be liable to such fine as aforesaid: Provided also, That every person so elected to any such office who shall be above the age of sixty-five years, or who shall have already served such office respectively, or paid the fine for not accepting such office respectively, within five years from the day on which he shall be so re-elected, shall be exempted from accepting or serving the same office if he shall claim such exemption within five days after notice of his election: Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend to compel the acceptance of any office or duty whatever in any borough by any military, naval, or marine officer in his Majesty's service on full pay, or by any officer or other person employed and residing within any of his Majesty's dockyards, victualling establishments, arsenals, or barracks."

By the 52nd clause it is provided that if any person holding the office of mayor, alderman, or councillor shall be declared bankrupt, or shall apply to take the benefit of any Insolvent Act, or shall compound by deed with his creditors, or being mayor shall be absent for more than two calendar months, or, being an alderman or councillor for more than six months at a time, unless in case of illness, he shall immediately become disqualified and shall cease to hold office, and shall besides, in the case of absence, be liable to the same fine as if he had refused to accept his office.

The 53rd clause relates to the penalties to which persons acting without being qualified subject themselves, and is as follows:—

"53. And be it enacted, that if any person shall act as mayor, alderman, or councillor, or auditor, or assessor for any borough without having made the declaration hereinbefore required in that behalf, or without being duly qualified at the time of making such declaration, or after he shall cease to be qualified according to the provisions of this Act, or after he shall have become disqualified to hold any such office, he shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of 50*l.*, such sum to be recovered, with full costs of suit, by any person who will sue for the same within three calendar months after the commission of such offence, by action of debt or on the case in any of his Majesty's superior courts of record; and every person so sued by reason of not being so qualified in respect of estate shall prove that he was at the time of so acting qualified as aforesaid, or otherwise shall pay the said penalty, without any further evidence being given on the part of the plaintiff than that such person has acted as the mayor, or as alderman, councillor, auditor, or assessor (as the case may be) of such borough: provided always, that it shall be lawful for any defendant, by judge's order to be obtained within fourteen days after he shall have been served with process in any such action, to require the plaintiff to give security for costs; and in such case all further proceedings in the said cause shall be stayed until the plaintiff shall give security to the satisfaction of the proper officer of the court for the costs of such action in case a verdict shall pass for the defendant, or the plaintiff shall become nonsuit, or discontinue such action, or if upon demurrer or otherwise judgment shall be given against the plaintiff; and the defendant shall in either of such cases recover his full costs, as between attorney and client: provided also, that no such action shall be brought except by a burgess of such borough, nor unless the burgess bringing the same shall, within fourteen days after the commission of the offence, have served a notice in writing personally upon the party committing such offence of his intention to bring such action; and in case the plaintiff in any such action shall obtain a verdict, the money so to be recovered shall, after payment of the costs and expenses attending the recovery thereof, be paid and apportioned as follows: that is to say, one moiety thereof to the person so suing, and the other moiety thereof to the treasurer to be appointed by virtue of this Act, to be by him applied in aid of the borough fund: provided always, that all acts and proceedings of any person in possession of the office of mayor, alderman, councillor, auditor, or assessor, and acting as a mayor, alderman, councillor, auditor, or assessor, shall, notwithstanding such disqualification or want of qualification, be as valid and effectual as if such person had been duly qualified."

The next three clauses refer to the punishment of persons convicted of bribery at borough elections. We give them also in full:—

"54. And be it enacted, that if any person who shall have or claim to have any right to vote in any election of mayor, or of a councillor, auditor, or assessor of any borough, shall, after the passing of this Act, ask or take any money or other reward by way of gift, loan, or other device, or agree or contract for any money, gift, office, employment, or other reward whatsoever, to give or forbear to give his vote in any such election; or if any person, by himself or any person employed by him, shall, by any gift or reward, or by any promise, agreement, or security for any gift or reward, corrupt or procure, or offer to corrupt or procure, any person to give or forbear to give his vote in any such election; such person so offending in any of the cases aforesaid shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of 50*l.* of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered, with full costs of suit, by any one who shall sue for the same, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster; and any person offending in any of the cases aforesaid, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall for ever be disabled to vote in any election in such borough, or in any municipal or parliamentary election whatever in any part of the United Kingdom, and also shall for ever be disabled to hold, exercise, or enjoy any office or franchise to which he then shall or at any time afterwards may be entitled as a burgess of such borough, as if such person was naturally dead.

"55. And be it enacted, that if any person offending in any of the cases aforesaid shall, within the space of twelve months next after such election as aforesaid, discover any other person offending in any of the cases aforesaid, so that such other person be thereon convicted, such person so discovering, and not having been before that time convicted of any such offence, shall be indemnified and discharged from all penalties and disabilities which he shall then have incurred by any such offence.

"56. Provided always, and be it enacted, that no person shall be made liable to any incapacity, disability, forfeiture, or penalty by this Act imposed, in any of the cases aforesaid, unless prosecution be commenced within two years after such incapacity, disability, forfeiture, or penalty shall be incurred, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

The 58th clause directs that the council of every borough shall appoint a town clerk, to hold his office during pleasure, on the 9th of November in the present year. No alteration of this day is mentioned in the order in council; but it is probably intended that the clerk shall be elected on the some day with the aldermen, namely, on the 31st of December. The council are also every year to appoint a treasurer, who is not to be the same person with the clerk.

The only other clauses of the Act which it is material for us to notice for our present purpose are the 61st and the 69th. The former directs that on the 1st of November in every year (but on the 1st of January, 1836, in the first instance, by the order in council), "in the city of Oxford, in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and in the counties of the cities of Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Coventry, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, and York, and in the counties of the towns of Caermarthen, Haverfordwest, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Poole, and Southampton, the council shall

appoint a fit person to execute the office of sheriff, with the like duties and powers as the sheriff or the person filling the office of sheriff in the said town and counties respectively would have had if this Act had not passed; and every person who, at the time of the passing of this Act, shall hold the office or execute the duties of sheriff in the said town and counties respectively shall continue to hold and execute the same until the first appointment of a sheriff therein under the provisions of this Act, and no longer."

The 69th clause, which directs in what manner the council is to proceed in deciding upon the questions that come before it, is as follows:—

"69. And be it enacted, that all acts whatsoever authorised or required by virtue of this Act to be done by the council of such borough, and all questions of adjournment or others that may come before such council, may be done and decided by the majority of the members of the council who shall be present at any meeting held in pursuance of this Act, the whole number present at such meeting not being less than one-third part of the number of the whole council; and at all such meetings the mayor, if present, shall preside; and the mayor, or, in the absence of the mayor, such aldermen, or in the absence of all the aldermen, such councillor as the members of the council then assembled shall choose to be the chairman of that meeting, shall have a second or casting vote in all cases of equality of votes; and minutes of the proceedings of all such meetings shall be drawn up and fairly entered into a book to be kept for that purpose, and shall be signed by the mayor, alderman, or councillor presiding at such meeting; and the said minutes shall be open to the inspection of any burgess at all reasonable times on payment of a fee of one shilling: provided always, that previous to any meeting of the council held by virtue of this Act a notice of the time and place of such intended meeting shall be given three clear days at least before such meeting, by fixing the said notice on or near the door of the town hall of the borough; and such notice shall be signed by the mayor, who shall have power to call a meeting of the council as often as he shall think proper; and in case the mayor shall refuse to call any such meeting after a requisition for that purpose signed by five members of the council at the least shall have been presented to him, it shall be lawful for the said five members to call a meeting of the council by giving such notice as is hereinbefore required in that behalf, such notice to be signed by the said members instead of the mayor, and stating therein the business proposed to be transacted at such meeting; and in every case a summons to attend the council, specifying the business proposed to be transacted at such meeting, signed by the town clerk, shall be left at the usual place of abode of every member of the council or at the premises in respect of which he is enrolled a burgess, three clear days at least before such meeting; and no business shall be transacted at such meeting other than is specified in the notice: provided always, that there shall be in every borough four quarterly meetings in every year at which the council shall meet for the transaction of general business, and no notice shall need to be given of the business to be transacted on such quarterly days; and the said quarterly meetings shall be holden at noon on the 9th day of November, or if the 9th day of November shall fall on a Sunday on the day following, and at such hour on such other three days before the 1st day of November then next following as the council at the quarterly meeting in November shall decide; and the first business transacted at the quarterly meeting in November shall be the election of mayor."

As already mentioned, however, it is directed by the order in council that the first election of mayor in each borough shall take place on the 1st of January, 1836; and it is also ordered that the first quarterly meeting of the council shall be holden at noon on the same day.

In the 31st Number of the 'Companion' (for July, 1835) we gave a list of the boroughs which it was then proposed that the Act should comprehend, with the number of councillors which the bill at that stage allotted to each. The schedules, however, were afterwards considerably changed, and we therefore now present them as they are appended to the Act, omitting only the legal style of the corporate body of each borough.

BOROUGHS WHICH ARE TO HAVE A COMMISSION OF THE PEACE.

SECTION I.—Parliamentary Boundaries to be taken until altered by Parliament.

Borough.	Wards.	Alder.	Council.
Aberystwith	0	4	12
Abingdon	0	4	12
Barnstaple	2	6	18
Bath	7	14	42
Bedford	2	6	18
Berwick-upon-Tweed	3	6	18
Bridgewater	2	6	18
Bridport	2	6	18
Bristol	10	16	48
Bury St. Edmunds	3	6	18
Cambridge	5	10	30
Canterbury	3	6	18
Cardiff	2	6	18
Carlisle	5	10	30
Carmarthen	3	6	18
Carnarvon	2	6	18
Chester	5	10	30
Chichester	2	6	18
Colchester	3	6	18
Dartmouth	0	4	12
Denbigh	0	4	12
Derby	6	12	36
Devizes	2	6	18
Dorchester	0	4	12
Dover	3	6	18
Durham	3	6	18
Evesham	0	4	18
Gateshead	3	6	18
Gloucester	3	6	18
Guilford	0	4	12
Harwich	0	4	12
Haverfordwest	0	4	12
Hereford	3	6	18
Hertford	0	4	12
Ipswich	5	10	30
Kendal	3	6	18
Kidderminster	3	6	18
Kingston upon-Hull	7	14	42
King's Lynn	3	6	18
Leeds	12	16	48
Leicester	7	14	42
Leominster	0	4	12
Lichfield	2	6	18
Liverpool	16	16	48
Macclesfield	6	12	36
Monmouth	0	4	12
Neath	0	4	12
Newark	3	6	18
Newcastle-under-Lyne	2	6	18
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	7	14	42
Newport, (Monmouth)	2	6	18
Newport (Isle of Wight)	2	5	18
Northampton	3	6	18
Norwich	8	16	48
Nottingham	7	14	42
Oxford	5	10	30
Pembroke	2	6	18
Poole	2	6	18
Portsmouth	7	14	42
Preston	6	12	36
Reading	3	6	18
Ripon	0	4	12
Rochester	3	6	18
St. Alban's	0	4	12
Sarum, New	3	6	18
Scarborough	2	6	18
Shrewsbury	5	10	30
Southampton	5	10	30
Stafford	2	6	18
Stamford	2	6	18
Stockport	7	14	42
Sudbury	0	4	12
Sunderland	7	14	42
Swansea	3	6	18
Tiverton	3	6	18
Truro	2	6	18
Warwick	2	6	18
Wells	0	4	12
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis	2	6	18
Wigan	5	10	30
Winchester	3	6	18
Windsor	2	6	18
Worcester	6	12	36
Yarmouth, Great	6	12	36

SECTION 2.—Municipal Boundaries to be taken until altered by Parliament.

Borough.	Wards.	Alder.	Council.
Andover	0	4	12
Banbury	0	4	12
Beverley	2	6	18
Bewdley	0	4	12
Bideford	0	4	12
Boston	3	6	18
Brecon	0	4	12
Bridgenorth	0	4	12
Clitheroe	0	4	12
Chesterfield	0	4	12
Congleton	3	6	18
Coventry	6	12	36
Deal	2	6	18
Doncaster	3	6	18
Exeter	6	12	36
Falmouth	0	4	12
Grantham	0	4	12
Gravesend	2	6	18
Grimsby	0	4	12
Hastings	3	6	18
Kingston-upon-Thames	3	6	18
Lancaster	3	6	18
Lincoln	3	6	18
Liskeard	0	4	12
Louth	2	6	18
Ludlow	0	4	12
Maidstone	3	6	18
Maldon	0	4	12
Newbury	0	4	12
Oswestry	2	6	18
Penzance	2	6	18
Plymouth	6	12	36
Pontefract	0	4	12
Richmond	0	4	12
Romsey	0	4	12
St. Ives	0	4	12
Saffron Walden	0	4	12
Stockton	2	6	18
Tewkesbury	0	4	12
Walsall	3	6	18
Welchpoole	0	4	12
Wenlock	3	6	18
Wisbeach	2	6	18
York	6	12	36

None of the boroughs in the following lists are divided into Wards, and each of them is to have 12 Councillors and 4 Aldermen.

BOROUGHS which are not to have a Commission of the Peace, unless on Petition and Grant.

SECTION 1.—Parliamentary Boundaries to be taken until altered by Parliament.

Arundel; Beaumaris; Cardigan; Llanidloes; Pwllheli; Ruthin; Tenby; Thetford; Totnes.

SECTION 2.—Municipal Boundaries to be taken until altered by Parliament.

Basingstoke; Beccles; Blandford Forum; Bodmin; Buckingham; Calne; Chard; Chippenham; Chipping Norton; Daventry; Droitwich; Eye; Faversham; Folkestone; Flint; Glastonbury; Godalming; Godmanchester; Helstone; Huntingdon; Hythe; Launceston; Llandovery; Lyme Regis; Lymington; Maidenhead; Marlborough; Morpeth; Penryn; Retford, East; Rye; Sandwich; Shaftesbury; South Wold; South Molton; Stratford-on-Avon; Tamworth; Tenterden; Torrington; Wallingford; Wycombe, Chipping.

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

[Continued from Number 35.]

THE commencement of Lord North's administration (in February, 1770) found the public mind fast getting tired, and preparing to subside into comparative indifference, after the excitement and agitation of the preceding nine years. This feeling grew more marked every day, as it became evident that the country had at last obtained a government the several members of which were at least united among themselves, and as the prospect of further Cabinet revolutions for the present gradually disappeared. In both Houses of Parliament, also, the new Ministers were from the first supported by large majorities, and for some years the Opposition went on dwindling in numbers every session. Little of the union which held together the Ministerial forces reigned in that camp. There the adherents of the Marquis of Rockingham, those of Lord Chatham, and those of George Grenville, formed rather three several parties than one, after all the pains that had been taken to reconcile and combine them. While each body thus fought separately and in its own way, (not to speak of a number of stragglers who had no standard at all to rally around,) the advantage of the most splendid power in debate which had ever appeared upon the theatre of Parliament, was almost wholly thrown away and lost. But on the other side, also, it is to be remembered, there was an eminent share of the same kind of strength. It was a great time; and Mansfield, North, Jenkinson, Wedderburn, Thurlow, were no unworthy antagonists of Chatham, Camden, Burke, Grenville, Dunning, Barré, Saville, and Charles Fox, who had no sooner given full promise of the wonderful orator he was to become than he joined the same brilliant ranks.

The great measure of Lord North's first session was the bill which he obtained leave to bring into the House of Commons on the 5th of March, for the repeal of all the duties imposed upon articles imported into the American colonies by the act of 1767, with the exception of the duty upon tea. The tea-duty, which was only threepence on the pound, and was acknowledged to produce only 16,000*l.* a year, was of course retained merely as an assertion of the rights of the mother country. Governor Pownall moved as an amendment to the motion of the Minister, that this tax should be repealed along with the rest; but even thus early, and upon so momentous a question, the Opposition could not conceal the differences that divided them. Mr. George Grenville, the original projector of the unfortunate scheme of taxing America, and the author of the Stamp Act of 1764, rose immediately after Governor Pownall, and declared that he should not vote upon either side. The Ministers, he said, had ever since the Cabinet which succeeded that of Lord Rockingham, proceeded in American affairs without plan or system of any kind—neither relinquishing the right of raising a revenue from the colonies, nor exercising it to any useful purpose. "I cannot," he added, "on the one hand suppose that a partial repeal of the present tax act will reduce the colonies to temper, nor, on the other, by forcing Government into a total repeal, can I suppose we have sufficiently provided for the dignity of the nation." Among the Minister's bands also, however, there was at least some affectation of dissent from his proposition. "Lord Barrington and Mr. Welbore Ellis," says the 'Parliamentary History,' "opposed the amendment, and also the original motion; they were not for taking off the tax at all, as they saw no probability that this would quiet North America; they therefore were for putting the act in execution absolutely, and by all the powers of this nation united." On a division the amendment was rejected by a majority of 204 to 142.

A succession of further efforts on the American question, by the Opposition in both Houses, followed during the remainder of the session, but they were all unsuccessful. On the 9th of April Alderman Trecothick moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American duty on tea, but was defeated by a majority of 80 to 52. Soon after this, news arrived of a formidable attack which had been made upon the King's troops stationed there by the people of Boston, on the 5th of March, the very day on which the Minister had brought forward what he intended as the conciliatory and healing measure of the partial repeal. On the 8th of May Mr. Burke moved in the House of Commons a series of resolutions condemning the whole course of the Ministerial proceedings with regard to America, but they were thrown out by a majority of 199 to 79. The same fate attended a similar motion made in the Lords on the 18th of the same month by the Duke of Richmond, only 26 peers having voted for, and 60 against it.

The Opposition were this session signally defeated also on another great question, the reversal of the vote of the Commons incapacitating Mr. Wilkes and seating Colonel Luttrell as member for Middlesex. On the 1st of May Lord Chatham presented to the House of Lords a bill for effecting that object; but when their Lordships came to vote, the Contents were only 43, and the Non Contents 89.

On the 18th of May parliament was prorogued.

The next session opened on the 13th of November. The same day Mr. George Grenville, whose health had been for

some time declining, died; "and this event," says the 'Annual Register,' "having left that particular party of which he was considered as the principal without a leader, some of the most distinguished of them, and who appeared the most sanguine in opposition, went over to the court. Those of the old Whigs who are called the Rockingham party, which was the strongest and most numerous of those in opposition, still continued to act upon the same principles on which they set out; and those who were particularly attached to the Earls of Chatham, Temple, or Shelburne, took a general part with them in most public measures."

In both Houses the Address of thanks was agreed to without a division, though in the Commons the question gave rise to a debate of some length.

The following were the chief divisions which took place in either House before the Chrismas recess. In the Commons, on the 27th of November, a motion which was made by Captain Constantine Phipps to take from the Attorney General the power of filing informations ex-officio, was, after a long debate, rejected by a majority of 164 to 72; and on the 6th of December Mr. Sergeant Glynn's motion for a committee to inquire into the late proceedings of the Judges in Westminster in cases relating to the liberty of the press, was also lost after a debate of great length, the numbers being Ayes 76, and Noes 184. These motions had chiefly a reference to the recent prosecutions of Woodfall and Almon for printing and publishing the famous Letter of Junius to the King, and the charges delivered to the jury at the two trials by Lord Mansfield. The subject is elaborately discussed by Junius in his 41st letter (dated the 14th November this year), which is addressed to Lord Mansfield. In the Lords, on the 5th of December, Lord Chatham again brought forward the subject of the disqualification of Wilkes, with the view of effecting its reversal; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 52 to 20.

In the Speech delivered at the opening of the session, the King had announced to Parliament the recent seizure of the Falkland Islands by the governor of Buenos Ayres, and had intimated that he had made an immediate demand from the Spanish court of satisfaction for that injury. After some negociation the affair was at length settled by the restoration of the islands, and a disavowal by Spain of any particular order having been issued for the seizure, although it was admitted that the governor of Buenos Ayres had had general instructions to act as he had done, and, as was generally belived, a secret arrangement was made that the islands should be eventually given up to Spain. In point of fact, they were evacuated by England about three years after. It is understood that Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, was so disgusted with the disposition shown by his colleagues to accept of this compromise, that he determined to retire from office. He resigned the seals in December, while the negociations were still proceeding; and on the 19th of that month they were given to the Earl of Sandwich, who was succeeded as one of the Postmasters General by the Hon. H. F. Thynne, Lord Weymouth's brother. This, however, was only an interim arrangement, Lord Sandwich being on the 12th of January, 1771, removed to the head of the Admiralty, from which Sir Edward Hawke was removed; and on the 22nd of the same month Lord Halifax being transferred from the Privy Seal to the Secretaryship of State. The Privy Seal was given to Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire. On the following day the Great Seal was taken out of commission, and the Hon. Henry Bathurst, eldest son of Baron (afterwards Earl) Bathurst, was appointed Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Apsley. At the same time Mr. De Grey being made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was succeeded as Attorney General by Mr. Thurlow; and the office of Solicitor General, which the latter left, was bestowed upon Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards Baron Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn. The whole effect therefore of these changes upon the composition of the Cabinet was the substitution of Lords Suffolk and Apsley for Lord Weymouth and Sir Frederick Hawke. The political complexion of the administration remained precisely the same as before.

When the Houses reassembled after the adjournment, the affair of the Falkland Islands was warmly debated in both. The chief discussion in the Commons took place on the 13th of February, when an Address to the King approving of what had been done was carried by a majority of 271 to 157. In the Lords the ministerial address was carried on the following day by a majority of 107 to 38. Junius has made this affair the subject of one of his letters, in which the argument is wound up in the following striking and characteristic words:—"A clear unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not suffer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and, whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth: public honour is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth."

In the course of the remainder of the session the subject of the rights of electors, as affected by the vote which had disqualified Mr. Wilkes, was again brought forward in both Houses. On the 7th of February in the Commons a motion made by Sir George Saville, for leave to bring in a bill to secure the rights of electors, was negatived by a majority of 167 to 103. "One reason," says the Parliamentary History, "the numbers were but small on either side was, that this point having often been debated several paired off, and the question being put before it was expected, many gentlemen were absent in the coffee-houses." In the Lords, on the 30th of April, the Duke of Richmond moved to expunge a resolution which had been passed the preceding session indirectly sanctioning the vote of the House of Commons, and the motion was supported by Lord Chatham; but the ministers made no reply, and it was negatived without a division. On the 1st of May Lord Chatham once more made a vain attempt to carry his point by moving an Address to his Majesty beseeching him to dissolve the parliament, as the only means of ending the contest between the House of Commons and the electors of Middlesex; but after a long debate, which has not been reported, the motion was negatived by a majority of 72 to 23.

This session, however, is remarkable for one of the very greatest victories ever achieved by the popular element of the constitution, the successful assertion and maintenance, after a most severe contest, by the proprietors of newspapers of the right of reporting the debates. Strange as it may appear to us in the present day, it was not till towards the close of the year 1770 that the debates began, for the first time, to appear in the newspapers. They had till then only been given in magazines, and other periodical works published at considerable intervals. The more general attention to public affairs, however, which had recently been excited by various causes, and more especially by the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, and by the Letters of Junius, had suggested to the printers of newspapers the scheme of giving the proceedings of Parliament to the public, not after they had thus become, as it were, matter of history, but from week to week, and from day to day, as they occurred. For this, it is to be observed, is really the important distinction between the mode of reporting now adopted and that which was previously practised. By the old system, the public were indeed informed of what their representatives had done after the discussion was completely over, and the matter to which it had referred settled, at least for the present,—just as they were informed of what had been done in a former reign, or a former century; all power of interfering with or influencing the discussion, either by petitions, or by the exposure of the misstatements or false reasoning employed on either side, or by any other demonstration of opinion, might be said to be taken away. Yet the exercise of such power appears to be contemplated, not only by the spirit of the constitution, but even by all its forms; for why the repeated discussions of every measure, with generally considerable intervals between, which the rules of Parliament require, unless it were intended that members should thus have an opportunity of fully learning the sentiments of their constituents, or of the nation in general, before coming to a final decision, and of availing themselves of all the new information respecting every subject brought before them which the agitation of it without doors may call forth? If not, why are not the members of either House of Parliament rigorously secluded, like a jury, from all communication with the outer world while discharging their functions, and called upon to declare by a single vote a determination upon each case submitted to them, which no re-consideration must shake? There is every reason to believe that the attempt to keep the public out from a knowledge of the debates during their progress, either by prohibiting their publication,

or by locking the doors of the house, is a mere modern usurpation, and that the universal understanding of the constitution in earlier times was entirely consistent with the principle of the existing practice. By the mode now established the Parliament is kept constantly under the actual observation of the country, and no determination can be come to there without the public voice having been allowed its fair opportunity of influencing the legislative vote.

The newspapers first began actually to report the debates as they occurred about January, 1771. On the 8th of February, the subject was brought before the House of Commons, in a motion by Colonel George Onslow (one of the Lords of the Treasury), for calling to the bar two printers, of the names of Thompson and Wheble, who had committed this offence, as it was deemed, against the standing orders of the House. After many unsuccessful attempts had been made to get hold of these two individuals, on the 9th of March, at the request of the House, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension of either of them. On the 12th of the same month, Onslow brought before the House the cases of six more printers, who had offended in the same manner. The discussion which arose lasted till four o'clock on the following morning, and in the course of it the House divided no fewer than twenty-four times. All the efforts of the opposition, however, to weary out the pertinacity of the ministerial majority, by thus contesting the ground with them at every step, were unavailing; the majorities were generally two or three, and sometimes nine or ten, to one; in fact, a large section of the opposition at last withdrew from the struggle altogether, and left the House; and in the course of this night, and a continuation of the battle on the 14th, on which evening twelve more divisions took place, all the accused were finally ordered to attend at the bar. On the 15th, Wheble having been at length caught, was brought before Wilkes, (now one of the aldermen of the city), who immediately discharged him from custody, and made him enter into his recognizance to prosecute the person who had apprehended him at the next sessions. Thompson was in like manner set at liberty by Alderman Oliver, before whom he had been brought up, the same day. On the 16th, Millar, another printer, being brought by one of the messengers of the House of Commons before the Lord Mayor, Crosby, was also at once discharged by that magistrate, who moreover bound him over to prosecute the messenger for assault and false imprisonment at the sessions, and compelled the latter to give bail to answer the charge. These daring acts of defiance of its authority were forthwith, as was to be expected, brought before the House, whose vengeance was now turned away from the printers to the magistrates who had protected them. After various preliminary proceedings on the 25th, or rather about half-past three o'clock on the following morning, a vote, committing Alderman Oliver to the Tower, was carried by a majority of 170 to 38. On the 27th, the committal of the Lord Mayor to the same place of custody was voted by the still larger majority of 202 to 39. On both these occasions, a great many of the members in opposition withdrew altogether. The consideration of the resistance which had been offered to the authority of the House was then resumed; and on the 28th a secret committee of twenty-one members was appointed by the then unusual and solemn process of ballot, "to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the orders of the House, and to consider what further proceedings may be requisite to enforce a due obedience thereto." The Committee sat regularly, and did not make its report till the 30th of April. At last, when this anxiously-expected document was produced, it turned out to consist merely of a long deduction of facts and cases, ending with a recommendation to the House to consider whether it might not be expedient that the House should order that Millar should be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. "The report being read," says the Parliamentary History, "the House burst out into a roar of laughter at the impotency of the conclusion." Mr. Burke compared the deliberations of the Committee to those of the assembly of mice, who came to a resolution that the cat, to prevent her doing any further mischief, should be tied up, but unfortunately forgot to say how the tying up was be managed. Eventually nothing was done in consequence of the Committee's recommendation; and no further attempt was made to prevent the publication of the debates. Thus was established a practice which is now rightly considered to be essential to the effective working of the representative principle, and which the Parliament might in our day as well cease from meeting altogether as set about putting down.

The session ended on the 8th of May.

The death of the Earl of Halifax, on the 8th of June, occasioned another movement in the Cabinet. The vacant Secretaryship of State was now given to the Earl of Suffolk, and the Duke of Grafton was reinstated in the ministry by being appointed to the Privy Seal, which his Lordship left. At the same time the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, vacant by the recent death of Lord Strange, was given to Thomas Villiers, Baron Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, an individual who had spent the greater part of his life in diplomatic services at different continental courts.

The restoration of the Duke of Grafton to a place in the Cabinet seems to have excited more of the rancour of Junius than any other public event which happened during the period over which his letters extend. Looking upon his own attacks as what had principally driven his Grace into retirement, he resents his recall as almost a personal affront, and pours out his indignation against both the new minister and his royal master with a bitterness and fury beyond what he has given way to on any other occasion. In a private note to his printer, sent along with this letter, he expresses himself so well pleased with its execution that if it should fail in producing the sensation he expected, he positively would never write again. The manner in which the king is spoken of in this performance far exceeds in irreverence any thing in the Letter addressed to his Majesty. At the close of his abuse Junius tells the Duke that what he has now written is only the preface to a future correspondence. "The remainder of the summer," he says, "shall be dedicated to your amusement." The remainder of the collection, however, contains only three more letters to his Grace, from whom the writer's attention was immediately called away by an antagonist—the celebrated John Horne Tooke—who did not let him have all the fighting, or all the triumph either, to himself. In one of the other Letters to the Duke he says, "Your Grace's re-appointment to a seat in the Cabinet was announced to the public by the ominous return of Lord Bute to this country. When that noxious planet approaches England, he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him." This notion, which was in those days so generally entertained, of the continued interference of Lord Bute in prompting from behind the throne the management of public affairs, or at least the appointment to places in the government, may now be safely pronounced to have been a mere delusion. It was supported by no proof whatever, and never rested upon any thing beyond the suspicions of public hatred. The facts may be held to be correctly stated in a letter addressed to the newspapers in October, 1778, by Lord Mountstuart, the Earl of Bute's son, in which we find the following explicit declaration: "He (Lord Bute) does therefore authorise me to say, that he declares upon his solemn word of honour that he has not had the honour of waiting on his Majesty but at his levee or drawing-room; nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry in 1765, to the present hour."

Parliament did not re-assemble till the 21st of January, 1772; and the session which then commenced, though the affairs of India and other important subjects gave rise to several long discussions, was scarcely marked by any party contest. Sir George Saville, however, on the 27th of February, repeated in the House of Commons what he called his annual protest against the illegality and injustice of the proceedings of the House in the case of the Middlesex election, by again moving for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually securing the rights of electors throughout the kingdom; and this time the motion was negatived only by a majority of 181 to 135. The session was terminated on the 10th of June, by a speech from the Throne, in which his Majesty began by emphatically expressing the satisfaction he had felt in observing the temper and the prudence which had during the course of it governed all the deliberations of both Houses.

Throughout this session, "administration," says the Annual Register, "had carried everything with such irresistible force, that opposition seemed to be reduced to little

more than a name, and could afford only a weak and unavailing dissent to measures which it was not capable of impeding; whilst its members were weary of fruitless exertions, in which the irregularity was so great as scarcely to admit of a struggle." With respect to parties, it is remarked that the remains of the old Whig and revolution interest, known under the name of the Rockingham party, although there were some actual desertions from them, and a doubtful appearance in a few of those that remained, were in the main rather better united than the rest. "They, in general, continued pertinaciously in their old opposition to the system and measures of the Court, and firm in the support of their leader." The party considered to be particularly attached to Lord Chatham "did not seem nearer to a political arrangement with administration; though they agreed with them in many other measures, or at least in some parts of many of the measures of this session. This circumstance added extremely to the weakness of opposition." It is added, that although several of the late Mr. Grenville's friends, soon after his decease, went over to the Court, some continued on their old ground, and acted occasionally with the other parties dissenting from administration. It is proper to observe that the Annual Register must be considered as having been at this time an organ of the Rockingham party.

In a sarcastic pamphlet, now forgotten, which was published in the present year, under the title of 'A Scheme for the Coalition of Parties, humbly submitted to the Public,' and which is understood to have been a production of Soame Jenyns, who, it may be remembered, occupied one of the places at the Board of Trade, we find the following sketch of the existing state of parties, in which with a good deal of exaggeration there may possibly also be some little truth: —"I have diligently inquired whether our present dissensions have arisen, as formerly, from any differences of opinions, or any contradictory articles in our political creeds; but on the strictest investigation I can find no such differences to exist: parties I see many, but cannot discern one principle amongst them; they are neither Whigs nor Tories, Monarchy-men nor Republicans, High-Church nor Low-Church, Hanoverians nor Jacobites; they have all acted alternately on all these principles as they have served a present occasion, but have adhered to none of them, nor even pretended to profess them; they have all been ready to support government whenever they have enjoyed the administration of it; and almost all as ready to subvert it whenever they were excluded. I see few, very few, who have formed the most distant intentions of destroying the government, or changing the constitution of this country; but I am afraid I see as few who scruple to plunge them both into the most imminent danger rather than be stopped in the wild career of their headlong ambition: from whence it appears to me plainly demonstrable that all our present dissensions are nothing more than an outrageous contest for power and profit, there being no other cause from whence they can possibly be derived." Jenyns's cold nature, however, snug in place, could ill appreciate whatever there might be of really generous and disinterested patriotism in the efforts which were directed against himself and his colleagues.

In the latter part of this year some changes were again made in the persons composing the ministry, on the Earl of Hillsborough resigning his posts of Secretary of State for the Colonies and head of the Board of Trade. "This resignation was not, however," says the Annual Register, "the effect of any difference with the Court, that nobleman having quitted his places in great good humour, and being immediately after promoted to an English earldom. But as those measures which had caused the greatest dislike and uneasiness in the Colonies, had originated in Lord Hillsborough's administration, this change was by many considered as conciliatory with respect to America." The conciliatory appearance was kept up by the admission into the Cabinet as Lord Hillsborough's substitute in both his places of the Earl of Dartmouth, who however is described by the writer in the Register as "having upon this occasion quitted his old friends in opposition." William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth, was the grandson of the first Earl, who had been Secretary of State with Harley and St. John in Queen Anne's Tory ministry of 1710 (See *Companion*, No. 25, p. 272), and nephew of the late Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the administration of the Duke of Newcastle in 1754 (See *Companion*, No. 27. pp. 315 and 316), again with Mr. Pitt in 1756 (See *Companion, ibid.*) and lastly, with Mr. Pitt a second time from 1757 to 1761, when he was dismissed by the influence of Lord Bute (See *Companion*, No. 28, p. 339). Lord Dartmouth, who had been First Lord of Trade in the administration of Lord Rockingham, in 1765, had not recently taken any prominent part in parliamentary proceedings; but in the few lists which have been preserved his name occasionally occurs as one of the minority.

Franklin, writing from London, on the 17th of August, 1772, to his son, Governor Franklin, says, "At length we have got rid of Lord Hillsborough, and Lord Dartmouth takes his place, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of America. You will hear it said among you (I suppose) that the interest of the Ohio planters has ousted him; but the truth is, what I wrote to you long since, that all his brother ministers disliked him extremely, and wished for a fair occasion of tripping up his heels; so seeing that he made a point of defeating our scheme, they made another of supporting it, on purpose to mortify him, which they knew his pride could not bear. . . . The King, too, was tired of him, and of his administration, which had weakened the affection and respect of the colonies for a royal government, with (of?) which (I may say it to you) I used proper means, from time to time, that his Majesty should have due information and convincing proofs. . . . The regard Lord Dartmouth has always done me the honour to express for me, gives me room to hope being able to obtain more in favour of our colonies upon occasion, than I could for some time past." (Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 328. See also pp. 329, 330, 332, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 343, 346, 347, 348, 349, 366, 367, 368)

About the end of October, Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt (grandson of the Chancellor of that name) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of Viscount Townshend, who was made Master General of the Ordnance. At the same time Sir Jeffrey Amherst (afterwards Baron Amherst) was substituted as Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance for General Conway, who was promoted to the government of the Island of Jersey.

Parliament reassembled on the 26th of November, but the affairs of the East India Company again formed the great business of this session, and scarcely any thing occurred in the course of it which it is necessary to notice for our present purpose. On the 26th of April, 1773, however, the House of Commons was again somewhat suddenly called upon to repeat its annual vote upon Wilkes's case. That gentleman having made his appearance in one of the rooms belonging to the Clerk of the House, and sent for one of the Lord Steward's deputies to swear him in as one of the members for Middlesex, upon the deputy refusing, sent a paper into the House to Mr. Sergeant Glynn, complaining of this treatment. On this the Sergeant immediately moved that Mr. Wilkes should be called in to make good the matter of his complaint. A short debate arose, which was followed by a division, when the numbers appeared to be 124 for, and 227 against the motion. "Whilst the numbers who divided in favour of Mr. Sergeant Glynn's motion were in the lobby," continues the Parliamentary History, "encouraged by the fullness of the House, and the numbers who rather unexpectedly joined them, they, after a short consultation, determined to take advantage of the favourable circumstance. Accordingly Sir George Saville was applied to, who readily agreed that then was the proper time to renew his motion relative to the rights of election. Sir George therefore gave notice in the lobby that the moment the division was finished he should make another for leave to be given to bring in a bill for more effectually securing the rights of the electors of Great Britain, with respect to the eligibility of persons to serve in Parliament." The motion was accordingly made, and after some debate a division took place, when 151 members voted for the motion, and 201 against it. It will be observed that only one member more voted upon this than the former division, although the difference between the majority and minority, which had last time been 103, was now brought down to 50.

The session was brought to a close on the 1st of July.

In the month of January in this year on the death of the Earl of Lichfield, the place of Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners was given to George Edgecumbe, Baron Edgecumbe (afterwards Viscount Mount-Edgecumbe and

Valletort, and Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe), who about two years before had been made one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland in room of Earl Cornwallis. Mr. Jenkinson succeeded to the vacant Vice-Treasurefship, and his place of one of the Lords of the Treasury was given to Mr. Charles Fox. Mr. Fox's successor at the Board of Admiralty was Mr. Thomas Bradshaw, the Duke of Grafton's Private Secretary, immortalized, as well as his patron, by the spite of Junius.

The expectation of a speedy dissolution of the Parliament, the sixth session of which was now over, was by this time acting to increase the apathy of the public mind, which the exhaustion consequent upon protracted excitement had produced. "Administration," says the Annual Register, had long carried everything with so triumphant a sway, that no common event seemed capable of endangering its security. . . . . The minds of the people, engaged by a succession of new objects, were no longer quite so powerfully affected by what had so strongly agitated them for some years past. This remission in the spirit of the people at large had given a facility for desertions of several from the opposition to the Court, which was liberal in rewarding those seasonable conversions. There was no very material change in the state of parties, except that general decline of strength in the opposition. The Rockingham party still continued whole and unbroken, and invariably pursued its original line of public conduct. By this means, though constantly overpowered, it notwithstanding continued in some degree formidable. The same differences of opinion or affections, and the same occasional junction in others, still took place between them and that which was attached to the Earl of Chatham."

A new movement in American affairs however was now rapidly preparing the revival, in a more formidable shape than ever, of the greatest question of the times. The irritation of the fatal tea duty, left in force when all the other taxes were repealed by the act of 1770, had served to keep up in the minds of the colonists feelings of dissatisfaction and alienation, which in all probability would otherwise have gradually died away. For some time this temper did not break out into any acts of violence, but the smothered flame lay ready to burst forth at the provocation of the first accident. At last in June of this year his Majesty's armed schooner the Gaspee, which had been stationed at Providence in Rhode Island to prevent smuggling, was suddenly attacked in the night by 200 armed men, who compelled the officers and men to go on shore, and then set the vessel on fire. The excitement produced by this exploit was kept up and greatly inflamed by the publication immediately after of the famous letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, which Dr. Franklin had recently sent over from England. These letters, addressed to parties in England who were expected to lay them before the ministers, and who actually did so, represented the disposition of the colonists in the worst light, and recommended the severest measures as necessary for the eradication of the bad spirit which was affirmed to prevail in the country. The manner in which they had come into Franklin's hands was long a mystery; it is now known that they were given to him by a Dr. Williamson, who stole them from the government office where they had been deposited. Franklin conceived it to be his duty, in his capacity of agent for the colonists, immediately to transmit them to America. He appears from his correspondence (see Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 338) to have dispatched them on the 2nd of December, 1772. It was some time after their arrival in America, however, before the resolution was taken to publish them. When the publication took place, the fiercest indignation at what was called the treachery of the writers was aroused over the whole of America. A resolution was forthwith proposed in the House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts for an address to the Crown praying the removal of both Hutchinson and Oliver, and carried by a majority of 82 to 12. This Address appears to have been received in London towards the end of August.

Such was the alarming state, as far as known, of affairs in America, when the British Parliament was again called together on the 13th of January, 1774. The King's speech, however, contained no allusion to what had occurred; and the Address of thanks appears scarcely to have given rise to any debate in either House. Sir George Saville brought forward his annual motion about the rights of electors this year on the 15th of March. He said that "he flattered himself he had this year some glimmering hopes of carrying his question; that the House was not now in that heat and ferment in which it formerly was; that truth had now a chance of prevailing: that the House was now in cool deliberation, and no doubt this question, by being calmly considered, might meet with friends, who in times more heated than the present were of another opinion; that this was not a question meant to stagger and overthrow administration, such a thing was the farthest from his thoughts; that he himself would wish to grant the Ministry a long lease of their possessions, if this great object might prevail." The debate ended with the rejection of the motion by a majority of 206 to 147.

Very soon after this arrived the news of the daring outrage perpetrated at Boston in Massachusetts, on the 18th of the preceding December, when a number of the inhabitants entered some ships which were lying in the harbour laden with tea belonging to the East India Company, and threw the tea overboard to prevent its being landed. A message from his Majesty, calling upon Parliament to enable him to take measures for putting down a spirit of disorder which had risen to so alarming a height, was presented to the House of Commons by Lord North, on the 7th of March.

The introduction of three measures of severe coercion and punishment, directed against the people of Boston and the province of Massachusetts, quickly followed. On the 14th of March was brought forward what was called the Boston Port Bill, enacting the immediate removal of the Boston Custom-house establishment, and the discontinuance of all landing or shipping of goods at that port. On the 28th, the minister announced the bill for the government of Massachusetts Bay, by which its charter was taken from that province, and nearly everything of a popular character which had hitherto formed part of its constitution swept away, and replaced by the untempered despotism of the crown. And on the 15th of April, the House was called upon for leave to bring in a bill for the administration of justice in Massachusetts, by which the governor of that colony was empowered to send all persons charged with capital offences there to take their trial in England.

As far as is to be gathered from the Parliamentary History, the Boston Port Bill, although debated at several of its stages, was not met on its passage through the House by any opposition which was carried the length of a division. Of its reception in the House of Lords nothing is recorded. The Massachusetts Government Bill was also debated at its various stages in the Commons; and on the question of the third reading a division took place, when the numbers were 239 for the bill, and only 64 against it. In the Lords, the third reading was carried by a majority of 92 to 20. There were also divisions on the Massachusetts Justice Bill, in both Houses; when the question was carried in the Commons by a majority of 127 to 21, and in the Lords by a majority of 43 to 12.

Besides these three bills, which were first brought forward in the House of Commons, two others of an auxiliary character were in the course of the session introduced by Ministers into the House of Lords;—one for providing quarters for the troops on service in North America, the other for giving a new constitution to the province of Quebec. The third reading of the former was carried, in the Lords, by a majority of 57 to 16; and the second reading of the latter, in the Commons, by a majority of 105 to 29. Many other divisions also took place upon the Quebec Bill in Committee in the House of Commons, in most of which the ministerial majorities were equally overwhelming.

The only other discussion of the session which it is necessary that we should notice, is that which took place in the Commons on the 19th of April, on a motion made by Mr. Rose Fuller, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take into consideration the American duty upon tea. It was upon this occasion that Mr. Burke delivered his celebrated Speech on American Taxation, to which we have several times referred, undoubtedly one of the most splendid displays ever made in the House of Commons. Mr. Fuller's motion was negatived by a majority of 182 to 49.

It is stated that the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was strictly enforced by the House of Commons during the progress of the several American Coercion Bills.

It was in the course of these discussions that Mr. Fox, having been abruptly dismissed from his seat at the Trea-

sury Board, in the beginning of March, first joined that band of the friends of liberal politics, whose great leader he was soon to become, and, in the words of Gibbon, in the conduct of a party to approve himself equal to the conduct of an empire.

This important session ended on the 22nd of June, and on the 30th of September following the Parliament was dissolved. As the term of seven years to which it might legally have been protracted would not have expired till May, 1775, what was considered to be its premature extinction occasioned much surprise. The Annual Register says that no similar instance had occurred since 1746, and that that was the only occasion on which such a measure had been resorted to during the long reign of George II. But, in point of fact, George II.'s first Parliament, which was dissolved in April, 1734, had to a day precisely the same duration with that now brought to a close, namely, six years, four months, and twenty-one days. In more recent times we have been accustomed to Parliaments of all dimensions.

Up to the announcement of the dissolution, if we may trust to this authority, the country generally continued to take little interest in political transactions. "An unexampled supineness," it is affirmed, "with regard to public affairs prevailed among the great body of the people. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who must be the first to feel and the last to lament any sinister events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foresight and provident sagacity in whatever regards their interest, seemed now to be sunk in the same carelessness and inattention with the rest of the people."

The note, however, having been sounded for another clear stage and a new trial of strength, it is admitted that some of the elections were contested with extraordinary perseverance and ardour, and that, according to "some of those who are curious in attending to such observations, notwithstanding the surprise and the shortness of the time, a greater number of the old members were thrown out than was common at general elections." Of course Wilkes, already elected Lord Mayor of London, was now returned for Middlesex without opposition; and, of course also, the ministers did not renew their contest with that doughty demagogue.

The new parliament assembled on the 29th of November. The King's Speech now began by adverting to the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law which continued to prevail in America. It was by this time known, indeed, that the coercive measures of the last session had only exasperated the temper they had been expected to quell, and that the colonies were now in a state of all but actual insurrection. General Gage, who had been sent out as Governor and Commander of the Forces to Massachusetts, soon found himself nearly stripped of all authority whatever. Associations for mutual support had been generally entered into throughout the provinces. Finally, a provincial assembly held at Concord, in Massachusetts, had deliberately proceeded to pass resolutions for arming the people. Every thing indicated a resolute determination on the part of the colonists to proclaim their independence rather than yield submission to the late acts of the British parliament.

The Address was warmly debated in both Houses, and was not carried in either without a division. But in the Lords a ministerial majority of 46 was opposed only by a minority of 9 (all of whom, however, immediately affixed their names to a strong protest against the fatal colonial policy of the government); and in the Commons the numbers were almost as unequally divided, being only 73 against the original Address, and 264 in favour of it.

Meanwhile the leaders of the popular cause in America were also proceeding in their course with the unfaltering resolution of men who had made up their minds to peril every thing on the issue. While the Congress of the province of Massachusetts, or the Provincial Congress as it was called, still sat at Concord, a General or Continental Congress, composed of deputies from nearly all the provinces, assembled on the 26th of October at Philadelphia. The great act of this first or preliminary Congress was a Declaration of Rights which it drew up and issued, claiming a total exemption from any species of internal taxation imposed by the British Parliament. This document, however, still professed an allegiance to the mother country, and even admitted the right of the latter to enact such laws as it chose for the regulation of trade. The Congress afterwards drew up an address to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the West India colonists, calling upon them to unite and co-operate with their continental brethren in their present struggle, another of the same tenour to the inhabitants of Canada, and finally an earnest petition to the king beseeching, ere it should be too late, the redress of their grievances. Having then passed a resolution appointing another Congress to meet, if necessary, at the same place in May, they dissolved themselves after a session of about eight weeks.

Accounts of the most important of these events had reached the English ministry by the time that parliament re-assembled after the Christmas recess. On the 19th of January, 1775, the first day on which the House of Commons met, a voluminous collection of papers relating to them was laid on the table by his Majesty's command. When the same papers were presented the following day to the Upper House, Lord Chatham immediately rose, and concluded a long speech by moving that an Address should be presented to his Majesty beseeching him to withdraw the troops from Boston forthwith, but the motion was rejected by a majority of 68 to 18. On the 1st of February the same noble lord made another attempt to recall the legislature from the disastrous course upon which it appeared to be bent, by presenting a bill for settling the troubles in America, which while it asserted the supreme authority of Great Britain, provided for the removal of all the actual grievances of which the colonists complained; but he was again defeated by a majority of 61 to 32. On the following day, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the papers, after a long and animated debate, agreed upon an Address to his Majesty in the terms proposed by ministers by a majority of 304 to 105. The question was again debated at great length on the 6th, when the Report of the Committee was brought up; and this time the division was 288 for ministers and 105 against them. "The principal men both days," says Gibbon, in a letter to Mr. Holroyd, "were Fox and Wedderburn, on the opposite sides; the latter displayed his usual talents; the former, taking the vast compass of the question before us, discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies dreaded." Previous to the debate of the 2nd, "the avenues leading to the House," says the 'Parliamentary History,' "were so extremely crowded that there was not room for the members to pass. Complaint being made, the lobby and galleries were cleared, and none were allowed to remain, the Irish members excepted." The second debate lasted till half-past two in the morning.

The Address thus agreed upon by the Commons having been communicated to the Lords for their concurrence, the question was amply debated by their Lordships on the 7th. The result was that the Address was carried by a majority of 104 to 29. It expressed the opinion of Parliament that a rebellion actually existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay,—declared that the two Houses never could so far desert the trust reposed in them as to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over all the dominions of the crown vested in the three branches of the British Legislature, and besought his Majesty to take the most effectual measures to enforce obedience to the laws,—assuring him, in the most solemn manner, that it was the fixed intention of the two Houses to stand by him against all rebellious attempts in the maintenance of his rights and their own.

This Address may be regarded as amounting to a declaration of war against the Americans. It was so considered when the news of its adoption reached the colonies. On the day after it had been presented to the King, namely, on the 10th of February, another penal measure was brought forward by Lord North, in the shape of a bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the New England provinces; and this new bill also was carried through all its stages in both Houses by the usual majorities. At the same time a considerable addition was voted to the forces both by sea and land.

Soon after, namely, on the 20th, what was designated by his Lordship a proposition for conciliating the differences with America, but which was, in reality, only a device for seducing such of the provinces as might be taken in by it from the general confederacy, was laid before the House by Lord North, in the form of a resolution, that Parliament would forbear to levy any internal taxes upon any colony which should undertake of itself to make proper provision

for the several expenses of its administration. This scheme was received with no encouragement from the Opposition, and produced no effect in America. In the course of a few weeks another bill was brought in, and passed, to restrain the trade of the southern colonies, in the same manner as the Act already mentioned had restrained that of the northern.

On the other hand, every proposition of a really conciliatory or healing character was rejected by large majorities. On the 22nd of March, Mr. Burke, in another speech of extraordinary power, which has also been published, submitted to the House of Commons a series of thirteen resolutions, recommending the repeal of all the late obnoxious Acts. When the first resolution was proposed from the chair, 78 members voted for it, and 270 for the previous question. On the 17th of May, in the Lords, a motion by Lord Camden, to repeal the Quebec Government Act, was negatived by a majority of 88 to 28. A similar motion, proposed in the House of Commons on the following evening, by Sir George Saville, was supported by 86 members, but opposed by 174. Several other discussions, which took place upon American affairs, and which we cannot notice, terminated, all of them, in the same discomfiture of the friends of moderation and peace, and in the same triumphant success, for the moment, of the advocates of violent, and, as the issue proved, fatal courses.

The only other great party question which was brought forward in the course of the session, was that of the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, by the last Parliament. On the 22nd of February, Wilkes himself brought this subject before the House of Commons, by moving that the resolution by which he had been declared incapable of sitting should be expunged from the Journals. The debate which ensued was marked by one or two curious passages. Wilkes, in his speech, had imputed to Lord North a declaration, that if any other candidate had only six votes, he should be member for Middlesex; on which Lord Stanley corrected the honourable member, and stated that it was his father, the late Lord Strange, who had made that declaration. General Fitzroy then rose, and said, that Wilkes was likewise mistaken in attributing his expulsion to Lord North; the real author of the measure was his brother, the Duke of Grafton, who was then at the head of the Ministry. But the most remarkable speech was that delivered by Captain Luttrell, a younger brother of the Colonel. He observed, that situated and connected as he was, he could not give a silent vote upon the question; "but," he continued, "as I ever wish to observe a consistency in my conduct, so I must express that detestation here I have uniformly done without doors, of every illegal proceeding respecting the Middlesex election. Sir, I shall not contend for the impropriety of Mr. Wilkes's expulsion; but as he was eligible in the eye of the electors to be again returned for Middlesex, I never can reconcile it to my ideas of right, how a person not possessed of the suffrages of a majority of legal freeholders, could, by a vote of this House, become a legal member; therefore I have constantly lamented that no arguments of mine, or of the real friends to the Colonel, could prevent him from undertaking, or prevail with him to relinquish, an act which I have ever considered of the greatest injury to the public. But when the Colonel undertook this ministerial job, it was upon the fullest confidence and assurance of being returned by a majority of legal votes. Sir, he never meditated the violation of the sacred right of election, but he was unfortunately doomed to be the vehicle through which the machinations of a certain faction were to be carried into execution; and if he has been suspected of Quixotism in the head, I trust he never will be guilty of Stewardism at heart." The motion was negatived by a majority of 239 to 171. Both Captain Luttrell and his younger brother, Temple Luttrell, a barrister at law, voted in the minority. Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, also voted and spoke on the same side. Another vote which Wilkes had was that of Gibbon, who, in general, was among the steadiest of the Ministers' supporters. He says himself, in a letter to Mr. Holroyd, "I was a patriot; sat by the Lord Mayor (Wilkes), who spoke well, and with temper; but before the end of the debate fell fast asleep."

On the 26th of May, Parliament was prorogued; his Majesty commencing his speech with a cordial expression of his entire satisfaction with the conduct of both Houses during the session.

POLLING AT ELECTIONS ACTS.

ACTS FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH REFORM ACTS.

5 & 6 Will. IV. caps. 36 & 78—passed 25th Aug., and 9th Sept., 1835.

THE Act 5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 36, amends so much of the English Reform Act as relates to the time of keeping open the poll at contested elections in boroughs. At all contested elections in boroughs, or towns, or cities or towns which are counties of themselves, the time of keeping open the poll is limited to *one day*—to last, if necessary, from eight o'clock till four. The polling-booths are to be so divided, as that not more than 300 electors shall be allotted to poll in each; and if a candidate, or his proposer or seconder, being electors, shall so require, they are to be divided so as that not more than 100 shall be allotted to poll in each—but the expense of this latter arrangement is to fall on the party or parties requiring it. The oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, or any other oath in lieu of them, are not to be permitted to be required of electors. Liverymen of London may vote in any booth allotted to the district where they own or rent the premises, by virtue of which they have a title to vote, and they may give in their vote either as liverymen, or as owner or tenant of premises. The sheriff or returning-officer has power to adjourn the nomination of candidates, or the business of the poll, in case of riot or disturbance.

The Act 5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 78, makes similar provision with respect to limiting the time of keeping open the poll to one day, and of dividing the booths, at all contested elections in burghs or districts of burghs in Scotland.

The sheriff is to endorse on the back of the writ the day on which he received it, and within two days thereafter is to announce the time of election, which is not to be less than four nor more than ten days after receipt of the writ. But from this provision, the districts of burghs comprehending Kirkwall, Wick, Dornoch, Dingwall, Tain, Cromarty, Ayr, Irvine, Campbeltown, Inverary, and Oban, are excepted. Where a poll takes place for a district of burghs situated in different counties, the poll books at the final close of the poll are to be sealed up, and transmitted to the returning-officer by the sheriff or sheriff's substitutes.

Any freeholder, whose rights are preserved by the Reform Act, may apply to the sheriff to remove his name from the district list to the county list, which can be done after one month's notice; where a liar and life-renter are registered in respect of the same freehold, they must both concur in the application. The vote of a liar of a freehold is not to be reckoned at any election where the life-renter has voted.

The sheriffs composing the court of appeal constituted by the Reform Act, may assemble at the different circuit towns on such day as they may fix between the fifteenth and twenty-fifth days of September in each year, whether the circuit courts for this and the succeeding years shall have been held prior to these dates or not: and where such court shall consist of four sheriffs, the sheriff against whose judgment an appeal is brought can have no voice in the determination.

Neither of these Acts affects the provisions of the English or Scotch Reform Acts as respects county elections.

ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF UNNECESSARY OATHS.

IN No. 21 of the 'Companion,' will be found an abstract of the Report of the Lords' Committee on the subject of the abolition of unnecessary oaths. An Act, based on the recommendations of that Report, was introduced during the late session, and passed (the 5 Will IV. c. 8.); but an informality was overlooked in it, by which some of its provisions were unintentionally made to have an *ex post facto* effect. The Act did not receive the Royal Assent until the 12th of June last, and magistrates were, by the 12th clause in it, prohibited from administering or receiving voluntary oaths or affidavits from the 1st of June. There were other objections to the clause, as in abolishing voluntary oaths or affidavits, no provision was made for such as were required to give validity to written instruments, proof of debts, or other matters, by which, as appeared from some of the police reports in the newspapers, great inconvenience was

experienced almost immediately after the passing of the act. Another act was therefore passed to repeal the previous one, and to extend its provisions, which received the Royal Assent on the 9th of September, and came into operation on the 1st of October last. The following is an abstract of it—it is the 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 62.

A declaration is to be substituted by the Lords of the Treasury for all oaths, solemn affirmations, or affidavits, hitherto required in the public departments, relating to the collection of revenues, auditing of accounts, &c., &c. A copy of such declaration as may be agreed upon by the Lords of the Treasury, is to be published in the London Gazette, and to come into operation in twenty-one days after publication, and no oath afterwards can be administered.

Declarations are also to be substituted in lieu of oaths in the following cases:—

Churchwardens and sidesmen, on entering office. The oath on quitting office is abolished.

In all trusts relating to turnpikes, roads, lighting, paving, watching, or improving any town or place.

In the taking out of patents.

In the business of pawnbrokers.

On the transfer of stock at the Bank of England, or relating to the loss, mutilation, or defacement of Bank Notes or Post Bills.

In matters relating to the recovery of debts in British Colonies, &c., under the 5 Geo. II. c. 7, and 54 Geo. III. c. 15.

In attesting the execution of any will, codicil, or deed; and in all suits on behalf of his Majesty in any court of law or equity relating to debts or accounts.

Where voluntary oaths or affidavits have been required to give validity to written instruments, a declaration is to be substituted—but justices are prohibited from administering or receiving any voluntary oath or affidavit in matters of which they have no control by statute, except where they may relate to the preservation of the peace or the prosecution of offences, or where an oath may be required by the laws of any foreign country to give validity to instruments designed to be used in such country.

All corporate bodies who have power by law to administer oaths, &c., may substitute a declaration.

The Act, however, does not affect the taking of the oath of allegiance, nor the administering or taking of any oath in judicial proceedings in courts of justice.

The same penalties which are annexed to the taking of false oaths in certain cases are annexed to the making of a false declaration; and in all cases under the Act, where declarations are substituted for oaths, any person making or subscribing a false declaration is held to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The same fees are to be payable on the making of declarations as on the taking of oaths.

The Lords of the Treasury are (as we have already stated) to prescribe the form of the declaration to be used in the public departments—and corporate bodies may prescribe what declaration they will substitute for such oaths as they have hitherto administered—but in all other cases the following is to be used:—

"I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely believe, That and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the provisions of an Act made and passed in the year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An Act to repeal an Act of the present Session of Parliament, intituled, An Act for the more effectual abolition of Oaths and Affirmations," &c., &c.

LETTERS PATENT AMENDMENT ACT.

5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 83.—Passed 10th Sept. 1835.

By this Act, any person who has obtained Letters Patent for any invention, may enter with the clerk of the patents in either of the three kingdoms, a disclaimer of any part of his specification, or a memorandum of any alteration in it; which disclaimer or memorandum is to be deemed to be part of such letters patent in all courts whatever. The Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, or Lord-Advocate (as the case may be), without whose fiat the disclaimer or alteration cannot be enrolled, may require the party applying to advertise the alteration in such manner as shall be thought fit.

In disputed cases, respecting the originality of any claim to an invention or discovery, if a jury by a verdict shall find that the party who has obtained letters patent, has not an original claim to the invention or discovery which he has patented, or if the patentee or his assigns shall discover that some other person had, unknown to them, invented or used the same before the date of the patent, the matter may be referred by petition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, for consideration; and if the committee are of opinion that the patentee believed himself to be the original inventor, and that the invention was not publicly used before the date of the patent, the patent may be confirmed, or new letters patent granted. But notice must be served on the opposing party, who is entitled to be heard before the committee against the confirmation of the patent.

In any action or suit at law respecting a patent, if a verdict pass in favour of the patentee or his assigns, the Judge may grant a certificate, which, on the event of a second trial respecting the same patent, may be given in evidence; and if a second verdict is passed in favour of the patentee or his assigns, he or they shall be entitled to have treble costs, unless the Judge who tries the second action certifies that treble costs should not be given.

Any person intending to apply for the prolongation of the term of a patent, must give notice of his intention by advertising three times in the 'London Gazette,' once in each of three London papers, and three times in a country paper published nearest to where he resides; and any person may enter a caveat at the Council Office. Should the matter be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, both parties may be heard by counsel and witnesses for and against the application. If the decision be in favour of the patentee, the term of the patent may be extended for any period not exceeding seven years.

In actions respecting patents, plaintiff and defendant must file notices of such objections as they mean to rely on at the trial; and in taxing the costs of any action, regard is to be had to such part of the case as has been proved at the trial, and the costs of each part of the case shall be given as either party has succeeded or failed therein.

The penalty for imitating the name, stamp, mark, or device, of any patentee, without consent, or in any mode interfering with patented rights, is fifty pounds for each offence. This does not apply to stamping the word "patent" on any thing for which a patent, formerly obtained, has expired.

MARRIAGE AMENDMENT ACT.

5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 54.—Passed 31st Aug. 1835.

This Act declares that all marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity which have been celebrated before the passing of the Act are valid, and are not to be voidable by any sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court, unless pronounced in a suit depending at the time of the Act passing. But this is not to affect marriages between persons within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

All marriages which shall hereafter be celebrated between persons within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity, are to be absolutely null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

The Act does not extend to Scotland.

DUTIES ON TEA.

By the 5 and 6 Will. IV. c. 32, it is enacted, that the various rates of duties on teas imposed by the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 101, are repealed; and that from and after the 1st of July, 1836, a uniform rate of duty of 2*s.* 1*d.* on each pound of tea, is to be collected.

ACT FOR THE REDUCTION AND REGULATION OF STAMPS AND ASSESSED TAXES.

5 and 6 Will. IV. cap. 64; 9th Sept. 1835.

All deeds, bonds, or other instruments made in Ireland for the purpose of submitting matters in dispute to arbitration, awards thereupon, are exempted from stamp duty

The stamp duties on policies of assurance on lives exceeding 100*l.* are reduced in Great Britain of on insurances not exceeding 50*l.*, the duty by from 50*l.* to 100*l.* it is to be 5*s.*

The Commissioners of the treasury are authorized to compound with the East India Company for the stamp duties on India bonds. Transfers in England of the territorial debt of the East India Company are to be chargeable with a stamp duty of 30*s.* only; and letters of attorney for voting on the election of East India directors are exempted from duty.

Members of any of the Inns of Court may be admitted in any of the other inns duty free.

The Commissioners of the treasury may appoint such number as they shall think fit of the distributors and sub-distributors of stamps to be collectors of the land and assessed taxes in Scotland, such collectors giving security; and all bonds, bills, securities, &c. entered into by them in pursuance of their office, are to be free from stamp duty.

The land tax in Scotland is to be collected and paid under the same rules and regulations as the assessed taxes.

The sum of 3*l.* 10*s.* per annum is to be charged on race horses in lieu of former duties.

The exemption granted to farmers from the duty on one riding horse by 4 and 5 Will. IV. c. 73, is explained to extend only to such occupiers of farms or estates under the rent or value specified in that act as obtain their livelihood principally by husbandry; and the exemption granted to certain officers by the 52 Geo. III. c. 96, for one male servant being a soldier, is extended to such number of servants being soldiers as may be allowed to each officer by the regulations of the service.

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

New Churches.—The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioners for building New Churches, states, that since the last Report, four churches and chapels have been completed, at Bollington, in the parish of Presbury, in the county of Chester; at Norbury, Stockport, in the same county; at Cross Stones, in the parish of Halifax, county of York; and at Spotland, in the parish of Rochdale, in the county of Lancaster. In these accommodation has been provided for 4506 persons, including 2370 free seats.

On the whole, the Commission has completed 212 churches and chapels, in which provision has been made for 283,555 persons, including 155,938 free sittings, to be appropriated to the use of the poor.

Five churches and chapels are in progress, at Dover, North Shields, Carmarthen, Tredegar, county of Monmouth, and Habergham Eaves, county of Lancaster.

Plans for four chapels have been approved of, to be built at Sheerness, Loughborough, Newport, and in the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster.

Grants are proposed in aid of nine new churches and chapels, the plans for which have not been laid before the Board.

Since the last Report, the Board has afforded, or expressed its willingness to afford, facilities for obtaining additional burial-ground for various parishes which are enumerated in the Report.

The Commissioners also report, that under the powers vested in them by the Church-building Acts, they have, with the necessary consents, re-united the rectorial and vicarial tithes of the parish of Orwell, in the county of Cambridge, and formed the same into a rectory.

The Commissioners propose granting the perpetual patronage to persons building and endowing chapels under the 1st and 2nd Will. IV. c. 38, in the following instances:—At Bude, in Cornwall; Fareham, Hants; Mincham, Strafford; Levens, Westmoreland; Ivybridge, Devon; Ettingshall, Stafford; Brathay, Lancaster; Southend, Essex; Edgbaston, Warwick.

The Exchequer Bills issued up to 28th July, 1835, amount to £1,500,000.

Wine Imported.

Year ended 5th Jan. 1835.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	Gals.	Gals.	Gals.	Gals.
French .	321,424	13,039	28,913	363,376
Cape .	452,625	..	31,673	484,298
Other sorts .	7,800,906	442,331	675,205	8,918,442
Total .	8,574,955	455,370	735,791	9,766,116

Wine Exported.

On the .	125,682	1,786	1,038	128,506
Majesty .	5,495	33	40	5,568
of his entire sat.	1,398,136	80,854	26,057	1,505,047
during the session.	79,313	82,673	27,135	1,639,121

Wine retained for Home Consumption.

Year ended 5th Jan. 1835.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	Gals.	Gals.	Gals.	Gals.
French .	210,831	19,451	30,348	260,630
Cape .	352,015	11,717	160,349	524,081
Other sorts.	4,712,109	355,132	628,592	5,695,833
Total .	5,274,955	386,300	819,289	6,480,544

Total Amount of Duty received thereon.

	£	£	£	£
All sorts .	397,809	104,616	203,212	1,705,638

The rates of duty, per gallon, were, French, 5*s.* 6*d.*; Cape, 2*s.* 9*d.*; other sorts, 5*s.* 6*d.*

Foreign Proof Spirits Imported.

	Proof Gals.	Proof Gals.	Proof Gals.	Proof Gals.
Brandy .	2,985,912	147,835	36,549	3,170,296
Geneva .	300,273	45,081	1,644	347,598
Other sorts.	58,940	..	..	58,940
Total .	3,345,125	193,516	38,193	3,576,834

Quantity admitted for Home Consumption.

Brandy .	1,326,204	37,075	25,360	1,388,639
Geneva .	13,229	6,139	2,264	21,632
Other sorts .	2,140	..	..	2,140
Total .	1,341,573	43,214	27,624	1,412,411

Total Amount of Duty received.

	£	£	£	£
All sorts .	1,508,453	48,616	31,063	1,588,133

The rate of duty per gallon is 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Colonial Proof Spirits Imported.

Total quantity	4,843,690	256,278	30,480	5,130,448

Retained for Home Consumption.

Total quantity	3,207,179	111,169	27,359	3,454,707

Duty Received.

	£	£	£	£
Total quantity	1,443,066	50,126	22,297	1,505,390

The total quantity of proof spirits distilled in the United Kingdom, in the year ended 5th January, 1835, was—

England, from a mixture of malt with unmalted grain, 4,652,838 gallons.

Scotland, from malt only, 5,994,623 gallons; from a mixture of malt with unmalted grain, 3,198,468 gallons. Total, 9,193,091 gallons.

Ireland, from malt only, 62,895 gallons; from a mixture of malt with unmalted grain, 9,307,148 gallons.

Total number of gallons for the United Kingdom 23,216,272.

Quantity imported into England from Scotland, 2,575,316 gallons; amount of duty paid, 965,743*l.*

From Ireland into England, 416,147 gallons; duty paid, 156,055*l.*

From Scotland into Ireland, 550,294 gallons; duty paid, 76,599*l.*

No spirits were imported into Scotland from England or from Ireland during the year ended 5th January, 1835.

PARLIAMENT.

The representation of the borough of Devizes being vacant by the death of Wadham Locke, Esq., a contested election took place on the 25th of November.

Member Returned.	Unsuccessful Candidate.
T. E. Estcourt, Esq., 157.	Captain Dundas, 145.

This is the first borough election in England which has come under the operation of the 5th and 6th Will. IV., c. 36, limiting the time of taking the poll to one day.

The following places are vacant:—

North Northamptonshire, by the death of Lord Viscount Milton:—North Leicestershire, by the death of Lord Robert Manners:—West Gloucestershire, by the elevation of the Marquis of Worcester to the peerage, on the death of his father, the Duke of Beaufort.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Oct. 27 to Nov. 20.

Auctioneers, 2; bill-broker, 1; brassfounder, 1; brewer, 1; builder, 1; button-maker, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; coal-merchants, 2; corn-merchants, 2; drapers, 3; farmer, 1; flax-spinner, 1; factors, 2; grocers, 4; glove-manufacturer, 1; iron-masters, 2; iron-founder, 1; ironmonger, 1; linen-drapers, 3; lodging-house keeper, 1; leather-factor, 1; machine-maker, 1; miller, 1; mercer, 1; picture-dealer, 1; scrivener, 1; salesman, 1; ship-builder, 1; ship-chandler, 1; stationers, 2; tailor, 1; tavern-keeper, 1; timber-merchants, 2; tobacconist, 1; warehouseman, 1; wine-merchants, 2; wood-turner, 1; woollen-draper, 1; upholsterer, 1. Total, 53. Total from the commencement of the year, 890.

No. 44.—Poor-Rates.—Abstract of Returns, showing the Amount of Monies levied by Assessment for Poor-Rate and County Rate, in each County in England and Wales, in the Year ending 25th March, 1834; and also the Amount of Monies expended in the same period; distinguishing the Payments made for the Relief of the Poor, the Sums expended in Law, Removals, &c., and the Sums expended for all other purposes, specifying the Rate of Increase or Diminution as compared with the preceding Year; and stating the Number of Parishes in each County in which Select Vestries have been formed, or Assistant Overseers appointed, pursuant to Act 59 Geo. III., c. 12.

COUNTIES.	Total Money levied by Assessment, 1833-4.	Expended for the Relief of the Poor.	Expended in Suits of Law, Removal of Paupers, &c.	Expended for other Purposes.	Total Money Expended, 1833-4.	Increase per Cent.	Decrease per Cent.	Select Vestries	Assistant Overseers.
ENGLAND.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£. s.	£	£	£	£
Bedford	92,045 18	77,819 1	1,866 8	19,231 6	89,916 15	..	3	7	33
Berks	127,229 11	100,183 3	3,458 5	20,775 19	124,417 7	..	10	21	55
Buckingham	153,040 6	124,200 4	3,140 8	23,645 19	150,986 11	..	7	33	45
Cambridge	120,763 7	96,497 0	3,427 3	18,662 1	118,586 4	..	5	9	41
Chester	138,228 16	92,640 0	8,569 12	37,105 18	138,315 10	..	6	111	121
Cornwall	118,322 9	93,036 11	4,182 6	19,012 11	116,231 8	..	7	30	38
Cumberland	57,919 13	43,067 2	2,315 13	11,894 1	57,276 16	..	8	80	80
Derby	107,836 19	72,720 13	4,163 8	31,232 12	108,116 13	..	5	56	86
Devon	250,270 4	210,825 8	7,507 8	26,539 0	244,871 16	..	7	88	109
Dorset	102,615 11	84,293 0	2,634 15	11,914 19	98,842 14	..	7	19	46
Durham	107,648 4	79,398 16	5,245 3	20,391 18	105,035 17	..	2	85	73
Essex	291,010 2	239,946 7	6,898 3	39,484 9	286,328 19	..	10	23	107
Gloucester	205,024 12	161,448 19	7,063 10	33,992 13	202,505 2	..	9	41	90
Hereford	67,266 17	56,683 0	2,244 16	9,354 16	68,282 12	..	6	39	62
Hertford	108,189 16	85,799 13	2,056 19	19,720 12	107,577 4	..	6	12	45
Huntingdon	45,500 8	35,844 2	1,146 5	7,472 13	44,463 0	..	9	10	28
Kent	418,785 13	343,878 9	15,339 11	65,430 14	424,648 14	..	7	41	188
Lancaster	423,770 0	253,404 18	15,775 11	133,191 17	402,372 6	..	8	197	267
Leicester	133,811 17	100,856 16	5,472 1	28,502 8	134,831 5	..	12	51	43
Lincoln	228,238 2	161,073 12	3,674 5	62,055 7	231,803 4	..	5	102	106
Middlesex	939,890 6	582,412 3	20,427 0	313,678 12	916,517 15	..	10	15	74
Monmouth	37,706 13	27,626 1	2,557 4	7,219 10	37,402 15	..	5	18	27
Norfolk	355,684 18	306,737 9	9,534 10	35,565 7	351,887 6	..	3	47	96
Northampton	166,712 19	141,179 11	3,311 0	22,281 19	165,772 10	..	5	54	76
Northumberland	95,665 8	71,983 9	4,651 2	13,680 17	95,315 8	..	2	52	48
Nottingham	101,235 12	66,030 0	3,979 11	30,521 18	100,531 9	..	12	29	80
Oxford	150,335 6	120,615 10	4,441 4	24,391 17	149,448 11	..	8	49	66
Rutland	13,393 19	9,008 1	236 19	3,753 4	12,998 4	..	..	29	12
Salop	105,862 13	82,492 10	4,081 11	19,836 1	106,410 2	..	4	42	82
Somerset	221,340 16	176,285 13	6,709 11	35,568 0	218,563 4	..	5	61	132
Southampton	243,525 15	203,466 4	6,545 11	33,934 17	243,946 12	..	4	37	110
Stafford	171,329 16	120,511 14	6,894 5	47,333 14	174,739 14	..	3	56	92
Suffolk	290,130 11	245,509 7	7,746 4	37,107 12	290,363 3	..	5	49	130
Surrey	357,299 9	261,500 14	8,861 11	102,929 9	373,291 14	..	6	10	45
Sussex	299,621 2	246,625 19	7,873 4	43,361 14	297,860 17	..	6	33	102
Warwick	185,715 2	158,159 0	5,934 18	37,454 17	201,548 15	..	10	38	60
Westmoreland	29,291 7	22,283 8	510 6	6,212 17	29,006 11	..	10	51	33
Wilts	210,769 3	173,924 12	3,587 6	29,769 6	207,281 4	..	8	30	81
Worcester	107,506 3	81,611 19	3,781 9	23,102 8	108,495 16	..	9	41	74
York—East Riding	124,112 2	91,110 18	4,049 13	26,816 3	121,976 14	..	9	86	46
" North Riding	103,706 16	75,810 3	3,014 16	24,042 19	102,867 18	..	5	99	42
" West Riding	356,328 15	251,820 12	13,435 14	99,666 13	364,922 19	..	10	121	205
Total of England	7,973,182 16	6,029,371 11	243,346 0	1,653,841 7	7,926,558 18	..	7	2,107	3,373
WALES.									
Anglesey	20,331 10	15,542 8	1,440 18	3,069 9	20,052 15	..	3	16	16
Brecon	23,721 6	18,973 19	737 6	4,153 2	23,864 7	..	3	15	12
Cardigan	22,685 17	18,624 13	687 7	3,136 5	22,448 10	..	1	7	18
Carmarthen	43,994 0	33,755 4	1,850 3	7,807 17	43,413 4	..	7	26	14
Carnarvon	25,555 4	20,136 3	1,367 2	3,469 16	24,973 1	..	6	11	19
Denbigh	41,531 16	33,135 15	1,440 5	7,139 0	41,715 0	..	10	8	30
Flint	26,963 14	19,565 16	1,852 17	5,220 3	26,638 16	..	12	8	21
Glamorgan	51,957 15	40,305 19	1,939 7	9,846 1	52,091 7	..	7	25	35
Merioneth	18,039 14	14,977 4	707 7	2,322 14	18,007 5	..	2	..	14
Montgomery	42,606 7	34,201 4	1,315 2	6,344 1	41,860 7	..	3	11	16
Pembroke	31,281 8	25,593 9	1,444 3	4,429 19	31,467 11	1	..	19	21
Radnor	16,227 4	13,071 16	476 4	2,709 6	16,257 6	..	5	6	1
Total of Wales	364,895 15	287,883 15	15,258 1	59,647 13	362,789 9	..	5	152	217
Total of England & Wales	8,338,078 11	6,317,255 6	258,604 1	1,713,489 0	8,289,348 7	..	7	2,259	3,593

* These calculations refer to the sums expended for the relief of the Poor only.

Summary of Charities.—From the Digest of the Commissioners' Reports, 1835.

COUNTY OR CITY.	Rent.	Rent Charges, Land-Tax Deducted.	Dividends and Interest.	Income of Endowed Schools.	For Education not in Endowed Schools.	Total for Education.	Income for other Purposes.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Bedford	12,133	614	930	1,626	214	1,841	11,836	13,677
Buckingham	7,865	1,607	1,926	1,413	169	1,583	9,815	11,399
Cumberland	1,858	376	1,041	1,802	85	1,888	1,388	3,277
Derby	7,897	1,918	2,680	3,547	127	3,675	8,821	12,496
Devon	20,063	2,259	6,072	5,755	785	6,540	21,853	28,394
Durham	13,902	766	2,455	1,783	80	1,863	15,261	17,124
Gloucester	13,788	1,180	3,787	4,510	874	5,385	14,072	19,457
Hertford	7,797	1,559	2,853	2,501	363	2,865	9,345	12,211
Huntingdon	3,108	247	377	854	172	1,026	2,706	3,732
Lancaster	24,824	5,050	5,851	18,455	259	18,715	17,011	35,726
Monmouth	3,745	316	821	1,919	13	1,933	2,950	4,883
Norfolk	30,427	1,456	5,302	5,703	538	6,242	30,943	37,186
Northampton	14,117	1,702	2,179	3,207	687	3,895	14,105	18,000
Northumberland	3,793	666	1,188	2,478	40	2,518	3,129	5,648
Nottingham	13,720	672	1,809	2,687	224	2,912	13,289	16,202
Oxford	7,431	1,317	4,341	1,621	118	1,740	11,349	13,090
Rutland	4,182	333	267	1,290	197	1,487	3,295	4,783
Salop	14,506	1,384	4,133	6,231	197	6,428	13,594	20,023
Bristol and Somerset	22,506	2,898	9,509	7,581	574	8,156	26,757	34,913
Southampton	5,264	1,755	3,452	2,730	623	3,353	7,118	10,472
Stafford	14,077	2,444	2,643	6,693	440	7,133	12,032	19,165
Suffolk	23,708	1,725	1,684	2,972	1,018	3,991	23,126	27,117
Surrey	27,217	1,562	6,559	5,547	1,049	6,597	28,742	35,339
Coventry and Warwick	33,531	1,459	5,140	11,856	660	12,516	27,614	40,131
Westmoreland	3,661	386	1,097	1,952	220	2,172	2,973	5,145
Wilts	10,364	1,533	4,724	1,727	367	2,094	14,527	16,622
Worcester	12,577	1,161	3,515	7,375	291	7,666	9,587	17,254
York	61,233	5,978	14,271	18,678	2,453	21,133	60,351	81,483
North Wales.—Anglesey	1,015	180	199	506	29	535	860	1,395
„ Caernarvon	1,784	193	241	871	66	937	1,281	2,219
„ Merioneth	404	95	840	267	55	323	516	840
South Wales.—Cardigan	287	4	79	294	12	306	64	370
„ Carmarthen	246	237	601	370	41	411	673	1,085
„ Pembroke	1,393	183	206	412	38	451	1,332	1,783
Berks	3,418	365	2,216	4,140	626	4,766	1,234	6,001
Kent	5,809	1,308	2,522	6,559	918	7,478	2,162	9,640
Sussex	2,657	460	1,393	3,383	401	3,784	726	4,510
London.—Chartered Companies	40,290	5,078	14,025	*	..	..	..	59,393
„ Parochial Charities	25,711	1,630	7,178	13,080	292	13,372	21,148	34,520
Westminster	8,555	198	8,096	4,600	519	5,119	6,730	11,849
Middlesex	18,162	1,549	13,483	11,313	778	12,091	21,103	33,195
General Charities	11,521	442	4,443	..	310	310	16,097	16,407
Grand Total	540,565	56,963	150,649	180,309	16,938	197,248	491,536	748,178

* It has been found impossible to distinguish, with any degree of accuracy, the income of charities under the chartered companies of London, applicable to education and to other purposes.

Customs Duty.—The following amount of Customs Duty was collected in 1834, at the respective ports named:—

Ports.		Gross Receipt.	Amounts remitted, deducting Payments, Salaries, Drawbacks, &c. &c.
London		£10,697,263	£9,576,962
Liverpool		3,846,306	3,622,339
Bristol		1,072,106	998,017
Hull		682,008	652,618
Newcastle		286,918	271,258
Gloucester		131,105	126,624
Plymouth		94,495	71,096
Dover		60,897	28,031
Portsmouth		35,173	35,841
Falmouth		21,661	14,091
Southampton		46,825	30,372
Stockton		47,878	42,996
Sunderland		65,284	59,114
Whitehaven		86,063	81,314
Yarmouth		64,410	50,888
Greenock	482,138	350,117	
Glasgow	270,667	263,685	893,089 521,450
Port Glasgow	140,284	107,648	
Leith		386,905	226,504
Aberdeen		54,581	46,019
Dublin		768,632	663,213
Belfast		289,024	253,645
Cork		198,089	166,081
Limerick		136,910	115,952
Waterford		125,029	112,315
Londonderry		87,469	72,230
Newry		51,083	36,738
[illegible]way		38,308	28,692
[illegible]go		34,915	18,297

An Account of the Amount of Postage collected at the undermentioned Cities and Towns of the United Kingdom, during the year 1834, and comparing the same with the Gross Receipt during the years 1832 and 1833.

PLACES.	YEARS. 1832.			1833.			1834.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
London	632,696	17	8	642,871	0	7	660,411	11	4
Birmingham	28,685	1	11	28,812	4	0	29,258	1	7
Bristol	33,884	14	10	33,242	13	8	33,210	17	8
Coventry	4,446	7	6	4,357	8	10	4,421	2	7
Hull	14,607	14	4	14,853	19	9	14,859	15	1
Leeds	20,316	10	11	21,331	18	0	20,670	6	8
Leicester	6,464	11	10	6,459	9	5	6,468	6	6
Liverpool	70,011	17	7	74,080	11	1	77,333	1	4
Macclesfield	2,064	19	0	1,955	2	5	2,054	10	2
Manchester	53,510	8	4	56,287	16	11	60,621	12	6
Norwich	10,004	8	9	9,766	6	11	9,689	18	0
Nottingham	9,033	4	10	9,368	7	1	9,195	2	4
Potteries and Newcastle (Stafford)	6,714	10	8	6,858	7	8	7,891	11	9
Preston	5,200	6	5	5,190	8	11	5,146	8	6
Sheffield	11,027	9	0	11,582	16	2	11,759	16	4
Edinburgh	42,759	17	0½	41,864	16	0	41,680	16	9½
Aberdeen	8,668	6	8	8,479	12	1	8,596	15	0½
Dundee	7,367	13	8½	7,904	8	2½	8,162	18	10
Glasgow	36,058	12	11	36,481	0	3	36,483	3	5
Dublin	80,611	19	10	69,096	9	8	70,344	1	1
Belfast	9,747	8	10	9,457	13	11	10,312	1	9
Cork	11,557	0	5	11,721	10	11	12,516	12	8
Limerick	6,380	15	7	6,357	6	1	6,967	2	0
Drogheda	1,932	19	3	1,935	14	3	2,040	15	5
Londonderry	3,479	12	0	3,510	19	10	3,654	2	8
Waterford	5,383	9	11	5,361	1	2	3,339	12	7

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Statistical Notices respecting the Province of Texas in the North Part of Mexico.—Mexico, while under the dominion of Spain, so far from encouraging emigration, threw every obstacle in the way of settlers, in order that the wealth and resources of the country might remain unknown. Military posts were kept up in different parts of the country, and any foreigner found within the limits was subjected to imprisonment. In 1821 Mexico proclaimed herself independent On the 4th January, 1822, the first colonisation law was passed inviting foreigners to settle, offering them lands, and promising protection to their persons and property.

At this time Texas was almost an unexplored country, totally uncultivated and uninhabited, except by a few natives, congregated together in three or four small villages.

The first attempt at a settlement was made in 1821, by Colonel Austin, an American, who obtained a grant from the Mexican government of a tract of land on the Rio Brasos, which grant has served as a model for other settlements. Austin's settlement is now said to contain 15,000 inhabitants. As the salubrious climate and extraordinary fertility of Texas became more known, it began to attract the attention of the planters in the southern States of America, and emigration to it from thence was proceeding at a rapid rate, when Mexico, alarmed lest the new population should throw off their connexion with her and attach themselves to the United States, passed a law on the 8th April, 1830, prohibiting the citizens of the United States from settling in Texas. This law was however repealed on 21st May 1834, and the population has increased so astonishingly, that, in November last, it was estimated at 40,000 souls; almost every week companies of from fifty to one hundred persons are on their way to settle in Texas.

The province of Texas is considered one of the richest and best watered countries in North America. The soil is every where ready for the plough, almost the whole country being a rich grass land. The climate admits two or three crops in the year, and is suited to almost every variety of production. Sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, rice, tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, besides a great variety of fruits, such as peaches, grapes, lemons, oranges, figs and olives, &c., are produced in the greatest abundance and perfection; and notwithstanding its southern latitude, with the exception of the immediate vicinity of the coast, it cannot be surpassed in salubrity. Good water may be had everywhere in the province at the depth of thirty feet, and in the upper country springs and rivulets abound.

One distinctive characteristic of this beautiful country is its exemption from swamps and stagnant pools. The land invariably ascends from the water-courses, and, rising from moderate eminences, precludes the formation of swamps to any injurious extent. This is one efficient cause of the singular purity, elasticity, and equability of the atmosphere of Texas, which is moreover refreshed by lively breezes from the ocean, rolling over a dry and verdant surface.

Texas is admirably situated with reference to markets, owing to her vicinity to New Orleans, Cuba, the West India Islands and Central America, possessing an extent of coast stretching from the River Sabine to Rio Grande, a distance of 500 miles, and containing some of the best harbours in the Gulf of Mexico, particularly Galveston, Matagora, Aranzas, and the Braso de Santiago. Many large navigable rivers traverse every part of the province, and empty themselves into these harbours. The most conspicuous of these rivers are the Sabine Nuches, Trinity, San Jacinto, Brasos, Colorado, Guadalupe, San Antonio, Nucces and the Rio Grande, all of which are navigable, some of them for 300 or 400 miles into the interior. By the treaty also, entered into between the United States and Mexico, the right of navigating the Red River (which forms the northern boundary of Texas) through the Mississippi to New Orleans, is secured to the inhabitants of Texas.

The Roman Catholic religion is declared to be that of the state. Formerly a profession of this religion was made a condition of settlement; but, by the law of 21st May, 1834, protection is offered to the person and property of every settler, whatsoever may be his religious tenets.

The constitution of Mexico is a federal republic, the general government having power to legislate on all matters of common interest to all the states, each particular state regulating within its own limits the administration of justice, the transfer of property, and all matters which are not a part of the general concerns of the nation. Liberty and property are amply guarded by adequate laws, the administration of which is committed to competent tribunals, whose proceedings are public and accessible to all.

Texas may be approached by water along the whole extent of coast, and the settler can reach the interior with his family and effects with little trouble or expense. He is permitted to carry with him whatever he requires for his subsistence or his business, duty free, and his land and property are declared exempt from taxes for the period of ten years from the time of settlement. The settler has nothing to fear from the civil commotions of Mexico; Texas is too remote to be affected by them.

In the year 1832 a company was formed in New York, entitled the Colorado and Red River Land Company, which entered into a contract with the States of Coahuila and Texas, and undertook to introduce 650 families as colonists within the space of six years from that date, the state having assigned them tracts of land on the Colorado, Guadalupe and Red Rivers, to the extent of twenty millions of acres.

On the part of the state it was agreed and provided by law, that each family introduced by the contractors should be allowed 4428 acres of land; that the state would guarantee the contracts made by the contractors, and give them a bounty of 23,000 acres for every 100 families thus introduced.

By the stipulations in the contract the contractors are authorised to select lands for themselves where they please, their premium lands not exceeding 28,000 acres for every 100 families.

The settlers receive their titles directly from the state, the land being given to them in pure donation on their obtaining the consent of the contractors.

The permission to locate, after being signed by the contractors, is presented by the settler to the Commissioner of the State, who exchanges the same against a patent-deed for the quantity of land designated, not exceeding 4428 acres.

A law however was passed by the States of Coahuila and Texas, on the 26th March, 1834, and is now before the general government, which declares that the waste and unappropriated lands of the state are not hereafter to be given away to settlers or placed under contract, but are to be sold by public auction. The minimum price is fixed at ten dollars per allotment of 177 acres, making the price at which the refuse lands of the state can be purchased, including the fees of transfer, about sixpence sterling per acre.

Danish Possessions.—The population of the Duchy of Schleswig, in February last, amounted to 332,866 souls, and that of the Duchy of Holstein to 435,528. The number of inhabitants of these two duchies has, during the last thirty-two years, experienced an increase of 164,309.

Woollen Manufactures in Russia.—"There were not more than forty manufactures who sent in specimens of their articles to the last exhibition of the products of national industry at Moscow; of these twenty-seven were manufactures established in that town, of whom but one-third therefore contributed their quotas. There are in all 417 woollen manufacturers in Russia, but one-tenth part only of them sent specimens to the exhibition in question. The principal flocks in Russia, indeed almost the only ones, are in the provinces of Tauria, Poltowa, and Yekaterinoslaf. The leading proprietors are the Duke of Anhalt-Koethen, who has 17,000 sheep; M. Vassal, a Frenchman, who has 30,000; General Potier, 19,000; Baron Stieglitz, who possesses two sheep-grounds, 13,000; Count Litta, 22,000, and Count Rasumofski, 54,000."—*Journal of the Russian Minister for the Home Department.*

Literature &c., Russia.—According to a Report from the Board of Censors for foreign publications, 300,000 volumes of books in foreign languages were imported into the Russian dominions during the year 1834; this is nearly 29,000 more than in the year preceding. There appeared, under the cognizance of the Board of Censors for the Home Department, 728 original works and 116 translations, which give a total of 844 new publications in the Russian language. The same Board sanctioned the appearance of 48 newspapers. Last year the Ministry of Public Instruction sanctioned the printing of 113,200 copies of school-books of various descriptions; and in the same interval 94 additional public schools, including the University of St. Vladimir, at Kief, were opened.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR NOVEMBER, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The domestic political movements of the past month have been for the most part confined to party dinners and other meetings, and to some incidents in which individuals have figured rather than either parties or principles.

The barristers appointed to settle the boundaries of the wards into which certain boroughs are directed to be divided by the late Act for the regulation of municipal corporations, have been proceeding in the performance of their duties, without, however, attracting more than a local attention. In some instances they have called public meetings of the inhabitants of the borough, with the object of learning the views entertained with regard to the most advisable division among the persons most interested, and also best acquainted with the circumstances of the case.

There has been received within the last few days the speech delivered on the 27th of October, at the opening of the Parliament of Lower Canada, to the two Houses, by

Lord Gosford, lately appointed the Governor-in-Chief of that province, and also the head of the Commission which has been sent out to endeavour to compose the differences by which the colony has been for some time agitated. The Address of his Excellency, which is of unusual length, is very conciliatory in its tone, and notices in succession a great number of points which have been made matter of complaint or dispute by the different political parties in the country. Upon such of them as belong merely to the administrative practice of the Government such assurances are given as would probably, if the controversy were confined to these, be entirely satisfactory. In regard to the constitutional changes demanded by the popular party, the language employed is not so definite. The leading views of the Government and of the Commission, however, may probably be gathered from the paragraph with which his Excellency concludes this head of his discourse:—"In a declaration put forth by many among you who inhabit this city, I have seen the following objects enumerated:—First, to obtain for persons of British and Irish origin and others, his Majesty's subjects, labouring under the same privations of common rights, a fair and reasonable proportion of the representation in the Provincial Assembly; secondly, to obtain such a reform in the system of judicature, and the administration of justice, as may adapt them to the present state of the province; thirdly, to obtain such a composition of the executive council, as may impart to it the efficiency and weight which it ought to possess; fourthly, to resist any appointment of members of the Legislative Council otherwise than by the Crown, but subject to such regulation as may ensure the appointment of fit persons; fifthly, to use every effort to maintain the connexion of this colony with the parent state, and a just subordination to its authority; and, sixthly, to assist in preserving and maintaining peace and good order throughout the province, and ensuring the equal rights of his Majesty's subjects of all classes. If these objects are indeed all that are desired by the whole commercial interest, I trust it will be satisfactory to those who aim at them to know that there is not one of them which is not strictly within the line of duty of the King's Commissioners to take into consideration, to receive respecting them the fullest evidence and information which may be offered, and finally, to submit to our gracious Sovereign and his Ministers their impartial and well-weighed conclusions."

FRANCE.

THE several Courts of Paris having opened, M. Persil, the Minister of Justice, immediately took the field as a champion against the press, and as the censor-general of books and newspapers. He drew some odium upon himself by seizing, among some works which were really objectionable, sundry merely philosophical books, that contained neither sedition, blasphemy, nor immorality—three ingredients not unfrequently found in modern French productions. For some time M. Persil refused to restore the property thus seized, but at last he notified to the booksellers that they might send for their books. The united efforts of many journalists could not make this a subject of popular excitement. Prints and the Theatre are also vigilantly watched, and permission for printing and selling engravings, and a license for the representation of dramatic pieces, are always withheld when there are any political allusions, or any immorality or obscenity. If the operation of these severe laws could stop that torrent of filth and obscenity that has flowed from Paris to nearly every part of the globe in the shape of French engravings, a great good would be done to society, but we much doubt whether the present rigour will have this effect, while the arbitrary character of the authority thus exercised by the executive is evidently most dangerous, and in every way objectionable.

The following is an abstract of a Royal Ordonnance, which was published on Saturday the 1st of November, for the determining of the distribution of that branch of the budget for the ensuing year which includes the expenses of the War department:—It is divided into distinct chapters, the first of which, for the salary of the Minister, clerks, and attendants at the War Office, allots to 1,354,000f.; the second, for furnishings to the hotel, 230,000f.; the third, for printing, 130,000f.; the fourth, for the staff of the army, 14,30[illegible]; the fifth, for the Gendarmerie, 17,679,210f.; the sixth, for recruiting, 475,000f.; the seventh, for military justice, 209,000f.; the eighth, for pay and maintenance of the troops, including hospitals and marching money, 108,645,000f., with an addition of 10,096,000f. for clothing and encampments; the ninth, for pay of non-activity, 388,000f.; the 10th, for military beds, 4,558,000f.; the 11th, for remounting the cavalry, 2,634,000f.; the 12th, for harness, 230,000f.; the 13th, for forage, 16,638,000f.; the 14th, for transports, 913,000f.; the 15th, for war depôt and new military chart of France, 377,000f.; the 16th, for the *matériel* of the artillery, 6,905,000f.; the 17th, for *matéris* of the engineers, 9,475,000f.; the 18th, for military schools, 1,831,000f.; the 19th, for temporary expenses, 5,278,000f.; the 20th, for invalids, 3,038,000f.; the 21st, for administrative services in Africa, *nil;* the 22nd, for accidental and secret expenses, *nil;*—total, 205,383,210f.

The quarrel with General Jackson and the United States seems to be growing more serious. Mr. Barton, the American Chargé d' Affaires, demanded and obtained his passports, but has not yet left France. He openly declares that his government will not offer the excuses set down as a *sine qua non* by the French Cabinet and Chambers, and the question at issue seems to be still further involved by a dispute as to the interest to be paid to the States on the 25,000,000f. The whole subject will be once more submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, where a loud and long debate may be expected. In the meantime all diplomatic relations are in suspense between the two countries. We have heard it reported that an offer made by Lord Palmerston to arbitrate between them has been declined.

France is making great naval preparations both at Brest and Toulon, but the strong gathering of fleets of different nations in the Levant may have as much to do with this as the American quarrel. France has a ship of the line, a frigate, a sloop of war, four brigs, and two schooners in the Levant. England has five men-of-war, two sloops, five frigates, two schooners, three brigs, and two steam-boats. Russia has six men-of-war, four frigates, and two sloops of war. Austria has a frigate, a schooner, and two smaller vessels. Egypt has six vessels of the line, four frigates, a schooner, three brigs, and eight schooners armed *en flûte*. Turkey has one man-of-war, five frigates, two sloops, two brigs, and two schooners, besides sixteen vessels of smaller dimensions. Thus about 100 war vessels are stationed in the Levant. The French squadron is the smallest.

It is reported that Russia has again claimed of France the sum of 120 millions of francs due to Poland from that country.

The British government is said to have remonstrated with the French on the facility allowed to the partisans of Don Carlos in sending supplies through France and by the frontier of the Pyrenees; and it is quite certain that measures have been adopted recently by Louis Philippe's ministers to prevent the grievances complained of, which militated very seriously against the objects proposed by the Quadruple Alliance. By doing their duty in this respect the French will powerfully contribute to the putting a stop to the wretched civil war in Spain.

Louis Philippe has suffered a severe loss in the death of Admiral de Rigny, who had remained in office through all the numerous changes of the Cabinet, and who was devotedly attached to the King. For some time he had acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was a brave officer, a well-informed, and in many respects a very clever man. He commanded the French division of the combined fleet at the battle of Navarino, and afterwards showed some diplomatic talent in settling the difficult and tedious Greek question. He died at Paris on Saturday the 7th of November, in the prime of life.

He was buried with great state on the 11th, the procession and all the ceremonies passing off in order and peace. This and the late funeral of the victims of Fieschi's infernal plot are said to be the only public funerals in France since 1830 from which riot, or bloodshed, or some other lamentable consequences have not arisen.

At the re-assembling of the Parisian bar, according to a custom which we think would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, certain of the functionaries delivered set orations. Messieurs Martin du Nord and Desmontiers lectured and climaxed on the evils resulting from a too eager pursuit of popularity, and on the necessity of *civil* courage. M. Dupin (in the Court of Cassation) harangued on the virtues of some former lawyers and statesmen and on the

vices of others, and set down as one of the capital causes of the first great French Revolution the corruption, debauchery, and forfeiture of all self-respect of the public officers of the crown. One of his illustrations was amusing. In describing the vulgar tyranny and triviality of the Chancellor Maupeou, he said that on one occasion the chancellor so far forgot the dignity of his office that he played at blind-man's buff in his stately robes with Madame du Barry, one of the low mistresses of Louis XV. Maupeou did worse things than this. M. Dupin left the application to the auditory, who, with some of the journalists, chose to consider it as an indirect allusion to the character and practices of M. Persil, and hence arose a good deal of embarrassment to M. Dupin, who certainly did not so understand it.

The Moniteur of the 12th of November contains a royal ordonnance, naming eight individuals as a commission to consider what reduction may be made in the duty payable on the importation of saltpetre from the Indies. The duty at present payable is 52½ francs per metrical quintal. Of course the saltpetre manufacturers of France are opposed to a reduction.

The Bank of France is now considering a proposition made by M. d'Argout, the governor, to reduce the rate of discount from four to three per cent. A commission has been named to examine and report.

According to the Courier Français, M. Humann, the Finance Minister, has abandoned his favourite project of converting the five into three per cents.

On the 16th of November the peers met as previously convoked to continue the *Procès Monstre*, or the trial of the republican insurrectionists of April, 1834. Seventy-eight accused remain to be judged, but as a good many have escaped, only forty could be produced from the prisons and brought into court. Of these some refused to plead or answer the questions put to them, and some replied unwillingly or insolently. The old scenes of disorder and disrespect were renewed; a number of the prisoners would not rise when the peers entered, and even persisted in keeping their hats on. These republicans were equipped in a curious variety of costume. Some were dressed à la Robespierre, some wore *blouses* or smock-frocks, and some with a cynicism, which may become of necessity fashionable among them, appeared in rags studiously arranged for effect. According to our newspaper correspondents they were, however, in very good condition, and looked like men who had suffered few privations in the way of eating and drinking. So tediously has this state trial "dragged its slow length along," and so little interest does it now excite among the Parisians, that there were only a few idle boys to witness the re-opening of the court. We must own to something of the same kind of indifference, and shall not return to this subject until it is finally disposed of.

On the same day the peers formed themselves into a secret committee to hear the report got up by Count Portalis on Fieschi's atrocious attempt to murder the king. Some of the Paris politicians assert very positively that the efforts of the government to attach the plot to one of the great factions—to the Republicans or the Carlists—have signally failed, and that all the *dramatis personæ* will prove to be only Fieschi and four other scoundrels of the same vulgar stamp. The names of the four accomplices are Pepin, Boireau, Bechet, and Morey, who are said to have been formally denounced and impeached by Fieschi because they refused pecuniary assistance to the woman with whom he lived. After M. Portalis had read his report, the Procureur-General demanded of the court that these five men should be immediately put on their trial on the double charge of treason and murder. With a very short deliberation the court complied, but agreed, however, to hold another sitting with closed doors on the following day.

The Duke of Orleans left Ajaccio, in Corsica, for the Coast of Africa on the 7th of November. His visit to Corsica is represented as having been very beneficial to the cause of his father and family in that island.

The Chamber of Deputies is to be convoked on the 28th of December.

SPAIN.

The affairs of the young queen, or the Constitutionalists, offer, on the whole, a decided improvement. This is at once a cause and a consequence of the rise of Spanish credit and Spanish bonds in our money markets; and Señor Mendizabel's Stock-exchange powers have done more service than armies and the Cortes.

The Juntas in the provinces have been completely dissolved without recourse to arms or any hostile collision. The influential ex-minister, Las Amarillas, the Duke of Infantado, the Duke of Alcumada, and other noblemen of great weight, have resolved to support Mendizabel's government. Thus, having their hands comparatively freed, Ministers have been enabled to direct nearly the whole of their attention to the prosecution of the war against Don Carlos, who seems to be dreadfully in want of money, the nerve of war—even amongst the most faithful and most devoted people of Biscay and Navarre.

The official Gazette of the 25th of October contained an ordonnance for the levy of 100,000 men, declaring that every Spaniard from the age of eighteen to forty must henceforward be regarded as a soldier. The following classes are excepted:—all such persons as are physically disqualified; all men who have been discharged from the army or navy; all priests, monks, and the clergy generally; all sons of poor widows, or of fathers sixty years old, who support their parents by their labour. An exemption may also be purchased for about 40*l.* English—an enormous sum for poor Spaniards. The most robust fellows we ever saw in Spain were among the monks, and we should have thought an excellent regiment or two might have been raised out of the suppressed orders; but we believe their constitutionalism is more than suspected.

On the 27th of October the Christino troops had the advantage in a warm combat, and cut their way into Salvatierra; but the Carlists being reinforced during the night and next day, the Queen's General, Cordova, was obliged to retire on Vittoria. Cordova's object, which was well conceived, but failed through want of men, was to open the high road of the Borunda, between Vittoria and Pampeluna. On his retreat a squadron of horse strayed from the proper line of march and was lost, but the rest of his troops were never *entamé* by the Carlists, who have evidently lost spirit. Both the advance and retreat, through a most difficult country, were conducted with better generalship than has been usually shown by the party. His loss was very trifling. The Carlists had 80 killed and 400 wounded, and about another hundred either deserted or were taken prisoners. At the conclusion of a dispatch dated Vittoria, the 30th of October, Cordova expresses himself in sanguine terms on his position and plan for future operations.

"In the meantime," he says, "though the bulk of the enemy's forces are concentrated around me, the bridge of Arminon has been established, and its fortifications are in progress, as are also those of Larraga. The bridge of Lodosa has also been protected and substantially fortified, and the bridges of Argu have been blown up and destroyed. General Espartero was enabled to reach Bilboa without accident, and will have returned to Vittoria to-morrow morning with the mass of the British division, and of Jaureguy's brigade, all under the orders of General Evans. To cover this movement I mean to set out myself at daybreak in the direction of Villareal and Ochandiano, and I believe that we shall have another encounter with the rebels, who will seize the opportunity of opposing a junction under shelter of the extensive thickets of Ochandiano."

It appears that Cordova advanced to Ochandiano as he proposed, and returned without opposition; that General Evans with 8000 men got safely in to Vittoria, and that on the 3rd of November a sanguinary conflict, which Don Carlos observed from a *nearer* distance than usual, was fought near the latter city to the disadvantage of the absolutists. All this goes counter to the boast made by Zumalacarreguy on the 10th of June last, when that chieftain said he should be in Bilboa in three days, and in Vittoria in twelve.* Zumalacarreguy failed in these promises, and since his death the Carlists have gained little glory in the field. He left no man at all equal to him behind, and the mediocre geniuses that surround the Pretender have been burning with jealousy of one another, and quarrelling for the chief command. The notorious priest Moreno in pushing his claims for advancement disgusted many of the

* See "A Chapter in the History of Charles Vth. (Don Carlos) by the Baron de los Valles," a volume in which there are some signs of Parisian book-making, but also *some truth* and a good deal of amusement. The Baron makes his hero the very model of a good and great King, which the Don is *not*, any more than he is the thorough monster he is described by his enemies.

officers, and gave so much offence to Don Carlos that he was commanded never again to appear in the presence of that Prince.

It appears that the Count d'España did not return to Spain, as we stated last month, after his flight into France; and that the Carlists considered him as a defaulter and traitor. We mentioned, in our October number, that the Don had named the Virgin Mary generalissima of his army; but, either because her ladyship has been lukewarm in his cause, or has not been successful in the field, or for some other reason, he has now appointed a mortal commander-in-chief, who is either Eguia or Ituralde;—we are not quite sure which.

It is also stated that the Carlist juntas in Biscay and Navarre have quarrelled, every one with all the rest; and that the people, worn out by long and constantly-increasing levies, and exactions of money and provisions, are tired both of the war and the Don, and are becoming very clamorous. Old Mina has been appointed Captain-General of Catalonia, a circumstance which is in itself quite enough to account for sundry new discontents having broken out there, and for the Carlists having obtained a few advantages in the province.

The Portuguese auxiliary force reached Zamora at the end of October, since when we have heard nothing certain about them. It should seem it was expected that these Portuguese would form a junction with Generals Cordova and Evans at Vittoria, but that there have been difficulties encountered at Lisbon in completing the body and forwarding their march. The Madrid correspondent of the 'Times' is in an extasy at the voluntary contributions made by the citizens there, for the cause of the constitution: according to him, "not a day passes but the 'Gazette' contains some noble trait of patriotism worthy of being preserved," and then he goes on to say that "a poor overseer of police" has just given for the fund intended for equipping troops—*his estate!* A Spanish policeman! an Alguasil! *Le patriotisme! ou, diable, va-t-il se nicher!*

Mendizabal has also made earnest representations to the French government on the subject of the supplies Don Carlos has received from across their frontiers, and some of the journalists say he has also demanded from them "a more cordial and energetic co-operation." He has likewise been preparing for the session of the Cortes, which he has looked forward to with rather more confidence than we can share, as we rather fear the out-break of some ultra-liberal intemperance. It is supposed that Antonio Gonsalez will be president of the Procuradores, and that if Mendizabal cannot carry the Address to the Queen's speech (which is to be a very detailed one), he will immediately dissolve the Cortes, and appeal to the nation through a fresh election. It is generally believed that the liberal orator and author, Galiano, will support Mendizabal's cabinet, and probably even join it. We do not think the latter event at all unlikely;—he has given up the editorship of a journal called 'La Revista' already. The Queen-Regent's speech is eagerly expected, and nowhere with more impatience than in that temple of liberty, the Stock Exchange.*

PORTUGAL.

Dom Miguel's proclamation, which we quoted in our last number, appears to have produced some effect, as a popular insurrection in his favour has broken out in the Alemtejo. The movement, however, seems to have been trifling and ill-concerted, and to have perished in its birth. According to some of our journalists, the cause of Dom Miguel and Don Carlos has been taken up (of all the mighty potentates in the world!) by the King of Sardinia, the once liberal and even revolutionary Prince of Carignano. Several of the newspapers have given accounts, which we can scarcely credit, of his Majesty's getting ready troops and a fleet to send against the constitutionalists of Spain and Portugal. If the disaffected, liberty-seeking Italians could be depended upon in such a crusade, and if affairs were in a better condition, the King of Sardinia would not be so contemptible an enemy as the newsmen consider him in their ignorance. He has a fine army, which not long ago exceeded 30,000 men;—the Piedmontese, the Savoyards, and Sardinians are brave and good soldiers;—8000 or 10,000 such troops landed on either coast would be no joke; and his fleet, manned chiefly by Genoese, the best sailors in the Mediterranean, and far better and steadier than Spanish or Portuguese seamen, is, we should think, equal, or nearly so, to that of Portugal. If our readers refer to our October number, they will find a short account of a quarrel and the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the courts of Lisbon and Turin. Were they left to themselves, we can *just* consider it possible that these small powers might fire off a little gunpowder at one another, by sea; but we are quite sure that so much as this will not be permitted by Austria, the guide and rigid guardian of his Sardinian and Piedmontese Majesty. Austria is all for peace,—so is Prussia,—so is France,—and so, out of necessity, is Russia. A civil war, as in the north of Spain, may be allowed to linger on in a corner, but we feel totally confident that a conflict between nation and nation, or anything at all likely to lead to a general war, will not be allowed.

It is said that Donna Maria's second marriage now proceeds smoothly, and that the Prince of Saxe Cobourg Gotha will certainly be her husband. We observe, with great satisfaction, the progress making by an English association, called "The Peninsular Steam Company," which is to have not only some fine large steamers, to sail one every week, from London and Falmouth to Lisbon, Cadiz and Gibraltar, but also a number of smaller branch steamers, to keep up a regular communication with Oporto and all the intermediate ports along the coasts of Portugal and Spain. This is more likely to advance the march of trade and civilization than almost anything else we know of.

* Since the above was in type, her Majesty's speech has arrived; it will be noticed in our next Retrospect.

HOLLAND.

The States General have carried up an Address on the King's Speech, delivered on the opening of the present session on the 20th of October. After re-echoing most of the sentiments of the Royal Speech the Address strongly expresses a regret at the continued interruption of friendly relations with Belgium, and hints at the pressing necessity of adjusting all differences between the two countries. Some of the journals confidently promise, within three months, an entire and friendly settlement, to be brought about by means of what they call a common mediation. It is also reported that King Leopold will dwell upon this subject in his opening speech to the Belgian Chambers. The greatest difficulty in the way of a definitive arrangement arises out of the Luxembourg question, but we trust even this will be settled sooner or later by paper and without cold steel and cannon balls.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

A speech, said to have been delivered by the Emperor Nicholas to the municipal body at Warsaw, has gone the round of all our own, and most of the continental newspapers. It is so extraordinary, that we confess we have doubted, and still doubt its *complete* authenticity, for whatever else he may be, the reigning Czar is neither a madman nor a fool, and the most tyrannical of sovereigns have now-a-days the merit or simulation of being courteous in demeanour and mild in speech. As, however, a pretty general belief in the genuineness of the document obtains, and as we have heard an opinion expressed by some persons, who are better judges of the matter than the editors of newspapers, that the Emperor may have said something *very like* what is set down for him, we will preserve the speech in our columns:—

"Gentlemen,—I know that you have wished to address me, and am acquainted with the contents of your intended address; but to spare you from delivering falsehood, I desire that it may not be pronounced. Yes, gentlemen, it is to save you from falsehood; for I know that your sentiments are not such as you wish to make me believe them to be. How can I put faith in them, when you held the same language to me on the eve of the revolution? Are you not the same persons who talked to me, five and eight years ago, of fidelity and devotedness, and made me the finest protestations of attachment, and yet, in a very few days after, you violated your oaths, and committed the most violent actions? The Emperor Alexander—who did more for you than an Emperor of Russia ought to have done—

who heaped benefits upon you, who favoured you more than his own subjects, and who rendered your nation the most flourishing and happy—the Emperor Alexander was treated with the blackest ingratitude. You never could make yourselves contented with your most advantageous position, and in the end, became the destroyers of your own happiness. I thus tell you the truth in order to throw a true light upon our relative positions, and that you may know upon what you have to depend, for I am now seeing and speaking to you for the first time since the disturbances. Gentlemen, we require actions and not mere words; repentance should come from the heart; I speak to you without anger, and you must perceive that I am perfectly calm; I have no rancour, and I will do you good even in spite of yourselves. The Marshal who stands before you, fulfils my intentions, seconds all my views, and also watches for your welfare." At these words the members of the deputation bowed to the Marshal. "Well, gentlemen, but what signifies these salutations? The first duty is to perform one's duties, and to conduct ourselves like honest men. You have, gentlemen, to choose between two alternatives; either to persist in your allusions, as to an independent kingdom of Poland, or to live tranquilly as faithful subjects under my government. If you persist in your dreams of a distinct nationality, of the independence of Poland, and of all these chimeras, you will only draw down upon yourselves still greater misfortunes. I have raised this citadel; and I declare that, on the slightest insurrection, I will cause its cannon to thunder upon the city. Warsaw shall be destroyed, and certainly shall never be rebuilt in my time. It is painful to me to speak thus to you—it is always painful to a Sovereign to treat his subjects thus; but I do it for your own good. It is for you, gentlemen, to deserve an oblivion of the past; it is only by your obedience to my government that you can obtain this. I know that there is a correspondence with abroad, and that mischievous writings are sent here for the purpose of perverting the minds of the people. The best police in the world, with such a frontier as yours, cannot prevent clandestine relations. It is for you to exercise your own police, and keep the evil away. It is by bringing up your children properly, by instilling into them the principles of religion and fidelity to their Sovereign, that you can keep in the right path. Among all the disturbances which agitate Europe, and all those doctrines which shake the social edifice, Russia alone has remained strong and intact. Believe me, gentlemen, that it is a real blessing to belong to this country, and enjoy its protection. If you conduct yourselves well—if you perform all your duties, my paternal solicitude will be extended over you, and notwithstanding what has passed my government will always watch over your welfare. Remember well all that I have now said to you."—*Journal des Debats.*

It appears that the Emperor has made very liberal donations to Russian noblemen and courtiers of the forfeited estates of the Polish nobles who took part in the last revolution.

A very amusing display of sympathy for the cause of liberty and the independence of nations is just now made by a certain party, out of whose faults and blunders all the mischiefs have originally arisen. Who directed the councils of England in 1814 and 1815—those momentous years, when, if ever, the broad foundations of future tranquillity ought to have been laid? Was it the Whigs that sanctioned the annexation of the Duchy of Warsaw to Russia, almost without the shadow of a guarantee that the new Polish constitution and the separate administration of the state promised by the emperor Alexander, should be respected by him and his successors? At the same time, was it the Whigs that smiled complacently while the German princes broke all the promises they had made to their people in the hour of danger, of granting them the advantages of representative forms of government?

Again, in Italy, over whose disunion and misfortunes they now pretend to lament, who stood by and saw the moderate constitution of Sicily, which had been recommended to the people and the nobility, and pressed upon the king by English ministers, ambassadors, generals and admirals, attacked and overturned just as it was beginning to work well? Who restored to the poor Neapolitans the blessings of the government of old Ferdinand, the Bourbon, without using any influence to induce that ignorant and stupid, rather than malevolent monarch, to introduce some changes in his wretched system? Who united the republic of Genoa with the states of the king of Sardinia—the sovereign *then* on that throne being the most incurable of all old despots and bigots? A great deal of nonsense has been said and written on the subject of this annexation; of which, had any binding engagements been made for the better government of the Genoese, we should most cordially approve, as we approve of every thing tending to bind up the many petty states of Italy into one respectable whole. In spite of ancient renown, there was little to claim the affections of the lovers of liberty in the proud, cruel, and oppressive oligarchy of Genoa; but his Sardinian Majesty contrived to revive some of its worst and most obsolete features under his absolute monarchy. The British fleet and army which gave up to him the possession of the Genovesato, had scarcely turned their backs, when Victor Emmanuel re-introduced the use of torture, and restored several of the feudal rights and odious privileges of the nobles.

In Lombardy, where the French dominion had become so odious that the Milanese of their own movement overthrew the *régime* by their revolution of April 21st, 1814, and set forth their ancient and inalienable right to independence, an army of Austrians, who at first advanced as pacificators, were allowed to seize all that magnificent part of Italy, and turn over the population, like so many herds of beasts, to their old master the Emperor. The views of the Lombards were moderate—they would have contentedly submitted to a prince of the house of Austria, provided their old municipal institutions had been restored, the liberty left them of exercising a control over their own revenue, trade, &c., with a few other of the advantages of a representative government. There was nothing factious, anti-social, or demagogic. The nobles—the men of property, all the educated classes of the citizens were agreed. "The name of independence, indeed," says the historian Carlo Botta, "was in the mouth of all, and the love of it in their hearts; nor has ever nation offered so much ardour, so much unanimity as the Italians showed on that crisis."

An English General,—a man of worth and honour, who was well acquainted with the Italian character, had gone on, from Genoa to Milan, and into his hands, and at the order of the electoral colleges that fairly and *de facto* represented the Lombard people, an Address to England and the Holy Alliance was placed. This paper was mild and dignified, and merely asked what we have stated. It was drawn up by the celebrated Ugo Foscolo, who, notwithstanding his eccentricities, was moderate in politics, and altogether exempt from a Jacobinical or levelling spirit. It was sent; but, as we have good reasons for believing, *it was never read by Castlereagh or one of our Tory Cabinet*, who, after having preached liberty to them, made not a single effort to avert the fate the Italians dreaded. A deputation of noblemen and gentlemen waited on the British General, to whom they confidently asserted, that if their rational demands or prayers were rejected, England might count upon two things:—first, that Austria would exclude her manufactures from Lombardy to force her own into the market; secondly, that the Italians would be tranquil or contented, but constantly in that state of mind, of which demagogues and thorough-paced revolutionists make the most advantage. Events have justified both predictions. It has been much the same story in other countries, and Spain and Portugal are still suffering from the evil adjustment of the Tory peace. When the discreet views of the best classes of society were rejected and scorned, the work of national reform, and constitution-making was taken up by clubs, secret societies, mutinous soldiers, discontented lawyers, beardless boys, and turbulent adventurers of all descriptions; and precious work they made of it at Cadiz and Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, and Turin! The right-minded, noble-hearted men (and those were many) who engaged in those movements, were almost invariably duped and sacrificed. The follies—the excesses—the miserable failures of the Ultra-liberals, brought a discredit on the very name of liberty; and this happened in 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823, because the respectable constitutional parties, abandoned wholly by our Tory Cabinet, were allowed to do nothing in 1814 and 1815.

We are quite aware that, notwithstanding the commanding position we occupied at the end of the last war, there were many difficulties to be encountered; but what was difficult *then* is *now* almost impossible. We hope we shall hear no more of this impudent talk about the woes of Poland, the wrongs of Italy, and the baseness and truckling to despots

of the present Ministry. If the Tories were in plentitude of power to-morrow, what would *they* do to correct what *they did?* Would they *now* plunge us into a war for the doubtful experiment of uniting and constitutionalizing Italy, or for the driving of the Russians out of Poland and Lithuania?

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Oct 30. Mr Thomas Reynolds, who was charged with taking part in a riotous assembly at a meeting in Cobourg Gardens, Dublin, on the 3rd of August last, (see 'Chronicle of Occurrences' in Number 33,) was tried at the Dublin Commission before Chief Justice Doherty and Baron Smith. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be imprisoned for nine months, and at the expiration of that period to give security, himself in 200*l.* and two sureties in 100*l.* to keep the peace. The verdict and sentence appear to have created considerable surprise.

31 The Earl of Charleville died, rather suddenly, at Dover. He was in his 72nd year. He was one of the representative peers of Ireland.

Nov 3. The Recorder of London moved, in the Court of King's Bench, on behalf of the Lord Mayor, (Alderman Winchester,) for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against Mr. Roteh, the chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, for having sent a hostile message to his lordship with an intention of provoking a breach of the peace. The dispute arose out of some remarks made by the Lord Mayor in the Court of Aldermen on the evidence of Mr Roteh before the Lords' Committee on Gaols, relative to the gaol of Newgate. The rule was granted, and has since been made absolute.

4 A fire broke out in a power-loom spinning and weaving mill at Levenshulme, between Stockport and Manchester, by which the building was entirely destroyed. The fire occurred about eight in the morning, as the work people were leaving for breakfast, and was occasioned by the clothes of the superintendent of the gas department catching fire, which, as he rushed out of the premises, was communicated to some combustible matter. He was severely burned, and died next day Among several accidents that occurred, one young girl leaped from the attic story to the ground, and was carried to the Manchester Hospital in a hopeless state. All the individuals thrown out of employment were speedily re-engaged by other spinning firms. The manager of the factory has been committed on a charge of manslaughter, on a coroner's warrant, the accident having occurred, as alleged, through orders which he had given to the individuals employed in the gas department.

8. Lord Viscount Milton, eldest son of Earl Fitzwilliam, died at Wentworth House in his twenty-fourth year. By his death a vacancy has been occasioned in the representation of North Northamptonshire His lordship's illness was typhus fever. His character, and the expectations entertained of his future eminence and usefulness, have created universal regret at his sudden and untimely death. Lord Milton was married to the second daughter of the late Lord Liverpool.

9. This being Lord Mayor's Day, the usual procession and excursion on the Thames took place, and the dinner in the evening was attended by Lords Melbourne, Glenelg, Sir J. Hobhouse, Mr. Spring Rice, the Judges, &c. &c

9. Redschid Bey, the new ambassador from Turkey, made his public entry into London, accompanied by Nourn Effendi, who, since the departure of Namick Pasha, has been *Chargé d'Affaires.* It is stated that the special object of Redschid Bey's mission is, to ascertain what degree of sympathy exists on the part of our government with Turkey, and also to make himself familiar with English customs.

10 Parliament was prorogued till the 17th Dec. The Commissioners were Lords Melbourne, Denman, and Glenelg The only member of the House of Commons present was the Attorney-General, Sir John Campbell, the other representatives of the House being some of the clerks and officers.

— A public dinner was given to Lord John Russell at Bristol, on which occasion a piece of plate, which had been purchased by subscriptions of a sixpence from each person was presented. His lordship on his health being drank, took a review of the great state questions which had been, of recent years, agitated and carried, and also of the positions of political parties. Lords Seagrave and Ebrington, and Mr. Thomas Moore, were present, and addressed the meeting.

11. A political dinner was given at Bath, to General Palmer and Mr. Roebuck, the two members for that city, which was attended by about 800 individuals. Among the speakers were Colonel Napier, the author of the History of the War in the Peninsula, and Mr Hume, the member for Middlesex.

— The new Commissioners of Charities held their first meeting in Great George Street, Lord Brougham (Chief Commissioner) in the chair. It is expected that this commission will terminate this long protracted inquiry. The names of the commissioners are, Lord Brougham, Sir E. B. Sugden, Rt. Hon. T. F. Lewis, Rev. R. Eden, Rev. H. H Milman, Messrs. Warren, Warre, Carlisle, Lefevre, Nicholls, M'Mahon, Sir J. J. G. Walsham; Messrs Grant, Wrottesley, Finch, Smith, Romilly, Macintosh, Pennington, Martin, Miles, Clarke, Sedgwick, Long, Hume, Fellowes, Humphrey, Peter, Gunning, Johnstone, and M'Queen. The amount of the income of charity property as far as already ascertained, may be seen by a reference to the table in "Parliamentary Abstracts," at p. 542 of the present number.

12. A solicitor, the secretary of a Conservative Club, was summoned to show cause at the Court of Requests in Castle Street, Leicester Square, why he refused to pay the sum of one guinea to a tradesman for loss of time. It appeared that the solicitor had objected to the registration of the tradesman's vote, on which the latter, at considerable inconvenience to himself, attended before the revising barrister, when the solicitor did not press the objection, and the vote was consequently allowed. The court gave a verdict for the plaintiff, for the full amount claimed, with costs. The proceedings however have been carried into the Court of Exchequer, it being contended that the Court of Requests had no jurisdiction in the case.

14. In the Rolls' Court, an application was made for a special injunction to restrain the mayor and corporation of Liverpool from carrying into effect certain proposed loans or levies of money, for the purpose of augmenting the stipends of the ministers or clergymen of those churches, the advowsons of which belonged to the corporation. The injunction was granted.

— Two agricultural associations held their anniversaries this day, one at Shrewsbury, at which Lord Darlington presided, the other at York, at which E. S. Cayley, Esq, M. P. presided At both these meetings, the chief topics were, Agricultural Distress, the Repeal of the Malt Tax, and the Currency. At the Shropshire meeting, a Mr. Bather made some pointed observations on the relative positions of landlord and tenant, contending that landlords must reduce their rents and establishments, and farmers alter their style of living, before application should be made to Parliament for relief.

15. Lord Robert Manners, M. P. for North Leicestershire, died at Belvoir Castle, after a short and sudden illness.

18. About sixty of the principal Spanish residents and merchants in London dined together, at the London Tavern, for the purpose of celebrating the opening of the Spanish Cortes under the administration of M. Mendizabal. At this meeting it was stated that a subscription which had been set on foot, for the purpose of forwarding military stores for the Spanish army, had been contributed to most liberally.

20. The ward of Aldgate being vacant by the death of Alderman Thorpe, a contested election took place, and the numbers of the two days' polling were announced this day at Guildhall by the Lord Mayor The election was declared to have fallen on Sheriff Salomons The candidates were Mr. Salomons, who had 75 votes, Mr. Humphreys, M. P. for Southwark, who had 67, and Mr. Jones, who had 68. The Lord Mayor addressing the meeting, congratulated the ward of Aldgate on being the first ward in the City of London which had returned an alderman of the Jewish persuasion.

23. In the Court of King's Bench an application was made for a *mandamus* directed to a particular individual, to hold a court leet, for the purpose of swearing in the mayor of Lyme Regis The mayor had been elected on the 31st of August last, but the annual court leet had not been held on the 5th October, by which it was contended that the corporation of Lyme Regis was virtually dissolved. The rule was made absolute in the first instance.

— Death of the Duke of Beaufort, in his 69th year. He is succeeded by his son, the Marquis of Worcester, M. P. for West Gloucestershire, which of course creates a vacancy.

Three serious accidents have occurred during the month on the River Thames, by steamers coming in collision with small boats, by which a number of individuals have lost their lives. In two of the cases, verdicts of manslaughter have been returned by inquest juries on the bodies of the sufferers, against the captains, and a pilot; and in the third instance, a verdict of accidental death was returned, with a deodand of 100*l.* on the steamer. The frequency of these accidents of late calls for [illegible] interference.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at 18, Pall-Mall East. Clerk,* Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 37. JANUARY 1, 1836. Price 4d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Excise on Paper. . . .	549	Trade, Statistics, &c. . . .	561
County Rates	554	Parliamentary Abstracts . .	562
Report from the Select Committee on Consular Establishments.	558	Political Retrospect for December	563
		Chronicle of Occurrences . .	564
Notice			

THE EXCISE ON PAPER.

Even the most concentrated extract of the essence of all the learning that has been accumulated on the subject of the various materials used for writing upon in different ages and countries would be out of place here. Writing, which is nothing more than marking, has been practised in all the ways in which marks can be made, and upon all the substances capable of receiving and retaining any kind of mark. Some such materials are supplied ready to our hands by nature: as the flat rocks and stones upon which many ancient inscriptions are cut. Others, such as wood, admit of being easily converted into fit receptacles for writing by a little mechanical fashioning. Among the less cumbrous and more flexible materials that have been employed for the purpose are the leaves of trees; especially some of those leaves of large surface, and superior toughness of fibre, produced in oriental countries. The Cumæan Sybil is fabled to have written her prophecies on leaves. And we still speak of the leaves or folios (which properly signify the same thing) of a book. It is evident that, although there might be writing, there could be no books until some such thin material as this came into use. Books have been made, however, and in some countries are still made, of very thin boards of wood; and they might also be formed of plates of ivory or of metal. But, for obvious reasons, such materials as these could never have been very extensively employed. The first substance manufactured in large quantities expressly for the purposes of writing and book-making was the Egyptian papyrus, from which paper still takes its name. This substance, a preparation from the inner bark of a plant, was manufactured in vast quantities, principally at Alexandria in Egypt, and latterly also at Rome, and probably in other parts of the world, down to a comparatively recent date. Some think the papyrus was in use so lately as in the tenth or eleventh century of our era. Parchment, or prepared sheepskin, had also been long in extensive use in the Greek and Latin world; and probably much longer among the oriental nations. It is said to have been first employed in the western world, between two and three hundred years before the birth of Christ, in the city of Pergamus, in Asia Minor; whence its name Pergamenum, which we have corrupted into parchment.

None of these preparations, however, at all resembled what we now call paper in the essential characteristic of the manufacture; which is the complete destruction of the original substance, and the production of a new and entirely different fabric out of the debris. Both papyrus and parchment were merely the natural material shaped and polished, or, at most, what might be called raised for particular use; as freestone or marble is cut into blocks for building, or as leather is tanned for making shoes. They were no more than what we have already designated them, preparations; our modern paper is a composition—a product wholly artificial, not simply in its form or its surface, but in its very texture and consistency.

The notion of reducing a fibrous substance to powder, with the view of remixing the particles into a very thin and at the same time strongly coherent paste, seems to be as little of an obvious one as that of any other process, of the character of a merely manual operation (for essentially this is no more), which it would be easy to name. It is difficult to imagine what could have led to it—what other process previously practised could have either suggested it or accidentally given birth to the discovery. It would not be very readily supposed, before the attempt had been made, that it could prove successful. The first paper (of the modern species) known in Europe appears to have been fabricated of cotton, though it very soon came to be made also of hemp or flax. The use of these materials, in their natural state, for the purpose of conversion into paper, probably preceded the employment of cotton and linen rags for that purpose. It is now generally agreed that Spain was the country in which the new fabric was first introduced, and that it was known there so early as the ninth or tenth century. There can be little doubt that the invention was brought over by the Arabs, or Moors, as they were called, who were then in possession of a great part of that country. Considerable manufactories of paper are known to have existed soon after this time in various parts of Moorish Spain.

But whence did the Arabs learn this manufacture? It is known to have been carried on in various eastern cities subject to the rule of that race in the seventh century of our era. "The inestimable art," says Gibbon, "of transforming linen [perhaps he ought rather to have written cotton, or silk] into paper, has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the western world;" and he adds in a note, "The librarian Casiri relates from credible testimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand A. H. 30 (that is, in A. D. 652), and *invented*, or rather introduced at Mecca, A. H. 88 (that is, A. D. 710)." It can scarcely be doubted that the invention originated in China, where, at any rate, it is certain that it was known long before the date here assigned to its introduction at Samarcand. The Chinese accordingly claim the invention as their own, though it is said to be admitted by some of their authorities that the subject is not without obscurity. It appears that, for a long period after this nation possessed the knowledge of letters, they were unacquainted with any material for writing upon of the same nature with what we now call paper. At first they wrote commonly, not with ink or any pigment at all, but with an iron stylus or bodkin, like what the Romans used with their waxen tablets, and on boards of wood, flattened pieces of bamboo, or plates of metal. Afterwards they came to fabricate a paper which must have somewhat resembled the Egyptian papyrus, from the inner bark of the bamboo and of other trees. But still this was merely an adaptation of the natural substance, and not a conversion of it into something else. The first manufacture of paper from any kind of pulp is attributed by some of the Chinese authorities to the year 95 of our era, in the reign of their Emperor Hoti. It is said to have been the invention of a mandarin of high rank named Tsay. He employed as the material of the composition not only linen and silk, but also the inner bark of different species of trees. In course of time, many other substances came to be used; and paper is said to be now actually made in China of cotton, of linen, of silk, and not only of many kinds of

[Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.]

bark, but even of the wood both of the bamboo and the cotton plant reduced to dust, and also of a variety of other natural products. It is very well known, indeed, that paper may be fabricated of almost any fibrous substance, vegetable or animal. Paper has even been made in modern times of the mineral substance called asbestos, the well-known and remarkable quality of which (as indicated by the name) is not to be affected by fire, at least under a very high degree of heat. The paper made of it retains the same prerogative, the fire only expunging what may have been written upon it. A German naturalist, Bruckman, who wrote a treatise upon asbestos, had four copies of his book taken off upon this kind of paper, which are said to be deposited in the library of Wolfenbuttel.

The history of paper, therefore, as far as it can be traced, is shortly as follows. It is said to have been invented in China between seventeen and eighteen hundred years ago. From thence the manufacture was transferred, about twelve hundred years ago, to the Tartar city of Samarcand, then in the hands of the Arabs or Saracens. From Samarcand it speedily spread to Mecca and the other cities of Arabia Proper; and from thence the conquering people who had thus obtained possession of it carried it forth with them, in one direction to the northern coasts of Africa, and to Spain, in another to Damascus and the rest of their Syrian empire. It was probably introduced into Spain before the tenth century; but it may perhaps be doubted whether the rest of Europe originally obtained the knowledge of the invention from that country, or had it from Asia by the way of Constantinople and Greece. In the twelfth century it appears to have become the common material for writing upon throughout this quarter of the world. There is much dispute, however, as to the date at which cotton paper first began to be supplanted by that made from linen. According to some authorities, as has been already observed, paper was manufactured from linen by the Moors of Spain before the tenth century. Other writers, however, contend for a much later origin of this improvement. "The manner of making the cotton-paper," says Anderson, in his History of Commerce, "introduced the still better and cheaper paper made of linen rags. This last invention Montfaucon ascribes to the twelfth century; yet others make it so late as 1417; and an octavo treatise in English, entitled 'The General History of Discoveries and Improvements,' says that rag-paper was not invented till about the year 1452; while Rombold, in his Dissertation on Paper, printed at Berlin in the year 1744, fixes its invention to have been in 1470, though probably somewhat earlier. The cotton-paper now (A.D. 900) invented very nearly resembled our rag-paper: but as the latter was much cheaper in its manufacture, as being made of rags, which before were thrown on the dunghill, it soon drove out of use the cotton-paper, which necessarily bore a much higher price."

It was long before the manufacture of paper was introduced into this country. "Until in or about this year, 1690," says the writer we have just quoted, in another place, "there was scarce any other kind of paper made in England but the coarse brown sort. But the war with France occasioning high duties on foreign paper, the French Protestant refugees settled in England chiefly, and also our own few paper-makers, now began to make white writing and printing paper; which in length of time has been brought to so great perfection, both for beauty and substance, that in our own time (1764), we import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper, which, however, bears but a small proportion to all the paper used in the British dominions. How great a saving this has proved to Britain may partly be conceived from what has been often formerly affirmed by such as are well acquainted therewith, viz., that to France alone, from whom we now take none even in time of peace, we paid annually to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds for paper only." In 1721, according to the 'British Merchant' published in that year, two-thirds of all the paper used in England was made at home. This proportion is said to have amounted to 300,000 reams. "In 1783," says Mr. M'Culloch, (Dictionary of Commerce, 2nd edition, p. 875), "the value of the paper annually manufactured was estimated at 780,000*l*. At present, besides making a sufficient quantity of most sorts of paper for our own use, we annually export about 100,000*l*. worth of books. We still, however, continue to import certain descriptions of paper for engraving from France, and a small supply of paper-hangings. The duty on both amounts to about 2800*l*. a year. In 1813 Dr. Colquhoun estimated the value of paper annually produced in Great Britain at 2,000,000*l*.; but Mr. Stevenson, an incomparably better authority upon such subjects, estimated it at only half this sum. From information obtained from those engaged in the trade, we incline to think that the total annual value of the paper manufactured in the United Kingdom, exclusive of the duty, may at present amount to about 1,200,000*l*. or 1,300,000*l*. There are about 700 paper-mills in England, and from 70 to 80 in Scotland. The number in Ireland is but inconsiderable. Of these mills, we believe, very few have lately been unemployed. About 27,000 individuals are supposed to be directly engaged in the trade; and beside the workmen employed in the mills, the paper manufacture creates a considerable demand for the labour of mill-wrights, machinists, smiths, carpenters, iron and brass-founders, wire-workers, woollen manufacturers, and others, in the machinery and apparatus of the mills."

In a passage quoted above from Anderson, the substitution of linen for cotton in the manufacture of paper was spoken of as having at first greatly lowered the cost of the manufactured article. Now, however, that cotton has become much more plentiful and much cheaper than linen, it has been again resorted to, we believe, to a considerable extent, in the manufacture of printing-paper, and even of writing-paper. Its only recommendation is its cheapness; for from the comparative weakness of the fibre in cotton, paper when made from that material has far less strength and durability than when made from linen. A judicious admixture of linen of coaca pulse greatly corrects the evil.

The rags of which English paper is made are obtained in part at home, but chiefly from abroad. "The rags of our own country," says an article upon this subject in the 96th Number of the Penny Magazine (Monthly Supplement for September 30th, 1833), "do not furnish a fifth part of that we consume in the manufacture of paper. France, Holland, and Belgium prohibit, under severe penalties, the exportation of rags, because they require them for their own long-established manufactories. Spain and Portugal also prohibit their exportation. Italy and Germany furnish the principal supplies of linen rags both to Great Britain and the United States. They are exported from Bremen, Hamburgh, Rostock, Ancona, Leghorn, Messina, Palermo, and Trieste. They arrive in our ports in closely packed bags, containing each about four hundred-weight; which, according to the respective qualities of the rag, are marked S.P.F F., S.P F., F.F., F.X., and F.B. There are many varieties of rag even in these divisions; and their qualities are pretty clear indications of the state of comfort and cleanliness in particular districts and countries. The linen rags of England are generally very clean, and require little washing and no bleaching before they are ground into pulp. The Sicilian rags, on the contrary, are originally so dirty, that they are washed in lime before they are fit for the foreign market. The greater portion of the rags from the north of Europe are so dark in their colour, and so coarse in their texture, that it is difficult to imagine how they could have formed part of any inner garments; while those, on the other hand, which are collected at home, evidently belong to a people who are 'clothed in fine linen every day.'"

To this article in the Penny Magazine we must refer the reader for a description both of the old method of making paper by hand and of the modern process by machinery - undoubtedly one of the most beautiful and miraculous in the whole range of mechanical contrivance. We shall only state generally the leading results which have been obtained in this manufacture by the impulse it has, within these few years, received both from mechanical ingenuity and from chemical science. They have together in a manner revolutionized it, and given it a new field and a higher rank among the arts. One of the results, in the first place, of the application of machinery is absolutely new; it is something which formerly could not have been accomplished by any expenditure of time or labour; we mean the length to which a single sheet of paper may now be extended. The magnitude of a sheet of paper made by hand is of course limited by the size of such a tray or frame as a man can dip into the pulp and

lift up with his two hands; in the machine the paper is wound off upon a roller, and the web may be made as long as the roller will hold. But secondly, the economy of time effected by the new process is so immense as to be something still more important, and we may add, even more wonderful, than this novelty of product. "By the agency," says Mr. M'Culloch, speaking of Mr. Dickenson's invention, "of a great deal of complicated machinery, so admirably contrived as to produce the intended effect with unerring precision, and in the very best manner, a process which in the old system of paper-making occupied about three weeks is performed in as many minutes! A continuous stream of fluid pulp is, within this brief space of time, and the short distance of thirty feet, not only made into paper, but actually dried, polished, and every separate sheet cut round the edges, and rendered completely ready for use!" The writer of the account in the Penny Magazine, describing the machinery employed at Albury Mill, near Guildford, belonging to Mr. Magnay, says, "From the commencement of the process, when the pulp flows out of the vat upon the web of wire, till the paper into which it is formed is received upon the reel, somewhat less time than two minutes is occupied. We ascertained the fact by drawing our finger across the wet mass before it left the web, and tracing the rent into the final stage of the formation of the paper. The web of wire travels at a rate which produces twenty-five superficial feet of paper per minute." And while these mechanical improvements have been thus multiplying the *power* of production in the manufacture, the supply of the *material* has been augmented by another branch of science. Chemistry has now discovered comparatively cheap and easy methods of rendering certain descriptions of rags fit for being used in the making of writing and printing paper, which formerly either could not be made available for that purpose at all, or only at an expense which equally precluded their employment. In this way the augmented facility of the manufacturing process has been left free to produce its full benefit.

The consequence is that, notwithstanding a largely increased demand, consequent not only upon the increase of the population but upon the constantly extending consumption of the article, the price of paper has of late years fallen very considerably. Meanwhile, however, the duty, being levied not upon the value but upon the quantity, has remained the same as it was before the fall of price. This duty is the subject of the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, which is itself (including the Evidence and Appendix) a volume of nearly 200 pages, but of which the following is the abstract that has been drawn up by the Secretary to the Commission:—

"*Paper.*—This Report opens with a recital of the Acts of Parliament under which the paper duties are collected, commencing with that by which such duties were first imposed, viz. the 10th of Anne, c. 19, dated in 1711, which recites, as a reason for the grant, the necessity of raising large 'supplies of money to carry on the present war, until your Majesty shall be enabled to establish a good and lasting peace.'

"The duties on paper were first levied in Ireland by the 38th Geo. III., c. 5, and were charged by a rate on the machinery employed in the manufacture. They were assimilated to the duties in Great Britain by the 5th Geo. IV., c. 55.

"The rates and amounts of the paper duties since 1770 are stated in a return in the Appendix, which was of too voluminous a nature to insert in the body of the Report.

"The gross receipt in 1834 was 833,822*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, the net receipt 771,162*l.* 13*s.*, from which latter sum the charges of the collection are to be deducted.

"A drawback of the whole duty is allowed on all paper made in the United Kingdom on exportation; and by the 43rd Geo. III., c. 69, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 55, allowances of duty were granted to clothiers, hot-pressers, and to the universities, which amounted, with the drawback in 1834, to 62,659*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

"A licence duty of 4*l.* is charged on all manufacturers of paper.

"A list of the witnesses examined is given in pages 4 and 5 of the Report, and in the following pages (6 to 10) will be found a full detailed statement of the regulations of the Excise under which the several duties upon paper are collected.

"The Commissioners advert to the important advantage which is enjoyed by the paper-makers under these regulations, viz., that unlike other growing-duty traders, they have 'the process of their manufacture exempt from Excise interference,' to which exemption the Commissioners attribute 'the very great progress which has been made in the application of various improvements to this manufacture, especially those arising from the extensive introduction of machinery, which have enabled the manufacturers, by combining the two processes of making and drying the paper through the operation of large cylinders heated by steam, to complete in a few minutes a quantity of paper which formerly occupied a period of as many weeks.'"

"*Injurious Effects of the Separation of Paper into Two Classes.*—The separation of paper into two classes by the 43rd Geo. III., c. 69, with two rates of duty, appears from the concurrent testimony of almost all the witnesses examined upon the point, to be attended with the most injurious effects. This separation was effected by the 43rd Geo. III., c. 69, by which it was enacted that all paper and pasteboard should be considered first class, and subject to 3*d.* per lb. duty, unless made *wholly* out of old tarred rope and cordage, *without extracting therefrom the pitch, or tar, or any part thereof*, and without any mixture of other materials therewith.

"It appears from the evidence of Mr. Dickenson, the chairman of the deputation of London paper-makers, and himself an eminent and extensive manufacturer, as well as from that of Mr. Gater and Mr. Gaussen, also considerable manufacturers, and which is confirmed by the deputation of paper-makers at Glasgow:—

"1st. That old tarred rope, which during the war, and before chain-cables came into use, was worth 4*l.* to 5*l.*, or less, is now worth 11*l.* to 12*l.* per ton.

"2ndly. That while old tarred rope has so much increased in price, some sorts of first class materials have so much declined in value as to be worth only 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* per ton.

"3rdly. That it has been found practicable, without extracting the pitch or tar of the old rope, completely to neutralize the smell of it: the result of all which is that that which at the time the law was settled, formed a good practical distinction between first and second class papers, has long ceased to be so; and that a very extensive evasion of the law, by the use of first-class materials in second-class paper, is the consequence.

"The department of Excise acknowledge that frequent complaints and disputes arise upon the subject: that it is difficult to distinguish between the two; and that one rate of duty would be infinitely preferable to two.

"It is almost superfluous to add, that the continuance of the present classification is condemned by the Commissioners of Inquiry, as calculated to produce consequences highly injurious both to the manufacturer and to the revenue."

"*Injurious Effects of the High Duty on the First-Class Paper.*—The injurious effects produced by the present high rate of duty on first-class paper is the next point adverted to, in reference to which, in consequence of the decline which has taken place in the price of paper, the rate of duty is described as amounting now to double what it was, and as forming a great check on the consumption of paper, as well as a great inducement to avoid paying the duty; the rate of profit therefore to the manufacturer has been reduced so low, by the competition with the smuggler, that a very large proportion of the capital vested in mills and machinery is represented as affording no return. On the inferior descriptions of wrapping-paper the rate of duty is stated to be not less than 200 per cent., and on the finer sorts, such as printing paper, it is 50 per cent.

"The frauds on paper in Ireland are stated by Mr. Saurin, the Solicitor for Ireland, and by Mr. Plunkett, the Inspector of the Revenue Police, and Mr. Ryan, the Collector for Londonderry, to exist to an enormous amount.

"The prejudicial effect of the high duty in reference to paper used in the printing of books is forcibly demonstrated by the Commissioners of Inquiry, and is illustrated by references to Mr. M'Culloch's 'Commercial Dictionary,' and to the evidences of Messrs. Knight and Parker, the publishers of the 'Penny' and 'Saturday Magazines.'

"The demand for books is stated to be so extremely uncertain, that in a case where a publisher calculates,

from the best information, the probable sale of 1000 copies of a work, he perhaps does not sell 500 copies, or even so many as 250 copies. The duty, however, has been paid on the whole 1000 copies, and therefore adds materially to the loss resulting from the speculation.

"The duty on the paper employed in a work such as the 'Penny Cyclopædia' is estimated by Mr. Knight at one-fifth of the whole; and he states that such a speculation, which now pays at 5,000 copies, would, if the duty were reduced one-half, pay at 40,000 copies, and, if entirely repealed, at 30,000 copies.

"Mr. Knight further expresses his opinion, that a considerable reduction of the paper duty would call numerous such works into existence.

"The operation of the duty on the ordinary volume is estimated by the London deputation at from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* a volume, according to the sale.

"The proportion of paper used in printing is estimated as exceeding two-thirds of the whole.

"The Commissioners of Inquiry justly observe, therefore, 'that a large reduction of duty will be materially felt, precisely in that branch of the manufacture to which it is desirable that relief should be afforded.'

"The effect of the repeal of the duty on almanacs, which amounted to 1*s* 3*d.* on each almanac, is very remarkable. No less than 200 new ones are described as having immediately started, of some of which upwards of 250,000 copies were sold within a short period, although the old ones maintain their ground; and Moore's Almanac is stated this year to have actually doubled its former sales.

"The result of the evidence received, and the observations of the Commissioners of Inquiry in the several parts of the United Kingdom, is stated by them to be, 'that the duties at their present rate and mode of charge, have a most injurious tendency, both in creating temptations to evade the law, and also in checking the consumption of an article which would otherwise be in demand for all classes of the people.'

"'As a remedy for these evils,' the Commissioners recommend 'that the present division of paper into two classes should cease, and that so long as that manufacture shall continue subject to an Excise duty, such duty shall be levied at an uniform rate; and that the present rate of first-class paper should be reduced one-half, and accordingly that 1½*d.* per lb. should be fixed as the whole amount to be levied on paper of all descriptions;' and further, that the present separate classes of pasteboard should in like manner be consolidated and reduced, and subject to one duty of 14*s.* per cwt., that rate of duty to be also payable on mill-boards and other boards, which now pay a duty of 1*l.* 1*s.* per cwt.

"The manufacturers calculate that a very small loss of revenue will result from these measures. The net-produce of the duty on first and second-class papers in 1834, was 718,043*l.*, from which, if the duty on second-class paper be deducted, viz. 101,023*l.*, there will remain 617,020*l.* Mr. Gaussen calculates that not more than 150,000*l.* of the above sum would be lost in the first year, and that every year afterwards that loss would become less. The London deputation estimate the 'amount which would be received by the Excise, after the consolidation of the duties on first and second-class paper, at 680,000*l.*,' leaving a loss of revenue of only 62,980*l.*

"The Commissioners of Inquiry advert to a complaint which appears to have been made by the deputations of paper-makers both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, of the loss and inconvenience arising from missing opportunities of conveyance, to which they are frequently subjected by the regulation which requires them to retain their paper on the premises for twenty-four hours after the departure of the officer who had weighed it and charged it with duty. The English manufacturers, as well as the officers of Excise, are opposed to the alteration of this regulation, on the ground 'that a shortening of the period would open a door to evasion of duty.'

"The Commissioners of Inquiry consider it inexpedient to dispense with this regulation during the continuance of the present rate of duty; but in deference to the 'strong feeling which the whole of the Scotch manufacturers have expressed upon the subject,' they suggest that 'some relaxation as to time may be allowed as soon as the duties are reduced and consolidated into one.'

"*Penalties.*—The Commissioners of Inquiry recommend a revision and reduction of the whole of the penalties established by the laws relating to paper, upon the grounds that 'the original penalties in the Act of Anne, establishing the duty, in no case exceeded 50*l.*, and were generally very much below it;' and that 'enormous penalties do not and will not check smuggling, so long as the temptation afforded by high duties exists.' The Commissioners specially allude to one penalty of 200*l.*, which is inflicted by the 1st Geo. IV., c. 58, sec. 6, for every label delivered to the manufacturer by the Excise, for which he cannot account. The utmost loss of revenue consequent upon the loss or misuse of the label, being the amount payable upon one ream of paper, which, in the case of writing and printing paper, would be from 5*s.* to 6*s.* 3*d.*, and on a ream of mill-board, 25*s.* The Commissioners suggest that a penalty of 40*s.*, or at most 5*l.*, would be quite sufficient to prevent fraud on this point.

"*Mode of Charge in Ireland.*—The manufacturers in Ireland, it is stated, are anxious to return to the original mode of levying the duty in that country, viz. 'by a licence duty imposed upon the engine according to the contents of the vats.' The introduction of the English mode of charge into Ireland was effected in consequence of the recommendation of the Parliamentary Commission of Revenue Inquiry contained in their Eighth Report; and the Commissioners state that 'all the evidence they have obtained leads them to concur in that Report; and that they, therefore, do not feel disposed to recommend a return to the former mode of levying the duty in Ireland.'

"A few other changes are mentioned as having been suggested by the Scotch manufacturers, as well as by the London deputation, such as 'the abolition of the present regulations which compel the keeping an account of the daily produce of the manufacture, and of the restrictions in regard to the number of sheets to be contained in a ream, as well as the obligation to send out no smaller quantity from the mill than a ream.' The latter restrictions were probably necessary when the duty was collected on the number of sheets and not on the weight of the paper, but are not only inapplicable now that the duty is charged by the weight, but afford, the Commissioners observe, 'just cause of complaint to the manufacturer, as well as an argument in favour of the earliest possible revision and consolidation of all the twelve or thirteen Acts relative to paper.'

"The Commissioners strongly urge a general consolidation of all the Excise laws."

"*Want of Communication between the Board of Excise and the Traders.*—The Commissioners of Inquiry observe upon a point which they state to have been repeatedly brought under their notice by the manufacturers of all descriptions, but which has been more especially insisted on by the manufacturers of paper; viz., 'that the Board of Excise do not allow any direct communication between themselves and the traders,' and that the only means the trade has of being made aware that an application has ever even reached the Board, or what is the result of it, whether favourable or unfavourable, is by a verbal communication through the supervisor. The Commissioners of Inquiry comment upon this mode of proceeding, as being in every respect highly objectionable, and suggest that it should be forthwith amended by the establishment of the same facility and freedom of communication in the Excise, as exists in the departments of the Customs, Stamps, and Taxes.

"*Credit.*—With regard to the extent of credit which is now allowed to the manufacturer after the duty becomes due, the opinions received by the Commissioners appear to have differed. In practice the duties are now collected only for twelve weeks. The Commissioners express their opinion that 'giving a long credit on an article which can be instantly brought to market after the duty is charged is an objectionable practice, because the trader receives the amount of duty for a considerable time before he pays it,' and they therefore recommend (sufficient notice of the intended alteration being given) that, 'in case of a reduction of duty, it should in future be collected in the round which follows the charge.'

"*Export Regulations.*—The Commissioners of Inquiry suggest relief, in the case of export, from the expense of the bond and some other expenses.

"*Allowances.*—The Commissioners further express their

opinion, that when the duty is reduced to 1½*d.* per lb., the allowances repaid to clothiers and hot-pressers, which amounted in 1834 to 6274*l.*, may be safely discontinued.

"*Expenses of Collection.*—The Returns of the Excise state that no greater reduction of expense than 6250*l.* could be obtained by the repeal of the duties on paper.

"The Commissioners recommend the abolition of the survey on makers of tea-trays and papier maché, which is attended with no advantage to the revenue; and they advert to the amount of duty paid on paper used at the public offices and for printing, which is estimated by Mr. Dickinson at 29,000*l.*, one-half of which, or about 15,000*l.*, will be immediately saved by a reduction of one-half the duty on first-class paper.

"*Stained Paper.*—The Commissioners of Inquiry conclude their observations on the paper duty by stating, that they deem the repeal of the duty on *stained paper* to be absolutely necessary to the full development of the benefit that will arise from the reduction of that on paper itself.

"The stained-paper duty was imposed by the original Paper-Duties Act (10 Anne, c. 18), and is distinguished by its being a second charge upon an article already highly taxed in its plain or simple state. 'Printed goods and stained paper' appear to have been officially classed together by the Board of Excise; and the Commissioners observe, that it is remarkable the latter duty was not repealed at the same time with the former, to which it was much more analogous than to the paper duty.

"The present duty on stained paper is 1¾*d.* per square yard, averaging about 1*s.* per lb. in addition to the 3*d.* per lb. levied on the paper in its plain state. A drawback of the whole duty of 1¾*d.* is allowed on exportation.

"The amounts of stained paper charged with duty, and of revenue received therefrom, in the year ended 5th January, 1835, are as follows:—

	Yards.	Revenue.
England . . .	8,071,094	£58,851 14 6
Scotland . . .	59,782	435 18 2
Ireland	618,268	4,508 4 1
	8,749,144	£63,795 16 9

"There are 108 paper-stainers in England, two in Scotland, and forty-six in Ireland; each of whom is charged with a licence duty of 4*l.*

"A list of the witnesses examined is given at page 29 of the Report; and in the two following pages are contained the Excise regulations, under which the duties are charged and collected.

"From these regulations it appears, that the stained-paper duty is charged on all paper prepared for use before it is stained; and that if a sheet therefore becomes spoiled or unsaleable in the staining, the paper-stainer must bear the loss.

"The price of stained paper is stated to be 2*s.* 6*d.* per piece; the two duties amount to 1*s.* 3*d.*, so that we have at once 100 per cent. of duty, in addition to incidental expenses and to the losses of the nature above described.

"The operation of this disproportionately high duty is very severely felt, particularly in the inferior papers, with regard to which Sir James Williams states, that 'for 100 pieces of high-priced paper they sell 1000 of the low-priced.' In such a state of things it is almost needless to add that evasion of duty takes place to a great extent, more especially in Ireland, where out of forty-six paper-stainers fourteen appear, from the Excise return for 1832, to have paid duty under 10*l.*, forty-three under 100*l.*, and three only paid duty above that amount. It is asserted that Irish stained-paper is imported into England, and sells for one-third less than English paper, so that the evasion of duty in Ireland is not only injurious to the revenue, but prejudicial to the interests of the manufacturers of the United Kingdom.

"The expense of collecting this head of duty is estimated by the Excise at 1800*l.*, the produce of the duty being 63,000*l.* The Commissioners of Inquiry however do not concur in the correctness of this estimate, but, on the contrary, express their opinion that a 'much greater expense is incurred.' Copious extracts from the evidence are given in proof of the laborious nature of the duties imposed upon the officers, and which also show the highly rigorous and vexatious regulations and restrictions to which the manufacturer is subject in consequence of the duty, and of the extent to which he is checked in all attempts at improvement by those regulations.

"Mr. Gaussen states that 'the paper makers themselves could, if this duty were abolished, print a cheap ornamental paper for the poor, simultaneously with the original manufacture; that they can produce at least thirty durable colours, and can render paper like watered silks and grained leather, as well as emboss it; and that the duty and labour for staining can thus be saved.'

"The Commissioners of Inquiry state, 'that after full inquiry, both amongst those concerned in the trade, and also amongst the various authorities of the Excise, they find themselves unable to suggest any measures for the prevention of the great extent of evasion which is at present practised, or for the protection of the fair trader, other than a total repeal of the duty on stained paper, as speedily as the state of the revenue will permit, and, if possible, simultaneously with the reductions and consolidation of the paper duty already proposed, it appearing to the Commissioners that the advantages anticipated from this latter measure will be in the highest degree increased by the concurrent repeal of the duty on stained paper.'

"The London deputation 'consider that the abolition of the duty on stained paper would be followed by an immense increased consumption of paper, so as in a great degree, if not entirely, to diminish the apparent loss to the revenue which would arise from the repeal.'

"The Commissioners close their Report with the following recapitulation of their recommendations:—

"1st. That the two existing classes of paper should be consolidated into one.

"2nd. That the rate of duty should be fixed at 1½*d.* per lb. on all paper.

"3rd. That all classes of paste-boards and mill-boards be in like manner consolidated, and that the duty to be levied on them be fixed at 14*s.* per cwt.

"4th. That the reduced duties be collected in the round following the charge.

"5th. That on the reduction of the duty, the allowances to hot-pressers and clothiers be discontinued.

"6th. That the penalties now existing be revised with a view to their reduction.

"7th. That the Acts of Parliament relating to paper be revised and consolidated, and that the manufacturers be furnished by the Board of Excise, with a digest of the regulations affecting their trade.

"8th. That the survey on makers of tea-trays, bottle-stands, and other articles of that description be discontinued; and,

"9th. That the duty on stained paper be repealed, and the survey abolished."

The duty on paper, it appears from this statement, is not so objectionable as some other Excise duties are, on the ground of any interruption to the manufacture occasioned by the mode of its exaction: nor is the expense at which it is collected large. Although, also, the frauds and evasion practised in regard to it have been carried to a considerable extent, especially in Ireland, it does not appear that this evil is essential to the duty, or that there would be any great difficulty in establishing such an improved system of regulations and management as would keep it pretty completely in check. The great objection to the duty is its amount, and the manner in which it operates both upon all manufacturers and dealers in the article, and upon the best interests of the public. As an illustration of its pressure in both directions, nothing can be more striking than the following statements which we extract from a representation by Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Phipps, and Mr. Magnay, given in the Appendix to the Report. We shall give, in the first place, their calculation of the present *ad valorem* effect of the tax, by which it appears that it is chargeable with the absurdity and injustice of being heaviest upon paper of the coarsest and cheapest description:—

	Price obtained by maker, independent of duty.	Duty.	Rate per cent of duty on prime cost of paper.
First Class Paper.			
Wrapping Paper marked A From 38*s.* to 42*s.* per cwt. is the current selling price of this paper, called Royal Hand, which is extensively used by	14*s.*	28*s.*	200

	Price obtained by maker, independent of duty.	Duty.	Rate per cent. of duty on prime cost of paper.
grocers and other shopkeepers in London, and throughout the country; but this low price is the effect of smuggling. If the duty were paid on all the paper sold by the manufacturer, he could not afford to sell it for less than from 50*s.* to 51*s.* per cwt.			
Printing Paper, marked B	56*s.*	28*s.*	50
Fine Writing Paper, marked C	126*s.*	28*s.*	22
Second Class Paper, D	21*s.*	14*s.*	66
To bring paper into this class, the law requires that it should be made wholly out of old ropes or cordage, without separating or extracting therefrom the pitch or tar, or any part thereof.			
Sheathing Paper, marked E	14*s.*	21*s.*	150

Forty-two shillings' worth of wrapping paper, therefore, it appears, pays as much duty as seven pounds fourteen shillings' worth of fine writing paper. This gross inequality and unfairness, however, might no doubt be corrected by an amendment of the scale of duties, which would also have the effect of putting an end to the greater part of the frauds that now take place in the trade. But this improvement would not touch the principal objections to the duty, arising from the peculiar nature of the book trade. One of these consists in the great enhancement which necessarily takes place in the amount of the duty during the transmission, so to speak, of the pressure from the paper manufacturer to the purchaser of a printed book. "The difference," the authors of the representation before us observe, "between what the public pay to the retail stationer and the price which the manufacturer obtains for paper, is fully 75 per cent.; so that the duty is exceedingly enhanced to the consumer. But the increase it causes in the price of books and other publications is greater. Where the sale is large and quite certain, it amounts to not less than 80*l.* per cent. . . . . But in cases where the sale is uncertain, that is to say, in three cases out of four, the bookseller must, in addition to this necessary commercial charge, augment his price further to cover his risk of loss on so large a preliminary payment as that of the whole duty on the paper used for his edition—of which, on the average, he perhaps sells less than one half. A demy octavo volume in boards weighs not less than two pounds; but we confidently believe that, instead of the duty augmenting its price to the consumer sixpence, it actually has the effect of increasing the price not less than two shillings; and we are of opinion, that if school-books and established works could be produced with a less outlay of capital the price would be reduced in a much greater proportion; and that we are justified in saying that it is a tax which greatly checks the diffusion of knowledge, and counteracts the improvement that would result from the instruction of the poor."

A statement is subjoined of the publisher's necessary charges to cover the duty on an edition of 1000 copies of a demy octavo volume of thirty-six sheets (576 pages); from which it appears, that if the whole edition be sold, the enhancement of the price of the volume by the operation of the duty is one shilling: if only 750 be sold, 1*s.* 2*d.*; if only 500 be sold, 1*s.* 6¾*d.*; and if only 250 be sold, not less than 2*s.* 8*d.* The additional charge actually made upon the public in consequence of the duty, in the case of each individual work, will not, of course, be comformable to this calculation; for the publisher must fix his price before he can know how many copies of his edition he is to sell (a necessity which forms the main hardship of his case in reference to this duty); but in the long run, or on an average, the pressure of the tax upon the purchasers of books will be as here stated.

COUNTY RATES.

WHAT is commonly called the public revenue does not by any means represent the whole amount of the money that is every year collected in this country for public purposes. The entire income of the nation may be considered as divided into several portions, each differing from the rest in the mode in which it is collected and expended. The mass of it no doubt remains in what we may call the natural state, that is, in the hands and entire management of individuals. But a large share also is diverted into a variety of other channels. There are, first, the taxes exacted by the state. Then there is that separate provincial taxation called in this part of the kingdom county-rates; and collected also, both in Scotland and in Ireland, under other names. There are the other local taxes paid in many cases by the inhabitants of boroughs. There are the assessments for the relief of the poor. There are the district collections for the maintenance of highways and of sewers. There are church-rates and Easter-dues. All these are claims from which no man can escape, whose situation and circumstances are such as to bring him within the line of liability marked out by the law. He may never cross his own threshold from the first day of January to the last of December, and still they will be demanded of him. He must pay them for doing no more than living in a certain locality. Next comes a large class of exactions in the shape of fees to the clergy, to officers of the courts of law, and to other public functionaries, which are not paid by every individual, but only by those who voluntarily place themselves in certain situations which the law has defined. Under this head also are to be reckoned port-dues, tolls, and other similar exactions. Another large portion of the national income is that which consists of the tithes, of the profits of glebe-lands and parsonage-houses, and of the rents drawn by civic corporations, by universities, colleges, schools, charities, and all other foundations enjoying the same species of support. Next we must set down the revenue annually drained away by the numerous institutions existing among us, which depend for their support upon voluntary contributions; and by the other demands upon his public or party spirit, which every man is constantly encountering in one or other of a thousand shapes. And, lastly, there is the vast amount of money which is every year poured into the many speculations, old and new, in each of which a number of persons are associated together in pursuit of a commercial object—such as banking companies, insurance companies, canal and railroad companies, mining companies, trading companies, and all others which are not mere private partnerships, but are open to any one who choose to purchase a share in the concern.

If we wish to ascertain the whole extent to which what may be called public association in pecuniary matters is carried in this country, both under the compulsion of the law and voluntarily, we must reckon up the sums annually diverted from individual expenditure in all these several ways. It would be curious to calculate the proportion which they might altogether bear to the total annual income of the nation. Certainly, what is commonly called the public revenue, large as is its amount, would not be found to form the largest part of the whole sum of the public contributions.

With the exception, however, of this taxation imposed for the general purposes of the state, and flowing directly into the public treasury, but little attention has until very recently been called even to those of the sums thus annually collected from the nation, the payment of which is enforced by the authority of the law. The chief of these are poor-rates, tithes, church-rates, and county-rates. The Poor-Law Amendment Act has now, it may be confidently hoped, put the first-mentioned impost in a course of gradual diminution, after a long period of steadily progressive increase. Tithes and church-rates have only as yet been partially looked into by Parliament; and little or nothing has been done (at least in this part of the kingdom) for the amendment of the law in regard to either. The public attention, however, has been awakened in regard to both, and a revision and reform of the existing state of things must ere long take place. The subject of County-Rates has also lately obtained the notice and consideration of both Houses of Parliament. Two Reports upon it, from a Select Committee of the House of Lords, are now before

us; together with a preliminary Report from a Commission appointed by the Crown, on the recommendation of the House of Commons. Of these papers we shall now proceed to lay the most material parts before our readers.

We shall give the first Report of the Lords' Committee at length, as a convenient introductory statement of facts. It is dated 1834, and is as follows:—

"By the Lords Committees appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the charges on the county rates in England and Wales; and to report to the House; and to whom leave was also given to report from time to time to the House; and to whom was referred the petition of the grand jury of the county of Carmarthen assembled at the general sessions of the peace of the said county, complaining of the local taxation paid by the agriculturists of England and Wales, and praying their Lordships for relief;

"*Ordered to report.*—That the Committee have met; and having prosecuted their inquiries, as well into the extent to which county expenditure has increased as into the causes by which that increase has been occasioned, proceed to submit to the House the result of their inquiries as far as they have hitherto gone, together with such suggestions as have occurred to them as to the means by which that expenditure may be reduced or more equitably provided for.

"It appears, upon a comparison of the county expenditure taken at decennial periods from 1792 to 1832, that the increase has been both progressive and considerable. The county rates in 1792 amounted to 315,805*l.*, and in 1832 to 783,441*l.*, being an increase of 148 per cent.; and as the heads of this expenditure have throughout remained unaltered, the Committee have had little difficulty in ascertaining, by an analysis of the returns which have been laid before them, the causes to which the increase may be attributed, and in forming their judgment as to the best mode in which any saving may be effected. From this analysis of the returns it appears that a large portion of the increased amount of county rates has been occasioned by causes connected with and dependent upon what may be deemed in themselves evidences and results of the growing population of the country, and of general improvement in its condition. The great extension, during the period above referred to, of improved means of communication throughout the country, has naturally called upon the counties for increased contributions for the erection of bridges: an urgent necessity has at times existed of having recourse to extraordinary expenses in preserving the public peace: the great increase of county business generally has swelled the demand for legal charges; and various other incidental items have also added to the general mass of county expenditure. To that portion, therefore, of the augmented charge the Committee do not conceive that they are called upon to advert, as requiring the special interference of the legislature with a view to relief from it as a burden. But their serious attention has been directed to another branch of charge which has greatly increased of late years, and which presses with peculiar severity upon those county resources from which county rates are levied; they allude to the large expense incurred for the administration of criminal justice throughout the country. The crimes, for the repression of which this expense is borne by the landed interest exclusively, mainly affect personal property, as far at least as regards many of the minor felonies; and the Committee cannot but consider that such a mode of providing for such an expense is no less partial than onerous. They are desirous, therefore, of calling the attention of the House, somewhat in detail, to its nature and progressive amount. It appears to have been in some degree occasioned by the altered construction, as well as the increased number, of gaols and houses of correction; by the system of classification and more strict discipline which has been generally introduced into prisons of late years; and by various regulations of a general nature which have been deemed necessary for the improvement of places destined for the reception of criminals. But that portion of the increased expenditure which is caused by the allowances for the expenses of prosecutions appears to the Committee in a far different light, and requires particular consideration. In the year 1792 the county charges for prosecutions in England and Wales did not exceed 34,218*l.*; in 1832 they amounted to 157,119*l.*, being an increase of 339 per cent. It is true that during this period the augmentation of population might fairly account for a part of this excess; but an augmentation of population from 55 to 60 per cent. is insufficient to account for an increase of allowance for prosecutions amounting to 359 per cent.; and the Committee are of opinion that much of it is to be ascribed to the operation of the 58 Geo III. c. 70.

"Previous to the passing of that Act the statutable rewards for the conviction of certain offenders operated as an adequate encouragement for the prosecution of persons guilty of counterfeiting coin, burglary, housebreaking, robbing in shops, warehouses, coach-houses, or stables, or stealing horses, or stealing or destroying sheep or cattle. These crimes constitute the great mass of offences tried at the assizes, and the statutable rewards upon the conviction of the offenders were payable in the first instance by the sheriffs, and were taken, as far as they went, to defray the expenses of the prosecutions, and allowed to the respective sheriffs in accounting with the crown. The costs of such prosecutions to that extent were thus charged upon the general revenues of the country.

"The 58 Geo. III. c. 70, at the same time that it repeals all such parts of former statutes as provided that rewards should be paid to prosecutors upon conviction for the above-recited crimes, provides that the county rates shall in future be charged with the allowances to prosecutors in such prosecutions.

"To this transfer of payment for prosecutions from the public purse to the county rates is to be added the increased charge arising from allowance of costs in the prosecution of certain misdemeanors, which has been allowed by subsequent statutes. Thus then the recent change in the law has thrown exclusively upon the land the whole expense of prosecutions, in the carrying on of which personal property is equally interested.

"It is not immaterial to add that the allowances for prosecutions at the assizes, over which the county magistrates have no control, are generally three-fold the amount of those which are given for similar prosecutions at the sessions, where the magistrates possess and exercise a direct and rigid supervision.

"Upon a review of all these considerations the Committee feel themselves warranted in calling the serious attention of the House to the equity, not to say necessity, of making some alteration of the law in this respect; and therefore strongly recommend that the costs of prosecutions at the assizes should be borne by the general revenues of the state, under such regulations as may effectually prevent all abuse and unnecessary expenditure.

"It further appears to the Committee, that the county rates, which have hitherto been submitted to with passive indifference, have been rendered liable to many payments which in principle and in analogy should be charged upon the general funds of the country.

"They would exemplify this observation by the charges of conveying transports to the places of embarkation. The expenses of transportation from the place of embarkation are charged upon the public purse, and there appear no reasonable grounds for exempting the same from the expense of conveying the convicts from the prisons of the interior to the places of embarkation.

The same observations apply in principle to the charge of supporting smugglers in gaol at the county expense; and the Committee are of opinion that all such charges should be defrayed out of the revenue of the department whose laws are broken.

"However much the Committee may have reason to lament the increase of county expenditure in minor points, and more especially in the payments to clerks of the peace, as well as in the salaries of officers, and other incidental expenses, they abstain from making further direct observation upon them, inasmuch as any abuse in such respects may be remedied by the existing powers of the superintending magistracy.

"The attention of the magistracy has been directed to the importance of economy in county expenditure, as has been lately evinced in more than one county, by their refusal to sanction charges upon county rates for returns made to the Secretaries of State or either House of Parliament, which, although generally complied with, are nevertheless not warranted by law; and the Committee cannot but entertain the opinion, that the public revenues

should be liable to all disbursements incurred in obtaining statistical or other information for the use of the legislature or any public department.

"The Committee, having thus stated their general views upon the important matter submitted to their consideration, beg to lay before the House the evidence which they have taken, together with an appendix, and also an index to this their First Report."

A large mass of minutes of evidence is appended to this Report, the principal part of which consists of a set of accounts, prepared from various parliamentary papers, of the expenditure of the county rates since 1792, in the several counties of England and Wales. These tables extend to above 200 pages; and the information they present is throughout of too minute a character to admit of any condensed view being given of it. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to extract the following—

SUMMARY of the EXPENDITURE of COUNTY RATES in ENGLAND and WALES for 1792 and 1832, or for such other Year as could be obtained nearest to each Period, under the several Heads, with the Increase or Decrease of each, together with the Rate per Cent. of Increase or Decrease.

HEADS OF CHARGES.	EXPENDITURE. 1792, or other Year.			EXPENDITURE. 1832, or other Year.			GROSS INCREASE.			GROSS DECREASE.			NET INCREASE.			NET DECREASE.	INCREASE per Cent.	DECREASE per Cent.
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
Bridges	42,237	0	0	74,501	0	0	46,503	0	0	14,239	0	0	32,264	0	0	..	76	..
Gaols, Houses of Correction, &c.	92,319	0	0	177,245	0	0	120,047	6	0	35,121	0	0	84,926	0	0	..	92	..
Prisoners — Maintenance of, &c.	45,785	0	0	127,297	0	0	91,325	0	0	9,813	0	0	81,512	0	0	..	178	..
Vagrants	16,807	0	0	28,723	0	0	15,435	0	0	3,519	0	0	11,916	0	0	..	70	..
Prosecutions	34,218	0	0	157,119	0	0	123,374	0	0	473	0	0	122,901	0	0	..	359	..
Lieutenancy and Militia	16,976	0	0	2,116	0	0	923	0	0	15,783	0	0	..			14,860	..	89
Constables	659	0	0	26,688	0	0	26,037	0	0	8	0	0	26,029	0	0	..	4,338	..
Professional	8,890	0	0	31,103	0	0	23,129	0	0	1,016	0	0	22,113	0	0	..	248	..
Coroners	8,153	0	0	15,254	0	0	7,535	0	0	434	0	0	7,101	0	0	..	87	..
Salaries	16,315	0	0	51,401	0	0	38,008	0	0	2,922	0	0	35,086	0	0	..	215	..
Incidental	17,456	0	0	32,931	0	0	24,987	0	0	9,512	0	0	15,475	0	0	..	88	..
Miscellaneous, Printing, &c.	15,890	15	7¼	59,061	14	10¼	48,692	0	9¾	5,519	1	6¾	43,172	19	3	..	..	..
	315,805	15	7¼	783,441	14	10¼	565,995	0	9¾	98,359	1	6¾	482,495	19	3	14,860	..	..

The Second Report of the Lords' Committee is little more than a proposal of a particular form, which they recommend should be prescribed by law as that in which the treasurers of the several counties should keep their accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the county rates. They suggest that the accounts thus kept should be annually transmitted to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for the purpose of being laid before both Houses of Parliament. From a table contained in an Appendix to the First Report, it appears that the entire emoluments of the Clerks of the Peace (eighty-four in number) in England and Wales, amounted in 1830 to 47,888*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*, in 1831 to 49,522*l.* 9*s.* 2½*d.*, in 1832 to 54,968*l.* 13*s.* 1½*d.*, and in 1833 to 55,570*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.*; making the average annual remuneration of each, on the average of the four years, 629*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.*

Two other important recommendations are also urged in the Report: the first, the expediency of establishing by law a more uniform and efficient system of prison discipline throughout the kingdom; the second, the amendment of the present system of the parochial constabulary force, with a view to increase its efficiency. Both of these are reforms demanded by many other considerations, as well as by those connected with the present subject; but it is very desirable that the attention of the legislature should be called to them on every occasion on which their importance and necessity come into view.

His Majesty's Commission, appointing H. J. Stephen, Esq., Sergeant-at-Law, T. L. Hodges, Esq., C. S. Lefevre, Esq., and Fortunatus Dwarris, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to inquire into the collection and expenditure of the county rates and highway rates of England and Wales, is dated the 5th of November, 1834; and the said Commissioners make their Preliminary Report on the 11th of August, 1835. By this time they had called for 736 returns from clerks of assize, clerks of the peace, town-clerks, treasurers of counties, treasurers of exempt jurisdictions, and gaolers and keepers of houses of correction, &c., but had only received 482, of which many were found to be imperfect and requiring amendment. "The state of our returns," observe the Commissioners, "being thus defective, we had intended to delay our Report until our information upon the various subjects which the inquiry embraces could be rendered more complete. But having, with the aid of our existing materials, been enabled with respect to some of these subjects to arrive at certain conclusions, which, from the facts already before us, are not, in our belief, likely to be varied by any evidence to be hereafter received; and having founded upon them a plan calculated to reduce the expenditure of prosecutions, and to produce other beneficial and important results, we have at length determined, contrary to our original design, to submit to your Majesty an outline of that plan."

They then proceed to remark, that for more than forty years past there has been a large and constantly progressive increase in the expenditure occasioned by prosecutions, and that in a much greater ratio than the increase of the population. Thus, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1814, with a population of 600,000, there was an expenditure in prosecutions of 2,823*l.* 4*s.*; but in 1824, when the population had increased only to 831,074, or by 38½ per cent., the cost of prosecutions had increased to 10,150*l.*, or by 259½ per cent.; and again, in 1834 the increase of the population (now 960,000) having been 15½ per cent., the increase in the cost of prosecutions (now 13,727) had become 35¼ per cent.

Without going fully into the causes of this augmented expenditure, the commissioners conceive that it "is chiefly owing to an increase in the number of prosecutions, which, as well as the general expenditure, is in a much greater ratio than that of the population, and partly to an increase in the outlay in each case, individually considered." The actual average expense of an excise prosecution throughout the country is stated to amount to about 19*l.*, and to vary in different counties from 15*l.* to 50*l.* The average cost of a prosecution at the quarter sessions is stated to be about 7*l.* 10*s.*, and to vary from 3*l.* to 13*l.*

When the returns for which they have called are complete, the Commissioners propose to subject each of the several charges connected with prosecutions to the strictest examination, with the view of ascertaining to what extent its reduction may be possible. "We have already, however," they add, "collected from an analysis of the expenditure in prosecutions, that a very large portion of it, and that which is most capable of economical regulation, consists of the charges for conveying witnesses to the place of trial, and their loss of time, maintenance and other expenses there during the period of the assizes and sessions,

In connexion with this fact, we have noticed with great interest, the circumstance that in those cases where an offence is cognizable in a court of local jurisdiction, and prosecuted there, the costs of the proceedings are always found to be comparatively very light. Thus from Leeds we have a return which proves that offences prosecuted in the borough courts are tried at an average expense of 4*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, while the charge for prosecuting an offence committed at Leeds and tried at the York Assizes, may fairly be stated on an average at 50*l.* The point, however, is best illustrated by the returns we have obtained from the exempt jurisdictions throughout the country. These towns are privileged to try in their own courts exclusively, the ordinary offences committed within their precincts, but send their capital felonies to be tried at the assizes; and it appears by the returns, that a prosecution of the former class costs the town on an average 5*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* only, and one of the latter, 59*l.* It is true that the offences tried at the assizes are in their nature generally more expensive, but that consideration is by no means sufficient to account for this great inequality, which is mainly owing to the absence (in towns) of the charges for conveyance and maintenance of witnesses and allowances for time, there being in general no necessity for these, when the offence is tried in the same town in which the prosecutor and witnesses reside. A similar result is obtained (differing only in degree) when the expenses of prosecutions at the ordinary quarter sessions for the county are compared with the costs of like cases, and [at?] intermediate sessions held by adjournments at different large towns, and disposing of the cases arising in the town and neighbourhood. Thus at an intermediate quarter sessions for the West Riding of Yorkshire, held at Sheffield in the course of last year, the expense of thirty-three prosecutions averaged 4*l.* 1*s.* each. Had these cases been taken to Pontefract, it appears from the evidence before us, that the average would have been several pounds higher, as at Pontefract Sessions in 1833 180 prosecutions averaged 9*l.* 15*s.* 2½*d.* each."

Led by these considerations, the Commissioners had devised a plan for extending over a greater part of the country the benefit of local trials, which they subsequently found to harmonise to a great extent with the provisions for the improvement of local jurisdictions contained in the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill.

"The plan," they proceed, "is to send round to every large town within each county an ambulatory judge of criminal jurisdiction, who shall hold sessions there for the trial of all such offences as are now ordinarily disposed of at quarter sessions, the capital cases being still reserved for the judges of assize. Such judge would hold a session for the town and its precincts, and also a separate session for some division of the county at large, of which that town might be considered the centre. The magistrates acting for the town, or the magistrates acting for the division (as the case might be) should we think be associated to the new functionary, and sit on the same bench, but should not be empowered to interfere, except in giving information and advice. The jurisdiction of the county magistrates at quarter sessions, so far as regards indictments, which has been exercised of late so extensively as to dispose of cases of horses and sheep-stealing, and other principal and highly penal felonies, would thus be superseded, while in all other respects the jurisdiction of the county magistrates would remain entire and undisturbed."

Besides the economy of this plan, it is conceived that it would be attended by various additional advantages. It would enable the pressure of the expenditure for prosecutions to be fairly divided between the town and the country; it might be conveniently connected with another arrangement for the trial before the same judge of civil causes, where the sum in dispute was small; and it might be taken advantage of to secure a greater frequency of jail deliveries than is now attainable.

"With respect," it is added, "to the question by whom the ambulatory judge is to be appointed and paid, we answer, without difficulty, by the Crown. If this expense were to fall upon the county or the towns, it would, no doubt, materially affect the value of the plan, in an economical point of view; and as it appears to be in the contemplation of your Majesty's Government to apply part of the funds at its disposal in aid of the county rate, we humbly conceive there is no way in which a portion of the intended relief can be so well bestowed as by undertaking the payment of the ambulatory judges. With the duty of payment it would be natural to connect the right of appointment. Indeed, unless that were to be exercised by the Crown, it would be difficult to make any arrangement on this subject which would be satisfactory to all the different portions of the county over which, in turn, one common judge might be appointed to preside. The principle of trying offences on the spot by an ambulatory criminal court, has been subjected to experiment in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where the quarter sessions are held at Doncaster in January, at Pontefract in April, at Skipton and Bradford in June, and at Leeds and Sheffield in October. At the latter place, it has further been found advisable to hold intermediate sessions by adjournments, one between Michaelmas and Christmas, and the other between Christmas and Easter. The only expense occasioned by this arrangement, has been in the attendance of the clerk of the peace, and in the taking over the prisoners from the house of correction at Wakefield, the cost of which, however, is inconsiderable, as they are carried in a caravan, containing at the same time 20 persons. The saving in the expenses of a prosecution thus conducted on the spot, has been shown to be nearly one-half, while at the same time the personal convenience of prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, generally persons in business, has been greatly promoted."

This suggestion for the establishment of local courts may be classed with those already mentioned for a reform in our system of prison discipline, and in the parochial constabulary force, as another recommendation springing out of the present inquiry of a measure still more important on other grounds than on those with a more especial reference to which it is here proposed. The more interests that come to be arrayed in favour of any improvement, the greater chance is there, of course, of its being speedily carried into effect; and it sometimes happens that inferior interests are more potent than those of a really higher character in enlisting in its support the most influential and effective services. The expectation of thereby diminishing the county rates may now be expected to come in aid of all the strong considerations of every other kind which call for an improved system of parochial police, an improved prison discipline, and an improved administration of justice throughout the kingdom.

In the remainder of their Report, the Commissioners express considerable doubts of the expediency and fitness of the plan of throwing the whole or any part of the expenses of prosecutions at the assizes and sessions upon the general revenues of the county. "We think it," they remark, "an unnecessary and unadvisable departure from what we regard as a sound principle of municipal law, *viz.* that crime should in its pecuniary consequences be a local burden. We apprehend, too, that it will lead to a large increase of expense; for upon such a plan the control of the expenditure would be confined to the agents of Government, and we are of opinion that the check required will never be effectually exercised by non-residence. But if, on the other hand, it should be found practicable to charge on the public revenues the expenses connected with gaols and bridewells throughout the country, we see many advantages in a plan of that description, if the management of those institutions were also placed in the hands of your Majesty's Government, and conducted upon general and uniform principles."

Some observations then follow on the expenses incurred in the conveyance of prisoners from one gaol to another, and in allowances to discharged prisoners on route, which we must pass over. The concluding head of the Report, however, is of greater interest, and we therefore give it without abridgement.

"A subject which has strongly engaged the attention of the Commissioners, is the undeniable hardship of charging on the realty all the expenses attending the invasion of personal property. Thefts are necessarily of chattels; the costs of prosecution being taken out of the poor's rate, fall entirely on real property; but the difficulty (amounting to an impossibility) of raising a fund, except out of land and buildings, by the taxation of stock in trade, or of profits of trade, or of funded property, renders a complete and effectual remedy for this injustice quite impracticable. Still great relief to the agricultural in-

terest has been afforded in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire (and we are informed in Cheshire), by making new valuations of the county or riding. This has been effected in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at an expense not exceeding 800*l.* or 900*l.*, and in Lancashire, 1000*l.* It has relieved the landed interest to the extent of one-third of the local charge, having brought the large towns and manufacturing districts to pay a full equivalent for the charges they bring upon the county. The mode of producing this desirable effect has been by rendering liable property in mills, factories, &c., which either never contributed before or did not pay a just proportion.

"In both Lancashire and Yorkshire, owing in part to the praiseworthy liberality of the great commercial towns, the new valuation has been well received throughout the county and riding respectively, and no appeals have been brought against it; the result is, that Leeds, in Yorkshire, where a new valuation has taken place, occasions to the riding an expense of 294*l.*, and contributes 1672*l.*; while Birmingham, in Warwickshire, where there has been no new valuation, furnishes about three-fourths of the prosecutions, and contributes little more than one-fourth of the rent.

"This inequality is explained when we perceive that, in Warwickshire the amount levied upon the land for poor's rate and county rate, in 1833, was 107,142*l.* 18*s.*, and upon mills and factories not more than 2720*l.* 9*s.* Again, in Leicestershire, a manufacturing district, the amount levied upon the land in the same year, was 108,330*l.* 3*s.*, and upon mills and factories only 783*l.* 2*s* And, notwithstanding the examples of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, the moderate expense attending the new valuations in those counties, and the encouraging result, the disproportion between the sums levied upon land, and upon mills, factories, &c. throughout England and Wales, is strikingly manifested when it is seen that, of the total monies levied by assessments for poor's rate and county rate in each county, in the year ending 25th March, 1833, which make 8,607,501*l.* 9*s.*, land and dwelling houses contributed 8,070,147*l.* 18*s.*

"While a new valuation is thus found to supply, so far as is practicable, a defect of principle in local taxation, in reaching, if not stock in trade or profits of trade, yet the buildings in mills and factories, &c., in which trade is carried on, its more direct operation is obviously to correct the inequalities resulting from the extensive changes in the value of rateable property occurring since a former valuation was made, either by the creation of the property, or by towns having risen into importance, or having greatly advanced in prosperity without any revision of the county rate. Thus Weymouth and Leamington furnish instances of newly risen flourishing places, which have not as yet been charged to the county rate upon the increased value of the property.

"Under these circumstances we feel quite satisfied of the expediency of new and periodical valuations in all other counties similarly circumstanced, adopted with so much success in Lancashire and Yorkshire, &c."

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE Select Committee of last Session appointed to inquire into the Consular Establishment, have made the following Report:—

"Your Committee have had several documents laid before them from the Foreign Office, and amongst the number a copy of the instructions sent to his Majesty's consuls resident abroad, which is appended to this Report. The result of their investigations on this subject has led them to the conclusion not only that those instructions have within the last two years been rendered very full, but that they are well calculated to secure, in many respects, an improved system as regards the whole department; and farther, that some additional advantage may be obtained by an extension of the measure already adopted, of prescribing to the consuls an uniform plan for the transmission of their returns to the Foreign Office.

"That the civil and criminal jurisdiction of British consuls in the Levant seems to require to be better regulated and defined, and that your Committee recommend this subject to the attention of government, with the view of obtaining from Parliament the necessary powers for that purpose.

"Statements have been laid before your Committee of the reductions which have been from time to time effected in the salaries and emoluments received by British consuls, together with the remonstrances made against such reductions, and they feel themselves warranted in stating that no grounds have been laid before them to justify further reduction; but on the contrary it is their opinion that the diminution of the total expense could not be carried to a greater extent without detriment to the public service.

"That your Committee recommend that the several consuls stationed at the ports of the Barbary States should, in common with all other consular officers, be under the direction of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"That your Committee are of opinion that the relaxation made in 1832 of the system pursued since 1825, of preventing consuls from engaging in trade, was beneficial. They are of opinion that many cases may exist in which it is expedient that the functions of consuls should not be mixed up with commercial transactions in the place where the consuls reside; but that in many others there seems no objection whatever to consuls trading, if in consequence the services of a better class of persons can be obtained at a more moderate charge to the public. Your Committee, therefore, recommend that no fixed rule upon the subject be laid down, but that the Secretary of State should exercise, as heretofore, his discretion in prohibiting trading to consuls in certain places, and authorizing it in others.

"Your Committee have considered whether any improvement could be made in the nature of the fund from which consuls at present receive their salaries, and a proposal was submitted to them for charging a part of their remuneration in places of considerable trade on the tonnage and imports entering such ports; but, upon the whole, your Committee are of opinion that the mode at present in force, of payment by annual vote of Parliament, is to be preferred

"That it further appears to your Committee that the table of notarial fees appended to the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 87, requires revision, and they recommend this matter to the attention of the government.

"Your Committee further recommend that instructions be sent to all his Majesty's consuls, requiring them, once in every six months at the least, to transmit to the Foreign Office the fullest information which, from time to time, they can possibly obtain with regard to the agriculture, foreign and domestic trade, manufactures, population, public works, and whatever else may be considered as bearing on the commercial interests of Great Britain, in order that through the agency of those officers a complete body of statistical information may be furnished in the communications abovementioned, and in such a manner as that their several statements should be brought down to the latest possible date, and that those periodical communications, received in the first instance at the Foreign Office, and subsequently handed over to the Board of Trade, be examined under the direction of the President thereof, with a view to having such portions of them printed as that Board shall not deem it inexpedient to make publicly known; and also that, with the view of enabling British consuls more fully to furnish information connected with trade, as well as for the better and more efficient performance of their other duties, your Committee recommend that the requisite proceeding be adopted for obliging the masters of all merchant vessels, on entering and quitting port, to wait on the consul and lay before him his ship's papers, as far as a regulation of this nature can be carried into effect consistently with the interests of trade.

"That your Committee having examined the advantages to be derived from transferring the consular department to the Board of Trade, are convinced that such transfer would be inconsistent with the interests of the public service, it being in their opinion impossible to separate those functions of the consuls, which must necessarily refer to the Foreign Office, from their commercial duties, which may be connected more directly with the Board of Trade.

"And, in conclusion, your Committee have further to recommend that consuls be relieved from the charge of postage of all documents transmitted to them by the Foreign Office, and for all returns sent by them in pursuance of their instructions."

The following are some of the most important papers given in the Appendix to the Report:—

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER;

AND

JOURNAL OF FACTS

IN

POLITICS, STATISTICS, AND PUBLIC ECONOMY

1835.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET.

MDCCCXXXVI.

INDEX.

Abercromby, Right Hon. James, election of, as Speaker of the House of Commons, 326
Abstracts of Reports—On Criminal Law, 290; on Lighthouses, 317; from the Church Commission, 345-348; from the Municipal Corporation Commissioners, 357-364; of the Committee on Medical Reform, 370-374; of the Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry on Glass, 429-433, and 482-485; of the Lords' Committee on the Prisons of England and Wales, 501-505; on the Offices and Fees of the House of Commons, 505; of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Condition of the Working-Classes in Ireland, 507; of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry on Hops, 514-516; on Paper, 549; on County Rates, 554
Acts, abstracts of—Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, as originally introduced into the House of Commons, 405-413; as finally passed, 526-532; of the Irish Municipal Reform Bill, 464; of the Irish Church Bill, 433; of the Lectures Publication Bill, 469; Glass Duties, 516; Polling at Elections Acts, 538; Act for the Abolition of Unnecessary Oaths, 538; Letters-Patent Amendment Act, 539; Marriage Amendment Act, 539; Duties on Tea, 539; Stamps and Assessed Taxes, 539
Acts, list of the public general Acts of session 1835, 492
—— private, abstract of the, for session 1835, 517
Administration, history of changes in.—See "Changes of Administration.
Advertisements, newspaper, parliamentary return relative to, 394
Albania, political situation of, 329
Amendment of the marriage law, 413; abstract of Act amending, 539
America, South, revolutions in, 476
—— prison discipline in, 486-491
American claims on France, 306
Arago, M., speech of against the proposed laws for the regulation of the press, &c. in France, 498
Assessed taxes Act respecting, 539
Augustus, Prince, of Portugal, death of, 379
Australia, Western, statistics of, 519
Austria, death of the emperor of, Francis I., 355

Bankruptcy Analysis for each month, 296, 326, 350, 375, 400, 424, 445, 471, 496, 540, 563
Brenton asylum the, 323

Changes of administration and history of parties, from the accession of George I. down to 1742, 285-290; from the breaking up of Walpole's administration to the formation of the elder Pitt's administration in 1757, 311-317; the Pitt and Bute administrations to the formation of the Rockingham ministry, 339-345; history of the Rockingham ministry, 364-370; the Chatham and Grafton ministries, 453-459; the Grafton and North ministries, 508-514; history of parties from 1770 to the breaking out of the American war of independence, 532-538
Charities, summary of property, expenditure, &c., 542
Chelsea, military asylum at, 324
Children's Friend Society, 324
China, disputes between Lord Napier and the Viceroy of Canton, 331; trade with China since the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, 491, 492
Chronicle of occurrences for each month—January, 308; February, 332; March, 356; April, 380; May, 404; June, 428; July, 451; August, 476; September, 500; October, 524; November, 548; December, 567
Churches, new, abstract of Report of Commissioners for Building, 510
Church Commission, abstract of Report from, 345-348
Commercial League, or German Custom-House Union, 330
Consolidated Fund, income and charge on, 296
Consular Establishment, abstract of Report on, 558
Corporations.—See 'Municipal Corporations'
County Rates, Reports on, 554
Criminal law, first Report of the Commissioners for the revision and digest of, 290-292
—— offences, abstract of official returns, exhibiting increase or diminution, 418-421
Customs-duty, amount of, at different ports, 542

Danish claims, history of the claims of merchants for indemnification, 415
Delinquencies, petty, expensiveness of imprisonment for, 390
Denmark, sketch of the history of, and present political position, 330
Dioceses of Ireland, 435, 436
Ecclesiastical inquiry, Ireland, extract from first Report of Commissioners, 435
Education, appropriation of parliamentary grant in aid of, 494; Lord Brougham's resolutions on, 441; various notes on education in Britain and on the Continent, 323, 324
Elections, general, in the beginning of the year 1835; result of, with the number of votes polled by the respective candidates, 297-304; new elections consequent on the change of ministry, result of, 399
—— contested, Act limiting the time of polling, 538
—— approaching municipal, 526
Eliot, Lord, his mission to Don Carlos, 402
Emancipation, negro, results of, 381
England and Wales, prisons of, Report of the Lords' Committee on, 501-505

Factories, number of, &c., in United Kingdom, 562
Falkland Islands, account of, 422
Fieschi, attempt on the life of the French King by, and indiscriminate murder committed with an *infernal machine*, 473
Fire insurance companies, 494
France, statistics of, viz., territory, population, agriculture, exports and imports, &c., 397; political retrospect for the different months (see 'Political Retrospect'); foreign and colonial trade of, 309; lighthouses in, 324
France and Germany, education in, 323
French revenue, 398
Friendly Societies' Institution, 398

General elections, result of, 297
German trade league, 336-339
Glass, history of, with abstracts of the Report of Commissioners of Excise Inquiry respecting, 429-433; 482-485
—— new scale of duties, and probable results of, 516
Gower's Walk School, Whitechapel, 323
Great Britain, political retrospect for January, 304; for February, 326; for March, 350; for April, 375; for May, 400; for June, 424; for July, 445; for August, 471; for September, 496; for October, 521; for November, 543; for December, 563
—— revenue of, 325, 348, 517; summary of savings banks returns for 1834, compared with previous years, 421; vessels employed in the trade of, 396, 397, amount of customs duty at different ports, 542; amount of postage collected at different towns and cities, 542; tables of the number of convicted offenders against the laws, the nature of their punishments, and the proportion to the population, 418; diplomatic service of Great Britain, 396; list of the members returned to serve in Parliament, 297
Greece, trade of, notes on, 437, 465
Grenada, New, republic of, account of, 391

Handloom weavers, abstract of the Reports of Committees on petitions from, 459-464
Holy Alliance, meeting of the Emperors of Austria, Russia, and King of Prussia, 523
Hops, excise on, abstract of the Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, 514-516
House of Commons' offices and fees, report on, 505

Ireland, working classes in, 507
Irish Church Bill, abstract of, 433-435
Irish Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, abstract of, 464
Italian States, administrative institutions of, 293-296

Kalisch, concentration of troops at, 523
King's Speech on the opening of the Session of Parliament, 327; and at the close of the Session, 498

Law, criminal, first Report of Commissioners, 290-292
Law students, France, number of, 324
League, Prussian, 336-339
Lectures Publication Bill, abstract of, 469
Letters-Patent Amendment Act, 539
Levant, notes on the trade of the, 437, 465
Lighthouses, Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on, 317-319
Lighthouses in France and in the United States, 324
Limitation of the time of taking the poll at contested elections in boroughs in England and burghs in Scotland, 538

Machine, Infernal.—See *Fieschi*
Marriage-law, amendment of, 413; abstract of Act amending, 539
Medical Reform, abstract of the Report of the Committee on, 370-374
Members of Parliament, list of, elected in 1835, 297-304
Melbourne, Viscount, new ministry formed by, 377
Mexico, new form of government established in, 476; account of the province of Texas, 543
Mexican finances, 495
Miguel, Don, curious proclamation by, 522
Milbank Penitentiary, 397
Militia estimates for 1835, 1836, 495
Military asylum at Chelsea, 324
Moldavia, principality of, 385
Municipal corporations, abstract of the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the existing state of, 357-364; abstract of the Bill for reform of, as originally introduced into the House of Commons, 405-413; amendments on the Corporation Reform Bill, 440; abstract of the Irish Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, 464; approaching municipal elections, with an abstract of the Corporation Reform Bill, as finally passed, 526-532

Napier, Lord, disputes with the Chinese Viceroy at Canton: death of Lord Napier, 331
National Debt, return relative to, 421
Navy of the United States, state and prospects of, 333
Negro Emancipation, results of, 381
New Grenada, republic of, description of, 391-393
New Poor-Law, working of the, 477-482
New elections, result of, 399
Newspapers, number of Stamps issued for, 518
——— number of, in United States, 325
——— in British American provinces, 296
Nicholas, Emperor of Russia, speech delivered by, to the municipal body of Warsaw, 546

Oaths, abstract of the Act for abolishing unnecessary, 538
Occurrences.—See 'Chronicle'
Offences, criminal, returns respecting, 418-421
Offices and fees of the House of Commons, report on, 505

Paper, Excise on, history of, &c., 549
Parliament, list of the members of, elected in 1835, 297-304
Parliamentary Register, exhibiting the bills introduced, and by whom, and the changes in the members of the House of Commons, from month to month, of Session 1835, 348, 374, 422, 444, 469, 495
Parties, history of, with sketches of the various changes in administration, from the accession of George I. to the breaking out of the American War, 285-290, 311-317; 339-345; 364-370; 453-459; 508-514; 532-538;
Patent, Letters, Amendment Act, 539
Peel, Sir Robert, resignation of the ministry under, 377
Petitions presented to the House of Commons during Session 1835, analysis and classification of, 349, 375, 399, 423, 445, 470,
Political Retrospect for the various months, 304, 326, 350, 375, 400, 424, 445, 471, 496, 521, 543, 563
Polling at Elections Acts, abstracts of the, 538
Poor-Law, working of the new, 477-482
Poor-Rates, return relative to amount expended, &c., 541
Post-Office establishment, state of, 519
Postage, amount of, collected at different towns, 542
Prisons of England and Wales, Report of the Lords' Committee on the, 501-505
Prison discipline and prison education in America, 486-491
Private Bills, abstract of the number of, for Session 1835, 517
Prussia, mineral produce of, 520
Prussian commercial policy, and German trade league, sketch of, 336-339
Prussia, education in, 322
Public petitions.—See 'Petitions'
Public income and expenditure, analysis of, 494

Reform, corporation.—See 'Municipal Corporations'
Revenue, abstracts of the net-produce of the, in the years and quarters ending 5th January, 1834 and 1835, 325; net public income of the United Kingdom for the year 1834, 348; and for the year ending 10th October, 1835, compared with the previous year, 517
——— French, produce of indirect taxes, 398
Russia, education in, 323

Savings Banks, summary of depositors and amount deposited for 1831, 421
Silk, importation of, from China, 491
Small debts, expensiveness of imprisonment for, 390
Speaker of the House of Commons, notices of the most remarkable contests on the subject of the election of, 319-322
Stamps, Act respecting, 539
Stamps, number of, issued for newspapers, 518
Switzerland, its political position, 355
Syria, trade of, notes on, 437, 465

Tea, new duties on, 539; importations of, under the East India Company's monopoly, and since the trade became free, 491, 492
Texas, account of the province of, 543
Tophtz, meeting of crowned heads at, 523
Trade, notes on the, of the Levant, Turkey, Greece, and Syria, 407-410, and 465-469
——— foreign and colonial, of France, 309
——— statistics, &c., abstracts of various documents connected with, 296, 324, 374, 397, 422, 442, 495, 519, 543, 561
Turkey and Egypt, affairs of, 379
——— and the Levant, notes on the trade of, 437, 465

Unions of Parishes formed by the Poor-Law Commissioners, 562
Unnecessary oaths Act abolishing, 538
United States, message of the President to Congress, on the subject of American claims on France, 306; prison discipline and prison education in, 486-491; navy, state and prospects of, 333-336; number of newspapers in, 325; lighthouses in, expense of, 324

Venezuela, statistics of, history, revenue, &c., 142
Vessels employed in the trade of the United Kingdom, 396, 397

Wallachia and Moldavia, principalities of, 385
Warsaw, municipal body of, speech of the Emperor of Russia to, 546
Weavers, hand-loom, reports on petitions from, 159
Wine imported, &c., 540
Working Classes, Ireland, first Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of, 507

Zumalacarregui, death of, 150

STATEMENT of the Sums Voted by Parliament on Estimate for the Consular Service under the Foreign Department, in each Year, from 1826 to 1834, compared with the Expenditure for the same Period.

	Amount of Grant.	Amount of Expenditure.
Year ending December 31, 1826	£119,000	£108,831
Ditto 1827	114,000	114,730
Ditto 1828	111,000	104,691
Ditto 1829	102,600	101,982
Ditto 1830	99,600	101,312
Ditto 1831	94,975	92,840
Three months to March 31, 1832	23,743	82,467
Nine ditto Dec. 31, —	51,019	
Three ditto to March 31, 1833	17,006	74,028
Nine ditto Dec. 31, —	51,281	
Three ditto to March 31, 1834	17,094	71,072
Nine ditto to Dec. 31, —	53,115	
	854,433	852,586

LIST of Consular Stations, with Annual Rate of Salary in 1835; Amount of Fees in 1833; Number and Tonnage of British Vessels; and Value of Cargoes Inwards and Outwards.

COUNTRY.	RESIDENCE.	RANK.	Rate of Salary.	FEES in 1833.	Number of British Vessels.	Tonnage.	INVOICE VALUE OF CARGOES. Inwards	Outwards.
Russia	St. Petersburgh	Consul	£500	£17 6 6	694	72,162		
	Archangel	ditto	300	5 12 6	216	41,388	£18,510	£325,190
	Riga	ditto	300	6 0 6	402	61,905		
	Liebau	ditto	150	9 2 3	26	3,322	1,112	63,166
	Warsaw	ditto	600					
	Odessa	Consul-General	600	257 5 0	92	20,557		504,255
	Taganrog	Vice-Consul	200	28 0 0				
Sweden	Stockholm	Consul	200	15 10 6	20	6,340	3,401	99,716
	Gottenburgh	ditto	500	18 5 10	39	6,056	30,773	27,976
Norway	Christiana	ditto	150	27 9 0	5	495		
	Bergen	ditto	200	9 0 0	71	4,460		
Denmark	Elsinore	ditto	700	23 12 6	3192*	590,859		
	Copenhagen	Vice-Consul	100	54 2 1	78	14,009		
Prussia	Dantzic	Consul	500	12 0 10	53	7,986		
	Memel	Vice-Consul	60		199	40,360		
	Pillau	ditto	50					
	Stettin	ditto	50	13 14 6	50	7,269		
	Konigsberg	ditto	60	2 18 6	15	1,010		
Germany	Hamburgh	Consul-General	1500	435 17 11	896	140,167		
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	300					
	Bremen	ditto	150	29 3 4	38	5,983		
	Lubeck	ditto	150	5 8 0	28	3,835		
	Cuxhaven	ditto	100	3 12 0				
Holland	Amsterdam	Consul	300	67 18 8	66	9,206		
	Rotterdam	ditto	450	72 6 9	639	87,421		
Belgium	Antwerp	ditto	800	66 11 8	109	15,409		
	Ostend	ditto	300	112 1 0	256	35,896		
France	Paris	ditto	100	191 12 10				
	Calais	ditto	400	254 16 3	91	8,169		
	Boulogne	ditto	300	222 14 6	26	1,122	54,268	14,920
	Havre	ditto	400	110 12 0	79	9,363	70,300	67,824
	Brest	ditto	300	45 0 0	2	77		
	Nantes	ditto	300	18 17 4	12	1,087	388	2,563
	Charente	ditto	300	70 3 7	65	8,554	7,355	277,346
	Bordeaux	ditto	400	107 9 1	64	10,806		
	Bayonne	ditto	300	3 11 2	3	318	800	15,000
	Marseilles	ditto	600	170 6 0	68	9,470		
	Toulon	Vice-Consul	50					
	Corsica	Consul	200	5 1 6				
Spain	Madrid	Consular Assistant	150					
	Bilbao	Consul	350	48 0 0				
	Corunna	ditto	400	9 0 0				
	Cadiz	ditto	500	213 11 5	216	28,036	105,695	953,530
	San Lucar	Vice-Consul	200	25 0 0	75	7,016	6,425	152,221
	Malaga	Consul	300	126 0 0	146	11,916	70,753	125,051
	Carthagena	ditto	400	7 0 0	14	1,548		
	Alicante	ditto	300	158 0 0	50	5,856	28,492	51,283
	Barcelona	ditto	400	53 6 8	22	3,058	21,405	2,550
	Mahon	ditto	200	5 0 0				
	Teneriffe	ditto	500	4 10 0	44	4,705	26,867	26,910
	Havana	ditto	300		52	5,800	313,129	29
	St. Jago de Cuba	ditto	300	16 8 0	20	2,403	8,611	4
Portugal	Lisbon	Consul	600	300 8 0	430	47,368		
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	300					
	Oporto	Consul	500	89 6 6	115	15,304		
	Madeira	ditto	300	313 10 0	158	29,612	50,081	1
	St. Michael's	Consul-General	400	268 8 0	305	21,903	56,437	1
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	100					
	Fayal	ditto	100		32	3,607	8,699	
	Terceira	ditto	100		59	5,419	18,200	Circuit 2,495

* Vessels which passed the Sound.

relief of 4

made by receivers, 1,653

127

4,275

COUNTRY.	RESIDENCE.	RANK.	Rate of Salary.	FEES in 1833.	Number of British Vessels.	Tonnage.	INVOICE VALUE OF CARGOES.	
							Inwards.	Outwards.
			£100	£			£	£
Portugal (*cont.*)	Cape Verdes	Vice-Consul	400	257 0 0	72	11,539		
Italy	Genoa	Consul	200	57 0 0	19	2,285		
	Nice	ditto	250					
	Cagliari	ditto	400	319 0 0	190	30,739		
	Leghorn	ditto	100	81 0 0	42	6,254	90,395	94,900
	Ancona	Vice-Consul	..	193 0 0	29	4,539	31,779	8,465
	Rome	Consular Agent	300	169 0 0	110	15,617	. .	61,714
	Naples	Consul	100	19 0 0	25	3,303		
	Gallipoli	Vice-Consul	25					
	Otranto	ditto	400	86 0 0	69	10,161	87,660	92,210
	Palermo	Consul	200	389 0 0	149	19,512	49,486	87,683
	Messina	ditto	1000	32 0 0				
Austria	Austrian States	Consul-General	100	63 0 0	23	3,095		
	Venice	Vice-Consul	100	233 0 0	128	23,518	1,134,402	246,158
	Trieste	ditto	50	3 0 0	2	412	900	3,300
	Fiume	ditto	60	2 0 0				
	Ragusa	Consul	700	74 0 0	23	3,620	27,939	38,949
Greece	Patras	Consul	200					
	Pyrgos	Vice Consul	250					
	Napoli	ditto	300	29 0 0				
	Syra	Consul	1600	345 0 0	104	14,785		
Turkey	Constantinople	Consul-General	400	129 0 0				
	Ditto	Vice-Consul Cancellier	200	7 0 0	12	1,617	45,290	21,750
	Trebizond	Vice-Consul	300					
	Dardanelles	ditto	300					
	Salonica	ditto	500					
	Bucharest	ditto	200					
	Adrianople	ditto	800	372 0 0	94	13,466		
	Smyrna	Consul	200	137 0 0				
	Ditto	Vice-Consul Cancellier	250					
	Ditto	Chaplain	300					
	Ditto	Surgeon	50	18 0 0				
	Scio	Vice-Consul	460	327 0 0				
	Prevesa	Consul	800					
	Damascus	Consul-General	500					
Syria	Aleppo	Consul	500					
	Beirout	ditto	150					
	Candia	Vice-Consul	25					
	Cyprus	ditto	1600					
Egypt	Egypt	Agent and Consul-General	300	187 0 0				
	Alexandria	Consul	300					
	Ditto	Vice-Consul Cancellier	300	79 0 0				
	Cairo	Vice-Consul	800	326 0 0	364	69,006	429,414	525,502
United States	New York	Consul	500	156 0 0	100	19,838	82,197	87,766
	Philadelphia	ditto	500	111 0 0	68	20,428	69,196	492,149
	Charleston	ditto	500	462 0 0	94	31,193	230,038	898,107
	New Orleans	ditto	500	157 0 0	259	25,561	48,676	51,401
	Boston	ditto	500	104 0 0	37	7,539	31,620	49,770
	Baltimore	ditto	400	45 0 0	30	8,991	10,108	253,923
	Mobile	ditto	300	107 0 0	76	13,446	14,644	55,532
	Norfolk	ditto	300	56 0 0	64	20,713	33,256	395,240
	Savannah	ditto	70	85 0 0	1783	109,197	57,447	32,935
	Portsmouth	Vice Consul	1500					
Mexico	Mexico	Consul General	300	. . .	2	357	18,500	5,000
	San Blas	Vice-Consul	500	66 0 0	26	4,162	398,100	
	Vera Cruz	ditto	400	. . .	5	579		
	Tampico	ditto	1200	1 0 0				
Guatemala	Guatemala	Consul	1000	. . .	21	2,304	136,688	13,368
Colombia	Carthagena	Consul	300	. . .	3	188	8,128	2,012
	Maracaibo	Vice-Consul	1250	6 0 0	13	2,483	74,073	4,242
	Caracas	Consul	1000					
	Panama	ditto	1000	11 0 0	17	3,277	44,854	34,403
	Guayaquil	ditto	800	21 0 0	25	5,228	16,910	41,165
	Puerto Cabello	ditto	300	981 0 0	203	40,232	1,540,704	710,883
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	Consul	250	10 0 0	3	661	. .	20,637
	Maceio	Vice-Consul	300	120 0 0	40	12,120	222,265	335,720
	Maranham	Consul	200	48 0 0	21	3,489	57,492	66,441
	Para	Vice-Consul	500	301 0 0	76	15,584		
	Pernambuco	Consul	800	482 0 0	150	33,831		
	Bahia	ditto	1000	46 0 0	51	9,377	132,028	98,190
Monte Video	Monte Video	Consul-General	800	316 0 0	73	14,071	625,674	288,771
Buenos Ayres	Buenos Ayres	Consul	1600	143 0 0	50	11,040		
	Valparaiso	Consul-General	700					
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	900	15 0 0	9	3,305	786	2,011
	Concepcion	Consul	1000	. . .	7	. .	. .	36,401
	Coquimbo	ditto	2000	40 0 0	46	9,078		
	Lima	Consul-General	700					
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	1000	89 0 0				
	Arequipa	Consul	1200	51 0 0	25	4,007	190,905	85,523
	Port au Prince	Consul	500					
	Ditto	Vice-Consul	400	. . .	24	3,590	79,208	66,967
	Cape Haitien	ditto	200	. . .	19	7,300	18,250	16,375
	Wouhoo	Consul						

This Paper is imperfect, in consequence of the Returns not being all received.

STATEMENT showing the total expenditure for the consular service in each year from 1826 to 1834, inclusive:—

Salaries to consuls-general, consuls, and vice-consuls:—

1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
£95,791	£97,021	£93,102	£90,863	£91,350
1831	1832	1833	1834	
£84,148	£71,416	£6,380	£61,072	

Contingent expenses:—viz., chaplains' salaries, maintenance of churches, chapels, burial grounds, relief of distressed British subjects, special services, &c.:—

1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
£13,040	£17,709	£11,589	£11,119	£9,962
1831	1832	1833	1834	
£8,692	£11,051	£10,221	£10,000	

Total consular expenditure:—

1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
£108,831	£114,730	£104,691	£101,982	£101,312
1831	1832	1833	1834	
£92,840	£82,467	£74,028	£71,072	

The returns for 1834 not being complete, an estimate is all that can be given.

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Beet-Root Sugar.—We have compiled the subsequent information from De Dombasles' 'Inquiry into the State and future Prospects of the Manufacture of Beet-Root Sugar.' The first point to be ascertained is the price at which the article can be produced. Now, experience shows us, that the cost of 1000 lbs. of beet-root in the neighbourhood of all the manufactories in France is 8 francs (about 6*s.*) But further improvements will undoubtedly be made in the cultivation of the root; and even at this moment contracts have been made with several growers for supplying the manufacturer at a lower rate. We will suppose, however, that the price mentioned continues. When sugar was first made from the root, it yielded 3lbs. of the sugar for every 100lbs. weight of the root; the quantity obtained was afterwards raised to 4½lbs.; and at this day it has been generally increased to 6lbs., and where due skill is used, to nearly 7lbs. Hence we see that 1000lbs. of root yield only 60lbs. of sugar, although it is known, by chemical analysis, that beet-root contains ten per cent. of crystallizable sugar; nor can there be any question that at least eight per cent. will in a short time be extracted under improved processes. In this case, every pound of sugar will cost two sous (about 1*d.*), and no more, so far as the price of the material only is concerned. The cost of manufacture (and the author speaks of what is actually done by several makers) amounts to not more than 6 francs (about 4*s.* 6*d.*) for every 1000lbs. weight of sugar. In this way, where 50,000 cwt. are daily made, the simple cost of manufacture is 600 francs (about 24*l.*) per diem. But the value of the molasses and the cakes, after the saccharine matter has been extracted, come in diminution of that expense, and this cannot be estimated at less than 2 francs (about 1*s.* 6*d.*); the actual cost of manufacture is thus reduced to 4 francs (about 3*s.*) Assuming, therefore, as the bases of calculation, that 6lbs. of sugar are obtained, that 1000lbs of beet-root cost 6*s.*, and that the expense of manufacture is 3*s.*, it is obvious that a pound of the sugar costs about 2*d.*, or, more correctly speaking, 1⅞*d.* If, however, the 1000lbs. of root are made to produce 8lbs. of sugar, the price will not exceed 1½*d.*, a price at which no foreign sugar can be sold, in France at least. As yet, in France, each individual is estimated to consume but 3¾lbs. of sugar, whilst in England the average consumption for each individual is 16lbs. a year.

Trade of Russia.—The trade of this country assumed last year a somewhat new aspect. There was so bad a harvest in 1833 that many provinces, instead of being large exporters of grain, became, in consequence of the remission of all duties, considerable importers; and hence ensued a natural decrease in the importation of other articles. When, however, the necessity of providing supplies of foreign grain ceased, the trade of Russia reverted to its accustomed course.

The exports to foreign countries in 1834 amounted to	Roubles 217,322,446	
„ Finland	2,440,993	
„ Poland	10,656,441	
Total	230,419,880	or £10,360,900
The imports from foreign countries amounted to	Roubles 214,324,630	
„ Finland	969,919	
„ Poland	2,798,803	
Total	218,093,352	or £9,996,000
Excess of exports over imports		£364,900
The importation of gold and silver exceeded the exportation in the sum of	Ro. 15,402,575	or £706,050

The largest articles of export were

Hemp	Poods 2,824,935
Copper	317,222
Timber and deals	Ro. 8,985,489
Raw hides	11,235,988

Of the last article the export was double the quantity exported in 1833, owing to the prodigious number of beasts slaughtered by reason of the want of fodder. The export of tallow from the northern ports of the empire amounted to 3,780,831 poods; somewhat less than the export of the preceding year; but from Odessa there were exported 788,000 poods, double the quantity exported in 1833.

With regard to the imports, the most observable fact was, that in 1834, 1,100,000 tshetwerts of grain, valued at 20,714,000 roubles, of about 949,440*l.*, and 469,479 vedros of spirit from corn, for the use of the great brandy distillery in St. Petersburg, were imported.

Prussia.—During the last fifteen years the number of births in the Prussian dominions, exclusively of Neufchatel, has amounted to 7,583,017; among these there were 257,068 still-born children, namely, 147,705 boys, and 109,363 girls. In the same interval there were 5,457,209 deaths, including the still-born children; and 26,576 of the entire number had attained to upwards of ninety years of age. Between the years 1826 and 1834, 430 individuals died of hydrophobia; and, during the last six years, 38,733 of various casualties. In 1831 the cholera carried of 32,647 persons. During the last fifteen years 16,680 persons committed suicide, amongst whom were 2981 females; 44,699 fell victims to the small-pox; and 70,215 females died in the pains of child-bearing.

Number of Emigrants from the United Kingdom during 1832, 1833, and 1834:—

	1832.	1833.	1834.
British North America	66,339	28,808	40,060
United States	32,980	29,225	33,074
Cape of Good Hope	202	517	288
Australian Settlements	3,792	4,134	2,800
Total	103,313	62,684	76,222

Wheat.—Annual Average Prices of Wheat from 1815 to 1834:—

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
1815	63	8	1825	66	6
1816	76	2	1826	56	11
1817	94	0	1827	56	9½
1818	83	8	1828	60	5
1819	72	3	1829	66	3
1820	65	10	1830	64	3
1821	54	5	1831	66	4
1822	43	3	1832	58	8
1823	51	9	1833	52	11
1824	62	0	1834	46	2

Shipping.—Number of Vessels which passed the Sound and cleared at Elsineur during 1834:—

	From the North Sea.	From the Baltic.	Total of Ships.	Tonnage.
British	1,382	1,374	2,756	519,846
Hanoverian	189	197	386	54,362
Danish	417	342	759	76,230
Swedish	466	470	936	99,216
Norwegian	746	750	1,496	151,096
Prussian	945	982	1,927	385,460
Russian	259	292	551	136,398
Dutch	319	362	681	80,730
Belgian	7	6	13	1,326
Mecklenburgh	277	308	585	66,694
Hamburg	8	18	26	3,250
Bremen	24	25	49	6,035
American	82	76	158	39,568
French	54	61	115	14,911
Italian States	16	16	32	4,075
Spanish	9	19	28	2,643
Oldenburgh	20	15	35	4,395
Lubeck	37	45	82	10,675
Total	5,257	5,348	10,606	1,656,910

Petitions filed and Adjudications made by the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, during 1834:—

Number of Petitions Filed.		Number of Adjudications made by the Court for Relief of Insolvents.	
Prisons in London, Middlesex, and Surrey	2,145	By Court in London	1,653
Wales and Berwick-upon-Tweed	121	Justices at Sessions	127
Other prisons in England	2,821	Commissioners on Circuit	2,495
Total	5,087	Total	4,275

PARLIAMENTARY ABSTRACTS.

Number of the Unions formed; with the Agency of each Assistant Commissioner; the Number of the Parishes united, and the Average Amount of Poor's Rates.

Name of Assistant Commissioner.	Up to the 8th of August, 1835.					
	County.	Number of Unions declared.	Number of Parishes united.	Population.	Total Amount of Average Rates included.
					£.
Colonel à Court	Hants 21, Wilts .., Berks ..	21	270, 10, 1 = 281	181,865	146,541
Sir F. B. Head	Kent	14	211	132,696	143,278
Mr. Gulson	Berks 8, Oxford 3, Hants 1, Gloucester 2, Warwick 2, Wilts 2, Northampton 3	11	140, 113, .., .., .., 10 = 263	164,915	133,690
Mr. Power	Hertford 4, Essex 3, Cambridge 3, Hunts ..	10	68, 96, 61, 2 = 227	150,563	125,301
Mr. Hawley	Sussex	11	132	107,578	118,811
Mr. Adey	Hertford 8, Bedford 4, Bucks 1, Middlesex ..	13	71, 78, 13, 3 = 165	158,931	110,214
Mr. Mott	Suffolk 4, Wilts 2, Gloucester 1, Middlesex 1, Somerset ..	8	129, 25, 35, 8, 1 = 198	127,619	107,147
Mr. Gilbert	Bucks 6, Oxford 4, Herts 1 ..	6	145, 5 = 150	109,871	104,713
Mr. Hall	Berks 3, Oxford 2, Wilts 8, Bucks 2, Hants 1 ..	5	45, 81, 11, .. = 137	79,007	72,900
Mr. Earle	Northampton 7, Oxford 2, Bucks 2, Bedford 3 ..	7	154, 8, .. = 162	92,259	68,697
Dr. Kay	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Pilkington	Sussex 5, Hants ..	5	110, 2 = 112	52,223	61,212
Mr. Weale	..	..	..	..	..
Sir Edward Parry	Norfolk 2	2	68	27,597	29,039
Mr. Tufnell	..	..	..	..	..
	Totals	111	2,311	1,385,124	1,221,543

Since the above statement was drawn up, there have been 103 additional unions formed, making 214 in all, up to the present time, (Dec. 1835.)

Number of the Cotton, Wool, Silk, and Flax Factories worked by Steam or Water in the United Kingdom, with the number and ages of Persons employed therein in the Year 1835.

COUNTRIES.	Number of Factories.		NUMBER AND AGES OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						
			Between 8 and 12 Years.	Between 12 and 13 Years.	Between 13 and 18 Years.	Above 18 Years.	TOTAL PERSONS.		
	At Work.	Empty.					Males.	Females.	Total.
England	2,555	76	18,828	29,665	88,667	156,533	138,254	155,439	293,693
Wales	90	..	76	269	619	972	980	956	1,936
Scotland	423	..	1,532	5,210	15,932	28,021	15,818	34,362	50,180
Ireland	90	..	152	723	2,990	5,184	3,503	6,061	9,564
Total	3,160	76	20,588	35,867	108,208	190,710	158,555	196,818	355,373
	3,236								

Note.—All under ten years are employed on silk only; children between ten and twelve years are subject to the education clauses of the Bill for regulating labour in Factories, except those in silk, and work nine hours per day, or forty-eight hours per week. On the 1st of March, 1836, this regulation will be extended to those children who will then be under thirteen years. Young persons between twelve and eighteen years work twelve hours a-day, or sixty-nine per week. In 1836 the regulations will be altered, so as to include only those from thirteen to eighteen years of age.

Average number of Persons employed in each Factory :—

	Cotton.	Wool.	Silk.	Flax.	Totals of Places.
England	170	59	130	106	115
Wales	230	9	..	..	21
Scotland	205	39	114	79	118
Ireland	154	42	40	147	106
Average of totals of manufactures	174	54	129	96	112

An Account of the Prices by Contract, or otherwise, of various Articles of Provisions, Clothing, and Household Stores, at the Royal Hospital, Greenwich, during the year 1834 :—

Articles.		Prices.		
Flesh	Per Cwt.	£2	3	9
Bread	lb.	0	0	1 1187/2668
Flour	Sack	1	17	6¼
Butter	lb.	0	0	7¾
Cheese	,,	0	0	4¼
Peas (split)	Bushel	0	8	6
Oatmeal	Cwt.	0	13	6
Salt	Bushel	0	1	6
Malt	Quarter	2	15	1½
Hops	Cwt. in Pockets	5	1	0
Beer	Barrel	0	12	3¾
Candles	Dozen lbs.	0	5	6
Shoes	Pair	0	3	3¾
Coals	Ton	0	14	1!
Mops	Each	0	1	3¼
Stockings	Pair	0	1	8½
Hats	Each	0	3	0
Suits of Bedding; viz. Bed, Bolster, Pillow, 3 Blankets, 1 Coverlet		2	4	11¼
Suits of Clothes		2	7	2½
Coats	Each	0	0	0

Daily Wages.				
Bricklayers	0	4	10	
,,	0	4	8	
Carpenters	0	5	5	
Masons	0	5	3	
Plumbers	0	5	5	

Whale Fishery.—Number of British Ships employed in the Whale Fishery from 1820 to 1834 ;—

	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1820	194	62,750	210	64,847
1821	197	60,257	196	59,445
1822	157	48,204	169	49,700
1823	170	51,796	179	55,297
1824	148	45,925	144	44,378
1825	138	42,736	142	43,721
1826	125	39,394	128	40,532
1827	119	38,002	121	38,290
1828	106	34,029	110	35,829
1829	113	35,982	119	39,540
1830	97	31,897	123	40,166
1831	111	37,454	110	36,472
1832	106	34,900	116	38,240
1833	94	30,775	100	32,275
1834	107	34,161	99	33,014

PARLIAMENT—NEW MEMBERS.

Contested Election for North Northamptonshire :—

Members returned.		Unsuccessful Candidate.	
T. P. Maunsell	1,841	Mr. Hanbury	1,246

North Leicestershire—Lord Charles Manners, without opposition.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Nov. 24 to Dec. 25.

Agent, 1; alkali manufacturer, 1; baker, 1; bazaar keeper, 1; billiard-table manufacturer, 1; bleacher, 1; booksellers, 2; boot and shoe-makers, 2; brewers, 5; brush manufacturer, 1; builder, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; calico-printers, 2; carpet-manufacturer, 1; chemist, 1; cheese-factor, 1; clergyman, 1; coal-dealers, 2; commission-agents, 3; corn-dealers, 5; drapers, 3; drysalter, 1; dyer, 1; general dealer, 1; engraver, 1; farmer, 1; grocers, 6; hay-salesman, 1; hosier, 1; hotel-keepers, 2; inn-keepers, 5; iron-master, 1; ironmonger, 1; jacquard machine maker, 1; lace-manufacturer, 1; linen-drapers, 2; lime-burner, 1; lamp-manufacturer, 1; miller, 1; merchants, 8; money-scriveners, 2; music seller, 1; oilman, 1; plumber, 1; rope-maker, 1; scriveners, 2; stationers, 2; ship-owner, 1; silk-manufacturer, 1; silversmith, 1; smith, 1; surgeon, 1; spice-merchant, 1; saddler, 1; tailors, 3; tea-dealers, 1; timber-merchant, 1; undertaker, 1; victuallers, 4; watchmakers, 3; wharfingers, 3; wine-merchants, 2; woollen-draper, 1. Total, 109. Total from the commencement of the year, 999.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR DECEMBER, 1835.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Addresses in answer to the Governor's Speech, both of the House of Representatives and of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, have been received. That of the Council expresses confidence in the benevolence and wisdom of his Excellency's intentions, and also in the prospect there is of their realization. The Address of the House of Representatives, though perfectly courteous, is very far from cordial; and cannot be said to afford ground for much hope of any settlement of the differences that agitate the colony being effected on the principles that had been announced by the Governor. In evident reference to the reserve that had been maintained in his Excellency's Speech upon the subject of organic changes in the constitution of the Government, the Address says, "We pray to be allowed to assure your Excellency, that the representations which have been made by this House and by the people, on the subject of the present constitution of the legislature of this province, were so made after mature deliberation, and a most careful consideration of the principles of government, and of past events. The general opinion of the people gives additional strength to our conviction, that no arrangement of a merely administrative nature could produce that harmony, which, in common with your Excellency, we have so much at heart, with a view to the full and effective representation in the legislature of the country of the rights, interests, desires, and wants of the people thereof." According to intelligence that has since arrived, the Legislative Council had on the 13th of November, thrown out the bill sent up by the House of Representatives, for the appointment and payment of Mr. Roebuck as agent for the colony in this country. In the 'Quebec Gazette' of the 11th of November, however, it is stated that the contingencies of the Assembly, including the payment of the agencies of Messrs. Viger and Roebuck, and other irregular charges, had been paid by Lord Gosford that day, unconditionally.

In the course of the month the 'London Gazette' has announced his Majesty's approval of the division of numerous boroughs, and the boundaries assigned to the wards by the revising-barristers, according to the provisions of the Corporation Reform Act. In the cases of several boroughs, also, it has been declared that the division and assignment made by the revising-barristers, appearing to be in certain particulars liable to objection, are disapproved of; "but nevertheless," it is added, "his Majesty, by the advice of his Privy Council, doth order that the particulars of the division and assignment so made by the said barristers, shall be published in the London Gazette, in order that such force and validity may be given thereto as is authorized and directed by the said Act." They will, by the 39th clause of the Act, remain in force for the present, and until other divisions shall be definitively approved of by his Majesty in Council.

On Thursday the 17th, Parliament assembled *pro formâ*, in conformity with the last prorogation, when it was further prorogued to the 4th of February, then to meet for the dispatch of business. The Lords Commissioners were Lord Melbourne, Lord Denman, and Lord Glenelg.

FRANCE.

THE political trials, and even the proceedings against the murderer Fieschi, attract little attention in Paris, compared with that excited by the American quarrel. Mr. Barton, the Secretary of Embassy of the United States, who had been acting as ambassador, embarked at Havre, for New York, on the 2nd of December; and diplomatic relations between the two countries may now be said to have ceased entirely. Most of the French papers, even including those in the pay of the Ministry or King, have assumed a very warlike tone; but we are still disposed to believe that these hostilities will end in mere paper bullets.

On the 1st of December, the "Moniteur" contained a Royal Ordonnance, by which Rear-Admiral Mackau was appointed Governor of Martinique, in lieu of Rear-Admiral Halgen, who is recalled. A second Ordonnance has also been published in the same official journal, containing the following articles:—

"Art. 1. That Rear-Admiral Baron de Mackau, Governor of Martinique, take the command of the Squadron of Observation, which is to assemble in the West Indies.

"Art. 2. On his arrival at Fort Royal, that general officer will have the command-in-chief of all the naval forces of France in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico; and hoist his flag on board the ship Jupiter, or any other, as the service may require.

"Art. 3. In his quality of Governor, he will command in chief the troops of the colonies of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and their dependencies."

This is not quite so dreadful as it looks. The French naval force *now* in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico is very weak, and some time must be consumed before it can be materially strengthened. It is said that the Finance Minister, M. Humann, has positively refused to make any advances for such an armament without the full authorization of the Chambers, which is not to be obtained without a long debate. It is, however, quite certain that an extraordinary degree of activity prevails in the chief sea-ports and dock-yards of France, as if she really expected a maritime war. According to a letter from Toulon, that has been printed in some of the newspapers, it appears, that the French are to take to sea with "great guns." Every ship of the line is to be furnished with four extra howitzer-cannon, of the calibre of 80 pounds; every frigate of the first class is to have two; and every steamboat of 180-horse power, three of these eighty-pounders. Frigates of the second and third class are to carry four extra thirty-pounders. The three ships of the line Duquesne, Pallas, and Amphitrite, are to be repaired and put into commission. The "Courrier Français" states that, counting all classes and sizes, the small with the large, France has, *nearly* ready for service, 119 ships of war; and that, in six months, she could fit out a considerable number in addition. The United States, according to the same authority, has not half of this force: but we fancy the French have been counting all their schooners and little tenders carrying four three-pounders, and have not taken that species of craft into the American account. "But the United States," say the quidnuncs of Paris, "are to have Russia as an ally!"

We need not report the slow progress made or making in the State trials; it will be enough to give their result whenever that shall be obtained. A few of the provincial Republicans of 1833 have been found guilty, but no definite sentence has been passed.

We mentioned last month the departure of Louis Philippe's heir for the African coast. It is stated that he arrived safely at Algiers, and immediately set out with Marshal Clauzel for Oran, in the neighbourhood of which place the Arabs continue to gather in strength. The "Constitutionnel" has published one of Clauzel's orders of the day, in which the Marshal congratulates the troops on having their fatigues and dangers shared by so illustrious a personage as the Duke of Orleans. His Royal Highness has no separate command. The part of the Army of Africa which was on full march against Abdel Kader, the Emir of Mascara, was about 12,000 strong; it was divided into four brigades, under Generals Oudinot (who leads the vanguard), Perregaux, D'Arlanges, and Combe.—All these troops had been assembled by degrees within the walls of Oran. It should appear that they were transported thither by sea, being unable to effect the march from Algiers by land. They count, for their success against the Arabs, on their artillery, as they carry with them a good supply of mountain-cannon and Congreve rockets. The forces of the Emir are stated as high as 15,000 irregular foot and 8000 horse.

Louis Philippe seems to aim at making the same use of the conquest and army of Algiers that Buonaparte did of those of Egypt: a little military glory goes a long way with the French people.

SPAIN.

THE Cortes summoned by the new premier, Señor Mendizabal, met at the time appointed; and on the 12th of November, the lower house proceeded to the election of their president and secretaries. In the case of the president the Ministry suffered a defeat. Their candidate, Ochoa, a man of liberal principles, obtained 51 votes; Isturiz, who has been closely connected with the juntas, was elected on 53 votes. Ochoa, who belonged to the moderate opposition in the last session of the Cortes, was supported by Toreno, Martinez de la Rosa, Riva Herrera, Tomeruelos, Arango, and other old Ministerialists.

The change thus indicated in the state of parties in the lower house is very important: the conservatives, or former ministerialists of the governments of Martinez de la Rosa and Toreno, are obliged, as a *pis aller*, to take up with Ochoa and the less violently liberal party, thus almost ceasing to be anything by themselves, and leaving the field to what we may call the liberals and the ultra-liberals. Another important change is, that instead of delivering her opening speech in the Proceres or Peers, the Queen went to the Procuradores, it being settled that the lower house is henceforward to enjoy that privilege and honour. It is by no means improbable that the next thing will be to ask why Peers and Commons should not meet in, and form only one house, as they did by the constitution of 1820? The Chamber of Proceres assembled under the presidence of the Bishop of Majorca, and elected the Duke de Rivas and Count Miraflores as provisional secretaries. According to the Parliamentary usages of Spain, these elections, and other minor matters, were settled before the Queen went down to the houses, it being prescribed that the sessions of Cortes are not to opened by the Crown until after both chambers or houses have officially announced that they are duly constituted.

The health of the Queen-Regent was in so delicate a state that it was feared she would not be able to attend; but on the 16th of November, this inexperienced, unhappy young woman went in state to the Estamento of Procuradores, where she was received by a deputation of twelve Peers and twelve members of the Commons. Within the house, such of the Proceres as chose to attend took the post of honour at the right of the throne; the Procuradores sate on the Queen's left. Mendizabal, as Prime Minister, presented the Royal Speech, which her Majesty, though pale and nervous, is said to have read with great fluency. Passing over long paragraphs of compliment and commonplace, we select the following as the most interesting passages of the speech:

"I have placed my confidence in the Ministers who are honoured with that of the nation. If the representatives of the Spanish monarchy, who at this moment surround the throne of my beloved daughter, favour them equally with theirs, I hope that without new loans, or an augmentation of the taxes, resources will be found, not only to terminate the war of the factious, and to prove sufficient for the other obligations of the state, *but also to ameliorate the lot of its creditors, national as well as foreign, and to place public credit on a solid basis.*

"The Sovereigns who signed the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance continue to give us repeated proofs of their adherence to the principles therein laid down, affording aid, as far as my Government considers proper, to the sacred cause which we defend. To this treaty my august daughter is indebted for the copious assistance, in arms and ammunition, afforded for the support of her throne by my august ally the King of Great Britain, and the authorisation granted by that government to English subjects to take up arms in her defence. Faithful to the same confederation, the King of the French, my august uncle, has author-

ized the removal from the shores of Africa to Catalonia of the Foreign Legion, which has already begun to give to our just cause such essential services. We have to expect equal results from the concurrence of the 10,000 Portuguese, who, according to a convention made with her Most Faithful Majesty, my much-beloved cousin, and as a consequence of that treaty, have already commenced entering into our territory. Their Majesties the Emperor of Brazil, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, and Greece, and the republic of the United States of North America, preserve towards us that powerful union and friendship which they have always professed to us. Our relations with the other powers are conformable to the line of policy which their governments thus far follow, and to the dignity and independence of our nation.

"Negociations have been entered upon with the states of Spanish America; and I have believed it suited to the interests of the nation and of the throne, and well adapted to the confidence inspired in me by the Cortes, to consult them on a business of so much and such transcendant importance, without, however, infringing on the prerogative of the Crown."

There then follows a eulogium of the troops employed against Don Carlos, and the Queen promises them the erection of "a hospital for invalids." After praising "the valour and excellent discipline" of the British and other foreign auxiliary forces, the speech explains the immediate necessity of enlisting another army of Spaniards; and here, if we may depend on our own sagacity (for the words used are obscure), there is a hint at the establishment of something not unlike the French law of conscription. In the next place, the speech declares that the militia, or Urbanos, are henceforth to be called 'The National Guard.' It then proceeds—

"Three most important projects of law will be presented to your deliberation—that of elections, the basis of the representative government—that of the liberty of the press, which is the soul thereof—and that of the responsibility of ministers, which is the complement thereof—insuring, and at the same time rendering compatible, the inviolability of the monarch and the rights of the nation.

"Various useful decrees have been circulated from the office of the Secretary of Finance, and in particular that which tends to diminish the condemnations in cases of contraband, and which is specially grateful to my feelings, since its object is to alleviate misfortunes, and to restore to society many useful persons, to the profit of agriculture and of the arts, and not less to the advantage of public morals. But it has not yet been possible to form a general plan for this most extensive budget. I hope that you will authorise my Government to make in it the proper modifications, and that you will place it in a situation of presenting to the future Cortes a complete system of financial administration. When the amount of the receipts produced by these modifications, and the sum of the expenses, ordinary as well as extraordinary, shall be known, the estimates will be presented with all due exactness, which, considering the actual circumstances of the nation, it is impossible at this moment to verify. I believe my government worthy of such confidence—to the Cortes it belongs to suit it to the appropriate occasions.

"In the judicial order many abuses have disappeared, and there has been established a regular and uniform system in all the proceedings of the tribunals. The efforts of zeal and ability are continually directed towards the labours of preparing and arranging the new codes, and in the regulation of the clergy, of whom the commission, composed of prelates and of other individuals replete with virtues and with information, will not cease its labours until the objects are completed. A project of law will be laid before you for establishing in a decent manner the lot of the regular clergy."

In the next clause of the speech a promise is given to encourage and perfect the organization of municipal institutions and provincial councils or deputations. This, we confess, looks well, and like a renunciation of the Bonapartean system of centralization which so many Spaniards hastily adopted. If this promise is kept, the advantages derived from it may be very great; and it fortunately happens that the municipal institutions of the country have an ancient and still firm basis to stand upon, and only require a few repairs. It is also promised that a municipal character shall be given to the police and lower courts; or, in other words, that the corporations of towns, and the respectable citizens, shall appoint their own officers, constables, magistrates, &c. Her majesty then proceeded:—

"The corporate (*proprios*), the half-pay saving funds (*montes*), and the granary property (*positos*), have particularly attracted my attention. A law will be presented to you for the alienation of the first; which law will be combined in such a manner, that without diminishing the value of the lands, and without doing any injury to the inhabitants of the towns, the products of the sales may perhaps defray all the expenses of the system of roads and canals, which is within a few years to be formed, and which, by favouring the transport of goods and commerce, will give value to the products, and consequently to the lands themselves, the price of which will have augmented with the augmentation of the cultivated grounds. Private wealth, and that of the state, will thus increase in rapid progression, and the national properties allotted to the extinction of the national debt can be sold at a proper valuation; the more especially if the granary stores (*positos*), preserving always their ancient and beneficial destination, shall at the same time serve as a basis for 'provincial banks,' which will be found to favour speculations of industry, and among them that which is most important in its public and private results—the purchase of national properties. The Government, convinced that it is never a good administrator of this species of property, proposes, with the consent of the Cortes, to offer immediately for sale all such property now in its power, and also all that may for the same reasons belong to it hereafter.

"To the system of communication, which is the great want of Spain in the order of material subjects, is referred the convention which I have concluded with her Most Faithful Majesty on the navigation of the Douro, and which is to be extended to that of the Tagus, Minho, and Guadiana."

All this clause, which is the last of any consequence in the speech, is perfectly in a right spirit; and we wish that Spain may have peace and wisdom enough to carry its provisions into effect. We have, however, our doubts; and should our fears be realized, the property of the *proprios*, the *montes*, and the *positos* will be dissipated for immediate necessities, without procuring any great and lasting good. Badly and corruptly as these things have been administered, up to this moment they have still formed *a property* in Spain.

Our readers will have paid attention to the paragraph relating to the long and idly delayed recognition of the independence of the South American states. The interest of this part of the speech was considerably increased by the presence of several South Americans who, until lately, would have been considered as rebels and traitors. Generals Soublette and O'Leary, diplomatic agents from Venezuela, Señor Santa Maria from Mexico, and two or three other diplomatists charged with the settling of the negociation, sate in one of the tribunes. England, France, Portugal, the United States, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium had each an ambassador, minister, or chargé-d'affaires present, but the seats which should have been occupied by the representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Holland, Naples, Rome, and Sardinia, were empty as before. Count de las Navas, who so lately led the threatening army of the Juntas to within a few marches of Madrid was there in the dress of a common soldier of the National Guard. This nobleman's *sans-culotism* seems to be tolerably complete: when in the field with the insurgent Andalusians, he wore a red night-cap instead of a hat. Isturiz, who was the Count's principal adviser, was there of course, and (as we have mentioned) he was elected president or speaker of the Commons, in opposition to the wishes of a Ministry that has been chosen on account of its great liberalism. It appears the report in our last Number, that Galiano would support Mendizabal, was premature: at all events, he was one of those who most strenuously exerted themselves and voted for Isturiz.

There was a great taking off of hats and waving of handkerchiefs as Christina went to and from the Cortes.

The addresses in answer to the Queen's speech were rather unexpectedly voted in a most favourable spirit by both houses. A few days later the new electoral law was brought up and carried. The qualification for the elective franchise is very much reduced; and by this law there is

to be one Procuradore or Member for every 50,000 inhabitants.

The military operations in the north of Spain are soon told. The Carlists, having concentrated their forces in Catalonia, claimed some success there, but the operations were not important. An armed schooner belonging to the Queen captured a Dutch vessel, which was conveying arms and ammunition to Don Carlos. At the middle of November, Onate was the Pretender's head-quarters: General De Lacy Evans having marched to join Cordova, Bilboa was once more invested; or rather its neighbourhood was once more infested by the Carlists. These mock investments and sieges that end in nothing begin to be especially tedious. It has also been reported in the newspapers, that the Carlists had laid siege to San Sebastian; but, having *no artillery*, they were obliged to renounce that hopeful enterprise.

On the 24th of November, the Foreign Legion gained a battle near Angues, and drove the division of Guergue back on Barbrasto. On the 29th, General Harispe, in command of the French Army of Observation on the Spanish frontiers, obliged the Carlists to destroy some works they had erected for the attacking of Behobia, a place in the hands of the Queenites. The ostensible motive for this was, that the Carlists could not attack from those works without endangering French lives and French property; as at that particular point the Spanish frontier is almost *enclavé* in French territory.

On the same day old Mina issued one of his usual proclamations, as Captain-General of Catalonia, declaring the whole of that province to be in a state of siege; and threatening with instant death "all rebels taken with arms in their hands—all who give assistance of any kind to Don Carlos—all magistrates, masters of families, &c. &c. in whose houses the rebels may take refuge, unless they can prove that they have only yielded to superior force, or that they have instantly given due notice to the proper authorities:" with a great deal more in the same tone. On similar occasions it has been usual to make such proclamations, but this fierce old man has proved, over and over again, that he is capable of carrying them into execution to the very letter, and even beyond the letter. The number of the disaffected has increased in Catalonia since he has had the command there.

New bands of Carlists have shown themselves in various parts of the kingdom; but for the present they seem to be weak and isolated. If the enlistment or conscription law be carried into effect with too much rigour, we fear the peasantry will increase these bands in every corner of Spain.

The Mendizabal Ministry has expressed a determination to make every exertion to put an end to this disgraceful war. The army in the north is to be reinforced by 25,000 men, which are to be concentrated at Santander and Burgos; while 10,000 more are to be marched into Catalonia, to support Mina. Intentions of the like nature have been expressed so often, by the different ministries at Madrid, that we cannot count on them until we see them executed. In the mean time we have got into the heart of another winter, which promises to be a severe one. To finish the war the Carlists must be followed into the mountains of Biscay and Navarre, and through the defiles of the Pyrenees, where the severity of winter, which will be more felt by the Queen's troops than by the insurgent mountaineers, is at times most excessive.

PORTUGAL.

Donna Maria has achieved something new in politics. She has dismissed and recalled a ministry, all in one day! In her note of recall, dated 13th of November, she was obliged to state, that after accepting the resignation of the Saldanha cabinet, she applied to some Members of the Legislative Chambers to form a new one, and that these gentlemen honourably declared to her, that all their endeavours to comply with her orders had failed, and that, consequently, she must take back her old servants. This was done, and the Cabinet remained as it was before; although it was pretty evident that Saldanha's party could not keep their place long. The ultra-liberal party is on the advance in Portugal, as well as in Spain.

It is said, that the auxiliary force appointed for the Queen of Spain expressed great unwillingness to march; and though its arrival at Zamora was announced last month, some people doubt whether it has yet crossed the Portuguese frontier.

Within a week, Saldanha was again dismissed, and the following Cabinet was formed by the advice and assistance of the Marquis Loule:—

Jose Jorge Loureiro, Minister of War.
Baron Sa da Bandeira, Interior.
F. A. de Campos, Finance.
Marquis Loule, Foreign Affairs (expected to take the Presidency)
Michael Antonio Vellez Caldeira, Justice.

The Lisbon mob received the news with enthusiastic joy. The National Guards went up to the palace to thank the Queen; and after their visit, Donna Maria imprudently drove in front of the different barracks where the regular troops, forming the garrison of Lisbon, are quartered, and received the cheers of the soldiers, whose discontents and clamours had contributed to the event. If Ministries are to be changed by such means, the constitutionalism of Portugal is in a very bad way.

It is said that the Duke of Terceira retains the command of the army; and that Palmella, though out of office, is on the most friendly footing with Loule and the young Queen.

The new Ministers, who start as reformers and economists, have agreed to do their work for one-half of the pay formerly attached to their offices. The Queen, the Duchess of Braganza, the Infanta Isabella Maria, Terceira, Palmella, Saldanha, and all the high officers of the Crown, have received hints that it will be fitting and proper in them to reduce their expenses and their expectations. They would have laid their hands on some 9600*l.* due to the Duke of Wellington for arrears of his *Portuguese pension*, but Silva Carvalho, late Minister of Finance, secured the sum to the Duke's agent a few hours before he gave up his post to De Campos. We fear that for the future the Duke of Wellington will receive but a Flemish account of this pension; but we hope he has been sufficiently well paid by his own country to be able to do without it.

Instead of the story we have heard so often about the prosperous condition of the Finances, it appears that the fact is they are in a state of complete dilapidation. De Campos is not the man likely to restore them, for it is said that his accession to office struck a panic among all the capitalists of Lisbon; and the Portuguese banking-agent in London is reported to have refused acceptance to a large amount of bills.

Among sundry reductions we observe that of the Royal Regiment of British Grenadiers. The young Queen, tormented and bullied from all sides, has been very ill, and her marriage is not yet settled. The matrimonial agent sent to Germany has encountered, on the part of the spouse elect, sundry difficulties, which are not likely to be speedily removed by the new Cabinet. De Campos will certainly expect a *cheap* husband for Donna Maria.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

It was stated in the Journal of Mexico, of the 3rd of September, that an hostile collision had taken place between a schooner-of-war belonging to the Mexican Republic and an armed vessel of inferior force belonging to the United States; and it was added, that after a hard fight the latter was obliged to run ashore. The battle was said to have been commenced by the States' vessel, and was thus pretty generally considered as a provocation to war on the part of that power. We will endeavour to explain the real state of the case.

Some six months ago another insurrection broke out in Mexico, and the revolutionary party in the province of Texas, who were stimulated by a number of North Americans settled among them, demanded the assistance of the United States against Santa Anna, the President of the Mexican Republic. General Jackson, very properly, refused to enter into the views of the insurgents; but certain speculators and adventurers of New Orleans, who had a longing for the fertile plains of Texas, which lie conveniently near to their own city, thought they would undertake the business on their own account, and annex

a slice of Mexico to New Orleans. They accordingly inlisted men for what they called the cause of liberty, and smuggled in arms and ammunition for the insurgents of Texas; whose commander in chief, a certain Colonel Austin, a Kentucky man, put forth a manifesto, calling on all the people to arm against the new constitution and the Central Government of Santa Anna, and to throw themselves for protection on the United States. Affairs were in this condition when the Mexican man-of-war schooner fell in with the armed American craft, which did not belong to government but to private speculators in New Orleans, or some other of the United States' towns, and was actually engaged in smuggling on the Mexican coast when the collision took place.

A leading New York paper says, that the insurrection in Texas has been wholly brought about by citizens or natives of the United States settled there; and that their numbers, made up of a large population of Yankees from the Eastern States, backwoodsmen from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, are so considerable, that they will be emboldened to resist and wage war with the Mexican government, with their own rifles. President Jackson, however, has not only disclaimed any part or connivance in the affair, but has recommended energetic measures for the purpose of preventing natives of the United States from enlisting in the service of the insurgents in Texas, who are declared to have inter-national law, justice, and reason against them.

If therefore hostilities take place, it will not be a war between Mexico and the States, but a very novel sort of war between Mexico and a set of Americans settled on her territory. But we must mention that these turbulent settlers have many friends at home, and that meetings have been held in several cities of the Union to encourage and support them. It is reported by those who wish it may be true, that in addition to Texas, four other Mexican provinces have risen against the Central Government. General Santa Anna, the president, was preparing to put down these movements with a division of 2000 infantry and 300 horse. The Archbishop of Mexico and the Bishop of Puebla had undertaken to contribute a large sum of money towards the expenses of the war.

After some opposition the new constitution was adopted by Congress and proclaimed. What this new constitution may be we confess we know not. The enlightened and profound statesmen in this part of the world make too many sudden changes for us to be able to keep up with them.

Venezuela and Peru are again the seats of civil warfare. It is rather a sad reflexion that now that these emancipated colonies of Old Spain are on the point of obtaining the recognition of their independence from the mother country, there is not one of them in possession of the semblance of a rational and fixed government.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Nov. 27. In a fire which occurred at Hatfield House, the residence of the Marquess of Salisbury, the entire west wing of the mansion was destroyed, and the Dowager Marchioness was burned to death. The fire originated accidentally in the rooms of the Dowager Marchioness, early in the evening, and during the temporary absence of her attendant. It is conjectured that the Marchioness, while reading or writing, set fire to her dress, which communicated to the apartment. The body was completely consumed, the coroner's inquest being held on remains dug out of the ruins, which could only be assumed to be those of the Marchioness. She was upwards of eighty-four years of age.

— James Hogg, 'The Ettrick Shepherd,' died at his farm of Altrive, aged 63.

Dec. 1. On this evening a destructive fire occurred on the premises of an upholsterer in Tottenham Court Road, London, by which four individuals (three of them females) lost their lives.

2. A special meeting of the proprietors of the London University was held (Lord Brougham in the chair) to consider the proposition of Government respecting the grant of a charter. The plan proposed is, to incorporate the *University* as a *College*, to grant similar charters of incorporations to such other educational bodies as may hereafter be established in the metropolis, and to establish, by charter, a Board of men eminent in literature and science, to perform the functions of examiners, and who will be empowered to grant degrees (except degrees in divinity) to candidates educated at such chartered colleges; the Board to be termed 'The University of London.' After a debate of some length, resolutions were unanimously passed approving of the Government proposition.

3. A meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern for the purpose of raising funds for the support of such clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland as are distressed by the non-payment of their tithes. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed by the Chairman, the Bishop of London, Lord Radstock, Sir R. Inglis, and others. The King sent a donation of 500*l.*; the Queen, 100*l*; and nearly 12,000*l.* were stated by the Bishop of London to have been subscribed up to the close of the meeting.

8. The Court of Aldermen of London having refused to admit Sheriff Salomons of their number, as Alderman of Aldgate, in consequence of his declining to subscribe the usual declaration, (which contains the words, "on the true faith of a Christian,") and, acting on the advice of the law advisers of the corporation and of the crown, having declared the election to be void, a new election took place this day, when J. Humphreys, Esq., M.P., was elected without opposition. Mr. Salomons protested against the proceedings, and intimated his intention of carrying the case into a court of law.

— In this day's Gazette a form of a declaration was published, to be used as a substitute for such oaths, affidavits, &c., as have been hitherto required in the transaction of the business of the public departments. [See the Abstract of the Act, 'Companion,' No. 36, p. 538.]

8. A public dinner was given at Edinburgh to Prince Czartoryski and Prince Zamoyski, and other Polish exiles, either resident in, or visiting that city. The Earl of Breadalbane was in the chair, and the meeting was attended by Lord Dudley Stuart, Lord Belhaven, the Earl of Buchan, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and a number of public functionaries and Members of Parliament. Warm sympathy was expressed in the various speeches for the sufferings which have been endured by the Poles, arising from their recent unfortunate effort to render Poland independent.

14. The Anniversary of the Smithfield Cattle Club was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Earl Spencer in the chair.

15. A meeting was held at the same tavern this day for the purpose of forming a Central Agricultural Association. Deputies from various agricultural associations throughout England attended the meeting. Ormsby Gore, Esq., M.P., was in the chair, and the list of members of the association exhibits a considerable number of names of noblemen and gentlemen, many of them Members of Parliament. The object of the society is to endeavour to devise, and submit to Parliament, some plan for the relief of the agricultural interest.

— Mr. Barnett, a musical composer and performer, who had been indicted at the Middlesex Sessions for an assault upon his wife, and had been found guilty, was brought up for judgment. The circumstances attending this proceeding are a little remarkable. The assault does not appear to have been of an aggravated description—if indeed any assault had been committed—and a general impression prevailed amongst Mr. Barnett's friends that he would be discharged on payment of a nominal fine. He was, however, sentenced to pay a fine of 10*l*, to be imprisoned for three months, and to find securities to keep the peace for twelve months, and to be further imprisoned until the fine was paid and the securities entered into. His friends immediately interested themselves; the court was broken up, but Sir William Curtis, the chairman, was pursued into the city, where he had gone on business, and he promised to return at five o'clock in the afternoon to re-open the court. Accordingly, at that hour he appeared, and there being two other magistrates present, the court was opened in the usual manner. Mrs. Barnett was then brought forward to plead for the mitigation of the sentence pronounced upon her husband, when the chairman, without any allusion to the sentence pronounced in the morning, ordered Mr. Barnett to pay a fine of 10*l* to the King, which was immediately done, and he was discharged.

17. Parliament was prorogued this day, till the 4th of February, 1836. The Lords Commissioners present were Lord Denman, Viscount Melbourne, and Lord Glenelg.

— A meeting was held in the Mariners' Church, Wellclose Square, London, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the establishment of an hospital for aged, decayed, and disabled masters, mates, and seamen in the British merchant service. G. F. Young, Esq., M.P., was in the chair. It was stated that the shipowners intended to purchase ground and build the hospital at an expense of 150,000*l.*, and that it was afterwards to

be supported by contributions of 6d. a month from the pay of the seamen, for which latter purpose an Act of Parliament would be applied for. The meeting approved of the project.

Considerable interest has been excited during the month respecting eleven whaling ships reported to be enclosed in the ice in Davis' Straits. Various plans have been suggested by which relief might be afforded to the poor unfortunates, and Captain James Ross, nephew of Sir John Ross, has volunteered his services to head an expedition, to be sent out either by the merchants or by Government, or conjointly, for that purpose. One of the missing ships has since arrived, the captain of which reports that he was enabled to work out of the ice by the assistance of a strong gale, and that some of the other vessels might be enabled to escape in a similar way; but fears are entertained that the majority of the vessels will be ice-bound until the middle of next summer.

Intelligence from Tobago states, that a dispute had arisen between the Lieutenant-Governor and the House of Assembly. The Lieutenant-Governor insisted on his right to nominate to the office of Clerk to the House of Assembly, which being resisted by the House, two Clerks were appointed—one by each party—and a squabble ensued accordingly. In the midst of the scene the Lieutenant-Governor prorogued the legislature, and the question has been referred by him to the authorities at home.

The 'Hobart Town Courier' of July 3rd, gives the particulars of the melancholy wreck of a convict ship, the Neva, from Cork, with female convicts, having on board 150 female prisoners with 33 children, 9 free women with 22 children, and a crew of 26 persons. It struck on a reef at some distance from King's Island, and shortly after went to pieces. Out of the whole number on board only 22 saved themselves by clinging to fragments, and of these only 15 were able to reach King's Island, 7 of the 22 having died from fatigue. They were providentially discovered on the island, and brought in a small vessel to Launceston, Van Diemen's Land. This wreck occurring shortly after the wreck of another convict ship, the George the Third, by which a great number of lives were lost, considerable excitement was produced in the public mind, and a rigid scrutiny was in consequence ordered by Government into the condition and seaworthiness of the ships hired for the conveyance of convicts. The report of the Comptroller of the Transport Service has been published, in which it is stated that all the vessels before they are engaged for the service undergo a rigorous examination; the Neva underwent this scrutiny, and that the melancholy accident could not be attributed to the defective state of the ship, as she was perfectly seaworthy.

NOTICE.

THE next Number of the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, which commences another volume, will present the work in a new, and, it is believed, an improved form.

It is proper to state, in the first place, that although the work, for a publication at once confining itself to the single subject of politics, and not having the advantage of most other political publications, of being a party organ, enjoys now what may be called a large circulation, still the extent of the sale is not so great as fully to make up for the lowness of the price. This will not surprise the reader when it is stated that (as any person may easily ascertain for himself) the quantity of matter in each Number of the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, as at present printed, rather exceeds that contained in five sheets and a-half of any of the quarterly reviews; and these again are themselves cheap publications, as compared with the generality of books, and can only be supported by a comparatively large sale, which all of them aim at securing by taking in the whole field of literature in addition to that of politics, and also by availing themselves in their political disquisitions (very fairly for their particular purpose, which, however, is not ours) of all the fervour and excitement of party controversy. Yet, looking to the quantity of letter-press which they contain, most of them are more than six times as dear as the COMPANION. In truth, the price of the latter is lower than that at which any publication can be profitably carried on, excepting only such publications as the PENNY MAGAZINE, which, from the nature of their contents, may count upon a sale very greatly exceeding what a work like the COMPANION can ever expect to attain; and the Newspapers, scarcely any one of which, as is well known, could stand when the duty on stamps and all of which that are successful in a commercial sense, derive their profits from their advertisements.

Under these circumstances, it might not have been considered unreasonable to have raised the price of the COMPANION without offering any increased advantages to the purchaser. A middle course has been preferred. While it has been determined that in future the price of each Number of the COMPANION shall be SIXPENCE, instead of Fourpence, as at present, the Number will be enlarged by eight additional pages, or sixteen columns of letter-press, making the number of pages in each thirty-two, instead of twenty-four as at present. It will consist of two sheets, instead of, as now, of one and a-half.

With the additional space which will thus be obtained, it is proposed to comply to a limited extent with a recommendation which has been urged from various quarters, and to devote one or two pages of each Number to the reception of ADVERTISEMENTS connected with Literature and the Arts. Both from the extent of its sale, and from its circulation being principally among the more opulent classes, the publication undoubtedly presents very great advantages as a vehicle for the profitable diffusion of such advertisements.

Arrangements have also been made for effecting various improvements in the contents and conduct of the work; but these, of course, can only be here announced in very general terms, and must be chiefly left to be shown by our future Numbers themselves. We may state, however, that the publication will now present more regular and complete extracts and analyses than it has hitherto done of everything that is most material in the parliamentary and other official papers, of which it will serve at once as an index and a popular expositor. It will also be arranged in all its parts on an improved principle, which will fit it better in every respect both for reference and for perusal.

* * In answer to a Subscriber who wishes for an account of the changes that have been lately made in the constitution of Denmark, with a sketch of the past history and present financial condition of that country, we have to state that the subject will, if possible, be taken up in our next Number.

We regret that our limited space will not enable us to comply with the suggestion of another correspondent, to reprint the whole of the Treasury Minute of the 3rd of February last, on the subject of the pensions to be granted in consequence of the abolition of the late Exchequer Office.

Notices of the price of the Three per Cent. Consols, for one day in every week of the past month, will be given regularly in the future Numbers of the Companion.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-Mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 13, LUDGATE STREET.

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 38. FEBRUARY 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Funds	1	Public Works in Ireland	21
Changes of Administration and History of Parties	4	The Excise on Malt	23
Historical Notice on Malt	7	Notices of Motions	26
Political Retrospect for January 1836	10	The Revenue	28
Operation of the Measure of Negro Emancipation	17	Statistical Account of the Kingdom of Poland	*ib.*
		Miscellaneous	30
		Chronicle of Occurrences	*ib.*

THE FUNDS.

THE present and each future number of the "Companion" will contain a statement of the prices of the three per cent. consols, for one day in each week of the month preceding its publication; and we shall take this opportunity of giving a short account of what are commonly called the Public Funds, by way of introduction to these notices.

The term, Funds, is not a happy one for the thing which it is in this case employed to designate. What should we think of an individual in common life calling his debts his funds? This way of talking, has produced a strange delusion in some people's imaginations. There are persons who evidently cannot get rid of the feeling that what are called the public funds are somehow or other a species of public wealth. Perhaps, after a little reflection, such a person will admit that the wealth can hardly be wealth belonging to the state, which really seems to be the party that owes the money; for no man has imagination enough to continue long to believe seriously that either individual or community can be the richer for being very much in debt. Still, the notion that the funds are wealth has not yet been driven altogether out of his head. If they are not wealth to the state, he will tell you they are wealth to the creditors of the state—to the fundholders, as they are called—and these being nearly all part and parcel of the community, is not the community really richer because of this their wealth?

This is much the same as the reasoning of the Irishman whom the thought suddenly struck of reducing the labour of two persons performing a journey together on foot to half the usual amount, by mounting the one upon the other's back. "To be sure it won't relieve both of us at the same time," said he to his friend, "but one at least may give his legs a holiday, if the other must keep tramping; and we can take the ride by turns." The misfortune is that, in these cases, the holiday to the legs of the one partner in the project is anything but a holiday to the back of the other. Upon the whole, therefore, at the end of the experiment nothing is gained. As for the wealth of the fundholders, it consists entirely in a right which belongs to them of sharing, to a certain extent, in the annual proceeds of the wealth and labour of the rest of the community. It is simply the case of any other debtor and his creditor. The right of the latter (so long as his interest is duly paid, and his principal is considered to be safe) is, no doubt, so much wealth to him; but it is precisely an equal subtraction of wealth from the former. The two together are not richer on account of the peculiar relation in which they stand to each other. There is not more wealth between them, because there is a debt between them. So the nation, as a whole, is not richer for owing to a portion of its members several hundreds of millions of pounds sterling, notwithstanding that the said members are, no doubt, the richer for having this claim upon the nation. To the exact extent that they are richer, the rest of the community are poorer. Their incomes are simply an incumbrance or burthen upon the incomes of the rest of the community, as is shown in a way calculated to convince the most sceptical, by the fact that a sum of not much less than thirty millions of pounds sterling is every year exacted from the nation for no other purpose except to pay the interest upon this its just debt.

Well, then, our objector will perhaps still say, the money, at any rate, is neither thrown away, nor does it pass out of our own hands. At most there is merely a transference of a portion of the national income from one part of the community to another. Not a farthing is lost: if some are made poorer, others are made just as much richer than they otherwise would be, by what takes place. Where, then, lies the evil of the national debt when the whole case is taken into view?

The whole case is not taken into view in this reasoning. The evil of the national debt does not lie in its having produced a state of things in which one portion of the community is largely indebted to another, and is bound every year to pay to that other a share of its earnings or its income. For anything that appears, this may be in itself a perfectly unobjectionable or a very expedient state of things. It is what must exist to a large extent in every country abounding in capital; and among ourselves, out of the range of the national debt altogether, it is the express purpose and meaning of many of our commercial arrangements to bring about and to extend such a state of things; nor could many of our most important commercial speculations be carried on without it. Whenever any man in business has the use of any portion of capital which does not belong to himself, and for which he pays interest, he is contributing to uphold this state of things, and availing himself of its advantages. And it is, no doubt, generally speaking, in the highest degree beneficial for all parties that he should do so. Much capital would otherwise remain altogether unemployed and useless, both to its possessors and to the community; and not only much capital, but much also of the best ability, ingenuity, and capacity for active and efficient industry, that exists in the nation. All commercial associations, such as banking companies, insurance companies, canal and railroad companies, and others that either trade or carry on any particular undertaking with money subscribed or deposited in their hands by the public, afford instances of the operation of the same system. In all these cases the possessors of capital lend it to others, who in turn

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

pay them interest for the use of it; and the arrangement is manifestly both a convenient one for the two parties more immediately concerned, and also of great public advantage. How large an amount altogether may thus be paid in this country every year in the forms of interest upon loans, dividends upon shares, profits upon investments, annuities, and other returns for capital lent or subscribed, or, in other words, what portion of the annual earnings of those members of the community actively engaged in business is regularly transferred under the effect of such arrangements to those not so engaged, there are no means of ascertaining; but undoubtedly it must be very great; perhaps not less than the whole amount that is similarly transferred on account of the national debt.

In the mere state of things, therefore, we repeat, which occasions such a transference of income from one part of the community to another, there is not necessarily any evil. On the contrary, it may be the most advantageous and healthy state of things that can exist. The evil of the national debt lies in another consideration altogether. It lies in that peculiarity which, as already observed, is the essence of the funding system, and distinguishes it from all ordinary borrowing—*that the money borrowed has been all spent, and is gone.* A company associated for carrying on some commercial speculation pays dividends to its shareholders; but the capital which they have subscribed and contributed is actually in existence to enable it to do so; its productive powers are in constant operation for the supply of the demands the company has to meet. Were it otherwise the concern could not go on. But, of the immense amount of money borrowed by the nation, and for which it has to pay interest to the lenders, it retains not one farthing. It is paying all this interest out of other capital altogether—out of capital which it would have had as well if there had been no national debt, and which, in that case, it would have had free and unincumbered. On the other hand, if the national debt had never been created, the creditors of the state would have also had all the capital which they have lent to Government in their own hands, and it would of course have been productive to them invested in some other way.

The case would be a very different one if the money borrowed by the nation had really been turned into a fund, as the language commonly used would imply, contrary to the fact, that it has been. Then, no doubt, the interest might have been paid without the nation being thereby subjected to any real burthen. But fund there is none whatever. The money has always been spent as fast as it has been received, and frequently even before it has been actually collected. Whatever other useful or necessary ends it may have accomplished, it has no more gone to form anything like a fund, in the proper sense of that term, than if it had been cast into the sea, or dissipated, by some chemical process, in smoke.

There are, certainly, other considerations to be looked to besides those to which we have been adverting, before we are in a condition for finally pronouncing upon the whole question of the operation and effects, direct and indirect, in so far as regards the national wealth, or the existence of the national debt. There are, for instance, to be taken into account the amount and value of the employment given and the stimulus applied to the national industry, even by an expenditure on the part of the government which was in no degree regulated by any views of commercial profit. There is also to be determined the very difficult question of the whole effects upon prices, and upon the operations of trade and commerce generally, produced by the vast amount of government securities constantly circulating in the money market, and performing, at least to a certain extent, the functions of a common medium of exchange. These, however, are inquiries we have nothing to do with in the prosecution of our present design, which is merely to explain what the funds really are, and to clear away certain misconceptions or confused notions respecting their nature which the name they are usually called by has a tendency to generate, and which are perhaps more widely prevalent than many persons would suppose.

The national debt of this country dates from the Revolution of 1688, although what we now understand by the funding system did not take its commencement till a considerable time after that event. All our old kings had been in the habit of occasionally borrowing money at moments of exigency, but never with any view of creating a permanent national debt. They borrowed, as private individuals still do, with the purpose of repaying the money within a limited time, or as soon as they should be able to do so, and under an engagement to that effect. The loan indeed was commonly sought and obtained in express anticipation of certain revenues, which, as soon as they should have become due, and been collected, were to be applied to its discharge. King William likewise at first proceeded in the same manner. Sums of money were, from time to time, borrowed by the crown in anticipation of the produce of the taxes which had been voted by parliament; and several partial repayments of the sums thus borrowed were made. The transaction took place, as heretofore, under the sole authority of the crown. But even the first loans that were obtained for the national service under the sanction of parliament were of the same description. In the speech with which he opened his second parliament, in March 1690, King William said, "I have so great a confidence in you, that, if no quicker or more convenient way can be found for the raising of ready money (without which the service [of the war in Ireland] cannot be performed), I shall be very well content for the present to have it made such a *fund* of credit as may be useful to yourselves, as well as to me, in this conjuncture; not having the apprehension but that you will provide for the taking off all such *anticipations* as it shall happen to fall under." In conformity with this recommendation, the parliament very soon after passed two acts, by which they provided for the raising of two sums of £250,000 and £500,000 by loan; but it was also enacted that the money should be repaid within three years, and certain branches of revenue were expressly set apart for that purpose. It is worthy of remark that, at this time, the term funds was applied in its proper sense, not to the money borrowed, but to the revenues thus appropriated or mortgaged for its repayment.

"In these acts," says a Jacobite writer (Salmon, in his 'Chronological Historian'), "there were clauses empowering the king to anticipate and borrow money on his revenues, as he had desired in his speech, which was the first beginning of the funds, so destructive to the nation. The advice of his pretended friends was, *Borrow what you can; the more you borrow, the more friends you make; interest is a stronger tie than principle.* Accordingly, the ministry gave whatever interest and premiums were demanded for the loan of money; and naval stores and provisions were taken up at 30, 40, and sometimes 50 per cent. The monied men, and those that could bear stock, doubled and trebled their fortunes in a very short time."

Although the acts in question, however, no doubt, led to the adoption of the funding system, they cannot correctly be said to have begun that system. They did not provide for the funding of any debt, in the modern sense of that expression. Nor can even the subsequent act passed in 1693, for the establishment of the Bank

of England, by which it was enacted that the Bank should make an advance to Government of £1,200,000, at an interest of 8 per cent., without the power of ever demanding the money back, unless the charter should be withdrawn, be properly regarded as the commencement of the present mode of borrowing. The money thus obtained by the state was the price it received for the grant of certain privileges; and although the state retained the power of revoking the privileges so granted after a certain time, on repaying the money, it could hardly on that account be considered as constituting a debt. The same remark is applicable to the sum of two millions obtained, at the same rate of interest, from the East India Company, on the grant of a charter to it in 1698.

The war with France, which broke out in 1689, and did not terminate till 1697, made it necessary, in the course of this reign, to raise considerable supplies beyond the amount which it was found possible to raise by taxes; and various expedients were resorted to for this purpose. Sometimes recourse was had to lotteries; sometimes annuities for lives, or for terms of years, were granted; sometimes both plans were combined. At last, also, money began to be borrowed simply on the credit of certain taxes which were imposed or set apart for the payment of the interest and the eventual liquidation of the debt, and which it was enacted should continue until it should be wholly discharged. Even in this case, therefore, the principle of providing for the repayment of the money borrowed may be said to have been kept in view.

The burthen, however, which was thus entailed upon the income of the Government, soon became very considerable. The taxes which had been set apart for the payment of the interest on loans frequently failed in proving sufficient for that purpose; hence the necessity of new loans to meet the deficiency. Then the rate of interest at which—owing, in part, no doubt, to the yet unconfirmed stability of the new order of things—the Government was able to borrow money during the whole of this reign, was extremely high, never having been so low as 5 per cent. till the year 1699, till which date it was 6, 7, and even 8 per cent. The rate of annuities of course was exorbitant in a corresponding degree. But in addition to all this, owing to the high premiums with which it was necessary to tempt lenders, the money actually received by the Government was very much under the nominal amount of the loans. The total of the sums borrowed during this reign was £44,100,795; but of this amount all that found its way into the Exchequer was only £34,034,518. At the close of the reign (in 1702) the actual debt of the nation was £16,391,702, bearing an interest of £1,310,942; but of this by much the largest portion was in the course of repayment by terminable annuities, and its extinction was therefore provided for within a certain time.

The new war with France and Spain, which broke out immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, and lasted till 1713,—within about a year of the close of her reign,—again led to the raising of money by loans more constantly and on a larger scale than ever. During the whole of this reign the national finances were in a state of the greatest confusion. For some time money was principally obtained by annuities for a long term of years, and for one, two, or three lives, which were granted by the Government on the most ruinously disadvantageous terms. Lotteries were also occasionally had recourse to. At length, in the year 1711, all the proprietors of certain Government debts, amounting to £9,471,325, were, by Act of Parliament, incorporated for ever into a company for trading to the South Seas, and it was provided that their debts, which, from the irregularity of the Government payments, had fallen to a discount of 40 per cent. in the money market, should in future bear an annual interest of 6 per cent. Even in this arrangement, however, while various taxes were expressly set apart for the payment of the dividends, and were declared perpetual for that purpose, a power of redeeming the company's capital after the year 1716 was reserved by the Government; and it was provided that, if any surplus should accrue from the produce of the appropriated taxes, it should go to the liquidation of the debt. Still, as the stockholders retained no right of demanding their money back from the Government in any circumstances, and as the amount is too large to be considered, like the smaller sums subscribed by the East India Company and the Bank, as a mere payment for the privileges granted to the company, this transaction may be regarded as the first adoption of the funding system, or of that system by which the Government borrows money, not on any engagement to repay the sum borrowed, but by only engaging to pay a certain interest upon the debt until it shall be discharged; in other words, by granting the lender an interminable annuity.

Exchequer bills were also issued to a large extent during this reign. These are bills issued by the Treasury and bearing interest, which are always recalled, and their place, if necessary, supplied by a new issue, after short periods. They were first resorted to in the reign of King William during the scarcity of a circulating medium occasioned by the calling-in of all the silver money, preparatory to the great recoinage in 1696. "It was on this occasion," says Anderson, in his History of Commerce, "that Mr. Montague first set on foot a new circulating paper credit, by issuing bills from the Exchequer; at the same time contracting (as has ever since been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand. And as many of those first Exchequer bills were for sums as low as £5 and £10, they were of very good use at this time, when there was so great a scarcity of silver money during this recoinage, as they were taken at the Exchequer for all payments of the revenue, and as, when re-issued, they were then allowed £7 12s. per cent. interest, they soon rose from a small discount to be better than par." The portion of the debt for which Exchequer bills are issued is called the floating or unfunded debt. This portion of the debt has in modern times occasionally risen to a great height; in 1815, when it was at the highest, it amounted to between £67,000,000 and £68,000,000. It has since, however, been greatly reduced, and is now usually kept at about £27,000,000 or £28,000,000. Exchequer bills are now issued only for sums varying between £100 and £1,000, and the interest they bear at present is only 1½*d.* per cent. per day, or 2½ per cent. per annum. Yet, as they are always received at the Treasury at par, in discharge of duties and taxes, and are consequently exempt from any risk of depreciation, they form an investment which, especially for capital that may require to be suddenly made available, is found to be very convenient.

At the close of the reign of Queen Anne (in 1714) the national debt had risen to the sum of £52,145,363, bearing an annual interest of £3,351,358. Of this sum the unfunded debts amounted to about £5,000,000, and the debts contracted on temporary annuities to about £26,000,000. The interest upon the remaining £21,000,000, constituting what might be called the permanent debt, as not being in a course of effecting its own extinction, was £1,288,600.

Throughout a great part of the reign of George I. (1714–1727) the country was also involved in continental wars. Additional loans to a considerable amount were accordingly resorted to. In 1717, also, £5,000,000

of Exchequer bills were funded, or made part of the permanent debt. As many temporary annuities, however, fell in, the total amount of the debt was not increased during this reign. Some relief was also obtained by the rate of interest having fallen, and the new loans being consequently effected by the Government on more advantageous terms. At the end of the reign the total amount of the debt was £52,092,238, bearing an interest of £2,217,551. Of this sum the funded debt exceeded £46,000,000, on which the interest was above £1,900,000. The temporary annuities now amounted only to between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000, bearing an interest of about £180,000.

For the present we have only space to subjoin a short statement of what the progress of the debt has been in each reign from this date. The following summary is taken from Mr. M'Culloch's 'Dictionary of Commerce,' second edition, p. 585:—

	Principal £	Interest. £
Debt at the accession of George II. in 1727	52,002,238	2,217,551
Debt contracted from the accession of George II. till the Peace of Paris in 1763, three years after the accession of George III.	86,773,192	2,634,500
Debt in 1763	138,865,430	4,852,051
Paid during peace	10,281,795	380,480
Debt at the commencement of the American war in 1775	128,583,635	4,471,571
Debt contracted during the American war	121,267,993	4,980,201
Debt at the conclusion of the American war in 1784	249,851,628	9,451,772
Paid during peace from 1784 to 1793	10,501,380	243,277
Debt at the commencement of the French war in 1793	239,350,148	9,208,495
Debt contracted during the French war	608,932,329	24,645,971
Total funded and unfunded debt, 5th of January, 1817, when the English and Irish Exchequers were consolidated	848,282,477	33,854,466

Since 1817 various loans have been contracted, amounting in the whole to above £30,000,000; but, on the other hand, a considerably larger amount of the debt has been paid off, and the interest on a great part of the remainder has also been reduced. On the 5th of January, 1834, the total amount of the funded debt was £751,658,883, on which the annual charge was £27,782,116; and that of the unfunded debt was £27,906,900, on which the annual charge was £779,769. Altogether, therefore, the amount of the debt then was £779,565,783, and of the interest £28,561,885.

The subject will be resumed in our next Number.

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

(Continued from No. 36.)

The next session opened on the 26th of October (1775). His Majesty began his Speech to the two Houses by referring to the affairs of America, the situation of which country, he said, had determined him to call them so early together. The whole of the Speech, indeed, and it considerably exceeded the usual length, was devoted to this one topic, which had been merely alluded to in that delivered about a year before, and which till then had not even been deemed worthy of an allusion.

The debate which took place on the Address in the Lords was chiefly remarkable for the speech delivered by the Duke of Grafton, who was at this time, it will be remembered, a Member of the Cabinet, holding the high office of Lord Privy Seal. It amounted to a complete separation of himself from his colleagues. His Grace "condemned the measures recommended in the Speech, and the conduct of Administration during the last twelve months. The amendment (which had been proposed by the Marquis of Rockingham, and went to pledge the House to review the whole of the late proceedings relating to American affairs) did not entirely meet his ideas; he therefore could not vote for it; but he should certainly give the Address itself a negative. . . . . It was true he had supported Administration, but it was upon a general idea that means of conciliation might be devised and adopted: he expressed his ignorance of the true state of America, and asserted he had been misled and deceived; for that reason chiefly he could not think of concurring any longer in measures of which he never really approved, but to which he lent his countenance, in expectation that the stronger Government was, the more likely matters were to be amicably adjusted." He then stated, that he had a proposition of his own to offer. "Perhaps," continued his Grace, "it will not gain your approbation entirely this night; but, believe me, you will like it better to-morrow, and still better in three days hence. It will daily grow in your esteem. In a fortnight, I promise you, it will have more friends, until at length it will gain universal assent and approbation. The proposition is only this; to bring in a Bill for repealing every Act, I think there are thirteen, which has been passed in this country since the year 1763, relative to America." He concluded as follows:—"If I were not truly touched by the present very critical situation of this country, I had a sufficient apology for absenting myself, on account of a very indifferent state of health, if I were not convinced that silence in my situation would be construed into acquiescence, if not direct approbation. But, I trust your Lordships will credit me, and I am convinced that my brethren in office are satisfied, that nothing but the most full and perfect conviction of my being in the right could prevail on me, under the circumstances before alluded to, to attend thus early in the session to give my vote; nor shall my indisposition prevent me from answering what I look upon as the strongest call of duty; for, should it continue to increase, I pledge myself to your Lordships and my country, that, if necessity should require it, and my health not otherwise permit it, I mean to come down to this House in a litter, in order to express my full and hearty disapprobation of the measures now pursuing, and, as I understand from the Noble Lords in office, meant to be pursued. I do protest to your Lordships, that if my brother, or my dearest friend, were to be affected by the vote I mean to give this evening, I could not possibly resist the faithful discharge of my conscience and my duty. Were I to lose my fortune, and every other thing I esteem; were I to be reduced to beggary itself, the strong conviction and compulsion, at once operating on my mind and conscience, would not permit me to take any other part on the present occasion than that I now mean to adopt." Lord Chatham was absent from this debate, being confined to his bed by a severe fit of illness; indeed, he does not appear to have been able to take his place during the session. The Ministerial Address was carried by a majority of 66 to 33, Lord Rockingham's amendment having been previously negatived by a majority of 69 to 29. Nineteen peers signed a protest against this rejection.

In the Commons the question gave rise to long and warm debates. An amendment in the same words with Lord Rockingham's having been proposed by Lord John Cavendish, the House did not come to a division upon it till four o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were found to be 108 for, and 278 against it.

The struggle was renewed next day, when the Address was reported, on a motion being made for its recommittal; but, whatever strength they may have shown in the debate, the opposition were again beaten by the usual overwhelming majority on the division. The numbers on a motion of equivalent import, which was submitted after that for recommitting the Address had been disposed of, were 176 for Ministers, and 72 against them. The point principally dwelt upon in this last discussion was the approbation expressed in the Address of the conduct of his Majesty in sending part of his electoral troops to garrison Gibraltar and Minorca, an act which was contended to be expressly repugnant to the Bill of Rights. Lord North took upon himself the whole responsibility of the measure, and declared himself to be fully persuaded of its legality, wisdom, and expediency, but he added that, if it was dreaded as a precedent, he should have no objection to a Bill of Indemnity. The subject was afterwards repeatedly brought forward by the opposition in both Houses; but always with the same result. Several other debates also occurred upon American affairs during the first three weeks of the session, which it is not necessary for us particularly to notice. Strong majorities continued to support the Ministry on every vote.

The line taken by the Duke of Grafton, however, rendered a partial reconstruction of the Cabinet indispensable. On the 10th of November, accordingly, his Grace was succeeded as Lord Privy Seal by the Earl of Dartmouth, who is supposed not to have entirely agreed with his colleagues in their policy on the American question, and whose removal, therefore, from the Secretaryship of the Colonies had come to be desired both by himself and them. His successor was Lord George Sackville Germaine, afterwards created Viscount Sackville, a younger son of the Duke of Dorset. Lord George Germaine is now best remembered for the censure passed upon him by a court-martial for his conduct at the battle of Minden, in 1759. "The principal attachment of that noble Lord," says the 'Annual Register,' "had been to Mr. Grenville. After Mr. Grenville's death, indeed, he continued for some time firm on his former ground, and did not join in that defection from the minority which immediately followed that event. But he began at length to slacken in opposition. He fell in with Administration in the proceedings against the East India Company in 1773, and took a full and decided part in all the coercive measures which had been pursued against the Americans during the present troubles. His connexions with Mr Grenville probably made him support with more zeal and steadiness the highest claims of parliamentary authority; and, as he was generally esteemed a man of business and an able debater, he was sought for at a time when the extraordinary powers in the same line upon the other side seemed, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, not a little to distress Adminstration. It will not be conceived that this appointment strengthened the hope, or increased the satisfaction, of those who held the opinion that conciliatory measures could only bring the present troubles to a speedy and happy conclusion." Another change made at the same time was the restoration to the Cabinet of Lord Weymouth, who was made Secretary of State on the retirement of Lord Rochfort from public business. On the 18th of November, also, the office of one of the Chief Justices in Eyre was given to Thomas Lord Lyttelton, and his Lordship was at the same time made a Privy Counsellor, although so recently as the beginning of the present session he had been one of the warmest opponents of the Ministry. This was the second Lord Lyttelton, so remarkable both for his shining talents and the profligacy of his conduct. For Lord Pelham, whom he succeeded in his present place, a compensation was found in the household office of Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, from which Lord Ashburnham was promoted to that of Groom of the Stole. The last mentioned office had been held since the preceding March by Viscount Weymouth.

The sum of the present changes, therefore, in so far as respected the Cabinet, amounted to the substitution of Lord George Germaine and Lord Weymouth for the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rochfort. The resolution of pursuing an uncompromising policy in regard to America was also still further indicated by the transference of Lord Dartmouth from the Secretaryship of the Colonies to the Privy Seal. Before the new arrangements were yet completed, namely, on the 16th, Mr. Burke made another attempt to draw the House of Commons from the course upon which it had entered, in the form of a motion for leave "to bring in a Bill for composing the present troubles, and for quieting the minds of his Majesty's subjects in America." This Bill proposed to enact, that for the future no tax of any kind should be collected from the people of America by the authority of Parliament, or in any other manner than by the voluntary grant of the General Assembly or General Court of each Colony; and also that the said several assemblies should send deputies to a general meeting, with full powers to bind their said several provinces to all acts done by a majority of voices in the said meeting. The debate lasted till four o'clock in the morning, when the previous question was carried by a majority of exactly two to one, the numbers being for Ministers 210, and against them 105. On the 20th, Lord North obtained leave, by a majority of 192 to 64, to bring in a Bill for prohibiting all trade and intercourse whatever with each and all of the American Colonies, "during the continuance," as it was expressed, "of the present rebellion within the said Colonies respectively." In the debate which took place in the Lords on the 15th of December, on the motion for committing this Bill after the second reading, Lord Lyttelton maintained that, except as to certain minor points, the American policy of Ministers had always had his approbation. If he had ever on any occasion refused to assent to their propositions, he had so acted because he was not in possession of the information he had since obtained. "On that ground alone," he said, "I refused to co-operate with Administration. Here the matter rested, till his Majesty's servants thought proper to give me that kind of information I thought necessary to direct me in my future conduct. . . . . Thus convinced of the rectitude and wisdom of Administration, I accepted of the place I now enjoy. . . . . As to the place I have been appointed to, I received it as a mark of his Majesty's most gracious inclination towards me. I have always looked upon it, in point of emolument, to be a matter of very trivial consideration; my fortune is too considerable to regard it in any other light. I did not seek it. I did not act the servile part of a placeman or a pensioner, by meanly stooping to apply and beg for it; and I expect, and think I have a right, not to be included among those that do; for if it was an object of moment, which it is not, I never shall sacrifice my opinion to any personal or private consideration." His Lordship, however, having thus luckily obtained at length a position which suited his principles, was further fortunate enough to retain it till his death, which took place about four years after this time.

The recent acts of Ministers, and of Parliament, had proceeded avowedly on the ground that war had already commenced with America; and although no formal declaration of independence had yet issued from the Colonies, their attitude by this time had become distinctly that of an armed insurrection against the mother

country. The last eight or nine months of the year 1775 had been filled with a series of warlike operations in the province of Massachusetts and other parts of North America. On the 19th of April occurred the affair of Lexington, where the first blood was shed in a regular engagement between the two parties. This was immediately followed by the enrolment of militia in all the provinces, and the seizure, everywhere, of the King's stores. On the 10th of May the Continental Congress reassembled at Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution passed at the close of its preceding session. This assembly once more, and for the last time, addressed the King in earnest and humble petition, but at the same time proceeded to take the necessary measures for the defence of that cause of liberty which its members had been commissioned to conduct and protect. They issued addresses in justification of their proceedings to the British nation, and others to the people of Canada and of Jamaica, calling upon them to join the great movement as their common cause. They gave orders for the raising and equipping of an army to oppose the King's troops; and licensed privateers to attack British vessels at sea. Meanwhile the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been surprised by Colonel Allen in the beginning of May. About the end of the same month additional troops arrived from Great Britain, under the command of Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. By this time the town of Boston was blockaded by the insurgent militia. The battle of Bunker's Hill occurred on the 16th of June. Soon after, George Washington, destined to become so illustrious a name, was appointed Commander in-Chief of their forces by Congress. In the latter part of the year the invasion of Canada was undertaken by General Montgomery, who, after taking possession of Montreal, proceeded to Quebec, and lost his life in an unsuccessful attack upon that town on the 31st of December.

Such were, briefly, the principal operations of this eventful year on the theatre of action. We now return to that of the battle of parties at home.

After the Christmas recess, as before, nearly the whole attention of Parliament continued to be occupied by the affairs of America. On the 5th of March an interesting debate took place in the Lords, on a motion by the Duke of Richmond for an address to the Crown to suspend hostilities; the taunts, as to changes of opinion and conduct, that were thrown out in the course of which, drew forth explanations from various quarters. Among others, Lord Camden took occasion to state that, although he had been in office at the time when the American duties were first laid on in 1767, he had never approved of that measure. The Duke of Grafton afterwards made a similar statement in still more explicit terms:—"I confess," he said, "I occupied a very high and responsible post in the Administration" (he was First Lord of the Treasury) "when the duties, in 1767, were laid upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass. I am, however, extremely well pleased to have an opportunity of explaining what yet has not been effectually cleared up. In that year, when the extraordinary expenses incurred on account of America were laid before the House of Commons, the House rose as one man almost, and insisted that that country should contribute to the burdens brought on by the military establishment there; and a motion was made for bringing in a Bill for that purpose. I strenuously opposed the measure, as big with the consequences it has since unfortunately produced. I spoke to my friends upon the occasion, but they all united in opinion that the tide was too strong to expect to either stem or turn it, so as to prevent whatever might be offered in that shape from passing into a law. Finding that all my efforts would be vain, I was compelled to submit; but was resolved, as far as lay in my power, to prevent the effect; and, while I gave way, to do it in such a manner as would cause least harm. I accordingly proposed the tea-duty as the most palatable; because, though it answered the main purpose of those with whom taxation was a favourite measure, it was doing America an immediate benefit; for I procured the shilling a-pound duty to be taken off, and three-pence to be laid on in lieu thereof; so that, in fact, it was nine-pence a-pound saving to America. However, the attempt was received in America as I expected it would; it immediately caused disturbances and universal dissatisfaction. In 1769, therefore, I moved in the Cabinet for a repeal, and was outvoted (if I remember right) by a majority of one. This, therefore, was the part I took in this fatal business. When the partial repeal was agreed to in Council, I conjured my brethren in office to give up this paltry revenue; but, as I said before, I was overruled." We have quoted this speech at length, as containing some facts that have not been generally noticed, and that have a wider historical interest than they derive from their bearing upon the conduct of the Duke of Grafton. A part of his Grace's statement was afterwards corrected by Lord Weymouth, who reminded him that, on the occasion to which he had referred, of a division in the Cabinet, there was no majority or casting voice,—the numbers were equal. Lord Camden again said,—"For my part, I was not in Council, or did not attend in the Cabinet, at the time this fatal measure was contested; and, as soon as I was apprised of the tendency of it, I expressed my hearty disapprobation." This apology Lord Weymouth characterized as the most extraordinary he had ever heard. "Will the noble Lord," he exclaimed, "pretend to excuse himself as a Cabinet Counsellor on that ground? or, if he could, can he pretend to defend himself in giving his approbation, and putting the question in every successive stage of the Bill to a measure (sitting on that woolsack as president of this august assembly) which he has asserted, in the course of this night's debate, will be the certain destruction of this country?"

On the 14th of the same month another long and interesting debate took place in their Lordships' House, on a proposition submitted by the Duke of Grafton for the adoption of a conciliatory course in regard to America. On this occasion Lord Dartmouth defended his consistency by avowing that he ever had been of opinion that Great Britain could not, with propriety, make any concession to the Colonies until the latter had acknowledged the supreme authority of the former. His Lordship remarked besides, in reference to the charge that he had expressed himself differently from what he now did when he held the office of Secretary for the Colonies, that he did not hold it fair or parliamentary to bind a person to expressions and opinions given in one situation of affairs, when that situation came to be materially altered. He had been willing to suppose, at first, that the disturbances in America were merely local, and, as such, had been anxious to treat them with as much tenderness as possible; but, now that the resistance clearly appeared to be that of the whole country, he felt the necessity of vigorous measures for putting it down. The other ministers expressed themselves in the most resolute and confident terms; and, when the House divided, the numbers were found to be,—for the motion only 31, and 91 against it. "This day," says the Annual Register, "will perhaps hereafter be considered as one of the most important of the English history. It deeply fixed a new colour upon our public affairs. It was decisive on this side of the Atlantic with respect to America. . . . . The tone of the House of Lords was much higher than that of the House of Commons

had ever been, although the language was grown much more firm and determined there, also, than it had been at the beginning of the session."

Mr. Wilkes this session again brought forward the subject of his expulsion by moving, on the 30th of April, that the resolution of the 17th of February, 1769, should be expunged from the journals; but, after a short debate, the question was once more lost on a division, the numbers being 92 for and 186 against it.

The session closed on the 23d of May.

In America, in the mean time, hostile operations proceeded actively on both sides. On the 17th of March the British general, Howe, had been compelled by Washington to evacuate the town of Boston. In the course of the month of May, on the other hand, the American general, Arnold, had found it necessary to make his retreat from Canada; and a strong force which had been sent by Congress to guard their northern frontier, under the command of General Gates, was destroyed by General Carleton. Soon after this, however, an attempt upon the town of Charleston, in South Carolina, by the British general, Clinton, in conjunction with Admiral Sir Peter Parker, was signally defeated by a force stationed for the protection of the place, under the command of Colonel Moultrie. The British Commander-in-Chief, his plan of operations having thus succeeded in the North and failed in the South, now proceeded to bring up all his strength for an attack upon the centre of the Union. On the 10th of June, accordingly, he arrived at Staten Island, near New York, where, being soon after joined by his brother admiral, Sir William Howe, he found himself in command of a force of not less than 30,000 men. Such was the state of affairs when, on the ever-memorable 4th of July, the Congress voted their declaration of independence. The first fortunes of the young republic were eminently discouraging. On the 26th of August the American force, under General Sullivan, was driven from Long Island, after a sanguinary engagement, and possession of the island taken by General Howe. On the 15th of September Washington was compelled to evacuate the town of New York. Immediately after, Fort Washington was attacked and taken by Howe, and 2,700 men, by whom it was garrisoned, made prisoners. Fort Lee was also taken by Lord Cornwallis. These reverses were followed by the retreat of Washington across the province of New Jersey towards the Delaware, followed by his victorious enemy, and the adjournment of their sittings, by the Congress, from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

Parliament reassembled on the 31st of October. At this time the latest intelligence from America that had arrived in England appears to have come down only to Howe's first successful operations in the neighbourhood of New York. "Although," said his Majesty, in his Speech, "from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province has been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but, notwithstanding this fair prospect, we must, at all events, prepare for another campaign." In the Lords an amendment to the address was moved by Lord Rockingham, and a long debate ensued, which ended, however, in the defeat of the opposition by a majority of 91 to 26. In the Commons an amendment to the ministerial Address, proposed by Lord John Cavendish, was also, after a protracted discussion, negatived on a division by an overwhelming majority, the numbers being only 87 for, and 242 against it. Another motion, made by the same noble lord, and seconded by Mr. Burke, on the 6th of November, (by which time the news had arrived of the capture of the town of New York,) that the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all Acts of Parliament by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved, was thrown out by a majority of 109 to 47. "From this time," says the Annual Register, "a great number of the minority, particularly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon Parliament in either House; or, rather, to withdraw themselves wholly and avowedly upon all questions which related to America, and only to attend upon such matters of private bills or business in which they had some particular concern or interest. This conduct was so marked that some of the principal leaders of opposition, after attending the House of Commons in the morning, upon private business, as soon as a public question was introduced, took a formal leave of the Speaker, and immediately withdrew."

HISTORICAL NOTICE ON MALT.

In a subsequent page we have given at considerable length an abstract of the recently published Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry on the subject of the Malt Duty, in which will be found all the necessary information respecting the history of the duty and the present state of the excise regulations affecting the business of maltmaking. We throw together here a few notices relating to the history of malt liquors in this country.

Thomas Warton, in a note to his 'History of English Poetry' (vol. iii. pp. 412—414, edit. of 1824), has contended that the word *ale*, in old English, signifies properly a feast or merry-making, supporting his opinion by referring to the compounds leet-ale, lamb-ale, Whitsun-ale, clerk-ale, church-ale, &c., by which our ancestors designated certain festivals they were in the habit of holding. For instance, "Church-ale," he observes, "was a feast established for the repair of the church, or in honour of the church saint, &c. In 'Dodsworth's Manuscripts' there is an old indenture, made before the Reformation, which not only shows the design of the church-ale, but explains this particular use and application of the word ale. The parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derbyshire, agree jointly 'to brew four Ales, and every Ale of one quarter of malt, betwixt this and the feast of St John Baptist next coming; and that every inhabitant of the said town of Okebrook shall be at the several Ales. And every husband and his wife shall pay twopence, every stranger one penny; and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the said Ales, to the use and behoof of the said church of Elveston. And the inhabitants of Elveston shall brew eight Ales betwixt this and the feast of St. John Baptist, at the which Ales the inhabitants of Okebrook shall come and pay as before rehearsed.'" In this way he explains the not yet altogether disused *bridal*, that is, *bride-ale*, meaning a marriage feast, and its more forgotten synonyme, *wedding-ale*.

There can be no question, however, that these festivals were called Ales only by a natural transference of that term from its original meaning, which was, not the feast itself, but the particular kind of liquor drunk at it; that which, in the estimation of the guests, no doubt, principally constituted it a feast. Our Saxon ancestors, who delighted in the thing itself, brought the word Ale with them from their original seats in Scandinavia and the north of Germany, in the languages spoken in which parts it still remains.

The only grain that is now usually malted for the making of ale or beer in this country is barley; but it appears that anciently wheat was used for that purpose. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' under the year 1316, quoting the authority of Thomas of Wal-

singham, says, "Corn being very dear, 'twas judged in a great measure to be occasioned by the great quantities of wheat malted in London; for the remedying of which, and preventing the like for the future, 'twas by parliament enacted that thenceforth no wheat should be made into malt; and an order was published by the mayor and citizens for that purpose." Fleetwood, in his '*Chronicon Preciosum*,' gives the following account, which is very curious in several respects: "In 1314, upon the chancellor's and proctors' (of the university of Oxford) complaints to the king (Edward II.) that the market of Oxford ran unreasonably high, so that poor scholars could hardly live, the king sent down his mandate to regulate this affair. But, since the parliament took the same thing (with respect to the whole nation) into consideration, it will be better to give the rates they thought fit to set upon provisions, especially since there is no difference, or but a little, betwixt these two accounts. Thus, therefore, Mr. Stow sets it down:—A stalled or corn-fed ox, at £1 4*s.*; a grass-fed ox, 16*s.*; a fat stalled cow, 12*s.*; an ordinary cow, 10*s.*; a fat mutton unshorn, 1*s.* 8*d.*; a fat mutton shorn, 1*s.* 2*d.*; a fat hog of two years old, at 3*s.* 4*d.*; a fat goose, in the city, 3*d.*, but everywhere else at 2*d.*; a fat capon, in the city, 2½*d.*, elsewhere at 2*d.*; a fat hen, in the city, 1½*d.*, elsewhere at 1*d.*; two chickens, in the city, 1½*d.*, elsewhere at 1*d.*; four pigeons (in the city but three pigeons) for 1*d.*; 24 eggs (in the city but 20) for 1*d.* But, notwithstanding this Act of Parliament, things could not be purchased at these rates, for people would not bring them to market (and that is a thing that parliaments cannot remedy); and so the king was fain to revoke the former act, and leave people to sell as they could (for a trade will do as it can, and never be forced one way or other): and (as Walsingham tells us) in 1315 and 1316 the price of pease and beans, and of wheat, was, by the quarter, at £1; malt at 13*s.* 4*d.*; salt at £1 15*s.* Nay, by the rains in harvest, the dearth was such that wheat came to £1 10*s.* and £2 the quarter; and good ale was at the gallon (*per lagenam*, from whence the word *flaggon*, which used heretofore to hold four quarts, is derived) 2*d.*, the better sort at 3*d.*, and the best of all at 4*d.*; so that a proclamation was fain to be issued out, that a *lagena* of ale should be sold at 1*d.*, and that no wheat should be malted (*umbrasiatum*), which the Londoners had usually done, to the great consumption of corn, and sold it at (the flaggon) 1½*d.*, and the viler ale at 1*d.*"

Upon the subject of the different kinds of grain used for malting, Dr. Thomas Thomson, in an elaborate article on Brewing, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, gives the following statement: "Every kind of grain, with perhaps hardly an exception, may be employed for the purposes of the brewer. In America it is not uncommon to make beer with the seeds of Indian corn, or *Zea mais*. In order to convert it into malt, it is found necessary to bury it for some time under the ground, and when germination has made sufficient progress it is dug up and kiln-dried. (See *Philosophical Transactions*, xii. 1065.) Mr. Mungo Park informs us that in Africa the negroes make beer from the seeds of the *Holcus spicatus*, and the process employed, as he describes it, seems to differ but little from the one followed in this country. (See Park's *Travels*, p. 63, 8vo. edition.) Dioscorides assures us that in Spain and Britain wheat was employed for the manufacture of beer. And the writer of this article has been informed, by a gentleman in the service of the East India Company, that he has made beer from wheat at Madras. We have ourselves seen oats employed for the same purpose in Great Britain; and in Germany and the north of Europe we believe that it is not uncommon to apply rye to the same purpose. But the material which answers this purpose best, and which is almost solely used for this purpose in Great Britain, and we believe in every part of Europe where beer is manufactured, is barley."

The first act which now remains on the statute-book, establishing an assize of bread and ale, is that passed in 1266, the 51st year of Henry III. In the preamble, however, the king recites that he had seen certain ordinances of his predecessors on the same subject. One of the clauses of this act is as follows: "When a quarter of wheat is sold for three shillings or three shillings and four-pence, a quarter of barley for twenty pence or two shillings, and a quarter of oats for sixteen pence, then brewers in cities ought and may well afford to sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny, and out of cities three or four gallons for a penny." At this time, it is to be remembered, the shilling was the 25th part of a pound Troy of silver, instead of the 66th, as it now is; that is to say, it was equal in intrinsic value to more than 2*s.* 6*d.* of our present money. It was not as yet a coin, but only a denomination of money, like the pound. The penny of those days, which was of silver, being, as it still is, the twelfth part of the shilling, was equal to rather more than 2½*d.* of our money; and the denomination of money called a pound, being twenty shillings, of course contained as much silver as fifty shillings, or, more nearly, as £2 12*s.* 6*d.*, of the money now in use. As for the market value of our old money, or the quantity of commodities it would exchange for, in comparison of what may be bought with similar denominations or similar weights of money at present, that is quite another question. In truth, for obvious reasons, no general comparison that is worth anything can be instituted between the value of money at one time, and its value at another, in this sense.

The proclamation alluded to by Fleetwood, by which the king revoked the ordinance establishing a certain price at which provisions should be sold, is worth quoting, as a striking illustration of the inevitable issue of all such attempts. It is given in full by Maitland, who continues his narrative as follows: "However, corn continued to advance in price till it got to forty shillings the quarter; but, according to another author, it rose to four pounds; whereby ensued the most dreadful famine and greatest misery that ever befel this nation, if our author's relation be true, that parents ate their own children, or those of others they could come at; as did the malefactors one another in prison. And here followed so terrible a mortality, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. The ordinance made in the preceding year for regulating the prices of provisions being found of a very pernicious consequence, it preventing people from bringing necessaries to the city, was revoked by the following brief: 'The King to the Sheriffs of London, greeting: Although we lately commanded you that in each place of the foresaid city, where it should seem to you to be the best expedient, ye shall cause it to be publicly proclaimed that oxen, cows, hogs, sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, pigeons, and eggs, should be sold at a certain price; because, nevertheless, we have understood that such a proclamation, which at that time we believed would be for the profit of the people of our realm, redounds to their greater damage than profit, we command you that in the said several places ye cause publicly to be proclaimed that oxen, cows, hogs, sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, young pigeons, and eggs, be sold for a reasonable price, as was accustomed to be done before the said former proclamation; certifying, all and singular, that the former proclamation was not made by virtue of the ordinances late made by the prelates, earls, and barons, and nobles of the same realm, and by us accepted, nor was con-

tained in them. Witness myself at Lincoln, the twentieth of February, in the ninth year of our reign.'"

Harrison, in his Historical Description of the Island of Britain, part of whose account of the process of brewing, as managed in his day, we lately quoted (see 'Companion,' No. 35, 'The Excise on Hops),' gives some further curious details as to the ale or beer-drinking of our ancestors. In the sixth chapter of his second book, "Of the Food and Diet of the English," after having enumerated the various sorts of wines which were at the time when he wrote (the middle of the sixteenth century) usually to be seen at the tables of the wealthier classes, of which the French wines, he says, amounted to above fifty-six sorts, and the Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c., to about thirty,—he proceeds: "Furthermore, when these have had their course which nature yieldeth, sundry sorts of artificial stuff, as hippocras and wormwood wine, must in like manner succeed in their turns, beside stale ale and strong beer, which nevertheless bear the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so many sorts and ages as it pleaseth the brewer to make them. The beer that is used at noblemen's tables, in their fixed and standing houses, is commonly of a year old, or peradventure of two years' tunning, or more; but this is not general. It is also brewed in March, and therefore called March beer; but for the household it is usually not under a month's age, each one coveting to have the same ale as he may, so that it be not sour, and his bread new as is possible, so that it be not hot."

Of the social meetings of the classes of tradesmen and artisans he afterwards remarks: "If they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison and a cup of wine or very strong beer or ale (which latter they commonly provide against their appointed days), they think their cheer so great, and themselves to have fared so well, as the Lord Mayor of London, with whom, when their bellies be full, they will not often stick to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no public officer of any city in Europe that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office."

Harrison's description of the process of maltmaking may be compared with the method now followed: "Our malt is made all the year long in some great towns, but in gentlemen's and yeomen's houses, who commonly make sufficient for their own expenses only, the winter half is thought most meet for that commodity; howbeit, the malt that is made when the willow doth bud is commonly worst of all. Nevertheless, each one endeavoureth to make it of the best barley, which is steeped in a cistern of greater or less quantity, by the space of three days and three nights, until it be thoroughly soaked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and, laying it upon the clean floor on a round heap, it resteth so until it be ready to shoot at the root end, which maltsters call *coming*. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this manner, they say it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thick, and afterward thinner and thinner, upon the said floor (as it cometh), and there it lyeth (with turning every day four or five times) by the space of one-and-twenty days at the least, the workman not suffering it in any wise to take any heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which oversight or hurt of the stuff itself the malt would be spoiled, and turn small commodity to the brewer. When it hath gone or been turned so long upon the floor, they carry it to a kiln covered with hair-cloth, where they give it gentle heats (after they have spread it there very thin abroad) till it be dry, and in the mean while they turn it often, that it may be uniformly dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be done with soft fire), the sweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue; whereas, if it be not dried down (as they call it), but slackly handled, it will breed a kind of worm, called a weevil, which groweth in the flour of the corn, and in process of time will so eat out itself, that nothing shall remain of the grain but even the very rind or husk. The best malt is tried by the hardness and colour; for if it look fresh with a yellow hue, and thereto will write like a piece of chalk, after you have bitten a kernel in sunder in the middest, then you may assure yourself that it is dried down. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or straw alone; in other with wood and straw together; but, of all, the straw-dried is the most excellent. For the wood-dried malt, when it is brewed, beside that the drink is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoy the head of him that is not used thereto, because of the smoke. Such also as use both indifferently do bark, cleave, and dry their wood in an oven, thereby to remove all moisture that should procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place; and the same likewise with that which is made with dried furze, broom, &c.; whereas, if they also be occupied green, they are in manner so prejudicial to the corn as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in brewing whereof some grind the same somewhat grossly, and, in seething well the liquor that shall be put into it, they add to every nine quarters of malt one of head-corn, which consisteth of sundry grain, as wheat and oats, ground."

The mode of brewing in private families, which our author next proceeds to detail, is too long to be quoted at length; and we shall therefore only notice some of the more curious particulars. The process which he describes is that practised once a-month by his own wife and her maid-servants. Having first ground eight bushels of malt upon her quern at home, by which the toll was saved, she added to this half a bushel of wheat meal, and as much more of oats ground small, so tempering and mixing them with the malt, "that you cannot easily discern the one from the other; otherwise these latter would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become unprofitable." Another mixture, besides the hops, which she infused at a later part of the process, was half an ounce of arras, and half a quarter of an ounce of barberries, finely powdered. Some, instead of the arras and bays, added the same quantity of long pepper only; but Harrison intimates that the liquor so made was neither thought so good by his wife, nor liked so well by himself. He goes on: "In this trade also our brewers observe very diligently the nature of the water which they daily occupy, and soil through which it passeth; for all waters are not of like goodness, sith the fattest standing water is always the best; for although the waters that run by chalk or cledgy [fuller's earth] soils be good, and next unto the Thames water, which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for us that dwell in the country, as whereon the sun lyeth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fenny and moorish is the worst, and the clearest spring water next unto it. In this business, therefore, the skilful workman doth redeem the iniquity of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our only, but now taken with many for old and sick men's drink) is never seen nor heard of." From this and what immediately follows it appears that in Harrison's time the name Ale was used to designate a malt liquor in which there were no hops. This circumstance was not adverted to when the words were quoted in the article on the Excise on Hops (see 'Companion,' No. 35, p. 515), where the ale described by him as made without hops is spoken of as a particular sort of ale. The sentence in full is, "Howbeit, as the beer well sodden in the brewing, and stale, is clear and well

coloured as muscadell or malvesey [malmsey], or rather yellow, as the gold noble, as our pot-knights call it; so our ale, which is not at all or very little sodden, and without hops, is more thick, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor." What was meant by Ale, therefore, it seems, was a liquor brewed from malt, but without being so much sodden or boiled in the brewing as that called exclusively Beer, and also without having any hops put into it. It was undoubtedly the older sort of malt liquor of the two. The modern distinction betwixt Ale and Beer, both of which are now brewed with hops, is, it is unnecessary to remark, quite different from that which Harrison lays down. Dr. Thomson, in his article on Brewing, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, distinguishes Ale and Beer as follows: "Ale is light-coloured, brisk, and sweetish, or, at least, free from bitter; while beer is dark-coloured, bitter, and much less brisk." The statement he adds, however, is scarcely reconcileable with the account we have just quoted from Harrison: "The original difference between these two liquids was owing to the malt from which they were prepared. Ale malt was dried at a very low heat, and consequently was of a pale colour; while beer or porter malt was dried at a higher temperature, and had of consequence acquired a brown colour. This incipient charring had developed a peculiar and agreeable bitter taste, which was communicated to the beer along with the dark colour. This bitter taste rendered beer more agreeable to the palate; and less injurious to the constitution, than ale." The particulars here stated may have been those which at one time distinguished the one preparation from the other; but it is clear, from what Harrison says, that these were not the "original differences."

Notwithstanding its inferiority in the estimation of the better judges, what was then called ale appears to have been still a favourite liquor with many even among the lovers of deep potations. "But what for that?" he continues: "certes, I know some ale-knights, so much addicted thereunto, that they will not cease from morrow until even to visit the same, cleansing house after house, till they either fall quite under the board, or else, not daring to stir from their stools, sit still, winking with their narrow eyes, as half sleeping, till the fume of their adversary be digested, that he may go to it afresh." The art of adulteration also, of the practice of which in brewing ale and beer, and in almost all other preparations of meat and drink, we have heard so much in the present day, does not appear to be an invention of our more refined age. There was apt to be "death in the pot" even in the good old times of Queen Elizabeth. Harrison adds, "Such sleights also have the alewives for the utterance of this drink, that they will mire it with rosen and salt; but if you heat a knife red-hot, and quench it in the ale, so near the bottom of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well known by the effect; for the more the drinker tippleth, the more he may, and so doth he carry off a dry drunken noll [pate] to bed with him, except his luck be the better." The hard ale and beer drinking of his day is one of the abuses against which our author inveighs with great zeal in another part of his work. In the 18th chapter of his second book, in which he treats of fairs and markets, he reproaches his countrymen for their indifference as to good bread, compared with the appetite they show for having their drink as strong as it can be made. Speaking of the country towns, "There is," he says, "such heady ale and beer in most of them, as for the mightiness thereof among such as seek it out is commonly called huff-cap, the mad dog, angels' food, dragons' milk, go-by-the-wall" (and one or two other more expressive than elegant epithets of endearment, which may remain unquoted). "It is," he proceeds, "incredible to say how our malt-bugs lug at this liquor, even as pigs should lie in a row lugging at their dame's teats, till they lie still again, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus suck their she-wolf, or shepherd's wife, Lupa, with such eager and sharp devotion as these men hale at huff-cap, till they be as red as cocks, and little wiser than their combs."

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JANUARY, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The result of the first elections of Town Councils under the Municipal Reform Act throughout England and Wales, which took place on the 25th of December, has been a general ejection of the old borough magistrates, and the substitution of members of the liberal party. In a few of the smaller boroughs a majority of conservatives have been chosen; but in all the great towns, with scarcely an exception, the Reformers have obtained an ascendency, which places the management of affairs entirely in their hands.

A Lord Chancellor has at length been appointed in the person of Sir Charles Pepys, the late Master of the Rolls, who has at the same time been created a peer by the title of Baron Cottenham. Mr. Henry Bickersteth, the eminent Chancery barrister, has been made Master of the Rolls, and has also been called to the House of Lords, with the title of Baron Langdale.

FRANCE.

The Chambers, which were formally opened on the 29th of December, commenced their legislative labours on the 30th.

The military successes obtained in Africa, though to us they appear to have been dearly bought, and to be unlikely to lead to any decisive or lasting results, were considered as a sort of *prestige* by the government party, and indeed hailed with joy by the mass of the French people. After a short exordium of compliments, the King alluded to these affairs in the first clause of his opening speech in these brief words:

"An expedition, undertaken for the security of our African possessions, has been conducted and accomplished in a manner becoming the honour of France. I have, with feelings of pleasure, seen my eldest son there share in the fatigues and perils of our brave soldiers."

The next clause in Louis Philippe's speech alludes with equal brevity to the affairs of Spain. It purports that everything has been done on the frontiers that was best calculated to carry into effect the quadruple alliance, and that his Majesty most ardently wishes for the internal peace of Spain, and the consolidation of the throne of Queen Isabella II.

The next clause relates to the interminable quarrel with the United States. The King said, "I regret that the treaty of the 4th of July, 1831, with the United States of America, should not yet have been carried completely into execution. The King of Great Britain has offered his friendly mediation both to me and to the United States. I have accepted it, and you will share in my desire that this difference may terminate in a manner equally honourable to two great nations."

This is the very language of moderation, and we trust we shall soon see this tedious question set at rest for ever.

After stating that the finances were flourishing, and the revenues of France increasing;—that the finance plans would be presented in a few days to the Chamber of Deputies;—and that the laws which had been already presented or announced to the Chambers would be submitted to their examination, as well as those which had been reserved for the deliberations of the present session; his Majesty concluded his speech with the following words.

"I hope, gentlemen, that the moment is come when France is to gather the fruit of her prudence and courage. Enlightened by the past, let us profit by an experience so dearly acquired; let us apply ourselves to calming minds, perfecting our laws, and protecting, by judicious measures, all the interests of a nation which, after so many storms, sets to the civilized world the wholesome example of a noble moderation—the only pledge of durable success. The care of its repose, liberty, and grandeur, is my first duty; its happiness will be my sweetest reward."

There were long, loud, and pretty general cries of *Vive Le Roi!* both at the beginning and ending of the address.

On Wednesday, the 30th of December, M. Dupin was re-elected President of the Chamber of Deputies; and the election of Vice-Presidents being also proceeded with, M. Sauzet, who had recently come over to the ministerial side, was elected. His election was followed on the next day by those of Messieurs Martin du Nord, Passy, and Pettit. In these elections the movement, or ultra-liberal party, were in a sad minority, the sense of the house being most strongly declared in favour of those men who had shown themselves most anxious for the maintenance of peace, and the present order of things.

On the 1st or 2d of January, a report of President Jackson's Message to Congress reached Paris, where it was generally well received, and considered as a sure indication of a pacific and friendly spirit on the part of the American government. We never knew an apology (if the old president's speech can be called an apology at all) more readily received, but we are glad it is to be received any way. A conversation arose on the subject in the Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies, which was little more than an echo of what had appeared in the Ministerial or Doctrinaire Journals. M. Anulhan found the message perfectly satisfactory, and thought that the Chamber would do its duty by solemnly declaring that there no longer existed any ground of quarrel between France and the United States. M. Testé attempted to combat this proposition, but the president, M. Dupin, hinting that the discussion was premature, the subject was allowed to drop, although in the ninth Bureau a desultory debate again arose on it, having more particularly reference to the mediation of Great Britain.

The French funds rose immediately.

On the 6th of January, the address of the Chamber of Peers to the King of the French was voted without amendment by a majority of 99 against 8. The minority, who are all Carlists, under the leading of the Marquis de Dreux Breze, made a feeble stand on the objections taken against the policy adopted by Louis Philippe in regard to Spain. Some long and stormy debates on the address took place in the Chamber of Deputies. The two great topics of dissent and crimination were, the conduct of the French Government in relation to the affairs of Poland, and in the quarrel with President Jackson. On the Polish question ministers were outvoted by a large majority; but as this debate can be, for the present, nothing but an affair of words, without actual consequences, we need not go into it.

We have before us matter much more interesting to France than all this. On the 6th of January, the Minister of Commerce opened the Session of the Council of Agriculture, and of the general Councils of Manufactures and Commerce; and, in so doing, he delivered a speech on the present state and future prospects of France, which is as consoling as we believe it to be correct.

He began by saying that "the state of the country was more prosperous than at any former period. Agriculture was suffering, it was true, but this arose from the low price of grain; and, notwithstanding this, its progressive improvement was greater than it had hitherto been. New methods of cultivation were coming into use; and the growth of sugar was now disputed even with tropical countries. Manufactures, too, were rapidly improving, and foreign trade had taken a start which had hitherto been unexampled. In 1828 and 1829, the two most prosperous years under the Restoration, the average value of imports and exports amounted jointly to 1,220 millions, while in 1833 and 1834 they came to 1,447 millions. Although the documents for 1835 had not yet been officially published, he could state that the preceding years would be far surpassed by it. The condition of the working classes was also good, their wages were getting higher, work was abundant, and savings' banks were spreading throughout the country. He informed them that their opinions would always be well received by the government upon matters relating to the customs, and acknowledged that, had he to reconstitute society himself, he should proceed upon commercial liberty as a basis for legislation on such matters; but in the present state of society it was necessary to introduce only such commercial changes as were compatible with the maintenance and protection of the industry of the country. Railroads, he observed, were one of the most brilliant creations of genius that the age had witnessed. In all the countries surrounding France these new ways of communication were multiplying, and it was the duty of this country not to remain behind the general movement. This was a question that he recommended to them for deliberation. The introduction of premiums into commercial transactions, with the intention of replacing the lotteries, was also worthy of their notice. The government was going to bring forward the measures necessary to prevent the revival of the lotteries, which had been so prejudicial to the interests of the state."

In concluding his address, the Minister of Commerce dwelt on the advantages of national education, and the diffusion of knowledge.

"Instruction," he said, "was the most efficacious instrument for increasing the power of labour; and this the government, since 1830, was endeavouring to disseminate as widely as possible throughout the country. If there was any need of creating industrial schools in the centre of large manufacturing establishments, the councils would collect and communicate all the information they could obtain upon the subject. He had thus indicated the principal objects of their inquiries, and he called upon them to join with him in a tribute of praise to the Prince whose wisdom had caused so many benefits to be spread over the country."

We would gladly end our brief retrospect here, with words of peace, and peaceful speculations; but it is necessary to turn to a field of war and bloodshed, and to give a few details respecting the much-talked-of campaign of the French in the regency of Algiers.

It appears then, from the official *Moniteur*, that, on the 6th of December, the forces under Marshal Clauzel, who was accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, entered Mascara, which *they burned and razed to the ground.* Before effecting this entrance, however, they had twice

to give battle to the Emir Abdel Kader and his Arabs, who fought with determined bravery, and were routed only through the superiority of the French artillery.

In one of these obstinately-contested battles, which was fought at Ghosouf, between the small river Sig and the town, the Arabs had formed a sort of intrenched camp, which was not taken without considerable slaughter on both sides. With a little more artillery, and a few more Italian renegades or refugees to manage the guns for the Arabs, it seems pretty certain that it would not have been taken at all. It was in this contest that the Duke of Orleans and General Oudinot were wounded,—both slightly. The second affair took place at Habrah, a post a little in advance of the town of Mascara. If we are to give credit to the bulletins and the *Moniteur*, immediately after this second defeat the warlike Emir, being at length abandoned by all the Arab tribes upon whom he relied, retired to the mountains in the interior;—whither it is quite certain (nor is it even pretended to be denied) that the French could not follow him. It is even admitted that Marshal Clauzel never contemplated maintaining the advance he had made;—hence Mascara was cruelly burned, and after the two combats the French marched back on their former cantonments. Those who take the least favourable view of the case maintain that this retrograde march was not merely a retreat, but a positive flight, Clauzel's forces being incessantly harassed by the loose flying cavalry of the Arabs, who took many prisoners, together with the waggons, baggage-carts, and other carriages they were escorting.

The *Moniteur* says that the object of Clauzel's expedition "has been completely obtained, *but not without a hard struggle*." This object was to *refoulter*—to drive back the natives into the interior;—but wherever the French *are not*, the Arabs *will be* again; nor will anything keep them permanently back, except it be a line of well garrisoned forts, and a frontier corps d'armée, which, under present circumstances, it cannot suit the interests of France to establish.

Louis Philippe's heir, the Duke of Orleans, returned to Paris on the 30th of December: he was somewhat exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, but otherwise in good health.

The *Moniteur* of the 21st December contained a royal ordinance, which authorizes and establishes the legal rate of interest in Algiers to be ten per cent., as well in civil as in commercial matters.

This ordinance has been derided by some of our own, and by many of the French papers; and it is evident that the arbitrary fixing of any rate of interest in commercial affairs is futile and ridiculous. We believe, however, that on this point the government of Louis Philippe has been desirous of falling in with the notions that obtain in the country. The Turks and other Mahomedan people have a strong predilection for the tithe, or decimal division. They are enjoined by the Koran to give a tenth of their substance to the poor; and hence they have adopted this scale of interest in the accumulation of capital—at least nominally. The prophet Mahomed, indeed, altogether prohibits the lending money on interest, which in the ignorance of his times he calls a wicked usury. "Those men," says the Koran, "who exercise usury, will arise from their graves at the day of judgment like miserable wretches possessed by the devil."

Still, however, the Turks do not scruple to receive interest at the rate of 10 per cent., while in their transactions with American, Jewish, and Greek bankers and merchants, they pay from 12 to 24 per cent., according to the risks incurred. The written letter of the law, based solely on the Koran, recognises no interest whatsoever; but in practice, between Mahomedan and Mahomedan, 10 per cent. is considered the fair thing all over the East. In meeting claims arising out of money contracts and agreements, creditors, by proving that a part of the debt claimed of them arose out of the practice of usury, or the exacting interest, would sometimes be exonerated from the debt altogether. This risk naturally contributed to raise the rate of interest on all moneys lent.

If the French had consulted Mahomedan notions, as they seem to have done on this occasion—if from their first landing at Algiers they had scrupulously respected their religious prejudices and the rights of property, it is just possible that by this time they would not have found themselves under the necessity of exchanging hard blows with the Arabs.

After several other amendments had been proposed but negatived or withdrawn without a division, the Address on the King's Speech was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 179, 246 deputies voting for, and only 67 against it. On the next day (January 14), M. Dupin, as President, read the King's answer to the grand deputation which had presented the address to his Majesty. M. Humann, the Minister of Finance, then communicated his projects with regard to the budget of 1836, and, having restated the prosperous condition of the finances, he proceeded to enforce the expediency of immediately adopting his long-cherished plan of reducing the Government five per cents. to three per cents. This subject he appears to have introduced into his speech without the sanction of his colleagues, who accordingly heard him both with surprise and dissatisfaction. The consequence has been that he has since given in his resignation, which was at once accepted by the King, and Count d'Argout, the Governor of the Bank, appointed to the office of the finances in his stead. It is supposed, however, that this appointment is only temporary.

SPAIN.

The Carlists for some time obstinately prosecuted the siege of San Sebastian, which, by an inexcusable neglect, appears to have been badly provisioned.

On the 6th of December, General Cordova reviewed, near to Vittoria, thirty-one battalions of the Queen's troops, out of which number eleven were British auxiliaries. The condition, discipline, and spirit of these forces were described as admirable, and it was reported about the middle of December that Cordova had given battle with them, and defeated and killed Don Carlos. But this turned out to be only a Stock-exchange victory.

On the 18th of December an extraordinary Gazette was published, containing an official report, dated Molina, the 15th of December, from General Don Juan Palarea, who communicated that he had beaten, and completely routed on that day, the united Carlist bands of Cabrera, Forcadell, Quilez, and El Organista, amounting altogether to 7,000 men. They must have kept, as usual, at long shots, for the victorious General himself estimates the whole loss of his enemy only at "about 500."

On the 11th of December, the British auxiliaries succeeded in powerfully reinforcing the garrison of San Sebastian, which was by that time tottering. They landed from Santander a number of English artillerymen, and sent in a chasse-marée with two 32-pounders. The next morning the remainder of the detachment, consisting of about 400 picked men, under the command of Colonel Arbuthnot, Lieutenant-Colonel de Lancey, Majors the Honourable Fulke Greville, Mac-Duff, &c., were thrown into the besieged town, carrying with them two 32-pounders, two 24-pounders, howitzers, and a large quantity of rockets and ammunition.

On Sunday, the 13th of December, at twelve o'clock,

when a brief truce agreed upon by the Queenites and Carlists expired, at the last stroke of the bell that told the hour the British artillery opened on the enemy's works, and was well seconded by the Spanish guns from the heights. This continued for about an hour: a few rockets were thrown, and every British shot told, the Carlists batteries making no reply. About sun-set the Carlists fired two guns, which were speedily answered: they occasionally fired during the night, but threw no shells into the town. In the course of the 13th, the Ayuntamiento or municipal body of San Sebastian drew up an address of thanks to the British commander for his prompt arrival, and for that relief of which they had so urgent a need. At the same time, however, they begged for a further reinforcement of 300 British, "because their presence gives confidence, dispels the fears of the inhabitants, and is most useful to the service of the Queen Isabella II. and the good cause."

On the morning of the 14th, Colonel Arbuthnot sent out a flag of truce, to ascertain the truth of a report that had reached San Sebastian through France, and was in general circulation in that town, *i. e.*, that Don Carlos had rescinded his murderous decree of putting to death all the British or French prisoners, and all the Spanish militia that might fall into his hands. The flag of truce was admitted by General Sagastibelza, who was in command of the besieging forces, and who in reply requested a personal interview with Colonel Arbuthnot, at the Convent of San Bartolomeo, beyond the causeway.

The point is interesting, and the story is better told than is usually the case with our newspaper correspondents, by Mr. Fulke Greville, who was on the spot, and whose letter has been published in some of our journals. The following is an extract from it:—

"Colonel Arbuthnot immediately proceeded, with his interpreters, accompanied by a Spanish officer of the Urbanos, carrying a flag of truce. They were met half-way along the causeway by an aide-de-camp of General Sagastibelza, who was appointed to conduct him about half-way across to the Convent. The general himself appeared, and walked down the hill, attended by three officers of his staff, and there the conference took place through the interpreter. The colonel addressed him in these words:—'Having heard that his Royal Highness Don Carlos had rescinded his decree relative to the auxiliary troops in Spain, I wish to know if that report is correct?' The general's answer was given without hesitation—'The decree remains in full vigour: we have received no orders to discontinue not giving quarter; we do not consider you as regular troops come to support Spain, but as troops recruited to assist Christina.' He laid most particular emphasis on the words Spain and Christina; his behaviour was most polite and gentlemanlike; Montenegro was with him. The Spanish officers of the Urbanos asked one of the general's staff how the Urbanos were to be considered; he replied in the most decided manner—'The Urbanos and Chapelgories are considered on the same footing as the auxiliary troops in Spain.' The aide de-camp, in return, remarked to the colonel, 'You are very fortunate in having the weather so fine; we had hoped the sea would have been more boisterous, and could not have believed it possible you could have arrived from Santander in so short a time. They had calculated the garrison could not have been relieved in less than a fortnight.' He asked also if more of the legion was expected, but the colonel politely declined answering that question. At the expiration of one hour after the interview the fire was partially resumed, but through the night the batteries were silent, and, whilst the business was pending, there was occasional firing, to prevent the boats coming in, which were fired upon by the Carlists, as was also a boat from the Mazeppa steamer, outside."

This war therefore will continue to be prosecuted with its usual atrocities.

On the 15th a heavy firing was kept up on both sides, but by the 17th everything promised well for the town: the Queenites had recovered their spirits, and the people, leaving the shelter of the bomb-proofs, were going about the streets singing their national songs. A very considerable number of the citizens had fled before the siege began. Simultaneously with their proceedings at San Sebastian the Carlists were attacking Guetaria, a small fort defended by seven cannon, on the coast between San Sebastian and Bilboa. Here, after making a practicable breach, they were defeated by the garrison, who conducted themselves very bravely. The Spaniards, like the Turks, are always heroes behind stone walls, and will hold out a crumbling old fortress longer than almost any other troops. In spite of the heavy loss they sustained, the Carlists, commanded by the Infanta and General Eguia, determined to press the siege of Guetaria, and they also made demonstrations against Azpeitia, another small town at a very short distance. Some reinforcements to the Queen's soldiers in those two places were immediately sent off from San Sebastian and Santander.

On the 21st December the Carlists forced their way into the town of Guetaria, on which the Christino garrison withdrew into the fort, where they continued to defend themselves with great spirit. This fort, as it is called, appears to have fallen two days after, but we have seen no official notice to that effect. After this affair General Eguia is said to have returned to Navarre with five battalions, in order to cover the entrance of a Carlist Catalonian expedition into Aragon. A French frigate to avenge some insults received by the national flag, has been bombarding two or three small towns on the coast of Biscay and Guipuzcoa, that are in possession of the Carlists. We have seen sundry reports of Russian and Dutch ships landing stores and recruits for the Pretender on those same shores, but we cannot answer for their correctness.

General Cordova, and Count Almodovar, the new war minister, entered Pampeluna on the 20th of December, at the head of 6,000 men. On the same day the Queen's troops in Valencia gained an unimportant battle at a village close on the confines of Arragon. But we cannot follow up all these sorties and skirmishes.

On the 11th of December Mendizabal presented to the Proceres, or House of Lords, his Bill for the entire suppression of the slave trade. He also announced that he would, in a few days, propose to the Chambers the formal and unconditional recognition of the independence of all the new states in South America. We mentioned the presence, at the opening of the Cortes, of Senor Santa Maria, and General Soublette, the envoys from South America. Those gentlemen are still at Madrid, to press the execution of this long-delayed measure. One of the members for Taragona severely censured the cruel conduct and menaces of Mina, in Catalonia. Mendizabal attempted a justification under the plea of necessity, but he was obliged to pledge himself to institute inquiries into Mina's violent proceedings. On the same day it was stated in the Chambers that the levy *en masse*, in favour of the constitution, was proceeding well in all the provinces; always, we suppose, excepting the four northern ones.

On the 18th of December the Minister of the Interior read to the Procuradores the project of law adopted by Government with respect to the liberty of the press. By this law the censorship is for ever abolished, and all

Spaniards are declared possessed of the right of publishing their opinions freely on all subjects, *excepting religious dogmas, and the Holy Scriptures.* In the Peers, the Minister of Justice presented a Bill for fixing and defining the responsibility of ministers.

On the 22d of December, the Estate of Procuradores, or Commons, unanimously voted that the present Spanish ministry was entitled to the entire confidence of the nation; and Mendizabal, who is the head and heart of the Cabinet, received even greater assurances of support than he had counted on.

On the 28th of December the official Gazette published the returns of recruits raised in consequence of the decree we mentioned last month. The levy for all Spain was fixed at 100,000 men, but from this number were to be deducted 18,627, as the quota for Catalonia, Navarre, and the Basque provinces, which could not, under existing circumstances, be expected to furnish their contingents. There remained then, on paper, a total of 81,873 men. Of these, according to the showing of the Gazette, only 46,963 have been actually incorporated; 3,100 have paid the sum fixed for their exemption, making in all the important item of 15,474,000 reals; and 39,791 men have refused either to march or pay. Of the number raised the Gazette states that 22,120 brave men were already armed, drilled, and altogether in a condition to be immediately available.

Following the same official authority we may mention that a deputation from Alava had offered, under certain conditions that were likely to be complied with, to raise a corps of 15,000 infantry, and 1,000 cavalry. General Evans had roused the energies of the people of Alava by an eloquent address on the 15th of December, in which he called upon them to rise in arms, and form a battalion of volunteers to co-operate with the British auxiliaries under his command. The entire forces of Don Carlos in the four northern provinces are computed at 32,000 effective men, "well armed, clothed, and provisioned, and full of zeal for their cause." But we suspect only the regular troops are here set down, and that the most dangerous opponents of the Queen's forces—the peasants and mountaineers, who are shepherds, or husbandmen, or artisans to-day, and soldiers to-morrow, or whenever an opportunity to strike a blow or make a prize occurs—have not been taken into the account.

On the 27th of December Mendizabal announced in person, to the municipality of Madrid, a despatch from the Constitutional Governor of Ternal, which intimated that 3,000 Carlists in that district had laid down their arms. According to the Madrid papers, and such of the French journals as favour the Queen's cause, other detached bands have surrendered in different parts of the kingdom. In Catalonia the Christinos have made themselves masters of the town of San Lorenzo. Mina ordered his prisoner, General Camelot, to be shot! Will this old man never grow tired of blood? Can the Constitutionalists hope to check the cruelties of the Absolutists by constantly committing equal atrocities themselves?

On the 29th of December the ex-minister, Count Toreno, in the course of an animated debate, disclosed something of the plan of opposition he means to pursue in the Cortes. He attacked and derided Mendizabal's financial projects and Stock exchange finesse. The minister, in reply, merely quoted the vote of confidence with which he had been honoured by the House. Toreno also spoke of the danger and disgrace of a foreign intervention, from which it should appear that that notion has not yet been wholly abandoned.

On the 30th of December the question was put, whether Mendizabel should be intrusted with the power of changing the destination of the public monies, without making any addition to them. This was triumphantly carried in the affirmative by 135 voices to 3, Twelve members declined voting; among them was the ex-minister Martinez de la Rosa. In his financial explanations Mendizabal did not go into many details. He proposes to farm out the taxes and custom-house duties of the whole kingdom to individuals or companies; a system of the old times which we saw resuscitated a few years ago in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, where, we can confidently say, from our own observation, it *did not* work well for the Government. He seems to entertain the hope of getting a large sum of money from the South American States as a price of Spain's condescension in recognizing them. *Nous verrons*, but at present we cannot believe he will get any money from that quarter, where dollars are rather scarce, and where independence has been virtually so long established, that its recognition by the Spanish Court is now little more than an empty form.

A frightful massacre has been perpetrated by the Liberals of Barcelona in cold blood. We shrink from the details, and give a short *resumé* of the affair, as we find it in one of our newspapers. The facts have not been contradicted, and admit of no more doubt than they do of excuse:—

"At Barcelona, on the 4th of January, a fearful commotion took place. More than 100 of the Carlist prisoners were massacred in the citadel by the populace. Among others, young Colonel O'Donnell, who commanded Guergue's cavalry, and was captured whilst bravely fighting at the head of his men, conveyed to Figueras, and since transferred to Barcelona, was included in this Ultra-Liberal carnage, and his corpse most shockingly mutilated. On the 5th the disturbance continued, and the lives of all persons suspected of Carlism were menaced. The *Moniteur*, which contains this official intelligence, adds, that on the 4th, on being apprised of the disturbance, Mina left St. Llorent, which he was besieging, for Barcelona."

The French, for a short time, seem to have taken an active part in the hostilities going on at San Sebastian. According to an official dispatch from Bayonne, on the 10th of January, the "Meteore" sloop of war went into the port of San Sebastian to take vengeance on the Carlists for injuries done to the French flag. After having waited for the first fire, the "Meteore" commenced a cannonading so strong and well directed, that, in order to stop it, the Carlists were fain to send off an assurance that for the future they would most religiously respect the French colours.

PORTUGAL.

Donna Maria was married by proxy in the Cathedral Church of Lisbon, on the 1st of January, to the Prince Ferdinand Augustus, Duke of Saxe Cobourg Gotha. The Duke of Terceira stood proxy for the young bridegroom, who was expected at Lisbon *in propriâ personâ* within a few weeks. The procession to the church was very magnificent; the young Queen looked very well, and the whole ceremony gave great satisfaction to sightseers. When it was over, her Majesty gave audience to the foreign ambassadors, and all the diplomatic body. At night Lisbon was illuminated.

The next morning, Donna Maria proceeded in state to open the session of the Cortes. Her speech was sufficiently unmeaning, the only clause in it of any significance being the following, wherein she alludes to the auxiliary force sent into Spain; the whole of which force, as it now appears, has really crossed the frontiers.

"The Portuguese arms, which have so lately succeeded in freeing this country from the fury of a civil war and the efforts of an usurping and liberticidal

faction, now contribute to sustain in a neighbouring kingdom the Crown of our august ally Donna Isabella II. against efforts not less hostile or adverse to the prosperity of Spain, the interests of which are at present so intimately connected with those of my kingdom, with the assurance that from our common efforts, and those of the intimate relations which bind us to Great Britain and France, peace and tranquillity will result to the whole Peninsula."

The politicians of Lisbon speculate on seeing a stormy session, and a speedy change of ministers. They seem to think that no cabinet ought to last longer than a moon. The finances are said to be in complete disorder—the Treasury in a state of exhaustion.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In this part of the world there have been sundry changes and rumours of changes, nor does anything seem more settled than it was ten years ago.

Our newspapers have recently given accounts from Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres, that extend to the middle of November last. At Rio they had elected a new Regent, one Senhor Diego Antonio Fiejo, who is considered a man of moderate politics. A party in the senate wanted to have a triumvirate, or three Regents instead of one, but this was rejected by the ministerial party, who, however, only carried this point by a majority of 17 to 16. The new Regent, who is in a bad state of health, adjourned the session on the 25th of October to next April. The news from the Brazilian provinces was very unfavourable. Para was still in the hands of the insurgent Indians and blacks, and there had been disturbances at Rio Grande. The Government had declared the ports of Para to be in a state of blockade, and had dispatched some ships of war to maintain it. The president of Pernambuco, in a letter to the Minister of Justice, had declared that *his* province was in a state of *perfect tranquillity*, only, "that cruel assassinations, robberies, and all sorts of crimes are committed in the interior with dreadful frequency, and the most scandalous impunity. Even the judges themselves do not escape." This very *naïve* confession reminds us of a well-known, sarcastic sentence of Gibbon, "The most heinous of his offences were suppressed, &c &c." In spite of treaties and solemn engagements the slave trade continues to be carried on with activity and impunity in every part of Brazil. The fact is, the Government has not the power of preventing it; but every African landed alive on those coasts will grow up a deadly enemy, and go to increase that host of blacks, who, sooner or later, will drive the degenerate whites from the country

The intelligence from Buenos Ayres is scarcely of a brighter hue. An armed force, commanded by Xavier Lopez, the former Governor of Tucuman, had marched from Bolivia to revolutionize Tucuman, and this enterprize was shared in and supported by the Governor of Catamarca, and the Commandant General of the country districts of that province. It appears, however, that the attempt failed, but probably before this time it has been made again and with success. The rest of the news relates to a certain Santos Perez, the chief of a band of assassins, who murdered the brave General Quiroga, and his retinue in May last, and who has now escaped from the territory of Cordova, only half-poisoned, the dose administered to him not being strong enough to produce death.

In the republic of Chili, a horrid civil war is raging, or was raging, when the last despatches left that country, *i. e.* on the 25th of September.

General Gamarra, the main stay and support of the new president, or, as one party call him the *intrusive* president, Salaverry, had been totally defeated, and had escaped as a fugitive with only a few officers. Santa Cruz was hastening to occupy the provinces evacuated by Gamarra, in order to convert them into dependencies of a new republic of his own.

In further intelligence from Lima, it was stated, that nobody knew what had become of the defeated General Gamarra; that Santa Cruz, at the head of 8,000 men, was in full march upon Lima, and that Salaverry the president declared, that before he evacuated that city he would render it a heap of ruins.

In the *ci-devant* Mexican province of Texas, to which we made some allusion last month, affairs have taken a very decided turn. The people have made a formal declaration of their independence, have taken up arms, and appointed one General Houston, who seems to be a native of the United States, as the Generalissimo of all their forces.

"*Declaration of the People of Texas, in General Convention assembled.*

"Whereas General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana and other military chiefs [illegible]ve, by force of arms, overthrown the federal institutions [illegible]co, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Mexican confederacy—now the good people of Texas, availing themselves of their natural rights, solemnly declare—

"1. That they have taken up arms in defence of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by the encroachments of military despots, and in defiance of the Republican principle of the federal constitution of 1824.

"2. That Texas is no longer morally or civilly bound by the compact of union; yet, stimulated by the generosity common to a free people, they offer their support and assistance to such of the members of the Mexican confederacy as will take up arms against military despotism.

"3. That they do not acknowledge that the present authorities of the nominal Mexican Republic have the right to govern within the limits of Texas.

"4. That they will not cease to carry on war against the said authorities whilst their troops are within the limits of Texas.

"5. That they hold it to be their right during the recognition of the federal system, and the reign of despotism, to withdraw from the Union, to establish the independent government, or to adopt such measures as they may deem best calculated to protect their rights and liberties; but that they will continue faithful to the Mexican government so long as that nation is governed by the constitution and laws that were formed for the government of the Political Association.

"6. That Texas is responsible for the expenses of her armies now in the field.

"7. That the public faith of Texas is pledged for the payment of any debts contracted by her agents.

"8. That she will reward, by donations of land, all who volunteer their services in her present struggle, and receive them as citizens

"These declarations we solemnly avow to the world, and call God to witness their truth and sincerity, and invoke defeat and disgrace upon our heads should we prove guilty of duplicity."

[Here follow the signatures.]

UNITED STATES.

On the 7th of December, President Jackson sent his message to Congress. This document, which was expected with some anxiety in England, and with great anxiety in France, reached us at the end of December. The message is precisely what we expected, very long, very emphatic, very firm, and on the question of the apology to France, inflexible.

After recapitulating all the tedious circumstances attending the 25,000,000 of francs, and the provoking delays made by the French in the payment of that just debt, the President alludes to the communication to Congress, in which he dwelt on the probable necessity of enforcing payment by cannon balls; which communication was not made to the French Government, but to one branch of the republican sovereignty by another branch. He goes on to say:—

"Admonished by the past of the difficulty of making even the simplest statement of our wrongs, without disturbing the sensibilities of those who had, by their posi-

tion, become responsible for their redress, and earnestly desirous of preventing further obstacles from that source, I went out of my way to preclude a construction of the message by which the recommendation that was made to Congress might be regarded as a menace to France, in not only disavowing such a design, but in declaring that her pride and her power were too well known to expect anything from her fears. The message did not reach Paris until more than a month after the Chambers had been in session; and such was the insensibility of the ministry to our rightful claims and just expectations, that our minister had been informed that the matter, when introduced, would not be pressed as a cabinet measure.

"Although the message was not officially communicated to the French government, and notwithstanding the declaration to the contrary which it contained, the French ministry decided to consider the conditional recommendation of reprisals a menace and an insult, which the honour of the nation made it incumbent on them to resent. The measures resorted to by them to evince their sense of the supposed indignity were the immediate recall of their minister at Washington, the offer of passports to the American minister at Paris, and a public notice to the Legislative Chambers that all diplomatic intercourse with the United States had been suspended.

"Having in this manner vindicated the dignity of France, they next proceeded to illustrate her justice. To this end, a bill was immediately introduced into the Chamber of Deputies, proposing to make the appropriations necessary to carry into effect the treaty. As this bill subsequently passed into a law, the provisions of which now constitute the main subject of difficulty between the two nations, it becomes my duty, in order to place the subject before you in a clear light, to trace the history of its passage, and to refer with some particularity to the proceedings and discussions in regard to it. The Minister of Finance in his opening speech alluded to the measures which had been adopted to resent the supposed indignity, and recommended the execution of the treaty as a measure required by the honour and justice of France. He, as the organ of the ministry, declared the message, so long as it had not received the sanction of Congress, a mere expression of the personal opinion of the President, for which neither the government nor people of the United States were responsible, and that an engagement had been entered into, for the fulfilment of which the honour of France was pledged."

He then goes through the transactions which followed in the French legislative assemblies, and takes up this strong position:—

"In any event, however, the principle involved in the aspect which has been given to the controversy, is so vitally important to the independent administration of the government, that it can neither be surrendered nor compromised without national degradation. I hope it is unnecessary for me to say that such a sacrifice will not be made through any agency of mine. The honour of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me, for the statement of truth and the performance of duty; nor can I give any explanation of my official acts, except such as is due to integrity and justice, and consistent with the principles on which our institutions have been framed. This determination will, I am confident, be approved by my constituents. I have, indeed, studied their character to but little purpose, if the sum of 25,000,000 francs will have the weight of a feather, in the estimation of what appertains to their national independence: and if, unhappily, a different impression should at any time obtain in any quarter, they will, I am sure, rally round the government of their choice with alacrity and unanimity, and silence for ever the degrading imputation."

In the progress of his address, General Jackson repeatedly appeals to the nature of his country's constitution, which imposes on the president a full and explicit disclosure of the state of affairs, together with his opinions thereon; and he properly insists that foreign states have no cognisance of, and therefore never ought to meddle with such revelations. He says, more than once, that in the message at which offence was taken, there was no intention, on his part, that offence should be given. This is certainly not an apology, but it is that sort of explanation which, between gentlemen and gentlemen, is always deemed satisfactory.

Some other clauses of the president's message are, to *us*, more interesting than this squabble which France has created. We subjoin a few of them:—

"In the settlement of the question of the North Eastern boundary little progress has been made. Great Britain has declined acceding to the proposition of the United States, presented in accordance with the resolution of the senate, unless certain preliminary conditions were admitted, which I deemed incompatible with a satisfactory and righful adjustment of the controversy."

"One of the articles of our treaty with Russia, in relation to the trade on the north-west coast of America, having expired, instructions have been given to our Minister at St. Petersburgh to negociate a renewal of it. The long and unbroken amity between the two governments gives every reason for supposing the article will be renewed, if stronger motives do not exist to prevent it than, with our view of the subject, can be anticipated here."

In the next clause a direct reference is made to the affairs of Texas, where, as we mentioned last month, the revolutionary party have been anxious to engage the United States in their quarrel.

"A convention with Mexico for extending the time for the appointment of commissioners to run the boundary line has been concluded, and will be submitted to the senate. Recent events in that country have awakened the liveliest solicitude in the United States. Aware of the strong temptations existing, and powerful inducements held out to the citizens of the United States, to mingle in the divisions of our immediate neighbours, instructions have been given to the district attornies of the United States, where indications warranted it, to prosecute, without respect to persons, all who might attempt to violate the obligations of our neutrality: while, at the same time, it has been thought necessary to apprise the government of Mexico that we should require the integrity of our territory to be scrupulously respected by both parties."

The last clause for which we can find room has reference to the new South American States generally, and is very striking.

"Unfortunately, many of the nations of this hemisphere are still self-tormented by domestic dissensions. Revolution succeeds revolution, injuries are committed upon foreigners engaged in lawful pursuits, much time elapses before a government sufficiently stable is erected to justify expectations of redress—ministers are sent out and received,—and before the discussions of past injuries are fairly begun, fresh troubles arise; but too frequently new injuries are added to the old, to be discussed together, with the existing government, after it has proved its ability to sustain the assaults made upon it, or with its successor is overthrown. If this unhappy condition of things continue much longer, other nations will be under the painful necessity of deciding whether justice to their suffering citizens does not require a prompt redress of injuries by their own power, without waiting for the establishment of a government competent and enduring enough to discuss and to make satisfaction for them.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

OPERATION OF THE MEASURE OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

In the 'Companion' for June, an abstract was given of papers which had been presented to parliament, containing accounts of the operation of the measure of Negro Emancipation, from August 1st, 1834, to March, 1835. A second parliamentary document has since been issued, which brings down the details respecting the working of this great plan to a later period. It is entitled "Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, in explanation of the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government, for giving effect to the Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies," and contains 'Circular Despatches' from the Secretaries of State for the Colonies (Mr. Stanley, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Glenelg); other despatches addressed to individual governors, and not of a general character; and letters from the governors and lieutenant-governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes (including the Windward Islands), British Guiana and Mauritius.

Jamaica.—(Slave population 310,707).—The Marquess of Sligo, in a despatch, dated March 27th, says: "It is with considerable satisfaction that I am enabled to repeat the same favourable assurances as to 'the favourable state of the island,' that it has been hitherto in my power to transmit to you. The apprentices, generally speaking, are working very industriously; in many instances, where they are paid by the quantity of sugar made, they are in the habit of keeping up the boiling-house work for the whole first five days of the week uninterruptedly, though their bargain with their masters may have been to work for only eighteen hours per day. On many estates they work by spells, not having been offered wages, as the proprietors say they cannot afford to pay any in some cases; and in others, because the whole crop will be easily taken off without taking more than the legal time; the last instances are, however, rare. There are some few estates where they have refused to work at all for wages, but where they work very diligently during the legal hours. These refusals are here attributed to sectarian influence." p. 18. In his lordship's despatch, dated April 27, he states, that "the island still continues in the best possible state. My magisterial and other reports announce a great diminution of offence of every kind, except theft; but I am sorry to say that this crime reaches to a great extent now." An addition to this communication, written on the ensuing day, is as follows:—"Everything appears to be now going on perfectly well. The apprentices are also contented. The managers are relaxing down from their vexatious and teasing attacks upon the comforts of the negroes, finding from experience that they have not the same sort of people to deal with that they had before." p. 35. In the despatch for May, the parish of St. James's, which had been previously alluded to as the worst in the island, is stated to be improving.

May 24.—The marquess writes, "The reports from all the other districts are unanimous as to the good conduct of the negroes." On the 7th of June, his lordship's dispatches again confirm the accounts of the generally satisfactory state of the island. "In only one instance has the emancipation of the Caymanas and Maroon apprentices caused any unpleasant feeling * * *. I beg to inform you that, owing to the exertions of the special justices, crime has much diminished." The dispatch for June 21st, is devoted to some details respecting an inquiry into the reports on the sugar crops, which the opponents of the emancipation measure endeavoured to render as unfavourable as possible. By Lord Sligo's directions, 762 estates were visited by 39 special justices, and his lordship states that the survey proves the sugar crops to be in a forward state on all the properties under the charge of some of the great attornies, and that those under the charge of others are backward. Considerable exertion appears from the dispatches for June to have been made by some of the planters to produce an impression on this point. His lordship disposes of some of their complaints in the following manner:—"One of the complainants gone home, has taken off an enormous crop at his estate this year, as reported to me; another of the complainants, who states that the properties in St. Elizabeth's and Westmoreland will not pay their contingencies this year, and whose estate is reported by Mr. Bell to be so far behind this year, has taken a vast number of the German immigrants, and has had his whole gang building houses for them, instead of cultivating the land. This is a notoriously unhealthy estate; and finding that he lost so many from want of proper shelter and food, he was compelled to put his gang to provide them with houses. Surely the falling off of that estate can be no proof of the failure of the system. Mr. Gurley, one of the specials for St. Elizabeths', has reported to me that he went to visit the estates of Mr. Wildman, managed by Mr. Farquharson, who reported to him that his cultivation for next year was quite as forward as usual; when, however, he asked the same question of the overseer, his reply at once was:—'I know very well what you are about, you are trying to get up facts for the governor to send home to contradict the reports of the failure of the crops; but it won't do, you can't succeed.' This will serve as a sample of the feelings of the overseers at their loss of power."

His lordship remarks, that many of the unfavourable reports came from estates which were not situated within a sugar district: the produce being obtained by great labour and manure. The parish of St. Elizabeth's is, like many others, not a sugar parish, the soil being very bad. The report of one of the special justices to the Marquess of Sligo from this parish says:—"It has been tried by jobbing, and the least change on so artificial a property must produce a serious charge; but in the end, if the proceeds are less, the outlay will be proportionably smaller."

The accounts from Jamaica are brought down to the end of July, and those for June being accompanied by the reports of the special magistrates, our extracts, instead of being confined to the dispatch of the governor, will be taken also from these reports. They are dated July 1st, and relate to the proceedings of the previous month.

Surrey County.—Colonel Grigg, the special justice, had visited every part of his county during June, and was only once called upon to act as magistrate. So uniformly was everything doing well, that the apprenticeship system may be said not to have disappointed the most sanguine expectations. There is one thing greatly wanted, that is, national schools. "I trust (says Colonel Grigg) that the crops will again find their level: still, I say, *if* they formerly averaged 100,000 hogsheads, that now from 85,000 to 90,000 *can be* the nearest calculation; but this may be principally owing to the short-handed estates being obliged to be thrown up, for those estates only made sugar out of the very heart's gore of the former slave."

Palmetto River.—Mr. Lyon writes: "I hesitate not to say that the quantity of labour performed on the sugar estates around me quite equals the average of slave labour, and that the labour of apprentices, on particular estates, is in all kind of work much greater than was ever performed or expected to be by the slaves. * * * * There is in general a tolerably good understanding existing between both parties, master and labourers." Offences, he says, have apparently increased, though they are not more numerous in reality than under the old system. "Absence of fear, and the presence of perfect tranquillity induce strict and minute managers to take notice of every peccadillo. No community (7,000 population) has so little of atrocious or flagrant villany. There is an evident and increasing desire for instruction among the negro population, and almost all under 25 eagerly seek the opportunity of being taught to read. The means of education are exceedingly limited, the only establishment for the instruction of adults and infants being a Sunday school at Colly estate, conducted by the gratuitous teachers: it is situated from 12 to 14 miles from a large mountain population."

Chapelton District of Clarendon.—Mr. Haly reports:—"The disposition and conduct of the negroes are most promising, and will eventually prove beyond doubt, to any one who may still remain unconvinced, that the expense occasioned by the new system is more than covered by the unfrequency of desertion, and the improved state of health and strength enjoyed by the negroes. I never had the management (and I many years, as first lieutenant, directed the discipline on board of a man-of-war) of a people so

docile and ready to obey, more respectful to superiors, and submissive to their direction and advice. The predominant vices of idleness and petty thefts are clearly the offspring of a state from which they can only be said to be now emerging. The complaints against apprentices have diminished to almost one-half the amount; and I have few, indeed scarce any, against managers."

Trelawney.—Mr. Price reports "The apprentices generally appear desirous of having moral and religious instruction, and appear desirous to have their children educated. They express an anxiety about their houses and grounds; and on one occasion I was asked by an apprentice if he could legally purchase and own land. And I think the apprentices are becoming more and more sensible of the great boon that awaits them, as also of the necessity of the intermediate gradation of the term of apprenticeship. Several of the subordinate planters still cling to the old system, and cannot divest themselves of their old prejudices and arbitrary disposition towards the apprentices, who on their part have not had sufficient time to reconcile themselves to their former oppressors. The attornies and managers generally are showing a more ready disposition to meet the new system in an equitable and honourable manner."

Aylmer's, St. John's—Mr. Baynes reports—"I perceive no material alteration in the disposition of the negro population: they are undoubtedly in this district generally peaceable and orderly, but I regret to say there is little reciprocal good will subsisting between the apprentice and his manager. Whilst the latter endeavours to procure as large a quantum of labour as possible in the hours allotted to him by law, the former seems determined to afford him as little as a frequent recurrence to the magistrate will permit. With this interference, however, the apprentices in this district continue to perform a fair proportion of work; indeed, a total want of industry is not amongst them defects. With the exception of a few bad characters, they cultivate their provision-grounds with assiduity, attention, and profit. The negroes, perhaps from recollection of occurrences which may formerly have taken place, are extremely suspicious and distrustful of the good faith of those in authority over them: it is also a general complaint that they are growing from day to day more disrespectful and even insolent to their employers. * * * * The prominent features of the negro character remain unchanged, and although a twelvemonth has now nearly elapsed since the commencement of the present system, the negro has not, as far as he has come under my observation, made a corresponding progress in his fitness for total emancipation, and the new state in which he will have to enter in five years from the present time, a period rather short for any extended development of moral principle, or considerable amelioration of his former and present disposition. At home, in the negro villages, he is as licentious and unrestrained as ever; a Christian, perhaps, at least baptized, it does not appear that the efforts of his religious instructors of any sect have succeeded in preventing his indulgence in polygamy. The numerous cases in my diary show how general, notwithstanding frequent punishment, the crime of thieving still continues; the notion of the nature of an oath, as entertained by the negro, is rarely correct and adequate. * * * * The want of a fitting system of education for the youth, as well as the children of both sexes, is frightfully manifest; those of the latter, free under the Abolition Act, as less than six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, are bred up in absolute idleness, untaught by their parents to perform the slightest service for them."

St. Elizabeth's.—Mr. Bett reports—"The negroes are rather whimsical about working in their own time for money."

Rio Bueno.—Mr. Pemsell reports—"The apprentices in this district I conceive to be generally well disposed, tractable, and easily managed: they cannot, however, be said to be an industrious people, although the love of money, in which they fully participate with Europeans, would lead one to hope that they will gradually become more so, seeing what high wages they are likely to obtain after their apprenticeship is out, 2*s.* 6*d.* each per day being even now obtainable for whole gangs, by such as let out jobbers. The only class who show the apprentices any unkindness, are small settlers, having eight, ten, or twenty blacks, often men of bad character."

St. Mary's District.—Mr. Lambert reports—"The apprentices generally, when any misunderstanding does exist, seem, on many points bearing on their supposed grievances, to be in total ignorance of the law, which I devote myself to explain to them."

Clarendon.—Mr. Dillon reports—"On every estate in this district the negroes have freely worked for hire. The hours they devote to extra labour are those generally given to sleep or recreation."

Manchioneal.—Mr. Dawson reports—"There is a great inclination to work for wages, and many estates have employed their apprentices during their own time to dig cane-holes, at the rate of twelve for 5*d.*, at which they make excellent hire, and in many instances the people apply for such employment. I fear, however, they are hoarding up their money for the purpose of purchasing lands after the apprenticeship."

Hampden.—"Mr. Cocking reports—"The usual indulgences have not been withheld, such as clothing, hospital attendants, cooks, nurses, watchmen for their grounds, rum, sugar, herrings, or salt fish. The apprentices are encouraged to attend any place of worship which they think proper; and a vast number of them have already been taught to read and write."

Retreat.—Mr. Blake reports—"I must say of the three characters, master, attorney, and overseer, that from the two former the apprentices generally receive many kindnesses; but in most instances the overseers appear to wish to put them in the cells for perhaps the most trifling circumstance, and nothing they appreciate so much in a special magistrate, as that of being fond of giving severe floggings. When I took charge of this district, the number of people who came here on a Saturday with complaints against their employers was generally from fifty to sixty; now I seldom have more than four or five."

New Rumble.—Mr Marlton reports—"On no one estate in my district is the Abolition Law strictly in force, but generally a medley of the old and new system. The want of uniformity in the regulation of the hours of labour is much felt, but there is now more confidence, on the part of the labourers, in their managers, than some months since. The only control in the hands of the managers over the apprentices, is 'salt,' so termed; where it is given freely the negroes work freely, and are not particular about an hour. I consider the disposition of the apprentices very good; for if they chose to abide by the law strictly, they would have it in their power to annoy the managers and spoil much sugar. There is, in my opinion, a much better feeling on the part of the apprentices, than on that of very many of the managers."

St. Dorothy.—Mr. Macleod reports—"The number of negroes, who since the 1st of August have been absent from their masters' properties as runaways, hardly exceeds one-sixth of the number that used to absent themselves in the time of slavery. The general indisposition of the negroes to work extra time for wages, proceeds from no sort of ill-feeling towards their employers, but from an impression that they can make more by the cultivation of their grounds. As soon as the compensation-money is paid, the masters will be able to offer such wages as will procure the employment of a very great quantity of extra labour."

Whitehall, St. Elizabeth's.—Mr. Daughtrey reports—"No charge perhaps has been of late more frequently urged in a loose and general way against the apprentices than neglect of their provision grounds. Whenever I hear such remarks made, I always say, 'Bring a specific charge; only satisfy me of the fact, and the law which provides so clearly and efficiently for the evil, shall take effect.' No such specific charge has, however, yet been brought forward. Some of the more worthless never worked grounds, and there are such still. * * * * In this neighbourhood the plough is now taking place of the barbarous unsightly hoe-gang, and with complete success. The introduction of the plough will be an immense economy of labour, and it is doubtless but one of many of which the drudgery of the old system abundantly admits. But I cannot conclude my remarks upon the negroes without noticing the effect which the apprentice-system has already had on their civilization. Here and there are to be discerned, I think, the obscure beginnings of a sense of moral obligation and of religion; but in general they are still without principle. I seldom see an instance now of

the wild and unreasonable behaviour so common about the time of the change. They listen calmly to anything I address to them; and, as one of the more sensible overseers said to me the other day, 'Sir, I declare they understand me better.' It is equally clear they can make themselves better understood. I have scarcely a doubt that they have learnt more English during the last year than the ten preceding. Multitudes are preparing to marry, and in by far the greater number of instances they unite themselves with the proper persons, the mothers of their children. The woman feels elevated when she is a wife, and the man has more respect for himself for having done what is right. Generally, I may add, the negroes are becoming to understand their exact position, and on the whole to be not dissatisfied with it. It was otherwise, to some extent, at first. The actual change did not by any means realize the expectations they had been led to form of it. Their radical improvement will be a work of slow degrees; it will require a generation or two, with all appliances and means to boot, to wear away the debasing effects of slavery from the negro mind. How deeply is it to be regretted that a valuable year of the apprenticeship period should have passed away without any attempt to improve the race by the long-talked-of system of education!"

Falmouth.—Mr. Davies reports—"If something is not done for the children declared free by law they will become an indolent race. It has been suggested to me that schools, combining instruction with agricultural pursuits, would be preferable to schools for instruction only; half the day given to instruction, and half to agricultural labour."

We have now made extracts from sixteen out of the fifty-two Reports which the Marquis of Sligo transmitted with his despatches of June 21st. On the 18th and 22d of July his Lordship again addressed the Home Government; but as the reports of the stipendiary magistrates are made up only at the end of the month, he had not then any to transmit. The despatches, however, furnish gratifying evidence of the favourable manner in which the process of emancipation is going on. Some misunderstanding which appears to have existed among the negroes, as to the 1st of August, 1835, being the period when the apprenticeship term would expire, rendered it necessary to adopt precautionary measures to avoid the possibility of disturbance; and it is satisfactory to learn from some recent accounts that Lord Sligo's vigilance had the effect desired, and that the negroes, on being better informed of the state of the law, had quietly pursued their labours. The following are extracts from the July despatches:—"On 296 estates or properties the apprentices have either at first or at last worked for hire; some, nay many, refused at first. None of those who have once worked for it have as yet retracted, if fairly dealt with and punctually paid, which has not been universally the practice. On ninety-eight estates no offer of wages for extra work has been made; and only on twenty-two estates have wages been actually and pertinaciously refused. Many causes for the refusal may be adduced:—want of confidence in their master, as a case is known to me where the negroes on two adjoining estates have refused respectively to work for their own masters, but have done so for the neighbouring property. An idea was at one time prevalent that, by working for hire, they were perpetuating their own slavery: this has been in a great measure got rid of, but not entirely; and it is my firm opinion that its prevalence still on those estates, where it yet has that baleful effect, is owing solely to the ignorance in which the slaves have been left, and that those who so neglected that part of their duty are now reaping the fruits of their own misconduct. * * * * It has reached my ears that many of the managers have, in consequence of the facility with which this crop has been got off, and the seeming satisfaction of the apprentices at the rates of wages hitherto paid to them, come to the resolution of refusing the terms they have this year given, in the hopes of getting them to accede to cheaper terms. They moreover have, as I understand, determined on attempting to procure, in consideration of the old allowances, or by some other means, not contemplating any payment, the labour of the children who have attained the age of six years since the 1st of August. This is very inexpedient; the parents naturally, on account of the deceptions and oppressions which have in many instances been inflicted on them, will suspect that this offer is connected with some scheme of protracted apprenticeship; and the effect, I fear, may be injurious to the elder gang undertaking labour for hire. I have, however, great confidence in the increasing desire for luxuries, and think that they will not like to relinquish the pleasures of money payments, having once tasted their advantages. * * * * An instance of the effect of a good understanding between master and apprentices was reported to me last week by Mr. Marlton, special justice. At Oxford estate they dug, in stiff unploughed land, 113 holes per day, not for hire, but on the estate's day, when 70 had always been the allotted task for a day on the same soil during slavery." July 18th. * * * * "The packet having arrived so much earlier than was expected I will complete the returns of estates where apprentices work for time by the next packet. I add a list of ninety-eight properties where wages have never been either offered or refused. I have heard some more rumours of discontents in St. John's parish. I trust that there will not be any disturbance; but I do think there is some expectation of freedom on the 1st of August among them: they certainly are much less contented in their minds than they have been, although no actual breach of the usual perfect tranquility now exists. I must say that I anticipated this result from the Caymanas' liberation." July 22.

Perhaps the part of this volume of papers and official correspondence, relative to the Abolition of Slavery, which will be read with the most satisfaction, is a communication from the Marquis of Sligo, transmitted with the despatches for June, and which is to be found at page 216, under the following head:—"A few Memoranda respecting Jamaica; the result of some Consideration and Observation, combined with the best Information that could be procured." Lord Sligo's observations have been made during the close and active performance of his duties. The exact and highly important information which they contain respecting the progress of the great experiment entrusted to his superintendence is therefore of the highest value. Every fact, it should be observed, rests on the authority of parties unbiassed by local interests, connections, or prejudices. The following is a verbatim copy of the "Memoranda:"—

"1. The quality of the sugar made this year is *bonâ fide* far superior to what has been heretofore made by night-work on the majority of estates in this island.

"2. There has been by far less stock lost in this year's crop than in that of preceding years; and in many places it has been taken off by a smaller number.

"3. The stocks are, generally speaking, in much better condition this year than they were at the close of any former year's crop, when they have been so weak that many of them have died in consequence.

"4. That the apprentices, generally, are evidently becoming more reconciled to the system, and work cheerfully for money-hire, both night and day, and that they are becoming better behaved every day.

"5. That they may be expected still further to improve as soon as they begin to feel the natural impetus of education and religion, and as they get rid of the system of deceit which slavery occasioned, in order to save them from oppression.

"6. That several estates will exceed the present crop in the next year, and the majority will equal it.

"7. That when this is not the case it can be traced to sufficient causes, independent of the loss of labour, which of course must have considerable effect when it is recollected that on many estates the slaves were compelled not only to work day and night, as long as nature would allow of it, and in such a manner as their bodily endurance would permit, for the six week days, but were often compelled to pot sugar on the Sunday.

"8. That a manifest supineness has been exhibited on several plantations by the fact that next year's crops are often estimated at much more than the present. I know of several individual instances of persons declining to put in plant-canes last year in consequence of the certainty, by anticipation, which they felt that the crop would not be taken off at all.

"9. The returns I send home herewith will show that the preparations for the next year's crop have not been so entirely neglected as has been asserted.

"10. That the 'new system' furnished a most admirable excuse for any failures and neglects which may have taken

place, and which will not therefore be attributed to their real cause.

"11. My conviction is, that in many instances the opinions of individuals are much more favourable as to future prospects than they choose to allow; and I offer, in proof of it, the reluctance which has been shown in but too many instances to my getting any information upon the subject.

"12. That the overseers in many, I will fearlessly say very many instances, have not given hearty co-operation to the new law, feeling themselves shorn of all their beams by its operation.

"13. That many of the attornies and managers have been so very loud in their assertions of the failure of the system, that they are now unwilling to admit the error of their opinions. The first prophecy was blood and destruction on the 1st of August; in this they were wrong. The second, that this scene would take place at Christmas, as it had not taken place in August: in this they were wrong. The third, that the apprentices would not work for wages; in this they were wrong, as I know of no instance where the usual wages were offered, and where they were refused. The fourth was, that this crop could not be taken off; in this they were wrong, as it has been taken off in many places much earlier than usual; and if protracted in others, it has been as much from the weather, and the refusal to give wages in many instances, as from any other cause affecting the success of the new system.

"14. Having been driven from all these points, they have now created for themselves a fresh object of terror, namely, the next year's crop. On this point I have had some doubts myself all along, and therefore send the information I have received, in order that judgment may be given by others. I freely confess that the report is, on the whole, much more favourable than I ever expected.

"15. That the manufacture and cultivation of sugar has been conducted on the most antiquated systems possible, and has received the least possible assistance from the modern improvements in machinery. The plough is hardly ever used: where adopted this year, from necessity, it has answered completely. The cattle mills, which are so general, must be abandoned, as they work so very slowly that they cannot meet the diminished hours of labour of the freed gangs.

"16. That the ginger, arrow root, and coffee plantations are as flourishing as ever they were known to be.

"17. That the negroes will improve, because they have done so since the 1st of August, gradually but certainly, in all parts where severity has not been practised. That they have had very little encouragement from many of the managers. That in the whole of the early part of this period, the number of especial magistrates was quite insufficient, and this affects them more than might be at first imagined, as they show unlimited confidence in those (the great majority, I am proud to say) who treat them with true kindness. That they passed their holidays at Christmas in an unusually orderly manner, and that there were, literally speaking, I verily believe, not 20 absentees from their labour on the 29th of December; and that they worked on New Year's Day without a murmur. That there has been as yet no increase of religious instruction or education, and very little of good example. That the crop this year has been taken off without a single instance of resistance, and of a superior quality to that heretofore made. That there has been less stock lost this year than usual. That they have in most instances worked cheerfully, day and night (when allowed to do so by night) for hire, on five days of the week. That they now dig cane holes in many parts of the island at ½d. per hill, earning a dollar a-day, digging 160 often in a day, when 70 to 80 was their task during slavery. That several planters reluctantly confess that more work has been done this year than the last, and that many objections have been made to my comparing this year's work to the last, because it was notorious they did not work at all the last year. That the amount of this year's work is not therefore to be attributed to the exertions of the last year of slavery, as has been asserted. That every one confesses that things are going on, though not at all well, much better than they expected. That there has been a singular want of uniformity in the administration of the law, which was not, and could not be got over till after some months' experience of it. That there has been a great variation in their allowances, indulgences, and rates of payment. That many have not been paid at all, but have been persuaded by the managers to give additional labour for their old allowances. That the planters looked upon the specials with great jealousy; and it was a struggle at first in many places to maintain as many of their old rights as possible. That many planters have openly and loudly expressed their conviction that the plan must be a perfect failure. That many of the managers, though, thank God, not all, still maintain their former habits towards them, as far as the law allows them. That there has been little time for the apprentices to reconcile their feelings to their former oppressors.

"When all these things are recollected, and it is seen that under all these advantages they have behaved so well, and shown such improvement, may it not naturally be inferred that they are in a state of progressive amendment?

"Thus much of the conduct of the apprentices,—what now has been that of the whites? Of some of the managers I cannot speak too highly; but then they have reaped the fruit of their wisdom in the remarkable success which has attended their efforts. A reference to the reports will show what success has attended the efforts of some, and how deplorable is the state of some of the properties under the management of others, though enjoying precisely similar advantages.

"On the whole, I come to the conclusion, that the perfect success of the new system, during the continuance of the apprenticeship, depends entirely on the conduct of the white people, and that, if it fails, on them will rest the entire blame."

Barbadoes, Grenada, and the Windward Islands.—(Slave population of Barbadoes 82,807; of Grenada 23,536.)—The following are extracts from the despatches of Governor Sir Lionel Smith:- "August 5th, 1834.—The apprenticeship commenced in this island on the 1st instant, the labourers throughout the country going to their usual occupations with obedience and cheerfulness." Jan. 3d, 1835.—"I have great pleasure in reporting general tranquility and industry amongst the apprenticed population of the Windward Islands."

British Guiana.—The slave population in 1833 amounted to 53,413. In this part of our West India possessions the 1st of August was set apart as a day of worship. The churches and chapels were crowded, and the addresses delivered were calculated to impress upon the minds of the apprenticed labourers the necessity of performing their diminished labour with zeal and alacrity. However, on Monday, the 4th of August, the labourers on many estates expressed a determination to do no more work than one-half of what they performed when slaves, asserting that they knew such to be the king's order. Sir J. C. Smyth immediately issued a proclamation explaining the law as follows:—"You, who are working on estates, must work for your employers 7½ hours per day, or 45 hours per week. If you prefer task-work, and the manager and you agree about the task-work, he and you are at liberty to make an agreement to that effect, which must be written in a book, and be seen and approved of by a special magistrate. You must labour the number of hours as settled by the law, or perform such a quantum of task-work as you agree to undertake: the law is clear and positive and must be obeyed." The prompt employment of judicious measures was attended with the desired effect: and in December, 1834, the Lieutenant-Governor states in his despatches, that "there cannot now be a reasonable doubt, in the minds of even the most determined opponents of the apprentice system, but that it does work, and will work, well to the end of the six years. Whether at the close of the apprenticeship the labourers will work on the several estates, depends entirely on the planters themselves. Anger and excitement have had their day: a feeling of self-interest cannot but introduce mild and conciliatory measures." Despatch of March 4, 1835.—"The most complete tranquility continues to prevail, and the industry and good will with which the apprenticed labourers perform their work is now pretty generally acknowledged, even by the planters themselves. On one estate the sea-dam gave way early on a Sunday morning; the negroes, without waiting to be summoned, ran down in a body with their tools, and instantly repaired the dam; thus preventing the estate from being ruined for several years. On another estate an extensive fire was extinguished by the exertions and good will of the negroes; the manager was compelled to order the labourers to

come down from the tops of the buildings, and not expose themselves to the very imminent danger they voluntarily encountered to preserve their master's property." The April despatches are accompanied by a return, showing the number of apprenticed labourers whose services have been transferred by sale since the 1st of August, 1834. It appears from this report that the average price of the services of an unattached prædial labourer, including the claim to compensation, has been rather more than 100*l.* sterling; and the average price of the same services, the vendor retaining the claim to compensation, has been more than 47*l.* sterling. The average price of the services of a non-prædial labourer, and which services will cease in three years and three months, have sold upon an average, when the claim to compensation was included, at about 39*l.* sterling each; and in those cases where the vendor has retained his claim to compensation, at about 29*l.* each. The Lieutenant-Governor remarks:—"This state of things does not show any depreciation of property, or a want of confidence in the benefit to be derived from the labour of the apprentices, whether in the field or in the house." The despatch for May notices the arrival of white immigrants. Sir J. Smyth writes, that he expects this circumstance will prove of the greatest advantage to British Guiana. "The apprenticed labourer (he says) will witness a number of freemen working willingly and cheerfully on the same estate with himself, and contented with a very moderate hire. The character of the freed labourer cannot but be raised in his own estimation, and in that of the negroes generally, when they witness free white men willingly submit to the same employment." July 6, the Lieutenant-Governor writes home as follows:—"I do not apprehend that there is any part of the King's dominions, in which the population is more tranquil and industrious than they are in this colony; the most perfect good order and regularity prevail."

Mauritius. The Abolition Act did not come into operation here until the 1st of February, 1835. A despatch of General Nicolay, the Governor, dated February 16, is the only one printed. It states, that "the new system works well; masters and apprentices appearing content." The slave population in 1832 amounted to 63,164.

PUBLIC WORKS IN IRELAND.

Two Reports have recently been issued by the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the amount of advances made by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, the regulations under which they were made, the purposes to which they have been applied, and the amount of repayments. The Committee having directed its inquiries to the subject of reclaiming waste lands in Ireland, with a view of ascertaining to what extent the suggestions for effecting this object (which are contained in various reports made by committees and commissioners) have been complied with, the second Report is devoted to this part of their investigation. The constitution and functions of the Irish Board of Works, and its past proceedings, form the topics of the first Report.

The Irish Board of Public Works was constituted in 1831, by the Act 1st and 2d Will. IV., c. 33, and has been charged, by the provisions thereof, with the execution of the following objects:—1st. The management of a fund of 500,000*l.*, placed at its disposal, under the sanction of his Majesty's Treasury, for loans in aid of public works, and individual outlay, for the purposes mentioned in the Act. 2d. The management of a fund of 50,000*l.* for grants in aid of the formation of roads and bridges, and small piers and harbours along the sea-coast. 3d. Inland navigation. 4th. The fisheries of Ireland, formerly under the superintendence of the late Directors-General of Inland Navigation. 5th. Certain roads and bridges under the Act of the 6th Geo. IV., c. 101.

The following additional duties to those specified in the Act have been committed to the Board by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, or by particular Acts:—The charge of the public buildings in Dublin and the Phœnix-park, Dunmore harbour, Kingstown harbour, Lunatic asylums, with many others of extensive, but more temporary nature.

The Board consists of a chairman and two commissioners, assisted by a secretary, an accountant, an engineer, and a very moderate establishment of clerks. The Board of Works superseded five different Boards, the annual expenses of which were nearly 10,000*l.* a-year, while the actual annual cost of the present Board is 5,500*l.* A part of this charge is defrayed out of the profit obtained by interest payable on loans beyond the cost of such loans to Government.

The Board is authorized to lend money, with the sanction of the Treasury, to grand juries, public bodies, companies, and individuals, for any of the following purposes:—Roads and bridges, harbours, piers, docks, canals and railways, mines and quarries, drainage and improvement of estates, buildings or other description of public works. By an Act passed in 1834, the Board advanced 100,000*l.* to the Commissioners for managing Church Temporalities in Ireland.

Loans to grand juries are made on the security of presentments for levying the amount by half-yearly instalments, of not less than 10*l.* per cent. per annum of the sums lent, with an annual interest not exceeding 5*l.* per cent. For public works, loans are made on the security of the "rates, rents, tolls, profits, and receipts." Loans to individuals, for drainage or other improvement of estates, (which are limited to cases where the value of the land will be increased at least 10*l.* per cent. on the sum proposed to be expended,) are required to be paid within three years after the expiration of the period fixed by the Board of Works for the completion of the improvement, with interest, payable half-yearly, of not less than 5*l.* per cent. per annum. In addition, the Board requires that an individual applying for a loan shall provide two sureties for the full and complete execution of the work within a period to be fixed by the Board, not exceeding seven years. The Board is authorized to take personal security as a collateral security, and also to make loans, not exceeding 1,000*l.* for one work, on personal security alone, provided the parties shall have previously expended or deposited a sum equal to one-half of the estimated cost of the proposed work; such loans to be repayable within five years, with interest of not less than 5*l.* per cent. per annum. The total of loans on personal security cannot exceed 50,000*l.* at any one time. The securities to the Board have priority over other securities, if four-fifths in value of the incumbrances agree, but not otherwise.

The amount of loans approved by the Board of Works, (some of which are not definitively sanctioned,) is 497,170*l.* 18*s.* The amount of the loans sanctioned is 351,770*l.* 18*s.* The amount of advances made on account of such loans is 195,250*l.*; and there is as yet to be lent, supposing all the loans approved of shall be sanctioned, and of which there is little doubt, only 2,829*l.* 2*s.* This residue is the sole amount for which the Board of Works can at present entertain applications.

The following is a statement of the objects for which loans have been made:—Roads, 79,698*l.*; bridges, 49,412*l.*; navigations, 29,160*l.*; harbours and quays, 111,950*l.*; railways, 80,000*l.*; quarries and culm-pit, 9,500*l.*; mine (machinery), 2,000*l.*; drainage, 2,200*l.*; court house, 5,000*l.*; hospital, 2,500*l.*; chapels, completing, 750*l.*; Dublin wide streets, 25,000*l.*; Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 100,000*l.*—Total, 497,170*l.* Of these loans 10,850*l.* has been appropriated to individuals; and of that sum 350*l.* has been appropriated on personal security only. The interest on all the loans has in general been regularly paid; and the securities taken for the principal are such as to give hopes, as far as can be at present foreseen, of the repayment of the whole sum appropriated. The sum of 20,796*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* has been received in repayment of the principal, which is, as nearly as possible, all that has fallen due.

Out of the fund of 50,000*l.* which the Board of Works is empowered to grant in aid of the construction of roads and bridges, and of small harbours, piers, and quays on the sea-cost, 32,708*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* has been appropriated; *viz.* for roads, 30,067*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; bridge, 2,222*l.* 14*s.*; piers and quay, 418*l.* An Act passed last session authorizes the Commissioners to expend 7,000*l.* and upwards in the rebuilding of Portumna bridge, on the Shannon; so that the sum remaining at the disposal of the Board is only about 10,000*l.*

The Committee remark—"There is every reason, in justice and policy, for extending in Ireland the public aid for such purposes as those above mentioned, in a degree that does not admit of comparison with the consideration that would be the guide of other parts of the United Kingdom. * * * * The experiment has so far succeeded, and the funds are nearly exhausted. Your Committee strongly recommend an extension of the measure, with such modifications as experience has pointed out to be desirable."

The Committee recommend, in case the powers of the Board of Works be continued, that no part of the expenses of the Board be charged on the loans. The Scotch Board of Public Works is defrayed by an annual appropriation of 6,000*l.* on the Scotch revenue, which defrays the expenses of management, and leaves a residue of 3,000*l.* in aid of the works. They also recommend that, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, the Board of Works should possess some degree of control over the county surveyors employed by the grand juries, and that the grand juries should report to the Board on the progress of all public works carrying on under their authority, for the purpose of enabling the Board of Works to ascertain the extent of all the operations of that kind going on throughout the county.

In the evidence of Colonel Burgoyne, Chairman of the Board of Public Works, it is stated that cases occur "where very useful lines of road would be carried through a country, but, for want of power to pass through some very small portion of an individual county which fancies its interests opposed to it, the whole measure has been defeated. I have known instances of two counties presenting for a bridge, and if the plans of the two engineers employed had been followed, the two halves of the bridges would have been of different constructions and at different parts of the river." To meet cases of this description, it is recommended that the Board of Works be empowered to carry improved lines of road through distinct counties, under regulations similar to those which are already in operation respecting the construction of bridges which unite distant counties. By an Act passed in 1834 the Postmaster-General has a power, for one year, of causing repairs to be made on railroads, through the Board of Public Works: and it appears to be the opinion of the Committee that this Act might be advantageously continued. Where the entire charge of constructing a road is borne by the Government, it is of course but right that the Board of Works should act without reference to the grand jury.

The Committee remark that a useful power may be given to the Board, acting under the direction of the Government, of causing surveys to be made of lines of road and other public works, for the purpose of suggesting improvements to grand juries and other public bodies.

By an Act of 1st and 2d Will. IV., c. 57, powers are given to grand juries and individuals, for the reclamation and protection of lands on the banks of rivers and lakes, by sinking, embanking, and removing obstructions; but these powers, though efficient and important, have not been carried into operation from the want of enterprise or want of confidence in persons to execute the works; but were they conferred on the Board of Works, the Committee are of opinion the beneficial objects of the law would be speedily and safely accomplished: the interference of the Board to be called into operation by a requisition from the majority in value of the landed proprietors interested: the works to be completed under the direction of the Board: the benefit derived to each estate to be ascertained by a jury, and the charge of the works to be allocated accordingly, becoming a lien on the land.

While a Board of Works for Scotland was constituted in 1803, under the control of which 874 miles of roads, and more than 1,000 bridges, have been constructed in the uncultivated districts of that country, the formation of roads in Ireland, with the aid of parliamentary grants, commenced only in 1822. In Scotland upwards of 5,000*l.* a-year is paid out of the public money, in aid of the sums raised by local taxation, for the purpose of repairing the roads thus formed, and of 300 miles of Government roads made in the same districts during the last century.

At present the Irish Board of Works is engaged in completing the construction of new roads in the districts of Mayo and Galway, but is not provided with funds for carrying them to an extent commensurate with the wants of the western districts of Ireland, and the importance of such lines of communication to the public, as they promote the improvement of the local population, and enhance the resources of the revenue. The Board is also charged with the superintendence of the repair of Government roads in the counties of Clare, Cork, Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Limerick, Mayo, Roscommon, and Tipperary, extending in all to 581 miles; the expenditure on 334 of which, in 1834 amounted to 5,255*l.*: and the whole charge is levied off the counties.

The Committee, after pointing out the fact that scarcity and distress most frequently occur in those districts where there is a deficiency of roads, and alluding to the extraordinary advantages arising from an expenditure of public money in the carrying on of works through the remote districts of Ireland, state that, after mature deliberation on the evidence obtained, and four years' experience of the working of the present Board of Works, they are prepared to recommend to the consideration of the House,—1st. That the Loan-fund be increased by a power of issuing Exchequer bills for an additional sum, which, together with the 500,000*l.* already granted, shall be a revolving fund for annual outlay in loans. 2d. That the Lords of the Treasury shall have power to reduce the rate of interest payable upon the loans to any rate not lower than the cost to Government. 3d. That in respect of loans to individuals, except in case of a loan on personal security, the repayments be at periods of time varying from seven to fifteen years; the first repayment to commence, at the furthest, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of the loan. 4th. That in respect of loans for all public works, except loans to grand juries, the repayments be made by half-yearly instalments, at the annual rate of 6*l.* per cent. on the original amount, out of which the interest is to be deducted at the rate agreed upon. 5th. That the shares and stock of all such public companies as shall be approved by the Treasury may be taken as securities, as well as Government and Bank stock, Exchequer bills, and India bonds. 6th. That power be given to the Lords of the Treasury to enlarge the time for repayment on the agreement for the loan. 7th. That the writing obligatory required by the eighteenth section of the Act be given, at the discretion of the Lords of the Treasury, either to his Majesty, as thereby directed, or to the secretary of the Commissioners, so as to relieve the party from becoming a Crown debtor. 8th. That power be given to the Lords of the Treasury, if they shall think fit, to dispense, at the time of the contract for the loan, with the obligation contained in the forty-eighth section.

The 18th section, above alluded to, provides that all persons, public bodies or companies, (except grand juries,) who borrow money under the Act, or become security for others, shall, besides the securities in each case respectively directed to be taken, become bound to his Majesty, by writing obligatory, in such penal sum as shall be directed by the Commissioners. By the 18th section, power is given to the company to sue proprietors or shareholders of unfinished works for money to complete the same, in case the expense exceeds the estimate.

The following are among the suggestions made by the Committee:—That loans be made a first charge, if not on the whole of the estates improved, on the particular portion of the estate reclaimed or rendered more valuable by the outlay of them. That previous to the commencement of improvement of waste lands, such lands to be valued, and the claim of the mortgagee or incumbrancer on that portion of the estate to be limited to the amount of the valuation. Officers of the Irish courts, and of the Registry office, to make searches for incumbrances and settlements affecting the properties on which securities are offered, without fee or duty; the searches to be retained in the office of the Board of Works, and used only for official purposes. With the sanction of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained by petition in a summary way, tenants for life and other persons having particular estates to be allowed to charge the outlay on the inheritance, but the outlay in no case to exceed three years' annual value of the estate. On the repayment of loan, such persons to have a lien on the inheritance for the amount repaid out of the rents and profits accrued, due during the continuance of such life; according to the principle recognized by the law of Scotland; in England by the Inclosure Acts; and in Ireland by the Acts for encouraging the planting of trees. The committee strongly recommend that the maximum of interest should be no higher than 4*l.* per cent.

The Grant Fund of 50,000*l.* being nearly exhausted, the committee recommend an additional grant for similar objects, *viz.*—useful public works of any description, and as moiety grants in aid of undertakings by individuals, where no direct tolls or profits would arise; and also for the whole expense of works in remote poor districts, where a moiety of the expense could not be obtained either from individuals or public bodies, and in completing the roads already commenced by Government; and they suggest

that the terms on which such grants are made, should be rendered more favourable to individuals.

As to the execution of all works for which a grant shall be made, the Board of Works should undertake the sole direction in every case where it has supplied the whole of the necessary funds; and when a grand jury has contributed towards the expenses, a committee should be appointed to communicate with the Board before making a final presentment for the contribution.

Grants for small piers, quays, and harbours on the sea-coast are at present restricted to sums not exceeding 1,000*l.*, and it is suggested that it might prove advantageous were grants also made to similar works on navigable rivers and lakes, and that the grand juries should have the power of presenting for the moiety of the cost of such works to be levied off the district in which they would be situated. Small tolls, it appears to the committee, might be usefully levied, the rate to be fixed by the Board of Works, and the lessees of the tolls to be bound to protect the works.

The numerous eligible sites for safety harbours on the cost of Ireland are capable of being made, by an outlay of no very great amount, secure havens for commercial shipping, thus promoting the shipping interests of Great Britain, and conferring local benefits on Ireland, by affording employment, and encouraging the deep-sea fisheries.

Under the present Act, the Board of Works cannot make *Grants* for improving the navigation of rivers, but may lend for all public works. The committee, however, propose, that, for the purpose of improving the navigation of rivers and lakes, or extending canals, it would be politic, whenever individuals shall subscribe a contribution of *one-fourth* of the estimated charge, or the lands benefited shall be made liable to *one fourth* of this charge, that Government shall contribute another *fourth*, and that the remaining *half* shall be lent by the Board of Works, under certain limitations, which would, in the opinion of the Committee, prevent an improvident outlay of capital, while the communications so formed must become of great local or even national importance. The committee, however, do not feel assured that, looking at the present condition of Ireland, there would be found individuals, either as subscribers or proprietors, who would bear one-fourth of the cost of such internal improvements; they therefore recommend to the notice of the Government, as an object of sound policy, a liberal outlay of public money in effecting improvements in inland navigation, as the advantages to be obtained are in their opinion equal in importance to any for which the public money is applied. They recommend that it shall be the duty of the Board of Works, under the sanction of the Treasury in each case, to investigate the expediency and estimate the expense of improvements of the nature above mentioned, when called upon for that purpose by grand juries or baronial sessions, and that the probable cost of the required works be presented to Government, and laid before Parliament. The committee class railways with canals, as works of primary importance, and which should also be encouraged.

As one of the principal objects of the Board of Works is to encourage the application of private capital and enterprize, it was suggested to the committee that this object would be best effected by the following plan:—Where parties offer to advance one-third of the actual cost of an undertaking, the Board of Works should be authorized to advance the remaining two-thirds, one half of which proportion should be secured upon the work, to be paid by an annual charge of 5*l.* per cent. for 31 years, which is equivalent to paying 3*l.* per cent. interest, and investing 2*l.* per cent. as a sinking fund, and that whatever profit shall arise from the work over and above five per cent. per annum during the repayment of the first part of the loan, shall go to the Company, and that so soon as the first part of the public loan shall thus be paid off, the entire surplus, over and above five per cent. per annum on the private advance, shall then be applied to the repayment of the second part of the public loan, but without interest; after which the entire profit may be divided by the company. This plan, it is remarked, is deserving of attention, inasmuch as it establishes a mutual interest between the borrower and the lender.

The recommendations which the Committee found on the evidence they obtained relative to the reclaiming of the Irish Waste Lands are contained in the second Report, which it is proposed to notice at an early opportunity.

THE EXCISE ON MALT.

The Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry relates to the Malt Duty, and the various regulations which have been devised for the collection thereof. The duty on malt was first imposed in England in 1697, and the earliest returns which can be obtained show that the quantity made in 1702 was 12,166,778 bushels, imperial measure, and the rate of duty being $6\frac{16}{31}d.$, the revenue thereon amounted to 313,907*l.* 5*s.* No alteration of the duty took place until 1760, but considerable variation seems to have occurred in the quantities charged with duty. In 1703 the duty was more than double the sum produced in the previous year, being 691,577*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* We find the highest amount produced in 1722 and 1744, the duty in the former year being 855,860*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, and in the latter 822,943*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* In 1701, 1706, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1714, 1728, 1729, 1740, 1741, and 1757, the duty collected each year was under 600,000*l.*, and was the lowest in the last mentioned year, when it only amounted to 457,719*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* In 1760, the malt duty was increased from $6\frac{16}{31}d.$ per imperial bushel to $9\frac{3}{4}d.$: on an average of three years preceding this alteration the duty amounted to 611,017*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*, and for the three subsequent years it averaged 963,760*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* The quantity made, though varying considerably, was not less than before the additional duty had been imposed. An unimportant increase in the duty took place in 1779, but in 1780, it was raised from $9\frac{1}{4}d.$ to 1*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$; but the total amount of revenue derived from malt still kept progressively increasing. For the three years preceding the year in which the duty was changed it averaged 1,018,361*l.* 6*s.*. 7*d.*, and for the three subsequent years 1,600,815*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; in the next ten years no great increase seems to have taken place in the consumption of malt; for the three years preceding 1791, the duty averaged only 1,614,172*l.*, being little more than the duty obtained in 1780, 1781, and 1782. In 1791, the duty was raised from 1*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ to 1*s.* $7\frac{1}{4}d.$, but in the following year it was again reduced to 1*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$, notwithstanding which, the quantity of malt consumed during the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, was much less than it had been in 1791, when 27,070,363 bushels were charged with the duty, while in 1795, the quantity charged was somewhat under 24,000,000 bushels. In 1796, the quantity of malt charged with duty rose to 27,282,973 bushels; in 1800, when the crops had, to a large extent, failed, only 14,049,719 bushels were made; in 1802, the duty was increased, from 1*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ to 2*s.* 5*d.*; in the following year it was again increased, from 2*s.* 5*d.* to 4*s.* $5\frac{3}{4}d.$ The average amount of duty was 5,218,279*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* for the three years subsequent to this last alteration: for the three years during which (with the exception of the short period when the duty was 2*s.* 5*d.*) 1*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ a bushel was charged, it produced 1,417,484*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* The duty continued at 1*s.* $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ a bushel from 1804 to 1816; the years 1806, 1811, 1815, were those in which the duty yielded the largest amount, being for each year respectively: 5,955,716*l.*; 5,806,251*l.* 15*s.*; 5,865,606*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*; in 1812, the duty only produced 4,042,716*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*; for the three years preceding the reduction of the duty in 1816, from 4*s.* $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ to 2*s.* 5*d.*, the duty averaged 5,457,418*l.* 4*s.*, viz., in 1816, 4,217,259*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*; in 1817, 2,509,817*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; in 1818, 2,964,021*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; in 1819 the duty was raised again, from 2*s.* 5*d* to 3*s.* $7\frac{1}{4}d.$; in 1822 it was again reduced, since which period no alteration has taken place, and it now remains at 2*s.* 7*d.* a bushel. For the last four years the quantity of malt charged with duty has been greater than at any period since the duty was first instituted. The following table of the highest and lowest numbers of bushels charged with duty in each of the decennial periods from 1700 to 1760, exhibits the trifling variation which has taken place in the consumption:—

At a Duty of $6\frac{16}{31}d.$ per Imperial Bushel.

1704	19,765,042	1705	27,120,982
1710	19,671,021	1717	28,859,926
1728	20,951,269	1722	32,999,688
1736	23,661,561	1733	29,795,100
1741	20,141,254	1744	31,776,789
1757	17,640,926	1750	29,284,786

At a Duty of 9¼ ½*d.* per Imperial Bushel, the highest and lowest amount charged with duty was as follows:—

1763	19,557,812	1761	28,928,960
1773	21,467,926	1772	27,538,150

At a Duty of 1*s.* 4¼*d.* per Imperial Bushel.

1783	16,712,114	1782	27,159,104
1793	23,706,765	1799	30,805,822

At a Duty of 4*s.*5¾*d.* per Imperial Bushel.

1805	21,665,204	1806	26,652,425
1812	18,092,965	1815	26,246,795

At a Duty of 2*s.* 7*d.* per Imperial Bushel.

1829	23,428,135	1828	30,517,819

Since 1830, the number of bushels charged, and the amount of duty collected in the United Kingdom have been as follows:—

	Bushels.	Amount of Duty.
1831	32,963,470	£4,257,781
1832	31,669,771	4,090,678
1833	33,789,010	4,364,413
1834	34,449,646	4,449,745

The prices of malt, per Winchester quarter, at Greenwich Hospital, at various periods from 1730 to 1833, have been as follows, according to the 'Official Tables of Revenue for 1835':—

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
1730	20	6	1815	69	7½
1740	27	3½	1820	68	8¼
1750	24	0	1821	61	11
1760	21	9	1822	52	8½
1770	28	3	1825	71	10¼
1780	31	1	1826	65	1
1790	35	6	1830	56	1½
1800	84	0	1831	70	5¼
1805	85	7	1832	58	8
1810	81	5	1833	54	6

For the purpose of more conveniently managing the business connected with the Excise Department, England and Wales are subdivided into sixty districts, called "Collections." It is not stated what portion of the country each Collection comprises, but the ten following are those from which the largest amount of duty on malt is obtained:—

	Bushels	Duty
Leeds	1,543,035	£199.308
Suffolk	1,531,968	198,266
Bedford	1,455,984	188,061
Cambridge	1,290,437	166,681
Hertford	1,156,255	149,319
Surrey	1,057,030	136,533
Grantham	1,049,762	135,594
Norwich	1,046,085	135,119
Essex	1,030,268	133,076
Lincoln	1,023,679	132,225

In the remaining fifty "Collections," the amount of the malt duty varies from 1,206*l.* to 97,000*l.*: the amount in the London Collection is under 6,000*l.*; the Bath and Reading Collections are next in importance to those given above.

The Acts under which the malt duty is collected are the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 52; 11th Geo. IV., c. 17; 8th Geo. IV., c. 81; 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 53. By the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 52, every person making malt is required to make entry in writing, of the rooms, places, and utensils intended to be used for the purpose. An individual residing in a remote part of any Collection, and making malt solely for domestic use, may be entered as a *bye-maltster*, but the Excise officer must take a gauge of each steeping, in both cistern and couch, after which his surveys are not required to be made oftener than once a week, until the grain is dried off. Though the bye-maltster declare his intention to make no more malt for the season, and withdraw his entry, the officer does not entirely cease to visit him, but occasionally satisfies himself that he is not making privately. If malt be made for private use in considerable quantities, the person making it ceases to be considered a bye-maltster.

The regulations for charging and collecting the duties of Excise on malt are still severe, although they have in some degree been modified by the 11th Geo. IV. Permits, certificates, and surveys of stock, form no part of these regulations. The Commissioners enter into the following detail of some of the general regulations of the trade:—"The size and form of cisterns and couch-frames must be minutely specified. When a maltster has begun to wet grain, he must proceed to cover the whole with water, and continue to keep it so covered for the space of forty hours; he cannot wet grain, or take it from the cistern, except at certain prescribed hours. When corn is laid in the couch-frames, it must not be of any greater depth than thirty inches, and must be kept on them for thirty-six hours. No corn can be wetted and sprinkled after it has been thrown out of the cistern until the end of twelve days, except it has been kept fifty hours under water in the cistern, in which case it may be sprinkled at the end of eight days."

The Commissioners add:—"As making malt is a chemical process for converting raw grain into the saccharine substance of which malt consists; and, as, in conducting it, the application is required of moisture and heat in quantities which should vary according to the variations in the atmosphere and the changes in the seasons, it is obvious that the regulations, by laying down fixed rules for conducting the business, and preventing the use of the most scientific and economical modes of converting barley into malt, must be productive of injury to the manufacturers of malt, and, through them, of injury to the public."

Mr. Joseph Taylor, one of the largest maltsters in England, stated, in his examination by the Commissioners, some of the grievances under which the trade is carried on:—"We do not (he says) make malt according to our own views; but we are directed to make it under certain rules and regulations, all of which, in my opinion, or at least the greater part of them, are contrary to the good making of malt; for instance, by law, we are obliged to keep it under water so many hours, not less, and not more; all of which ought to vary as the season varies, whether it is a hard year or a soft year: but if it is the softest year that ever was, we are obliged to keep it forty hours under water, although it may injure the malt. The fact is, that we are not malt makers according to our own views of malt-making, but we are malt-makers according to the direction of the Excise." The witnesses in general complain that the regulations have been framed only to answer for making malt in winter; but some of them are as little adapted to warm weather. Mr. Barnard gives the following evidence:—"With respect to the couch, we are forced to keep it there thirty hours; it heats to such a degree in warm weather, that no after part of the process can remedy the injury it sustains. I should explain that we must not lay it more than thirty inches thick; then, in frosty weather, that couch is frozen through, in consequence of our not being able to lay it thick enough; and in warm weather it is spoiled the other way."

The regulations respecting the allowances necessary to be made for the increase in the several gauges, in consequence of the swell of the corn by the absorption of water and its subsequent vegetation on the floor, are generally complained of. These allowances were made by the Act 11th Geo. IV., c. 17, and are 17½ per cent. on the whole quantity in the cistern or couch; one-third part on the floor before the end of seventy-two hours, and one-half after. The allowances were formerly 20 per cent.; but the reduction to 17½ per cent., together with the changes that are at times made by the gauging upon the floor, operate, according to one witness, (Mr. Sayell, of Exeter,) as an additional duty, to the extent of 2*d.* a bushel on the quantity of barley put into steep.

The restrictions respecting sprinkling are at times felt to be injurious to the maltster. Under some circumstances, the germinating process which the barley undergoes requires to be stimulated. The present regulations, it is alleged, virtually amount to a prohibition of sprinkling; the malt becomes deteriorated, and the value of the maltster's property is lessened. In a letter from Messrs. Tasker and Fleet, brewers, the following plan, in regard to sprinkling, is suggested as likely to be effective, and not calculated to injure the Revenue:—"The maltster to be allowed to sprinkle when the corn is five days old from the cistern, (instead of eight, as at present,) or at any

time afterwards, such corn having been steeped in the cistern not less than forty-six hours."

The regulation compelling the barley to be steeped at least forty hours is considered to operate at times in an injurious manner. Mr. Taylor says,—"This year I consider that there is a very great deal of barley that might be made into very good malt, provided a less time than forty hours were allowed to steep; the reason for which is, that the greater part of the growth of this year's barley is very thin, and would not require, or perhaps would not bear, forty hours' water."

The fines, or compressed couches, are made a subject of complaint. Mr. John Young, in behalf of the maltsters of the Wakefield district, suggests a plan for doing away with the penalties on this head, and at the same time for securing the due collection of the revenue.

The number of malt-houses in England is 12,513; of these 7,294 are surveyed daily, 167 nine times in a fortnight, and 5,052 five times in a fortnight. In towns where the officers reside a malt-house is surveyed at least once a-day, and "twice when the best cistern or couch gauges are depending;" but the officer is not required to survey a malt-house in an out-walk, when the division can be rode in one day, oftener than nine times a fortnight; and when the circuit is so extensive that it cannot be made under two days, only five times in a fortnight. If it be considered absolutely necessary to visit a malt-house daily, as is done in the case of 7,294 such establishments, it is clear that a very unequal degree of vigilance is exercised over the trade, since 5,219 malt-houses established beyond the immediate reach of the surveyors are visited so seldom as to afford great encouragements to evade the payment of duties, the temptation being at the same time rendered very powerful by the heavy duty to which malt is subject. The Commissioners are of opinion that the duty is evaded; and this appears to be the general belief of many of the witnesses examined who are engaged in the malt-trade; but the Board of Excise do not appear to think that fraudulent practices are carried on to any considerable extent. The Commissioners come to the following conclusions, the accuracy of which is borne out by the evidence of most of the maltsters:—1. That malt is sold for a price that is insufficient to pay the expense of making it and duty. 2. That it is sold throughout the season, and in large quantities, at this price. 3. They are therefore of opinion that the duty is evaded to a great amount; and, 4. That the maltsters who pay the duty honestly are greatly injured by the competition of those who do not pay it.

The malt trade is most materially affected by the existing regulations for the payment of duties. By giving security, persons engaged in it are enabled to obtain five months' credit for the amount of duties to which they become liable, whatever may be the quantity of malt which they have made. The Commissioners point out the operation of this regulation:—"The five months' credit, in point of fact, has the effect of encouraging persons to become maltsters who possess little or no capital; for they convert barley into malt, and sell it, before the engagements they have made for paying for the barley, and for paying the expenses of malting it, fall due; and in this way they are able to carry on business with a decided advantage over those who employ large capitals. But this sort of competition deprives capital of its due remuneration, and must eventually have a considerable effect in driving out of the trade of malting those persons who, from their wealth and respectability, are the most disposed to conform to the law, and in contributing to substitute in their stead needy speculators, who, in consequence of being constantly liable to be involved in difficulties for want of capital, will be ready on all occasions to evade the regulations for collecting the duty." The Commissioners consider the system highly detrimental to the public interest, and as "giving a bonus of a five months' credit to persons without capital, to disturb and injure solid capitalists, whose welfare is identical with that of the public." The Commissioners, after having fully examined this question in all its details, conclude the discussion by saying, that, upon the fullest consideration of them, they feel themselves called upon strongly to recommend that this credit should be abolished.

The following is the total amount of penalties against maltsters, awarded, remitted, and recovered, in England, in the year ended January 5th, 1835:—Awarded 10,958*l.*, remitted 6,741*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*, recovered 2,707*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* The Commissioners remark:—"There certainly must be strong grounds for some change, when traders are so heavily amerced, with no other result than the remittance of the punishment to which they have made themselves legally liable." The Act 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 52, which the 11th Geo. IV., c. 17 modified to a considerable extent, contained regulations enforced by 106 penalties, amounting in all to the enormous sum of 13,500*l.*

On the ameliorations which it would be desirable to introduce in the practical part of the trade, we gather the following information from the Report. The Commissioners of Inquiry express their concurrence in the opinion of Mr. Young, one of the maltsters examined, that "the law is imperfect, inasmuch as it makes no distinction between winter and summer;" and they suggest that powers should be vested in the hands of the Board of Excise for making alterations in the regulations suitable to the respective seasons. They recommend, with the sanction of the Surveying-General-Examiner of the Board of Excise, that the law respecting the allowance on the couch-gauge and floor-gauges (at present 17½ per cent.) should be restored to what it was, respecting both these allowances, prior to the Act of 11th Geo. IV. On the subject of sprinkling, the Commissioners consider the maltsters entitled to indulgence. Mr. Hetherington, the Surveying-General-Examiner of the Board of Excise, does not object to an alteration, provided the grain has been in the cistern fifty hours, in six days instead of eight days, after removing the grain from the cistern.

In a communication to the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry the Board of Excise profess, in very satisfactory terms, their readiness to reconsider their various regulations, and to grant relief where it shall appear to be called for. They say,—"That there is no indisposition, on the part of this Board, to the removal of those restraints which are really injurious to the operations of the maltster must be well known to the trade from the attention which, particularly in the year 1828, was paid to their suggestions, and the readiness with which, after full discussion, they were adopted. The regulations, as established at that time, appeared to be entirely acquiesced in as necessary restraints upon the fraudulent trader, and, in that view, beneficial to the Revenue and to those who were disposed to carry on their business in a fair and lawful manner. If, however, experience shall have shown that the mode of working requires further relief, we should, with the same readiness, consider such specific objections as can be urged to any part of the present law."

Nor are the views of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry less friendly and liberal towards the interests of the trade. They remark,—"With respect to the reasons which have been adduced by the maltsters for making changes, and those which have been given by the Commissioners of Excise against making them, we feel some difficulty in deciding upon their relative weight, for want of that degree of scientific and technical knowledge which is necessary for forming a correct judgment: but we strongly recommend that your Lordships* should give instructions to the Commissioners to take into their most attentive consideration all that the maltsters have stated in their examinations in the way of objection to the regulations under which they are compelled to carry on their trade, with the view of a revision of all the provisions contained in the malt laws. Such a course of proceeding will, we trust, lead to a more safe and satisfactory result, both with reference to the interests of the maltsters and the interests of the revenue, than if we were to attempt, even with the assistance of the extensive information we have received, to make a specific recommendation on each specific complaint."

The malt duty was first imposed in Scotland, in 1714. The number of bushels charged with the duty in 1834 was 4,491,292, and the amount of duty obtained 553,567*l.* In Ireland no duty was placed on malt before 1785. The duty in that part of the United Kingdom produced 272,291*l.* in 1834, and the number of bushels charged was 2,204,653. The duty, both in Scotland and Ireland, is 2*s.* 7*d.* per bushel on malt from barley, and 2*s.* on bere or bigg malt.

* The Report is addressed 'To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.'

NOTICES OF MOTIONS

Which now stand in the Order Book of the House of Commons for the next Session.

1. Mr. Wallace—Returns as to the Progress made in procuring a regular Communication by Steam Packets from Suez to Bombay and Calcutta, and in effecting a Communication with India by the Euphrates.
2. Mr. Hughes Hughes—Bill to exempt from Duty Legacies to Charitable Institutions.
3. Mr. S. Mackenzie—Select Committee on the present State of Education in Scotland.
4. Mr. Wallace—To move an amendment to the above motion.
5. Mr. Mullins—Select Committee on Irish Fisheries.
6. Mr. G. Berkeley—To move that Report of Committee on the Admission of Ladies into the Gallery be adopted, and that there be a call of the House on that occasion.
7. Mr. Bowring—Bill for the Establishment of Trade Councils for the Settlement of Disputes between Masters and Workmen; for the Security of the Copyrights of Patents, &c.
8. Mr. Wallace—Bill to repeal Augmentation of Stipends' Acts (Scotland.)
9. Mr. Wallace—Bill to empower Heritors at large to choose the Parish Schoolmasters (Scotland); and for their periodical Election.
10. Mr. Handley—Bill to take from the Corporation of London the Exclusive Privilege of holding Markets within seven miles thereof.
11. Mr Wallace—To move that on Select Committees the Names of the Members putting questions be printed with the Question.
12. Mr. Wallace—Committee on Toll Dues, Nature of Mail Contracts, State of Roads, &c on the Dublin and Naas, and Naas and Limerick Roads.
13. Mr. Wilks—For the Consideration and Redress of the practical Grievances of Protestant Dissenters.
14. Sir W. Brabazon—Select Committee on the present Irish Grand Jury Bill.
15. Mr. Wallace—Select Committee on the Practice of the Law in Scotland, and on the Means in progress for the better Administration of Justice; and on the present system of Conveyancing.
16. Mr. Wallace—Select Committee on the best Mode of manufacturing Rope for the Navy.
17. Mr. A. Chapman—Bill to render the Mortgagee of any Ship liable to her contract Debts equally with her Owners
18. Mr. Wallace—That Grants to the Harbours of Portpatrick and Donaghadee be suspended, until Surveys be made for the purpose of ascertaining whether these Harbours are superior to others adjacent.
19. Colonel Leith Hay—Bill to establish Town Councils in Towns in Scotland, not Royal or Parliamentary Burghs.
20. Colonel Leith Hay—Bill to amend Scottish Burgh Reform Act relating to Town Clerks.
21. Colonel Leith Hay—Bill to amend the Scottish Statute Labour Act.
22. Mr. Rippon—To move that Deans and Chapters not having Cure of Souls are useless; and that their Property be placed in the hands of Commissioners; regard being had to existing Interests, and the performance of Worship in the respective Cathedrals.
23. Mr. Rippon—Bill to remove the Archbishops and Bishops from the Upper House of Parliament.
24. Mr. G. F. Young—Committee on the present Construction of Ships for the Navy.
25. Mr. Aghonby—Committee to classify and arrange the Returns of Justices of Peace in England and Wales.
26. Mr. Freshfield—Bill to prevent Actions for Damages in cases of Libel, until after Notice in writing to the Party intended to be sued, and to enable such Party to tender Amends.
27. Mr. G. F. Young—Bill to repeal Duties on Goods imposed within the Limits of the exclusive Privileges of the South Sea Company.
28. Mr. C. Villiers—Bill for regulating Elections in the City of York.
29. Mr. Ruthven—Reports, Returns, and Accounts relating to the Post Office in Ireland.
30. Mr. Ruthven—Select Committee on the Law respecting Joint Stock Companies.
31. Mr. Ruthven—State of the Law respecting Salvage; and Proceedings of the Irish Admiralty Court.
32. Mr. Ruthven—To move for a more effectual Mode of enforcing, without unnecessary Delay, Returns ordered by the House.
33. Mr. W. Praed—Bill for preventing the Election of Insolvent Persons to Seats in Parliament; for causing the Seats of Insolvent Persons to be vacated; for giving Facilities to the Creditors of bankrupt Members; and for rendering the Property Qualification of Members more effectual.
34. Mr. T. Duncombe—Resolution for the Repeal of Clause in the Reform Bill, rendering the Payment of Rates and Taxes by a certain day one of the Qualifications for exercising the Elective Franchise.
35. Mr. T. Dundas—Bill relative to Seamen's Fund at Lerwick.
36. Sir A. Agnew—Bill or Bills to extend to all Classes the Privilege of Protection in the due Observance of the Lord's Day.
37. Sir A. Agnew—Address to his Majesty, praying him to command Governors, Ambassadors, Consuls, &c., to make all Arrangements with reference to the due Observance of the above Day.
38. Mr. E. L. Bulwer—Bill for the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.
39. Mr. Maxwell—That Report on Hand-loom Weavers be referred to a Committee of the whole House.
40. Mr. Cayley—To bring under consideration Report on Mr. Gurney's Case.
41. Mr. Tooke—Sessional Committee for securing the more uniform and convenient Conduct through the House of Divorce Bills, Estate Bills, and Bills of Naturalization.
42. Sir R. Bateson—Bill to authorize Relief of Poor in Ireland in certain cases.
43. Sir R. Bateson—Bill for the Administration of certain Civil Affairs in Ireland.
44. Mr. Wilbraham—Committee on Salt Monopoly in India.
45. Mr. Maxwell—Bill to amend Statute Labour Act of Lanark.
46. Mr. Robinson—Bill to revise the Taxation of the Country.
47. Mr. Robinson—Bill to permit Foreign Grain to be taken out of Bond Duty free, under certain Restrictions, to be manufactured into Flour and Biscuit for exportation.
48. Mr. Elphinstone—Bill to disfranchise the Freemen of Great Yarmouth.
49. Mr W. S. O'Brien—Measures for Relief and Employment of Poor in Ireland.
50. Mr. Ewart—State of Malta.
51. Mr. Baring Wall—Committee on the Expediency of referring all Plans for Canals and Railroads to a Board appointed by and under the Control of Government.
52. Captain Pechell—Bill for regulating the Channel Fisheries.
53. Mr. O'Connel—Bill to repeal Act 4 and 5 Will. IV., for facilitating Loans on Landed Securities in Ireland.
54. Mr. Wyse—Bill for establishing a Board of Charities in Ireland.
55. Colonel Verner—Select Committee to continue the Inquiry into Orange Societies; and to extend it to all secret Societies in Ireland.
56. Mr. Bish—Address, praying his Majesty occasionally to hold his Court and Parliament in Ireland.
57. Mr. Robinson—Bill relating to Uncompensated Officers of the East India Company.
58. Sir W. Brabazon—Bill to amend the present Grand Jury Bill.
59. Mr. H. Fleetwood—Bill respecting Church Discipline.
60. Mr. Mullins—Select Committee on Irish Fisheries.
61. Mr. S. Crawford—Bill to amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland.
62. Mr. S. Crawford—Committee to inquire into the Local Taxation of Ireland.

63. Mr. F. Buxton—Motion for the Extinction of the System of Apprenticeship in the Colonies.
64. Colonel Sibthorp—To move Reduction on all Official Salaries above 800*l.* a year.
65. Mr. Lawson—Return of Flax imported, with a view of showing the Expediency of Encouraging the Home-growth of Flax.
66. Mr. Roebuck—Bill to take away the Veto of the House of Lords, and to substitute a Suspensive Power; so that Bills passed twice during the same Session in the House of Commons shall become Law on receiving the Royal Assent.
67. Mr. Hume—Committee to inquire into the Qualifications and Privileges of Peers in Parliament; into the Constitution of that House, and to consider how far it has fulfilled the duties of a Legislative Body: also, into the manner in which Conferences and Communications with the House of Lords and Commons are held and made.
68. Mr. Poulett Scrope—Bill for Relief and Employment of Irish Poor.
69. Mr. Poulett Scrope—Bill for the Utilization of Waste Lands in Ireland.
70. Mr. Poulett Scrope—Bill for Levying Poor Rates on a Uniform System of Valuation.
71. Mr. Chalmers—Bill relating to Landlord's Right of Hypothec on Grain in Scotland.
72. Mr. W. S. O'Brien—To provide for the Slave Compensation Fund, Government to be authorized to issue Notes of One and Two Pounds, convertible into Gold on demand.
73. Mr. O'Connell—Bill to amend the Law of Libel.
74. Mr. O'Connell—Bill to restore Trial by Jury in Cases of Wilful Trespass in Ireland.
75. Mr. O'Connell—Bill to regulate Distresses for Rent in Ireland.
76. Mr. O'Connell—Committee on the Administration of Justice in Ireland.
77. Mr. O'Connell—Committee on the Introduction of the Principle of Representation into the Upper House.
78. Mr. O'Connell—Bill to ascertain and extend the Right of Parliamentary Suffrage in Ireland.
79. Mr. O'Connell—Renewal of Committee in the Case of the Baron de Bode.
80. Mr. Hume—Committee to inquire into the Interference of an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in January, 1835, respecting the Exercise of the Elective Franchise by persons employed in the Coast Guard Service.
81. Mr. Hume—Bills for vesting Lighthouses in the Trinity-house; and making other provisons respecting the same.
82. Mr. Hume—Bill to regulate Election Expenses in England and Wales.
83. Mr. Ewart—Equalization of East and West India Sugar Duties; also, General Reduction of Duties on East India Produce.
84. Sir W. Molesworth—Bill to dispense with the Qualification of Members of Parliament.
85. Mr. Buckingham—Bill to enable Towns to provide Public Walks, Play-grounds, Baths, &c.
86. Mr. Buckingham—Bill to enable Towns to form Literary and Scientific Institutions, Museums, Libraries, and Halls of Entertainment and Instruction for the Labouring Classes.
87. Mr. Buckingham—Bill for Regulating and Restricting the Increase of Public Houses.
88. Mr. Buckingham—Committee on the Defective State of the Construction and Equipment of Merchant Shipping.
89. Mr. Buckingham—Committee to inquire into the Effect of the Merchant Seamen's Registration Bill.
90. Mr. Henry Grattan—That Tithes in Ireland be abolished, and that, in lieu thereof, a sum equal to a stated Amount of the Compositions be levied by a General Tax, to be imposed upon Property.
91. Mr. Hawes—Bill to amend the Gaol Act.
92. Mr. Wakley—Resolution for the Partial or Total Abolition of the Newspaper Stamp Duties.
93. Mr. Wakley—Bill for the Repeal of the Septennial Act.
94. Mr. Wakley—Bill for the Repeal of Sturges Bourne's Select Vestry Act.
95, 97. Mr. Wakley—To bring before the House the Cases of Two Military Officers, who complain of having been unjustly treated.
96. Mr. Wakley—To bring before the House the Case of R. G. Butt, who, in conjunction with Lord Cochrane, was prosecuted on a Charge of Conspiracy.
98. Mr. Ewart—To propose Resolutions relative to Select Committees.
99. Mr. Ewart—That none but Business of a formal and undisputed Nature be entered upon after Eleven at Night.
100. Mr. O'Connell—That the Rights of Parliamentary Suffrage be extended by Birth, Servitude, and Marriage, to the Sons, Apprentices, and Sons-in-law of the new Burgesses created by the Corporation Reform Bill.
101. Mr. Wallace—Committee on the Bonding System, and on the unequal Privileges enjoyed by different Ports.
102. Mr. Wallace—Case of the late Deputy Postmaster of Bath.
103. Mr. Wallace—Bill relating to the Scotch Oyster Fisheries.
104. Mr. Wallace—Bill to enable Towns to expend Statute Labour-money in improving the Streets of such Towns.
105. M. C. Buller—Committee on the Record Commission.
106. Mr. Pryme—Bill to abolish Grand Juries in England and Wales.
107. Mr. Pryme—Bill to repeal Stamp Duties on Arbitrations and Awards.
108. Mr. Pryme—Instructions to Committees on Enclosure Bills.
109. Mr. Wilks—Committee on the Expediency of establishing one or more National Universities.
110. Mr. Wilks—Address for Inquiry into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
111. Mr. Wilks—Bill to amend the Law by which the Clergymen officially preside at Parish Vestries, and Persons have a Plurality of Votes.
112. Mr. Wilks—Committee on the present System as to Justices of the Peace.
113. Mr. Hume—Bill to Consolidate the Boards of Customs, Excise, Taxes, and Stamps.
114. Captain Alsager—To move that Persons making frivolous and vexatious Objections to the Revising Barristers against Persons claiming a Right to Vote shall be liable to an Award of Damages not exceeding the Expenses incurred by the Person claiming the Right to Vote.
115. Mr. Ewart—Address in favour of appointing Peers for Life.
116. Mr. Ewart—Bill providing that Land shall be equally divided amongst the Children, male and female, of the Family, in Cases of Intestacy or Absence of contrary Settlement.
117. Mr. Chalmers—Bill to alter the Powers of burthening Estates of Heirs of Entail in Scotland, for the purpose of making Turnpike roads.
118. Sir E. Codrington—Return of Naval Officers deprived of Half-pay since 1790.
119. Mr. Hume—That all Payments by Members for the Delivery of Sessional Papers, and all Gratuities to Door-keepers and Messengers, shall cease.
120. Mr. Wilks—For the Consideration and Redress of the practical Grievances of Protestant Dissenters.
121. Mr. Wilks—Bill for the better Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in England and Wales.
122. Sir S. Whalley—Resolution for the Repeal of the Window-tax.
123. Mr. Grove Price—That the Notices, Nos. 66 and 67, be erased from the List.
124. Mr. Hume—Address praying his Majesty to remove from the Public Service, at home and abroad, every Officer and Public Functionary who shall be in any way connected with any Orange Lodge, Ribbon Lodge, or any Institution or Association (Freemason's excepted), having secret Forms of Initiation, and being bound together by any religious Sanction, and with secret Signs and Passwords for Recognition of Members of such Bodies, one Month after Proclamation forbidding such Lodges, Associations, and Clubs.

THE REVENUE.

ABSTRACT of the NET PRODUCE of the REVENUE of GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th of January 1835, and 5th of January 1836, showing the Increase or Decrease on each head thereof.

	Quarters ended			Year ended	Quarters ended				Year ended	Year ended Jan. 5, 1836.		Quarter ended Jan. 5, 1836	
	April 5, 1834.	July 5, 1834	October 10, 1834.	January 5, 1835.	April 5, 1835.	July 5, 1835	October 10, 1835.	January 5, 1836.	January 5, 1836.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
CUSTOMS													
Consolidated Duties	2,408,199	2,547,550	3,478,036	3,035,826	3,374,734	3,129,339	3,891,672	3,435,399					
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund	1,800,063	..	..	917,847	912,123	1,383,309	..	..					
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	..	1,339,857	1,472,464	302,048	..	4,000	1,462,115	1,034,516					
TOTAL CUSTOMS	£3,603,267	4,077,207	4,950,500	4,305,721	4,286,857	4,516,647	5,353,787	4,520,415	13,632,906	1,636,211	..	214,694	136,437
EXCISE	2,762,561	3,053,009	3,924,735	3,484,200	3,195,574	2,902,048	4,007,375	3,341,783	11,544,760	..	1,631,295	64,085	
STAMPS	1,671,450	1,666,354	1,659,002	1,657,462	1,654,487	1,624,171	1,671,204	1,619,547	6,569,409	..	12,925	..	57,474
TAXES	493,351	1,923,129	309,714	1,633,120	245,364	1,500,393	355,120	1,575,646	3,676,523	..	974,091	..	
POST OFFICE	334,000	334,000	366,000	325,000	339,000	342,000	372,000	345,000	1,418,000	57,000	..	22,000	16,971
MISCELLANEOUS	11,295	5,475	1,712	38,447	56,919	10,295	16,513	21,576	59,966	2,947	..	..	
TOTAL ORDINARY REVENUE	£8,896,914	11,095,534	11,410,719	11,339,950	42,053,517	8,944,120	11,776,190	11,429,947	41,891,64	1,894,642	2,508,311	382,779	210,782
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	124,461	102,760	99,527	59,611	306,359	101,959	78,369	142,581	588,843	148,484	..	82,970	
										Deduct Increase	1,894,642	210,782	Deduct Decrease.
										Decrease on the Year	613,669	172,997	Increase on the Quarter.
TOTAL INCOME	£9,021,375	11,198,294	11,510,246	11,399,561	43,043,876	9,460,924	11,854,468	11,572,528	42,430,207				210,782
Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund, to pay off Exchequer Bills charged on Sugar Duty, as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	6,028,474	6,642,945	7,500,341	8,276,218	28,447,978	6,117,395	7,359,989	6,123,429	27,629,556				Deduct Decrease.
	..	1,339,857	1,472,464	302,048	3,004,369	..	1,462,115	1,034,516	2,496,631	Decrease on the Year			Increase on the Quarter.
	2,996,901	3,325,492	2,537,441	2,821,295	11,681,299	3,343,529	3,032,364	2,414,583	12,304,929				
TOTAL	£9,025,375	11,198,294	11,510,246	11,399,561	43,043,876	9,460,924	11,854,468	11,572,528	42,430,207				210,782

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND,

According to Returns made in 1833.

THE kingdom of Poland contains 453 towns, of which 212½ belong to the Crown, and 240½ are private property; 22,545 villages, of which 5,296 belong to the Crown, and 17,249 are private property. The kingdom is divided into 2,081 parishes and 5,607 communes, which contain 485,176 houses, of which 401,257 are in the country and 83,919 in the towns.

The male population amounts to 1,933,390, of whom 877,949 are under seventeen years of age, 175,764 between seventeen and thirty, and 879,677 above thirty. The female population is 1,981,275.—Total, 3,914,665. The population of the towns is 838,875. The rural population is 3,075,790.

The palatinate of Masovie, exclusive of Warsaw, contains 626,138 inhabitants; Kalisz, 587,805; Augustowo, 533,467; Lublin, 470,172; Plock, 445,867; Cracow, 409,193; Sandomir, 371,241; Podlachie, 346,916.

Warsaw contains 124,868 inhabitants (59,625 men, and 65,243 women); Lublin, 13,707; Kalisz, 11,694; Plock, 10,013; Czenstockow, 8,413. There are besides—1 town containing above 6,000 inhabitants, 3 above 5,000, 13 above 4,000, 37 above 3,000, 51 above 2,000, 185 above 1,000, and 157 under 1,000.

The number of Roman Catholics is 3,237,448; belonging to the Greek church, 106,936; Lutherans, 177,806; Reformed Calvinists, 3,815; Jews, 383,102; Mahometans, &c., 5,558.

The number of horses employed in agriculture is 268,373; for other purposes, 18,193.—Total, 286,566. Number of oxen, 282,545; cows, 456,158; bulls and calves, 203,764; pigs, 644,990; sheep, 2,187,133, of which 185,482 are pure Spanish, 970,921 mixed, and 1,030,720 of the common breed; goats, 8,875. The numbers here given are believed to be much too low.

The annual quantity of agricultural produce is as follows:—Wheat, 362,683; rye, 1,997,394; barley, 896,092; oats, 1,830,282; peas, 101,990; buckwheat, 167,532; millet, 46,996; beans, 18,210 quarters; flax, 30,823; hemp, 25,278; potatoes, 2,690,170.

The total value of the imports, in 1832, was 62,233,608 florins; in 1833 their total value amounted to 53,225,116 florins; or, as the florin is equivalent to 6*d.*, to 1,555,840*l.* 4*s.* in 1832, and 1,330,627*l.* 18*s.* in 1833. The value of the imports from Russia, in 1833, was 675,650*l.*; from Austria, 190,310*l.*; from Prussia, 441,890*l.* The value of each of the principal articles imported was as follows:—Oxen, sheep, &c., 311,690*l.*; hardware, 93,954*l.*; salt, 72,577*l.*; wine in casks, 60,617*l.*; in bottles, 11,828*l.*; liquors, &c., 17,503*l.*; silks, 60,500*l.*; wool, 55,065*l.*; fish, 50,956*l.*; flax and linen, 19,598*l.*, sugar, 44,859*l.*; coffee, 8,271*l.*; tea, 9,720*l.*; other colonial produce, 27,045*l.*; cotton stuffs, 38,892*l.*; corn, 37,132*l.*; skins, 31,579*l.*; tobacco and snuff, 31,150*l.*; cotton thread, 29,036*l.*; dye-woods, 26,692*l.*; prints, 25,538*l.*

In 1832 the value of the exports was 31,090,497 florins, or 852,262*l.*; in 1831, 27,084,839 florins, or 677,120*l.* The chief articles exported consist of wool, corn, woollen cloth, timber, cattle, sheep, &c., vegetables, and skins. The exports of wool, in 1833, amounted in value to 177,467*l.*, nearly the whole being purchased by Prussia; of corn, the value exported was, in 1832, 352,199*l.*; in 1833, 143,239*l.*; chiefly to Prussia in both years. Of the woollen cloth exported, amounting in value to 121,131*l.*, Russia took, in 1833, to the amount of 120,792*l.* The value of timber exported was 57,501*l.*; of cattle, sheep, &c., 44,582*l.*; of vegetables, 42,008*l.*, of skins, 24,333*l.*

The following articles are prohibited to be imported, except through Russia:—Hops, chicoree, tea, sweetmeats, all kinds of salted or preserved meats, confectionary, dried fruits, vinegar, beer, cider, liqueurs, all spirits except spirits of wine, tobacco and snuff, furniture, umbrellas, imitation of pearl, millinery, toys, lace, ornamental feathers, quills and pens, all sorts of embroidery, oil-cloth, men's and women's clothes, perfumery, essential oils, articles of papier-maché, coloured or printed paper, playing cards, plain or coloured worsted, soap, animal oils, cheese, skins and prepared leather, saddlery, gloves, boots and shoes, all articles made of leather, coral, mineral salts, bronzes, all iron, tin, plated and pinchbeck articles, picture and glass frames, watches and clocks, carriages, painted porcelain

and crockery ware, all plain and coloured glass except looking-glasses. These articles may be imported for private use on the payment of a duty called "Droit de Licence," which in many instances amounts to 400 per cent. on the value of the article.

The exportation of horses and asses, oak and other barks fit for tanning, acorns, all gold and silver Russian money, all minerals, and rags for making paper, is altogether prohibited.

The following is a list of articles which may be exported duty free:—Aniseed, cotton thread, deal and oak planks and beams, sheep, seeds, musical instruments, playing cards, soap, oils, blankets and rags, paper, feathers, picture-frames, potass, horns, candles, glass, tobacco and snuff, chalk, resin, hair and bristles, all kinds of grain and flour, and woollen goods.

Raw silk and cotton not dyed, fruit and other trees, mathematical, surgical, and other instruments of science, agricultural and other machinery and models, gold and silver in coin and bars, and optical and physical glasses, may be imported into Poland duty-free.

The customs' revenue, in 1832, amounted to 230,955*l.*; *viz.*—Import duty, 37,657*l.*; duty on consumption, 174,791*l.*; export duty, 6,617*l.*; tolls, &c., 11,884*l.*

The amount of customs collected, in 1832, on the frontiers, on articles coming from Russia, was 17,763*l.*; from Austria, 2,467*l.*; from Prussia, 4,503*l.*; from Cracow, 21,038*l.*

A comparison of the transit duties levied by Austria and Prussia on goods coming into Poland through those countries exhibits the following striking differences:—On hardware, hosiery, silks, cambric and linen, lawns, gauzes, calicoes, muslins, cambric-muslin, and woollen cloth, a duty of 2*s.* 4*d.* per quintal is imposed by the Austrian tariff, and 12*s.* by the Prussian; while the Austrian duty on coffee is 7*d.* per quintal, that imposed by Prussia amounts to 3*s.*; the Austrian duty on refined sugar is 7*d.*, on soft sugar 2½*d.* per quintal, and the same articles are respectively charged 3*s.* and 2*s.* at the Prussian custom-houses.

The transit duty on Russian and Polish produce, exported through Prussia by the ports of the Baltic, is so heavy on some articles as almost to amount to a prohibition. This is particularly the case with the duties on iron, zinc, pitch and tar, tobacco, spirits, sulphur, and bones, the last of which would become a considerable article of export were it not for the excessive duty. The rate of duty per cent. on the value of the article is—on cast iron, 50; zinc, 20; tobacco, 12; pitch and tar, 12; turpentine, 11; bleached linen, 12; bones, 100; wheat grown in Poland, 6; flour, 7. When the commercial treaty of Vienna was made, in 1825, the price of zinc was 45 florins per quintal, and the duty was rather more than 4 florins; whereas now it is difficult to obtain 10 florins per quintal, and it pays a transit duty of 2 florins per quintal.

About three-fourths of the artisans employed in Poland are Germans. They are, generally speaking, better workmen, and more industrious, than the natives. The rate of wages in the country towns varies very little from the capital, taking the average; it is higher or lower, according to the population. The number of holidays, when the men do not work, is very great, and the prices of coal, fuel, and lodgings, are high. The following is the average rate of journeymen's wages of some of the principal classes of artisans:—Carpenters, from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 3*s.* per day; masons, ditto; stocking makers, 1*s.* 3*d.* per day; cloth-workers, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*; cotton-spinners, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; silk-weavers, 2*s.*; bakers, 1*s.* 6*d.*; copper-smiths, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*; glovers, 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; leather-dressers, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*; mechanics, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.*; watchmakers, 2*s.* to 3*s.*; tanners, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; hatters, 9*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; paper-makers, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*; printers, 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.*; shoemakers, 1*s.* to 2*s.*; tailors, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; miners, 1*s.* 3*d.*; blacksmiths, 1*s.* 9*d.*; saddlers, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

A Polish ell contains 2 feet, 4 quarters, 24 inches; the korzec contains 32 garniec, 128 kwarts; the pound is divided into 32 lots; 1,000 English yards are equal to 1,587·47 Polish ells; 1,000 feet to 1,058·30 Polish feet; 1,000 quarters to 2,271·00 korzec; 1,000 gallons to 1,135·49 garniec; 1,000 pounds troy to 920·34 Polish pounds; 1,000 pounds avoirdupois to 1,118·47 Polish pounds.

The currency consists of the ancient coin of the kingdom of Poland, the coin of the duchy of Warsaw, the new coinage established in 1815, and bank-notes of 100, 50, 10, and 5 florins. The coinage of 1815 consists of pieces of 50 and 25 florins in gold; pieces of 10, 5, and 2 florins, and pieces of one florin, in silver; pieces of 10 and 5 groschen of the same metal; and copper coins of the value of 3 and 1 groschen. A Polish florin is equivalent to 6*d.*, and 5 groschen to 1*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bank of England.—Account of the Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, from Oct. 20, 1835, to January 12, 1836:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£17,262,000	Securities	£31,954,000
Deposits	19,169,000	Bullion	7,076,000
	£36,431,000		£39,030,000

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the following days:—

Jan. 2.	Jan. 9.	Jan. 16.	Jan. 23.
92⅝	92¾	91⅛	91⅜

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar per cwt., computed from the returns published in the London Gazette:—

Week ending December 29,	39*s.*	4*d.*
,, January 5,	39*s.*	4*d.*
,, January 12,	40*s.*	3½*d.*
,, January 19,	38*s.*	11½*d.*

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from the London Gazette of Friday, January 22:—

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Rye.		Beans.		Peas.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Week ending Jan. 15	37	0	28	1	18	9	25	8	33	3	34	5
Average of last six weeks .	36	5	27	8	18	7	27	0	33	9	34	9
Duty on foreign corn.....	50	8	19	10	19	9	28	9	19	9	18	3

Bankruptcy Analysis from Dec. 28 to Jan. 27.

Auctioneer, 1; baker, 1; boarding-house keeper, 1; brewer, 1; builder, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; calico-printer, 1; carpenter, 1; cattle-dealers, 2; coachmakers, 2; coachmasters, 2; coach-smith, 1; coal-merchants, 2; commission-agent, 1; corn-factors, 2; curriers, 2; dealer, 1; dealer in gold watches, 1; drapers, 6; earthenware-manufacturer, 1; farmer, 1; glover, 1; grocers, 8; iron-founder, 1; laceman, 1; livery-stable keepers, 2; maltster, 1; manufacturer and merchant, 1; manufacturer of Epsom salts, 1; master mariner, 1; merchants, 3; money-scriveners, 2; saddler, 1; shopkeeper, 1; surgeon, 1; stationer, 1; tailors, 2; timber-merchant, 1; wine and spirit merchants, 2; woollen-manufacturer, 1; victuallers, 7. Total, 71.

PARLIAMENT.

New Member for West Gloucestershire.—Robert Blagden Hale, returned without opposition.

The following Members have been returned within the last five months:—

Belfast.—George Dunbar, vice John M'Cance.

Cashel.—Sergeant Woulfe, vice Sergeant Perrin.

Waterford County.—W. Villiers Stuart, vice P. Power.

Devizes.—T. E. Estcourt, vice Wadham Locke.

North Northamptonshire.—T. P. Maunsell, vice Lord Milton.

North Leicestershire.—Lord Charles Manners, vice Lord Robert Manners.

West Gloucestershire.—R. B. Hale, vice the Marquis of Worcester.

The representation of Clonmell is vacant by the death of Dominic Ronayne.

The elevation of Sir C. C. Pepys to the Woolsack, occasions a vacancy in the representation of Malton.

New Peers.—The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been conferred on the Right Honourable Sir Charles Christopher Pepys, Knight, Chancellor of that part of the said United Kingdom called Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Baron Cottenham, of Cottenham, of the county of Cambridge.—*London Gazette*, January 19th.

The same Gazette announces that a similar honour has been conferred on the Right Honourable Henry Bickersteth, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records in Chancery, by the title of Baron Langdale, of Langdale, Westmoreland.

Irish Representative Peer.—Lord Dunsany, in the room of the Earl of Charleville.

Russian Weights and Measures.—According to the Report of a Board, appointed for the purpose at St. Petersburg, it appears that the Russian *sashene* is 7 English feet in length. The sashene (Anglicè 'thread') contains 3 *arshines;* and the arshine is therefore 28 English inches in length, and contains 16 *wershaks;* hence the wershak measures 1¾ inch. With regard to weight, the Board adopted the model of a pound which they found in the St. Petersburg mint; it was made in the year 1747, and plated with gold. This pound they report as containing 96 *solotniks*, and each solotnik 96 *doli*: the pound consists, therefore, of 9,216 doli. A *Russian*, like an English, *cubic inch* of distilled water, at a temperature of 13¼ degrees of heat (Réaumur), weighs, *in vacuo*, 368 $\frac{304}{1000}$ doli; and 25 $\frac{13}{16}$ cubic inches of water, at that temperature, are equal to 1 Russian pound. The *apothecaries' pound* is equivalent to 8,064 doli. In liquid measure the *vedro*, or Russian hogshead, is adopted as a standard; it contains 30 pounds' weight of distilled water, or 750 $\frac{37}{100}$ cubic inches. The *vedro* contains also 10 cans or gallons. In corn-measure the *tshetvert*, equal to 64 pounds of distilled water, or 1,601 $\frac{33}{100}$ cubic inches, and the *garnetz*, equal to 8 pounds, or 200 $\frac{132}{1000}$ cubic inches, are adopted as a standard. The Board has been instructed to have model weights and measures of a sashene and a pound, made of platina, and preserved in some suitable place; and duplicates of them are to be prepared for the use of the public authorities and national establishments.—(St. Petersburg, 17th December.)

London Bill of Mortality for 1833.—The following is a general bill of the Christenings and Burials within the City of London and Bills of Mortality, from December 9, 1834, to December 15, 1835:—

	Chr.	Bur.
In the 97 parishes within the walls - -	963	970
,, 17 parishes without the walls - -	4,654	3,568
,, 24 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey - - - - - - - -	17,019	13,376
,, 10 parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster - - -	3,492	3,411
	26,128	21,325

	Christenings.		Burials
Total {	Males 13,152	Males	10,964
	Females 12,976	Females	10,451

Of the number buried were:—

Still-born - - - - - -	966
Under two years of age - - - -	5,416
Two and under five years - - - -	2,319
Five and under ten - - - - -	1,011

Auctioneers. The number of Auctioneers in the United Kingdom in the year 1833, is stated in the Reports of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry to have been as follows:—In England, 3,040; Scotland, 378; Ireland, 278.—Total, 3,686. The number of licences granted for the year ending 5th January, 1835, was 3,604.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Jan. 5. Meeting of bankers, merchants, and shipowners of London, at the Mansion House, to consider the best means of promoting the success of the Arctic expedition sent out under Captain J. C. Ross to the relief of the ice bound whale-ships. Captain Ross sailed from Hull on the 6th of January. Since the expedition has been fitting out several of the whalers have reached this country; but the crews were in an exhausted condition, owing to their provisions having fallen short.

— A meeting of the committee of the whole Court of Common Council of the City of London was held for considering the steps which it would be desirable to take with reference to the proposed reform of the Corporation. A communication was read from Mr. Parkes, the Secretary to the Municipal Corporation Commissioners, which stated that the draft of the Report on the City of London Corporation was finished, and merely required revision in print. Mr. Parkes said that he was directed by Lord John Russell to announce the intention of the Government to introduce a measure of reform next session, as soon as the Report had been sufficiently considered. It was then determined by the committee that some of the members should be appointed to confer with Government and the Corporation Commissioners on the details of the proposed reforms.

— A Reform Association has been established in Dublin, which, in the course of two or three weeks, has been joined by 17 peers and sons of peers, 12 baronets, 48 members of parliament, 3 lieutenants of counties, 45 deputy-lieutenants, 145 justices of the peace, and nearly 1,000 individuals of the highest respectability.

8. Intelligence received of a most destructive fire which occurred at New York on the night of the 16th of December, by which 674 buildings, situated in the centre of commerce, and containing more valuable merchandise and property than any other part of the city, were burnt down. New York contains about 25,000 houses, and the number of those destroyed comprises therefore 2¾ per cent. of the whole. They were chiefly occupied by importers of foreign goods, and had been rebuilt within the last six years with brick in a handsome and substantial manner, and were, most of them, five or six stories in height. The ruins cover 52 acres, and, for several days after the fire, presented a most remarkable spectacle. Miserable wretches of both sexes were to be seen digging among the still-heated bricks and rubbish for articles, about which they often fought. The place was crowded also by idle spectators and by the sufferers and their families, who came to witness the scene of desolation. It appears certain that the disastrous event was the result of accident. A private letter which we have seen says:—

"All business has been suspended by it, as nearly *all* our insurance companies are ruined. We, who are not burnt up, have had to watch over our own property night and day, as our policies are worth nothing. Out of 50,000 dollars, the amount of my insurance, only one policy, of 2,500 dollars, is good; and, as there can be no doubt that there is a set of incendiaries amongst us, you may imagine the weight and trouble I have on my mind. Since the burning of Moscow there is not on record such a destructive fire. The weather was very cold—below zero; and the water was frozen in the engines and hose. It blew a heavy gale from the north-west. The fire was only subdued at last by gunpowder, by which the houses and stores, at every point where it was extending, were blown up. You may form some idea of the extent of the fire by the fact that it was visible eighty miles off, and fragments of ledgers and other account-books have been brought in from seven miles down Long Island."

Later accounts state that, though many insurance companies would pay nothing, yet that the whole collectively would pay 70 per cent. The damage is estimated at 15,000,000 dollars. The chief evil resulting from the calamity is the temporary interruption of business. A Bill has been introduced in Congress, extending credit to the merchants for a period of three, four, or five years, for the payment of duties; and also for remitting the duty on goods destroyed in original packets. The authorities of New York have issued scrip for a loan of 3,000,000 dollars; and the United States' bank has offered a loan of 2,000,000 dollars. The banks generally have agreed to renew, for a certain time, all paper engagements. Measures have also been taken to alleviate the distress of those who are thrown out of employment, amounting, it is computed, to 2,000 individuals, and having not less than 3,000 dependents on their industry.

16. The Marquis of Chandos, who dined at the farmers' ordinary at Buckingham, intimated to the company his plan of operations respecting the interests of agriculture during the next session. It is his Lordship's intention to move as early as possible for the appointment of a select

committee to inquire into all the causes of agricultural distress. He wishes every man to be examined who can throw any light upon the subject; and he intends calling upon those who attribute agricultural distress to the currency, or other causes, to come forward and prove their case before the committee.

18. Three glee-singers, whom Mr. Laing, the police magistrate, had committed to the House of Correction for pursuing their avocation in the streets, were ordered to be released by direction of the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

21. The foundation-stone of the new Licensed Victuallers' School in Kennington-lane was laid by Lord Melbourne, at the request of his Majesty, who is patron of the charity. After the performance of the usual ceremonies Lord Melbourne delivered a short address, in which he expressed his most fervent hope that the charity might be as prosperous as its most anxious friends could desire. He added that his Majesty, the patron of the school, was most anxious for its success, and that, although ever alive to the welfare of his subjects, there was nothing in which the King felt a deeper interest than in institutions of this description, which were intended for the diffusion of the blessings of education, and the principles of morality and true religion. The friends of the charity dined together in the evening, and contributed nearly 1,000*l.* in aid of the building fund.

22. The election of Thomas Hovell, Esq., the first Mayor of Cambridge chosen under the provisions of the Municipal Reform Act, was celebrated by a grand dinner, at which upwards of 240 of the most distinguished reformers of the borough and county were present. Mr. Spring Rice was amongst the guests invited, and, on the health of his Majesty's Ministers being given by the Mayor, the Right Honourable Gentleman rose to acknowledge the compliment, and in the course of his address pointed out in a forcible manner the new duties which devolve upon the municipal representatives of boroughs, and touched upon a variety of other topics of great public interest. Alluding to the coming session he said:—"We have to remedy the still-existing grievances to which the dissenting bodies of this country are now subject. We must proceed to consider also, on the same principle of firmness, and decision grounded in justice, the question of tithes in England. We must proceed in the great work of reform of our Courts of Equity. We must give to the people of England a better, a cheaper, and a more effectual administration of justice. We must, as far as it is in our power to do so, improve and tranquillize Ireland. The object which we had in view, in our measure of last session, was no less the tranquillity of that country than to make an adequate provision for the Irish Protestant Church. While we wish to cut off all that is unnecessary in the temporal wealth of the Irish Church, we most carefully, most sedulously, and, I will say, most effectually make a provision for the adequate instruction of the Protestant communion of Ireland. Unless these two principles can be reconciled I am no Church reformer in Ireland. These (he added) are a few of the measures to which the earliest attention of the Government will be directed; and we shall deal with them carefully, deliberately, and by degrees."

The Commissioners of Danish Claims have commenced liquidating the claims of parties whose book debts were confiscated by the King of Denmark in 1807.

A Canterbury newspaper states that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have directed that the apprentices of shipwrights employed in the dock-yards shall henceforth be instructed every Saturday in the art of drawing.

During the month there has been more than one tithe affray in Ireland, attended with loss of life. The Rev. W. Beresford had employed his usual process-server, a man named Hudson, to serve tithe notices on the peasantry. Hudson was accompanied by five or six armed bailiffs, and the motions of the party quickly attracted the country people, who hooted them as they passed along. This provoked Hudson to such a degree that he threatened to shoot any of those whom he discovered annoying him in his avocations. This threat excited a fresh outpouring of contempt from the peasantry; upon which Hudson fired, and shot one of their number. The people rushed upon Hudson, and despatched him instantly. The other bailiffs made their escape from the infuriated people while they were engaged with the unfortunate server. The pistols had been loaded by the Rev. Mr. Beresford, who appeared at the inquest in tears, and offered to provide for the family of Mahony, the man whom Hudson shot. Another fatal tithe affray occurred at Newton, near Charleville, county Limerick. It is stated that the Rev. Mr. Bunbury was proceeding with thirty-two policemen, two sheriffs'-men, and four drivers, to make a seizure for tithes. They were pelted with stones by the peasantry, when some shots were fired by the police and several persons were wounded; a man, named Sweeney mortally.

A great number of the new Municipal Corporations have forwarded addresses for presentation to his Majesty, thanking him for the Municipal Reform Act, and expressive of confidence in his Ministers.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

On the 5th of February will be published, price 6*d.*, to be continued Weekly,

THE FIRST NUMBER OF

THE PICTORIAL BIBLE:

BEING

The Old and New Testaments

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION,

ILLUSTRATED WITH MANY HUNDRED WOOD-CUTS,

Representing the Historical Events, after the most celebrated Pictures; the Landscape Scenes, from Original Drawings or from Authentic Engravings; and the Subjects of Natural History, of Costume, and of Antiquities, from the best Sources.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Original Notes,

Chiefly Explanatory of the Engravings, and of such Passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures as require Observation.

*** The principal feature of 'The Pictorial Bible' is defined by its Title. It is to make the *Objects* described or referred to in the Holy Scriptures familiar to the eye of the general Reader. At the present time a 'Picture-Bible' (Bilder Bibel) is publishing in Germany with remarkable success. The present work, however, differs considerably in its plan from that and other illustrated Bibles. The immense treasures of Art which the great Painters have bequeathed to us on Sacred Subjects will be here opened to all, as far as they are capable of being diffused through the medium of wood-engraving: the Landscape Scenes will be represented with that fidelity which we are now able to realize through the labours of recent Travellers; and the other objects, whether of Natural History, of Costume, or of Antiquities, will be delineated with equal accuracy. These Illustrations will of themselves be as *Notes* of the most interesting and important character. The *printed* Notes will have precisely the same principle in view; they will be chiefly devoted to an explanation of the *objects* mentioned in the Sacred Text. It is the wish of the conductors of this 'Pictorial Bible' to render it a work universally acceptable to all denominations of Christians. While, therefore, the critical reader of the Scriptures will have to seek in other editions for comment of a theological nature,—and such editions are as numerous as they are admirable,—the notes of the 'Pictorial Bible' will be limited as we have already described. That such explanations, conceived in a spirit of sincere piety, and with due reference to their connexion with the higher allusions of the Inspired Writers, may lead many readers to a more diligent perusal of the Scriptures, there can be no doubt, and some of the labours of the most learned commentators have been accordingly devoted to such points. The Notes to the 'Pictorial Bible' will be written by several persons, each well acquainted with the branch which he undertakes; and the whole will undergo the most careful editorial revision. The Illustrations of the Book of GENESIS are about Forty in number. On the 1st of March the First *Part* will be published, price TWO SHILLINGS. The Work will be completed in Eighteen or, at most, Twenty Parts, forming three handsome *Super-Royal Octavo* Volumes. It will be printed on fine thick Paper, with a new Type.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate Street.

NEW WORKS, PUBLISHED BY JACKSON AND WALFORD,

18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

In the Press,

A MEMOIR of the REV. WILLIAM CAREY, D.D., more than Forty Years Missionary in India, Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Fort William; Translator of the Sacred Scriptures into the Sanscrit, the Bengalee, and many other Eastern Tongues

By EUSTACE CAREY, several years Missionary in Calcutta.

The above "Memoir" will comprehend—1. A Review of his Early Life and Entrance upon the Christian Ministry, by himself.—2. A Recollection of his Early Life, by a beloved Sister.—3. "An Attempt at a Memoir," &c., by the Reverend Andrew Fuller.—4 A Critique upon his Character and Labours, as an Oriental scholar and translator, by Dr. Wilson, Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Oxford, &c. &c.

In Two Vols. 8vo., with Lithographic Views and Wood Cuts, 24s. cloth,

A NARRATIVE of the VISIT to the AMERICAN CHURCHES,

By the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales—By ANDREW REED, D.D., and JAMES MATHESON, D.D.

"Contains not a few descriptive episodes, which, had we room to extract them, would gratify all our readers."—*Quarterly Review.*

"They are intelligent and acute observers, and singularly candid and dispassionate. No one, we are satisfied, who reads this book with an honest desire for information, will withhold his conviction from the statements it contains, or will fail to be gratified with the picture which it gives of the social state of our American brethren."—*Morning Chronicle.*

In Post 8vo., with a full-length Portrait from an Original Painting in possession of the family, 10s. 6d. cloth,

MEMOIRS of the LIFE, CHARACTER, and WRITINGS of SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT,

Lord Chief Justice of England—By J. B. WILLIAMS, Esq., LL.D. F.S.A.

"Dr. Williams has, we think, conferred an essential benefit on the profession, and especially on its younger members, by the production of this volume."—*Legal Observer.*

"We cordially recommend this memoir of a great and good man, a sincere Christian and a paragon Judge, as a book eminently fitted to make the reader wiser, better, and happier."—*Tait's Magazine*

COUNTY REFORM

This day is published, price 4d., for distribution,

THE MAGISTRACY of ENGLAND, its Abuses, and their Remedy in Popular Election.—By J. HINDE PALMER, Esq.

Second Edition, with Additions.

Price Sixpence each,

THOUGHTS UPON THE ARISTOCRACY OF ENGLAND, Parts I. and II.—By ISAAC TOMKINS, Gent.

H. HOOPER, 13, Pall-mall East

Second Edition, price 1s.,

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, and on the Rights of the Working Classes, originally inserted in the "Morning Chronicle;" showing the injustice, and also the impolicy, of empowering those among a people, who have obtained the proprietary possession of the lands of a country, to increase, artificially, the money value of their exclusive estates, by means of arbitrary charges, made on the rest of the people, for the necessaries of life.—By H. B. T.

HENRY HOOPER, 13, Pall-mall East.

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE YEAR 1835,

Embracing the Features of

AN ANNUAL REGISTER

THE ATLAS WEEKLY NEWSPAPER of 3d January, and the Three succeeding Weeks, contains a HISTORY OF THE YEAR 1835, divided into sections, agreeably to the nature of the subjects it embraces. It is separated into the following heads:—

FOREIGN POLITICAL HISTORY.
DOMESTIC POLITICAL HISTORY
HISTORICAL RETROSPECT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
THE LITERATURE OF ART.
THE PHYSICAL ASPECT OF THE YEAR.

These Essays, historical, literary, and scientific, upon which considerable industry and research have been bestowed, will exhibit all the more important features of an Annual Register. They have been prepared with great care, and reference has been made in their production to a variety of sources of information, amongst which are some authorities not accessible to general inquiry.

The ATLAS Newspaper is divided into two principal departments, NEWS and LITERATURE. These are carefully subdivided into heads of easy reference, so that each subject is kept distinct and entire, and an historical continuity preserved from week to week. The great dimensions of the sheet, which folds into sixteen pages, containing forty-eight columns, enable this publication to combine the peculiar features of a Newspaper, and the Monthly and Quarterly Journals of Literature, and to embrace every topic interesting to the Politician, the Merchant, the Dramatist, the Artist, the Poet, the Musician, and the Philosopher. Amongst the most prominent features is an elaborate criticism upon musical performers, compositions, and publications, with current Notices of all novelties in Music on the Continent. The ATLAS also possesses exclusive sources of intelligence on the affairs of India and the Colonies, to which it devotes a greater space than any other Journal.

Advertisements for the Atlas are received at the Office, Beaufort House, Strand.

NEW SYSTEM AT BULL'S LIBRARY,

19, Holles street,

Four doors from Cavendish-square.

THE NEW SYSTEM now adopted by EDWARD BULL, at his extensive Library, is not only to insure more immediate supplies of all the New Publications and Standard Works for perusal, in the English and Foreign Languages, 24 volumes at a time, for £6 6s. the year, but to allow Subscribers to have, gratis, any of the New Works they wish to possess to the amount of Two Guineas, and Catalogues, Boxes, &c., free of expense. Societies also supplied in all parts of the kingdom.—Address to Edward Bull, Librarian, 19, Holles-street.

In 32mo, price 5s.,

THE ASSEMBLED COMMONS, 1836.—Comprising a personal account of each Member of Parliament and his Family—the Political Party to which he now belongs, and to which his predecessors have hitherto belonged—his Rank, Station, and Influence in his County—how elected—state of the Poll at the last Election—nature of his Votes upon important Questions, &c.

E. CHURTON, Public Library, 26, Holles-street.

MICROCOSM,

24, REGENT-STREET, LONDON.

CARPENTER'S IMPROVED PHANTASMAGORIA LANTERN

This Lantern is now so much improved, and is used with such increased facility, that it may be recommended with the greatest confidence as being the best that is made, giving the most perfectly defined figure, with a brilliant and well-illuminated field of view, from 6 to 14 feet in diameter. Combined with the Copper-plate Sliders, it presents a novel and delightful mode of Instruction and Amusement. TO INFANT SCHOOLS, PUBLIC SEMINARIES, MECHANICS' INSTITUTES, &c., it offers peculiar advantages, and is much used by the Conductors of these Institutions, both in this Country and America, in aiding the Progress of Education. The Natural-History Subjects and Astronomical Diagrams are painted in the very best style, and can be depended upon for accuracy and fidelity.

	£	s.	d.
Carpenter's Improved Phantasmagoria Lantern, with Patent Lamp and Spring Holder, complete, in a Box, which will contain 24 Sliders	2	12	6
Ditto as above, with the addition of a Microscope for exhibiting Transparent Objects in the same manner as the Hydro Oxygen Microscope. The Microscope, with 6 Sliders and Aquatic Slider, in Box	4	4	0
Copper-plate Sliders, Natural History Subjects, comprised in 56 Sliders, each	0	4	6
Improved Set of Astronomical Diagrams, in a Box, with Description, in 11 Sliders	2	6	0
Movable Humorous Sliders, &c., 150 Subjects, from 4s. each to	0	10	0

*** A Liberal Allowance to Schools, Institutions, &c.

POWERFUL MUSICAL BOXES, in wood cases, 12 inches long, by 5 inches wide, each playing Four Airs, with the music finished in a very superior manner, are offered for Five Guineas each. Also a few of the same description, with Six Airs, price Seven Guineas each, at T. COX SAVORY'S, Working Silversmith, Goldsmith, and Watchmaker, 47, Cornhill, London.

N.B.—The small Musical Boxes, 3¼ inches long, continue selling in tin cases, price 19s. each, or in composition shell cases, at 25s. each

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials, having gained for E. P. DOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting their unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to insure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES

	£	s.	d.
A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	3	3	0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s. each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (Sac) Trousers, 10s. 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES,
(The old suits to be returned.)

	£	s.	d.
Two Suits per year	7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s.; Hussar Suits, 30s.

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud boots, and Gambadoes; India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard street.
Established Fifty Years.

*** *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*
Clerk, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 39. MARCH 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Funds	33	Ecclesiastical Statistics (Ireland)	52
Changes of Administration and History of Parties	37	Excise Establishment (United Kingdom)	*ib.*
Political Retrospect for February 1836	42	Public Instruction (Ireland)	53
Opening of the Sess. of Parliament	49	Irish Waste Lands	55
Analysis of the Bill for the Commutation of Tithe in England	*ib.*	Operation of the Factories Regulation Act	57
Municipal Reform Act Amendment Bill	50	Statistics of the Republic of Central America	59
Important information to Persons desirous of Emigrating	51	Parliamentary Register	*ib.*
		Miscellaneous	61
		Chronicle of Occurrences	*ib.*

THE FUNDS.

(*Continued from No.* 38.)

WITHOUT entering further than we have done into the history of the progress and accumulation of the National Debt, we shall now proceed to give an account of various operations and other particulars connected with it, which are frequently mentioned, or referred to.

1. We shall state, in the first place, the manner in which money is borrowed by the Government. All loans, as it has been already observed, are now effected under the authority of Parliament—that is to say, an Act of Parliament, sanctioning the transaction, must be passed, whenever any money is borrowed. In practice, however, it is usual for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to arrange the terms of the loan with the contractors, in the manner to be afterwards stated, *before* the Act of Parliament has been obtained, the negociation being subject, of course, to the ratification of the legislature.

Loans, as we have had occasion to state in our historical deduction, have, in the different stages of the funding system, been effected in various forms. Originally money was borrowed by the State in the same manner in which it is still usually borrowed by private parties—that is to say, the lender was understood to retain the power of demanding back his money when he chose. The money remained his property, the State only purchasing the use of it by the payment of an annual interest. Eventually, however, loans came to be usually made upon the condition that the State should never be called upon to repay the money. The most remarkable, if not the only exception, in recent times, is the Loyalty Loan (as it was called) of 18,000,000*l.*, contracted in 1796, which it was agreed should be repaid, if the subscribers chose to demand their money, two years after the conclusion of the war in which the country was then engaged. The money came accordingly to be payable two years after the peace of Amiens; but most of the subscribers agreed to accept, in exchange, of an equivalent amount of capital in other government funds, and money was raised by a new loan, on the usual principle, to pay off the few who held out.

It may be observed, that when the use of money is thus obtained for an indefinite time, simply on the condition that an annual interest shall be paid for it, the transaction can hardly be properly called borrowing or contracting a loan; it more nearly resembles the taking a farm on a perpetual lease, or, which is the same thing, the purchase of a piece of landed property, on condition of the payment of a perpetual quit-rent to the seller; and it would be more correct to say that the money is hired or rented, than that it is borrowed. The position in which the State is placed by the arrangement even possesses an important advantage, as compared with that of the lessee or purchaser in the case we have supposed, in the power which is retained by it of at any time throwing up the bargain, or returning the property, and thus getting rid, for ever after, of the annual rent or payment. In regard to a very few loans, this power has been in a slight degree limited; but in so far as the great mass of the debt is concerned, it has been reserved entire and without restriction.

It may now, therefore, be stated generally, that all money raised in the way of what is called loan by the State is, in fact, obtained in perpetuity, or for any period, however long, during which the State may choose to retain it. The subscriber to the loan does not really lend his money, but gives it away altogether in exchange for a certain equivalent. If that equivalent be a certain rate of annual interest so long as the money shall be retained, he, in fact, purchases a perpetual annuity (subject to the bargain being reversed, or the contract broken off, at any time it may suit the convenience of the other party to return him his money); and this is the species of equivalent which the State has agreed to give for by far the greater part of the money which it has borrowed. But it has frequently also offered other conditions. Instead of perpetual annuities, terminable annuities, of different descriptions have been sometimes granted—that is to say, the subscriber to the loan has agreed to give his money, on the State engaging, in return, to pay him an annuity either for a specified term of years, or for his life, or for a term depending upon some other similar contingency. Formerly such annuities used sometimes to be granted upon schemes called *Tontines;* by which the subscribers were divided into classes, according to their ages, or were allowed to appoint nominees who were so divided, and a proportionate annuity being assigned to each class, those who lived longest had the benefit of their survivorship, by the whole annuity being still divided among the diminished number. "Tontines," observes Dr. Hamilton (Inquiry concerning the National Debt) "seem adapted to the passions of human nature, from the hope every man entertains of longevity, and the desire of ease and affluence in old age; and they are beneficial to the public, as affording a discharge of the debt, although a distant one, without any payment. They have been extensively adopted in some foreign countries, but seldom in Britain." All the annuities for fixed terms (called Long Annuities) now existing, terminate in 1860.

In former times it was likewise customary to grant the subscribers to loans tickets in the state lottery, as an advantage in addition to their temporary or perpetual annuities. Sometimes the prizes which these tickets might bring were to be converted into stock, sometimes they were to be paid in money. Of course this species of premium can never be again resorted to.

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

Another inducement to subscribers, however, has been largely applied in modern times—that of assigning to the creditor a much greater nominal amount of stock than the money actually received from him. Thus, to take the example cited by Mr. M'Culloch (Dictionary of Commerce, 2nd edition, p. 585), "Suppose Government were anxious to borrow, that they preferred borrowing in a 3 per cent. stock, and that they could not negotiate a loan for less than 4½ per cent.: they effected their object by giving the lender, in return for every 100*l.* advanced, 150*l.* 3 per cent. stock; that is, they bound the country to pay him or his assignees 4*l.* 10*s.* a-year in all time to come, or, otherwise, to extinguish the debt by a payment of 150*l.*" This practice was little known till towards the close of the American war; but since about the year 1780 it has been carried to a great extent. Dr. Hamilton observes, that if the funded debt, contracted from the commencement of the American war to the year 1812, were paid off at par (that is, at its nominal amount) the nation would pay about 135,000,000*l.* more than it ever received. The effect upon the whole debt has been to increase its amount to not much less than two-fifths beyond the sum actually advanced by the lenders. In other words, while the debt is nominally about 750,000,000*l.*, the amount really borrowed has been only about 535,000,000*l.*

For a considerable time, no competition in bidding for loans took place. Certain terms were merely proposed, at which persons were invited to subscribe their money. These terms were in general liberal enough to ensure a ready subscription, and, indeed, to make it be considered a favour by capitalists to obtain a share of the loan; and if, on any occasion, the terms first proposed were found not to be sufficiently tempting, a new scheme was announced, offering greater advantages to lenders. This method of proceeding, however, manifestly so prejudicial to the interests of the public, as well as opening a door to many abuses, has been long abandoned. Now, when a new loan is to be made, it is always thrown open to competition. We cannot give a shorter or plainer account of the course usually followed, than is conveyed in the following passage from Dr. Hamilton's excellent work:—"The Chancellor of the Exchequer fixes upon the funds in which the loan is to be made. These are often of different kinds, and not unfrequently a long annuity forms part of the emolument. He then gives public intimation that he is ready, on a certain day, to receive offers, and assign the loan to those who are willing to accept of the lowest terms. If a long annuity be a part of the proposed emolument, the other funds to be assigned to the lenders are fixed at a rate somewhat lower than the estimated value for each 100*l.* borrowed, and the bidding is on the long annuity, the loan being granted to those who will accept of the least annuity in addition to the capital offered. If the loan be in different funds, but without an annuity, the capitals in all the funds except one are previously fixed; and the bidding is on that fund, the loan being granted to those who will accept of the lowest capital. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is generally attended, at the time appointed, by several of the principal bankers in London, who deliver their offers, having previously made up a list of persons who are willing to share with them, to a certain extent, in case their offer be accepted; and the loan is assigned to the offerer who proposes the lowest terms." Of course, the terms upon which a new loan is contracted for, must always be such as to afford the parties who advance the money a greater amount of stock upon the whole, than they could obtain by making purchases with the same capital in the money market, for otherwise there would be no inducement for them to incur the greater risk, responsibility, and trouble of contracting for the loan.

II. We shall next notice some of the other operations of the Government in the management of the debt.

Of these the most remarkable are the various plans that have been adopted with the view of paying off or reducing the principal of the debt, by means of what have been called *Sinking Funds*. The first sinking fund was that established by Sir Robert Walpole (but suggested by Earl Stanhope) in 1716. At this time the taxes the produce of which had been assigned to pay the interest on the several portions into which the debt was divided, and which had also been made perpetual for that purpose, yielded a somewhat larger revenue than was absorbed by the dividends; and the scheme in question was, that the surplus thus accruing should be formed into a fund for the discharge of the debt. Various sums, otherwise obtained, were afterwards added to this fund. On the other hand, the taxes, which had at first yielded a surplus, very soon ceased to do so; but the sinking fund was still kept up by new loans being contracted to supply its annual demands. This system commenced in 1718. In 1733, again, the sum of half a million was taken from the sinking fund towards the national expenses of the year; and the same violation of the principle of the scheme being afterwards annually repeated, the fund eventually almost ceased to produce any effect in the reduction of the debt. It appears that, in fifty-six years—namely, from its institution till 1772—it had only, after deducting the amount of the new loans that had been made for its support, yielded something above 11,000,000*l.* in all for that purpose.

The next sinking fund was that established by Mr. Pitt in 1786. It was to be supported by 1,000,000*l.* taken annually from the national revenue—the various branches of which were at the same time united, under the name of the consolidated fund. The sums thus obtained were vested in the hands of Commissioners for the Redemption of the National Debt, to be applied by them, as they should judge expedient, in the purchase of stock at the market prices. The hopes of this scheme rested in a great degree upon the supposed efficacy of the principle of compound interest, to which attention had some years before been strongly called by Dr. Price. Into any detail of the various modifications which the plan of the sinking fund subsequently underwent, it is impossible for us here to enter. Suffice it to observe, that, after having had its form repeatedly changed, and having been supported for many years, as that of Sir Robert Walpole had been, by loans annually raised expressly to supply the sums necessary for keeping it up, it was finally abolished, in 1830, by the Act 10 Geo. IV., chap. 37, which enacted that the sums thenceforth annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt should consist simply of the actual surplus revenue beyond the expenditure.

It is obvious to common sense, without going into any minute calculation, or other deduction, that the principle here declared is really the only one on which a sinking fund can be rationally established. A person in debt (and the case is precisely the same with a nation) will manifestly never make any progress in relieving himself from his encumbrances, if, as fast as he pays his creditors with the one hand, he borrows with the other. Even if he could always borrow on the same terms on which he makes his payments, he would only be putting himself to a great deal of trouble for no purpose whatever. In the case of the national debt, the apparatus of commissioners, and other public functionaries, by which the redemption of the debt was carried on, was, of course, maintained at a very considerable annual cost. But this was by no means the whole expense. From what has been already stated as to the manner in which loans are negotiated, it may be perceived that the nation can seldom borrow money except at some advance upon

the market price of stocks at the time. It is true that the effect of a new loan being announced is usually, for the moment, to depress the price of stocks; and, on that account, the whole of the advantages accorded to the subscribers, is not to be set down as a loss to the nation; but still there is necessarily, in general, a sacrifice to some extent. Hence the improvidence of such a transaction whenever it is needlessly resorted to.

Dr. Price was so enamoured of his project of a sinking fund accumulating at compound interest, as to recommend that it ought to be, in all circumstances, kept in operation, even if new loans were necessary for that purpose. But, in truth, this notion of any wonder being to be worked, or any benefit to be obtained, even in the most favourable case, by allowing the funds appropriated for the extinction of the debt to accumulate at compound interest, instead of applying them at once, whenever they become available, is a mere delusion—as a very few figures will at once make clear. Let us suppose an individual to be indebted to the amount of a hundred pounds, and to have an income exceeding his expenditure by the annual sum of fifteen pounds. There are three ways in which he may apply this surplus to the discharge of his debts. First, he may, every year, pay the interest regularly, and also devote the whole remainder of the fifteen pounds to the reduction of the principal. The result of this will be, that (supposing the rate of interest to be 5 per cent.) at the end of the

1st year his debts will be reduced to			£90	0	0
2nd	,,	,,	79	10	0
3rd	,,	,,	68	9	6
4th	,,	,,	56	17	$11\frac{7}{10}$
5th	,,	,,	44	14	$10\frac{97}{100}$

Or, secondly, he may, every year, pay the interest only, and allow the remainder of the surplus to accumulate at compound interest. But is anything gained by this arrangement? The amount of the debt, of course, now remains unaffected; and it will be found that the sinking-fund, by which it is to be eventually discharged, arising from a yearly payment of ten pounds, and the accumulations of interest upon preceding deposits, will increase as follows:—

At the end of the 1st year, it will be		£10	0	0
2nd	,,	20	10	0
3rd	,,	31	10	6
4th	,,	43	2	$0\frac{9}{10}$
5th	,,	55	5	$1\frac{125}{400}$

Now these sums, if severally subtracted from 100*l*., the constant amount of the debt, would leave precisely the same series of balances exhibited in the former table; that is to say, at whatever time the accumulations might be applied to the reduction of the debt, they would just reduce it as much as it would have been reduced by the first mode of operating upon it, and not a fraction of a farthing more. For example, the sum of 31*l*. 10*s*. 6*d*., which has accumulated by the end of the third year, being applied to the reduction of the debt, would bring it down to exactly 68*l*. 9*s*. 6*d*.; and the sum of 55*l*. 5*s*. $1\frac{125}{400}d$., which has accumulated by the end of the fifth year, being so applied, would bring it down to 44*l*. 14*s*. $10\frac{97}{100}d$. In each case the reduction is the very same, as appears by the first table, which would have been effected by the simple and more direct process of applying the whole surplus regularly every year to the extinction of the debt, without any attempt being made to take advantage of the principle of compound interest at all.

But, thirdly, and lastly, this vaunted principle may be applied to a still greater extent, by the entire annual surplus being allowed to accumulate, without any deduction being made from it, even to pay the interest of the debt. In that case, of course, the amount of the debt will be every year increased by the interest upon its original amount, and also by the interest upon the additions thus made to it; that is to say, it will accumulate at compound interest as well as the sinking fund. Let us see what will be the race between the two. It is exhibited in the following statement:—

	Debt. £.	s.	d.	Sinking Fund. £.	s.	d.
At the end of the 1st year,	105	0	0	15	0	0
2nd ,,	110	5	0	30	15	0
3rd ,,	115	15	3	47	5	9
4th ,,	121	11	$0\frac{81}{100}$	64	13	$0\frac{90}{100}$
5th ,,	127	12	$6\frac{2004}{400}$	82	17	$8\frac{180}{400}$

Here, again, the balance obtained at the end of any one of the years in the series, by subtracting from the debt the amount of the fund that has accumulated for its discharge, will be found to be precisely the same as before. At the end of the fifth year, for instance, if the sinking fund were to be applied to the reduction of the debt, the 127*l*. 12*s*. $6\frac{2004}{400}d$. would, by the sum of 82*l*. 17*s*. $8\frac{180}{400}d$. being paid off, be reduced just to 44*l*. 14*s*. $10\frac{97}{100}d$., as it would equally have been, although the principle of compound interest had never been brought into operation in the case.

It is unnecessary to carry the calculation farther; but to whatever extent it might be carried out, the result would be found to be the same. In no length of time would a fund, accumulating by compound interest, get ahead by the smallest degree in the redemption of the debt, of the process of applying the entire annual payments by which the sinking fund was supported to the reduction of the debt directly, and without allowing them to accumulate at all. And this holds equally true whatever may be the amount of the debt, or of the surplus available for its redemption, or of the prevalent rate of interest: the case is the same whether the debt be a hundred pounds, or a hundred or a thousand millions.

Indeed, were it not for the wild notions that have so generally taken hold of people's imaginations upon this subject, the question would neither require nor bear even the examination we have bestowed upon it. It is decided by a single consideration. The wonders of compound interest have been paraded as if the principle were one, of the operation of which no experience had ever been had till it was proposed to make it available in the project of the sinking fund. But, in truth, its operation is the most common of all incidents in money transactions, and has been so ever since the lending and borrowing of money on interest has come to be practised among men. Compound interest means nothing more than the augmentation of a debt by the addition to its sum of the annual interest due upon it. The English nation had known enough of this process long before the date either of Mr. Pitt's sinking fund or of Dr. Price's pamphlets. Whenever the national debt had been increased by the borrowing, within the year, of a sum of money equal to the annual interest paid upon its previous amount, the principle of compound interest had been called into action upon the whole debt; and, whenever a smaller sum than this had been borrowed, the same principle had been allowed to come into partial operation. So also in reducing the debt, any sum of money that may be directly applied to that purpose cuts away a portion of the debt equivalent to itself in amount, and which, unless so discharged, would have either continued to increase at compound interest, or could have only been kept stationary by the annual application to it of the whole interest of the sum by the outlay of which it has been discharged. That sum, therefore, if reserved in the hands of the State, never could have increased by a single farthing. In being used at once to discharge its own amount of the debt, it is laid out with the full effect with which, if

allowed to accumulate at compound interest, it could possibly have acted. It does not provide a constantly augmenting fund to meet the augmentation of the debt, but it does the same thing,—it prevents (what could in no other way be prevented) the augmentation of its corresponding portion of the debt at the same rate with itself. It sweeps away at once as much of the present debt as it ever could extinguish were its accumulation as a sinking fund, at compound interest, to be allowed to go on without interruption for twenty centuries.

In short, as Dr. Hamilton has laid down the general principle, "the excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, and the diminution of expense, are the only means by which this sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt, by sinking funds operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory."

It is never to be forgotten, however, in considering this subject, that it is always the duty of the State to make every effort in its power for the discharge of the principal of its debts, as well as for the regular payment of the interest. It ought, whenever it is possible to do so, to devote a part of its income to the one purpose as well as to the other; and it ought to find an income sufficient to answer both purposes, by either a diminution of its expenditure upon other objects, or an increase of taxation, if the one or the other of these two methods is at all practicable. In so far, therefore, as the original scheme of Mr. Pitt's sinking fund proceeded upon the principle of providing for the repayment of every loan that was raised by setting apart annually for that end a certain amount of actual surplus revenue, its design was deserving of all commendation. Nay, further, it appears impossible to deny that injustice was done to the holders of all the stock that had been borrowed on condition of the means for its redemption being thus provided, when the scheme was departed from, and such provision no longer made.

There is another operation of the Government by which the burden of the national debt has frequently been materially diminished,—namely, the reduction of the interest of certain portions of it. This reduction the State is enabled to effect by the power which it usually retains in negotiating a loan of paying off its creditors at any time it may find convenient. The operation may be resorted to whenever the actual rate of interest in the country falls in any considerable degree below the nominal rate of any particular species of stock. This state of things is indicated by the stock in question being above par, or at a premium, in the money-market; that is to say, by a hundred pounds of it selling for more than that sum of money. In such circumstances Government may safely offer to the holders of the stock the repayment of their money, unless they will accept of a diminished rate of interest. Thus, suppose the common rate of interest in the country to be 4 per cent., the real value of 100*l.* in a 5 per cent. stock will be 125*l.*, that being the sum required to yield five pounds annually in any other investment. The price of the stock, therefore, will rise towards this point in the market, although it may very probably be prevented from quite reaching it, by the apprehension of the very reduction of interest to which the stock is in danger of being subjected. Let us suppose that the price actually rises to 110*l.* In that case the possessor of 1000*l.* in stock has actually 1100*l.* worth of property in the funds. Still, if the Government should determine to pay off the stock, he will not be entitled to receive more than 1000*l.* for his share. Now, as he has not sold out when he might have done so any day for 1100*l.*, it is not probable that he will prefer accepting the 1000*l.* thus offered by Government, if he shall have the option of remaining a creditor of the State on terms which, although less advantageous than those he has hitherto had the benefit of, shall yet afford him a better return for his capital than he could obtain for it by laying it out at interest in any other form. His capital, be it remembered, is now only 1000*l.*; and for that, according to our supposition, he could obtain from any other ordinary investment only 40*l.* per annum. If the Government, therefore, should offer him 4 per cent. interest, he would make as much of his money by allowing it to remain in the hands of the State, as he would do by carrying it elsewhere. But the Government might probably offer him 4½ per cent., which would produce 45*l.* per annum instead of 40*l.*, which he would make of it otherwise. In that case he would have little or no inducement to transfer it. If, however, he should insist upon having his money, the State would be a gainer by paying him off rather than continuing to allow him the high rate of interest of which he had been heretofore in the receipt, even although it should be necessary to resort to a new loan for that purpose; for, in consequence of the reduction in the current rate of interest, the new loan could be obtained on terms which would entail a less burden upon the public than the present dividends occasion.

In all the instances, accordingly, in which the operation we are here considering has been carried into effect, the number of holders of stock who have dissented from the Government proposals, and preferred being paid in money, has been very small. The offer of the Government, however, it is to be observed, has not always been in the simple form of a proposal to convert the stock bearing a high rate of interest into the same quantity of stock bearing a lower rate. It has sometimes been attempted to reduce the capital as well as the annual amount of the interest of the debt, by giving the holders of the stock to be operated upon the option of continuing to receive the same rate of interest as before, but of having a certain portion of their stock extinguished. Even a higher than the former rate of interest has sometimes been offered, on condition that a larger should be exchanged for a smaller quantity of stock. For instance, when in May, 1830, it was determined to reduce the burden of a certain amount of stock which bore an interest of 4 per cent., the option was given to the holders of receiving for every 100*l.* of the 4 per cent. stock, either 100*l.* of 3½ per cent. stock, or 70*l.* of a new stock to be created with an interest of 5 per cent. The interest on 100*l.* at 3½ per cent. is the same as the interest on 70*l.* at 5 per cent.; and, therefore, the stockholder would have been, in so far as regards the annual benefit derived from his capital, just as well off with the one investment as with the other, while the nation, by his acceptance of the 5 per cent stock would have gained the advantage of having the capital of the debt lessened at the same time that its annual burden was lightened. The danger, however, of accepting the 5 per cent. stock would have been, that this stock might have been paid off as soon as it was created; in which case the holders would have received 100*l.* in the 3½ per cents., not for every 70*l.* of stock which they possessed, but only for every 100*l*; an amount for which they would have exchanged about 143*l.* of their former stock. To obviate this objection, therefore, the proposal was accompanied by an engagement on the part of the Government that the new 5 per cent. stock should not be subject to a reduction of interest for forty-five years. Still, even this security was not sufficient to induce many persons to prefer the new stock: the investments in it did not amount to quite half a million.

On other occasions the operation of reducing the in-

terest on a particular description of stock, has been so managed as to be attended with an augmentation of the capital of the debt. Thus, in 1822, the holders of about 140,000,000*l.* of 5 per cent. stock were converted into holders of 4 per cent. stock, by being allowed 105*l.* of the latter for every 100*l.* they had possessed of the former. The effect of this arrangement was to diminish the annual charge on the debt by 1,222,000*l.*, but at the same time to increase the capital of the debt by the sum of about 7,000,000*l.*

An augmentation of the capital of the debt, however, even although unattended by any augmentation of the annual charge, is very far from being a matter of no importance. The practice, as already observed, that has been for a long period pursued by the Government of this country in the negotiation of loans and the general management of the debt, has been to prefer paying a low rate of interest upon a larger capital to paying an equivalent amount of interest at a higher rate upon the money it has actually borrowed. If this reduction of the rate of interest had been only carried a little further, and the plan had been followed universally, it would have entirely prevented any diminution being effected in the burden of the debt by the process we have just been explaining, down to the present hour. If no stock of a higher denomination, for instance, than 3 per cent. stock had ever been created, the large savings that have from time to time been obtained by the reduction of the interest, would have been rendered altogether impracticable. It is only upon stock of the higher denominations that the interest has been, or in the nature of things can be, reduced. Thus if the money be funded in stock bearing an interest of 5 per cent., the annual charge may be reduced as soon as the common rate of interest in the country shall fall below 5 per cent. But if it be funded in stock bearing an interest of only 3, or 2, or 1 per cent., no such reduction will be practicable until the common rate of interest in the country shall have fallen below 3, or 2, or 1 per cent.

It is, however, to be remembered that Government never really can borrow money in a stock bearing a high rate of interest so cheaply as in a stock bearing a lower rate of interest, for the obvious reason that, in the latter case, the lender has to count, among his advantages, his much greater security from being paid off at the nominal value of his stock. Thus, we have just seen that, on the conversion of the Four per Cent. Annuities, in 1830, very few of the holders could be prevailed upon to accept of 5 per cent. stock in preference to as much 3½ per cent. stock as would have yielded only the same annual return, notwithstanding even the guarantee from the Government with which the offer was accompanied. There can be no doubt, therefore, that much of the money borrowed by the nation has been obtained on easier terms than it otherwise would have been, in consequence of the particular mode of funding that has been adopted; and this gain is to be set against the disadvantages attending the practice, as just explained.

Another government operation in the management of the debt, is the consolidation which has at different times been effected, of several stocks into one. When the stocks thus united have borne different rates of interest, they have, of course, been reduced to a uniform rate, by an alteration, where necessary, of the amount of the capital corresponding to the alteration made in the rate of interest. The most remarkable attempt of this kind, in the history of English finance, is that which was made in 1720, when, with the object of reducing the whole of the public debts then existing under one head of account, the South Sea Company was authorized to buy them all up. This scheme, however, wholly failed. In 1751 the present fund called the Three per Cents. Consolidated Annuities, was formed by the union of various funds which had till then been kept separate; but in this case no new arrangement was made as to the interest, all the several portions of the consolidated stock having previously borne interest at 3 per cent.

The raising of money by loans is not the only way in which the National Debt has been increased. Exchequer and Navy bills, and other similar government securities, originally issued for a temporary purpose, have frequently been funded, or converted into a portion of the permanent debt. Of course, this is done by an arrangement with the holders of the bills. The first operation of this kind took place in 1717, when 2,000,000*l.* of Exchequer bills were converted into stock, bearing interest at 5 per cent. During the latter part of the last war, Exchequer bills were usually funded to a considerable amount every year.

In another, and concluding paper, we shall give an account of the different funds or descriptions of stock now existing, of the payment of the dividends, of the mode of transferring stock, and of the transactions of the money-market generally.

[Errata in last Number p. 2, col. 1, lines 22 and 23, dele "as already observed," and lines 61, &c., read "the operation and effects, direct and indirect, in so far as regards the national wealth, of (not or) the existence of the National Debt." In p. 3, col. 2, it was incorrectly stated that Exchequer bills are exempt from all risk of depreciation. This is not the case, as they are only received at par by the Treasury, after the lapse of a certain time from their issue.]

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

(Continued from No. 38).

The first great subject of discussion that arose after the Christmas recess was a Bill brought forward by Ministers, in the Commons, on the 6th of February (1777), for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, in regard to "persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in North America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy." The second reading of this Bill was carried on the 10th, by a majority of 195 to 43, after a debate, in which we find Mr. Dunning, Mr. Fox, Colonel Barré, and other leaders of the opposition, taking part. The Bill was also vigorously opposed at every subsequent stage; and the third reading in particular, on the 17th, gave rise to a warm and long debate. On this occasion Mr. Fox excited a considerable sensation in the House by some statements which he made with regard to the intentions of the Court of France. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, that we had been on the eve of a war with that country in the preceding month of October, immediately before the meeting of Parliament; and he severely censured Administration for neglecting, in such circumstances, the necessary preparations for national defence. He allowed that, for the present, the Courts both of Versailles and Madrid had found it necessary to postpone their hostile intentions; but he had no doubt, from various facts in his possession, either of what these intentions really were, or that they would be carried into execution at the first moment that was deemed suitable for that purpose. He referred, in particular, to the conduct of the French Ministry to two of the members of the American Congress, now resident in Paris, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane. "He was warranted," we have just affirming, from his own knowledge, that peared publicly at Paris and Versailles h had hitherto known to hold conferences with the Kin now disgusted treat and negotiate with them, and the Bills would

them substantially on the same footing as the representatives of any independent power in Christendom." Apprehensions of the hostility of France had frequently, before this time, been expressed in Parliament, but had always been met by assurances from Ministers that no danger existed. On the present occasion Lord North does not appear to have taken any notice of the information communicated by Mr. Fox. The third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 112 to 33. In the course of the debate Mr. Temple Luttrel, the barrister, spoke on the ministerial side, and was answered at great length by his younger brother, James, a lieutenant in the navy, who had recently taken the place of Captain John Luttrell, already mentioned (See *Companion*, No. xxxvi., p. 538) as one of the members for Stockbridge.

On the 29th of April, Mr. Wilkes made his annual motion for expunging the resolution by which he had been declared incapable of sitting in the last Parliament. He introduced the motion with a speech of some length; but there was no other delivered on either side; and the question being immediately called for, the numbers on a division were found to be, Ayes 64, and Noes 140.

Towards the end of this session, Lord Chatham, after his long absence, again made his appearance in the House of Lords. On the 30th of May, he came down wrapt in flannel, and, in a speech full of his usual energy and rapid eloquence, moved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, imploring him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to hostilities in America, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances. Referring to the expectations which were entertained of success in the present campaign, he remarked, that, as for the conquest of America, the gaining of ten pitched battles would do nothing towards it. "You talk," he exclaimed, "of your numerous friends to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army; I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch." The motion was warmly supported by the Dukes of Grafton and Manchester, the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. John Hinchcliffe), and Lord Camden; but was rejected on a division by a majority of 99 to 28. Lord Chatham's return to the House appears to have awakened much public curiosity and interest. The Duke of Grafton began his speech by congratulating their Lordships and the nation at large on the reappearance of the noble Earl among them. "He contemplated," his Grace said, "with heartfelt pleasure, the revival of that spirit, which could collect so very respectable an appearance below the bar of gentlemen of all parties, which could crowd the avenues leading to the House, so as not to leave sufficient room for their Lordships to come to their seats, unless with the utmost difficulty." At this time strangers were admitted to hear the debates in the Lords, though excluded from the Commons, where a motion for the opening of the gallery had shortly before been thrown out by a majority of 83 to 16. The above is the last which has been reported of the debates of this session, which was closed by a speech from the throne on the 6th of June.

The first check to the progress of the British troops under General Howe and Lord Cornwallis, on their march to Philadelphia, had been given on the 28th of December, 1776, when a division of the forces, under the command of the latter, was surprised by Washington at Trenton, on the left bank of the Delaware, and must should double loss compelled to abandon its position entitled to real effect of this exploit in reviving the Now, as he has Americans, and exciting them to new to any day for very great. It did not, however, in the advance of the British army, though, in consequence of the more effective opposition which was encountered from this date, it became necessary for General Howe to change considerably his plan of operations. But, having at length, after many delays, come to an engagement with Washington on the 11th of September, 1777, at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, he succeeded in gaining a decisive victory over the American general; and, on the 26th, he entered Philadelphia in triumph, the Congress, who had a short time before returned to that capital, again taking flight at his approach. Meanwhile, also, General Burgoyne, who commanded the British forces in the North, had been carrying everything before him in that quarter. Having set out from Quebec, at the head of an admirably appointed body of troops, on the 6th of May, with the intention of effecting a junction with another force, to be sent up the Hudson, from New York, by General Howe, he had forced General St. Clair to evacuate the important fort of Ticonderoga, had destroyed the American flotilla stationed for the occupation of Lake George, beaten the enemy in the field at Hubberdton, taken Fort Anne by assault, and, in short, for some time pursued his way without ever meeting with any effective resistance. Partly, however, through an unfortunate movement on his own part, but much more in consequence of the non-arrival at the proper time of the reinforcements upon which he had relied, his good fortune at first was suddenly succeeded by a series of the most ruinous reverses. On the 13th of September he fought with General Gates the battle of Stillwater, on the banks of the Hudson, in which, although he was not beaten, he received a severe check. From this moment his Indian allies began to desert him, and his men lost heart. He was eventually driven into a position in which, left without assistance, and with only two or three days' provisions in store, while the rapidly increasing forces of the enemy surrounded him on all sides, he was compelled to open a negociation with General Gates, and eventually to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners of war, by the famous Convention of Saratoga, on the 16th of October.

Neither the surrender of General Burgoyne nor the capture of Philadelphia had been heard of in England, at least publicly, when Parliament reassembled on the 18th of November. The Royal Speech now, for the first time, intimated some suspicion of the designs of France and Spain, in the ports of both of which kingdoms hostile preparations were well known to be going on. The Address gave rise to long and animated debates in both Houses. In the Lords the Earl of Chatham distinguished himself by one of the most powerful speeches he had ever delivered, in the course of which he mentioned as an event that had probably already taken place that total loss of General Burgoyne's army, the intelligence of which arrived about a fortnight after. His Lordship concluded by moving an amendment, which, however, was rejected on a division by a majority of 97 to 28. In the Commons the amendment was moved by the young Marquis of Granby, afterwards Duke of Rutland. It was negatived by a majority of 243 to 86.

It has been suspected that secret intelligence of the Convention of Saratoga had reached Ministers even before the opening of Parliament, but it seems scarcely probable that they would in that case have ventured to put into his Majesty's mouth the expressions of hope and encouragement which pervaded the Royal Speech. It is certain, however, that rumours of the event were spread for some days before any acknowledgment of it was obtained from Ministers. It appears to have been first admitted by Lords North and George Germaine, in the House of Commons, on the 3rd of December.

The announcement spread the deepest dissatisfaction and gloom over the nation. On the 5th Lord Chatham brought the subject before the House of Lords by moving an Address to his Majesty for copies of General Burgoyne's orders and instructions. The motion was opposed by Lord Lyttelton, Lord Suffolk, and other noble Lords, who, strange as it may appear, all contended that the assumed fact of the capitulation, though probably true, was as yet a mere report, and therefore could not with propriety be noticed by the House. On a division the numbers appeared to be 19 for the motion, and 40 for the previous question. On the 10th the Commons, by a majority of 155 to 68, agreed to adjourn on the proposition of Ministers to the 20th of January, after a short debate. The same motion made the following day in the Lords was more keenly opposed; but it was eventually carried by a majority of 47 to 17.

The situation of the Ministry at this moment was one of extreme embarrassment as well as humiliation. The whole course of their policy had turned out a failure, every measure they had adopted, every hope they had encouraged, had ended in discomfiture and disappointment. Their schemes for drawing a revenue from America had produced, instead of a revenue, a rebellion. Their Acts of Parliament for putting down the resistance of the Colonists had every one of them, without any exception, exasperated, strengthened, and extended that resistance. It was all the same whether they employed threats or promises, whether they attempted coercion or reconciliation. Their application of force had always proved impotent to attain its object; their concessions had never come till the time when they could do no good, after any disposition to accept them which might ever have existed had been destroyed. After nearly three years' fighting, their military position in the country they aimed at conquering was much worse than it was at the close of their first campaign. Their armies were for the most part either destroyed, or cooped up, like General Howe and his men at Philadelphia, in spots where they could not act, and from which they durst scarcely stir. The few towns and forts which they had taken were useless to them. On the other hand, every day was adding to the available strength, to the resources, to the organization, and to the confidence of the enemy. The insurgents had now sprung up into a state, wielding a formidable power, and all but officially recognised by other nations. They had established for themselves a firm and efficient government; they had agents at the principal courts of Europe, they raised and equipped and maintained armies, and commissioned officers to command them; they issued letters of marque and reprisal, licensed privateers, and had their own flag, which made itself respected wherever it appeared. Not only were the high seas thus made dangerous to British commerce; even the coasts of Ireland and of Great Britain could not be navigated with safety by unarmed vessels. In these circumstances of loss and disgrace, the public discontent, and especially that of the commercial part of the community, began every where to grow clamorous. The spirit of the nation was not broken, but it was fretted and disgusted, and the great body of the people of all classes, although scarcely yet disposed to give up the contest, were fast giving way to dissatisfaction and anger, both at the counsels which had provoked it, and at the manner in which it had been carried on. "When it was attempted about this time to raise additional troops by the exertions of individuals, of 15,000 men that were eventually obtained, not 5,000 were raised in England; above two-thirds of the whole number were procured from Scotland, and mostly from among the Highland clans. In London, Bristol, and many other parts of England, the public meetings that were called all scouted the proposal of encouraging the scheme. Even the country gentlemen now showed a disposition to turn upon the Minister, when, instead of a revenue from America, which he had promised them, they found the course into which he had led them productive only of an increased taxation, from which there appeared no prospect of speedy relief. The parliamentary majorities which had long carried everything so triumphantly began now perceptibly to decline; nor did the steadiest and most zealous of the ministerial champions in debate longer exhibit the zeal or the intrepid front they had been wont to show. Lord North himself, though he sustained his difficult position, upon the whole, with wonderful equanimity, appeared at times to quail under the eloquent exposures and denouncements of the Opposition, and hardly to be able to muster up spirit to reply either to their invectives or their arguments. The public had for some time past, as we have mentioned, been wholly excluded from the House of Commons; but even the close deliberations of that assembly must often, at this crisis, have been felt by his Lordship and his colleagues to be a severe trial.

One of the most mortifying appearances ever made by a Minister was that for which the English Premier now found it necessary to make up his mind. On the 17th of February, 1778, Lord North rose in the House of Commons, and in a long speech announced the resolution to which the Government had come of yielding everything for which the Americans contended, excepting only their nominal independence of the Crown. He proposed to bring in immediately two Bills, the first of which should repeal all the obnoxious Acts which had been passed since 1763, should bind Parliament never again to impose any taxes upon the Colonists, should secure to them for ever in future the appointment of their own governors and magistrates, and should provide that no military force should be kept up in any of the provinces without the consent of its representatives met in provincial assembly; and the second of which should empower the Crown to appoint Commissioners to negociate with Congress on the basis of these propositions. Even amidst the gloom of the moment this sudden and complete abandonment of every point which had been till now insisted upon as vital to the national interests and honour seems to have surprised and confounded all present. "A dull melancholy silence," says the Annual Register, "for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. Although the Minister had declared that the sentiments he expressed that day had been those which he always entertained, it is certain that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation at large as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally, therefore, concluded that something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles, and arguments." Mr. Fox and other Members afterwards addressed the House, but no opposition was offered to the motions for leave to bring in the Bills. "It was thought by many at that time," continues the writer we have just quoted, "that if the Opposition had then pressed him, and joined with the warm party which had hitherto supported the Minister, but which was now disgusted and mortified in the highest degree, the Bills would

have been lost; but, in fact, they took such a hearty part with the Minister, only endeavouring to make such alterations in, or additions to, the Bills, as might increase their eligibility, or extend their effect, that no appearance of party remained; and some of his complaining friends vexatiously congratulated him on his new allies. These new allies, however, though they supported his measures, showed no mercy to his conduct."

In the course of his speech this night, Mr. Fox declared that he had information, upon which he could rely, to the effect that France had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Independent States of America. "He said he could answer with certainty for the truth of his information; it was no light matter, and came from no contemptible authority; he, therefore, wished that the Ministry would give the House satisfaction on this interesting point, whether they knew anything of this treaty, and whether they had not been informed, previously to the making of their proposition, of a treaty which would make that proposition as useless to the peace as it was humiliating to the dignity of Great Britain?" No reply was given to this question by Ministers, till the subject was again mentioned towards the close of the debate by Mr. James Grenville (the eldest son of the Right Honourable James Grenville, and one of the Members for the town of Buckingham, afterwards created Baron Glastonbury). Mr. Grenville, referring to what had been said by Mr. Fox, called upon Lord North either to admit or deny the fact stated. "The information," he said, "tallied with what he himself had heard from undoubted authority." He added, "that from the same authority he knew a very considerable body of forces had marched, within this fortnight, from the interior provinces of France, and that the language held by that Power was of the most offensive nature; he, therefore, insisted on having these facts answered." On this Lord North at length replied, "that he could not say from authority that the treaty alluded to was signed; that, indeed, it was possible, nay, too probable, but not authenticated by the Ambassador."

In point of fact the French King had formally acknowledged and guaranteed the independence of the United States, and entered into a treaty of alliance and commerce with them, on the 6th of the present month. On the 5th of March, however, when the two conciliatory Bills came to be debated for the first time in the Lords, Viscount Weymouth, in reply to a question as to the existence of the treaty put by the Duke of Grafton, said emphatically, "that he did in the plainest and most precise manner assure their Lordships that he knew not of any such treaty having been signed or entered into between the Court of France and the deputies of the Congress, and he hoped their Lordships would not fail to remember that it was on the 5th of March likewise that he stood up in his place and declared he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor had any authentic information of any such treaty being either in contemplation or existence." These last words were in allusion to those with which the Duke of Grafton had concluded his speech, in which his Grace "desired the House to recollect that it was on the 5th of March he put this question to the King's Ministers." He had previously said that the information which had been communicated to him by his Honourable kinsman (Mr. Fox), and which that gentleman had not made known to any other person, "had made so strong an impression on his mind, from the channel through which it came, that, if the two Secretaries of State and the whole Cabinet Council were to declare the contrary, they could not do away that conviction which he felt of its being matter of fact." In the latter part of the debate Lord Camden returned to the subject, and bluntly observed that "the King's servants could not be ignorant of the truth of the business." "It had come out," he proceeded, "in the lower House of Parliament three weeks since; there had been time, and time enough, for them to have ascertained the fact; nay, report said that they not only knew it, but that they had sent emissaries to tamper with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, the Congress's deputies to the Court of France, to whom they had offered the terms which these Bills on the table went to authorize, and the terms had been rejected with contempt." No further answer, however, appears to have been extorted from Ministers. But the treaty having been officially intimated by the French Ambassador on the 13th, the fact was at length communicated to both Houses on the 17th, in a message from the King. On the preceding day, in the Commons, Mr. Grenville had moved an Address to his Majesty for copies of all communications that might have been received from the English Ambassador at Paris, or the French Ambassador in London, touching any treaty concluded between France and the Americans. On this occasion Lord North said, "if a resignation of his place could in any wise tend to extricate the nation from its present difficulties, he had often declared, and then repeated the declaration, that he would most willingly resign; but as it would be cowardly to give up in the hour of danger, and as resignation at that crisis would create confusion in the Ministry, his pride, his duty to his country, convinced him that he ought not to go out of office." He afterwards repeated that "it was his firm unalterable resolution to keep his place." The previous question was carried against Mr. Grenville's motion by a majority of 231 to 146.

An Address, in answer to the royal message, assuring his Majesty of the support of Parliament in repelling the aggressions and insults of the French King, was carried in the Lords by a majority of 68 to 25, and in the Commons by a majority of 263 to 113. The amendments moved in both Houses went to qualify the pledge of support by expressing the hope and confidence of the House that his Majesty, in the momentous situation to which public affairs had been brought, would dismiss his present advisers. In the Lords the Ministers preserved an obstinate silence, answering neither the taunts nor the arguments, nor even the direct questions of their opponents. In the Commons Lord North again declared his resolution not to resign, adding, "that as the interest of the empire, no less than his own pride, required his continuance in office, he was determined not to quit the helm while the ship of the State was tossed about in a storm, until he should have brought her safe into port."

Meanwhile the two conciliatory Bills, as they were called, had been rapidly carried through both Houses. They were both read a third time and passed, in the Lords, on the 9th of March. It was on this occasion that Dr. Beilby Porteus, who had shortly before been made Bishop of Chester, concluded a maiden speech with the words,— "Some think the Bills offer too much, others say they offer too little; therefore I think they contain just enough." On which the Duke of Richmond retorted that "the Right Reverend Prelate had found out a new mode of reasoning; namely, that that must be right which pleased nobody."

The only other debate of this busy and important session which it is necessary for us to notice is that which took place in the House of Lords on the 7th of April, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond for an Address to the King on the state of the nation, and which was rendered so memorable by the last public appearance of Lord Chatham, and the sudden attack

of illness, which ended in his death. It is to be observed, that the state at which American affairs had now arrived had again brought the two great sections of the Opposition to a point at which their opinions began to diverge and separate. The Rockingham party had now become convinced that any issue of the contest short of the acknowledgment of the independence of America was no longer to be hoped for; and they were therefore prepared to yield to that necessity. These views were supported in the House of Lords both by Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond. Other leaders of the opposition, however, in both Houses, though wholly opposed to the policy by which the contest had been forced on, and anxious to grant America every right it could claim while remaining a portion of the empire, (exemption from taxation by the Imperial Parliament included,) still stood out against a separation of the Colonies from the parent state. This was the ground taken by Lord Chatham, and his friends, Lords Shelburne, Temple, and Camden, in the Lords, and Mr. Dunning, Colonel Barré, and those who acted with them, in the Commons. A strange attempt, it may be added, was made about this time to bring about the recall of Lord Chatham to office, by two personages who, in so interfering, would seem to have busied themselves about a matter that lay very much out of their line. These were Sir James Wright, physician to Lord Bute, and Dr. Addington (father of the present Lord Sidmouth), who was in the habit of attending Lord Chatham in the same capacity. Their scheme was also in itself a very odd one, being nothing less than to get a Cabinet constructed, in which Lord Bute and Lord Chatham should act together. With this object they set themselves, in the first place, to establish a sort of round-about communication between these two noble Lords, so long divided and opposed, by each reporting to his patron certain expressions of good will and compliment, which it appears had occasionally been dropped by the one in regard to the other. In their zeal in the business upon which they had entered, and their conviction that the union of their two noble friends could alone save the country, they were probably led to add occasionally something of their own to the little they could really get to fetch and carry; at least, when the affair came to be cleared up, they contradicted each other as to various expressions which had been alleged to have been used. Lord Chatham seems to have been, for a short time, to a certain extent taken in by the project; but, of course, it ended in smoke. A quantity of correspondence upon the subject was published in the newspapers a short time after Lord Chatham's death, some passages in which are curious. Among other things, Dr. Addington says, in his narrative, that Sir James Wright had told him that Bute and Chatham were "two of the men the King hated most." Sir James, however, in his account, denies that he ever made any such statement.

The Address moved by the Duke of Richmond, on the 7th of April, was of great length; and, after recapitulating the whole history of the war, concluded by expressing a conviction that the reduction of America by force of arms was impossible, and by advising his Majesty, under these circumstances, instantly to withdraw his fleets and armies from the thirteen revolted provinces, and to make peace with them on such terms as might preserve their good will. The Address also prayed his Majesty to dismiss the Ministers, whose counsels had involved the country in its present calamities. The Duke was answered by Viscount Weymouth in a short speech. Lord Chatham, who had come into the House wrapped up in flannel, and leaning upon two friends, then rose slowly and with difficulty from his seat; and while the same two friends supported him, and his hands also rested on his crutches, proceeded to address the House. "He appeared," says a report of the debate in the London Magazine, "to be extremely feeble, and spoke with that difficulty of utterance which is the characteristic of severe indisposition." A friend who was present, however, and whose account of the scene was first published in Seward's "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons," adds that, "as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever,—oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period, both from his own situation and from the importance of the subject on which he spoke." "The reverence," the same authority states, "the attention, the stillness of the House, was most affecting; if any one had dropt a handkerchief the noise would have been heard." "He had come down to the House," his Lordship said, "on that day (perhaps the last time he should ever be able to enter its walls), to express the indignation he felt at an idea, which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America." "My Lords," he continued, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble Monarchy!" He then went on to contend that neither the resources nor the spirit of the country could possibly be reduced so low as to make the proposition which had been that night submitted to the House endurable. When he sat down the Duke of Richmond again rose. In the course of an address of some length his Grace declared that there was not a person present who more sincerely wished that the people of America should remain dependent on this country than he did; but, being convinced that that was now totally impossible, he desired, if they were to be lost as fellow subjects, to retain them as allies, and to prevent them throwing themselves into the hands of France. While the Duke was speaking Lord Chatham looked at him with attention and composure; he then rose to reply, but in evident agitation; and, after two or three unsuccessful attempts to stand, fell back, before he had uttered a word, in a state of insensibility. Having partially recovered after being taken out of the House, he was carried home to Hayes; but he never again rose from his bed. He breathed his last on the 11th of May.

The debate, which had been interrupted by this affecting event, was, as soon as the confusion had subsided, adjourned, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, till the next day. On that day Lord Shelburne, at great length, enforced the same views which had been advanced by Lord Chatham, treating the notion of surrendering the sovereignty of America as a humiliation not to be thought of. In his strictures upon Ministers, however, he was as severe as the Duke of Richmond. "Nothing," said his Lordship, "will succeed under the direction of the present Administration; they are despised or execrated without doors; they have lost the public confidence; the system of government must be changed, and established upon a stronger basis. I repeat again, the lawyers and *Commis*, the present conductors of public business, must be sent back to their proper vocations, or their original obscurity." None of the Ministers took any part in the discussion, which terminated in the rejection of the motion by a majority of 50 to 33. An extraordinary proposition was then made by the Earl of Abingdon, who, rising in great heat, and declaring that these dead majorities would be the ruin of the nation, proceeded as follows:—"My Lords, we are told by Ministers that this is the only way in which his Majesty will receive our counsel. It may, indeed, my Lords, be the only way in which his Majesty will receive our counsel, but it is not the only way in which we have a right to give our counsel to his

Majesty. My Lords, we are the hereditary counsellors of the Crown, and have a right to an audience of his Majesty at all times, to lay our humble services before him. I therefore move, my Lords, that we of the minority do, in a body, wait upon his Majesty with the Address that has been proposed by the noble Duke: it contains information worthy the Royal ear; what effect it may produce is not for me to forejudge." The Duke of Richmond expressed his assent to this proposition; but the measure was not carried into execution. Of course the House was not the proper place in which to make such a motion.

On the 2d of June attempts were made in both Houses to carry addresses, humbly imploring his Majesty to defer the prorogation of the Parliament until the present very dangerous crisis in the national affairs might be happily terminated; but the motion was thrown out in the Lords by a majority of 42 to 20, and in the Commons by a majority of 94 to 54. The prorogation took place the following day.

Immediately after the close of the session, Earl Bathurst resigned the Great Seal, and the Attorney-General, Edward Thurlow, Esq., was appointed Lord Chancellor, and at the same time raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Thurlow. The Solicitor-General, Mr. Wedderburn, succeeded to the office of Attorney-General; and James Wallace, Esq., (father of the present Lord Wallace,) became Solicitor-General.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR FEBRUARY, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PARLIAMENT re-assembled on Thursday, the 4th, when the Session was opened by his Majesty, in a Speech from the Throne, which we have given at length in another place. In the number, variety, and importance of its announcements, this Speech was one of the most remarkable ever delivered on such an occasion, and would seem to prognosticate a legislative year, unusually busy and interesting.

The question of the Address gave rise to a short debate in the Lords, and to a somewhat longer, and considerably more animated, one in the Commons. The Address proposed by Ministers, being, as usual, an echo of the Speech, was nearly without any expression committing Parliament to a particular course in regard to any of the matters on which it touched; and, especially with the explanations which were given in both Houses, it certainly might have been, conscientiously enough, concurred in by Members of all parties and shades of opinion. The Opposition leaders, however, seem to have considered the opportunity a good one for a display of their strength. They accordingly proposed, in both Houses, an amendment, neutralizing the passage in the Ministerial Address, which expressed a hope that Parliament would find itself able to apply to the defects and evils of the Irish Municipal Corporations "a remedy founded upon the same principles as those of the Acts which have been already passed for England and Scotland." In the Upper House, where a contest of numbers would have been quite vain and hopeless, Ministers acquiesced in the amendment; but in the Commons they declined to do so, when invited by Sir Robert Peel to follow the example of the Peers. Having advanced thus far, however, the Right Honourable Baronet could scarcely now retreat. A division, therefore, took place, when the original Address was carried, in a very full House, by the unexpectedly large majority of 41, the numbers being for the amendment, 243—against it, 284. In this division Sir Robert Peel was joined by Lord Stanley, who had taken his place on the same Bench, and contended side by side with him in the debate.

The only other division of any consequence which took place, in the first week of the Session, was that in the Commons on Friday evening, on a Resolution proposed by Mr. Ewart, that no business, except of a merely formal nature, should be entered on after half-past eleven at night. It seemed to be felt by the House that, even if the principle of abstaining from midnight legislation should be conceded, a regulation so imperfectly defined would have no chance of working well; and the proposition was thrown out by a majority of 233 to 51.

On Monday, the 9th, the subject of what the King's Speech had called "the difficulties which continue to be felt in important branches of agriculture" was brought before the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, in a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into it. His Lordship, however, frankly stated that he did not expect the Committee would make much of the matter. It appears that the principal problem they will be expected to solve is, why the price of wheat is at present so much lower than it used to be, in relation to the price of barley; but if this be an evil, which it is not easy to understand how it should be, it is one which we may venture to say it will puzzle Parliament to cure. The landed interest, however, are likely to be left to solve the difficulty in their own way, for the proportion of county to town Members in the Committee is nearly four to one. The strength of the agricultural interest in the House (where it is often said not to be sufficiently represented) was strikingly shown by a division which took place, on a motion by the Marquess of Chandos, for increasing this already overwhelming preponderance, by the addition to the list of the names of three more representatives of counties. The motion, which was resisted by Ministers, was only defeated by the narrow majority of 149 to 142.

This Committee is not to be restrained from taking as extensive a range as it may think fit, in inquiring into the state of agriculture—even the whole wide sea of the currency question being left open to it, if it should resolve to adventure upon that navigation in search of the secret for re-adjusting the prices of wheat and barley. The inquiry, at any rate, will probably last for some time, which is not to be regretted, for various reasons. If this Committee would address itself to an investigation of the statistics of agriculture, it might render a valuable public service.

On Tuesday the 9th, Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons the ministerial plan for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales. The leading features of this important measure are—the appointment of a Central Board of Commissioners, consisting of three persons, two to be named by Government and one by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with power to appoint Assistant Commissioners; the authorizing of the parties, in the first instance, to make a permanent arrangement for the commutation, by agreement among themselves, the consent of three-fourths of the owners of the land in any parish, making the agreement binding upon the rest; and finally, the empowering of the Commissioners to proceed to a valuation of the tithe, with the view of effecting a compulsory settlement, on the requisition of any single landholder or titheowner, where no voluntary agreement shall have been entered into at the expiration of six months after the passing of the Act. It is also proposed, that the titheowner shall, in no case

receive in future less than 60 or more than 75 per cent. of the gross value of the tithe in kind on the average of the last seven years.

A debate, followed by a division, took place this evening, on a resolution proposed by Mr. Hume, that all fees for the delivery of sessional papers, to messengers, door-keepers, and the keeper of the Members' waiting-room, should be discontinued. The resolution was carried by a majority of 171 to 93. The present officers of the House are to have full compensation for the loss of the gratuities they have been accustomed to receive; so that, as many members will probably continue to pay —some of them at least—as before, they are likely to flourish on this piece of national economy.

The same evening, Mr. Hume also divided the House on a motion that it should be an instruction to the Committee on the new Houses of Parliament to consider the propriety of having them erected on the site of St. James's Palace. The motion was negatived by a majority of 141 to 42.

On Friday the 12th, two measures of great importance, and which had been anxiously expected from the Government, were submitted to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell—the first, a Bill for a General Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths; the second, a Bill for Amending the Laws relative to the celebration of Marriages. It is proposed that the registration shall be conducted in the first instance by registrars for each parish, or for each union of parishes, formed under the late Poor-Law Amendment Act; that there shall be a superior registrar for each county; and that a central office for superintending the whole system shall be established in London. This machinery may possibly be altered, in some respects, before the proposed measure shall become a law, but there is now every prospect that the important and too-long neglected object, contemplated by the measure, will no longer remain unprovided for by the Legislature. Registration ought to be considered the first and fundamental process in all law-making. It is the process of ascertaining and collecting the facts of the case to which the law is to apply—which, otherwise, can only be guessed at, and sometimes hardly even that. National registries, therefore, should be kept of all matters which are of a nature to be interfered with by legislation. This general consideration, however, would not have produced the present proposition for a registry of births, deaths, and marriages, had not the measure been forced on by its being indispensable (in part, at least,) as a preliminary arrangement for the amendment of the law with regard to the celebration of marriage. The second of Lord John Russell's Bills, which is directed to this latter object, provides that the publication of bans shall be abolished; and that the notice, to be henceforth given of all marriages, shall be by the parties giving in their names to the district registrar, to be inserted by him in a book that shall be open to public inspection. With a license, the parties may be married in eight days after this notice; otherwise, not till after the expiration of twenty-one days. There can be no doubt, in the first place, that this will be a much more effectual publication of the marriage than the present practice; and if the new Bill went no farther, it would be a valuable amendment of the existing law. Then, instead of all persons being obliged, as at present, to be married in one of the churches or chapels of the Establishment, and according to the rites, and by a clergyman, of the Church of England, parties are to be allowed to have the ceremony performed, at their own choice, either in this customary mode, or by a clergyman of any dissenting communion, in a chapel duly licensed for that purpose, on the application of twenty householders, and in the presence of the registrar, or simply before the registrar, according to a form prescribed by the Bill. Provision is thus made for the case of each of the three classes of persons into which, in so far as this matter is concerned, the population is divided,—namely, first, the members of the Church of England; second, those Dissenters who prefer the religious ceremony; and, last, those who consider marriage to be merely a civil contract, and object to its being entered into with any religious solemnization. No objections were stated to the principle of the measure in the House, and it will probably prove generally satisfactory. While it preserves and accords its sanction to the ancient forms for those who may voluntarily adhere to them, it makes the law, in fact, as liberal as it well can be made for the rest of the community. It does not do violence to the opinions of any class, by declaring marriage either to be or not to be essentially a religious institution; but, omitting any declaration upon that point, ratifies equally the religious and the civil ceremony, according as parties may make their choice of either. In this way, in fact, it really demands no more than the civil ceremony; but it accepts of a religious solemnization as its substitute from those who deem such essential. The religious solemnization, as it must be conducted, actually involves in it the equivalent of the civil contract. To have gone further than this, and to have insisted in all cases upon a civil form entirely separated from any religious ceremony, would certainly have outraged public feeling as it at present exists in this country. It has, indeed, been recently observed, in regard to the contract of marriage, that "few rational men think that the religious ceremony is of any importance:" but, however this may be, it is unquestionable that the great majority of our countrymen and our countrywomen are not yet converts to the doctrine here stated. Its proclamation, by the law, would probably shock the generality of Dissenters quite as much as it would the adherents of the Established Church; nor would any object of practical importance be thereby gained that is not as effectually secured by the measure as it stands. From the diversity of feelings and opinions on the subject, absolute uniformity of procedure cannot be enforced. But although there is a diversity, there need be no conflict of opinions and feelings. The Bill has been framed on the fair principle of leaving every man to his choice of the manner in which he will himself be married, but at the same time of not permitting him to force his own preference upon others. It has been framed, as it might have been if each of the three classes we have indicated had been left to draw up the part of it affecting themselves, and the three schemes had then been embodied. In that case, the churchman would have said,—I am, for my own part, contented with the present law; I wish the mode of celebrating marriage to remain, for myself, the same as it now is. The new law permits it so to remain, in so far as he is concerned. The case of the person who considers a religious ceremony of any kind unnecessary, is likewise a very simple case. He demands to have a mode of marrying appointed for his use, in which the contract shall be reduced to a mere civil act. Such a mode is appointed for him, and is made as good in law as any other mode. The case of the Dissenter who, while objecting to the religious form of the Established Church, would still be married according to another religious form of his own, is somewhat more difficult to deal with. But still it is, we think, completely met by the present Bill. Such a Dissenter wishes the Legislature, in fact, to recognise and sanction any religious form of the celebration of marriage whatever. To this demand the former Bill proposed by Sir Robert Peel replied—"No; there can be no such indiscriminate re-

cognition of all sorts of forms by the Legislature; but no form at all will be either recognised or insisted upon, if you object to the form of the Established Church." The present measure offers this alternative also to the Dissenter; but it offers him another, and one which undoubtedly will be more generally accepted of, along with it. It meets the demand just stated by saying, "Yes, you shall have a recognition by the State of any form you please; only let the ceremony, be it what it may, be performed in such a manner as to satisfy the State that it has actually been performed, and that it is a ceremony really approved of by some religious congregation." To ensure these two objects it is provided in the Bill that such marriages shall take place in a chapel which twenty householders shall have recommended to be licensed for that purpose; and that they shall take place in the presence of the registrar as a public functionary. These restrictions are no greater than those imposed upon persons choosing to be married according to the forms of the Established Church. The marriage of a churchman can take place only in a parish church or chapel; and the ceremony can be performed only by a clergyman of the Church.

A Bill was this day brought into the Upper House, by the Lord Chancellor, for the reform and consolidation of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the number of which throughout the country was stated to amount to no fewer than 386. It is proposed that the local courts of this description shall be all abolished, and their place supplied by one general Court in London. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction is also to be altered in various respects. This is a very important and valuable measure of reform, and we shall take an early opportunity of giving a detailed account of it.

On Monday, the 15th, the House of Commons was occupied during the greater part of the sitting in discussing a motion, submitted by Mr. Roebuck, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of justice in the Mauritius. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman introduced his proposition by a forcible statement of abuses which he asserted to prevail in that colony; and few, if any, of his allegations appear to have been contradicted by Ministers. But it was urged that the transactions upon which he had dilated had all taken place some time back, and that an examination into them now would be attended by mischief rather than good. Mr. Roebuck was supported by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Buxton; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 227 to 69.

On Tuesday, the 16th, the case of Mr. O'Connell, as implicated in an alleged engagement with Mr. Alexander Raphael, to procure the election of that gentleman, in June last, as one of the representatives for the county of Carlow, in consideration of his paying the sum of 2000*l.*, was, after various preliminary proceedings on previous days, at length regularly brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Hardy, the Member for Bradford, who proposed that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the transaction. No opposition being made to the motion, the debate was scarcely extended beyond Mr. Hardy's opening speech and Mr. O'Connell's reply. Eleven Members were appointed to compose the Committee, along with Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Serjeant Wilde, who were nominated, the former on the side of the accusation, the latter on that of the defence, to conduct the examination of the witnesses, but without having the right to vote.

This evening, also, the Ministerial Bill for the reform of municipal corporations in Ireland was brought in by Mr. Serjeant O'Loghlen, the Irish Attorney-General, and read a first time; but it was agreed that the discussion of the measure should be postponed to the second reading.

On Wednesday, the 17th, an important principle was recognized by the House of Commons in a vote upon Mr. Ewart's motion for the second reading of his Bill for allowing the assistance of counsel in addressing the jury to prisoners tried on criminal charges, in the same manner as that assistance has always been allowed to defendants in civil actions. Although the motion was warmly opposed by some Honourable Members, it was supported by the most distinguished authorities on both sides of the House, including the Attorney-General, Sir Frederick Pollock, Dr. Lushington, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Lynch; and, when the division took place, there were 179 votes for the second reading of the Bill, and only 35 against it. It was then agreed that the measure should be referred to a Select Committee for the arrangement of its details.

Another division took place in a later part of the evening on a motion submitted by Mr. Hawes, that it should be an instruction to the Committee on the new Houses of Parliament to inspect all the plans that have been submitted to his Majesty's Commissioners, and to receive the estimates of the said plans from such architects as might be willing to furnish them. The motion, after a short conversation, was rejected by a majority of 120 to 48.

On Thursday, the 18th, a multiplicity of subjects engaged the attention of the two Houses. A Select Committee to inquire into the state of agriculture was, on the motion of Lord Wynford, appointed by the Lords, in imitation of what had been done by the Commons, Ministers engaging to give every assistance in their power to facilitate the inquiry. Lord Ashburton well remarked that the farmer, at the present moment, possessed a monopoly, and Parliament could do nothing more for him. The Earl of Winchilsea declined to allow his name to be placed on the Committee, if it was to be understood that the currency question should be excluded from consideration.

In the Commons, Lord Morpeth submitted the new Ministerial Bill for the establishment of a constabulary force in Ireland, being very nearly the same measure which was last Session thrown out by the Lords. The Bill proposes to take the appointment of petty constables out of the hands of the local magistracy, and to place it in those of the Lord-Lieutenant; and this change was warmly condemned by various Opposition Members in the debate that followed, until Sir Robert Peel rose and declared that, looking to the peculiar state of Ireland, he thought it the best arrangement. After this a Committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. C. Buller, to inquire into the conduct of the Commissioners of Public Records, and into the state of those records; and certain Resolutions were moved by Mr. Ward, and agreed to, for taking down the names of Members on divisions. The most animated debate of the evening, however, was that which arose on the motion submitted by Mr. Sheil, for a Return "of all processes which have lately issued out of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, in causes for the recovery of tithes; and also for copies of any orders made by the Irish Government in 1823, 1825, and 1833, respecting the employment of the police in the service and execution of suits." The legality of the proceedings of the "Lay Association for the Protection of the Property of the Established Church," which has for some time been in active operation in Ireland—the right of the Court of Exchequer to issue, as it has been lately doing, commissions of rebellion against all persons whatsoever refusing to assist in the service of its suits—and the conduct of the Irish Government in setting the Court at defiance in regard to this exercise of its authority,—all these, and several other minor points, drew forth much keen and some vehement oratory from both sides of the House. The Return was ordered, as

amended on the motion of Mr. Serjeant Jackson, after the discussion had lasted till near two o'clock in the morning.

On Friday the 19th, in the Commons, a motion by Lord Dudley Stuart, for the production of the Treaty of Hoonkiar Skelessi, concluded at Constantinople 8th July, 1833, and of other papers connected with Russian and Turkish affairs, gave rise to a debate of considerable interest. The object of his Lordship's address was, to impress upon the House a sense of the dangers to be apprehended from the encroaching spirit of Russian policy; among the past achievements of which he reckoned the formation, or instigation at least, of the new German Commercial League; and whose ultimate designs he considered as comprehending not only the conquest of Turkey, of Persia, and of India, but the acquisition, also, of further influence and dominion towards the west, by the gradual envelopment of Austria, of Prussia, and of Italy. Lord Palmerston and Mr. Poulett Thomson, who replied to his Lordship, treated these speculations as wholly visionary, and expressed their conviction that there was nothing in the conduct or intentions of the Czar to excite either hostility or alarm on the part of this country. The German Commercial League they spoke of as more likely to be beneficial than injurious to our commerce and manufactures. We may also notice that Mr. Thomson, in the course of his speech, took occasion to characterise the alleged Russian State Papers, that have recently been published under the title of the 'Portfolio,' as absurd impositions. The authenticity of these documents, however, is still, we believe, strongly maintained in quarters where good means of forming a judgment on the matter ought to exist. Only a part of the papers moved for by Lord Dudley Stuart was granted.

FRANCE.

The *Moniteur* of the 18th of January contained a royal Ordinance, stating that the King had accepted the resignation of M. Humann as Minister of Finance, and that the Count D'Argout had been appointed to succeed him. On the same day, in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Humann explained the motives of his conduct and resignation. The latter, as was foreseen, arose out of the question of reducing the 5 per cents. to 3 per cents. He said that the explanations demanded from him, as Finance Minister, could not now be given, and that he must, therefore, express himself merely as a Member of the Chamber. His conviction had always been the same upon the necessity of a measure for the reduction of the *Rentes*, for he believed that such a reduction would be the best means of equalizing the national receipts and expenses. His conscience had prompted him to use every effort to bring about that result. He hoped he should not be accused of a breach of propriety in the line of conduct he had adopted; his resignation was not meant to interfere with any of the plans of Government—the sentiments of respect he entertained for his late Colleagues were in no respect altered. As far back as 1832 his opinions touching the *Rentes* were the same as now; and when the King placed him in the Ministry he maintained the same ideas, and hoped to get them adopted by the rest of the Cabinet. No later than last year he expressed the same wish in the Chamber. When he had finally made up his mind on the project of reducing the *Rentes*, he encountered a number of objections on the part of his Colleagues, who proposed to adjourn the question for a whole year; but when, at last, he came to speak about the Budget for 1837, he thought he was bound to prepare the public mind, beforehand, for the important financial changes he contemplated. In all his conduct he had done nothing inconsistent with honour; in leaving the Ministry, he still entertained the same good opinion of his Colleagues, and felt convinced that they were *all* men of honourable principles who had acted to the best of their power for the defence of a constitutional monarchic Government.

It was soon seen, however, that the causes which had produced M. Humann's resignation would bring about an entire dissolution of the Cabinet, as the Opposition seized upon the conversion of the 5 per cents. as their grand point of attack, and gained over on that particular question many Members who were otherwise disposed to vote with Ministers. Of the nine Bureaux into which the Chamber was divided for the consideration of the project, six pronounced in favour of the conversion, and three adjourned the consideration of the question to the end of the Session. The practice of the French Chambers, with respect to Bills that are to be taken into consideration is this:—The Bills, as soon as received, are referred to the Bureaux, or Standing Committees up-stairs, which Bureaux or Committees are fixed by ballot at the beginning of every month, and the total number of which is nine. The whole Chamber is divided in equal numbers into these nine Bureaux, and the business of each Bureaux is to examine the Bill received, and then name one of its own number to form part of a Special Committee, consisting thus of nine Members, whose duty then is to discuss the merits of the Bill, and report upon it to the Chamber at a public sitting.

M. Gouin, in the seventh Bureau, was the most energetic and successful champion for the conversion. In the ninth Bureau, M. Humann, the ex-minister, expressed his opinion with much freedom. "He showed that, since 1830, France had been obliged by circumstances to increase her debt by about 800,000,000 of francs, or 40,000,000 per annum; that every year there was a deficit in her finances which, in 1834, had amounted to 167,000,000; in 1835 to 38,000,000; and in 1836 to 21,000,000. The budget of 1837 presented, he said, an apparent *bonus* of more than 2,000,000; but the Ministry would, nevertheless, be under the necessity of demanding of the Chamber an extraordinary supply of 17,000,000 of francs for that year. The 30,000,000 taken off the tax on liquors was sorely felt by the Treasury, and the manufacture of the beet-root sugar, which, in 1835, had occasioned a diminution of 15,000,000 in the duties on that of colonial produce, would, in all probability, deprive it, in 1836, of 20,000,000 more. A minister who felt his responsibility, and was at all aware of his situation, could not, he said, remain indifferent in the presence of such facts. He should at once come to a resolution; and as an increase of the taxes would be an unpopular mode of remedying the evil, he preferred reducing the interest of the public debt, which constituted the principal burden of the State. The minister then pointed out the immense profits the *rentiers* had so long enjoyed, to the prejudice of the taxpayers. 'We still pay some of them,' he said, '6 francs 80 centimes for 100 francs. Would they be ruined, I ask, if we were now to pay them but 5 francs 80 centimes?' M. Humann then observed, that he had often warned his colleagues of the imminent necessity of the measure he had recommended to the Chamber; and that, two months ago, he had handed to the President of the Council a project of law, accompanied by considerations much more positive, much more energetical, than the few guarded words that had fallen from him on presenting the budget. Hence, he concluded, his opinion on the subject was well known to the members of the Cabinet; and what had occurred some days ago could not have been so unexpected as was said. He would

only add that, when he made that communication to M. de Broglie, the latter did not entertain the same opinion on the subject as he had expressed from the tribune. He merely remarked that that grand operation did not coincide well with the difficulties of the American question; and that reason, he said, would have had sufficient weight to prevent his bringing it forward, if he had not conceived those difficulties to have been nearly set at rest." He added, that several of his colleagues in office had, at first, approved of his plan, and he pointed out, as one of its beneficial results, the immense advantages to be derived from it by enterprises of public utility, such as canals, bridges, railways, &c. He then explained how he had proposed to pay off the 5 per cents. His plan was approved by the whole Bureau, who agreed to appoint him Commissioner of the Budget.

On the 4th of February, M. Gouin formally presented to the Chambers a Bill for reducing the interest of the 5 per cents. The debate lasted two whole days, and on coming to a division there was a majority of two against Ministers, 192 voting for the adjournment of the proposition as they recommended, and 194 opposing it. As soon as this result was known, Ministers went in a body to the Tuileries, and tendered their resignations, which Louis Philippe was obliged to accept for the present, though his embarrassment as to how he should replace them is said to have been very great. The next day Messieurs Dupin, Montalivet, Humann, and the Duke Decazes visited the King, but they came to no arrangement.

The defeated Ministry, [illegible] various [illegible] sure of reform, and we [illegible] make [illegible] to hold their portfolios [illegible], and as yet (Feb. 23rd) no official announcement of the formation of a new Cabinet has reached this country. It is understood, however, that the task of reconstructing the administration has been entrusted to M. Thiers, who will be placed at the head of it, with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and will be associated with MM. de Montalivet, Passy, and Sauzet.

These events have had an unfavourable effect on the French funds.

Some minor decisions of the Chambers are worth a brief notice.

On the 19th of January the Chamber of Deputies, on the score of the expense it would occasion, rejected a proposition for repairing the roads in France, and the discussion was adjourned *sine die*. Surely the expense would soon be made up to the nation at large by the saving in the wear-and-tear of vehicles and horses, to say nothing of the increase of comfort and of speed. The main roads are rough and bad enough, but the cross country roads, which are now so excellent all over England and Scotland, are utterly detestable in nearly every province in France, without even excepting the neighbourhood of the capital. We cannot help thinking that some millions of francs annually would be better spent in making good roads at home, than in making and maintaining unprofitable conquests in Algiers.

A few days after, the Deputies rejected by a majority of 176 to 96, a vote of about 3000*l.* sterling to the survivors of the soldiers and officers who returned with Napoleon from Elba in 1815. Considering the mischief these men helped to do to France and all Europe, we are not surprised at this rejection.

The Chamber of Peers have been occupied with the state trials. The long process of the Paris republicans and conspirators was concluded on the 20th of January. No single sentence of capital punishment was passed. Two of the prisoners only were acquitted, and some nineteen or twenty were condemned to transportation for life or to different terms of imprisonment. The prisoners who escaped from Paris were condemned *en contumace*.

On the 30th of January, the Peers began the trial of the assassin Fieschi; who appears to be a low-minded, dissolute ruffian, carried away by no enthusiasm or political predilection of any kind, but actuated by a mere desire of making so many francs by a job of murder, the result of which was, to kill or cruelly maim about forty individuals. He has, however, an eye to dramatic effect, and a passion for notoriety, exaggerating, no doubt, to that end his own detestable crimes. Some parts of his examination remind us of Holloway the butcher, who murdered his wife, some three years ago, near Brighton, and afterwards cut her up as he would have done an ox. When that wretch was lying in prison with no hope of escaping the law's severity, one of those artists who cater for the taste for the horrible so largely spread among certain classes of the English people, went to draw his portrait; on which Holloway eagerly applied to have the clothes in which he was dressed when he "did the thing," as that would make his picture so much more interesting and striking! This made a worthy phrenologist remark,—that Holloway had the bump of the love of approbation largely developed! In the same way, Fieschi has shown much anxiety about having his portrait painted, and has studied the part he had to play in court, like an actor. During the two first days of his trial, he laboured to make it appear that he had aimed at the King's life from no private motive—from no political hatred, or any kind of animosity against Louis Philippe, but merely because his Lords and [illegible] had hired him to do it. His accomplices, Pepin and Morey, [illegible] to be depended upon, as his vanity seems nearly allied to madness. The manner in which he absorbed the attention of the press gave him great satisfaction.

The defence of Fieschi and his fellow-prisoners was concluded on the 14th of February. The Procureur-General called upon the Peers to award sentence of death to Fieschi, Morey, Pepin, and Boireau. As regarded the fifth prisoner, Bescher, the Crown called for no particular judgment, but, abandoning the capital part of the charge,—namely, that of his being a principal accessory, it left his case to the discretion of the Court. Lastly, Boireau was recommended to mercy.

On the 15th the Court sentenced Fieschi to be put to death as a parricide—that is, to be conducted to the scaffold barefooted, and covered with a shroud, and Pepin and Morey to be guillotined in the usual way. Boireau was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, and Bescher was acquitted. The three executions took place at the Place St. Jacques on the morning of the 19th, in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators, but without any disturbance.

No discoveries of any general importance have been obtained in the course of this trial. It appears, however, that Morey, who is a staunch republican—a member of the Society of the Rights of Man, &c. &c., was the contriver of the whole plot, and that Fieschi was engaged in it, on account of his mechanical ingenuity and knowledge of the use of fire-arms.

SPAIN.

Finding himself unable to manage the turbulent opposition party in the Cortes, Mendizabal offered to the Queen Regent the alternative, that she should either accept his resignation, or dissolve the present Chambers. On the 27th of December her Majesty announced, by a decree, the dissolution of the Cortes. This measure seems to have taken the good people of Madrid by surprise; and it is said that the Queen's best friends were made very uneasy by so decisive a step. The imme-

diate motive that actuated Mendizabal when he proposed the dissolution, was the vote of the Cortes upon an article of the electoral law—a vote most hostile to his cabinet. As far as we are informed, this minister has not yet revealed his grand financial plan by which he is to rescue Spain, and restore her to her rank among the prosperous and powerful nations of Europe. In the absence of the real thing, many speculations are in circulation as to what this plan will be. We have, among others, the following—

I. England is to advance 3,000,000*l.* sterling; for which she is to have an advantageous commercial treaty, and possession of the Balearic Islands as security for the debt.

II.—In 1823, the annual amount of tithes collected in Spain was estimated at 500,000,000 of reals. It is proposed to capitalize this revenue, by relieving property from its payment at the rate of ten years' purchase.

III.—The home debt, without interest, amounts to nearly eight milliards, or billions, of reals; and the foreign debt to three milliards without interest, making, together, eleven milliards, or billions, of reals. (These seem fearfully long numbers, but our readers must recollect that reals are only fourpenny pieces). It is proposed to convert these into active debts; and in order to obtain an inscription of this nature, each of the old creditors will have to deliver one-third in securities, without interest, and two-thirds in money.

The two last of these arrangements seem to us very probable. It is asserted, however, in other quarters, that Mendizabal's predominant idea is to provide Spain with resources from her own bosom,—to meet all present exigences, and lay up stock for future demands, by means of the domains which formerly belonged to the monks, but which have now become the property of the State. "To form an idea of the extent of this monastic property," say these reasoners, "we have only to look at that which formerly belonged to the monks of the Escurial. The domains of the Escurial itself are worth 22,940,000 reals: in the valley of the Baroma they have property worth 6,000 000 reals; at Avila, 4,000,000; in Estremadura, 5,000,000; at Segovia, 4,000,000; in Madrid, 10,700,000; *and the buildings of the Escurial* are estimated at 70,000,000, making a grand total of 122,640,000 reals. This is sufficient to show the extent of wealth in land, &c., still possessed by Spain." But we would ask,—where are the purchasers to come from? What host of individuals, or associated companies are there in Spain rich enough to pay a tenth of this amount? Where is there a full confidence in the right of the sudden seizure of this property, and in the security of its tenure? Perhaps Mendizabal's party look to foreigners; but, at all events, they are obliged to make the following admission:—

"This landed property, *at present in small request*, because affairs do not appear to be sufficiently stable, will rise considerably in value, as soon as the Government is firmly established."

This is rather awkward. The Government can have no stability until the civil war is terminated, and the national debts are wholly, or in good part, paid off; but the war cannot be terminated, the debts cannot be paid, until the monastic property is sold, and that property cannot find purchasers until the war is terminated, &c.!!

The buildings of the Escurial form a curious item in this thorough-going revolutionary account. Is the value calculated upon the materials? Is this immense, imposing, though not throughout tasteful palace,—this boast of the Spaniards, who hold it to be one of the world's wonders,—to be knocked down for the sake of the mountains of stone, marble of all dies, timber of all qualities up to the richest that ever grew in the forest, —for the sake of the iron, brass, copper, and lead that may be included in its construction? A Madrid paper that does not like this notion, and yet cannot see any probability of finding a purchaser for such an enormous edifice, says it may very nicely be converted into a vast series of manufactories, *Spain being such a very manufacturing country!* We can scarcely imagine a more violent antithesis than a steam-engine and spinning-jennies in the glorious Pantheon of the Escurial, a complete congeries of exquisite marble and jasper, crystal and wrought silver; which is lined all over with jasper curiously carved in figures, and flowers, and imagery; and which contains the awe-inspiring tombs of the Emperor Charles V. and Donna Isabella his queen, with a long succession of Spanish sovereigns.

The operations in the field have not been very brilliant or successful on either side. In Catalonia old Mina has been shooting more prisoners, but he has not been able to suppress the Carlist insurrection there. Towards the middle of January, General Evans stormed and took the castle of Guebara in advance of Vittoria; and General Palaran gained some successes over the Carlists of Quilez and Cabrera, taking from them 400 men and 180 horses. On the 16th and 17th of January there was some hard fighting at Arlaban, a place about two leagues from Vittoria; but a plan of joint attack failed, and the combats were attended by no important results. The plan was this: Generals Cordova, Espartero, and Evans were to advance from Vittoria in three separate columns, and upon three different points of attack; they were to keep up communications, to *appuyer* each other in case of need, and to concentrate at a given point. Had this triple movement been well executed, it appears probable that the country would have been cleared of the Carlists, who must have taken refuge across the frontier; but all such combined movements, where a want of precision in one column endangers all the army, require great skill in their execution, and are seldom safely intrusted to raw troops. As well as we can make out from the account of the operations, the communication between the three corps was lost; General Evans's English column advanced too rapidly, and came into action a little too soon on the right, while the Spanish columns in the centre and on the left advanced a little too slowly, and were not at hand to support the British. Even when Cordova heard a heavy firing to the right, he did not march in that direction, but commenced an attack in the centre. This is attributed by some people to the rash impetuosity of his troops, but others openly accuse him of jealousy and of a desire of ruining the British auxiliaries and their unquestionably brave General. The British came into action on Friday, the 15th of January, at 2 P.M.; they drove back the Carlists, and continued to advance, taking position after position, and keeping up a brisk fire on the enemies' columns till night-fall. The cavalry and artillery had little to do, on account of the mountainous nature of the ground. The whole column bivouacked on the field in the midst of snow and in a dreadfully cold night, the effect of which has been a great deal of sickness among them. On the next day, while Evans was continuing his advance, he learned, *by chance*, that Cordova was in full retreat upon Vittoria. This left him in a very critical position, for, during two days, the enemy gathered round him in force four times greater than his own. According to an officer of the British Legion, who was with him, "Cordova had taken no pains to communicate with General Evans, who, having no orders, knew not what to do." After keeping the ground he had gained for three whole days, and seeing nothing of Cordova or Espartero, Evans turned the head of his column towards Vittoria. He broke

through the Carlist bands, and then retreating in beautiful order he reached that ancient city, scarcely losing a man on the way.

We see another explanation is given of Cordova's very mysterious conduct. It is said he is afflicted with a cancer in the mouth, and that during his movement he was suffering such intense agony, that, instead of attending to the business of the field, he was frequently seen rolling on the ground. It appears the Government have since recalled him from the supreme command, and Cordova (to use their own favourite expression) makes the seventh bull the Carlists of the North have baited, and foiled, and then driven from the blood-stained arena.

As we hear no more about it, we conclude the insurgents have given up the siege of Bilboa.

By the last accounts, Madrid was tolerably tranquil, but in the religious world there was much agitation from the following circumstances.

The Archbishopric of Toledo has become vacant, and in consequence of the violent measures against the Monks and the Carlist clergy, many of whom have fled to Rome, it is apprehended that the Pope will not fill the archbishopric, or sanction its being filled by the Queen Regent.

GERMANY.

ON the 4th of February, an official document was issued by the Burgomaster and Senate of Frankfort, declaring that henceforth the foreign imports into that free city and its territory are to be subjected to the same Tariff as has been adopted by the great German or Prussian commercial league. Thus, one after the other, all the States of Germany seem to be joining this league, which, eventually, by checking the freedom of trade, must prove injurious to themselves as well as to foreign nations. Even Hamburg has followed the general example; and there is now a talk of obtaining the accession of Holland to this jealous and exclusive system. On the other hand, it is said that France is negotiating with Belgium to get up an analogous system of their own. The Americans finding their trade checked in northern Germany by these new devices which originated in, and are intended for the special advantage of Prussia, are said to have remonstrated in strong terms, but what they can do in the matter further than remonstrate we are at a loss to conceive. According to an article in *The Times* newspaper of the 11th of February, "Mr. Wheaton, their active and intelligent envoy at Berlin, has intimated to the Leaguers that their Tariff, on the principal productions of the United States, such as rice and tobacco, *will be tolerated no longer.*"

In the present condition of the Continent we are sure of our Sovereign's hereditary dominions of Hanover; and Brunswick firmly rejects the Prussian system; but with the exception of these two States, all northern Germany may be said to be arrayed against us.

UNITED STATES.

ON the 18th of January the President sent a special message to Congress on the subject of the never-ending dispute with France. He recommended, in energetic language, that the States should close their ports against the flag of France, and prohibit the further introduction of her manufactures. He stated his determination positively to refuse a word of retractation or explanation with respect to anything he may have said about the French; and he suggested that reprisals should be made on French property, to be kept in payment of the debt and interest owing by France. He expressed indignation and contempt at the crooked, mean conduct of the French diplomatists, and ended by defying the power of France.

In the debate, however, which ensued in the Senate, M. Calhoun warmly opposed the project, and all notions of a war with the French. He asked what would be the result of extreme measures. "We go to war," said he "for these 5,000,000 of dollars; the first discharge of cannon will be a receipt in full for the debt,—and to whom will the greatest injury result? The commerce of France betters ours—her means of annoyance are greater than ours—it will cost her little to prepare for war, whilst to us the cost will be immense. We can inflict no injury on France, but she can inflict tremendous injury on us: we should suffer more in a war with France than even in a war with England; *and a war with France will throw into the hands of England all those commercial advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.*"

Mr. Cuthbert asked if the States were to refrain from arms, through a dread of the enemy? Were they to submit to wrongs and insults, and remain with their arms folded? The language of Mr. Calhoun was enough to make every American's blood boil in his veins.

This special message was ordered by the Senate to be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and printed. Three thousand extra copies of the message, with official documents bearing upon the subject-matter, were printed forthwith.

As sincere lovers of peace, and well-wishers to both nations, we rejoice that the mediation of Great Britain has been accepted by France; and we still cling to the hope that this quarrel may be settled, without recurring to the logic of cannon-balls.

Meanwhile the Americans are making preparations for the worst. On the 21st of January the Senate voted 600,000 dollars for the construction and equipment of floating steam-batteries, and passed a Bill for the increase of the corps of engineers. They resolved, moreover, that whatsoever sums may be judged necessary for the defence of the country, shall be placed at the disposition of the Executive. On the French question, Mr. John Quincy Adams goes hand in hand with the President. The tone of the majority of the American papers is, however, pacific.

TEXAS.

THE insurgents of this vast and fertile province of the Mexican Republic are making head; the information which follows is extracted from several United States journals. The Texians, after some hard fighting with the troops of the Republic, took Sant Antonio de Bexar by storm, and drove all that were left of its Mexican defenders to the other side of the river. General Cos is said to have been among the slain. Nearly every Mexican officer was killed. Colonel Mac Comb, who arrived at New Orleans from Texas on the 28th of December last, brought the news that not one armed Mexican remained on the Texian territory. The loss of the Texians appears to have been considerable, and the name of Colonel Halam (a citizen of the United States) is given as one of the killed. In some subsequent movement of the Texians twenty-eight of them were made prisoners by the Mexicans, who immediately shot them all. How deep is the spirit of revenge—how large the thirst for blood—among all these people of Spanish and Portuguese race!

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

OPENING OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

The session of Parliament was opened on Thursday, 4th February, by the King in person. His Majesty entered the House of Lords about two o'clock. The number of peers and peeresses and of the foreign ambassadors who were present was unusually large.

The Commons, having been summoned, appeared at the Bar; and the King then delivered the following Speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with much satisfaction that I again meet the great Council of the Nation assembled in Parliament. I am ever anxious to avail myself of your advice and assistance, and I rejoice that the present state of public affairs, both at home and abroad, is such as to permit you to proceed without delay or interruption to the calm examination of those measures which will be submitted to your consideration.

"I continue to receive from my Allies, and generally from all Foreign Powers, assurances of their unaltered desire to cultivate with me those friendly relations which it is equally my wish to maintain with them; and the intimate union which happily subsists between this country and France is a pledge to Europe of the continuance of the general peace.

"Desirous on all occasions to use my friendly endeavours to remove causes of disagreement between other Powers, I have offered my mediation to compose the difference which has arisen between France and the United States. This offer has been accepted by the King of the French. The answer of the President of the United States has not yet been received; but I entertain a confident hope that a misunderstanding between two nations so enlightened and high-minded, will be settled in a manner satisfactory to the feelings and consistent with the honour of both.

"I have still to lament the continuance of the civil contest in the Northern Provinces of Spain. The measures which I have taken, and the engagements into which I have entered, sufficiently prove my deep anxiety for its termination; and the prudent and vigorous conduct of the present Government of Spain inspires me with the hope that the authority of the Queen will soon be established in every part of her dominions; and that the Spanish Nation, so long connected by friendship with Great Britain, will again enjoy the blessings of internal tranquillity and union.

"I have given directions that there be laid before you the Treaty which I have concluded with the Queen of Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the Estimates of the year to be prepared and laid before you without delay. They have been framed with the strictest regard to a well-considered economy.

"The necessity of maintaining the maritime strength of the country, and of giving adequate protection to the extended commerce of my subjects, has occasioned some increase in the Estimates of the naval branch of the public service.

"The state of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom is highly satisfactory.

"I lament that any class of my subjects should still suffer distress; and the difficulties which continue to be felt in important branches of agriculture may deserve your inquiry, with a view of ascertaining whether there are any measures which Parliament can advantageously adopt for the alleviation of this pressure.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have not yet received the further Report of the Commission appointed to consider the state of the several dioceses of England and Wales; but I have reason to believe that their recommendations upon most of the important subjects submitted to them are nearly prepared. They shall be laid before you without delay, and you will direct your early attention to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, with the intention of rendering it more efficient for the holy purposes for which it has been instituted.

"Another subject which will naturally occupy you, is the state of the tithes in England and Wales; and a measure will be submitted to you, having for its end the rendering this mode of providing for the clergy more fixed and certain, and calculated to relieve it from that fluctuation and from those objections to which it has hitherto been subject.

"The principles of toleration by which I have been invariably guided, must render me desirous of removing any cause of offence or trouble to the consciences of any portion of my subjects; and I am, therefore anxious that you should consider whether measures may not be framed, which, whilst they remedy any grievances which affect those who dissent from the doctrine or discipline of the Established Church, will also be of general advantage to the whole body of the community.

"The speedy and satisfactory administration of justice is the first and most sacred duty of a Sovereign; and I earnestly recommend you to consider whether better provisions may not be made for this great purpose, in some of the departments of the law, and more particularly in the Court of Chancery.

"I trust that you will be able to effect a just settlement of the question of Tithes in Ireland, upon such principles as will tend, at length, to establish harmony and peace in that country.

"You are already in possession of the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of the Municipal Corporations in Ireland; and I entertain the hope that it will be in your power to apply to any defects and evils which may have been shown to exist in those institutions, a remedy founded upon the same principles as those of the Acts which have been already passed for England and Scotland.

"A further Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the poorer classes of my subjects in Ireland will speedily be laid before you. You will approach this subject with the caution due to its importance and difficulty, and the experience of the salutary effect of the Act for the Amendment of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales, may in many respects assist your deliberations.

"I rely upon your prudence and wisdom, and upon your determination to maintain, as well as to amend, the laws and institutions of the country; and I commit these questions of domestic policy, to which I have deemed it my duty to direct your attention, into your hands, persuaded that you will so treat them, as to increase the happiness and prosperity, by promoting the religion and morality, of my people."

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL FOR THE COMMUTATION OF TITHE IN ENGLAND.

The Bill provides three methods of commutation:—1. By individual voluntary agreements; 2. By parochial agreements, voluntary in the majority, but binding on the minority, if unappealed against; 3. By compulsory awards.

1. *Individual voluntary Agreements.*

This part of the Bill enables any individual tithe-owner to contract with any individual land-owner for the conversion of tithe into a rent-charge.

Several owners may concur in the same contract, and the guardians of minors and other representatives of persons under legal disability may contract in their names.

The terms of such contracts are left entirely free to the contracting parties, except that the rent-charge is to be estimated in grain, as provided in a later part of the Bill, and is to be liable to all county and parish rates as the tithe was which it supersedes.

Such contracts (in the case of ecclesiastical tithe) are to expire with the incumbency of the tithe-owner, unless confirmed by the patron and Bishop, or by the Commissioners provided in the Bill, to whom an appeal is to be given from objections raised by the patron or bishop against the agreement. If so confirmed, the conversion is to be perpetual.

The farmer may become a party to the contract, and in that case is to be bound to pay the amount agreed to be

paid to the tithe-owner by the landlord as an addition to his rent. If the farmer refuse to join in the contract, his landlord is to succeed to the rights of the tithe-owner during his tenancy, either of taking tithe in kind, or any composition into which he may have entered, as the case may be.

All these voluntary agreements are to be authenticated by the Commissioners, who are to satisfy themselves that the parties had a right to contract, and the recitals in agreement so authenticated are to be legal evidence of the facts stated therein.

The rent-charges are to be recoverable by distress and entry only: any lands in the benefice which are occupied by the owner, or under one landlord, may be distrained upon to recover arrears due on account of any other lands occupied by the same owner, or under the same landlord; but no distress shall be taken for more than two years' arrears.

The rent-charges are to be converted into equal value of wheat, barley, and oats, at the time of the commutation, on an average of the prices of the seven previous years.

The Comptroller of Corn Returns is to publish annually a similar average of the seven preceding years, and the value of the estimated quantities of grain to be payable every year.

All these provisions of a general nature apply to every commutation under the Act, whether voluntary or compulsory.

2.—*Parochial agreements, partly voluntary, partly compulsory.*

Instead of attempting individual agreements, or simultaneously with them, the tithe-owners may attempt to procure parochial agreements.

With this view, the owner of at least one-fourth part of the tithes may call a meeting of land-owners by public notice and advertisement, and an agreement executed by three-fourths in point of value of the tithe-owners and three-fourths in point of value of the land-owners or their proxies to be binding on the whole parish, if approved by the patron and bishop, or commissioners, as in the case of individual agreements, and if not appealed from within three months. Parochial agreements, though appealed from, to be still good as to the remainder not appealing. Costs of appeal to be paid as the Commissioners to whom the appeal lies may direct. In case of unreasonable appeal, the appellant to pay all the costs. Parochial agreements to be authenticated by Commissioners, and their recitals to be evidence. Powers are to be given to ecclesiastical persons, and others having estates less than the fee-simple, to charge their benefice or estate with the costs of commutation, to be paid off by instalments. The proceedings of the Commissioners on appeal will be precisely the same as in the case of a compulsory award, except that they may prepare to adjudicate on appeal immediately after a parochial meeting, but are not to proceed in an original compulsory award, until after six months after the passing of the Act.

3.—*Compulsory Awards (including also similar proceedings on appeals).*

If six months elapse without any individual or parochial agreement, either land-owner or tithe-owner may apply to the Commissioners for an award. The principles on which such awards are to be made, constitute the distinctive features of the Bill, as it may be expected that they will guide the parties in their individual and parochial agreements.

The Commissioners are to value the tithes or compositions received during the last seven years, making a proper deduction for the expenses of collection where they have been taken in kind, and adding the amount of local rates and charges, if they have been compounded for, on the principle of the composition being paid clear of all such charges. The average sum so ascertained to be the money-rent that is to be turned into grain as before mentioned, at the average prices of the same seven years, one-third in wheat, one-third in barley, one-third in oats. In every case of awards, public meetings will be held under the authority of the Commissioners, to dispose of objections to them.

If either party give notice to the Commissioners that this average is an unfair one, they are to value the gross amount of the tithes, as if they had been taken in kind during the whole period of seven years, without making any deduction on account of the expenses of collection or any other; and whenever the sum which has been actually received (with the addition of local charges, if paid free from them) shall exceed 75*l.* per cent. of the gross value so ascertained, the commutation is to be brought down to that proportion; if it fall short of 60*l.* per cent., it is to be raised to it; if it fall between these proportions, it will, of course, continue unchanged.

Hop-grounds, orchards, and market-gardens are excepted out of this clause, and are specially provided for as follows:—

With respect to the hop-grounds, orchards, and gardens now in cultivation, if notice to that effect is given to the Commissioners, they are to estimate the commutation according to that which appears to them to have been the average rate of composition during seven years for similar lands in the same district.

The limits of the district to be fixed in each case by the Commissioners. This appears a large power; but any attempt to define the limits would be mischievous, from the very various character of this sort of cultivation in districts often little separated from each other.

Hop-grounds brought into cultivation after the commutation, to be charged with 15*s.* an acre above the rent-charge fixed on them in their previous state; but this addition not to be made during the first year, and only half during the second. Hop-grounds going out of cultivation to be charged as other lands of like quality appear to be in the neighbourhood; the amount to be determined prospectively by the Commissioners at the time of the commutation, if not agreed between the parties.

A change of cultivation of orchards and gardens offers more difficulty, because of the variable nature of their cultivation, and consequently the varying periods at which new grounds would come into bearing. No good expedient offers itself on this part of the subject.

The provision for a change of cultivation of hop-grounds is, in fact, at variance with the spirit of the Bill, which professes to effect a commutation on the basis of the present state of agriculture; but the extraordinary capital laid out in these cultivations is thought to justify the exception. The hop-growers are alarmed least they should be saddled with the extra tax on their hop-grounds after they have ceased to bear hops; and if relieved from this on the one hand, provision must be made on the other for new plantations.

The only point remaining is the constitution of the Board of Commissioners. They are to be three, two appointed by the Secretary of State, one by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all three removeable only at the joint pleasure of the Secretary and Archbishop. They are to be a body corporate, but to be appointed only for five years. They may appoint any number of Assistant-Commissioners, not exceeding nine, without the consent of the Treasury, and may delegate any of their powers to their assistants, except the acts required to be under their seal, such as confirming and authenticating agreements and awards, &c. The Commissioners are to report to the Secretary of State, and to lay an annual account of their progress before Parliament.

The Assistant-Commissioners may attend parochial meetings, if requested, (on the plan suggested by Sir Robert Peel, last Session), merely to give advice, and explain the proper principles of agreement. When appealed to, or applied to for an original award, they may hear and determine all disputes between the parties, but either party may appeal from their decision to a court of law or equity on a feigned issue, or case stated, or the parties may agree to refer their difference to other arbitrament.

Clauses have been prepared for the redemption of the rent-charges so created; but as these belong to a distinct branch of the subject, it has been judged better to separate them from the commuting part, and they will be brought forward at such time and in such manner as may appear most advisable.

MUNICIPAL REFORM ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THE following is an abstract of the Bill which the Attorney-General has brought in for the purpose of amending the Municipal Reform Act:—

Elections not to be set aside because held on the wrong day; nor in consequence of defects in the title of presiding officer; and the election of aldermen and councillors to be good, though the whole number may not have been elected at one time.

If no mayor, the councillor elected by the greatest number of votes to convene a meeting for supplying vacancies among the councillors. Mayor or councillor to convene a meeting of the council to supply vacancies in the office of alderman or mayor. If the council fail to elect, the burgesses to elect the mayor and aldermen.

Elections before mayor or councillor alone, until election of assessors, to be valid. Clause 8 in part repeals 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 76, s. 43; two revising assessors to be chosen as the burgesses' two auditors are.

If councillors were elected without contest, the council to decide who are first to go out of office. Corporate offices may be resigned on payment of the fine for non-acceptance. Power to the council to remit such fines.

Sessions of the peace rightly holden until 1st of May, 1836, although no justices of the quorum present. The provisions of the 12th clause will enable the council to try prisoners at borough sessions, notwithstanding that the gaol, in which such prisoners shall have been confined previous to trial, be situate more than two miles from the borough. There will not, therefore, be any necessity for erecting gaols in the new boroughs at a cost of from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* Proceedings on *quo warranto* and *mandamus* may be discontinued on payment of costs.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO PERSONS DESIROUS OF EMIGRATING.

UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.

The following information is chiefly extracted from letters which have been recently received from A. C. Buchanan, Esq., his Majesty's Chief-Agent, resident at Quebec, for directing and superintending emigration in Upper and Lower Canada.

"At present I could provide immediate employment for 20,000 persons of the working classes. Public improvements are much retarded for want of hands. The rate of wages, particularly in Upper Canada, are unusually high, and progressively advancing as settlement increases; and I do not anticipate, for very many years to come, the probability of the Canadas being overstocked with agricultural labourers, domestic servants, and tradesmen of all denominations. Farm labourers readily obtain in the Upper Province from 25*l.* to 30*l.* per annum, with board, lodgings and washing; and day-labourers, during the summer, get from 3*s.* to 4*s.* Labourers, also working about the wharfs and timber-yards, and on board the shipping in Quebec, obtain from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a-day, with provisions. The class of persons chiefly required in the Canadas are farm and common labourers to any extent, small capitalists, mechanics, and domestic servants—female as well as male."

The opportunities for emigrants obtaining suitable locations, if they are possessed of means to go upon lands, are considerable;—either by purchase from the Crown, the land companies, or private proprietors.

All monies intended for the use of emigrants in the colonies, should be transmitted through the medium of the Government Agent-General in London, subject to the cognizance and control of the Government Emigration Agents in the colony to which they may proceed; and the amount, or any portion of it, will be paid to the person for whom it may be intended, in any part of the provinces of Upper or Lower Canada free of expense;—thereby ensuring them the full benefit of the aid intended, free from the temptation of improperly expending it during the voyage, and from the risk of loss after arrival in the colony.

The operation of the new "Passengers Act," for ensuring proper regulations at sea, and the great increase in the facilities of conveyance which exist in the colonies—particularly from Quebec and Montreal, have greatly increased the convenience and economy of transport.

Emigrants dependant on immediate employment for support, should be possessed, on landing at Quebec, of at least from 20*s.* to 25*s.* in money, to defray their conveyance to those districts where their services are in demand.

The season for emigration to Canada commences in April; and it is expedient that the emigrant should embark as early as possible, that he may have the summer before him, and leisure to settle his family comfortably before the winter sets in. Emigrants on arrival at Quebec, should immediately apply to A. C. Buchanan, Esq., chief agent for emigration in that city, from whom they may rely on obtaining the most accurate information and protection.

His Majesty's Government, have appointed agents for emigration at Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, Cork, Sligo, Belfast, Limerick, Leith, and Greenock. J. Denham Pinnock, Esq., has been appointed the Government Agent-General, (resident in London,) for the furtherance of emigration from England to any of the British colonies, by affording all facilities and information. All letters on this subject should be addressed to Mr. Pinnock, under cover to the Colonial Secretary of State.

The price of conveyance from England to Quebec, including maintenance and medical attendance during the voyage, is for an adult 5*l.*, children under fourteen about half that sum, and for those under one year no charge is made;—so that, inclusive of the expenses from Quebec to that part of the province where they may be located, a sum of 7*l.* will defray the expense of an adult emigrant from England to any part of the provinces of Upper or Lower Canada."

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AND NEW SOUTH WALES.

The following document has just been issued by the "Emigration Department, Colonial Office":—

"In consequence of the great demand for mechanics and agricultural labourers in the Australian Colonies, the following statement (obtained from Returns, transmitted from the respective districts of the colony to the Governor, and by him forwarded to this office), shewing the average wages of mechanics and others in the Island of Van Diemen's Land, together with the aggregate number of each description required, is laid before the public for general information. No statement upon this subject has been received from the Governor of New South Wales; but it may be fairly inferred that a corresponding demand for labour exists in that colony, and a proportionate remuneration afforded for it."

Trade or Calling.	Average Wages per Diem, without Board or Lodging		Average Wages per Diem, with Board and Lodging.		Average Wages per Annum, with Board and Lodging.			Total Number required.
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	
Bread and Biscuit Bakers	3	4½	1	11	28	6	8	11
Butchers	4	1	2	2	30	5	8	17
Boat-builders	7	1	5	0	42	0	0	8
Brick-makers	6	1	4	3	45	11	5	52
Bricklayers	6	10½	4	8	51	10	0	43
Blacksmiths	7	1	4	11	53	8	6	28
Bell-hangers	7	4	4	9	40	0	0	6
Brass-founders	6	6	4	6	50	0	0	1
Brewers and Maltsters	4	9	2	11	42	16	0	12
Collar-makers	5	8	3	6	44	5	0	7
Confectioners	3	9	2	6	30	0	0	3
Chair-makers	7	5	5	10½	55	10	0	12
Curriers	5	4	2	11½	41	16	0	23
Carpenters	6	9	4	8	54	2	6	66
Caulkers	5	0	3	0	40	0	0	2
Coopers	6	7	4	3	59	0	0	23
Cart-makers	7	1	5	1	52	16	8	20
Coach-makers	7	3	5	0	50	0	0	11
Compositors	7	0	5	0	80	0	0	6
Candle-makers	4	6	2	6	27	10	0	6
Cabinet-makers	8	0	6	1	58	6	8	11
Cheese-makers	4	0	2	6	32	10	0	11
Coach Spring do.	8	2	5	9	60	0	0	5
Cooks (Men)	3	5	1	10	24	8	0	40
Ditto (Women)	2	9	1	4½	71	3	4	60
Colliers	No rate given.				15	0	0	12
Coppersmiths	5	9	4	0	40	0	0	1
Cutlers	4	6	2	6	31	0	0	3
Dyers	6	0	4	0	36	0	0	2

TRADE OR CALLING.	Average Wages per Diem, without Board or Lodging.		Average Wages per Diem, with Board and Lodging.		Average Wages per Annum, with Board and Lodging.			Total number required.
	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Dairy Women	2	6	1	2	16	8	6	66
Distillers	6	0	4	0	50	0	0	2
Engineers	10	6	8	0	57	10	0	3
Farmers	3	10½	2	6½	32	10	0	75
Farriers	8	0	6	10	90	0	0	16
Fellmongers	4	3	2	1	30	0	0	2
Gardeners	4	4½	2	4½	29	2	6	48
Glaziers	6	6	4	7	45	0	0	10
Glue-makers	No rate stated.							10
Gilders	7	0	5	0	50	0	0	1
Gunsmiths	6	6	4	3	46	10	0	5
Hair-dressers	3	9	2	3	26	13	0	6
Harness-makers	5	10	4	4½	43	15	0	12
Joiners	7	0	4	9½	52	0	0	34
Leather-dressers	5	8½	3	4	41	13	4	9
Lime-burners	4	8	3	1	34	16	0	21
Locksmiths	5	10	3	9	42	10	0	4
Labourers	3	10	1	6	22	10	0	139
Millers	4	7	2	8	43	2	10	23
Millwrights	7	1	4	8	66	10	0	15
Milliners	2	6	1	3	17	10	0	14
Milkmen	8	2	1	7	23	0	0	8
Nurserymen	4	6	2	6	33	0	0	8
Nailers	5	0	3	6	38	15	0	13
Painters	6	6	4	2	41	0	0	9
Pump-makers	6	6	4	9	50	0	0	3
Plough-makers	6	10	4	10	49	10	0	15
Potters	5	0	3	0	15	0	0	2
Plasterers	6	7	5	0	62	4	0	36
Ploughmen	3	7	1	10	25	8	8	88
Plumbers	6	4	4	6	45	0	0	6
Printers and Pressmen	5	0	3	6	50	0	0	2
Quarrymen	4	9	2	9½	29	0	0	26
Rope-makers	6	0	1	0	50	0	0	2
Saddlers	6	7	4	10	51	15	0	15
Shoemakers	5	3½	3	4	40	8	0	47
Sawyers	6	8½	4	7	57	16	0	61
Shipwrights	8	0	6	0	70	0	0	4
Stone Masons	6	10½	4	8	49	3	4	48
Ditto Cutters	7	1	4	6	45	10	0	21
Slaters and Shinglers	6	7	4	6	45	0	0	22
Shepherds	3	3	1	7½	25	0	0	78
Sheep-shearers	6	9	5	2				66
Sieve-makers	6	6	4	0	35	0	0	5
Straw-plaiters	3	0	1	6	15	0	0	2
Straw Hat-makers	3	0	1	6	20	0	0	4
Turners	5	3	3	0	31	0	0	8
Tanners	5	1	3	4	35	0	0	21
Tailors	5	8	3	6	42	0	0	19
Tin-plate Workers	5	4	3	9	54	0	0	5
Upholsterers	7	3	4	4	47	10	0	6
Wheelwrights	6	9	4	10	56	0	0	21
Wool-sorters	6	0	4	6	50	0	0	14
Wood-splitters	4	7	2	10	37	16	4	52
Watch-makers	6	6	4	6	55	0	0	11

With a view to enable such persons, provided they are of industrious and steady characters, to emigrate to the Australian Colonies, His Majesty's Government are granting a bounty of 20*l.* to those who intend taking their wives and families with them; but in order to supply the great demand which more immediately exists, arrangements have been made, by which a limited number of families will be conveyed to each of the Australian Colonies, in ships engaged by the Government for that purpose, at a charge of 10*l.* only for a man and his wife, beyond the aid afforded by Government. Children under five years old will be charged 5*l.* each, and those above that age, 1*l.* for each additional year. Infants under one year will not be charged for.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

THE following summary is taken from the Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (Ireland). The total population of Ireland in 1834, was 7,954,100; of which 6,436,060 were Roman Catholics, 853,160 members of the Established Church, 643,058 Presbyterians, and 21,882 belonged to other religious denominations. It results from this statement, that the proportion per cent. of each denomination to the total population is as follows:—Roman Catholics, $80\frac{9}{10}\frac{1}{0}\frac{5}{0}$; Members of the Established Church, $10\frac{7}{10}\frac{8}{0}\frac{6}{0}$; Presbyterians, $\frac{8}{10}\frac{4}{0}$; other Protestant Dissenters, $\frac{2}{10}\frac{7}{0}\frac{5}{0}$.

The number of places of worship in Ireland is 4502; of which 2109 belong to Roman Catholics, 1537 to the Established Church, 452 to the Presbyterians, and 404 to various other sects.

The total number of parishes or ecclesiastical districts is 2408, and of this number 2351 possess a provision for the cure of souls, and 57, containing 3030 members of the Established Church, are without any such provision.

The total number of benefices is 1387, viz., 908 consisting of single parishes, and 479 being unions of two or more parishes. In 87 of these unions the parishes are not contiguous. A glebe-house is attached to 851 benefices; to the other 536 no glebe-house is attached.

The number of benefices in which there is more than one church is 118; in which there is only one church, 1059; in which there is no church, 210.

The incumbent is resident on 890 benefices; in 310 the incumbent is non-resident, but divine service is performed by him or a curate in a place of worship; and there are 157 benefices in which the incumbent is non-resident, and no divine service is performed.

In 5 benefices the population is not more than 100; in 7, is between 100 and 200; in 36, between 200 and 500; in 94, between 500 and 1000; in 368, between 1000 and 3000; in 278, between 3000 and 5000; in 106, between 5000 and 10,000; in 125, between 10,000 and 15,000; in 39, between 15,000 and 20,000; in 21, between 20,000 and 30,000; and in 8 the population exceeds 30,000.

In 41 benefices there is not a single member of the Established Church; in 99, the number is under 20; in 124, there are more than 20 and not more than 50; in 161, there are between 50 and 100; in 224, between 100 and 200; in 286, between 200 and 500; in 210, between 500 and 1000; in 139, between 1000 and 2000; in 91, between 2000 and 5000; and there are 12 benefices in which the number of members belonging to the Established Church exceeds 5000.

EXCISE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

AN account was presented to Parliament during the last Session exhibiting the state of the establishment of Excise of the United Kingdom, together with the reductions and alterations which had been effected in the department since 1831. The following is an abstract of the most interesting portion of this document:—

The expenditure of the Establishment for the year ending January 5th, 1831, amounted to 1,212,161*l.*, and the amount charged on the financial accounts for the year ending January 5th, 1834, was reduced to the sum of 1,078,902*l.* The Parliamentary Paper gives the items on which reductions and alterations were effected.

In 1830, the "Board" was composed of 13 Commissioners, whose yearly salaries amounted to 18,778*l.* Six Commissionerships have been since abolished, and the salary of the remainder having been reduced, with the exception of the Chairman's, the annual cost of the Board is now only 10,606*l.*

The expense of the Secretary's department, which formerly comprised 37 individuals, viz., for England 21, Scotland 9, and Ireland 7, has been reduced from 9038*l.* to 7248*l.* by the abolition of the Irish and Scotch departments, and the reduction of 1 clerkship in England.

In 1830 there were employed 14 correspondents in England, and 12 in Ireland. On the alterations in the Secretary's department being made, a portion of the persons formerly employed therein were removed to London, and retained to conduct the correspondence with Ireland and Scotland. The cost of the Corresponding department, in 1833, was 6147*l.*, being about 500*l.* more than in 1830.

The services of 27 solicitors were required by the Board in 1830, when the salaries of the English branch of this

department was revised, and fixed by the Lords of the Treasury. The department cost 11,718*l.* in 1833, and the reduction which is apparent under this head is chiefly occasioned by the solicitors receiving half a-year's salary in advance at the period of the revision. In the following departments the cost does not materially differ from the year 1830, when it stood as follows:—15 Receiver-Generals, 6 Commissioners of Appeals, and 3 clerks in the Registrar's office, the salaries for 1833 being respectively 3787*l.*, 922*l.*, and 667*l.*

The number of clerks in the Accountant's Department, in 1830, was 96; but in consequence of the repeal of duties, 13 clerkships have been abolished in the English branch, though, on the other hand, the salaries of the Scotch and Irish branches have been increased.

The Comptrollers' Department comprised 46 individuals in 1830; the Scotch branch has been abolished, and also the Comptroller-Generalship of England, and two clerks have been reduced.

There were 12 persons employed in the Auditor's office in 1830, since which period the Auditor's office in Scotland has been abolished: it consisted of an auditor, an assistant-auditor, and 2 clerks.

In 1830, there were employed 3 Comptrollers of the Cash; 8 individuals in the Security Office; 19 in Storekeeper's Office; 6 in the Diary Office; 26 permit examiners; 2 housekeepers; 7 doorkeepers; 10 messengers; 26 watchmen and fire-lighters; 3 warehouse-keepers for seized goods; 1 register of seized goods; 1 engineer at the revenue distillery; 2 inspectors of the Permit Department; and 86 persons in the Tea Department.

The reductions and alterations effected with regard to these services have been unimportant. The Surveyorship of Stationery in Ireland, and the Storekeeper's Department in Scotland have been abolished; also the office of Clerk of the Diaries in Scotland: and the abolition of the Irish Board has caused the number of messengers to be reduced.

The Surveying Department, London, consisted, in 1830, of 10 general surveyors, 48 surveyors, 8 examiners, 363 surveying officers, 18 expectants, and 1 sorter of old books; 1 general surveyor, and 6 surveyors have been reduced. There have been 12 principal surveying officers at 115*l.* each, and 48 officers at 100*l.* a-year each, reduced since 1830. There has also been a gradual diminution of the allowances of 10*l.* a-year to officers of this department, after ten years' service.

In 1830, the Import and Export Department consisted of 11 surveyors, 4 gaugers, 108 officers, 3 tidesmen and boatsmen, 17 watchmen, 60 surveying-general examiners, 96 collectors, 103 collectors' clerks, 477 supervisors, 62 examiners, 3919 officers, 242 hop assistants, 579 expectants, 5 warehouse-keepers for bonded spirits; 3 assistants to ditto, 313 permit-writers, 141 dropt officers, 3 commanders of revenue cruizers, 3 mates of ditto, 79 seamen, and others employed on board, and watchmen, tidesmen, and persons occasionally employed.

The reductions effected in the above department are—4 surveyors and 22 officers discontinued; the salaries of those remaining of the latter class have been reduced; a boatman employed at Bristol discontinued; 2 watchmen employed at the Import Office, Tower Hill, discontinued; the salaries of the fourth class of surveying-general examiners reduced on vacancies from 300*l.* to 250*l.* per annum; 4 collections abolished, and the salaries of 9 collectors reduced; 3 collectors' clerkships discontinued; 10 supervisorships discontinued; a reduction of about 244 officers occasioned by repeals of duties; and 6 permit-writerships have been discontinued. The salaries of collectors' clerks in Scotland have been assimilated to the rate of payment for the same class in England.

Considerable reductions have taken place since 1830 on the miscellaneous expenditure of the establishment. The allowances for special services and travelling charges have been reduced from 22,009*l.* to 14,260*l.*, chiefly in consequence of the allowances to resident Commissioners at the Local Boards having been discontinued. On the other hand, the expenses attending the revenue police in Ireland has increased from 27,502*l.* to 35,010*l.*, owing to attempts being made to effect the suppression of smuggling.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (IRELAND.)

The Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction is, like the first, purely of a statistical nature. The Commissioners state they did not consider that it fell within the scope of their inquiry to investigate the character or competence of the teachers, their manner of imparting what they professed to teach, the treatment of the children, and their general proficiency, and such other minute inquiries as would alone enable them to pronounce an opinion upon the comparative effectiveness of each school, and the manner in which it is administered. They observe, that the due execution of such an inquiry into each of the 9657 schools on which they have reported, would have occupied many years; and besides, an inquiry of this extensive nature was not called for by the Commission under which they acted. The results of the inquiry are presented in a condensed form in the following summary:—

Total number of daily schools in Ireland . . .	9,657
Number of daily schools supported wholly by payments from the children	5,653
Number of daily schools supported wholly, or in part, by endowment or subscription	4,004
Number of daily schools, of which the books, containing lists of the children, were produced . .	8,886

The number of schools in connexion with, or receiving support from, the National Board is 892; in connexion with the Association for Discountenancing Vice, 203; Erasmus Smith's Fund, 115; Kildare-street Society, 235; London Hibernian Society, 618.

Number of male scholars on the books of those schools which produced lists of the children . .	353,809
Number of female scholars	223,900
Number of scholars, sexes not specified . . .	5,700
The total number of scholars is therefore . .	583,413
The number of schools of which no lists were produced is 771; and the computed number of children under daily instruction in such schools .	50,886
making the computed total number of children in Ireland under daily instruction	633,946

The total population of Ireland in 1834 was estimated at 7,954,100. The proportion of daily schools to the population is, therefore, as 1 to 824. In the ecclesiastical province of Armagh it is as 1 to 698; province of Dublin, 1 to 774; province of Cashel, 1 to 1008; province of Tuam, 1 to 994.

The proportion per cent. of children under daily instruction, to the total population, is, according to the total on the books, $7\frac{4}{10}$; to the population of the province of Armagh, $8\frac{6}{10}$; province of Dublin, $7\frac{3}{10}$; Cashel, $5\frac{8}{10}$; Tuam, $6\frac{1}{10}$.

The "computed total" is made by multiplying the number of schools in which no list was produced by the average of children on the books of each of the other schools. Taking, therefore, this computed total, the proportion per cent. of children under daily instruction, to the total population, is somewhat higher than the above, viz.—$7\frac{7}{10}$. In the province of Armagh it is 1 in $9\frac{3}{10}$; Dublin, $8\frac{7}{10}$; Cashel, $6\frac{4}{10}$; Tuam, $6\frac{8}{10}$.

The Commissioners remark, that in applying these proportions, it must be borne in mind that probably about a seventh part of the whole population (or 14 per cent.) are of the age of from 7 to 13 inclusive, and that this may, therefore, be assumed to be the utmost number for the education of whom provision is required; and that the number possessing the means of education (as collected from the entries in the books of the daily schools) must be deemed ample or deficient with reference to this proportion.

The number of children in Ireland between the age of seven and thirteen, taking the above returns for the calculation is 1,136,300; the number of children under instruction 633,946.

It appears from the Report that there are many benefices in which there is no evidence of the existence of such parochial schools as were provided to be kept under the Acts 28 Henry VIII. and 7 Will. III. The Commissioners remark,—"We must at the same time state, that the parochial schools have by no means a distinct character; many which are so called, being in connexion with various societies, and the correctness of the designation

being frequently uncertain. Wherever the incumbent is found to contribute pecuniary aid in support of a school, to the amount of not less than 2*l.* per annum, it may be presumed that such school is a parochial school, under the meaning of the above-mentioned Acts; but this is by no means sufficiently certain to enable us to enumerate such schools with the requisite accuracy in our summary." The Commissioners advert with satisfaction to the numerous instances of contributions from individuals in support of schools, of which evidence is afforded in the Special Reports inserted in the Appendix.

The result of a comparison of the number of daily schools with the total population in the several dioceses, exhibits the following diversity:—In the diocese of Down there is 1 school to 594 persons; in the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadhoe there is only 1 school to 1342 persons; and in the dioceses of Emly, Limerick, Killalla, and Clonfert, the proportion is scarcely more favourable. There is a diversity equally to be deplored in the number of children on the books of the daily schools in the different dioceses. Compared with the number having the means of instruction in the dioceses of Leighlin, Kilmore, Down, and Ardagh, the proportion in the dioceses of Emly, Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Killalla, appears to be deficient.

It is much to be lamented that there are 419 parishes in Ireland, the aggregate population of which amounts to 342,198 persons, in which there is no school; and although many of these parishes are small, yet there are among them 122 containing each a population of not less than 1000. The population of the parishes in the province of Armagh, in which there is no school is 34,859; of those in the province of Dublin, 92,363; in Cashel, 186,862; in Tuam, 28,114.

The following Returns relate exclusively to the *National* system of Education in Ireland, and have been laid before the House of Commons in pursuance of a motion of Mr. Andrew Johnston, the member for St. Andrew's:—

1. A return of the particulars of the 789 schools to which the Commissioners have granted aid; specifying where such schools are situated; the number of scholars in each; the names of the patrons, managers, and visitors; the sums granted to each; the person or persons to whom paid; and whether any, and what, sum has been paid or expended on account of any or which of said schools, by local subscription or contribution. The detail of these particulars occupies twenty-six pages. The certificate of the local manager is the voucher for each sum expended, and the Commissioners remark that they cannot set forth the number of subscribers in each case, and consequently the amount of each individual subscription is not given in the return. The column headed 'Local Contributions' shows that 326 schools have been aided by this means. These local subscriptions amount, in a great number of cases, to sums under 5*l.* The subscriptions in support of twelve schools are from 50*l.* to 100*l.*; six schools have been similarly aided by sums of from 100*l.* to 200*l.* The subscriptions in support of the Baldoyle school amount to 235*l.*; Dundalk boys' and girls' schools to 275*l.*; Aitane school to 498*l.*; two schools at Sligo, which are attended by nearly 400 scholars, have been aided by private subscriptions to the extent of 848*l.*; and one at Drumcliffe, county Clare, to the amount of 603*l.*

2. Return of the Reports of the Commissioners' inspectors, relative to fifty-two schools to which the Commissioners had discontinued their assistance. The grounds on which the Commissioners acted were, in four cases, that the school was held in a house of worship; in several others, that the school was held in the teacher's dwelling-house; in some, that the school was in connexion with other societies, and the managers refused to comply with the regulations of the national system; in one school the master was irregular in his attendance; in another the teachers were insubordinate; in three the masters were incompetent; in one the teacher was a man of immoral conduct; and in one or two others the school had been disgracefully neglected. The assistance of the Commissioners was refused, in several instances, owing to the school being held in unsuitable places,—in "a wretched cabin," in "a barn," in "a granary," in the "kitchen apartment of a small cabin," and also in consequence of the school being in the immediate vicinity of other schools.

3. Return of the names of 199 schools to which the Commissioners have promised assistance, and the amount of local subscriptions promised for each. The local contributions, which are chiefly towards a building-fund, appear in general to be on a liberal scale; in one case amounting to 400*l.*; in two from 300*l.* to 400*l.*; in seven others others from 200*l.* to 300*l.*; in eleven from 100*l.* to 200*l.*; in thirty-six from 50*l.* to 100*l.*; and in twenty-nine from 25*l.* to 50*l.*

4. A return stating how and in what manner the number of scholars (107,042) mentioned in the Report of the Commissioners as in attendance at their schools has been ascertained, whether by inspection or by any other, and what check; whether this is the actual attendance or the number on the school-rolls. It appears from the statements of the Commissioners, that the number of scholars was originally ascertained by replies in the query-sheet to the following questions:—

How many scholars are there usually in attendance—in summer, males, females—in winter, males, females?

Is a register kept in the school, recording the daily attendance of the children, and the average attendance of each week and each quarter?

How many children have been present on the average every week of the last quarter of a year— males, females?

The numbers thus ascertained were, with regard to the large proportion of the schools, in making up the Report, corrected by the reports of the inspectors, who gave the numbers on the school-roll; but a direction had previously been issued by the Commissioners, that all children who may have been withdrawn from any school during the past or second half-year, should be struck off the roll at the end of that half-year. Thus, in the greater proportion of the schools, the number of children reported by the Commissioners, was the number on the school-rolls, subject to the directions previously given to correct the school-rolls, so as to make them, as far as possible, correspond with the number in actual attendance.

5. Return of the particulars of the expenditure of the sum of 28,842*l.*, mentioned in the Report of the Commissioners. The following is an abstract of the accounts:—

Model School and Training Department.

	£.	s.	d.
Salary to Superintendent, at 300*l.* per annum	543	1	3½
1st assistant in boys' school, at 90*l.* do.	75	0	0
2nd ditto ditto at 70*l.* do.	12	0	0
3rd ditto ditto at 24*l.* do.	4	0	0
Mistress of female school at 90*l.* do.	67	10	0
Attendant of ditto at 20*l.* do.	19	13	4
Female servant at per week, 5*s.*	2	0	0
Travelling expenses of superintendent while on inspection	40	0	0
Lodging allowance to mistress of female school	31	13	4
Alterations, repairs, and fitting up of schools	1044	6	8
Mathematical instruments, philosophical apparatus, maps, &c.	170	10	6½
Books, paper, and other school requisities	150	15	9
Working materials for girls' school	32	16	6½
Brushes, rubbers, &c., for servant	3	1	8
	£2196	9	1½

Grants of Aids to Schools, viz.

Towards building school-houses	3,850	14	9½
Towards fitting up schools	2,835	8	0
Towards salaries of teachers	7,391	11	0
School requisites at half-price	2,011	4	8
	£16,088	18	6

Inspection Department, viz.

Salary and travelling allowance to eight inspectors of national schools, at rate of 300*l.* per annum	2160	14	0
Travelling expenses of additional inspector	5	4	2½
	£2165	18	2½

Printing and Publishing School Books, viz.

Salary to literary assistant, at rate of 120*l.* per annum	204	16	6
Compilation	296	11	8
Books for library	217	15	4
Paper, printing, and binding	2525	13	4
	£3244	15	10
Rev. James Carlisle, per Treasury Minute	225	0	0

General Expenditure connected with all the Departments.

Rent and taxes, 432*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; salary to secretary, at the rate of 500*l.* per annum, 1013*l.* 0*s.* 5½*d.*; five clerks in secretaries (three at 100*l.* a-year, and two at 80*l.*) 599*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and sundry items detailed in the return £4921 0 0

6. This return contains the names of schools to which the sum of 12,664*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was granted, and distinguishes the sums paid to each.

7. Is a similar return of the sum of 3110*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* granted for the fitting up of schools. It appears that the number of schools benefited by this grant was 195, and the sum which each received, therefore, averages about 16*l.* The lowest sum granted was 14*s.* and the highest 147*l.*

8. Return explanatory of an item, for which it appeared by the Report the Commissioners were liable.

9 Copy of Correspondence of the Commissioners of Education with the Synod of Ulster, or persons on behalf of that body. This correspondence does not appear to have terminated satisfactorily, as the last letter from the Secretary of the Board, to the moderator of the Synod of Ulster after referring to a previous minute of the Board in which their views were fully expressed, "says that the Board decline further correspondence on the subject." The Secretary states that the Commissioners "must decide upon the applications of members of your body, as they do upon those of all others, according to the merits of each case, and the principles of the regulations under which they act."

10. Return of the names of such clergymen of the Established Church, and of such Presbyterian and Roman Catholic clergymen as have received grants from the Board in aid of schools, and the names of such schools, and where situate, and whether such schools, and which of them, are now in connexion with the Board, and if not, why not. This return occupies nearly twenty eight pages, but no summary is given showing the relative proportion of applications from each religious denomination.

11. A list of all such books as are distributed or used under the direction of the Commissioners of Education, with the full titles thereof. Three school books contain 'Scripture Lessons' from the Old and New Testament; six are 'Books of Lessons,' adapted for various stages of the pupil's proficiency; one 'Elements of Geometry; one 'Treatise on Practical Geometry, Mensuration, Conic Sections, Gauging, Land Surveying,' &c.; one 'Treatise on Arithmetic, in theory and practice; one 'Key to Ditto;' one 'Elements of Book-keeping, in a series of short examples;' one 'Key to Ditto;' one 'Murray's Abridgment of English Grammar, greatly enlarged, with an Appendix containing Rules for Composition,' &c.; one 'Concise Introduction to Geography;' with spelling and arithmetical tablets and copy lines. Every school is now supplied with a stock of the above works, to be used as class-works.

12. Return of the denominations of the children in the schools under the superintendence of the Board. The Secretary of the Board states, that "it forms no part of the duties of the Board to inquire into the religion of the children in attendance upon the schools under their superintendence; nor have they any information upon the subject, which would enable them to give the Return above required."

13. A Return of the amount and particulars of any grant to schools connected with, or under the superintendence of any nunnery, monastery, or other religious institutions or houses*; and also of any grants to schools kept in Roman Catholic chapels or buildings, forming part thereof, or contiguous thereto, or within the precincts of said chapels, with the places where such schools are situate.*

* The number of grants to such schools is twenty-five.

* Twenty grants have been made to schools of this class.

IRISH WASTE LANDS.

THE Second Report of the Select Committee on Public Works (Ireland) is chiefly devoted to the subject of waste lands, and the policy and practicability of reclaiming them. According to the Report of the Emigration Committee in 1827, the quantity of land in cultivation in Ireland is 12,000,000 acres; and the population being nearly 8,000,000, there is a proportion of one acre and a half to each person. The export of agricultural produce from England exceeds 8,000,000*l.* per annum. It appears, also, that Ireland contains about 5,000,000 acres of waste land, capable of being improved. Their improvement has already occupied the attention of Committees of the House of Commons, and Commissioners appointed by the Crown. In 1809 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland; and though various Reports have pointed out the advantages which the state, the community, and particularly the labouring classes, both in England and Ireland, would derive from reclaiming so much land, at present of no advantage to any class, yet little effort has been made to realize these advantages, notwithstanding it has been clearly demonstrated that no obstacles, of a nature which may not be readily overcome, stand in the way of such desirable improvements. The Bog Commissioners made four separate Reports, from which it appears that this description of waste land comprises 1,576,000 acres of flat bogs, and 1,254,000 mountain bogs, being a total of 2,830,000 acres of bogs capable of improvement. Since these Reports were made, the population of Ireland has increased 33 per cent.

DIXON HOLMES, Esq., in his examination by the Committee (p. 108), remarks:—"Ireland is in a singular situation; her nobility and gentry have no ready money to aid in the colonization of the unreclaimed lands, and which are fettered by entails and settlements. The farmers who have money cannot employ it, because the landlords cannot give them a sufficient interest in the soil, and, consequently, the mere labourer finds no employment; hence the extensive misery which pervades that country. The principal cause of all the disturbances in Ireland is the difficulty of obtaining land whereon to employ their energies and support their families. Thus, here is rich land without occupation—a large diffused capital without employment—and a starving population in misery for want of combining the best elements of a nation's wealth and prosperity by productive labour."

The waste lands of Ireland are of four kinds—viz., the red bog, the black bog, mountain land, and land inundated by rivers.

The Report states that the utmost expense of reclaiming the red bog, according to the best evidence which the Committee could obtain, is 13*l.* an acre; and one of the witnesses examined valued land which he had reclaimed at an expenditure to that amount, as being worth a rent of 1*l.* an acre. To relieve the low black bog has required an outlay of 6*l.* an acre; and the same individual (Mr. Fetherstone) considers it worth a rent of 2*l.* an acre for meadow, or 3*l.*, if in a district requiring much meadow land. The expense of reclaiming mountain bog consists principally in the charge for cutting drains, the expense of which is inconsiderable. When the drains are formed, the soil is at once brought into cultivation by burning the surface peat. The cost of reclaiming flooded lands must depend on the extent of the river causing the inundations, or of the value of the mill or fish-weirs by which the overflow is occasioned. One of the witnesses (Mr. Griffith) states—"I know instances where several hundred acres of valuable meadow land are rendered almost a waste in consequence of a common mill-weir, which mill is not worth 20*l.* a-year; eel-weirs also present impediments that should be removed." Immense tracts are wasted by inundations of the Shannon and its tributary rivers; but the expense of reclaiming them depends on the extent of natural obstructions to be removed for the purpose of giving a free flow to the rivers. Colonel Conolly, a member of the Committee, stated that,

by an outlay of only 27*l.*, a drainage had been effected on his estate in the county of Donegal, which had enabled the grand-jury to form a new and level line of mail-coach road through a mountain district; that "the climate had been much improved, and a great quantity of land brought into cultivation by deepening, straightening, and discharging the small lakes and rivers."

The Committee remark that they have already recommended (in their First Report) the adoption of measures for extending lines of road through uncultivated tracts, and the erection of piers and quays for promoting industry permanently, and providing immediate employment for the peasantry of the remote districts; but they observe that these works would not lead to the complete accomplishment of their object, without being accompanied or succeeded by very extensive operations for reclaiming waste lands. It may also be noticed that these operations would employ the peasantry without drawing them far from their present habitations, or unduly augmenting the population of any one district, which has often been the result of ordinary public works.

The Committee adduce many reasons to shew the advantage of increasing the quantity of arable land. One effect of this increase would be, the breaking up of the densely-populated cottier settlements on the lands now in use, and of abating those fatal contentions which have been incited among the peasantry by competition for land. The increased demand for labourers would induce a large number to abandon the cottier holdings—preferring to work for hire, with a reasonable certainty of continuous employment, rather than be subject to a rent which leaves them only a scanty subsistence as their compensation for a year's labour.

The Committee do not concur in the opinion that the social disease of Ireland is produced by a real excess of population. They doubt rather whether the country contains a sufficient quantity of labour to develop its resources. In 1728, when the number of the people did not exceed a fourth of the total now existing, there appears to have been, comparatively, as much distress, occasioned by want of employment, as there is now. Primate Boulter, in his published Correspondence with the British Government, as one of the Lords-Justices during the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant, made the following Report on the state of the peasantry at that period:—"When I went my visitation last year, barley, in some inland places, sold for 6*s.* a bushel to make the bread of; and oatmeal, which is used for the bread of the North, sold for twice or thrice the usual price; and we met all the roads full of whole families that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their neighbours had nothing to relieve them with. I fear many hundreds parished by famine. Now, the occasion of this evil is, that many persons have hired large tracts of land, of 3000 or 4000 acres, and have stocked them with cattle, and have no other inhabitants on their land than so many cottiers as are necessary to look after their sheep and black cattle; so that, in some of the finest counties, in many places there is neither house nor corn-field to be seen in ten or fifteen miles' travelling; and daily, in some counties, many gentlemen (as their leases fall into their hands) tie up their tenants from tillage."

The Committee point out the important fact, that an extraordinary increase of the population is evident in those districts where most poverty exists, as compared with the increase in parts of the country where the peasantry are in improved circumstances, and proportionably provident. Between the years 1821 and 1831 the population of Mayo, Galway, and Clare, increased 24 and 25 per cent., notwithstanding an extensive emigration to America; while, during the same period, the population of the better-conditioned counties of Down and Wexford increased only 7 and 8 per cent., although there had been less emigration from these latter counties than from the others. The peasantry of the eastern districts do not migrate to England, although they are much nearer than the peasantry of the counties of Mayo, Galway, and other poor western districts, which annually supply England with labourers in such numbers. The Committee are of opinion that a comparatively trifling increase in remunerative employment would detain them at home. Mr. Griffith stated, in his examination, that he was enabled to stop five hundred labourers in the preceding year, who were on their way to England, by giving them employment on public works. If the labourers were provided with employment at home, by the cultivation of the waste lands being encouraged, settled habits of industry would be promoted among them, and local trade would be enlarged, creating new sources of profitable labour. At present, the greater part of the peasantry in the western districts acquire their annual stock of subsistence by working in the summer. Their earnings in England, and in the eastern Irish counties, enable them to procure some clothing, and to pay the rent of their cabins and potato land; but if the potato crop be a failure, its produce is consumed long before they can acquire new means of subsistence, and then a famine ensues. Thus, the present system not only creates poverty, and rapidly augments the population, but also entails on the country all the horrors of famine. It is also a fertile producer of crime, by giving to a large portion of the population months of idleness in every year, which cannot possibly be well spent by an uneducated, miserable, and excitable peasantry. The evidence, appended to the Report, contains abundant testimony of the happy change effected in the habits of these poor people when provided with regular employment. Mr. Fetherstone says,—"My property became safe when I commenced these large works. I never had a sheep taken from me, or suffered any of those trifling thefts which they were in the habit of committing when unemployed."

After lamenting the indifference with which the majority of Irish landlords regard the question of developing the sources of public and private wealth, by bringing the waste lands into cultivation, the Committee express their fears that *the greater part of these lands will remain neglected, if left entirely to private enterprise and the disposition of landowners.* The Committee also allude to other causes which obstruct improvements,—the want of experienced undertakers in whom landowners and leaseholders could confide, both as to their skill and their estimates of the outlay; the want of co-operation among the owners and holders of adjoining properties, occasioned by disparity of interests, and the apprehension of difficulties and litigation in ultimately adjusting them and allocating the outlay; and the very general existence of encumbrances, which prevent borrowing for the purposes of improvement.

On a mature consideration of these and other difficulties, the Committee submit the following propositions for enabling the Legislature to deal with the question in a practical manner:—1. The Board of Public Works in Ireland to have power to undertake, on the requisition of the proprietors of two-thirds of the property to be improved, drainages of bogs, embankments, and the removal of obstructions which cause inundations in rivers. 2. Juries to be formed for valuing mill-sites and fish-weirs, and also to ascertain the increased value of the lands drained, freed from inundations, or otherwise improved, and apportion the outlay to the several properties, according to the benefit derived to each estate or interest. 3. The outlay apportioned to be a charge upon the estate or interest benefited. 4. The Board of Works to be compensated in money, or a sufficient portion of the waste land improved, and powers to be given for that purpose; and, also, either to sell or mortgage a sufficient part of the whole estate, any portion of which shall be benefited. 5. Tenants for life to have power to charge the inheritance with an outlay, to the amount of three years' value, under the directions of the Board of Works, for the drainage, embankment, or other permanent improvement, save buildings; the Board, in the first instance, to make a Report, in which the feasibility of the improvement, when projected, shall be certified; this Report to be laid before a Master in Chancery, with an application from the party to the Court, and the Master to make due investigation, and if he approve of the project, as being of such utility to the estate that the inheritance should bear the charge authorized to be placed on it, then to certify the same to the Court, and the certificate to be enrolled for the purposes of title; and the tenants for life to have power to sell or mortgage, to the amount of such outlay, any part of the estate which, or any portion of which, is to be improved. 6. Tenants for life, paying any portion of the outlay with their own monies, or out of the rents and profits, to be entitled to a charge of that amount on the inheritance, but to be bound to keep down the interest of such charge. 7. Where lands are mortgaged, the wastes to be valued, and the encum-

brances to have operation on such portions, as liens to the amount only of the value ascertained anterior to the improvement; that is, if the wastes prove worth £90, the mortgagee to have a lien on them only to that amount, and the enhanced value to be susceptible of new encumbrance for the purpose of improvement. 8. Mortgaged lands, where the rent to be received in respect of which will not exceed 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre, to be let by the proprietor under the approval of two arbitrators, one named by him, and the other by the mortgagee; and in case of default of naming such arbitrator by the mortgagee, then to let under approval of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained in a summary way by petition. 9. Enlarged powers of leasing to be given to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Board of Commissioners of the Schools founded in Ireland by Erasmus Smith. 10. Reclaimed wastes, which shall be conveyed to the Board of Works, to be sold in small lots of not less than ten acres, or more than two hundred acres, Statute measure.

Under the above regulations an important change would gradually be brought about in the number of persons possessing land. Mr. R. Griffith, civil engineer, who is most intimately acquainted with the condition of Ireland, in reply to the question,—"Generally speaking, there is scarcely such a thing as a proprietor in fee, among the poor or middling classes, in that part of Ireland?" said—"I am not aware of any instance of a man having an estate of forty acres, or anything so small, who lives solely by the cultivation of his estate."

The Appendix to the Report contains "Observations on the Reclamation of Waste Lands in Ireland," by Mr. Poulett Scrope, who thus alludes to the benefits, moral and political, which would be occasioned by any measure that would raise up a numerous class of small landowners or independent yeomen:—"In Ireland (he remarks) the number of landed proprietors is smaller than in any other country in the world. In France more than twenty millions, or near two-thirds of the entire population, belong to the class of landed proprietors; in Norway and Sweden about one-third; while in Ireland, with a population of eight millions, there are considered to be under 10,000 landowners; and a considerable number of these are neither natives of, nor resident in, the country. The absolute prostration to which the law of Ireland condemns the cultivators of its soil beneath the irresponsible and unconditional power of its proprietors, I believe to be at the bottom of all the misery, turbulence, and disorganization which desolate that unhappy country. Concede the just claims of the mass of the people to maintain themselves by the cultivation of the fertile soil of their country on equitable and reasonable terms, and their religious differences will be no more likely to create political or social dissension among them, than is to be found between Protestant and Catholic fellow-subjects of Prussia, Belgium, Austria, and other States of the Continent."

Mr. Poulett Scrope has announced his intention of introducing a Bill "to provide for the utilization of the Waste Lands of Ireland." The 'Observations' from which we have already made extracts contain, we should suppose, the principles of the proposed measure. The first principle on which he proceeds is, that the waste land of any country, upon the soundest views of natural rights, is the property of the people collectively, *i.e.*, of the State; and that the State is not justified in conferring upon or continuing to any individuals an exclusive property in extensive tracts of waste lands, which they are neither willing nor able to reclaim or cultivate, whilst there are other individual members of the community in a state of destitution from the want of employment, who might maintain themselves upon such lands, if permitted to reclaim and cultivate them upon their own account. He would propose the appointment, by Government, of a "Waste Land Commission" for Ireland, which, after making compensation to the owners of such lands on some defined plan,—such, for instance, as that contained in the ten propositions already noticed,—should, on the reclamation being effected, offer the land for sale on the following terms:—"The Commissioners to proceed to divide the land into lots of not less than five, nor more than 100 acres, of which they shall offer, in the open market, perpetuity leases to such persons as shall undertake their further reclamation and cultivation; engaging to fence them and erect a house and proper farm buildings on each, and to pay an annual quit-rent, which shall be sufficient, at the least, to cover the interest of the sums expended by the Commission,—to pay the landowner's rent-charge, if any,—and to maintain, for ever, the roads, main drains, and other necessary works of public benefit upon the land. The lots would, I imagine, be eagerly taken by those of the peasantry and middle classes who are possessed of little capital, which they now have no means of employing safely and productively,—the excessive competition for land, at present, placing tenants at the mercy of their landlords, who, after squeezing out their little capital from them, may, and very frequently do, oust them, to put in another competitor, who is treated in turn in the same manner. Where capital is wanting, it would be supplied rapidly from the economy which would be called forth by the opportunity thus held out of obtaining that most generally-desired of all objects of human longings—*a farm of one's own*; or it would be supplied by loan from loan-funds, or by individual capitalists in towns, or from England, upon the security of the lease."

Mr. Poulett Scrope concludes his observations on this interesting subject by a glance at the benefits which this plan would secure to every portion of the community:—"The double object would be obtained of profitable employment for both the capital which is now lying idle, or at very low interest throughout the country, and the labourers, of whom such numbers are in a state of extreme and almost constant suffering, entailing a heavy burden upon the industry of the country through their want of work. Those who know with what extraordinary ardour and energy an Irish peasant will labour when working on *his own account* in the improvement of land in which he possesses a durable and permanent interest, what extreme industry and economy is everywhere exhibited by him under such circumstances, will appreciate the extent to which these qualities and their valuable results must be developed by a measure which will place in this most desirable position a body of very many thousand persons, who are now leading a life of constrained idleness and poverty, probably accompanied by their usual followers,—discontent, insubordination, and crime. The entire class of tenantry throughout Ireland must share in the advantages derivable from an enlargement of the field of agricultural industry, and a diminution of the excessive and cruel competition which now prevails for even the insecure and temporary occupation, on the most extortionate terms, of any acre of cultivable soil that may be in the market."

To return to the Report, which closes with the following suggestions:—That the Reports of the Irish Bog Commissioners appointed in 1809, and the maps belonging to them, be deposited in the British Museum and several public libraries for general reference; and that such of the maps as have not been published be prepared for publication. The Committee recommend to the notice of the House a suggestion made to them by Mr. Griffith, for transferring the fiscal functions of grand juries to Barony Boards, for the purpose of promoting measures to secure employment to the peasantry on roads and other public works, when farming employment is diminished.

OPERATION OF THE FACTORIES' REGULATION ACT.

By the 45th section of the Act, the inspectors of factories are required to make yearly Reports to the Secretary of State, which are afterwards laid before Parliament. The chief objects requiring the exercise of the Inspector's authority and vigilance are as follows:—1. To prevent the employment, in mills, of children under nine years of age. 2. To prevent the employment of children under eleven years of age, and in subsequent years (commencing March, 1835) of those under twelve, and afterwards of those under thirteen, for more than nine hours in any one day, or forty-eight hours in any one week. 3. To require the aforesaid class of children to attend a school for two hours in each day. 4. To prevent young persons, between eleven and eighteen years of age, being employed in mills more than twelve hours in any one day, or sixty-nine hours in any one week. 5. To take care that the time for meals be duly granted; 6, and that the required number of holidays in each year be observed. 7. That the ages of the children and young persons above re-

ferred to are properly certified. 8. To cause the adoption of the certificate system. 9. To see that the permission to work up lost time, under certain regulations, be not abused. 10. To see that the interior walls of mills be regularly whitewashed. 11. To require an abstract of the Act to be hung up in mills; and 12, to attend particularly to the time-books of each mill. The following are extracts from the Reports last presented:—

Report of Leonard Horner, Esq.—Towards the end of September (1834) I returned to Glasgow, which, together with the adjoining neighbourhood, is the principal seat of manufactures in my district. From thence I went to Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Aberdeen; Mr. James, the superintendent, who acts under my directions, visiting, at the same time, other factories in the counties of Fife, Perth, and Forfar. Early in September I sent Mr. James to Galashiels, Hawick, and Jedburgh, and to different places in the counties of Dumfries, Wigton, Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and the north-eastern part of Yorkshire. In December he went to Belfast, and to nearly all the other places in the north of Ireland where factories, subject to this Act, are situated. The result of his observations are included in the following statements:—"With the exceptions which I shall presently notice, I did not find any factory working a greater number of hours in the day than the law allows; but Mr. James met with one instance, near Belfast, where a mill had been working seventy-two, in place of sixty-nine hours in the week, with young persons under eighteen years of age: the proprietor promised that he would forthwith conform to the law. The exceptions to which I allude were cases of making up lost time irregularly, by working more than eighteen hours in the day, when the time lost had amounted to less than three hours. As far as I have been able to ascertain, I believe that working in the night with young persons under twelve years of age, has been wholly given up in my district." Mr. Horner reports that the relay system is found to work well, when a fair trial is afforded it; but, in other instances, where it has been partially tried, without any properly-arranged plan, with the master not only taking little or no charge of it, but on the contrary, suffering the dislike of it on the part of the adult spinners, who employ the children, to counteract it in every way, it is not surprising that it should have been represented as unsuccessful, and even impracticable. The relay system is regarded, both by masters and adult operatives, as interfering with the clauses respecting school attendance. Mr. Horner adds—"I am sorry to say that, from very recent inquiries, I have reason to fear that even in those places where the want of suitable schools is most complained of, such as Glasgow and Dundee, and where, by a little co-operation on the part of the mill-owners, this obstacle to the relay system could be easily overcome; very little has yet been done, either upon the plan I suggested, or upon any other."

Report of R. J. Saunders, Esq.—Mr. Saunders inspected the several mills in the counties of Hants, Devon, Somerset, Wilts, Berks, Bucks, Herts, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, and Stafford, and some in London and the neighbourhood. Mr. Muggeridge, the superintendent employed under Mr. Saunders, visited the mills in Nottinghamshire, part of Derbyshire; and at Louth in Lincolnshire, and Hull in Yorkshire, and also the mills in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The Report remarks that but little care appears to be taken by the mill-owners to protect persons from injury by the machinery, and notices the effect of the education clauses and of the relay system, which contribute practically to exclude from factory employment all children under eleven years of age, whenever a sufficient supply of older hands can be obtained.

Report of T. J. Howell, Esq.—At Newtown, Montgomeryshire, the principal seat of the Welsh flannel manufacture, it became necessary, from repeated and general infractions of the law, to proceed against various mill-owners, and seventeen convictions were the result. In Mr. Howell's district the project of working by relays of children (upon the feasibility of which the plan of uniting daily employment in a factory with daily tuition in a school, is founded) is generally pronounced impracticable by the mill-owners. In only two mills in this district has the plan been attempted, and in one it has been subsequently abandoned; the other is a flax mill at Shrewsbury, belonging to Messrs. Marshall and Co., of Leeds, and the school is in the factory. In the town of Trowbridge (Wilts) are several woollen factories, and (their machinery being impelled by steam) these are not situated at inconvenient distances from each other, as is the case where the moving power is water. In this town an excellent school has been established, and when the Factories' Regulation Act had passed the Committee, it afforded the most cordial aid in attaining the objects to which the enactments of the Legislature had been directed. This will appear, from the following extract from the Committee's printed Report for the year 1834:—"The Legislature having provided, that all children who work in factories, under eleven years of age, shall be educated, your Committee have endeavoured to promote that object, by admitting such children to attend half time at half price—namely 1½*d.* a-week; and they trust this arrangement will induce many parents, who cannot afford to lose the whole of their children's earnings, to give them some education, by sacrificing a part. The particular attention of manufacturers, also, is called to this new plan, as, by using relays of children, they may afford an opportunity to all such as work in factories, and whose minds have hitherto been too much neglected, to avail themselves of the benefit of education." But notwithstanding the lowness of the price, the excellence of the school, and its vicinity to the factories, Mr. Howell states that out of 435 scholars, only two were employed in factories, and that these were brothers, working with and for their father. The experiment of combining employment in a factory with attendance at a school has here, it is remarked, been tried under the most favourable circumstances, and yet without success. At Frome, however, Mr. Howell visited a large and very good national school, the master of which had found that the number of his scholars had been increased by the operation of the education clauses of the Factory Act. The Report concludes, by noticing that, more particularly in the smaller and older mills, the machinery is by no means sufficiently guarded to prevent the danger of serious accidents.

Report of R. Rickards, Esq.—Mr. Rickards exposes the frauds and abuses practised in the procuring and use of certificates, and shews that still greater frauds would be practised, but for the present regulations under which certificates are granted. In support of this opinion, he states the following facts:—1. Of children employed in mills, I have found many under nine years of age working, contrary to law, twelve hours per day: these, of course, I have caused to be discharged. 2. I have obtained various convictions against mill-owners for working children without certificates, and in other respects contrary to law. 3. At Skipton, a young girl of fifteen years of age, was proved to have been worked from ten minutes before five in the morning till nine o'clock at night, and obliged to take her meals in the mill this was a common practice in that quarter, until corrected. 4. A mother, in Manchester, got employment for a sickly child of nine years of age to work in a mill for twelve hours per day, under a false certificate, which she got, by sending a fine healthy child of suitable age to a doctor's house to procure it. 5. In some instances false baptismal registers have been produced: in many others, mothers would readily forswear, to get their children to work in mills longer hours than allowed by law. 6. Before the appointment of surgeons to grant certificates, I found them given, in one instance, by a drunken ale-house keeper, who, in addition to his proper calling, had set himself up as a medical practitioner; and, in another instance, by a person who had been brought up as a druggist's apprentice. 7. In Huddersfield, I discovered a large mill, where the children had once been certified by the appointed surgeon, but, whether from ignorance or neglect, the certificates had been given up to the children. When the certificates were called for, none were forthcoming; and as changes frequently took place in this mill, and no one could tell whether the new hands were certified or not, it became doubly impossible for the inspector to ascertain who, among these children, were working according to law, and who were not. 8. I have now before me a certificate-book belonging to a mill in Glossop (well known for working fourteen and fifteen hours per day), from whence I have extracted upwards of sixty cases of young persons, certified in February 1834, to be twelve, and from that to sixteen years of age, to be up-

wards of eighteen in a twelvemonth, and some less than a twelvemonth afterwards. By means of the certificate system, therefore, these and various other abuses have been detected, and children are in many instances protected. Mr. Rickards strongly recommends the mill-owners to take upon themselves the charge of paying for the children's certificates. In some towns—in Leeds, more especially—many mill-owners have agreed to give the surgeon who attends their mill an annual stipend, for which the surgeon not only certifies the children, but attends to the health of the workers generally.

The Reports of the Inspectors were prepared early in 1835, and previously to the Act coming into more complete operation. They were not, however, ordered to be printed until towards the close of the last Session.

STATISTICS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

The republic of Central America, formerly called Guatemala, is situated in the Isthmus, which connects North with South America, and extends from 8 to 16 degrees of N. Lat., varying in breadth from 120 to 250 miles: it is bounded on the North by Mexico, and on the South by New Granada, possessing a line of coast upwards of 600 miles in length, washed on the western side by the Pacific Ocean, and on the eastern by the Atlantic.

These States are at present divided into six Provinces, namely Guatemala and San Salvador, on the Pacific side, Vera Paz, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica on that of the Atlantic, comprising a territory of upwards of 26,000 square leagues, with a population of nearly two millions of inhabitants. Chiapa also formerly belonged to Guatemala, but is now claimed by Mexico.

Central America is watered by several large rivers, some of which are partially navigable, besides lakes of considerable size and depth, particularly that of Nicaragua. A chain of the Andes traverses the country, and amongst these mountains are upwards of 20 volcanoes, many of which are in constant action.

The present capital of these States is New Guatemala, situated on the river Vaca, in Lat. 14°. 28′. North, a short distance from the Port of La Independencia, on the Pacific Ocean: the population of Guatemala amounts to about 20,000 individuals.

There are five ports of entry on the Pacific side, namely La Independencia, Acajutla, La Libertad, Conchagua, Realejo, and San Juan del Sur: the bay of Conchagua forms a safe and commodious harbour. The ports in the Atlantic are Isabel, Omoa, Truxillo, San Juan, and Cartago. Isabel is situated in Golfo Dulce, a safe and good harbour.

The grand project of uniting the Pacific Ocean with the Atlantic, by rendering the River San Juan on the Atlantic side navigable into the Lake of Nicaragua, requiring a lockage of 200 feet in about 17 miles, and cutting a canal from the lake into the Pacific Ocean, a distance of barely 20 miles, has been several times under contemplation by the government of Guatemala: but the magnitude of the undertaking, added to the disturbed state of the country, have hitherto prevented this important project from being seriously gone into; and it still remains for individual enterprise to carry into effect this magnificent work for the future benefit of the commercial world at large.

Guatemala is placed in a most favourable position for commerce, possessing a soil admirably adapted for the more valuable products, with a regular degree of temperature as regards climate, particularly so on the western side. The principal articles, the produce of her soil, are cochineal, indigo, dye-wood, and medicinal drugs, besides cocoa and tobacco, whilst her coasts afford mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, and her mountains abound with the precious metals.

The largest plantations of Nopal trees, on which the cochineal insect subsists, are met with in the plains near the city of Guatemala, where the quantity of cochineal collected in favourable seasons has amounted from 200 to 250,000 lbs. weight, worth on the spot from two to three dollars a pound. Guatemala cochineal is considered larger and superior in quality to the Mexican. The crops of indigo may be estimated at from 500 to 750,000 lbs. weight, worth from one to two dollars a pound.

The mines of Guatemala were but little encouraged under the Spanish dominion, and although adventurers occasionally realized handsome profits, they were generally obliged to give up working so soon as water made its appearance in the mine. The silver mines are mostly situated in the province of San Miguel, and are easy of access, being only a short distance from the Pacific. Gold is chiefly found in the province of Costa Rica.

Finances.—The ordinary expenditure of the government of Guatemala has of late years not exceeded 850,000 dollars a-year, (170,000*l.* sterling,) exclusive, however, of any reserve for the interest due on her debt. The domestic debt entitled to interest, amounts to somewhere above 2½ millions of dollars, besides upwards of a million of unliquidated claims. In the year 1825, the Government, in order to meet the deficiency in the revenue without recurring to new taxes, contracted a loan in England for seven millions of dollars, at the rate of 7 per cent.; not more, however, than 167,000*l.* sterling of these bonds were issued to the public, the interest on which up to August, 1828, was advanced in this country, since when the arrears have accumulated to the extent of 80,000*l.* In the year 1825, the expenses of the army amounted to nearly one million of dollars, but they have since been reduced to about 650,000 dollars, whilst the other expenses of the government do not exceed 250,000 dollars a-year; notwithstanding this apparently trifling charge, the expenditure of Guatemala has exceeded her revenues to the extent of 200,000 to 300,000 dollars a-year, and the government has consequently been unable to remit anything on account of the interest due on her foreign debt, although it does not require more than 50,000 dollars (or 10,000*l.*) a-year.

The duties levied on imports and exports in Guatemala are more moderate than those of any other of the new States of America, not exceeding 14 per cent. on cotton goods, and 10 per cent. on most other articles, whilst the produce of the soil only pays 2 per cent. on importation, notwithstanding which, the whole amount of duties collected at the various custom-houses does not exceed 350,000 dollars (75,000*l.*) a-year. The next chief source of revenue arises from the monopoly on the sale of tobacco, which yields a gross return of 450,000 dollars a-year; nearly half this sum is however absorbed in the expenses of administration.

Guatemala is a federative and representative state, governed by a president, vice-president, 11 senators, and 42 representatives—the executive power being intrusted to three persons. Each province defrays the expenses of its local administration, having a provincial assembly of its own, and which sends members to the general congress

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

(*Exclusive of Private Bills.*)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Feb. 5. Bill "to amend an Act for abolishing capital punishments in the cases of letter-stealing and sacrilege."—*Earl of Shaftesbury.*

— 12. Bill "to consolidate the jurisdiction of the several Ecclesiastical Courts in England and Wales into one Court, and to enlarge the powers and authorities of such Court; and to alter and amend the law in certain matters ecclesiastical."—*The Lord Chancellor.*

PRIVATE BILLS.

Feb. 9. Petitions for, not to be received after the 26th of February instant; nor any Report from the Judges thereon after the 20th of April next.

15. Time for receiving petitions for, enlarged to Friday, March 11.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 8. Lighthouses Bill, "for vesting lighthouses and lights on the coasts of England in the Corporation of Trinity House of Deptford Strond, and for making provisions respecting lighthouses, lights, buoys, beacons, and sea-marks, and the tolls and duties payable in respect thereof."—*Mr. Hume.*

— Election Expenses Bill, "to regulate the expenses at elections of Members to serve in Parliament for England and Wales."—*Mr. Hume.*

Feb. 9. Bill "for the registration of electors in England and Wales."—*Mr. Hume.*
— Bill "to render the register of electors final."—*Mr Hume.*
— Bill "to exclude the borough of Stafford from sending burgesses to serve in Parliament."—*Mr. Divett.*
— Bill "to authorize the consolidation of trusts of turnpike roads in England."—*Mr. Fox Maule.*
— Bill "for vesting certain offices in the Forest of Dean in the Commissioners of Woods and Forests."—*Mr. R. Gordon.*
— 11. Bill "for the commutation of tithes in England." *Lord John Russell.*
— Bill "for the more effectual registration of persons entitled to vote in the election of Members to serve in Parliament in England and Wales."—*The Attorney-General.*
12. Bill "for enabling prisoners to make their defence by counsel or attorney."—*Mr. Ewart.*
15. Bill "for the better regulation of hackney-carriages and of omnibuses used in and near the metropolis, and of the drivers and attendants thereof."—*Mr. Alderman Wood.*
16. Bill "for the regulation of municipal corporations and borough towns in Ireland."—*The Attorney-General for Ireland.*
17. Bill "for registering births, deaths, and marriages in England."—*Lord John Russell.*
— Bill "to amend the laws relating to the celebration of marriages in England and Wales."—*Lord John Russell.*
18. Bill "to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland."—*Lord Morpeth.*
— Bill "to provide for the relief and employment of the destitute poor in Ireland."—*Mr. Poulett Scrope.*
20. Bill "for the appointment of overseers and maintenance of the poor in extra-parochial places."—*Mr. Jervis.*
— Bill "for facilitating the distribution and payment of compensation for slaves."—*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing Order (18th June, 1811) read.

Resolved,—"That no Private Bill be read the first time after Monday, the 28th day of March next."

Resolved,—"That this House will not receive any Report of such Private Bill after Monday, the 6th day of June next."

Feb. 18.—DIVISIONS OF THE HOUSE.

1. *Resolved*, That, upon every Division, the House be entirely cleared; the Ayes and the Noes being sent forth into two separate Lobbies.

2. That four Tellers and four Clerks be appointed; two of each to be stationed at the entrance of the respective Lobbies.

3. That the doors being simultaneously opened by the Speaker's order, the names of the Members be taken down by the Clerks on ruled paper, with numbered lines (or marked off upon a printed list), as they re-enter the House by the opposite doors; the Tellers counting and announcing the result at the Table, as at present.

4. That the Lists of the Division be then brought up to the Table by the Tellers, and deposited there for insertion in alphabetical order in the Votes.

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

(Exclusive of Committees to consider Bills.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Feb. 12. Committee "to inquire into the state of agriculture, and into the causes and extent of the distress which still presses upon some important branches thereof, and to report their observations and opinions thereon to the House."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 5. Committee "to take into consideration the best means of appointing, and transacting business in, Select Committees."

8. Committee "to inquire into the state of agriculture, and into the causes and extent of the distress which still presses upon some important branches thereof, and to report their observations and opinions thereupon to the House."

[Names of the members of this Committee:—Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr. S. Lefevre, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Cayley, Mr. G. Heathcote, Mr. A. Sanford, Mr. E. Denison, Sir E. Knatchbull, Lord Stanley, Mr. Miles (Somerset), Earl of Lincoln, Mr. C. A. Pelham, Sir R. Price, Mr. R. Clive, Lord Francis Egerton, Sir W. Molesworth, Lord Howick, Mr. Evans (Dublin), Mr. Cooper (Sligo), Mr. W. Gordon, Mr. S. Herbert, Mr. B. Baring, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Ord (Newcastle), Mr. Clay, Mr. Handley, Mr. Morrison, Mr. James Lock, Mr. Dunlop (Ayr), Mr. Young (Cavan), The O'Conor Don, and Mr. M. Attwood. Sir C. Burrell and Mr. Wodehouse added to the Committee.]

9. Committee "to classify petitions."
— Committee "to assist the Speaker in all matters which relate to the printing executed by order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for printing Returns and Papers."
— Committee "to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) of the country: also, to inquire into the constitution, management, and effects of institutions connected with the arts."
— Committee "to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made; and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights; to promote the spread of civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion."
— Committee "to consider and report on such plan as may be most fitting and convenient for the permanent accommodation of the Houses of Parliament."
— Committee "on expiring laws, for the purpose of inquiring what temporary laws of a public and general nature are about to expire during the present Session, or at any period intervening between the termination of the present Session, or on or before the 1st of August, 1837."
— Standing Committee of sixteen members renewed to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the Library.
10. Committee "to inquire into the changes that have been recommended by the Select Committee on Printed Papers, and to consider what compensation shall be given to certain officers of this House."
— Committee "to inquire into the condition, management, and affairs of the British Museum."
15. Committee "to inquire into the state of the port of London."
— Committee "to examine into the state, funds, and management of the diocesan, royal, and other schools of public foundation in Ireland, as also into the system of education pursued therein, with a view to increasing their utility, and to inquire how far it may be practicable and expedient, and in what manner, and from what resources, to improve, extend, and permanently maintain, academical education in that country, and to report their opinion thereon to the House."
16. Motion made, and question proposed—"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the traffic and agreement alleged to have taken place between Daniel O'Connell, and Alexander Raphael, Esqrs., touching the nomination and return of the said Alexander Raphael for the county of Carlow, at the last election for that county, and to report the minutes of evidence taken before them, with their observations thereon."—Amendment proposed, after the word 'county,' to insert the words—"and the application of the monies said to have been received, and the circumstances under which the same were received and expended."—Question, "that these words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.—Main question, as amended, put, and agreed to.—Mr. Ridley Colborne, Lord Francis

Egerton, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Barneby, Sir Ronald Ferguson, Sir J. Y. Buller, Mr. Ord, (Newcastle), Sir C. B. Vere, Mr. Warburton, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. H. G. Ward, were appointed Members of the Committee; and Sir F. Pollock, and Mr. Sergeant Wilde, were nominated to serve on the said Committee, to examine witnesses, without the power of voting.—Power to send for persons, papers, and records.

18. Committee "to inquire into the management and affairs of the Record Commission, and the present state of the Records of the United Kingdom."

20. Committee "to consider the most effectual means of preventing bribery, corruption, and intimidation, in the election of Members to serve in Parliament."

— Committee "to inquire into the total amount of all fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments of every kind, not fixed salary, which are now received in the several public offices, (courts of law excepted), and by all public officers in the United Kingdom, for any service done, on every appointment or commission, and to ascertain the expense of collecting, and the authority under which those fees are paid, how much to each, and for what purpose; also the amount of fixed salary to every person receiving any portion of fees, and charged in person and in duty: also to report what measures have been adopted in the several offices respecting the reduction or abolition of fees since 25 Geo. III. c. 19, and to report evidence, and their observations thereon."

NEW MEMBERS.

Devizes.—James Deans Dundas, Esq., vice Sir P. C. H. Durham, accepted Chiltern Hundreds.

Stoke-upon-Trent.—The Hon. George Anson, vice R. Heathcote, Esq., ditto.

Cockermouth.—Edward Horsman, Esq., vice F. Dykes, Esq., ditto.

Malton.—John Walbanke Childers, Esq., vice Sir C. C. Pepys.

Glasgow.—Lord William Bentinck, vice Colin Dunlop, Esq., accepted Chiltern Hundreds. The election was contested. Lord William Bentinck polled 1995 voters; Mr. Mills, 903—Majority, 1092.

Writs have been issued for Clonmel vacant by the death of Dominick Ronayne, Esq.; and for Leicester county (southern division), vacant by the resignation of Thomas Frewen Turner, Esq.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Jan. 23 to Feb. 20.

Boarding-house keeper, 1; bookbinder, 1; bookseller, 1; boot and shoe dealer, 1; bread and biscuit maker, 1; brewer, 1; builders, 2; cabinet-maker, 1; carpenters, 3; carpet-manufacturer, 1; cattle-salesmen, 2; cheesemonger, 1; chemist, 1; clothier, 1; cloth (fancy) manufacturer, 1; coach-proprietor, 1; coal-merchants, 4; corn-merchant, 1; cotton cloth manufacturer, 1; dealer, 1; dressmaker, 1; druggist, 1; factor, 1; flour-dealer, 1; grocers, 6; hatter, 1; horse-dealer, 1; house-painter, 1; ironmasters, 2; lamp (carriage) manufacturer, 1; lime-burner, 1; linen-drapers, 7; merchants, 6; miller, 1; music-seller, 1; paper-manufacturer, 1; provision-dealers, 2; printer (furniture), 1; scrivener, 1; ship owner, 1; shopkeeper, 1; spirit-dealer, 1; victuallers, 8; warehouseman, 1; watchmaker, 1; wine-merchant, 1; woollen-draper, 1; wool-stapler, 1.—Total, 78; from the 28th of December, 149.

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from 'The London Gazette,' of Friday, Feb. 19:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Week ending Feb 13.....	39 7	29 0	19 8	27 6	34 7	33 2
Average of last six weeks.	38 4	28 4	19 2	26 11	33 9	33 9
Duty on foreign corn.....	48 8	19 10	18 3	30 3	19 8	18 3

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the following days:—

Jan. 30.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 13.	Feb. 20.
91¼	91½	91½	91½

Sugar.—The average prices of Brown or Muscovado Sugar per cwt., computed from the Returns published in 'The London Gazette,' have been as follows for the Weeks ending

Jan 26.	Feb. 2.	Feb. 9.	Feb. 16.
39s. 9½d.	39s. 2d.	38s. 5d.	37s. 10½d.

Private Banks and Joint-Stock Banks.—The aggregate amount of notes circulated in England and Wales, by private banks, for the quarters ending September 27th, 1834, December 28th, March 28th, 1835, June 27, and September 26th, was respectively as follows:—8,370,423*l.*; 8,537,655*l.*; 8,231,206*l.*: 8,455,114*l*; 7,912,587*l.* By Joint-Stock Banks for the same periods:—1,783,689*l.*; 2,122,173*l.*; 2,188,934*l.*; 2,484,687*l.*: 2,508,036. Total of notes circulated by Private and Joint-Stock Banks:—10,154,112*l.*; 10,659,828*l.* 10,420,160*l.*; 10,939,801; 10,420,623.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Mr. Aldam, of Trinity College, fourth on the list of wranglers in the Cambridge Bachelor's Commencement, being a member of the Society of Friends, is debarred from taking a degree, and also from competing for the Smith's prizes, to which the taking of a B.A. degree is a requisite preliminary.

Pensions granted by Lord Melbourne to Mr. Banim, author of "Tales of the O'Hara Family," of 150*l.* a-year; and to Mr. B. Thorpe, the translator of Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, of 100*l.* a-year. Lord Melbourne has also directed 150*l.* to be paid out of the Royal Bounty Fund to the widow of the Ettrick Shepherd.

Jan. 29.—Lord Stowell, elder brother of the Earl of Eldon, died at Early Court, Reading, in his 91st year. He presided for many years over the Consistory and Admiralty Courts.

— Mr. Montefiore, a highly respectable Jew, elected a governor of Christ's Hospital, by a majority of 32 to 20.

30. Mr. Sidney Taylor moved that the rule for a criminal information against Mr. Haywood, of Sheffield, for a libel on Colonel Fairman, should be made absolute. Mr. Austin and Mr. C. Buller stated that ample affidavits had been prepared to shew cause against the rule, but that, owing to Mr. Haywood's death, it must drop as a matter of course.

31. The young Queen of Naples, after giving birth to a son on the 16th of January, died of a bilious fever.

The Dublin Society, which is supported by a Parliamentary grant, some time ago refused to admit Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, as a member. Lord Morpeth, in an official letter addressed to the members of the society, called their attention, in the first place, to the opinion of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1829, to the effect that the "principle of admission by ballot in a society mainly supported by the public purse is objectionable, and ought to be discontinued;" and secondly, to a Treasury Minute of November the 11th, 1831, expressive of their Lordships' concurrence in the above opinion. Lord Morpeth proceeded to state that the lord-lieutenant could not recommend the Government to continue the grant to the society, unless some modifications were introduced into its rules; and his Lordship being "anxious to carry along with him, in any projected remedies, the assent and assistance of the members," suggested that the society should appoint a Committee to confer with the Irish Government on the subject.

Feb. 2. Died, at Rome, Madame Maria Laetitia Bonaparte, mother of the Emperor Napoleon. She was born at Ajaccio, Corsica, August 24th, 1750.

— At a numerous meeting held at Guildford, which was attended by Lord Albert Conyngham, M.P., W. J. Denison, Esq., M.P., J. Mangles, Esq., M.P., W. Crawford, Esq., M.P., an association was formed for the protection of the liberal interest in the western division of Surrey.

3. At a Court held at St. James's a proclamation was ordered for the issue of a new silver coin of the value of fourpence.

— The western roads rendered impassable for several hours in consequence of a heavy fall of snow, which pre-

vented several Members reaching London in time for the opening of Parliament.

5. Cleave, a publisher of London, convicted on the suit of the Crown in penalties of 600*l.* for issuing a newspaper without a stamp. The venders of unstamped newspapers in several of the large provincial towns have also been subjected to legal proceedings.

— *The Gazette* contained the appointments of Lord Segrave as lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Gloucester; of Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq., as lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Monmouth; and of Henry Williams, Esq., as lord-lieutenant of the county of Brecon.

11. A deputation waited upon Lord Melbourne to ask for the entire abolition of the newspaper stamp. Dr. Birkbeck, Mr. Hume, Colonel Thompson, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Grote, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Buckingham spoke in favour of the measure, and Lord Melbourne, after alluding to the importance of the question as it affected the pursuits, habits, feelings, and opinions of the people, said that the reasons adduced in favour of abolition should meet with that serious and anxious attention which they certainly deserved.

12. An order of the Speaker of the House of Commons appeared in *The Gazette*, directing the re-assembling of the Dublin Election Committee on the 29th of February, to take into consideration the Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine evidence in Ireland.

15. The Court of Peers passed sentence of death on Fieschi, Pepin, and Morey; Boireau was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment, and Bescher was acquitted. Fieschi and his two accomplices were executed on Friday February 19.

17. A fire which broke out in the spire or belfry of Spitalfields church occasioned the destruction of the interior of those portions of the edifice. The woodwork which supported the peal of twelve bells, one of which weighed 44 cwt., having been consumed, they fell one by one with a tremendous crash. The damage is estimated at 4000*l.* The organ, which cost 1800*l.*, was injured by the water thrown by the engines, and narrowly escaped destruction.

— At a Court of Common Council 200 guineas were voted towards the expenses of the expedition for rescuing the ice-bound whalers. The sum of 100 guineas was afterwards proposed to be voted to the Irish clergy, and an amendment being made to increase the sum to 200 guineas, it was carried by 57 to 47. The grant was accompanied by a Resolution, regretting that the resistance of one branch of the Legislature had placed the Irish clergy under the necessity of appealing to private benevolence; which was carried by 60 to 53.

— The claims of the maritime officers of the East India Company, who, not having been on actual service within five years prior to the month of August, 1833, were excluded from compensation by the Board of Directors,—were this day negatived in a Court of Proprietors, by a majority of 25. About 500 proprietors voted.

18. The *Jane*, one of the missing whalers, reached Hull, having got clear of the ice on the 31st of January, in lat 58° N. long. 56° 40″ W. The captain reports that the *Middleton*, of Aberdeen, was lost on the 15th of November, and the crew, 49 in number, were taken on board the *Jane*, which then contained 98 men: 22 of the *Middleton's* crew were afterwards put on board the *Viewforth*, of Aberdeen. The men on board the *Jane* were placed on short allowance on the 2nd of November. The *Viewforth* reached Stromness the day after the *Jane*, the crew having endured great sufferings, and 14 of them had been buried at sea. There are now only two vessels detained in the ice, and it is hoped that Captain Ross will be enabled to afford them timely relief.

19. Rev. R. D. Hampden, D.D. appointed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

21. Death of Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham.

The following paragraphs respecting the state of trade are taken from provincial papers:—"The silk trade in Lancashire was never so brisk at present. Manufacturers are seeking weavers in the country every day."—"With a few exceptions, the linen manufacturers of Barnsley have cheerfully agreed to a new list of prices which the weavers had presented to them."—*Leeds Mercury*,—"Two hundred tons of flax were lately brought to market in Londonderry from the country, and sold for exportation to England and Scotland, at 3*l.* per cwt., thus realizing 12,000*l.*"—*Irish Paper*.——"We have heard that an eminent master in Glamorganshire has an order for 2000 tons of iron for Africa."—*Sheffield Mercury*.——"The iron works in the neighbourhood of Bradford are in a state of almost unexampled activity. An additional blast has lately been erected at Bowling; and the supply of workmen is not adequate to the demand. Orders are, in consequence, accumulating."—*Leeds Mercury*.——"A considerable advance has taken place in the wages of journeymen nail-makers in all the villages in the neighbourhood of Rotherham and Barnsley"—*Sheffield Mercury*.——"The whole of the Belper (Derbyshire) horse-nail-makers are now in work, at an advance of 4*d.* per thousand, after having been out on a strike for six weeks."—*Sheffield Mercury*.——"We hear that the price of iron was raised 2*l.* per ton, at the Low Moor and Bowling iron works on Monday last."—*Leeds Mercury, Feb.* 6.——"The file-makers in this town, with some exceptions, last week gave over working, *en masse*, in order to compel the masters to give an advance of wages."—*Sheffield Mercury. Feb.* 13.——One of the manufacturers of Sheffield has issued an address in which it is stated that the advance claimed by the men is equivalent to 20 per cent. on the present wages, which are already higher than was ever given in Sheffield, while the prices of food, &c. are remarkably low. It is conceived by many that some of the processes of file-making might be completed by mechanical means, in which case the men would, for a time, assuredly be losers. The present strike is calculated to bring about this change, as the masters assert that they are undersold by the file-makers of Wolverhampton and Birmingham. On Friday, Feb. 12, several disputed cases of file-makers' wages were brought before the magistrates, and after an excellent address from the bench by Mr. Parker, they were, with one exception, remanded, in the hope that an amicable settlement of the differences between the masters and men would be effected. The case on which the magistrates adjudicated, was a summons by one of the file-makers for his week's wages, amounting to 22*s.*; and to witness the decision the Sessions-room was attended by hundreds of men who might have been taking advantage of the present flourishing state of the trade. The *Sheffield Mercury* states that "the Sessions-room was crowded to excess in every part. In fact, we never saw it more full either on the occasion of a public meeting or a quarter-sessions."—"The mining districts of Derbyshire are in a complete state of activity. Lead has advanced from 9*l.* per ton to upwards of 18*l.* and there is a steady demand. Fresh ground is fixed upon ready to be broken into.—*Sheffield Mercury, Jan.* 30.——"British pig-lead at this moment bears the high price of 21*l.* per ton, being an advance of nearly 100 per cent. on that article within the space of twelve months, and with the prospect of the price increasing."—*Leeds Mercury, Feb.* 6.——"At Rochdale, manufacturers have great difficulty in getting workmen to supply their orders, and if the demand continues, an advance of wages is almost certain."—*Leeds Mercury*——"There has been another brisk market at Bradford to-day (Feb. 11). The stocks in the manufacturers' hands are small; some have none beyond the produce of their looms for the week. The farmers are beginning to demand extravagant prices for wool."—*Leeds Mercury*.——"The cotton trade of Scotland continues to increase every year. Last year the increase was more than 3800 bags. Total consumption, nearly 100,000 bags, 32,000,000lbs. at 9*d.*; value of yarn spun, 2,130,000*l.*; of which above one-half was exported. Left for manufacturing, 1,600,000*l.*; expense and profit of manufacturing, 1,200,000*l.*, making the value of manufactured goods, 2,800,000*l.*"—*Glasgow Chronicle*.——"The increase of Customs' duties at this port for the past year, as compared with the preceding, has been 105,580*l.*"—*Bristol Journal*.——"The corn trade, which has been so long depressed, has at last begun to look up again. Since the rise in prices commenced, there has been an advance of about 1*s.* a bushel on wheat in the Liverpool market."—*Liverpool Times*, Feb. 16.——"Corn has taken an advance in Selby market of 2*s.* per quarter."—*Leeds Mercury*, Feb. 20.——A reference to the returns from 'The London Gazette,' in another column, will show that this rise of prices is general.

THE METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. 97, FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVID BOUDRET.

In remarking on his
FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,
G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes, to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for.... £3 0
Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10
Black and Blue 10s extra on each
Buckskin Trousers, on G D D's new principles of Measurement, 1 8
Waistcoats 14
Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6
These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing, short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES
Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes, also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison, in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and 1st Fit rate) £2 5
Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10
Black or Blue, 5s each extra
Trousers 1 1
Waistcoats 10
The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10
A good Cloth ditto with Fur Collar and Cape—9 yds round 3 3
Milled Petersham Great Coat 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES
As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges. G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black, his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for:
Two Suits per Annum..... £10 0
Three ditto ditto 14 10
Four ditto ditto 19 12
and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of first rate Liveries £3 18 6
For **WASHING TROWSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROWSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each

G D D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN,** that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

TERMS—Cash on Delivery, without Discount Country Orders must be accompanied by a Reference in Town.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

TO THE NOBILITY, GENTRY AND PUBLIC

Junction 1836

FAMILIES OF DISTINCTION, and Visiters to the Metropolis who at this Season frequently experience great difficulty in suiting themselves with Furnished or Unfurnished Houses, owing to the great demand are respectfully informed that every assistance will be afforded in the HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY DEPARTMENT of HENRY L. COOPER in obtaining or disposing of the same on the Selling, Letting, or Valuing any description of Property in Town or Country

From the central situations of the Establishments in their respective commanding localities every facility is rendered to Families honouring his House with their instructions, and offering the advantage of a double Register, usually replete with eligible properties

The general introduction of Plate Glass for Windows, Carriages, Conservatories, Internal Decorations &c., has induced H. L. C. to annex a Tariff of Sizes adapted to those uses, with Prices exceedingly moderate but of a Quality not to be excelled An outline of his general business also is added, comprising the Cabinet Upholstery, and Decorative Departments, in each of which the most careful attention is paid both to Quality and Cost.

HENRY L. COOPER,

Plate Glass and Furniture Warehouses,
93, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN,
AND
WESTERN BRANCH 57, CONDUIT STREET
(NINE DOORS FROM REGENT STREET, LEFT HAND SIDE)

Among the variety of Articles above referred to, will be found LOOKING GLASSES of every denomination and size, varying from one foot to eighty feet and upwards PLATE-GLASS for Windows, Carriages, &c., which possess great advantages over crown, and when required for exportation, a considerable drawback of tax!

Annexed are the Prices of Current Sizes of Plate glass, for Sashes, &c.

In	Inches 15	Inches 18	Inches 20	Inches 22	Inches 25	Inches 28	Inches 30
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 7 5	0 9 3	0 10 6	0 11 9	0 13 8	0 15 6	0 16 11
11	0 8 4	0 10 5	0 11 10	0 13 2	0 15 3	0 17 6	0 19 2
12	0 9 3	0 11 6	0 13 0	0 14 6	0 16 11	0 19 8	1 1 6
13	0 10 2	0 12 7	0 14 4	0 15 11	0 18 10	1 1 10	1 3 9
14	0 11 2	0 13 9	0 15 6	0 17 6	1 0 9	1 3 11	1 6 1
15	0 12 1	0 14 11	0 16 11	0 19 2	1 2 8	1 6 1	1 8 2
16	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 18 6	1 0 10	1 4 7	1 8 0	1 10 0
17	0 13 11	0 17 4	1 0 0	1 2 7	1 6 6	1 9 9	1 11 10
18	0 14 11	0 18 3	1 1 6	1 4 3	1 8 2	1 11 6	1 13 9
19	0 15 10	1 0 2	1 3 2	1 5 11	1 9 8	1 13 2	1 15 7
20	0 16 11	1 1 6	1 4 6	1 7 6	1 11 3	1 15 0	1 17 6
22	0 19 2	1 4 3	1 7 6	1 10 3	1 14 5	1 18 6	2 1 3
25	1 2 8	1 8 2	1 11 3	1 14 5	1 19 1	2 3 9	2 6 11
28	1 6 1	1 11 6	1 15 0	1 18 6	2 3 9	2 9 0	2 12 6
30	1 8 2	1 13 9	1 17 6	2 1 3	2 6 11	2 12 6	2 16 3
32	1 10 0	1 16 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 10 0	2 16 0	3 0 0
34	1 11 10	1 18 3	2 2 6	2 6 9	2 13 2	2 19 6	3 3 9
36	1 13 9	2 0 6	2 5 0	2 9 6	2 16 3	3 3 0	3 7 6
38	1 15 7	2 2 9	2 7 6	2 12 3	2 19 4	3 6 6	3 11 3
40	1 17 6	2 5 0	2 9 11	2 15 0	3 2 6	3 10 0	3 16 5

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9s. per foot, thus a plate being 30 inches by 18 inches contains 3 feet 9 inches superficial measure, and costs 1l 13s. 9d., as per above tariff. All under 3 feet superficial at a reduction.

SECOND HAND LOOKING-GLASSES.

Several superb Glasses, varying in size 8 feet, 9 feet, 10 feet, and upwards in length, by 5 feet and 5 feet 6 inches in width, at a considerable reduction from the present tariff prices. Or lent on Hire by the month or season.

CARVING AND GILDING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

In this department will be found a very elegant and extensive variety of Chimney and Pier Glass Frames, Cornices for Windows, Ornamental Tables and Furniture and richly Ornamented Frames in various sizes for Portraits, Paintings, &c Paintings and Prints mounted, framed, and re-gilt.

PAPER HANGING AND INTERIOR DECORATIONS,

in all its Branches, from the most simple to the first Style of Elegance. A rich variety of new Patterns on show

IN THE UPHOLSTERY ARRANGEMENT

the greatest attention is paid to unite elegance with economy in character for the Drawing room, Boudoir Dining room Library, and Bed chamber, from the most quiet to the most costly style In the various articles of Chintzes, Moreens Damask &c., &c., a great variety of the most splendid and novel styles are constantly on view, of those qualities which can alone ensure permanent satisfaction the extreme disparity of prices in these articles, mainly arises from the inferiority of the fabric

CABINET, CHAIR, AND SOFA WORK

manufactured of the most seasoned materials In the finish of Chairs, Sofas, &c much depends on the quality of the materials used and the workmanship It may not be unworthy of remark, that a similar effect may be produced at a saving of nearly one half But which in the wear must eventually prove a serious disappointment to the purchaser This applies also to the manufacture of Cabinet Goods, which, from being made of unseasoned materials and unsound work (that cannot be detected by the casual observer) cannot be of that service and durability so essential H. L. C. begs to add that he manufactures them on his own premises and has always on hand a large stock of well-seasoned materials, which enables him to produce work at the lowest possible rate, and of a superior quality

STEAM AND SAILING VESSELS PROMPTLY FITTED UP.

Cabin Furniture and Passengers Requisites Solid and Portable Furniture, Bedding, Musquito Hangings &c for Foreign Climates Families going abroad will receive every information respecting the Articles best adapted for their particular destination Merchants, Captains and Dealers supplied with the utmost despatch on the most reasonable terms

CARPETING

of the fabric especially made for the first upholstery houses viz—Brussels, Kidderminster and Venetian, also a view of the much admired Velvet Pile Carpets, Hearth Rugs Druggets, Baize, Floor Cloths, &c

BEDDING, BLANKETS &c,

well seasoned real Dantzic Feathers, also equally prepared light downy Feathers for Foreign and Bed Beds, Elastic Spring Hair and Wool Mattresses, real Witney, fine Bath and York Blankets Marseilles Quilts and Counterpanes In the articles of Bedding, Blankets &c so essentially important to all, H. L. C. is determined that no trader shall supply them on better terms.

HOUSE AGENCY.

A Register is kept at both Establishments for the disposal or procuring of every description of Houses, Furnished or Unfurnished, Estates, &c. Properties surveyed, and Fixtures appraised

FUNERALS

furnished and conducted with the greatest propriety, and with every consistent regard to economy

Families in the Country may command the most approved Taste, by being waited on at Home with Patterns—and Designs made on the spot, calculated to harmonize with the plans, proportions, and decorations of the rooms; and their Orders delivered, and fixed on terms forming a very small addition to the first cost by the system adopted by this Concern.

With this short enumeration of the leading articles of his trade, and the very favourable terms on which he undertakes to supply them, Henry L. Cooper appeals to all classes for a continuation of that flattering preference hitherto afforded to his House, 93, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN; WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT-STREET, nine doors from REGENT-STREET.

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the Address

N.B. Any Article will be exchanged should a fair objection arise, thus securing the public from imposition.

PARTICULARS
OF
BANK AND OTHER SHARES,
IN
NEW SOUTH WALES.

	Capital.	Description of Shares.	Amount paid to 30th June, 1835.	Premium.	Dividends. Rate per ann.	Dividends. Payable.
	£	£	£			
Bank of New South Wales	150,000	100	70,000 A	According to the sum paid upon the several shares. £14	21½ per cent.	Jan and July.
——— Australia	220,000	100	70,000 B		24 „	„ „
Commercial Banking Company of Sydney	300,000	100	57,000 C		15 „ D	„ „
Bathurst Bank	10,000	10	5,000		First 10s., declared in London	
Australian Agricultural Company	1,000,000	100	240,000			
——— Steam Conveyance Company	2,000	5	2,600			
——— Marine Assurance Company	140,000	100	14,000	35 per cent.	14 „	Jan. and July
——— Flour Company	10,000	5	3,000	17 „		

A May be paid in full.
B Voluntary payments of 8l. 15s. per share (to equalize shares to 30l., 40l., or 50l.), allowed to be made till 31st December next.
C May be paid in full.
D The Dividend at this rate is for the first eight months to 30th June, after deducting a proportion of the extraordinary expenses of this new establishment.

N.B.—The Dividend on Bank Shares is upon the Sum paid; at the present rate of Premium it affords an interest of upwards of 16l. per cent. per ann., upon the money invested.

W. BARTON, Accountant and Agent,
MACQUARIE PLACE, SYDNEY.

Further particulars had of WM. HENRY BARNARD, New Road, facing the Marylebone Workhouse.

NEW SYSTEM AT BULL'S LIBRARY,
19 HOLLES-STREET,
Four doors from Cavendish-square.

THE NEW SYSTEM now adopted by EDWARD BULL, at his extensive Library, is not only to insure more immediate supplies of all the New Publications and Standard Works for perusal, in the English and Foreign Languages, 24 volumes at a time, for £6 6s. the year, but to allow Subscribers to have, gratis, any of the New Works they wish to possess to the amount of Two Guineas, and Catalogues, Boxes, &c., free of expense. Societies also supplied in all parts of the kingdom

Address to EDWARD BULL, Librarian, 19, Holles street.

COUNTY REFORM
This day is published, price 4d., for distribution,
THE MAGISTRACY of ENGLAND, its Abuses, and their Remedy in Popular Election.—By J. HINDE PALMER, Esq
Second Edition, with Additions.

Price Sixpence each,
THOUGHTS UPON THE ARISTOCRACY OF ENGLAND, Parts I. and II.—By ISAAC TOMKINS, Gent.
H. HOOPER, 13, Pall-mall East.

Second Edition, price 1s.,
LETTERS on the CORN LAWS, and on the Rights of the Working Classes, originally inserted in the "Morning Chronicle;" showing the injustice, and also the impolicy, of empowering those among a people, who have obtained the proprietary possession of the lands of a country, to increase, artificially, the money value of their exclusive estates, by means of arbitrary charges, made on the rest of the people, for the necessaries of life.—By H. B. T.
HENRY HOOPER, 13, Pall-mall East.

Second Edition, price 9s.,
THE HISTORY and PRINCIPLES of BANKING. By JAMES WILLIAM GILBART, General Manager of the London and Westminster Bank.

"Combining a clear appreciation of the science of Banking with the best practical knowledge of his business, we have seen no work on this subject which better deserves to be consulted and studied than Mr. Gilbart's volume."—Literary Gazette.

"He is fully master of the details, and ascends with equal ease to the examination of the elementary principles."—Atlas.

"This subject, which is generally considered abstruse and recondite, has been by the pen of Mr. Gilbart rendered so plain that the most ordinary capacity may easily comprehend it. The 'History and Principles of Banking' should be in the hands of every man who wishes to be acquainted with the manner in which the money transactions of this great country are carried on."—Waterford Chronicle.

"His work may be advantageously consulted for a practical knowledge of banking in all shapes, from the Bank of England down to loan banks, and the new law to facilitate the purchase of small annuities."—Spectator.

"We have been highly pleased with its agreeable and instructive character, and we think that no man connected with trade should be without this book."—Monthly Review.

"It is a clear well-written work, and must have been written by a person endowed with a liberal and an impartial mind."—Metropolitan Magazine.

"A more complete and accurate work, with less irrelevant matter, we never read."—Gentleman's Magazine.

Also, by the same Author, "A Practical Treatise on Banking." Third edition, price 8s.—"A valuable and useful little work."—M'Culloch's Smith's Wealth of Nations.

London:—LONGMAN and Co., 39, Paternoster-row.

SECOND EDITION of FRASER'S MAGAZINE for JANUARY is now ready. This Number has been reprinted to enable new Subscribers to commence the Volume which began with the year 1836. The cost is only half-a-crown monthly. 215, Regent-street, London.

THE NEW FLAT GOLD WATCHES.—The price in gold cases, with accurately-finished vertical movements, 7l. 7s. Ditto, with the well-finished horizontal movements, in double-bottomed engine-turned cases, jewelled in four holes, with silver dial, 9l. 9s.—T. COX SAVORY'S Working Silversmith and Jeweller, 47, Cornhill, London.

N.B. A variety of second-hand Silver Watches may be selected from, all at Two Guineas each, warranted.

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials, having gained for E. P. BOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting their unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to ensure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	£3	3	0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s. each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10s. 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES,
(The old suits to be returned.)

Two Suits per year	£7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s.; Hussar Suits, 30s.

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud-boots, and Gambadoes; India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to
E. P. BOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard-street.
Established Fifty Years.

*** *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*
Clerk, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 40. APRIL 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
History, Constitution, and Statistics of Denmark - -	63	Resolutions of the House of Commons on Railways -	83
The Funds (continued from No 39) - - - - -	67	Past and Present State of Ceylon - - - - -	83
Political Retrospect for March, 1836 - - - - -	71	Accidents in Mines - - -	86
State of the Established Church in England and Wales with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenue -	79	Medical Education - - -	87
Military Punishments - -	82	Education and Legislative Provisions for Education in the United States - -	88
Report of the Carlow Election Committee - - -	83	Parliamentary Register - -	89
		Abstracts of Returns presented to Parliament - - -	90
		Miscellaneous - - - -	92
		Chronicle of Occurrences -	*ib*

HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, AND STATISTICS OF DENMARK.

THERE is scarcely another country in Europe which, for many years past, has been so little interesting in a political point of view as Denmark. Since the curtailment of the dominions of his Danish Majesty about twenty years ago, first by the separation of Norway, and soon after by the exchange with Prussia of Pomerania for Lauenburg, the name of the country has scarcely been mentioned in an English newspaper. The spirit of constitutional reform, however, which has sprung up since the termination of the war in so many other states, including some of the foremost as well as some of the most subordinate in the European confederacy, has at length awakened also in Denmark, the government of which has for nearly two centuries had the distinction of being theoretically the only perfectly absolute monarchy in Christendom. A short sketch, therefore, of the past history and existing condition of this kingdom, may be acceptable at the present moment. The historical and statistical details which we shall now present, will be followed in our next Number by an account of the recent changes which have been adopted in the constitution.

The peninsula of Jutland, which forms in point of extent the principal part of modern Denmark, was known to the Ancients by the name of the Cimbric Chersonese, that is, the peninsula of the Cimbri The Cimbri are famous in Roman history for their invasion of Italy about a century before the commencement of our era, after they had already repeatedly defeated the Roman armies in Gaul, on one occasion, it is said, with the slaughter of 80,000 soldiers, and about half that number of followers of the camp. They had even, in conjunction with their allies, the Teutoni, advanced nearly to the Po before their further progress was put a stop to by the great victory obtained over them by Marius. Who the Cimbri were, or whence they originally came, is a question that must be left almost to mere conjecture, although several probabilities may seem to support the common traditionary account, that they and all the other German tribes were of Asiatic descent. Tacitus mentions the Cimbri in his 'Germany,' as living adjacent to the ocean, and as of great renown for their former power, although reduced to a small state in his time. As for the name Jutland, which the district where the Cimbri dwelt afterwards obtained, it means the land of the *Jutes*, which appears to be only another form of the name *Getae*, or *Goths*. The Goths and other tribes seem to have eventually supplanted the Cimbri in these regions, or at least to have established a name there which left that of more ancient renown in the shade. Sweden, also, or at least a large part of that country, came to be called Gothland, and retains the name to this day.

Among the tribes whose residence he seems to place near the Elbe, Tacitus mentions the Angli. Enumerating them along with various neighbouring tribes, he describes the entire cluster as encompassed with the natural defences of rivers and forests, and as chiefly distinguished for their common worship of the goddess *Herthum*, or Mother Earth. The Angli, along with the Saxons and the Jutes, formed the combination of invaders who conquered South Britain in the fifth century, and from whom the English people of the present day are chiefly descended. It is from the Angles that England takes its name, and with some reason; since, although the Saxon kingdom of Wessex eventually obtained the ascendancy among the states of the Heptarchy, the portion of the country originally overrun and settled by the Angles was greatly more extensive than that taken possession of by the Saxons. All England to the north of the Thames, with the exception only of the county of Essex, was peopled in the Anglo-Saxon times by the Angles. Bede records, that the original seat of the Angles lay between the districts inhabited by the Jutes and the Saxons; and he adds, that it was in his time (the early part of the eighth century) still called *Angulus*, and that it was said to have remained waste or uninhabited ever since the time it had poured its entire population into Britain. "Seeing," says Camden, "between Juitland and Holsatia, the ancient seat of the Saxons, there is a small province of the kingdom of Denmark, under the city of *Flensburg*, called at this day *Angel*, which Lindebergius, in his Epistles, terms *Little* England, I am pretty well assured that I have found the ancient seat of our forefathers, and that from this very place the Angles came into our island." "The famous tract of land called *Angeln*," says Busching, "which is five Danish miles in length and four in breadth, (about twenty miles English by sixteen) lies between the gulf of *Flensburg* and that called the *Sley*. It includes the *Hardes* of *Huesby*, *Nie*, with a great part of that of *Uggel* in the prefecture of *Flensburg*; part of the territory of *Glucksburg*, the provostship of *Gettingen*, and the *Hardes* of *Sturdorf* and *Schluss*, in the prefecture of *Gottorf*." The following notice of the modern state of this district is given by Dr. Edward Clarke, who passed through Jutland in 1799 ('Travels, Part 3rd, 4to. London, 1819'):—"The part of the Duchy of Sleswick which a traveller must pass in his route from Flensburg to Apenrade is particularly interesting to Englishmen, because the very name of their country, the features of its inhabitants, and many of its manners were hence derived. It is called ANGELN; but this word is pronounced exactly as we pronounce *England*, or *Angelonde*. We were surprised at the number of English faces we met; and resemblance is not confined to features. Many articles of dress and many customs are common to the two countries. The method of cultivating and dividing the land is the same in both; the

 [Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

meadows bounded by quickset hedges, or by fences made of intertwisted boughs, reminded us of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. The natural appearance of the country is also like the south of England, being diversified by numerous hills and valleys, adorned with flourishing woods and fertile fields." The Angli, however, it may be added, are believed to have been originally a colony of the Angrivarii, a nation who occupied modern Holstein and a part of Westphalia, and who were themselves a branch of the Saxons. They are also mentioned by Tacitus.

It is now generally agreed that the term Denmark is a compound of *Daim*, signifying *Low*, and *Mark*, signifying *Fields*—two words still in use in the dialect of Holstein. The name, therefore, means the low or flat country. The Danes begin first to be heard of, under that name, in the ninth century; but it does not appear to have been applied with much precision; the bands of pirates, from the whole of the north-east of Germany and Scandinavia, who then commenced making descents upon the coasts both of France and England, and who eventually effected extensive settlements in both, being indiscriminately called either Danes, or Lombards, (that is, men wearing long beards) or, generally, Normans—that is, men from the north.

The early part of the history of Denmark is exceedingly obscure, and one or two events make up all that it contains of much interest or importance in more recent times. The Danes remained Pagans till the tenth century; but their old chroniclers give the country a succession of kings from some time before the commencement of the Christian era; the first of these being Skiold, the son of Odin, from whom the succeeding kings took the name of Skioldungs. At the same time, it is very uncertain over what extent of territory these ancient sovereigns held sway; and, even, whether the royal dignity was hereditary or elective. It appears to have at last become the custom to elect to the vacant throne the son, or other near relation of the deceased king, who was thought fittest to succeed. Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar III., ascended the throne on the death of her father in 1375. This princess had been previously married to Haquin, King of Norway, and by him had a son, Olaf, or Olaus, who on the death of Haquin succeeded to that kingdom. Olaus, however, died in early youth in 1387; upon which the crown of Norway fell to his mother. Two years after, she also obtained that of Sweden, on Albert, the king of that country, being deposed by his subjects. The three kingdoms were afterwards formally united by the Act of the States assembled at Calmar, in Sweden, on the 17th of June, 1397. By this arrangement, it was agreed that the three kingdoms should choose the king in succession; that if the last king should have left only one son, he should be elected; if several sons, any one of them might be fixed upon; if only daughters, "the States," said the Act, "will follow in this respect what the law ordains" Finally, if the former king should have died childless, "then," it was declared, "the Senators and the States-deputies of the three kingdoms in concert, with the Divine assistance, shall elect him whom they believe before God to be the most worthy, as most capable of the Government." The king, it was moreover decreed, should govern according to the laws and customs of each kingdom.

Margaret, at her death in 1412, left her triple crown to Eric, Duke of Pomerania, a grandson of her sister. The union of Calmar, however, was at length dissolved in 1523, when the Swedes, having expelled Christian II., chose a king for themselves in the person of their countryman, the famous Gustavus Vasa.

For more than a century after this time, the royal authority in Denmark continued to be subject, as it had always been, to the control of the States of the kingdom, composed of the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Commons. But in 1660, in the reign of Frederick III., the clergy and the commons having united with the king against the nobles, who had come to exercise by far the greatest sway in the state, and had long irritated the other classes by their insolence and oppression, the old constitution was wholly abrogated, and in its place was established a monarchy, hereditary both in the male and female line, and invested with absolute power. From this time, down to the late change, the whole constitution of Denmark was contained in a *Lex Regia*, or royal law, which was drawn up and subscribed by Frederick III. on the 14th of November, 1665, and was first published by Frederick IV. on the 4th of September, 1709. It consists of forty articles, which are wholly occupied with the rules to be observed in the descent of the crown, and with an exposition of the unlimited character of the royal authority.

Norway remained united with Denmark till 1814, when, by the arrangements of the general peace, it was made over to Sweden, his Danish Majesty being obliged to accept of the very inadequate compensation of Swedish Pomerania in exchange for it. Swedish Pomerania was subsequently exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg and a sum of money.

In their present state, the dominions of the King of Denmark consist of Jutland, the duchy of Sleswick or South Jutland, the duchy of Holstein, the duchy of Lauenburg, the islands of Zealand, Funen, Langeland, Falster, Laaland, Bornholm, and others, in the Baltic, and on the west coast of Jutland, the island of Iceland, the Feroe Islands, West Greenland; the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, in the West Indies; the settlements of Tranquebar and Serampore in the East Indies; and the forts of Christianborg, Fredericksborg, and a few others, on the west coast of Africa.

According to the last census, taken in 1827, the population of the Danish dominions in Europe was as follows:—

Denmark Proper, including Sleswick	1,521,270
Duchy of Holstein	374,740
Duchy of Lauenburg	35,640
Feroe Isles	5,500
Total	1,937,150
To which may be added—	
Iceland	49,820
Greenland	5,740
West India Islands	46,290
African Possessions	25,000
Tranquebar and Serampore	61,000
Total	2,125,000

According to the English translation of Malte Brun's Universal Geography (Vol. VIII, Edinburgh, 1833), from which we take these details of the population, the Danish army amounted, in 1825, to 60,000 men, and the navy consisted of four ships of the line, seven frigates, and eighteen vessels of inferior size. The same authority states the public revenue at 40,000,000 francs, and the debt at 270,000,000.

From a Report addressed to the King by the Copenhagen Society for Elementary Instruction, an extract from which was published in the 'Revue Encyclopedique' for April, 1828, it appears that the number of primary schools in the country at that time was not less than 4500. The instruction afforded by these schools comprehends not only reading and writing, and instruction in religion, but also history, geography, and natural history. Popular education may, probably, be considered to be in as advanced a state in Denmark as in any country of Europe.

The most ample details we have met with respecting the present condition of Danish commerce are those given in the Official Tables of the Board of Trade, as

abstracted from the communications of the British Consul at Elsineur (Folio, 1834, pp. 556—561). We shall subjoin a few particulars selected from these Tables.

The number of vessels, from all countries, which entered the port of Copenhagen in 1826 was 1266; in 1827, 1280; in 1828, 1227; in 1829, 1465; in 1830. 1608; and in 1831, 1505. Of the 1505 in 1831, 309 were from Sweden, 305 from Prussia, 208 from Norway, 160 from Great Britain, 137 from Russia, and 90 from Finland. From China and the East Indies only one ship annually appears to have arrived throughout the period over which the statement extends; and from Africa not one all the time. We gather, indeed, from another Table, that the entire tonnage employed in the colonial trade of Denmark in 1831, as estimated by the vessels that entered the port of Copenhagen, was only, with Iceland, 6052 tons; with the Feroe Islands, 678; with Greenland, 1002; and with the West Indies, 5772: in all 13,504 tons, divided among 81 vessels.

The total number of Danish vessels that departed for foreign parts from all the ports in the kingdom, in the year 1830, was 4044; of which the total tonnage was 225,344. The principal importations were coals, salt, piece goods, and colonial produce from Great Britain; piece goods, tobacco, and colonial produce from Hamburg and Bremen; linen, flax, wood, staves and timber from Prussia; iron, tar, deals, timber, fish, herrings, and train-oil from Sweden and Norway; hemp, flax, ashes, tallow, seeds, and timber from Russia; piece-goods and colonial produce from the Netherlands; and wine, salt, and piece-goods from France. The exports in 1831 consisted of grain, malt, meal, peas, and beans, to the value of 446,037*l.*; rape-seed to that of 157,430*l.*; butter to that of 268,076*l.*; cheese to that of 6131*l.*; brandy, salted and smoked beef and pork, skins, ox and horse hides, wool, horses and cattle, and herrings, to that of 324,598*l.*; Eider-down, feathers, swan quills, lub [tub?] fish, dried fish, sheep and lamb skins, reindeer hides, seal skins, train oil, whale oil, tallow, woollen stockings, gloves, jackets, and Iceland wool to that of 50,648*l.*; and sugar and rum to that of 43,091*l.* Total value of the exports, 1,295,011*l.*

The declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from this country to Denmark in the year 1827, was 104,916*l.*; in 1828, 111,880*l.*; in 1829, 95,247; in 1830, 118,813; in 1831, 92,294*l.*; in 1832, 93,396*l.*; and in 1833, 99,951*l.* For the sake of comparison, we may mention that the declared value of British and Irish produce, exported in 1832, to the United States of America, was 5,468,272*l.*; to Germany, 5,068,997*l.*; to the Netherlands, 2,789,398*l.*; to Italy, 2,361,772*l.*; to Turkey, 915,319*l.*; to France, 674,791*l.*; to Portugal, 540,792*l.*; to Spain, 442,926*l.*; and to Russia, 1,587,250*l.* With the exception of Sweden and Norway, there is no country in the world to which the United Kingdom sends so small a quantity of its produce and manufactures as to Denmark. In 1832, the declared value of our exports of domestic produce to Sweden was 64,932*l.*, and to Norway, 34,528*l.*

The articles of British and Irish produce which were exported in most considerable quantities to Denmark, in 1832, were the following:—coals, culm, and cinders, 62,786 tons, of the declared value of 17,753*l.*; cotton manufactures, 295,658 yards, value 5702*l.* (the smallest quantity imported to any country in the world, with the exception of Sweden and Norway); cotton twist and yarn, 71,680 lbs., value 2320*l.*; earthenware, 592,924 pieces, value 4920*l.*; glass, 1008 cwts., value 4490*l.*; hardware and cutlery, 765 cwts., value 3988*l.*; iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, 1850 tons, value 14,664*l.*; and salt, 1,003,776 bushels, value 12,784*l.*

The following is an account of the quantities of all the foreign and colonial merchandize exported from the United Kingdom to Denmark in 1832:—cassia lignea, 22,668 lbs.; cochineal, 2029 lbs.; cocoa, 13,145 lbs.; coffee, 106,493 lbs.; ginger, 61 cwts.; shellac (gum), 2930 lbs.; indigo, 17,248 lbs.; mace, 374 lbs.; nutmegs, 710 lbs.; pepper, 5144 lbs.; pimento, 12,022 lbs.; rice, 313 cwts.; saltpetre unrefined, 869 cwts.; rum, 64,422 gallons; brandy, 1671 gallons; Geneva, 62 gallons; sugar unrefined, 7524 cwts.; tin, 13 cwts.; tobacco unmanufactured, 94,929 lbs.; wines of all sorts (principally Portugal and Spanish), 5141 gallons; and raw cotton, 45,881 lbs.

The quantities of the different articles imported from Denmark into the United Kingdom, in 1832, as compared with the quantities imported from all parts of the world, were as follows:—

Articles.	Imported from Denmark.		Total Imports.
Barks for tanning or dyeing	8,000 cwts.	out of	774,417
Butter	8,012 cwts.	„	130,925
Wheat	33,548 qrs.	„	391,646
Barley	54,859 qrs.	„	95,839
Oats	7,992 qrs.	„	28,858
Peas and Beans	7,044 qrs.	„	41,625
Flax and Tow	23 cwts.	„	982,516
Bear Furs	6 furs	„	21,565
Hides, untanned	7,256 cwts.	„	186,680
Pig Lead	29 tons	„	1,090
Clover Seed	1,271 cwts.	„	64,601
Flaxseed and Linseed	252 bushels	„	1,995,072
Rape Seed	415,729 bushels	„	582,145
Tare Seed	28,107 bushels	„	68,274
Skins, Calf and Kip, untanned	323 cwts.	„	50,042
—— Goat, untanned	513 skins	„	246,028
—— Kid, undressed.	17 skins	„	91,442
—— Seal, undressed.	10 skins	„	280,673
Brandy	6 gallons	„	2,671,828
Geneva	10 gallons	„	270,580
Tallow	1,947 cwts.	„	1,177,814
Tar	401 lasts	„	9,899
Timber, battens, and batten ends	6 gt. hds.	„	11,118
—— Deals, and deal ends	1 qr.	„ gt. hds.	51,263
—— Fir, Oak, and unenumerated 8 inch square, and upwards	346 loads	„	567,428
Bees' Wax	9 cwts.	„	4,349
Wool	302,818 lbs.	„	28,128,973
Wine	35 gallons	„	6,018,480
Linen Yarn, raw	268 cwts.	„	13,593

There was also imported about 20*l.* of linen cloth out of 447,049 lbs., 36,519 pieces, 48,781 square yards, and 10,737*l.* worth entered at value.

These statements sufficiently show the insignificance of our commercial intercourse with Denmark. From the last table it appears that there is not one article of which we receive the bulk of our imports from that country, with the single exception of rape seed; and even for that we are not dependent upon Denmark; the cultivation of rape being now carried on to a considerable extent in England. The only other articles of which Denmark sends us any considerable portion of the whole quantities that we obtain from abroad, are tare seed, wheat, and barley; but of all these our entire importations are quite unimportant.

Altogether the manufactures and commerce of Denmark are in a very backward and stationary condition, nor have the natural advantages of the country, which consist, however, not so much in its productive powers, as in its favourable position and its extent of sea-coast, been turned to anything like the account they might have been in the creation of national wealth. For a very long period the Danish Government has pursued the mistaken policy of endeavouring to call forth and stimu-

late the national industry by means of a forcing system, and seeking to plant and rear up particular arts and manufactures, not with any regard to their adaptation to the nature and resources of the country, but by fighting against nature with all sorts of restrictions and prohibitions. King Frederick IV., and his son and successor Christian VI., styled the Solomon of the North, whose reigns occupied the first forty-six years of the eighteenth century, have the credit of being the fathers of this system. "In the last century," says Busching, writing nearly a hundred years ago, "there were scarce any manufactures carried on in Denmark; for they were first introduced by Frederick IV. and Christian VI., and may possibly, in time, be farther improved. Here are artists of extraordinary skill at Copenhagen; and at present every branch of the mechanic arts is well executed in Denmark. Gold and silver lace, silk stuffs, and velvets, cloths, cotton and woollen stuffs, stockings, tapestry, hats, bastard and genuine porcelain, and fire-arms, are also manufactured in this kingdom. Here are, besides, paper and copper-mills, different sorts of iron wares made, one silk and two cotton printing-houses, with manufactories of soap, steel, starch, glue, lacker, tobacco, sugar, &c. The lace of Tondern and the gloves of Randers and Odensee are well known to be excellent in their kind. No foreign manufactures are allowed to be imported into Denmark; and, since the year 1736, the wearing of jewels, gold and silver stuffs, and foreign lace, has been prohibited. In 1738 a general warehouse, or magazine, was opened at the Exchange in Copenhagen, to which manufacturers bring all the wares which they cannot dispose of in other towns, and are paid ready money for them; and from this warehouse the goods are delivered out on credit to retailers."

Whatever expectations may have been entertained in Busching's time of the benefits likely to arise from this system, its mischievous effects were not long in becoming evident to intelligent and impartial observers. For instance, in a volume entitled "Observations on the present State of Denmark, Russia, and Switzerland," published in London in 1781, and the letters composing which are dated 1777, the writer, after describing the wretched state, both of the manufactures and agriculture of the country, and the slow progress they had made, notwithstanding the many laws and regulations that had been enacted during the late reigns for their encouragement, proceeds to remark—"But amidst all their systems of policy, the absolute prohibition of foreign manufactures seems to be a totally mistaken one; it has forced the industry of the country into channels it is unfit to pursue, and various articles, from different countries, only come loaded with the additional expense of smuggling. I need only instance their manufacture of superfine cloth, and that of silk. Owing to the necessity they are under of purchasing all the materials from foreign parts, and high wages paid to foreigners for their superintendence, the goods cannot be sold in the country under 50 per cent. dearer than the same manufactured goods from other nations, charged even with the risk of smuggling. The effect is the same with regard to articles of watchmaking, Birmingham goods, paper, leather, &c."

In recent times, however, the prohibitory system appears to have been occasionally relaxed, and again resorted to. According to the English edition of "Malte Brun's Geography," published at Edinburgh in 1831, there were, in 1826, in Copenhagen, 240 distilleries, 50 brewhouses, 30 manufactories of tobacco, 20 of woollen cloth, 15 of cotton goods, 18 of hats, 24 of gloves, 30 of linen, 29 tan works, and other establishments of a similar kind, employing in all more than 11,000 workmen. Since then, however, it is stated a system of new restrictions and prohibitions has laid prostrate all this activity and prosperity. The manufacture of brandy, in particular, and the commerce with India, both of which had been in a flourishing condition, are represented as having greatly fallen off. It is added that there is no longer almost any foreign trade—that all business has been concentrated at the free port of Altona—and that, at Copenhagen, houses have come down to so low a value that the proprietors are forced to sell them from inability to pay the taxes.

Under the present law, as stated by Mr. M'Culloch ("Dictionary of Commerce," second edition, article *Copenhagen*), foreign woollens and cottons "are not absolutely prohibited, but are admitted on condition of their being stamped, and put up to auction by the Custom House, which, after retaining 30 per cent. of the gross produce of the sale, pays over the residue to the importer, who is generally the purchaser. This oppressive regulation reduces the legitimate importation of these articles to next to nothing; but the illicit importation is very considerable, principally by the Elbe and the Holstein frontier." Mr. M'Culloch afterwards observes—"All, or nearly all, the branches of industry carried on in the kingdom are subjected to the government of guilds or corporations; no person can engage in any line of business until he has been authorized by its peculiar guild; and as the sanction of this body is rarely obtained without a considerable sacrifice, the real effect of the system is to fetter competition and improvement, and to perpetuate monopoly and routine. . . . . It would be idle to imagine that a country which has to import coal, should, however favourably situated in other respects, be able to manufacture cottons, woollens, &c., at so cheap a rate as they may be imported from others enjoying greater natural facilities for their production. But when, to the physical obstacles in the way of manufactures, we add others, not less formidable, of a political nature, the attempt to force them into existence by dint of Customs' duties and regulations, becomes absolutely ludicrous. The port charges and transit duties are also exceedingly heavy; and the Sound duties, being charged on native as well as foreign ships, operate as an inland duty on the trade between different parts of the country. We are glad, however, to be able to state that the more intelligent portion of the Danish people are quite aware of the mistaken policy on which they are now proceeding; and there is reason to believe that it will, at no distant period, be rendered more in accordance with the spirit of the age, and more conducive to the improvement of the people. In 1832 a petition, signed by almost all the merchants of Copenhagen, was addressed to the King, containing an able and distinct exposition of the circumstances which depress Danish commerce. The petitioners pray for the emancipation of commercial pursuits from all the restrictions laid upon them by guilds and corporations; or, in other words, for the freedom of industry, for a revision and reduction of the transit duties, and a change in the mode of charging the Sound duties; for a reduction of the tonnage duties, and a remission of the charge on account of light-money on ships arriving at Copenhagen that have already paid for the lights at Elsineur: they further pray for the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, and the freedom of trade to the East Indies and China; and for a reduction of the duties on several articles of domestic produce when exported, and of foreign produce when imported. What is here asked is so reasonable, and, if granted, would add so much to the real prosperity of the country, that we trust the government will earn for itself a new title to the public esteem, by honestly endeavouring to meet the wishes of the petitioners."

The treaties of alliance and commerce between Denmark and England, in old times, were very nume-

rous; and, from the middle of the fifteenth century, many of them are still on record. One which was agreed upon in 1490, between our Henry VII. and John, King of Denmark, is remarkable on account of the provisions it contains for the security of the possessions and property of Englishmen residing in Denmark, while no allusion is made to the circumstance of any Danes being resident in England. The fifth article declares that the English may freely possess and enjoy all their lands, places, and tenements, at Bergen, in Norway; at Lunden and Landskroon, in Schonen; and in the Isle of Zealand; also in Loysa, in Sweden, and other parts of the Danish King's territories; and that they may freely repair the same, and alienate them at pleasure. The sixth article is as follows:—"The English residing at Bergen, and other parts of the Danish monarchy, shall be at full liberty, according to custom, to erect themselves into societies, and elect governors or aldermen amongst themselves, for governing all the English there, and for determining all controversies amongst themselves. And if any Englishman there shall refuse to submit to the determinations of those governors, or aldermen, he shall forfeit all the English privileges there." Other articles provide for the nearest of kin, or in his absence the aldermen, administering to the effects of Englishmen dying intestate in Denmark, and for English merchants bringing packs of woollen cloth, or other merchandise, into the Danish territories, having liberty freely to unpack, sell, and exchange their goods at pleasure, without the presence of a Danish officer. "And the said merchants," it is added, "may, in the Ports of Copenhagen, Malmoe, and Landskroom, appoint their agent and factors for their benefit when absent, who may sell their cloth either in entire pieces, or by retail. The ninth article provides that the English residing or being in Denmark, shall not be arrested nor sued for any debt for which they are neither principals nor bail, nor for any transgression done by others; and that even in cases where they are principals, neither their persons nor goods shall be arrested or detained, provided they give security to stand to justice. Finally, it is declared that this present Treaty is not to derogate from any of the privileges and immunities granted by former Treaties to the English in the Danish territories.

Another of these Treaties is curious for the terms in which it adverts to a claim on the part of the King of Denmark, which is generally supposed to have been long before abandoned; for few people, probably, are aware that there was any doubt about Orkney and Shetland belonging to Great Britain in the year 1639. Yet, in a Treaty of Peace and commerce between Charles I. and his Danish Majesty, Christian IV., concluded in that year by Sir Thomas Rowe, at Gluckstad, the nineteenth article runs as follows:—And because the Isles of Orkney and of Shetland cannot well be omitted to be mentioned in this Treaty, it is now agreed that, during the lives of both Kings, and the life of the longest liver of them, nothing shall be moved or treated of concerning them: saving always, nevertheless, the rights or pretensions of their Majesties' successors." We are not aware that the quiescence to which the matter was thus solemnly consigned was ever broken, or that this strange claim has been hinted at on any more recent occasion. The Orkney and Shetland Isles, which were in the actual and uninterrupted possession of Scotland, from the date of the battle of Largs, in 1263, in the reign of Alexander III., are commonly stated to have been expressly made over to Alexander by Magnus IV., King of Norway in 1266, for a perpetual annuity of 100 marks. This annuity (which appears never to have been paid) was, with all arrears, resigned by Eric X. to James I., of Scotland, in 1426, and again, in more express terms, in 1468, in the contract of marriage between James III. and Margaret, only daughter of Christian I., King of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden.

THE FUNDS.

(*Continued from No.* 39.)

The fundholder, or the national creditor, as he is sometimes called, is differently placed from an ordinary creditor in this respect—that he has given up the right of ever demanding the repayment of his money from his debtor. In fact, he has, properly speaking, not lent his money, but invested it—he has purchased with it a perpetual (in some cases, indeed, only a terminable) annuity, which annuity, moreover, is subject to the peculiar condition that it may be redeemed on certain terms specified at the time of granting it, whenever the party it has been originally purchased from shall think fit.

The person, however, who has thus advanced his money to the State may sell to another person what he has purchased from the State—namely, his perpetual or terminable annuity; and this he might do at any time, even were there no particular arrangements made by the State to facilitate such transactions. The State, however, will, it is obvious, find its own operations in raising money in the way of loan, by providing some simple, easy, and unexpensive method of recording and legalizing transfers of stock. The annuity is made more valuable, or, in other words, will obtain a larger sum for the State, by its being made thus readily negotiable. Accordingly, the arrangements established for the general management of the national debt comprehend both the regular payment of the dividends, and the maintenance of an apparatus by which sales and purchases of stock may be always effected with the utmost possible expedition and security.

The management of the national debt is partly conducted at the Bank of England, and partly at the South Sea House, which last establishment is now kept up solely for that purpose. For this service the Bank of England has, since 1808, been paid at the rate of 340*l.* a million on 600,000,000*l.* of the debt, and of 300*l.* a million on the remainder; but by the late charter, granted in 1833, it was enacted that 120,000*l.* per annum should in future be deducted from the amount of these allowances. The entire cost of managing the national debt for the year 1833 was 271,352*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.*; at present, therefore, it is about 150,000*l.*

We shall now give a list of the different funds, or descriptions of stock, at present existing, with the amount of each on the 5th of January, 1834:—

1. *South Sea Stock*, divided into the Company's Stock, or trading capital, amounting to 3,662,784*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.*; Old South Sea Annuities, 3,497,870*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*; New South Sea Annuities, 2,460,830*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; and South Sea Annuities of 1751, 523,100*l.* These different descriptions of stock have all been created out of the capital of the famous South Sea Company, by successive Parliamentary arrangements, which it is unnecessary for our present purpose to detail. It is sufficient to state that the interest paid by the State upon the whole amount of this stock is now 3 per cent., although the dividends received by the proprietors of the 3,662,784*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.* of Company's trading stock is 3½ per cent. The additional half per cent. is obtained from certain fines to which the Company are entitled from ships trading within the bounds of their charter, and from the allowances made by Government for the management of this portion of the public debt.

2. *Debt due to the Bank of England*, amounting to

14,686,800*l.* This is money which has been advanced at different times by the Bank to the public; the Bank receives interest on it at the rate of 3 per cent.

3. *Bank Annuities, created in* 1726, amounting to 849,144*l.* This stock was originally 1,000,000*l.*, which was raised in 1726, by lottery, to pay off arrears that had accumulated on the Civil List, and for which Exchequer bills had been previously issued: it bears interest at 3 per cent.

4. *Consolidated Annuities*, commonly called *Three per Cent. Consols.* This is by far the largest of the public funds, its amount, in January 1834 having been 347,389,429*l.* 3*s.* 0¼*d.* It was originally formed by the union of several funds which had before been kept separate, in the year 1751. At this its commencement it amounted only to a little above 9,000,000*l.* The interest paid upon this stock, as its name imports, is also 3 per cent.

5. *Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities*, amounting to 123,664,029*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*. This stock consists of various sums which have been originally borrowed at a higher rate of interest, but on which the interest has been afterwards reduced at different times to 3 per cent., which it now is. The first of these reductions as made by an Act of Parliament passed in 1749, and the several funds so reduced were consolidated into one capital in 1757, at which time they amounted altogether only to 17,571,574*l.*

These are all the funds (exclusive of the Irish stock, to be afterwards noticed) which at present bear an interest of only 3 per cent., the lowest that is paid upon any portion of the public debt. Their total amount on the 5th of January 1834 was 496,733,987*l.* 0*s.* 5¾*d.*

6. *Annuities at* 3½ *per Cent.*, 1818, amounting to 12,218,850*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* This stock was formed in 1818, partly by the funding of a quantity of Exchequer bills, and partly by the conversion of certain 3 per cent. consolidated and 3 per cent. reduced annuities; the holders purchasing the additional half per cent. by a money subscription, which was paid over in aid of the Sinking Fund. To this extent, in point of fact, the transaction amounted to the raising of a new loan.

7. *Reduced* 3½ *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 62,851,418*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* This stock was formed in 1821, by the conversion of a former stock called the Old Four per Cents.

8. *New* 3½ *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 137,488,501*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This stock was formed in 1830 out of the former stock called the New Four per Cents. —(See "Companion," No 39, p 36, col. 2).

These three are the only British funds at present bearing an interest of 3½ per cent.

9. *Four per Cent. Annuities, created* 1826, amounting to 10,708,961*l.* This stock was formed by the funding of Exchequer bills in 1826 and 1829. It is the only British stock at present bearing an interest of 4 per cent.

10. *New* 5 *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 462,736*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This stock was formed in 1830, by the same arrangement out of which the New 3½ per Cent. Annuities then arose.—(See "Companion," No. 39, as above referred to).

The following are the descriptions of Irish Stock at present existing, with the amount of each on the 5th of January, 1834:—

1. Bearing interest at 3 per cent.:—*The Irish Consolidated* 3 *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 2,847,917*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*; and the *Irish* 3 *per Cent. Reduced Annuities*, amounting to 149,255*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*

2. Bearing interest at 3½ per cent.:—*The* 3½ *per Cent. Debentures and Stock*, amounting to 14,407,957*l.* a system; the *Reduced* 3½ *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 1,173,346*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; and the *New* 3½ *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 11,558,389*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

3. The only 4 per Cent. Irish stock is *The* 4 *per Cent. Debt due to the Bank of Ireland*, amounting to 1,615,384*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

4. Bearing interest at 5 per cent:—the *New* 5 *per Cent. Annuities*, amounting to 6661*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.*; and the 5 *per cent. Debt due to the Bank of Ireland*, amounting to 1,015,384*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

The total amount of the Irish debt on the 5th of January, 1834, was 32,774,295*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*

Besides these several stocks, there are the different descriptions of terminable annuities, all of which are also matter of purchase and sale in the money market. These, with the charges upon each for the year 1833, are—

1. *The Long Annuities*, occasioning an annual charge of 1,192,666*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* These have been granted, at different times, chiefly as premiums or douceurs to the subscribers to loans, and all expire on the 5th of January, 1860.

2. *The Annuities per* 4 *Geo. IV. ch.* 22, commonly called *The Dead Weight Annuity.* This is an annuity of 585,740*l.* paid every year by the public to the Bank of England, and to be so paid till the year 1867, in consideration of advances to the amount of 13,089,419*l.* made by that establishment between the years 1823 and 1828, both inclusive, for the payment of the pensions to naval and military officers which had become due at the close of the war in 1814. By this arrangement a portion of the burden of these pensions—which, in 1814, amounted to nearly 5,000,000*l.* per annum—is spread out over a considerably longer period than that to which it would otherwise naturally have been confined, and its pressure upon the more limited space lightened accordingly.

3. *Life Annuities per* 10 *Geo. IV., ch.* 24, occasioning a charge of 790,125*l.* 13*s.* These are annuities upon the lives of individuals, which the Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt were originally empowered to grant by an Act passed in 1808, in exchange for so much stock in interminable annuities as was calculated to be of equivalent value, according to a scale varying with the fluctuations in the prices of stocks. In 1829, however, Mr. Finlaison, the Government actuary, discovered that the tables which had been all along used in these calculations were so erroneous, at the present improved value of human life, as actually to be occasioning an annual loss to the public of not much under 100,000*l.* On this the Act of 1808, and other Acts which had been subsequently passed on the same principle, were immediately repealed, and the Act upon which the annuities are now granted substituted for them.

4. *Annuities for terms of years, under the same Act*, of which the present charge is 960,012*l.* 12*s.* These annuities are granted for various terms of ten years and upwards.

5. There are certain Tontines, and other Life Annuities granted by various Acts, of which those forming part of the English debt occasioned, in 1833, a charge of 22,043*l.* 7*s.* 3¾*d.*, and those forming part of the Irish debt, a charge of 34,230*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*

To this list we may add the two following descriptions of stock, as, although not forming portions of the public debt, being yet funds or capitals which are constantly operated upon by the sale and purchase of shares, in the transactions of the money market:—

1. *Bank Stock*, being the trading capital of the Bank of England, or that upon which interest is paid to the proprietors, amounting formerly to 14,553,000*l.*, but since the last renewal of the charter, in 1833, to only 10,914,250*l.* The interest paid upon this capital to the

shareholders was for some time—namely, from 1807 to 1823—as high as 10 per cent., and it is still 8 per cent. Extra distributions of profits have also been occasionally made.

2. *East India Stock*, or the capital belonging to the East India Company, amounting to 6,000,000*l.* Ever since 1793 the interest upon this stock has been 10½ per cent.

Besides these English funds, shares in many descriptions of foreign stocks, which have been created by loans raised in this country, are constantly for sale in the money-market, as are also shares in railway, canal, mining, and numerous other similar speculations. But to these it does not belong to our present purpose more particularly to advert.

The several establishments at which the different parts of the national debt are managed are the Bank of England, the South Sea House, the Bank of Ireland, and the National Debt Office in the Old Jewry. At the Bank of Ireland are paid all the dividends on Irish stock; and at the National Debt Office are paid the life annuities granted under 10th Geo. IV., and also the English and Irish tontines and other life annuities granted under various Acts; the dividends on the different descriptions of South Sea Stock at the South Sea House; and those on all the remaining descriptions of public stock at the Bank of England. The dividends on India stock are paid at the India House.

The dividends on all descriptions of stock are paid half yearly, either on the 5th of January and the 5th of July, or on the 5th of April and the 10th of October.

For each description of stock also are appointed certain days of the week, on which only transfers may be recorded in the books kept at the different establishments where the dividends are paid.

The following is a list of the Stocks managed at the Bank of England, the South Sea House, and the India House, with the transfer days for each; and also the days on which the dividends are used:—

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Name of Stock	Dividends Payable.	Transfer Days.
3 per Cent. Consols	5th Jan. & 5th July	Tues. Wed. Thurs. Frid.
New 3½ per Cents.	,,	Tues. Wed. Thurs. Frid.
New 5 per Cents.	,,	Tues Wed. Frid.
Bank Annuities, 1726	,,	Tues. Thurs.
Bank Stock	5th April & 10th Oct.	Tues. Thurs. Frid.
3 per Cents. Reduced	,,	Tues Wed. Thurs. Frid.
3½ per Cents. 1818	,,	Tues. Thurs. Frid.
3½ per Cents. Reduced	,,	Tues, Wed. Thurs. Frid.
4 per Cent. 1826	,,	Mon. Wed. Frid.
Long Annuities	,,	Mon. Wed. Sat.

SOUTH SEA HOUSE.

South Sea Company's Stock	5th Jan. & 5th July	Mon. Wed. Frid.
New South Sea Annuities	,,	Tues. Thurs. Sat.
South Sea Annuities, 1751	,,	Tues. Thurs.
Old South Sea Annuities	5th April & 10th Oct.	Mon. Wed. Frid.

EAST INDIA HOUSE.

India Stock	5th Jan. & 5th July	Mon. Tues. Sat.

Generally speaking, the price of a certain nominal amount of stock in any particular fund will bear to its price in any other fund the same relation which subsists between the rates of interest in the two funds. For example, if 100*l.* in a 3 per cent. stock cost 90*l.*, the same amount will cost 105*l.* in a 3½ per cent. stock, and 120*l.* in a 4 per cent. stock; for each of these investments will yield the same interest—namely 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. The price of any one description of stock, therefore, may be usually taken as a pretty sufficient indication of the prices of the rest.

There are peculiar circumstances, however, which sometimes do elevate or depress the market prices of certain kinds of stock beyond the degree to which they ought to be affected merely by the unequal rates of interest. Thus, a stock, the interest of which is likely to be reduced, either immediately, or sooner than the same operation will probably be attempted on any other stock, will not generally bear the same price in the market with another stock as to which such an apprehension is not entertained. Hence, stock of a high denomination may usually be bought cheaper than that of which the nominal interest is lower. Again, stock in which, either from its small amount, or some other cause, there is comparatively but little speculation, will not in general sell at so high a price as that in which more frequent fluctuations offer a greater lure to the gambling propensity. Thus the stock called the Three per Cent. Bank Annuities of 1726, the entire amount of which is considerably under 1,000,000*l.*, has usually been at least 1 per cent. lower in price than the Three per Cent. Consols. In other cases, however, it is extremely difficult to assign any cause, beyond the mere caprice of the public mind, for the preference given to one species of stock over another.

As for the causes which affect the price of stocks generally, the leading and most permanently influential must, of course, always be the current rate of interest, which again is determined by the common rate of profits; if, indeed, we should not rather say, that the rate of profit, wherever it arises from the employment of capital, is dependent upon the rate of interest, and that upon the proportion between the supply of capital and the demand for it, the action of the great principle of supply and demand thus regulating the price of money as it regulates all other prices. In ordinary times, the public funds, from the certainty and regularity in the payment of the dividends, and the great facility with which transfers may be made, offer as advantageous an investment as any other which is open to capitalists; and the price of stocks, accordingly, will commonly be so high as not to afford the purchaser more than the current rate of interest for money lent upon good security. The chances of fluctuation, however, will, in general, prevent the price from rising much beyond this point. On the other hand, it will be apt to be depressed to a lower level, not only by any actual derangement in the public finances, but also by whatever may be supposed to have ever so indirect or remote a tendency to affect the ability of the State to fulfil its pecuniary engagements. Whenever a new loan is raised, inasmuch as the burden of the debt is thereby increased, the price of stock is generally lowered for the moment. Again, it is usually lower in time of war than in time of peace; and during an unfortunate than during a successful war. It is often affected by the apparent stability of the administration as dependent upon the issue of the party contests in Parliament. Sometimes the price of the funds has been brought down by the imposition of a tax, sometimes by the repeal of one. In the former case, the delicate and apprehensive pulse of the money-market may be supposed to have been acted upon, commonly, either by a dread of the public impatience under a new burden, or by the view taken of the measure as an indication of increased financial difficulties on the part of the State; in the latter, by a feeling of the security of the fundholder being in some degree diminished, in consequence of the extinction of one of the usual sources from which the dividends, together with the other expenses of the Government, have been paid. But it would be scarcely possible to arrange, under any number of general heads, all "the skyey influences" that are capable of elevating or depressing this most sensitive barometer, the nature of which is to be agitated by

every breeze of popular exhilaration or nervous despondency, by every fit of suspicion or confidence, by every hope and fear, almost by every passion, imagination, and caprice of the human breast. It may be observed, however, that in the fluctuations of the funds, a fall of prices by what we may call a start or a leap, has been a much more frequent phenomenon than an equally sudden rise to any considerable extent. The depression which is at once produced by a panic is generally recovered from only by degrees.

Mr. M'Culloch ("Dictionary of Commerce," 2nd Edit., p. 589) has given the following summary of the history of the fluctuations of the stock forming the principal part of the public debt:—"From 1730, till the rebellion of 1745, the Three per Cents. were never under 89, and were once, in June, 1737, as high as 107. During the rebellion they sunk to 76; but in 1749, rose again to 100. In the interval between the peace of Paris, in 1763, and the breaking out of the American war, they averaged from 80 to 90; but, towards the close of the war they sunk to 54. In 1792, they were, at one time, as high as 96. In 1797, the prospects of the country, owing to the successes of the French, the mutiny in the fleet, and other adverse circumstances, were by no means favourable; and, in consequence, the price of Three per Cents. sunk, on the 20th of September, on the intelligence transpiring of an attempt to negotiate with the French Republic having failed, to 47⅜, being the lowest price to which they have ever fallen."

Dr. Hamilton quotes the following statement as that which has been given of the highest and lowest prices of the stocks since 1720:—

HIGHEST PRICES.

Three per Cents.	June,	1739	£107
Four per Cents.	August,	1791	107½
Five per Cents.	August,	1791	122¼
Bank Stock	February,	1792	219
South Sea Stock	May,	1768	111
India Stock	December,	1768	276¼

LOWEST PRICES.

Three per Cent. Consols	January,	1798	47⅜
Three per Cent. Reduced	June,	1797	47
Four per Cents.	January,	1798	59⅛
Five per Cent. Navy	January,	1798	69⅜
Bank Stock	January,	1782	91
South Sea Stock	February,	1782	62
India Stock	January,	1784	118½

The following is an account of the average prices of the Three per Cent. Consols in the months of February and August of each year since 1820, inclusive:—

1820.	February	68¼	1828.	August	87½
	August	67⅜	1829.	February	86⅜
1821.	February	73⅛		August	88½
	August	76⅛	1830.	February	91⅛
1822.	February	78⅜		August	90¼
	August	80	1831.	February	77⅜
1823.	February	73		August	81⅛
	August	82¾	1832.	February	82½
1824.	February	92⅛		August	83⅞
	August	93⅜	1833.	February	87½
1825.	February	93¾		August	88⅛
	August	87⅛	1834.	February	89⅞
1826.	February	77⅛		August	90
	August	79¼	1835.	February	91¾
1827.	February	82½		August	90
	August	86½	1836.	February	91⅛
1828.	February	83⅞			

The number of individuals directly interested in the public funds as proprietors of stock is very considerable, as the following statement, which was laid before the House of Commons in the Session of 1833, will shew. It is entitled "An Account of the total number of persons to whom a half-year's dividend was due at the last half-yearly payment thereof on each description of public stock, and on each description of terminable annuities; distinguishing the numbers respectively of those whose dividends for the half year did not exceed 5*l*., 10*l*., 50*l*., 100*l*., 200*l*., 300*l*., 500*l*., 1000*l*., 2000*l*., 3000*l*., 4000*l*., 5000*l*., and the number of those whose dividends exceed 5000*l*.; distinguishing also in those above 1000*l*., the dividends due to any public Company, or to more than a single name."

NUMBER OF PERSONS TO WHOM DIVIDENDS WERE PAYABLE.

Not exceeding	£5.	£10.	£50	£100	£200	£300	£500.	£1000	£2000	Co. and Joint Accounts £2000.	£3000.	Co. and Joint Accounts £3000.	£4000.	Co. and Joint Accounts £4000.	£5000 and upwards.	TOTAL.
Dividends Payable 10th of October.																
On 5 per Cent. Reduced Annuities	10,347	4,745	11,681	3,473	2,175	742	453	231	53	24	9	5	5	3	12	33,958
On 3½ per Cent. Reduced Annuities	7,019	4,362	10,173	2,909	1,561	411	251	112	15	21	5	4	nil	1	5	26,849
On 3½ per Cent. Annuities, 1818	198	162	399	211	127	57	38	30	3	3	nil	nil	nil	1	3	1,232
On 4 per Cent. Ann., 1826	1,601	993	2,044	512	314	92	59	15	4	1	2	1	nil	nil	nil	5,636
On Long Annuities	9,078	4,212	8,361	1,516	725	187	99	34	4	1	1	1	1	1	nil	24,221
On Annuities for terms of years	1,519	787	1,632	351	178	56	32	20	4	nil	2	nil	nil	nil	2	4,583
Dividends Payable 5th of January.																
On 3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities	28,722	13,749	32,601	9,612	6,286	2,141	1,424	709	153	18	16	20	7	13	21	95,555
On 3 per Cent. Annuities, 1726	120	74	180	40	27	4	2	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	447
On New 3½ per Cent. Annuities	26,881	14,698	29,370	6,648	3,129	765	431	204	28	20	4	1	2	4	9	82,194
On New 5 per Cent. Annuities	35	31	107	36	20	3	4	nil	1	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	237
On Annuities for terms of years	1,656	833	1,757	333	161	37	34	12	1	nil	1	3	nil	1	8	4,839
Total	87,176	44,648	98,305	25,641	14,701	4,495	2,827	1,367	266	151	40	35	15	24	60	279,751

The most remarkable feature in this statement is the large proportion which it shews the holders of stock to a comparatively small amount to bear to the whole number of persons having money invested in the funds.

Instead of the fundholders, as is popularly imagined, being generally persons of great wealth, it appears that the yearly dividends of about a third of them do not exceed 10*l.* for each person, and that those of very nearly five-sixths of them do not yield more than 100*l.* a-year to each. But further, as Mr. M'Culloch has remarked, "it is evident from this account, that the number of persons having a direct interest in the funds is much greater than it represents. The dividends upon the funded property belonging to the Equitable and other insurance Companies, the different banking Companies, &c., are paid upon single warrants, as if they were due to so many private individuals; whereas, they are really paid to these individuals only because they act as factors or trustees for a vast number more. It is consequently quite absurd to pretend, as is sometimes done, that any interference with funded property would affect only 280,000 individuals out of a population of 25,000,000. Any attack upon the dividends would really be destructive, not merely of the interests of those to whom dividend warrants are issued, but of *all* who depend upon them; it would destroy our whole system of insurance and banking, and overspread the country with bankruptcy and ruin. Not only, therefore, is every proposal for an invasion of the property of the fundholders bottomed on injustice and robbery, but it would, were it acted upon, be little less ruinous to the community than to the peculiar class intended to be plundered."

(*To be concluded in next Number*).

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MARCH, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The second month of the parliamentary Session has not produced so many announcements of new measures as the first; nor has any considerable progress been made in the course of it even in the discussion and settlement of those measures which had been previously introduced. It has been marked, however, by some interesting debates, and votes.

On Monday, the 22nd of February, in the Lords, the Bill for the Abolition of the Local Ecclesiastical Courts was read a second time, and then referred, on the motion of Lord Ellenborough, to a Select Committee. The principal, and, indeed, almost the only, opposition that has been made to this measure, is directed to the single point of its interference with the arrangement at present subsisting, by which wills are allowed to be registered, and probates to be taken out, in the counties as well as in London. A good many petitions have been presented, praying for the preservation of these local facilities.

In the Commons, this evening, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr. Poulett Thomson, that the second reading of every railway Bill before the House should be deferred for a week; and that, in the meantime, a Select Committee should be appointed to report what rules it would be desirable to lay down for the guidance of the House in dealing with such Bills. The unprecedented number of railroad Bills introduced in the present Session—more than one, in some instances, being for the establishment of railroads between the same places—was conceived to render this course necessary. Lord George Lennox opposed Mr. Thomson's proposition, and moved that the Bill for the London and Brighton Railroad, upon Mr. Stevenson's line, should be then read a second time; but, on a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 271 to 75. The Tithes Commutation Bill was then, on the motion of Lord John Russell, read a second time, after a debate of some length; in the course of which some Members complained of the measure as giving an unfair advantage to the clergy at the expense of the landed interest, while the deduction proposed to be made from the present legal amount of the tithe-owner's claim was objected to from other quarters, as a transference to the owners of the soil of what properly belonged to the public. It was agreed that the more particular discussion of the provisions of the Bill should be deferred till it reached the Committee.

On Tuesday, the 23rd, the Lords were occupied, during the greater part of the sitting, by a debate on the subject of the late appointments of borough magistrates by Lord John Russell, on the recommendation of the new town-councils, to which the attention of the House was called by Lord Wharncliffe. As was naturally to be expected, and as, indeed, may be considered to have been unavoidable in the circumstances, the names submitted to Government by the town-councils, for appointments to the magistracy, have, in general, been exclusively those of persons belonging to the party of the majority of the council; there have been a few cases of exception, in which the majority has not exercised its powers to the full extent, but there can be no doubt that, for the most part, the opposite course has been taken. In various instances, it appears that the controlling authority of the Home Secretary has been applied to liberalize, in some degree, this rigorous partisanship, by the substitution of other names for some of those in the lists. Usually, however, in conformity with the pledge he gave publicly last Session in Parliament, the Noble Lord has adopted, without any alteration, the names submitted by the council. It certainly is not desirable that the functionaries intrusted with any part of the business of administering the law, and dispensing justice, should be selected for their important office with a reference chiefly to their party opinions in politics; but, as was urged by Ministers in the present debate, this is a state of things which it may be hoped will not continue long, but, in all probability, give place to the operation of a more salutary principle, when the excitement occasioned by the struggle between the old and the new systems of municipal government, and by the recent victory of the latter, shall have passed away. It is clearly, at all events, quite in vain to expect that that tranquillity and general contentment, which are the best fruits of good government, as they are its truest signs, will ever be produced in our boroughs, so long as the numerical minority of the inhabitants shall find their feelings and voices entirely overborne and disregarded by the majority, in regard either to this particular matter or in the general management of public affairs. It is of the very essence of the representative principle in politics, that a due representation should always be secured of the minority as well as of the majority. Of course, in the final decision on any disputed point, the majority must prevail; but the minority are equally well entitled to be heard in the discussion of it. Where, therefore, the deliberative and executive departments of government are separated, the executive is properly left in the hands of the majority exclusively; but, in the deliberative, the minority also is entitled to a share.

The House of Commons, for instance, would not deserve the name of a representative assembly, if it did not represent the minority in the nation as well as the majority. It would be very easy to construct such a system of

representation as should not leave the minority the power of returning to the House a single Member: all that would be necessary would be to enact that the 658 Members should be all elected by the whole community acting only as one constituency. But would the House in that case really represent the country? Would it be that, on being which it has been affirmed that its "virtue, spirit, and essence depends,"—namely, "the express image of the feelings of the nation?" An image of anything is the representation, not of a part of it, not even of the larger part, but of the whole of it, and of all its parts. Now, the town-councils, under the new constitution, partake of the deliberative character of the House of Commons. The great measure by which they were established recognized the principle, that they should represent the whole community—the minority as well as the majority—by the division of all the larger boroughs into wards, for the purpose of the municipal elections. And surely this was, in every point of view, a fair and wise arrangement: it was surely right and proper thus to provide against a mere majority of the inhabitants, however narrow, monopolizing the entire management of affairs. If a minority, respectable either from its numbers, its property, or its intelligence, could, by being kept out of the town-council and the magistracy, be wholly silenced and politically annihilated, although we think that would be a result grievously to be deplored in its bearing upon all the interests of social liberty and good government, still the attempt to exclude them might be defended on intelligible grounds; it would be an attempt having, at least, a practicable object in view, whether it was a desirable one or not. But a minority is not to be so silenced and disarmed; it is only by such treatment exasperated and made dangerous. You cannot destroy the native elements of strength, belonging to any political party, by depriving it of a legal political *status* or place in the artificial edifice of the Constitution: this is the sure way, as has often been exemplified, of turning a minority into a majority—of nourishing and rearing up a party that will eventually triumph over and throw down all your artificial arrangements. It has been sometimes contended, that the minority has nothing to do with the management of public affairs. A falser or more pernicious doctrine, in our opinion, never was maintained. In so far, especially, as the general government of the country is concerned, the representation of the minority is, we think, just as essential as the representation of the majority. We can conceive no source of disease which might be expected to act with more speedy or more fatal effect upon the vitals of a State than the existence in it of a naturally powerful party, whether Tory, Whig, or Radical, or of whatever denomination, which, having freedom of the press and of speech, and the command of all the other ordinary means of swaying public opinion, should yet be deprived of its fair share in the Legislature. The rule of the dominant party, be it either aristocratical or popular, is not made better by this absence of opposition. The tyranny of a majority is as oppressive and as hateful as any other tyranny. And severe laws and a harsh government are, besides, made necessary by the discontent and disaffection which the exclusive character of the constitution generates. In fact, we believe that, under such a system, anything like freedom could not long exist. The Constitution could only be maintained by the liberty of the press, and the right of holding public meetings, and all other such rights and liberties being extinguished. While these survived, that contest of parties, which had been banished from the floor of the House of Commons, would find on the hustings, in club-rooms, in debating societies, in the halls of political unions, a thousand large or arenas [illegible] there be any question, whether it is safer and fitter that the battle should be fairly fought out on the free and elevated stage of Parliament, or that, confined to these lower platforms, it should become a vulgar warfare of noise and violence, only serving, with its incessant din and fierce exasperation, to disturb, inflame, torment, and corrupt society?

In the House of Commons this evening, after the Bill for compensating Mr. Buckingham for the losses sustained by him in India had been thrown out, on the second reading, by a majority of 125 to 81, a series of Resolutions were submitted by Mr. Hume, condemnatory of the system of Orange Lodges, and proposing an Address to the King for the removal of every Orangeman, and every member of Riband Lodges or other Secret Associations, from the army, the navy, the courts of justice, and every branch of the public service. In the course of the speech with which he introduced his motion, the Honourable Member read a number of private letters from Colonel Fairman, Lord Kenyon, Lord Wynford, and other individuals connected with Orange Lodges, which were in all respects of the most extraordinary character, and certainly displayed on the part of the writers the most marvellous folly, if nothing worse. Mr. Hume did not state how he obtained possession of these communications, but their authenticity has not since been denied or called in question. The effect produced by them in the debate was such, that no speaker either ventured to defend the writers, or attempted to avert the verdict of unqualified condemnation which it was proposed to pass on the system which appeared to nourish, and to be supported by such fanaticism and madness. Even the Orangemen in the House, admitted that it could not any longer be maintained; and while they expressed their own intention of withdrawing from the Society, called upon their brethren throughout the empire to follow their example. Eventually an amendment, modifying the terms of Mr. Hume's Resolutions, but nearly the same in substance and effect, was unanimously agreed to. The Duke of Cumberland has since resigned his office of Grand Master of the Orange Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland; and although the governing bodies of the Society have not yet met, little doubt can be entertained that it will not survive the secession of his Royal Highness and all its other most distinguished leaders.

On Thursday, the 25th, among a multiplicity of matters brought before the House of Commons, the most important was the defective and objectionable nature of the present mode of settling disputed elections. The appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into this subject was moved by Mr. Charles Buller, in a speech of distinguished ability, and unanimously agreed to. In the course of the debate, all parties admitted the evils of the present practice. The House was afterwards kept sitting till a quarter past four in the morning, in consequence of the opposition made by the minority, by repeated motions for adjournment, to the discussion of a motion submitted by Mr. Blackburne for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances attending the late election of the municipal council of the borough of Poole. From the divisions, the strength of the majority in the House seems to have been three times that of their opponents. The former, however, at last gave way to a resistance, which neither strength of numbers, nor strength of argument, could beat down.

A discussion on the policy of Ministers, with regard to the civil war in Spain, was brought on in the House of Commons, on Friday, the 26th, by Mr. Maclean, but led to nothing.

On Monday, the 29th, in the Commons Mr. Sergeant O'Loghlen moved the second reading of the Irish Municipal Reform Bill, and explained at length the

provisions of that measure, the principal feature of which is, that in the seven large towns of Dublin, Limerick, Belfast, Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, and Galway, the constituency for electing the members of the municipal council is to consist of the inhabitants occupying houses of the annual value of 10*l.*, and in all the other boroughs, of those occupying houses of the annual value of 5*l.* In the debate which followed, Sir Robert Peel stated that he did not mean to go to a division on the question then before the House, but that he should, on a future day, move an instruction to the Committee, the effect of which, if adopted, would be to substitute for the provisions of the Bill as it at present stood, a general enactment, extinguishing the Irish municipal corporations altogether. The announcement of this sweeping measure of destruction from the Conservative leader was heard with no small amazement by the House.

On Wednesday, the 2nd of March, the Bill for allowing prisoners to be defended by counsel on trials for felony, was discussed in Committee in the Commons, when divisions took place on several of the clauses. The second clause, allowing the prisoner's counsel the right of final reply, was opposed by the Attorney-General, but was carried by a majority of 134 to 50. The third, which proposed to allow defence by counsel to persons accused before justices of the peace, was negatived by a majority of 110 to 93. The fifth, giving to prisoners the right of inspecting, without payment of fees, the depositions against them, was carried by a majority of 158 to 51. After this, the adjourned debate on the Poole municipal election was resumed, and the motion for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry carried by a majority of 188 to 70.

On Thursday, the 3rd, the Bill for the disfranchisement of the borough of Stafford was read a second time in the House of Commons, after a division, on which the numbers were, 53 for the motion and 6 against it.

On Friday, the 4th, the Navy Estimates were laid before the House by Mr. Charles Wood. They exhibited an increase of expenditure, as compared with those of the last year, of 287,000*l.*, occasioned by the employment of 5000 additional seamen. The Resolutions gave rise to a debate of some length, but no opposition was made to them, although Mr Hume and other Members expressed their dissent from the proposition that there was any necessity for the contemplated augmentation of the naval force. Ministers, in the first instance, professed to ask the vote almost exclusively on the ground of the inadequacy of the present force to protect the foreign commerce of the country; but it appeared to be afterwards admitted, that it was also deemed proper to be fully prepared to meet any designs of hostility or encroachment which other Powers might entertain. The menacing or ambiguous attitude of Russia was particularly pointed to by different Members in the course of the debate.

On Monday, the 7th, in the Commons, the plan for abolishing Irish municipal corporations, which had been announced by Sir Robert Peel, was moved, in the form of an instruction to the Committee on the Ministerial Bill by Lord Francis Egerton. The debate which arose was continued by adjournment to the following evening, and terminated at four o'clock on the morning of Wednesday by a division, when the numbers were found to be, 213 for Lord Francis Egerton's motion, and 307 against it. This is the greatest parliamentary victory which the present Administration has gained since it came into office.

On Thursday, the 10th, the Second Report of his Majesty's Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues, was laid on the table of the House of Lords by Viscount Melbourne, and on that of the Commons by Lord John Russell. We have given an abstract of this important document in another place. In the Lords, after Lord Melbourne had given a summary of the recommendations of the Commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is one of the Commissioners, shortly addressed the House; but the debate was not further prolonged. In the Commons, a short conversation followed Lord John Russell's explanation, when Members from both sides of the House expressed in warm terms their approbation of the proposed reforms. In the latter part of the evening a division took place on a motion by Mr. Divett, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee on the Act of last Session, imposing an additional duty of 54 per cent. on retail spirit-licenses, with the view of repealing the duty; when the motion was rejected by a majority of 165 to 155.

On Friday, the 11th, a Bill, which had been brought into the House of Lords by Lord Glenelg, for improving the administration of justice in the West Indies, was read a second time, after its provisions had been explained by his Lordship. In the Commons, the Report of the Committee on the affair of the Carlow election was brought up by Mr. Ridley Colborne, who stated that it expressed the unanimous opinion of the Committee. It was a complete acquittal of Mr. O'Connell. After this, the Army Estimates were brought forward by Lord Howick. They exhibited, as compared with those of last year, a saving of 93,000*l.*; but attempts were made by different Members to reduce them to a still greater extent. Mr. Hume first proposed to reduce the number of men to be voted by 5000; but only 43 Members supported his proposition against a majority of 136. Sir William Molesworth then moved that the foot-guards should be put, in respect of pay, upon the same footing with the infantry of the line, which would effect a saving of 9000*l.*; but this amendment, after a debate of some length, was also lost on a division, the numbers being 46 for, and 217 against it.

On Monday, the 14th, the Irish Municipal Reform Bill was considered in Committee in the House of Commons, and the first forty clauses were agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 15th, in the Lords, the Bishop of Exeter moved, according to a notice which he had given, some days before, that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the whole subject of the practical operation of the new system of education in Ireland, of the conduct of the Commissioners in the administration of their funds, and of the expediency of adopting their recommendation for the extension of the system. The Right Reverend Prelate prefaced his motion with a long speech, and a debate of considerable animation followed, but it ended in the motion being withdrawn.

This evening, in the Commons, after the House had resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to announce what the intentions of the Government were on the important subject of the newspaper stamp duty, which had, for some time past, excited so strong an interest in the public mind, and also in regard to the stamp duties generally. It was proposed, he stated, to revise the whole of the present law respecting stamp duties, first by consolidating into one statute the hundred and fifty Acts of Parliaments over which the law was at present distributed; secondly, by the apportionment of the various rates on a new principle—namely, by the simple and uniform rule of making the price of the stamp in every case correspond to the pecuniary value involved in the transaction for which it is required. The effect of this change would be to reduce the stamp duty upon indentures of apprentice-

ship, bills of lading, and many others of the more common instruments, and to increase it somewhat upon mortgages and conveyances of large amounts of property; but it was not thought that it would make much difference upon the entire produce of the duties. The Consolidation Act which was in preparation, it was intimated, would contain no fewer than 330 sections; but it was suggested by some Honourable Members, that it might probably be found a more convenient plan to divide all this matter into a short series of Acts, one for each class of stamp duties.

With regard to the stamp duty on newspapers, Mr. Rice stated that it was proposed to reduce it from its present amount of 4*d.*, with the discount, to 1*d.* without discount. This is a reduction of exactly $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ on all newspapers sold for 7*d.* or less, and of $2\frac{2}{5}d.$, or rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ on all sold for more than 7*d.* A portion varying between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole tax is thus at once swept away.

There are, we believe, a few of the more zealous friends of the diffusion of knowledge, who, resolved to be satisfied with nothing less than the total abolition of the stamp duty upon newspapers, regard this concession by the government of so large a portion of their demand as a loss rather than a gain—as less and worse than *nothing*, because it is not everything. This seems to us, we must confess, carrying a dislike to halting by the way very far indeed. However, we can understand, though we may not agree with the man who is really for an utter abolition of all taxes upon newspapers—not a mere commutation of the stamp duty into a tax of only another form and another name, but a complete removal and extinction of all government imposts affecting either the publication of the newspaper, or, what is indispensable to its usefulness and to its very existence, its transmission by the post through all parts of the country. We can understand the argument by which it is contended that it is the duty and interest of the State thus to afford every possible facility for the dissemination of political intelligence. Even if this principle were to be admitted, however, we think that there are difficulties in the way of its application which could hardly be overcome.

But, as yet, it has scarcely been proposed that the Government should go thus length. Almost all those who object to the ...ention of the penny stamp duty are ..., subjecting newspapers to the payment of a postage ... of the stamp. Now, for preferring this scheme ... that announced by Mr. Rice we can see no reason ... whatever.

It is admitted that the penny stamp duty may be considered as really a postage—a payment for the privilege enjoyed by newspapers of being transmitted by the post. The difference between the penny stamp and a postage, then, is simply, that papers which did not pass through the Post-Office at all would be exempted from the latter charge. On the other hand, it is not attempted to be denied that, as a graduated postage is manifestly quite out of the question, the gross inequality would still remain, of the paper that is sent a distance of fifty miles, through the post-office, being charged as much as that which is sent five hundred—of as large an addition being made to the price of a London paper, for instance, by being transmitted to Windsor, as by being conveyed all the way to the Land's End.

This last consideration puts down at once the pretensions of the postage scheme to superior fairness or justice. On grounds of expediency, it seems to be quite as much without any claims to preference.

At present, to a person residing in any of our provincial districts, a London paper is as cheap as a merely local paper; and it will be the same under the reduction of the stamp duty as proposed by Government. It is desirable that this should be the case for various reasons. On the one hand, there is thereby preserved a constant circulation of public feeling between the heart of the State and its remotest extremities. On the other hand, the newspapers of the metropolis, by thus having the whole of the kingdom thrown open to them, are kept up, in respect of their quality, at a point at which they could not be sustained with a more circumscribed sale. These two invaluable advantages, it appears to us, would both be destroyed by the scheme of a postage, which would tend to localize every paper published throughout the kingdom, those published in the metropolis not excepted; that is to say, to confine the range or sale of each of them principally to the immediate neighbourhood of the place in which it was printed. The London newspapers, which at present are the newspapers of the whole empire, would, under this system, be reduced to something little better than what country newspapers are now; they would become to a great extent the newspapers only of a district; they would be deprived of a large portion of the advantages of their present commanding position, which advantages are what enable them to be papers of the superior kind which they now are, and without which, also, they would cease to perform one of the most important of their present functions. A full exposition of this view of the subject will be found in the pamphlet, entitled "The Newspaper Stamp and the Duty on Paper viewed in relation to their effects upon the Diffusion of Knowledge."

The objection to the stamp duty, grounded on the alleged unfairness of making the people of London pay a part of the cost of transmitting newspapers to the country is, as already observed, sufficiently disposed of by the fact that the postage plan is liable to an objection of precisely the same kind. But we deny that there is any unfairness in making the people of London contribute to the expense in question. We might contend that the principle of every national establishment necessarily is, not that each particular branch shall be supported by the locality where it is placed, or where it is most directly beneficial; but that the whole shall be regarded as a common concern, and be maintained by a general tax. Otherwise we might have district or parish institutions, but no national institutions. Take the case of the Post-Office itself, in its chief capacity as an establishment for the transmission of letters; is it to be insisted either that the rate put upon every letter shall be exactly proportioned to the actual expense of conveying it, or even that every station where an office for the receipt and delivery of letters is opened, shall contribute an annual revenue corresponding to the annual cost at which it is kept up? In point of fact, we believe there are many stations in remote and thinly-peopled parts of the country which do not pay their expenses; on principle, we are sure there are cases in which such an objection ought not to prevent the station from being maintained. If, then, it is desirable that the business of conveying newspapers from one part of the country to another should be left to a public establishment at all, why should not the expense be assessed in the same manner as that of every other public establishment, that is to say, upon the whole public? But in this particular case, the proposed exemption of the metropolis from its share of the burden would seem to be especially unreasonable. Surely the share which, by means of the stamp duty, purchasers and readers of newspapers in London are made to contribute to the expense of their transmission to the remote parts of the kingdom, is a small consideration to pay for the advantages London enjoys over the provinces in this very matter of access to public intelligence, as the constant

seat of Government and of the Legislature, and the centre of the whole political system of the country. The acquiescence of the rest of the country in the preference thus shewn to London, would seem to be cheaply purchased by the inhabitants of the Metropolis being merely called upon to bear their fair proportion of the expense of diffusing that intelligence throughout the community, to which they themselves are always the first and most abundantly served.

The difficulties belonging to the practical application of even the simplest plan of a postage upon newspapers appear to us to be very great. If stamped wrappers were to be issued, they could not be provided in the quantity that would be required without considerable expense. Then, how much would the necessity of procuring one of these wrappers on every occasion in which a newspaper was to be transmitted to the country, embarrass all such transmissions, especially such as would be made only occasionally and by private individuals! Every man having at any time occasion to send off a newspaper to a friend by the post, would have to keep a supply of wrappers always by him. Besides, with the stamp, a newspaper may be sent through the Post Office as often as any person pleases, and, in point of fact, the same newspaper is often repeatedly so transmitted; is it proposed, on the plan of a postage, that there shall be a distinct postage paid for every such transmission? Is the reader of a London daily paper, in Edinburgh, to pay a penny on receiving it there, and then is his friend, at Aberdeen, to whom he sends it forward the next day, to pay a second postage for it? Can there be any comparison between the perfect facilities afforded by the stamp duty, and the clumsiness and manifold inconvenience of such a system as this? It would be very much better, in our opinion, that the Legislature should be called upon at once to make provision for the free conveyance of newspapers throughout the country, without either postage or stamp duty.

At the same time, we should hardly think this last a fair demand, even if there were any chance of its being acceded to, and although all the difficulties could be got rid of that stand in the way of carrying the plan into effect. We do not see that all the favour and facilities accorded by the State to the diffusion of knowledge should be monopolized by the newspapers. We would relieve as far as possible not newspaper knowledge only, but all other knowledge, from the taxes that impede its dissemination among the people. Now, of these taxes, the duty upon paper is one much more extensively injurious than even the present stamp duty upon newspapers, since it affects not newspapers only, but all literary works whatsoever; and therefore we would look to the repeal or reduction of that duty as the removal of one of the most serious impediments that exist to the diffusion of knowledge, and as an object to which the first and most strenuous efforts of those who desire the intellectual improvement of the people ought to be directed. This part of the subject, also, will be found fully discussed and illustrated in the pamphlet on "The Newspaper Stamp and the Duty on Paper," to which we have already referred.

Neither the House of Lords nor the House of Commons met on Wednesday, the 16th, and on Thursday, the 17th, nothing of public importance occurred in either.

On Friday, the 18th, in the House of Commons the subject of the recent military occupation of Cracow by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was brought forward by Sir Stratford Canning, on a motion for the House going into a Committee of Supply, and gave rise to an animated debate. No new facts, however, were elicited; Lord Palmerston stating that Ministers had not yet received any official information on the subject. After this, the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was further considered in Committee, and the clauses from 43 to 81, inclusive, were agreed to.

FRANCE.

The *Moniteur* of the 22nd of February contained the long-expected list of the new Cabinet. It stood thus—

M. Thiers, President of the Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. Sauzet, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Minister of Justice and Religion.

M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior.

M. Passy, Minister of Commerce and Public Works.

M. Pelet, Minister of Public Instruction.

The former Ministers of Marine, Finance, and War, —namely, Admiral Duperre, M. d'Argout, and Marshal Mauson, retain their offices.

On the day in which these changes were announced to the public, M. Thiers, as Premier, made what the French call his "profession of faith" to the Chamber of Deputies. He frankly confessed that the new Cabinet, of which he was the head, had been formed for the express purpose of conciliating the majority of the Chamber; and, in fact, this Cabinet includes three of the Vice-Presidents of that Assembly—Messrs. Pelet de Lozere, Sauzet, and Passy.

M. Thiers then expressed his regret at the retirement of his late colleagues from office, and declared he would not have separated from them but on the grounds of an absolute necessity. He had full confidence in his new associates, and they in him: they all perfectly agreed as to the leading points and principles of government. Without giving the Chamber any more specific pledge, he wished it to understand that no change would be made in the policy which the French Cabinet has followed since the death of M. Casimir Perrier. He said he wished to be judged by his acts, and not by his professions or promises; and he pledged himself to resign whenever his Administration should be found in a minority in the Chamber.

The cold manner in which M. Thiers' address was received by the Chambers, was neither very flattering to him nor indicative of the durability of his Cabinet.

On the 21th, M Thiers repeated in the Chamber of Peers a speech which scarcely differed in anything from his address to the Chamber of Deputies. The Peers are said to have received him even more coldly than the Deputies.

A few days after this, in discussing a question in the Chamber of Deputies, it was observed that some of the members formerly on the Ministerial side spoke against the Ministers of the day, while some of those usually in opposition supported Ministers. It appears, however, to us, that the question, though important, was not one to try party strength upon, but rather a matter on which every member might be desirous of expressing freely his individual opinion, without offending or committing the party whose general line of policy he adhered to. It regarded a proposition for the clearing of woods and forests, and diminishing their number.

The *Moniteur* of the 28th of February contained the following communication, received by telegraph from Toulon:—"Marshal Clausel reached Algiers on the 20th, after having again defeated Abdel Kadir. This Emir had with him 3000 auxiliaries from Morocco, who fought with some degree of order. He had proceeded in person to attack the people of the desert of Angara, and had vanquished and stripped them. The Bey Ibrahim (a partisan of the French) took possession of the camp at Tremesen, marched towards the desert, met Abdel Kadir coming back loaded with spoils, beat him, and gave him chase for a long time, without, however,

being able to come up with him. Two very active and influential lieutenants of the Emir have been killed."

We derive two facts (both unfavourable to the French interests at Algiers) from this brief bulletin,—1st, that the victory over Abdel Kadir, at Mascara, where the Duke of Orleans was present, and of which so much talk was made at Paris, was not at all the decisive affair it was represented, seeing that the Emir was able to take the field again a few weeks after it; 2ndly, that the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, a fierce and brave people, are making common cause with the Arabs of Algiers. The next very probable event is, that the hardy Kabyles, descending from their mountains in the rear of Algiers, will fall *en masse* on the French, who will, in that case, certainly have their hands full.

According to later accounts, which are not altogether official, the French army marched from Tremesen on the 9th of February, and reached Oran on the 12th; Clausel having left 500 French, and 1500 mixed Mahomedan troops, with provisions for seven months, to garrison Tremesen. During their short campaign the French had had two serious engagements with the Arabs; Abdel Kadir, in one instance, attacking with 7000 men, and bravely maintaining the fight for seven hours.

At present the whole aspect of affairs on the north African coast is as unpromising as it well can be. The *Moniteur* of the 14th of March contained a sad despatch from Algiers of the 6th inst. It announced that a rebellion had been attempted at Bona, the object of which was to seize upon the public money amidst the tumult and confusion to be created. Unofficial accounts, however, state, on the contrary, that the object of the conspirators, who were chiefly officers and non-commissioned officers, was of a higher and more political nature — being, in short, nothing less than to proclaim the independence of Bona, and to hold that fraction of the Algerine territory until the proclamation and establishment of a Republic in France. The plot broke out on the night of the 27th of February, but was instantly put down. Some of the ringleaders were placed under arrest, and one of them, a certain Bmard, sub-lieutenant of the African chasseurs, is said to have been shot while galloping through the streets and shouting "*Vive la Republique!*"

On the 27th of February, Ministers attended the Committee appointed to deliberate on M. Gouin's proposition for converting the Five per Cents. They maintained that the present was an awkward moment for effecting it, but agreed in the utility of the measure. M. Thiers, moreover, pledged himself to introduce, next Session, a Bill for the reduction of interest to 4½ per cent.

The elections in the Chambers of presidents and vice-presidents seem to have gone on in favour of Ministers.

On the 9th of March, a debate on supplies obliged Ministers to give some explanations as to their foreign policy. They had asked for a supplementary credit of 7,500,000 francs, or about 300,000*l.* sterling, to be applied to the naval department. M. Salverte opposed the grant, merely for the purpose of eliciting explanations. In replying to him M. Thiers said, "that he thought such explanations would be more seasonable and productive of more utility when the discussion of the budget of foreign affairs should be brought forward. (Hear! Hear!) But at the same time, he did not mean to withhold certain explanations relating to the motives which led to the necessity for these demands of credit. France and the whole world were aware of the unfortunate misunderstanding which had arisen between this country and the United States of America; the apprehension of a collision had rendered it indispensably necessary to increase the armaments in the ports, so as to be prepared to protect the commercial interests of France against all casualties; such was the object of fitting out a certain number of vessels, which had been placed under the command of one of the most distinguished officers in the service. The most of those vessels had already proceeded to their destination, and there was no longer a possibility of stopping the expenses required for this purpose. Several were still in port, particularly at Brest; but, as the policy of France was a policy of observation, the government, under the present state of the affairs of nations, had thought it advisable to maintain the armaments upon the present footing. On a future occasion—namely, upon the discussion of the budget of the navy, the Ministers would prove the necessity for giving a greater development to this branch of public force; the train of events evidently showed that it was for the advantage of France to adopt an imposing attitude, not only upon the Continent, but also to hoist its standard at all points of the globe, in conjunction with that of Great Britain. He was, therefore, of opinion that the Chamber could not do better than to accede to the grant of credit now required for the service of the navy. As to the general question, it might be carefully examined when the budget of the navy should be discussed."

In another reply (made to M. Mauguin) the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated, that the dispute of France with the United States was the immediate cause of the extraordinary increase of her navy; but that now that unfortunate misunderstanding was drawing amicably towards a close, so much so indeed, that he believed there only remained certain questions of mere form to be disposed of.

The money demanded by Ministers was voted by a majority of 260 against 11.

All this, we are glad to say, looks very pacific.

On Saturday, March the 12th, a somewhat stormy debate took place in the Chamber of Deputies upon a motion for receiving a number of petitions in favour of a general amnesty for political offenders—an amnesty to include Prince Polignac and the other Ministers of Charles X., now prisoners in the Castle of Ham, as well as the republicans lately tried and condemned. M. Sauzet, the new Minister of Justice, opposed the motion, upon the ground that in the prerogative of the Crown alone lay the right of taking the initiative in acts of amnesty. The Chamber decided in favour of Government by a large majority. Only some fifty or sixty of the Ultra-Liberal party voted in favour of the question.

The seizure, by the police, of some arms and gunpowder in Paris, has led to the report that another plot against the King has been a-foot there. A good many arrests have been made "on suspicion," but only half-a-dozen vagabond students have been directly inculpated.

SPAIN.

In the middle of February the Carlists, who were still besieging St. Sebastian, were driven off by a tremendous fire opened upon them by the garrison. They retired in the direction of Ernani. In the direction of Bilboa the Carlists were more successful, having taken the town and castle of Balmaceda, wherein there were above 400 Christino soldiers. This great achievement was performed under the orders of General Eguia. At the same time, though utterly incapable of sitting down before that city, or prosecuting a regular siege, the Carlists continued to infest the environs of Bilboa.

A certain Carlist priest-soldier, the Canon Batañeros, who is, no doubt, a great hero and commander in this

despicable warfare, was defeated on the 19th of February, at Trillo, within eighteen leagues of Madrid, and his band, in which were many unhoused monks and beggared priests, was dispersed with great slaughter. Such is the Government account of this great affair, in which, in real truth, there were probably about two or three killed, and about twice as many wounded. These bulletins remind us of the Irish officer during the American war who, having to report some trifling skirmish to his superior, said—"It was a very bloody battle while it lasted, and our serjeant of marines lost his left arm." We should rejoice if this game of war could be carried on, and brought to a decision with so little expenditure of human blood; but that cannot be, and unfortunately these Spaniards are in the habit of destroying as many lives in a town broil, or in the place of confinement of their prisoners, as might suffice for a gallant onset, and good stand-up fight in the field.

The Queen's army in the north, being sorely in want of money, received from the Government, some time in February, about 240,000*l.* sterling; and Ministers announced their *hopes* of "raising money on the confiscated Church property and the revenue of tobacco."

Towards the end of February the Canon Bataneros, of whom we have just spoken, reappeared in the neighbourhood of Madrid, where he succeeded in intercepting despatches, and making some prisoners. Among his captives was an Honourable Member—one of the Lower Chamber, or Procuradores—a Señor Maurique, whom he sent from Guadalaxara to the head-quarters of Don Carlos in Navarre. As the Señor was one of the very large majority that voted the perpetual exclusion of Don Carlos and his heirs and successors from the throne of Spain, we are afraid that, before this time, matters have gone hard with him.

The negotiations for recognising the independence of those precious off shoots of Spain, the South American States, have been going on, but they cannot be brought to issue before the meeting of the Cortes.

The Government Gazette of the 5th of February informed the good people of Madrid that M. Mendizabal, whose regenerating process remains so long *in petto*, hoped to be able, within the month, to satisfy the wishes and the wants of the nation; but, as if this were saying too much, the same organ of government carefully explained what we suppose was a hidden truth to the Spaniards, that there was a great difference between *hoping* and *promising*, and that "men and things are all liable to accidents."

The Gazette of the 17th of February contained a decree, appointing a Commission to consolidate and liquidate the home debts of Spain. The Committee was to consist of three persons, who were forthwith to examine the state of the claims made upon the Government, and to correspond with Committees in the provinces that have been appointed to forward monthly Reports to the Minister of Finance at Madrid. According to the decree, all these claims must be sent in on or before the last day of the current year, when the accounts will be closed. Mendizabal did not think it necessary to state whence the funds for the liquidation of this home debt are to proceed; but, according to the *Revista*, or Madrid Review, the debt is to be paid out of the property of the monks.

A second decree, a *pendant* to the first, appeared on the 21st of February. It authorizes the immediate sale of church, or monastic property, and all other property whatsoever that may fall into the hands of the State.

The first and capital article of this decree is as follows:—"From this day all properties, of whatever kind, are declared for sale which may have belonged to religious corporations extinguished, and all others that may have been adjudged to the nation, by whatever title or motive, as well as all those that may belong to it hereafter by the act of adjudication."

From this sweeping annihilating decree are specifically exempted all buildings destined for the public service, all monuments of art, or others raised to commemorate the national glory. These two decrees are said to have given great satisfaction to a large, and now predominant party in Madrid, and especially to the gentlemen of the press and of the stock-exchange there established.

The elections of Members for the new Cortes are said to be, in general, favourable to the present Government. But, in no inconsiderable portion of Spain, the mere name of a free election is a thing to laugh at. Mina, for example, is to be returned for Navarre, a province out of which he was beaten by the Carlists, not many months ago, and in which he could not show himself in the manner a candidate ought, without meeting with that death he so liberally deals to others.

Out of a series of reverses which the Queen's troops are said to have suffered in the north, we extract the following, which seem to be well authenticated:—

On the last day of February 600 of them were surprised by 3000 Carlists in the defiles of Olaña, and either killed or made prisoners. On the 1st of March another corps was beaten by the Carlist Generals Brujo and Tristani, near Ripoll. On the 5th of March 4000 Carlist foot, with 100 horse, were pressing on the town of Reycerda. The poor peasants of the plain were flying in consternation and confusion to seek safety across the French frontier. About this date General Evans stated to the Government, that through sickness and other casualties he could not bring above 6000 of his auxiliary force into the field. General Cordova, on whose conduct we reflected last month, had not been removed from the command, though strongly suspected of Carlism, or miserable incapacity, or both: it appears, however, he has since been recalled.

The most disgusting atrocities have been committed in Catalonia, where that man of blood, the gross and brutal old Mina, is Captain-General for the Queen. A Carlist partisan named Cabrera, had taken prisoners and shot two constitutional alcaldes, or magistrates, and committed other acts of vengeance of the same kind. Unable to catch this insurgent, the Brigadier Commandant General of Lower Arragon ordered the execution of his mother, and the arrest of his three sisters who were living quietly in the town of Tortosa. The Governor of Tortosa, revolting at the idea of shooting a poor, defenceless old woman to expiate atrocities committed by her son, delayed the execution, until positive orders came from old Mina that the deed should be done. Accordingly, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th of February, the Senora Cabrera was shot! Her three daughters, with their husbands, and many near relations were detained in close confinement.

As soon as intelligence of this murder reached Madrid, the Queen-Regent and the Ministers hastened to convince the public that they had had no hand in it; and the whole weight of the infamy was laid upon Mina, who we believe deserves it, notwithstanding the exertions made by some of the Spanish journalists and reviewers to prove that Mendizabal has approved of his system of rigour and extermination.

A savage before, the insurgent Cabrera became mad with a thirst for blood when he heard of his parent's death, and he issued a decree of retaliation, by which the wife of one of the Queen's colonels, and thirty other ladies, were ordered to be shot! In fact, we believe that four ladies, whose husbands belonged to the Constitutional party, were at once led forth and executed.

We see it is now confidently stated that the plenipo-

tentiaries of the South American States have left Madrid, the negotiations in which they were engaged having fallen to the ground, on their positive and definitive refusal to make Spain any compensation for her acknowledgment of their independence. The needy Spanish Government wanted large amounts of gold and of silver for what would now be a mere formality—a piece of paper or parchment; and the turbulent States of South America have very little money to spare even for things more intrinsically valuable.

One of the grand financial projects of M. Mendizabal was produced early in March. Our newspapers have summed it up as follows:—"The Government will consolidate, in 5 per cent stock,

The paper debt, with interest, at 3 1 per cent.
The vales, not consolidated .... 33 „
And the debt without interest .. 25 „

in portions of one-sixth part for the next six years, according to the rate at which the 5 per stock may be in the Madrid market in the month of June of each year; so that, taking an average of three years for the whole, a person holding to-day two bonds of debt without interest, value each 15, will, at the end of three years, receive a 5 per cent stock value to-day 50. Thus the two former will cost 30, and the latter 50; but at the end of three years 15 interest will be received, 5 per cent. for each year, which will reduce the 50 to 35 This project has been unfavourably received at Madrid."

PORTUGAL.

The prominent subject at Lisbon for some time has been the new tariff of Customs The Committee, early in February, introduced an important change which went to reduce the valuation. The Finance Minister obtained a vote of confidence, authorizing him to issue Exchequer bills to the amount of about 500,000*l*.—a sum absolutely required to meet the immediate exigencies of the Government. A Report, signed by the Marquis of Loulé, which announced the adjustment of the differences that had arisen between the Courts of Lisbon and Turin, through the friendly mediation of his Britannic Majesty, was published officially in February. Lisbon was then calm, but the Chamber of Deputies very stormy. More than once the President of the Chamber, having rung his bell in vain, and being unable to restore order, adjourned the debate. In other respects than in noise, a debate in the Portuguese Commons bears a close resemblance to a debate at Billingsgate.

Towards the end of February they were discussing a project for the re-modelling and re-organizing the army, and they much annoyed the young Queen by passing a law that no such office as that of Commander-in-Chief should exist in time of peace; and that when it became necessary, in case of war, the office should be filled by a person responsible to the nation. Now, Donna Maria had, by a regular contract, given the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Portugal to her new husband.

Petitions were pouring in from the officers of the navy, who complained of not having been paid for the last six months.

THE AFFAIR OF CRACOW.

The ancient Polish city of Cracow, with a strip of surrounding territory, was erected into an independent state by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, all the Allied Powers, among which England was one, guaranteeing its rights and independence. Cracow is *enclavé*, or shut in on all sides by territories, once part of the kingdom of Poland, but now belonging to the great Powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. As such a tiny state was scarcely sufficient to support a King and Court, Cracow was allowed to govern herself according to Republican forms, and in this mode matters proceeded very well, until the Revolution at Warsaw in 1830, or rather, we may say, until the total overthrow of that Revolution, and the wholesale proscriptions of Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw and elsewhere by the Russians in 1832. Since that time the miniature Republic has been kept in a state of constant uneasiness by the turbulence of strangers resorting to her, and by the jealous fears of the three great Powers that hem her in. As an independent State, many of the Polish refugees thought she could extend protection to them, and they therefore took up their residence in the city of Cracow. The number of these men irritated suspicion, and it was soon said, with more or less, but always with a good deal of truth, that the refugees, availing themselves of its geographical position, made Cracow the centre of a great conspiracy, the object of which was (and were it only feasible it were praiseworthy) to renew the revolution in Poland, and recover all that partitioned country from the grasp of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The three great co-partitioners say that these refugees not only committed the tranquillity of their Polish provinces, but were guilty of many outrages and disorders in Cracow itself. They therefore demanded their expulsion from the territories of the Republic. They go on to allege that the President was slow in complying with their demands, and that this laid them under the necessity, as *protectors* (by the Treaties of Vienna) of the Republic of Cracow, to march troops into its territory. Accordingly, in the month of February troops were sent by them into a State that had a formal guarantee from the Congress of Vienna, that no foreign armament should ever molest, or interfere with her. The troops that have taken possession of Cracow are chiefly Austrian.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

President Jackson has accepted the mediation of Great Britain in the question at issue between France and the United States. The President's decision was made known to Congress on the 8th of February, in a Message from which we extract the principal clauses:—

"To the Senate and House of Representatives.

"The Government of Great Britain has offered its mediation for the adjustment of the dispute between the United States and France. Carefully guarding that point in the controversy which, as it involves our honour and independence, admits of no compromise, I have cheerfully accepted the offer. It would be obviously improper to resort even to the mildest measures of a compulsory character until it is ascertained whether France has declined or accepted the mediation. I, therefore, recommend a suspension of all proceedings on that part of my Special Message of the 15th of January last, which proposes a partial non-intercourse with France. While we cannot too highly appreciate the elevated and disinterested motives of the offer of Great Britain, and have a just reliance upon the great influence of that Power to restore the relations of ancient friendship between the United States and France, and know, too, that our own pacific policy will be strictly adhered to until the national honour compels us to depart from it, we should be insensible to the exposed condition of our country, and forget the lessons of experience, if we did not efficiently and sedulously prepare for an adverse result."

The Message concludes by repeating the recommendation already made, to place the seaboard in a proper state for defence, and to provide full means for the protection of navigation and commerce.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

STATE OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REFERENCE TO ECCLESIASTICAL DUTIES AND REVENUES.

THE principal portion of the First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was given in No. 28 of the "Companion;" and the Second Report, having been just laid before Parliament, we present the following abstract of it, making use, for the most part, of the words of the Report. The Report is arranged under the heads of Territory and Revenue; but for the purposes of distinctness we have increased the number of subdivisions. The intricate question of church patronage will be made the subject of a separate Report. The measures recommended in this and the First Report, which it may be determined to adopt, will doubtless be carried into effect by Commissioners constituted for that purpose.

Territory.—The Commissioners recommended that the city and suburbs of Bristol should be united to the diocese of Bath and Wells, and that the remaining part of the diocese of Bristol, situate in the county of Gloucester, should be added to the diocese of Gloucester. That part of the county of Glamorgan, which is now in the diocese of St. David's, may properly be added to that of Llandaff; as well as those parts of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon which are specified in their First Report. The transfer of certain parishes in the county of Surrey from the diocese of Winchester to that of London is recommended; also the union of the bishopric of Sodor and Man to that of Carlisle. The Isle of Man contains only eighteen parishes, over which the archdeacon, who is resident, and has a respectable income, can exercise an effectual superintendence.

The new division of dioceses will render necessary a corresponding change in the arrangement of archdeaconries. The Commissioners propose to create six additional archdeacons, which will involve a change in the limits of some of the archdeaconries already existing. Jurisdiction should be given to such of the archdeacons as are at present merely nominal officers.

If the rural deans are to be made efficient officers, as it is conceived they ought to be, it will be desirable that they should receive some small annual payments, sufficient to defray the expenses incurred by them in their visitations. The future arrangement of rural deaneries will be most advantageously settled by the bishops of the several dioceses.

Some of the proposed territorial changes may be effected immediately, with the consent of the bishops concerned; others only as particular vacancies occur, or until the funds necessary for carrying them into execution shall become available.

Revenue.—According to the most recent Returns the annual revenue of all the sees is about 148,875*l.*; a sum sufficient to provide incomes for all the bishops, including those of the two new sees, without the addition of any preferment *in commendam*. But the peculiar manner of leasing the episcopal estates occasions great variations of incomes from year to year, according as a greater or less amount of fines is received. There would be an obvious difficulty, therefore, upon the occurrence of a vacancy in one of the richer sees, to require the future bishop to pay a certain annual sum towards the augmentation of the poorer see. One mode of rendering those incomes less uncertain would be, to allow the existing leases, both for lives and for terms of years, to expire. But this would involve the necessity of borrowing money upon the security of the episcopal estates, the practical result of which would be, to transfer to the parties lending their money, that interest in the episcopal estates which is now possessed by the lessees. The Commissioners do not propose any general measure to meet the difficulties of the case, but recommend that facilities should be afforded for the conversion of leases for lives into leases for terms of years.

The following statement shows the present amount of the income of the larger sees, and the reduction which it is proposed to make in them:—

	Estimated Income according to the First Report.	Future proposed Income.	Excess.
	£	£	£
Canterbury ...	17,000	15,000	2,000
London	12,200	10,000	2,200
Durham	17,800	8,000	9,800
Winchester ...	10,700	7,000	3,700
Ely	11,000	5,500	5,500
Worcester	6,500	5,000	1,500
St. Asaph	5,200	5,200	3,800
Bangor	3,800		
	84,200	55,700	28,500

This reduction, when carried into effect, will furnish annually a sum of 28,500*l.*, to which is to be added the income of the see of Bristol, amounting to 2300*l.* The total sum thus obtained, of 30,800*l.*, being divided amongst the thirteen bishopries, which require an addition to their present revenues, and the two new sees will provide an income for each, varying from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* per annum, according to the circumstances of the different sees. The sums to be apportioned to each cannot yet be determined. In the sees of York, Bath and Wells, Norwich, and Salisbury, it is not proposed to make any alteration.

For the purpose of ensuring the regular payment of the sums which may be allotted to the poorer sees, it may be expedient to provide a fund, by allowing the sums which are to be deducted from the incomes of the richer bishopries, to accumulate for a certain time. There are estates belonging to some sees, which may, perhaps, be advantageously sold, under certain restrictions. The produce of such sales may constitute a fund, out of which the bishop may receive compensation, either for foregoing a fine, in order to facilitate the conversion of a lease for lives into one for a term of years, or for waving his right of granting a concurrent lease, when a lessee will not renew.

The Commissioners approve of the plan of detaching secular functions from the bishopric of Durham, and recommend that a similar separation of civil jurisdiction should be effected in the province of York and in the see of Ely.

It will be necessary to provide residences for the bishops of Manchester, Ripon, Lincoln, Llandaff, and Rochester.

Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches.—Keeping in view the recommendation of the Crown, to approach this branch of the inquiry with a view to give increased efficiency and usefulness to the Established Church, the Commissioners have endeavoured to accomplish two objects:—one is, to improve the condition of those benefices, the population of which is of considerable amount, but which are now so scantily endowed as not to yield a competent maintenance for a clergyman; the other is, to add to the numbers of clergymen and churches, and so to make a more adequate provision for the religious instruction of a rapidly increased and increasing population.

It appears, from the Report of the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission, that there are no less than 3528 benefices under 150*l.* per annum. Of this number 13 contain each a population of more than 10,000; 51 a population of from 5000 to 10,000; 251 a population of between 2000 and 5000; and 1125 have each a population of between 500 and 2000. On every one of these benefices it is desirable that that there should be a resident clergyman; but unless their value be augmented, it will in many cases be impossible to secure this advantage. The necessity of such augmentation will be greatly increased by the changes recommended in the laws relating to pluralities and residence. The means which can be applied to effect the improvement are very far short of the amount required. Even were no addition to be made to the income of benefices having a population below 500, it would take no less a sum than 235,000*l.* per annum, to raise all benefices having a population of between 500 and 2000 to the annual value of 200*l.*; those having a population of 2000 and upwards, to 300*l.*, and those having 5000 and upwards,

to 400*l.* per annum. Of the benefices included in this enumeration, there are 1052 in private patronage, and 1258 in public patronage. The latter are, in the first instance, the preferable objects of assistance from the funds to be rendered available to the purposes of augmentation; and those funds will be very far from adequate to the improvement even of this class of preferments.

The most prominent, indeed, of those defects, which cripple the energies of the Established Church, and circumscribe its usefulness, is the want of churches and ministers in the large towns and populous districts of the kingdom. The growth of the population has been so rapid as to outrun the means possessed by the establishment of meeting its spiritual wants; and the result has been, that a vast proportion of the people are left destitute of the opportunities of public worship and Christian instruction, even when every allowance is made for the exertions of those religious bodies which are not in connexion with the Established Church.

Looking to those parishes only which contain each a population exceeding 10,000, it is found that in London and its suburbs, including the parishes on either bank of the Thames, there are four parishes or districts, each having a population exceeding 20,000, and containing an aggregate of 166,000 persons, with church-room for 8200 (not quite one-twentieth of the whole), and only eleven clergymen.

There are twenty-one others, the aggregate population of which is 739,000, while the church-room is for 66,155 (not one-tenth of the whole), and only forty-five clergymen.

There are nine others, with an aggregate population of 232,000, and church-room for 27,327 (not one-eighth of the whole, and only nineteen clergymen.

The entire population of these thirty-four parishes, amounts to 1,137,000, while there is church-room only for 101,682. Supposing that church-room is required for one-third, there ought to be sittings for 379,000 persons. There is, therefore, a deficiency of 277,318 sittings—or, if we allow 25,000 for the number of sittings in proprietary chapels, the deficiency will be 252,318.

Allowing one church for a population of 3000, there would be required, in these parishes, 379 churches, whereas there are, in fact only 69, or if proprietary chapels be added, about 100, leaving a deficiency of 279, while there are only 139 clergymen in a population exceeding a million.

In the diocese of Chester, there are thirty-eight parishes or districts in Lancashire, each with a population exceeding 10,000, containing an aggregate of 816,000 souls, with church-room for 97,700, or about one-eighth, the proportions varying in the different parishes from one-sixth to one-twenty-third.

In the diocese of York, there are twenty parishes or districts, each with a population exceeding 10,000, and with an aggregate of 402,000, while the church accommodation is for 48,000, the proportions varying from one-sixth to one-thirtieth.

In the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there are sixteen parishes or districts, each having a population above 10,000, the aggregate being 235,000, with church-room for about 29,000, the proportions varying from one-sixth to one-fourteenth.

Many of the chapels which contribute to swell the actual amount of church-room have no particular districts assigned to them. The Commissioners consider the assignment of a district to each church or chapel to be necessary to the ends of pastoral instruction, and to carrying into full effect the parochial economy of the Established Church. While the evils which flow from a deficiency in the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence are the most urgent of all, they are precisely those for which a remedy can be least easily found. The resources which the Established Church possesses are evidently quite inadequate to the exigencies of the case. All that can be done is gradually to diminish the intensity of the evil.

Partly by the application of first fruits and tenths, partly by the aid of liberal Parliamentary grants, and partly by the exertions of individual beneficence, additional church-room has been secured within the last twenty years, for at least 600,000 persons, and some hundreds of additional clergymen have been stationed in populous districts, which were before destitute of the advantages of pastoral care and instruction. But all that has been hitherto done in this way falls very short of the necessity of the case.

If the endowments of cathedral and collegiate churches should appear to be larger than is requisite for the purposes of their institution, the surplus ought, in the opinion of the Commissioners, to be made available for the augmentation of poor benefices, and the creation of new ones. No large immediate accession of funds is likely to be obtained from the above source; but it is hoped that the sacrifices which the cathedral and collegiate churches will be required to make will have the effect of stimulating individual benevolence to contribute towards the funds for improving and creating benefices.

The cathedral chapters are divided into two classes—first, the deans and chapters of the old foundation; secondly, those of the new foundation. The former term comprehends all those cathedral establishments which were founded at different periods before the reign of King Henry VIII.; the latter, those which were founded by letters patent from the Crown, confirmed by Parliament, about the time of the Reformation.

The old foundations comprise, not only the dean and canons residentiary, who compose the chapters of each, but various other prebendaries, who are not required to keep any residence at the cathedral, nor to perform any other duty, except that of preaching one or two sermons in each year. The dean, and each of the residentaries has, besides a separate endowment and a small fixed stipend, a share of that portion of the corporate revenues which remains after the payment of those stipends and other general expenses. Of this portion, which is called dividend, the dean receives no larger share than any other member of the chapter: except at Lichfield, where a different scale of division is prescribed by a local Act of Parliament. The prebendaries, who are not residentiaries have no share of the corporate revenues, except in some cases, small fixed payments, but in most instances possess each a separate endowment.

In the chapters of the new foundation, on the contrary, there are no prebendaries besides the residentiaries; and except at Durham and Ely, they have no separate estates. The dean, independently of statutable allowances, upon a materially larger scale than those of the prebendaries, receives on the division of fines a twofold share.

The churches to which the measures now about to be recommended will apply, are—

Of the old foundation—The cathedrals of York, London, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells, and St. George's chapel at Windsor.

Of the new—The cathedrals of Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Rochester, and Worcester, and the collegiate church of Westminster.

In all these churches the daily performance of the choral service is maintained out of the revenues of the dean and chapter, who also, in most instances, sustain and repair the fabric; and many of these bodies have of late years devoted very large sums out of those revenues to the reparation and improvement of the buildings intrusted to their care. But in the opinion of the Commissioners, the most important objects of these institutions may be secured, and continued consistently with a reduction of the present cathedral preferments, and the appropriation of a considerable portion of the revenues towards making a better provision for the cure of souls.

With these views, the Commissioners recommend that no new appointments shall in future be made to any of the stalls of the old foundation, which are not residentiary; with the exception of some, the income of which is little more than nominal, and which, perhaps, it may be deemed expedient to retain, as marks of distinction to be bestowed on deserving clergymen.

The number of prebends affected by this recommendation is about 368. In a few cases the income is regulated by some local custom or statute; but the greater part are endowed with a separate property under lease, either for twenty-one years, or (as more frequently happens) for three lives.

The proceeds of estates with which the deans and residentiaries of the old foundations, and those of Durham

and Ely, are endowed, separately from the corporate property of the chapters, should, as vacancies shall occur, be received and dealt with in the same manner as is proposed with regard to the property attached to the prebends last mentioned.

The chapter, in each of the churches enumerated, both of the old and new foundation, should consist hereafter of a dean and four canons, the establishment at present actually existing in the cathedrals of York, Chichester, and Carlisle; that one, at least, of these canonries, where they may be in the patronage of the Bishop, should be made available towards a better provision for the office of archdeacon; that until the existing chapter shall be reduced to the proposed number, no new election nor appointments take place; and that the income resulting from stipends, dividends, or other sources, which would have been payable to each residentiary exceeding the number of four, should, as the stalls become vacant, be paid by the chapter clerk to the treasurer of Queen Anne's bounty, as in the case of the separate estates.

An exception to this rule might with propriety be made in the case of Chester, where the income of each of the six prebendaries does not exceed 125*l.* on an average of the last seven years.

The Commissioners are of opinion that the term of residence of each dean should be nine months, and of each canon three months; and that the residentiaries, instead of being elected by the chapter from among the other prebendaries, should be appointed directly by the Bishop, except in the case of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, where three out of the four canonries should be in the nomination of the Crown.

If the recommendation of the Commissioners for the erection of two new sees be adopted, the two collegiate churches of Manchester and Ripon, which already possess an establishment nearly similar to that proposed for the cathedrals of the new foundation, may be made the cathedrals of the two new sees. The endowments belonging to the collegiate establishments of Heytesbury and Middleham should be applied for the purpose of providing for the parochial clergy in the places with which those establishments are connected.

Office of Archdeacon.—The remuneration of these offices arises principally from small payments made to them at their visitations, under the name of procurations; the amount of which is the same as it was several centuries ago. The total of their emoluments is, in most cases, not adequate to defray the necessary expenses even of their ordinary visitations, still less those of their parochial circuits, the regular performance of which is the most essential of their duties. In each cathedral, where such an arrangement is practicable, one at least of the stalls should be applied to the purpose of making a better provision for this important office. An instance of such an arrangement already exists in the cathedral of Rochester.

As it is desirable that dignities in cathedral and collegiate churches should be bestowed upon those only whose qualifications have been proved by a certain period of service in the ministry of the church, the Commissioners recommend that no person be hereafter capable of receiving the appointment of dean, archdeacon, or canon, until he shall have been six years complete in priest's orders.

Minor Canons, Vicars Choral, Priest-Vicars or Chaplains.—These are the ministers of the cathedral and collegiate churches. The service is performed by them, or some of them, in all these churches twice, and in some three times a day, throughout the year. The number in St. Paul's Cathedral is twelve; in others there are eight, six, four, and in the collegiate church of Manchester two. The emoluments are almost as various as the numbers. At Durham some of the minor canons receive as much as 170*l.* a-year; in some churches they have not more than 30*l.*; but the majority receive from 50*l.* to 70*l.* In consequence of the smallness of their salaries in almost all the cathedrals, there is a prevalent custom of giving to these ministers chapter livings, which they hold together with their places in the cathedral. The Commissioners are of opinion that the interests both of the cathedrals and of the parishes would be consulted by retaining only so many of these ministers as are sufficient for the service of the cathedrals, and giving them such salaries as may preclude the necessity of their holding benefices together with their offices in the cathedral.

In most of the cathedrals of the old foundation, these subordinate ministers form a distinct corporation, subsist upon the separate funds thereto belonging, and exert the same power of leasing their property as other ecclesiastical bodies. The consequent fluctuation and uncertainty of income, arising from fines received upon renewal of leases, in different years, which is found very inconvenient by the holders of larger preferment, must occasionally become a source of distress to those whose average subsistence is very slender. The Commissioners allude to the expediency of making some arrangement for placing the property of these minor corporations upon a better footing.

Deans and Chapters.—The Commissioners recommend that such regulations should be adopted as may leave it in the power of deans and chapters, under certain restrictions, to give preferment to the members of their own body, and to the minor canons, who may reasonably look to them for reward after a certain period of service; and that where the presentation to any benefice in their gift is not required for these purposes, it should pass, in some cases to the Crown, and in others to the Bishop of the diocese in which either the cathedral or the benefice may be respectively situate. This recommendation is not to be regarded as extending to Christchurch, and must, of course, be considered as subject to modification in particular cases.

The Commissioners recommend that, in general, the livings, the patronage of which belongs to the prebends which are to cease, and those of the deans and residentiaries, in right of their separate estates, shall, after the present incumbencies, fall to the presentation of the respective Bishops.

The ordinary expenditure of the corporate revenues of deans and chapters, the Commissioners find to be in general economical and moderate, and such as is required for the due performance of choral service, the care and maintenance of the fabric, and the decent propriety of a cathedral establishment; but they point out some differences in the scale of this expenditure in different places.

Sinecure Rectories.—The total number of these preferments is seventy-one, of which above thirty are in the patronage of the Crown or of ecclesiastical corporations. These should be suppressed, and the resources arising from them should be applied towards augmenting the existing provision for the cure of souls; due regard being had, in the first instance, to the wants of those dioceses in which the sinecure rectories are situate.

With respect to the probable extent of the fund applicable to the purpose of increasing the present provision for the parochial clergy, which may be derived from the different sources pointed out in this Report, although it is not possible to form an accurate estimate until the points which are reserved for further consideration shall have been finally settled, the Commissioners entertain a confident expectation that the amount will ultimately not be less than 130,000*l.* per annum.

It appears by the Liber Regis, compiled in the reign of King Henry VIII., that in several parts of England there are hospitals of ancient foundation which were at that time deemed promotions spiritual, and as such were charged with first fruits and tenths; although partaking also of an eleemosynary character. These establishments are, from the increase in the value of their possessions, capable of affording, in some instances, after amply satisfying the objects of the founders' bounty, the means of making a better provision for the cure of souls, in the parishes with which they are connected. The attention of the Commissioners, however, having but recently been called to them, they have no precise information either of their number, of the value of their possessions, or of the expenditure necessary for their proper maintenance.

Pluralities.—It appears that of 10,478 benefices, from which returns have been received, 297 are under 50*l.* per annum; 1629 are between 50*l.* and 100*l.* per annum; and 1602 are between 100*l.* and 150*l.*: so that there are 1926 benefices under 100*l.* per annum, and 3528 under 150*l.*, not taking account of the reductions even of these small values which have taken place since the returns were made.

On many of these benefices there is no glebe-house, nor do they furnish the means of erecting any. It is difficult, in many cases, to provide for the performance of the spiritual duties of very poor livings, except by entrusting them to the clergyman of some neighbouring parish. With

the evils, however, which may be supposed to result from such a state of things, there is this advantage—that it furnishes employment for young men, upon their first entering into the ministry, in the character of stipendiary curates; a regular supply of whom is indispensable to the efficiency and good order of the Established Church. Nevertheless, it has long been admitted that pluralities, if not wholly abolished, should be restricted within as narrow limits as the actual state of the Church will permit; and it is not unreasonable to expect that such restriction may lead to the augmentation of many of the poorer benefices, partly from private resources, and partly from the funds, which the operation of measures proposed by the Commissioners may render available to that purpose.

In determining the principles upon which the holding of benefices in plurality should in future be regulated, the Commissioners have had respect partly to distance and partly to value. With respect to distance, they are of opinion, that if an incumbent be permitted to hold two benefices, distant from each other not more than ten miles, he will be able, without inconvenience, to exercise an occasional superintendence and control over the benefice upon which he does not reside; the regular duties of which will be performed by his curate. With respect to value, the Commissioners recommend that no benefice of greater annual value than 500*l.* should be held in plurality with any other benefice, except in cases where the small value or large population of some neighbouring benefice may render it advisable that it should be held by the incumbent of a better endowed living. In such cases they recommend, that upon a statement made by the Bishop of the diocese to the Archbishop, and transmitted, with the sanction of his approval, to the Privy Council, it shall be lawful for the King in Council to allow such plurality.

The Commissioners recommend, that not more than two preferments of any description be held by the same person, except in the case of an archdeacon, who may be permitted to hold one benefice with cure of souls, and one canonry. They are of opinion, that the operation of a law, embodying these provisions, will, at no very distant period, have so far reduced the number of pluralities, as to leave no just ground of complaint on that score.

Union of Small Livings; Dissolution of existing Unions.—Where two benefices are contiguous to each other, each being of small value and population, the Commissioners think that it may, in many cases, be expedient to unite them, so as to form one benefice. This may now be done, under certain restrictions, by the Bishop, with the consent of the patron; but there exists a degree of uncertainty as to the circumstances under which it can be legally done, which it is desirable to remove by a more strict and precise limitation. On the other hand, some instances are to be found of unions, the constituent members of which are so circumstanced, with respect to value or population, as to render it desirable that they should be separated from each other, and made independent benefices. The Commissioners think that the King in Council, upon the recommendation of the Bishop, certified to his Majesty by such Commissioners as may be appointed for the purposes connected with the objects of this Report, should have the power of declaring that such separation shall take place, either immediately with consent of the incumbent, or if such consent be not given, upon the first avoidance of the benefice.

Power should be given to the King in certain cases, with the advice of the Privy Council, and with the consent of the Bishop and patrons, to alter the boundaries of parishes contiguous to each other.

Residence.—With respect to residence, the Commissioners are of opinion that it is not necessary to depart from the general principles of the statute 57 Geo. III., c. 99, which consolidated all the previous Acts relating to residence, and the employment of stipendiary curates by non-resident incumbents. But they think it expedient to make further provision for the enforcing of residence, by diminishing the number of exemptions, and the grounds of license of non-residence, which the Act in question allows; by limiting the period of legal absence in certain cases, and by giving additional powers to the Bishops, with respect to the appointment and payment of curates, and the repairs and erection of glebe-houses.

With reference to these subjects, pluralities, residence, and the employment of stipendiary curates, the Commissioners have prepared a Bill embodying the suggestions alluded to; repealing the present statute-law, and re-enacting its principal provisions, with such alterations and additions as appear necessary to carry those suggestions into effect. But they think it right to state explicitly their opinion, that the residence of the parochial clergy, to the extent which the interests of religion require, can only be secured by providing the means of augmenting poor benefices, and erecting glebe-houses. There are not less than 2878 benefices on which there is no house of residence, and 1728, the houses upon which are unfit for residence.

The Commissioners deem it right respectfully to repeat the observation made in their first Report, that in all their proposals they assume that vested interests will be respected, so far as regards the revenues and profits of persons actually holding any of the offices which will be affected by those proposals.

MILITARY PUNISHMENTS.

The Commissioners have presented their Report on the subject of military punishment, which has been ordered to be printed. The Commissioners directed their attention to the following points:—

"1. The regulations which have been adopted of late years in order to render the infliction of that punishment more rare than at former periods, and to diminish the extent to which it may be carried by the sentences of courts-martial.

"2. Whether some alteration in regard to the minor punishments now inflicted by the authority of the commanding-officers of regiments, both as respects the summary and effectual application of those punishments, and their power of submitting a wider range of offences to the judgment of a regimental court-martial than is at present permitted, might not tend to diminish the supposed necessity of recurring to corporal punishment in many instances, without endangering the maintenance of proper discipline.

"3. Whether the punishments that are now resorted to as substitutes for corporal punishment appear to have been effectual, and whether their substitution is likely to render an immediate and entire abolition of that punishment practicable and safe, or to hold out a hope that by a more stringent application of them, the necessity of its continuance may be gradually removed.

"4. Whether the infliction of corporal punishment may not be confined within still narrower limits than at present, both as to the number of lashes in the power of courts-martial to award, and as to the offences to which it may be applied; whether those offences may not be more clearly defined than they now are, and, also, whether the power of inflicting that punishment may not be limited to cases where the culprit has, for some previous misconduct, been in some way publicly degraded.

"5. Whether some system of rewards to the good and well-behaved soldier while in the service, either by promotion to commissions, by honorary distinctions, or otherwise, or by the prospect of some civil advantages combined with pension, or all of these, might not have the effect of inducing the parents and friends of the young men, of a better and more educated class of life than that of which the army is now composed, not only to consent to, but even to encourage their enlistment, and of thus improving the moral character of the army, so as to render the use of corporal punishment unnecessary."

The Committee conclude their Report in the following terms:—

"There now only remains for us to submit to your Majesty the conclusions which, in our judgment, are the results of the whole evidence.

"1. That it is the opinion of almost every witness whom we have examined, that the substitution of other punishments for corporal punishment in the British army, upon actual service and in the field, is impracticable, and if practicable, would be insufficient for the maintenance of proper discipline in your Majesty's service.

"2. That the abolition of the power of awarding corporal punishment, by sentence of court-martial in the British islands and the colonies, and during peace, and the retention of the power of inflicting that punishment when the army is on service and in the field, appears to us, for the reasons we have stated, manifestly unjust.

"3. That it does not appear to us that the punishments which have been resorted to as substitutes have hitherto had such an effect as to render it safe to abolish altogether that power in Great Britain or the colonies, nor have any other punishments been suggested to us that appear to promise a more favourable result.

"4. That it appears to us, that even supposing that some effectual substitute might be devised, or that those now in use might be made more effectual, so as to render corporal punishment ultimately unnecessary, it would be unsafe to proceed at once to abolish it entirely, and that even in that case its abolition should be gradual.

"5. That in order to give full effect to the punishments now in use as substitutes for corporal punishment, considerable alteration must be made in the means of rendering solitary confinement in the several barracks more effective, and that a certain number of prisons exclusively for military offenders should be provided as soon as possible.

"6. That, although we have been unwillingly convinced of the necessity of still retaining the power of corporal punishment, and in proportion to our conviction of that necessity, we earnestly recommend that no pains may be spared to endeavour to make its infliction less frequent.

"7. That, with the view of diminishing the frequency of this punishment, the offences to which it is limited, and the occasions upon which it should be resorted to, should be more clearly defined.

"8. That, with the same view, more discretion should be vested in commanding officers, as to the power of making use of minor punishments; and in determining on the offences which shall, under their orders, be tried by a regimental court-martial.

"9. That it appears to us that the extent of the sentences in the power of the several descriptions of courts-martial to award may, without danger, be more limited than at present.

"10. That encouragement should be given in the way of honorary reward and distinction, both to the gallant and to the well-conducted soldier.

"11. That no consideration of expense within reasonable bounds should be allowed to stand in the way of attending to the comforts of the soldier while in the service, and of a sufficient pension for the good and deserving man after that service has been performed.

"We cannot close our Report without assuring your Majesty that we find ample evidence of the earnest desire, and the most strenuous efforts, upon the part not only of the superior officers, but of officers of all ranks, so to conduct the discipline of the army as to render corporal punishment as rare as possible; and more especially we observe that the commanding officers are fully aware of your Majesty's gracious wishes in that respect, and we are satisfied that they will persevere in giving the fullest effect, by the strictest attention to the moral discipline of their regiments, to those wishes.

"How far the result of the inquiry in which we have, by your Majesty's command, been so long engaged, will tend to remove or mitigate the feeling which now prevails against the use of corporal punishment in the army, we know not; but we can assure your Majesty that we have endeavoured to sift the questions submitted to our inquiry fully and fairly, and without prejudice, and that we have formed our opinions upon the result of the very best evidence that could have been obtained upon the question.

"Finally, we feel it to be our duty to your Majesty to state our conviction, that if it were possible to introduce such a system of discipline as that of France into your Majesty's army (a system which in its effects we believe to be far from being as successful as that of Great Britain), it could only be by the establishment of such a rigorous conscription of all ranks as we believe would not be endured, and by a change in the whole tone of this country, as to the military service, such as we have no expectation of seeing effected.

"We humbly submit this, our unanimous Report, to your Majesty's royal consideration.

"WHARNCLIFFE. R. C. FERGUSSON.
"JAMES KEMPT. E. BARNES, Lieut.-General.
"SANDON. T. REYNELL.
"E. HYDE EAST.

"India Board, March 15, 1836."

REPORT OF THE CARLOW ELECTION COMMITTEE.

The following Report was presented to the House of Commons on Friday, March 11:—

"It appears to your Committee that the subject may be arranged under two heads, the first as relating to any traffic or agreement between Mr. Raphael and Mr. O'Connell for a seat in Parliament, and the second as to the application of the sum said to have been given.

"It does not appear to your Committee to be necessary for them to enter upon any detailed summary of the evidence, but they feel it their duty to draw the attention of the House very briefly to the main points as they bear upon the question.

"It appears that Mr. O'Connell addressed a letter, bearing date the 1st of June 1835, in which the agreement for Mr. Raphael's return for the county of Carlow for 2000*l.* was concluded; the Committee cannot help observing that the whole tone and tenor of this letter was calculated to excite much suspicion and grave animadversion, but they must add, that upon a very careful investigation, it appeared that previous conferences and communications had taken place between Mr. Raphael, Mr. Vigors, and other persons connected with the county of Carlow, and that Mr. O'Connell was acting on this occasion at the express direction of Mr. Raphael, and was only the medium between Mr. R. and Mr. V. and the political club at Carlow.

"It appears that the money was placed to Mr. O'Connell's general account at his banker's in London. It was, however, advanced, the moment it was called for, to Mr. Vigors; and though some of it was paid in bills, the discount was allowed; the amount, therefore, was available whenever wanted, and no charge of pecuniary interest can be attached to Mr. O'Connell.

"It appears also that this money had been expended under the immediate direction of Mr. Vigors, and others connected with the county of Carlow, in what may be called legal expenses, or so unavoidable, that your Committee see no reason to question their legality; and that the balance was absorbed in defending the return of Mr. Raphael and Mr. Vigors before the Committee appointed to investigate, on the 28th of July, 1835."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON RAILWAY BILLS.

ON the 22nd of February, a Select Committee was appointed "to inquire into the best modes by which information can be afforded to the House on the different Railway Bills;" and, on the 29th of February, the Committee presented its Report. It appears that there have been presented to the House fifty-seven petitions for railways, involving an estimated outlay of upwards of 28,000,000*l.*, and most probably an actual expenditure of many millions beyond this sum. To these petitions there appear 36,978 assents, 6575 dissents, and 7475 neuters. The Committee observes, that "the immense amount of national capital which is thus proposed to be embarked, as well as the great sacrifices which various landed proprietors, or occupiers, whose property may be affected by the proposed schemes, must be called upon to make, render the decision which Parliament may ultimately take upon these various Bills a matter of the utmost national importance." The calculations upon which it has been determined to apply to the Legislature may turn out to be fallacious, or the capitals subscribed, when called for, may not be forthcoming. The Committee remark that "it seems to be absolutely necessary that the House of Commons should, either by itself or through its Committees, institute a more rigid inquiry, than has hitherto prevailed, into the different plans; and that whilst no discouragement should be cast upon enterprise, which, if properly directed, cannot fail to be beneficial to the nation, the character of these undertakings should not be permitted to be sacrificed, nor the national capital thrown away, under the temporary excitement of the public mind which appears to prevail at this moment, through any want of due attention by the Committees, or of information in the House." Upon these principles the Committee framed a series of Resolutions, which were adopted by the House on the 1st of March, and will henceforth form the groundwork of legislating upon Railways. The resolution of the House was to the following effect:—"That Committees

on Railway Bills do inquire into the following matters, and report specially thereupon, when they report the respective Bills to the House." Then follow the Resolutions of the Committee, which we subjoin:—

1. As to the proposed capital of the Company formed for the execution of the project, and the amount of any loans which they may be empowered to raise by the Bill; the amount of shares subscribed for, and the deposits paid thereon, the names and places of residence of the directors or provisional Committee, with the amount of shares taken by each; the number of shareholders who may be considered as having a local interest in the line, and the amount of capital subscribed for by them, and the number of other parties, and the capital taken by them; a statement of the number of shareholders subscribing for 2000*l.* and upwards, with their names and residences, and the amount for which they have subscribed.

2. The sufficiency or insufficiency for agricultural, commercial, manufacturing or other purposes, of the present means of conveyance and of communication between the proposed *termini*, stating the present amount of traffic by land or water, the average charges made for passengers and goods, and time occupied.

3. The number of passengers, and the weight and description of the goods expected upon the proposed railway.

4. The amount of income expected to arise from the conveyance of passengers and goods, and in what proportion; stating also generally the description of goods from which the largest revenue is anticipated.

5. Whether the proposed railroad be a complete and integral line between the *termini* specified, or a part of a more extended plan now in contemplation, and likely to be hereafter submitted to Parliament, and to what extent the calculations of remuneration depend on such contemplated extension of the line.

6. Whether any, and what, competing lines of railroad there are existing, and whether any, and what, are in progress or contemplation, and to state, so far as circumstances will permit, in what respects the proposed line is superior or inferior to the other lines, if there be any.

7. To state what planes on the railway are proposed to be worked, either by assistant engines, stationary or locomotive, with the respective lengths and inclinations of such planes.

8. To advert to any peculiar engineering difficulties in the proposed line, and to report the manner in which it is intended they should be overcome.

9. To state the length, breadth and height, and means of ventilation, of any proposed tunnels, and whether the strata through which they are to pass are favourable or otherwise.

10. To state whether, in the lines proposed, the gradients and curves are generally favourable or otherwise, and the steepest gradient, exclusive of the inclined planes above referred to, and the smallest radius of a curve.

11. To state the length of the main line of the proposed line of the railroad, and of its branches respectively.

12. To state generally the fitness, in an engineering point of view, of the projected line of railroad.

13. If it be intended that the railroad should pass on a level any turnpike-road or highway, to call the particular attention of the House to that circumstance.

14. To state the amount of the estimates of the cost or other expenses to be incurred up to the time of the completion of the railway, and whether they appear to be supported by evidence, and to be fully adequate for the purpose.

15. To state what is the estimated charge of the annual expenses of the railroad when completed, and how far the calculations on which the charge is estimated, have been sufficiently proved.

16. Whether the calculations proved in evidence before the Committee have satisfactorily established that the revenue is likely to be sufficient to support the annual charges of the maintenance of the railroad, and still allow profit to the projectors.

17. The number of assents, dissents, and neuters upon the line, and the length and amount of property belonging to each class traversed by the said railroad, distinguishing owners from occupiers; and in the case of any Bill to vary the original line, stating the above particulars with reference to such parties only as may be affected by the proposed variation.

18. To state the name or names of the engineers examined in support of the Bill, and of those, if any, examined in opposition to it.

19. To state the main allegation of any petition or petitions which may have been referred to the Committee in opposition to the preamble of the Bill, or to any of its clauses; and whether the allegations have been considered by the Committee, and if not considered, the cause of their not having been so.

20. To state, in addition, any circumstances which, in the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable the House should be informed of.

"Unless specific replies be received to each of the foregoing questions, the House of Commons will not enter upon the consideration of any Railway Bill. The Clerks of Railway Bills are in future to take down the name of every Member attending the Committee on each day, and the name of every Member voting on any division of such Committee, distinguishing the side of the question on which the vote is recorded. The result is to be given in with the Report on the Bill.

The following is a list of Railway Bills for which petitions have been presented during the present Session, with the amount of capital proposed to be embarked in each:—

Title of Bill.	Capital.
Arbroath and Forfar	£600,400
Aylesbury	50,000
Birmingham, Bristol, and Thames Junction	150,000
Birmingham and Derby	530,000
Birmingham and Gloucester	945,000
Bolton and Leigh	3,400
Brandling	97,000
Bristol and Exeter	1,400,800
Chelmsford and Great Northern	200,000
Cheltenham and Great Western	750,000
Deptford	60,000
Dublin and Drogheda	600,000
Dublin and Kilkenny	710,000
Dundee and Arbroath	99,800
Dundee and Newtyle	
Durham Junction	50,000
Durham South-West Railway	
Edinburgh, Leith, and Newhaven	99,700
Festiniog	1,500
Garthernie and Coatbridge	6,000
Gateshead and Durham (or Great North of England)	660,000
Gateshead and Monkwearmouth	186,300
Glasgow and Airdrie	68,300
Glasgow and Falkirk Junction	138,000
Great Northern	3,000,000
Great Western (No. 1)	
Great Western (No. 2)	
Hayle	93,000
Hull and Selby	485,000
Leeds and Derby (or North Midland)	1,500,000
London and Blackwall	600,000
London and Blackwall (Commercial)	100,000
London and Brighton	1,000,000
London and Brighton (direct)	1,200,000
London and Cambridge	1,200,000
London and Croydon	
London and Dover (South-Eastern)	1,400,000
London and Gravesend	600,000
London and Norwich (Eastern Counties)	1,500,000
London Grand Junction	600,000
London, Shoreham, and Brighton	804,600
Manchester and Cheshire	700,000
Manchester and Leeds	1,300,000
Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff	300,000
Midland Counties	1,200,000
Monkland and Falkirk	200,000
Newcastle and North Shields	120,000
Northfleet and Dover	1,000,000
Polloc and Govan	
Preston and Longridge	30,000
Sheffield and Rotherham	90,000
South Durham	150,000
Stockport and Manchester	230,000
Stonebridge Junction	100,000
Thames Haven	450,000
Ulster	496,000
York and North Midland	370,000
Total	£28,224,000

A Select Committee has been appointed "to consider the Standing Orders for Railroad Bills, and the conditions which it may be advisable to recommend for introduction into such Bills, with a view to a future Session of Parliament."

PAST AND PRESENT STATE OF CEYLON.

UNDER the auspices of the present Governor of Ceylon, a series of ameliorations have been introduced into the government of that colony, which are calculated, at no distant period, to produce results of the most gratifying description. A few years ago, almost every circumstance which can depress a nation, and stifle the germs of its prosperity, existed in Ceylon in all the vigour of unrestrained abuse. These evils have subsequently been attacked at their root; and a very brief interval has served to bring into gratifying contrast the former and present condition of the Cingalese. The change has simply been effected by a wise application of enlightened principles to the sources of mismanagement and injustice; and a political and social lesson of no small value may be learned by investigating the recent history of the island. From a pamphlet, entitled 'An Appeal in behalf of the Inhabitants of Ceylon,' written some time since, we gather the following details of the circumstances under which they were entitled to claim the beneficent sympathy of the mother-country. The facts we have selected are not extracted in the order in which they stand in the 'Appeal,' but are obtained from different portions of the pamphlet.

The island of Ceylon is situate at the western extremity of the Bay of Bengal. Its extreme length from north to south, is 270 miles; its average breadth about 100, and its greatest breadth 145 miles. The superficial area of the island is 24,664 square miles, and it is therefore nearly half the size of England. The number of inhabitants is under one million, the proportion to each square mile being about 40. The most rapid increase of population takes place in the maritime districts, in which the number of inhabitants was:— in 1814, above 475,000; in 1824, 595,105; and in 1831, 661,906.

Ceylon is described by the writer of the 'Appeal,' as endowed "with a great and more than ordinary portion of natural advantages,—with infinite varieties of soil, climate, and situation,—with vegetable and other indigenous productions, excellent in quality,—with navigable rivers, safe harbours, and every facility of internal and foreign communication." All the sources of a widely-extended prosperity were at hand, but they remained incapable of good. In the 'Appeal' it is earnestly asked, "How comes it to pass that Ceylon should continue poor? that its population should be so scanty? its commerce so contracted? its agriculture so depressed?" The reply is, that misgovernment, a long-continued system of blind monopoly, and arbitrary exaction, have caused these evils.

The revenue for 1831 amounted to 381,142*l.*, and the following were among the taxes composing it:—Salt, 27,891*l.*; land rents, 25,807*l.*; fish ditto, 7,773*l.*, sea customs, 64,102*l.*; cinnamon, 106,131*l.*

The tax on salt was from 500 to 1000 per cent. above the cost of its production. The land assessments and fish rent were farmed out to speculators, and by them collected in kind. High export duties were imposed on various articles of native growth and manufacture; heavy taxes on the importation of food and clothing; harassing tolls on all goods transported from one part of the island to another; capitation taxes; licenses for carrying on particular trades; licenses for gambling, &c. &c.

The operation of the salt-tax was particularly injurious; it interfered with the free enjoyments of the people, with the employment of many, and with the subsistence or comforts of all; it checked the fisheries, burdened agriculture, and dried up a rich source of commercial enterprise and public revenue. We learn from the report of Colonel Colebrook, that "in the salt districts of Ceylon the formation is most abundant in the driest seasons, when the crops are most liable to failure." At the period to which the writer of the 'Appeal' alludes, some districts which were once populous and thriving had been nearly deserted, owing to the restrictions on the salt trade. Ceylon abounds with salt, and these restrictions were, therefore, peculiarly unjust and impolitic. "Almost everywhere along the coasts, owing to the peculiar dryness of the atmosphere at certain seasons, and the rapid evaporation which always takes place after rain, formations of salt abound. From the deposits or "leways" of Hambantotte alone, where it crystallizes spontaneously, and is of the purest quality, any quantities might be collected, sufficient to supply not only the whole of Ceylon, but (as, indeed, is supposed to have been formerly the case) the greater part of the Malay Islands. Not is the cost of collecting and storing it great. In the Tangalle district it is only 1½*d.* a parrah (54 lbs.), and with attendant expenses does not exceed 4*d.*; at Colombo the united charges amount to 6*d.*; at Trincomalee, to 11*d.*; and at Jaffna to only 3*d.*

The land-rents were, in fact, a tithe or tenth of the gross produce, assessed on all lands in *grain*, and were annually farmed out to the highest bidder, by whom they were collected in kind, and often in a most oppressive manner. Some idea may be formed of the injurious operation of this impost, by the fact, that on its being commuted into a fixed payment in the provinces of Bahar and Orissa, in Bengal, the result was the doubling of the revenue, the increase of the indirect taxes nearly twelve-fold; and private property, which has been previously unsaleable, became worth sixteen years' purchase. This beneficial change was effected in 1793; the population, which was then 24,000,000, had increased to 34,000,000 in 1822.

The fish-rents were also a tithe, and were farmed out in the same manner as the land-rents. From the perishable nature of the article, and from the fishermen being forbidden to dispose of, or cure, their fish, until the farmer had taken his part, this tax was also a most oppressive one.

In 1831 the Customs amounted to 64,102*l.*; about two-thirds of which arose from imports, and the remainder from goods carried coastways or exported. Of the imports more than three-fourths consisted of grain and cotton cloths; and the duties levied on them amounted to about 14½ per cent. The exports, subject to duty, consisted of articles of native growth and manufacture, and had to pay a duty of about 35 per cent. One product, however, Areka nuts, was charged as high as 75 per cent.

The various monopolies established by the Dutch had been most prejudicial to the real interests of the Cingalese, as the following facts, adduced by the writer of the 'Appeal,' will show. The cost of producing cinnamon is about 6*d.* per lb. The Dutch were accustomed to purchase it at this price, and sell it for 11*s.* per lb. in the European markets. Competition, in spite of every effort to preclude or restrain its growth, increased. Malabar cinnamon and cassia, from their superior cheapness, began to vie, and at length supplant, the finer products of Ceylon; and the annual quantity exported from that island was, by degrees, reduced from upwards of 1,000,000 lbs. to less than 500,000 lbs. The high duty on Areka nuts had also driven the trade in this article from the island; and they were procured in great quantities from Sumatra, though of an inferior quality. The revenue levied on them in Ceylon declined, in consequence, from 10,329*l.* to 5301*l.* From the same cause, the revenue on the export of Chawa roots (a sort of dye) fell from 2000*l.* to 200*l.*; and that on the Chank fisheries, which formerly amounted to 6700*l.*, became reduced to 37*l.* a-year.

Among other causes which contributed to depress the interests of Ceylon may be named the following:—Injudicious regulations imposed on its ports and productions by Orders in Council and Acts of Parliament in the mother-country; and also the high duty imposed on every species of the produce of Ceylon when imported into Great Britain.

To these fatal checks to the progress of industry may be superadded the existence of a system of personal exaction amounting in its consequences to evils nearly as great as those resulting from complete slavery. The natives were subject to be called upon to contribute their services, almost gratuitously, for the construction of public works, to assist in transporting the baggage of any civil or military authority who might happen to be travelling; and, generally, to serve at the caprice of any native chief invested with authority, through whom alone the orders for compulsory labour could be distributed. Mr. Tufnell, who has recently noticed, in an incidental manner,* the

* Lecture at the Colchester Mechanics' Institute, by Henry Tufnell, Esq., pp. 32. Ridgway.

state of Ceylon, says,—"It is hardly possible for you, who live in this free country, to conceive the horrible oppressions to which this system of petty tyranny gave rise. It might be the time of harvest, when a short absence from the fields would cause the failure of the crops; yet this very reason might, perhaps, induce a chief to gratify some grudge against an unhappy labourer, by commanding his attendance, and thus destroying the fruits of a hard season of toil. Could it be wondered at (Mr. Tufnell asks) that a people who had no security for enjoying the reward of their industry, and were thus deprived of the chief motive for exertion, should relapse into a state of thoughtless indolence, and look forward to nothing beyond providing for the means of daily support?"

The present Governor of Ceylon, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, was appointed to that office in 1831. Many abuses have been removed since his arrival, and many wise reforms introduced. Justice is better administered, and the laws have been improved. The law no longer recognises distinctions amongst the different classes of subjects. The cinnamon monopoly has been abolished, and, perhaps, the most important change of all, *compulsory labour* was abolished by an Order in Council, dated September 28, 1832. The natives are now eager to improve their numerous resources, and to follow in the track of civilization. Mr. Tufnell says, "Roads have been no sooner opened than they were crowded with the vehicles of commerce. The establishment of a savings' bank, although an institution of an entirely novel nature, was soon found out to be a safe and ready deposit for the savings of industry. The serf no sooner felt himself a *freeman*, than cultivation rapidly spread through the different districts: and, unless checked by some misfortune beyond human calculation, it is not too much to predict, that the once despised inhabitants of Ceylon will, in the course of a few years, attain a pitch of prosperity, which the most sanguine philanthropist could hardly have dared to anticipate."

ACCIDENTS IN MINES.

In the last session of Parliament a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the nature, causes, and extent of the lamentable catastrophes which have occurred in the mines of Great Britain, with the view of ascertaining and suggesting means for preventing the recurrence of similar fatal accidents. It appears that the Committee did not obtain complete returns of inquests held by the Coroners on parties who had met with untimely deaths in the mines of England and Wales, but such as were laid before them gave a total of 954 persons who had perished by accidents in mines during the last twenty-five years. In the county of Chester there had been 7 lives lost by fire-damp and choke-damp; in Cumberland, 140; in Derby, 19; in Gloucester, 3; in Monmouth, 3; in Notts, 18; in Salop, 89; in Somerset, 1; in Stafford (one district), 104; in Warwick, 3; in York, North-Riding, 29; York, West-Riding, 23 by choke-damp, 93 by fire-damp; 230 other accidents not specified; in Brecon 15 ditto, 3 by explosions; in Flint, 39 by choke-damp and fire-damp; in Lancashire (no returns for several districts), 135, by choke-damp and fire-damp.—Total 954. The counties of Durham and Northumberland, it will be observed, are omitted in these returns, although they have been the scene of some of the most disastrous mine accidents. Indeed, while the Committee was sitting, a catastrophe of this kind took place at Walls-end colliery, between Newcastle-on-Tyne and Shields, by which, in an instant, 101 men and boys were killed. It appears, from "Local Records," a work published by Mr. John Sykes, of Newcastle, and which, it is believed, does not contain any overcharged statement, that, in the mines on the Wear and Tyne alone, there have perished, since 1710, not fewer than 1,600 persons, *viz.*—1,479 by explosions of fire-damp; 84 by inundations; 37 by other casualties. Of these, 1,125 lives have been lost since 1810; which, added to the previous list obtained from the Coroners, defective as it confessedly is, shows that the number of fatal accidents during a period of twenty-five years has been 2,070.

It is computed that, during a period of eighteen years previous to the introduction of Sir Humphry Davy's safety-lamp, 447 individuals lost their lives in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. The safety-lamp came into use in 1816; and, during a term of eighteen years since 1816, the number of fatal accidents in the above-mentioned district is stated to have been 538. The increase is accounted for in the following manner in the Report:—"The quantity of coal raised in the said counties has greatly increased; seams of coal, so fiery as to have lain unwrought, have been approached and worked by the aid of the safety-lamp. Many dangerous mines were successfully carried on, though in a most inflammable state, and without injury to the general health of the people employed in them. Add to this the idea entertained, that on the introduction of that lamp the necessity for former precautions and vigilance, in a great measure, ceased."

While fully recognising the rights of property, enterprise and labour, and confessing that the public interest has been served by the opening of the more dangerous mines, and the competition their working has created, the Committee ask the owners of these mines how far any object of pecuniary interest or personal gain can justify the continued exposure of men and boys in situations where science and mechanical skill have failed in providing anything like adequate protection? They suggest the expediency, in cases of accidents attended by the death of a large number of individuals, of a fit person or persons being selected by the chief justice of England, His Majesty's Coroner, in order to attend at the investigation. "From such a proceeding (the Report adds) results the most valuable to science and humanity might be obtained; the aim of justice would be still better secured; and to the public (particularly the relations of the deceased) the verdict would be delivered under the best possible recommendation, and with the highest sanction."

The means of preventing accidents arising in mines from the presence of noxious gases may be divided into three heads:—1. Ventilation; 2. Safety-lamps; 3. Maps or Plans.

1. Ventilation, by which is meant an adequate supply of atmospherical air, sufficient as an active agent to displace or change the character of deleterious gases. On ventilation, and the daily, unceasing, strict discharge of duty by every person engaged about the mines, from the scientific professional viewer down to the 'trapper,' (often a boy too young and thoughtless, who manages the air-door,) depends the safety of hundreds of men and boys, from minute to minute. One act of omission of assigned duty, one solitary, momentary neglect, may cause the instant destruction of life and property to an indefinite extent. The Committee reprobate the practice of placing wooden partitions or brattices in the ventilating shafts, as the slightest explosion may remove them, and destroy the whole system of ventilation. In pits where the seams of coal lie horizontally, or nearly so, a greater number of shafts for the injection of pure air, and the rejection of foul air, are required. It appears from the evidence that the foul and free air courses are frequently too near together; the communications not adequately protected; and the lengths of air-coursing being excessive, give opportunities for leakage, interruption, and contamination. The temporary and imperfect nature of the stoppings, sometimes mere heaps of small coal, inevitably produce dangerous consequences.

2. Safety-lamps; by the aid of which the miner is enabled to pursue his operations in situations where no naked light could be used. Many invaluable seams of coal never could have been worked without the aid of such an instrument. An ignorant and improper reliance, however, upon the safety-lamp, in cases attended with unwarrantable risk, has, it is believed, led to disastrous consequences. The miners do not doubt its protective character, but complaints are made that it affords too little light. The use of the lamp ought, in all cases, to be compelled by owners of coal-mines. Many improvements have been suggested calculated to extend the principle of the safety-lamp. One of these improved lamps, by Mr. Ayres, contains a suspended extinguisher, which descends on the flame immediately the gas inside the gauze is ignited. This lamp cannot be opened or interfered with without producing extinction. Another lamp, by Messrs. Upton and Roberts, appears, says the Report, to provide against all or nearly all the contingencies attending the Davy lamp. The novelties in this lamp are—the shape of the glass, the collar which regu-

lates the admission of air or gas to the cotton wick, and the double tissue of gauze beneath the wick, which prevents firing backwards.

3. Maps or Plans, accurately defining not only the mode of constructing the air-courses, but the entire of the workings; pointing out also the position of adjacent abandoned mines, which may have become reservoirs of gas or of water.

In addition, 'Roberts's safety-hood' may be mentioned as a means of preventing the loss of life in some cases of explosion. This instrument is made of wash leather, and stuffed with wool and horse-hair, so as to make it pliable round the neck, and impervious to the foul air from underneath. From the mouth there is an elastic pipe which comes a little way down, and at the end of the pipe a vessel containing a chemical preparation, calculated to neutralize even carbonic acid gas, so that a person might live for a whole day in an atmosphere which, without such apparatus, would be fatal to him in a couple of minutes. The practicability of saving life by this instrument, after explosions, when no hope remained, has been, says the Report, fully demonstrated.

The Committee confess that they have, in a great measure, failed in devising adequate remedies for the painful calamities they have had to investigate. They abstain at present from giving an opinion on the suggestions which were made to them on the expediency of continuing their inquiry in mining districts, by competent individuals, acting under authority. Although their Report does not suggest any particular plan by which the accidents in question may be avoided with certainty, great advantages will, no doubt, result from the circulation of the mass of evidence they have collected. The difficulty of making any legislative enactments for the protection of the miner is very great. The Committee express an opinion that "the great dissimilarity of the mineral stratifications of the kingdom, the constantly varying circumstances of particular mines, render it impossible, at present, to lay down any precise directions, or to form any rules of universal application."

The following extracts are from the concluding paragraphs of the Report:—"Your Committee are glad to find that increasing attention is paid to the moral culture and education of the mining population. From the establishment of associations similar to the Polytechnic School recently formed in Cornwall, as named by one or more witnesses, and the opportunity thus afforded of cultivating native talents, great advantages may be anticipated. * * * The Committee cannot express the sense they entertain of the responsibility incurred by the owners of mines generally: in their hands are the lives of a vast multitude of their fellow-creatures, industriously contributing to their personal, and our national, aggrandizement. It is the bounden duty of owners carefully and constantly to examine into the state of their mines: if this is not personally practicable, they ought to call for written daily reports from their subalterns, of every circumstance and event connected with the proper ventilation of the mine. * * * * * Every possible exertion should be made, every effort employed, to bring the workmen acquainted with their individual responsibilities, and those theories and principles, both as regards the lamps and proper ventilation, upon the observance of which their personal existence and that of their comrades are at stake."

MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In compliance with an Order of the House of Commons, a Return has recently been made of all the instructions which have been issued by the Company of Apothecaries in London, from the year 1815 to 1835 inclusive, for the observance of those students in medicine who have been, or may become, candidates for the license of the Company. It will be seen that the regulations have gradually become more strict, and that much has been done towards improving and rendering more perfect the education of medical men.

The first Regulation noticed in the Return is dated July 31st, 1815, and requires evidence of candidates having served an apprenticeship; also testimonials of good moral character, and of having attained the age of twenty-one years. Testimonials of having gone through the following course of theoretical and practical instruction were henceforth to be required of candidates presenting themselves for examination:—one course of lectures on chemistry, one on materia medica, two on anatomy and physiology, two on the theory and practice of medicine; six months' attendance on the medical practice of a hospital or infirmary, or nine months on that of a dispensary.

A resolution of the Court of Examiners, passed in September, 1827, regulated the order in which attendance should be given to the above courses of instruction, and prescribed, in addition, an extra course of lectures on chemistry, and the introduction of botany in the course on materia medica.

A resolution passed in September, 1828, increased the number of lectures both in chemistry, and materia medica with botany to two courses on each. The attendance required to be given on the physician's practice at a hospital was increased to nine months, and at a dispensary to twelve months; and two new courses of lectures were instituted,—on midwifery, and the diseases of women and children.

In October, 1830, the Court directed that candidates should produce proof of having devoted at least two years to an attendance on lectures and hospital practice. The following changes and additions in the courses were made:—one course was instituted on forensic medicine, one distinct course on botany, and therapeutics was included in the two courses on materia medica. The number of lectures which each course should include was defined, and students were earnestly advised to avail themselves of instruction in morbid anatomy. The Resolution of the Examiners also declared that candidates must also have attended for twelve months at least, the physician's practice, at a hospital containing not less than sixty beds, and where a course of clinical lectures is given; or for fifteen months at a dispensary connected with some medical school recognised by the Court.

In April, 1835, the Court of Examiners issued the following regulations:—That students whose attendance on lectures shall commence on or after the 1st of October, 1835, will be required to produce proof of having attended during three winter and two summer sessions, lectures in the following order, and medical practice from the commencement of the second to the termination of the third winter session. The winter medical session commences on the 1st of October, and terminates in the middle of April, with a recess of fourteen days at Christmas; the summer session commences on the 1st of May, and ends on the 31st of July. The course of the first winter session must be devoted to chemistry, anatomy and physiology, anatomical demonstrations, materia medica, and therapeutics. First summer session—botany, and such other branches of study as may improve the student's general education: second winter session—anatomy and physiology, anatomical demonstrations, dissections, principles and practice of medicine, medical practice of a hospital: second summer session—botany (if not attended during the first summer session), midwifery and diseases of women and children, forensic medicine, medical practice of a hospital: third winter session—dissections, principles and practice of medicine, midwifery with attendance on cases, medical practice of a hospital or dispensary. The sessional course of instruction in each respective subject of study is to consist of not less than the following number of lectures; namely,—100 on chemistry, 100 on materia medica and therapeutics, 100 on the principles and practice of medicine, 60 on midwifery and the diseases of women and children, 50 on forensic medicine, 50 on botany. The number of lectures on anatomy and physiology, and of anatomical demonstrations, must be in conformity with the regulations of the Royal College of Surgeons. The lectures required in each course respectively must be given on separate days. Students must present testimonials of having received instruction in practical chemistry during their attendance upon lectures on chemistry, materia medica, or forensic medicine, and also of having attended a full course of clinical lectures, and such instructions in morbid anatomy as may be afforded them during their attendance at a hospital. Students are required to attend the medical practice of a recognised hospital from the commencement of the second winter session to the termination of the second summer session, and from that time to the end of the third winter session at a hospital or recognised dispen-

sary. Every student henceforth to be required to produce proof of having dissected the whole body once at least.

On the 10th of November, 1830, very strict rules were issued respecting the registration of lectures, and hospital or dispensary attendance. The student is required to register every course of lectures he attends, until he has attended the required number. The registrar is to see the student write his own name in the proper space; he then examines the tickets which the student offers for registration, and enters the name of each lecturer in the column assigned to the branch of medical science on which he lectures, as well as the date of tickets, and the day of registration, each in its appropriated place.

EDUCATION AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Appendix to Mr. Crawford's valuable Report on the Penitentiaries of the United States contains some interesting notes relative to education, and the public provision made for the support of common schools in that portion of America. The following are extracts:—

"There are three distinct kinds of legislative provision for the support of common schools in the United States, first, by taxation; secondly, by appropriation; and, thirdly, by the combination of both those resources.

"The plan of taxation has been adopted from the commencement by the Legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Vermont. In New Hampshire, the governor states, that 'the effect has been very salutary. Scarcely a single native citizen under forty years of age, of either sex, can be found, who has not been taught to read and write his native language. It has (he says) elevated the character of our population in point of intelligence and moral habits.' These remarks equally apply to the State of Vermont. Of the common schools in Massachusetts, Governor Lincoln reports, 'that the practical operation of the laws has been to secure, in every district and village of the commonwealth, the means of regular instruction to children in the elementary branches of learning; and where there was wealth and population to justify the occasion, the establishment and support of schools of competent character to prepare youth for admission to college, or to enter upon the active business of life. Certain it is (he adds) that there has never been any want of interest manifested here, either in raising a sufficient amount of money, or in attending to its most useful application.'

"Connecticut and Rhode Island present illustrations of the second plan, the effect of which has been thus described by Dr. Wayland, the respected president of Brown University, Providence:—'It is generally supposed that legislative effort should be directed to the accumulation and distribution of large funds to be appropriated for this object. I am disposed to believe that this opinion is erroneous. Funds are valuable in this case, as a condiment, not as an aliment. They should never be so large as to render a considerable degree of personal effort on the part of the parent unnecessary. The universal law of Divine Providence in the distribution of its favours is the *quid pro quo*. The adoption of any other, except in the case of absolute helplessness, is, so far as I have observed, pernicious. A fund is only useful in this sort of case, in so far as it induces men to help themselves. If they will help themselves without it, so much the better. As soon as they are aware of the value of education, and it has elevated them to a certain point of moral acquisition, they will not want it; nay, if it be continued after they have arrived at this point, I think it may be injurious in its effects.' This view of the effect produced by the establishment of permanent funds for the support of schools is also confirmed by the experience derived in Connecticut. 'A public fund (observes a distinguished member of the Legislature—the Hon. R. M. Sherman) for the instruction of youth in common schools, is of no comparative worth as a means of relieving want. A higher value would consist in its being made an instrument for exciting general exertion for the attainment of that important end. In proportion as it excites and fosters a salutary zeal it is a public blessing. It may have, on any other principle of application, a contrary tendency, and become worse than useless. It has been seriously questioned whether the school fund has been a curse in Connecticut. It has furnished a supply where there was no deficiency. Content with the ancient standard of school instruction, the people have permitted the expense of sustaining it to be taken off their hands, and have aimed at nothing higher.' They expended about an equal sum before the school fund existed.'

"New York, by the combination of both plans, has advanced more rapidly in education than any other State in the Union. This system aids those who tax themselves, exactly in proportion to their contributions.

"The plan of providing for education by means of funds or annual grants from the treasury has been adopted by several States. In the west, a section of land in each township is appropriated to the support of schools, either by the State or by the United States.

"Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana have made annual grants for the instruction of the 'poor.' This distinction in favour of the 'poor' has been considered invidious and fatal to the success of the system. On this point the superintendent of common schools in the State of New York observes, 'the radical difference between our school system and the provisions for instruction in Pennsylvania and Virginia is, that ours embraces the whole population, and theirs only the 'poor.' To this, more than to any single cause, may be subscribed the success of our plan, and the failure of theirs.'

"Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, in a discourse on popular education, delivered at Princetown, New Jersey, states, that Virginia and New York almost at the same moment provided and set apart a permanent fund for primary or common schools. In Virginia, a sum of 45,000 dollars is annually appropriated to the counties, and a portion for each county is placed at the disposal of the commissioners, annually appointed by the respective courts, and charged with the application of the sum received by each, to the education, by such schools as may be found to exist, of the children of those parents who are unable to pay for their instruction. The entire number of children benefited by the fund, during certain portions of the last year, is but about 10,000, being less than a moiety of the total number reported to be in a condition to require, for their education, public aid.' In New York, with only double the sum, education is provided for 500,000 children.

"The success of the New York system is in no small degree to be attributed to the appointment, by the government, of an officer to attend to the management and distribution of the fund. The example of New York has, in this respect, been followed by the State of Maryland, with every prospect of success.

"Although in every State some legislative provision exists for elementary instruction, its extent is, with the exception of New England and New York, far from being adequate to the wants of the population, and even where schools abound, their usefulness is not unfrequently impaired by defective management and the incompetence of teachers."

The following facts, taken from the detailed reports of the educational system pursued in each State, illustrate the truth of the above remarks on the operation of each of the three different modes of instituting a provision for the purposes of education. In 1833, public opinion becoming dissatisfied with the existing system of education in Pennsylvania, a joint Committee of the two Houses of Legislature was appointed to investigate the question. In the Report which they published, the Committee stated that the number of voters in the State unable to read had been computed at 100,000, and that about 2500 persons become voters annually, who were equally ignorant. Assuming the census of 1830 as a basis, they say—"We have 635,849 children under twenty years of age; between 400,000 and 500,000 of these are by the constitution placed under the guardianship of the Legislature. Of these, by official returns made last year to the secretary of the commonwealth, only 17,462 are now receiving (and that nominally perhaps) instruction *gratis*." The cause of this was the invidious distinction between rich and poor. The feelings of the poorer classes would not permit them to enrol themselves as *paupers*, in order that their children might receive their education from the charity of the State. The average number of children at all the schools in the State in any one year was only about one in three.

In the State of Kentucky, a thirty-sixth part of each township has been granted for school purposes by the United States' government, by the sale of which a consi-

derable fund has been accumulated, but no part either of the capital or interest has been applied in promoting the education of the poor. In 1830 there were 143,738 children in this State between the ages of five and fifteen, and 103,337 of them did not attend any school; and according to tables drawn up from official sources by President Peers, of Lexington, it appears that in ten counties of this State, containing about 10,000 children of the above-mentioned ages, the proportion at school was as follows:—Morgan county, none in 893; Russell, 10 in 300; Clay, 10 in 180; Perry, 10 in 180; Pike, 10 in 140; Laurel, 10 in 140; Harlam, 10 in 130; Knox, 10 in 100; Cumberland, 10 in 90; Carcy, 10 in 95. In ten other counties of the same State, containing about 28,000 children, aged from five to fifteen, the proportion was as follows—10 in 23, 26, 28, 30, 34, 34, 36, 36, 40, and 10 in 42. These counties contained the largest proportion of children at schools.

Mr. Crawford repeats, on the authority of the American School Agents' Society, that in five States, viz., Pennsylvania and Kentucky (the two above-mentioned), with Tenessee, Indiana, and Illinois, there are at least 600,000 children who have no ordinary means of elementary instruction, making, on the average, nearly one-fifth of the whole population of these States. The adolescent population of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Ohio amounts to 803,219, and it is believed that the numbers instructed in these States do not exceed the average proportion of those in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, and this would leave two-thirds, or 462,000 children, without schools. Mr. Crawford remarks:—"How far the employment of private instruction among the higher classes of some of these States may vary this estimate, it is impossible to judge." "The remainder of the Western States and territories," he continues, "cannot be supposed to be better supplied than Tenessee and Indiana: of 190,000 children in these States, above 150,000 are stated to be destitute of elementary instruction. According to this principle of calculation, there is reason to believe that there were in 1830, in the States south and west of New York, 1,210,000 children without the benefits of education. With the rapid increase of those States, amounting to 45 or 50 per cent. in ten years, the amount cannot be correctly estimated at less than 1,400,000 in the whole United States."

The children of the coloured population are not included in this estimate. In Georgia, where the slave population amounts to nearly a quarter of a million, they are prohibited by law from receiving any degree of education; and it is not more than three or four years since a few clergymen were committed to the penitentiary, for endeavouring to impart religious instruction to people of colour. The slave population of South Carolina is 315,665, and the number of children under ten years of age above 100,000, who are precluded by the law from participating in the benefits of education. Mr. Crawford states, in his Report, that—"A law has recently passed, even in Connecticut, discouraging the instruction of coloured children introduced from other States; and in the course of last year (1834) a lady, who had with this view established a school for such children, was prosecuted and committed to prison."

The slave population amounted, six years ago, to upwards of 2,000,000; and Mr. Crawford computes the number of their children, and those of free persons of colour, at about 500,000. If this number be added to the 1,400,000 children already mentioned, it will be found that the youth entirely destitute of instruction in the States south and west of New York, do not amount to less than 1,900,000. While, therefore, in the six New England States the benefits of elementary education are universally diffused, in the other parts of the American Union, scarcely more than one-fifth of the rising generation, of a suitable age, have the opportunity of attending schools.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

(Exclusive of Private Bills.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Bills which have received the Royal Assent:—

1. Exchequer Bills.
2. Transfer of Aids.
3. Dean Forest.
4. Tchitchagoff's Naturalization.
5. Slaves' Compensation.
6. Capital Punishments Amendment Act.
7. Farnborough Road.
8. [illegible] Union Gas.
9. [illegible] Inclosure.
10. Steph[illegible] Naturalization.

Bills brought in:—

March 1. Bill for imposing certain restrictions on the renewal of leases by ecclesiastical persons.—*The Archbishop of Canterbury.*

— 4. Bill to make provision for the better administration of justice in certain of his Majesty's West India Colonies.—*Lord Glenelg.*

— 17. Bill to simplify the transfer of property.—*Lord Lyndhurst.*

— Bill for the amendment of the laws with respect to executors and administrators.—*Lord Lyndhurst.*

— Bill for the amendment of the laws with respect to wills.—*Lord Langdale.*

— 21. Bill to facilitate the conveyance of sites for school-rooms.—*The Bishop of London.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 23. Bill to prevent threats and intimidation in the election of Members to serve in Parliament.—*Mr. Poulter.*

— 27. Bill to enable bastards in Scotland to make testaments.—*The Lord-Advocate.*

— Bill to abolish the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, and to regulate the mode of taking proofs in consistorial causes in Scotland,—*The Lord-Advocate.*

— Bill to amend and regulate the law as to erasures in instruments of sasine, and of resignation *ad remanentiam.*—*The Lord-Advocate.*

— Bill for more effectually preventing bribery and corruption and unnecessary charge and expense in the election of Members to serve in Parliament.

— Bill to repeal so much of an Act of the nineteenth year of King George II. as make void all marriages celebrated by any Popish priest between Protestant and Papist.—*Mr. Lynch.*

— Bill to amend an Act for the preservation of the salmon fisheries in Scotland.

March 1. Bill to facilitate the formation and establishment of public walks, play-grounds, baths, and places of healthy recreation and amusement in the open air, in the neighbourhood of such cities, boroughs, and towns as may require the same for the use and accommodation of their inhabitants.—*Mr. Buckingham.*

— Bill to facilitate the formation and establishment of public institutions for the diffusion of literary and scientific information, including libraries and museums, with commodious halls or places of public meeting for instruction and entertainment within such cities and towns as may require the same for the use and accommodation of their inhabitants.—*Mr. Buckingham.*

— 4. Bill for the administration of certain civil affairs of a local nature by County Boards in Ireland.—*Sir R. Musgrave.*

— Bill to amend the Seamen's Fund (Shetland) Act.—*Mr. J. C. Dundas.*

— 11. Bill to amend the law relative to the registration of votes in Ireland, and to taking the poll at elections in that part of the United Kingdom.—*The Attorney-General for Ireland.*

— 15. Bill to regulate parochial assessments.—*Mr. Pollett Scrope.*

— 16. Bills to amend the laws of Scotland relative to bankruptcy; for regulating the sequestration of the estates of bankrupts in Scotland; and for regulating the process of *cessio bonorum* in the Court of Session, and for extending the jurisdiction of sheriffs in Scotland to such cases.—*The Lord-Advocate.*

— Bill to provide for the division of Ireland into districts for the purpose of local assessment, and to give relief in certain cases to the poor within such districts.—*Mr. O'Brien.*

— 19. Bill to authorize the identifying or ascertaining of the boundaries of manors and lands where such boundaries are confused or unknown.—*The Attorney-General.*

— Bill for abolishing customary modes of descent, and the taking of heriots in specie.—*The Attorney-General.*

— Bill for the amendment of the law of escheat, and the law relating to the forfeiture of lands and chattels for crimes, and of the law relating to chattels belong-

ing to persons dying intestate and without kindred, and for rendering alienable at law copyhold lands severed from a manor, and for enabling his Majesty to make grants of lands and chattels in certain cases.—*The Attorney-General.*

LIST OR COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

(Exclusive of Committees to consider Bills).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 22. Committee "to inquire into the best modes by which information can be afforded to the House on the different Railway Bills."

— 25. Committee "on the law relating to the determination of the right of voting, and the trial of controverted elections."

March 1. Committee "to consider the Standing Orders for Railroad Bills, and the conditions which it may be advisable to recommend for introduction into such Bills, with a view to a future Session of Parliament."

— Committee "to investigate the subject of tolls and turnpike trusts in Great Britain and Ireland."

— 3. Committee "to inquire into the supply of salt for British India."

— 11. Committee "to consider of the expediency of amending the laws relating to prisons, and to report their opinion thereupon to the House."

— 22. Committee "to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them which have been passed."

— Committee "to inquire into the alleged deficiency of protection for ships on the north-eastern coast of England, and the propriety of admitting of contribution of passing tolls for the maintenance of harbours of refuge on that coast."

NEW MEMBERS.

South Leicestershire.—C. W. Packe, Esq, in the room of T. F. Turner, Esq.

Clonmel.—N. Ball, Esq., in the room of J. D. Ronayne, Esq.

Paisley.— — Hastie, Esq., in the room of Captain A. G. Spiers, accepted Chiltern Hundreds. The election was contested, and the poll closed as follows:—Mr. Hastie, 680; Mr. Aytoun, 529: majority, 151.

ABSTRACTS OF RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

State of the Inquiry into Public Charities.—The following is an abstract of a Return relative to the Public Charities' Inquiry in England and Wales, dated May, 1835, which was ordered to be printed on the day previous to the close of the last session:—The total amount of the money which has been paid by the Treasury, on account of the Inquiry, from 1818 to 1835, is 208,527*l.* 13*s.* The proceedings under the Commission have terminated in twenty-eight counties of England, and six of Wales. In the counties of Berks, Dorset, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, and Sussex, the Inquiry is not yet completed. In Berkshire, Kent, and Sussex, the charities for education only have been investigated. In Dorsetshire, 56 parishes, townships, and chapelries have been investigated; in Essex, 52; and in Middlesex, 88. The Return states that there are no means of forming a definite opinion as to the extent to which these counties are unfinished. In addition to the above-mentioned six counties, the cities of London and Westminster, and the charities under the management of the chartered companies of London, are not finished. In the city of London, the charities of 140 parishes, and the education charities in two others; and in the city of Westminster, the charities of three parishes, and the education charities of four others, have been investigated The charities under the management of the corporation of London, and of thirty-nine chartered companies, have been investigated. In the following counties the Inquiry is not yet commenced:—in England,—Cambridge, Chester, Cornwall, Hereford, Leicester, Lincoln; in Wales,—Brecon, Denbigh, Flint, Glamorgan, Montgomery, Radnor. The number of charities investigated in each county in England is as follows:—Bedford, 270; Berks, 89; Bucks, 700; Cumberland, 311; Derby, 1,053; Devon, 1,736; Dorset, 172; Durham, 345; Essex, 324; Gloucester, 996; Hereford, 17; Hertford, 698; Huntingdon, 226; Kent, 139; Lancaster, 1,181; London—parishes, 947; also charities under the management of the corporation of London, and of the chartered companies, 665; and in Middlesex, including the city of Westminster, 925; Monmouth, 235; Norfolk, 1,710; Northampton, 721; Northumberland, 170; Nottingham, 567; Oxford, 849; Rutland, 70; Salop, 743; Somerset, including Bristol, 1,621; Southampton, 553; Stafford, 1,124; Suffolk, 986; Surrey, including Southwark, 837; Sussex, 90; Warwick, 1,030; Westmoreland, 355; Wilts, 750; Worcester, 930; York, 2,603; general charities, 13.—Total, 20,751. In Wales—Anglesey, 277; Cardigan, 36; Carmarthen, 139; Carnarvon, 192; Merioneth, 140; Pembroke, 196.—Total, 890.

National Vaccine Institution.—The last report from this establishment contains the following information:—The deaths from small-pox within the Bills of Mortality were only 334 in the preceding year; a number considerably less than any year since the introduction of vaccination, and falling short, by at least 4,000, of the average of deaths annually by small-pox before the protecting influence of the cow-pox was promulgated, even when the population of London was at least one-fourth less than its present amount.

Exports of British Produce and Manufactures from the United Kingdom.—An Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of British and Irish produce and Manufactures, in the Year ended 5th January, 1836, compared with the Exports of the preceding Year, ended 5th January, 1835:—

ARTICLES.	Declared Value of the Exportations in the years ended 5th Jan. 1835. £	1836. £
Coals and culm	220,746	212,369
Cotton Manufactures	15,302,571	16,394,590
—— Yarn	5,211,015	5,709,044
Earthenware	493,382	538,426
Glass	496,872	610,867
Hardwares and Cutlery	1,485,233	1,835,142
Linen Manufactures	2,579,658	3,226,394
Metals: viz.- Iron and Steel	1,106,872	1,680,750
Copper and Brass	961,823	1,081,554
Lead	142,513	197,474
Tin, in Bars, &c.	33,327	33,238
Tin Plates	321,559	368,429
Salt	152,127	143,695
Silk Manufactures	637,198	972,031
Sugar, Refined	916,391	852,459
Wool, Sheep's or Lambs'	192,176	387,416
Woollen Manufactures	5,975,415	7,046,829
Total of the foregoing Articles	£36,531,878	41,350,707

Produce of Customs Duties in the United Kingdom.—An Account of the gross and net Produce of the Duties of Customs, in the Year ended 5th January, 1836, compared with the Produce of the preceding Year, ended 5th January, 1835:—

	Years ended 5th January, 1835. £	1836. £
Gross Receipt of Duties Inwards	20,827,579	22,878,809
—— Duties Outwards	110,825	112,068
Total Gross Receipt of Customs Duties	£20,938,404	22,990,877
Payments out of Gross Receipt:—for Drawbacks and Bounties:—viz.		
On British Refined Sugar	765,280	709,410
Other Articles	175,213	220,688
Allowances on Quantities over-entered, damages, &c.	66,224	66,022
Total Payments out of Gross Receipt	£1,006,717	996,120
Net Receipt of Customs Duties	£19,931,687*	21,994,757

* Exclusive of £1,455,457, collected by the Excise for tea sold before the 22nd of April, 1834.

Vessels employed in the Foreign Trade of the United Kingdom.—An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Vessels, distinguishing the Countries to which they belonged, which entered Inwards and cleared Outwards in the Year, ended 5th January, 1836, compared with the Entrances and Clearances in the preceding Year, ended 5th January, 1835; stated exclusively of Vessels in Ballast, and of those employed in the Coasting Trade, or in the Trade between *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

Countries to which the Vessels belonged.	ENTERED INWARDS. Years ended 5th January,				CLEARED OUTWARDS. Years ended 5th January,			
	1835.		1836		1835		1836	
	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships	Tonnage	Ships.	Tonnage
United Kingdom and its Dependencies	11,678	2,108,492	11,740	2,203,026	9,734	1,640,271	10,158	1,744,09[illegible]
Russia	196	54,458	201	55,891	77	19,820	118	34,50[illegible]
Sweden	111	15,765	130	16,839	73	8,305	116	13,87[illegible]
Norway	711	119,151	734	115,944	138	16,809	209	23,415
Denmark	679	55,377	630	55,307	490	41,899	671	62,324
Prussia	545	117,009	572	121,815	283	59,451	376	74,306
Other German States	552	41,880	505	38,333	391	34,576	445	40,550
Holland	336	31,942	295	27,372	474	55,714	370	41,560
Belgium	275	26,918	282	29,245	318	31,546	286	30,184
France	829	35,441	769	32,058	530	29,865	695	46,660
Spain	33	3,269	33	5,007	40	4,675	30	5,447
Portugal	28	3,237	60	6,530	23	2,725	37	4,899
Italian States	65	15,2[illegible]6	25	5,536	65	12,167	33	8,693
Other European States	1	298	. .	.	1	292	. .	. .
United States of America	505	208,802	516	238,112	551	222,318	517	237,074
Other States in America, Africa, or Asia	4	1,053	6	1,866	3	660	2	457
Total	16,548	2,811,378	16,531	2,952,854	13,181	2,181,099	14,093	2,370,033

Military Discipline.—A "confidential circular" was issued from the Horse Guards, in August, 1833, to all officers commanding regiments, calling their attention to the subject of corporal punishment. The circular was to the following effect:—"His Majesty's Government having signified to the General commanding in chief the King's commands, that, until further orders, corporal punishment may be applied to the following offences only. I have the honour to express Lord Hill's desire that you guide yourself accordingly, taking care that, except in the instances herein specified, the said punishment shall on no account be inflicted,—namely, 1st For mutiny, insubordination and violence, or using or offering violence to superior officers, 2nd Drunkenness on duty, 3rd Sale of, or making away with arms, ammunition, accoutrements, or necessaries, stealing from comrades, or other disgraceful conduct." The circular added "It will, doubtless, occur to you, that the object of these instructions is not to render the infliction of corporal punishment, for the future, more frequent or more certain than it is at present, even in the cases to which it is now to be restricted, but, on the contrary, that the intention is to restrain it as much as it may be possible to do so with safety to the discipline of the army." The above circular was laid before the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr Bradshaw, the Member for Berwick, who at the same time moved for a Return of the number of courts martial which had taken place for eighteen months previous to its being issued, and a like return for the eighteen months subsequent thereto, also for a Return of the number of non commissioned officers and soldiers confined in gaols and houses of correction for each of the aforesaid periods. The following is an abstract of these Returns.—Number of courts-martial in the eighteen months preceding the month of August, 1833, 7027, in the eighteen months subsequent thereto, 7639. Number of non commissioned officers and soldiers confined in gaols and houses of correction during the former period, 1935; during the eighteen months subsequent to the circular being issued, 3018.

Attestation of Wills.—A Parliamentary Return has been printed, exhibiting the number—first, of unattested wills, second, of wills attested by one witness only, which were proved in the several Provincial Diocesan and Archidiaconal Courts of England and Wales, in the years 1832 and 1833. The following abstract comprises the number of both classes for the two years:—St. Asaph, 3; Bangor, 3; Bath and Wells, 3; Bristol, 9; Canterbury, 1,156; Carlisle, 3; Chester, 49; Chichester, 7; St. David's, 6; Durham, 16; Exeter, 51; Gloucester, 7; Hereford, 8; Llandaff, 2, Lichfield and Coventry, 30, Lincoln, 11; London, 58, Norfolk, 1, Northampton, 1; Norwich, 14; Oxford, 1; Peterborough, none, Rochester, 1; Salisbury, 7, Suffolk, 8; Winchester, 5; Worcester, 2; York, 51.—Total, 1,513; or 756 for each year. The unattested wills to those attested by one person only, are, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in the proportion of about 2 to 1; *viz.*, in 1833, 399 of the former, and 202 of the latter.

English Aid to Spain.—The stores, &c, furnished by the English Government to that of Spain consist of 220,200 muskets, 10,000 swords, 10,000 carbines, 3000 rifles, 3600 pistols, and 8,000,000 small arm cartridges; 900,000 lbs. powder in 27,783 chests and barrels, one 18-pounder iron gun, six 18 pounder carronades, 30 muskets, 40 pistols, 10 swords, ammunition, shot, &c, for the schooner *Isabella*; two 18 pounder iron guns, four 32 pounder carronades, 24 muskets, 24 pistols, 24 swords, ammunition, shot, &c, for the steam-ship *City of Edinburgh*, six 32-pounder iron guns, 80 muskets, 10 pistols, 100 swords, 40 pikes, with ammunition, shot, &c., for the steam ship *Isabella II.* The stores, &c, furnished to the Auxiliary Legion are—15,000 muskets, 1200 carbines, 850 pistols, 1000 swords, 600 rifles, 5,280,000 small arm cartridges; 16,720 cannon cartridges, 18 brass guns, 936 rockets, 10,892 fusees, 12,106 shot and shells, 54 carriages for guns and rockets, 28 waggons and carts, 392 sets of harness, 15 tents, with bedding, &c. The value of these articles is 386,777*l*., no part of the payment of which has been received by the Ordnance Department.

Coasting Trade of the United Kingdom.—The number of vessels employed in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, entered inwards in 1834, was 10,0[illegible]6; tonnage, 1,100,389: in 1835 there were 10,116 vessels; tonnage, 1,138,147. The number of vessels cleared outwards in 1834 was 14,560, tonnage, 1,140,617: in 1835 there were 14,608 vessels, tonnage, 1,473,255. Of other coasting vessels, 112,114 entered inwards in 1834; tonnage, 9,050,769. In 1835 the number of vessels entered inwards was 111,213, tonnage, 9,050,769. Coasting vessels cleared outwards in 1834, 116,131 vessels; tonnage, 8,892,632; in 1835, 115,144 vessels; tonnage, 9,187,075. Total of the coasting trade of the United Kingdom:—in 1834, entered inwards 122,440 vessels; tonnage, 9,874,715: and in 1835, 121,329 vessels; tonnage, 10,188,916. Cleared outwards in 1834,—vessels, 130,691; tonnage, 10,333,249: in 1835, 129,752 vessels; tonnage, 10,660,330.

Spirit Dealers.—The [illegible] Return of the number of retail spirit [illegible] benefited

by the Act of last Session:—Total number of dealers benefited in the United Kingdom, 21,635; total amount of relief, 33,187*l.* 12*s.*; namely, in England, 17,423 dealers relieved to the amount of 28,172*l.* 16*s.*; in Scotland, 1596 dealers relieved—1853*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*; and in Ireland, 2616 dealers—3161*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* The number of dealers in the United Kingdom whose licenses have been charged 2*l.* 2*s.* instead of 3*l.* 3*s.*, is 13,562; 4*l.* 4*s.* instead of 6*l.* 6*s.*, 6853; 6*l.* 6*s.* instead of 9*l.* 9*s.*, 598; 7*l.* 7*s.* instead of 11*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*, 207; 8*l.* 8*s.* instead of 12*s.* 12*s.*, 216; 9*l.* 9*s.* instead of 14*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, 77; and 10*l.* 10*s.* instead of 15*l.* 12*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bankruptcy Analysis from Feb. 20 to March 20.

Banker, 1; bill-broker, 1; boarding-house keeper, 1; bookseller, 1; boot and shoe maker, 1; brewers, 3; brick-maker, 1; builders, 2; butchers, 4; button-maker, 1; carpenters, 2; carrier, 1; cattle-dealer, 1; clock-maker, 1; clothiers, 2; coach-maker, 1; coal-merchant, 1; collier, 1; corn-dealers and merchants, 4; corn and coal merchant, 1; corn-miller, 1; draper, 1; druggist, 1; drysalter, 1; eating-house keeper, 1; factor (Birmingham), 1; factor (Blackwell Hall), 1; furrier, 1; glass-manufacturer, 1; glass and earthenware dealer, 1; grocers, 2; hatters, 3; hemp and flax dealer, 1; horse-dealer, 1; iron-founder, 1; iron-monger, 1; lamp-dealer, 1; linen factor, 1; livery-stable keeper, 1; linen-factor, 1; merchants, 2; millwright 1; oilmen, 2; plumber, 1; rope-maker, 1; sacking-manufacturer, 1; scrivener, 1; seed-merchant, 1; ship-agent, 1; shipwright, 1; sugar-refiner, 1; surgeon, 1; tailor, 1; tanner, 1; tobacconist, 1; wine-merchants, 5; wine and porter merchant, 1; woolstapler, 1; victuallers, 4.—Total, 86; from the 28th of December, 235.

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from 'The London Gazette,' of Friday, March 18:-

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
Week ending March 11 ...	45 0	29 4	21 5	32 5	35 5	33 11
Average of last six weeks .	42 0	29 2	20 7	29 0	34 8	33 8
Duty on foreign corn.....	44 8	18 4	16 9	25 9	18 3	19 9

In the last 'Companion' the rise in the prices of corn was briefly alluded to. A comparison of the average prices published during the present year will show, that since the 1st of January, a rise of 9*s.* per Imperial quarter, or 25 per per cent., has taken place in wheat. The weekly averages published in the 'Gazette' of Jan. 1, were 36*s.* per quarter; Jan. 22, 37*s.*; Feb. 19, 39*s.* 7*d.*; and March 18, 45*s.*

Bank of England.—Account of the Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, from the 15th December, 1835, to the 8th March, 1836, inclusive:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£17,739,000	Securities	£29,806,000
Deposits	16,966,000	Bullion	7,701,000
	£34,705,000		£37,507,000

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

Feb. 27.	March 5.	March 12.	March 19.
92	91⅞	91⅛	91⅞

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar per cwt., computed from the returns published in the *London Gazette*:—

Weeks ending	February 23,	38*s.* 7½*d.*
„	March 1,	40*s.* 8½*d.*
„	March 8,	40*s.* 3¾*d.*
„	March 15,	39*s.* 2½*d.*

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Feb. 4.—Death of Sir William Gell, the classic antiquary and topographer, at Naples, aged 59.

24.—At the annual general meeting of the proprietors of the London University, it was stated, that the delay of the proposed charter had been solely occasioned by the desire of Ministers to arrange the details with the requisite degree of care. It was announced for the first time since the formation of the Institution, that the receipts for the past year were more than sufficient to cover the expenses both ordinary and extraordinary. A second donation of 1000*l.* had been presented by an unknown friend of the University, to be employed, as the preceding one, in accordance with the suggestions of Lord Brougham.

March 3.—The propositions of the Lord-Lieutenant for a modification of the rules of the Dublin Society were taken into consideration at a general meeting of the members. The proposal that a majority of members, instead of two-thirds, should be sufficient for the admission of candidates, was rejected; and the proposition for a "governing council," instead of "house committees," was also rejected by a majority of 61—the numbers being 79 to 18. All the other material propositions of the Government were likewise rejected. In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, March 23, a Select Committee was appointed to "inquire into the administration of the Royal Dublin Society, with a view to a wider extension of the advantages of the annual Parliamentary grant to that Institution."

4.—At a meeting of 150 of the principal newspaper dealers in London, the following, among other resolutions, were agreed upon:—That if the stamp-duty were totally repealed, it would be necessary either to create a new and expensive machinery for circulating newspapers throughout the kingdom, or to charge a postage for their transmission through the Post-Office. That from a long practical acquaintance with all the details connected with the transmission of newspapers, this meeting is of opinion that any plan of charging postage upon a newspaper, except through the medium of a stamp upon the newspaper itself, will shackle and injure the free circulation, and will lead to many evasions of the postage; while, on the other hand, if the postage be included in the stamp, so that a stamped newspaper may be sent postage free to every part of the British dominions, the circulation of newspapers will be unshackled, and the Treasury will be protected from loss. The last resolution stated, that of those newspapers, delivered in the towns where they are printed, a very large proportion are sent by post from one friend to another; and it is conceived, that as a public measure, it would not be just, by imposing a postage on newspapers, to sacrifice the convenience of many for the benefit of a few.

7.—A highly-respectable meeting, composed of about 4000 individuals, was held at the Guildhall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the repeal of the newspaper stamp-duty. The platform was occupied by the four City Members, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. T. Duncombe, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Scholefield, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Humphery, Mr. Wilks, Dr. Bowring, and Mr. Wakley, all Members of Parliament.

11.—At the licensing meeting for Marylebone, the magistrates refused to grant licenses to all dram-shops within the parish not having tap rooms.

12.—A public meeting, expressive of sympathy for the late conflagration at New York, was held at the Freemason's Hall. The meeting was addressed by Lord Dudley Stuart, Colonel L. Stanhope, Messrs. O'Connell, Buckingham, Ewart, Dr. Bowring, and Mr. Sheridan Knowles.

13.—The *Lady Jane*, one of the missing whalers, arrived at Stromness, having on board the crew of the *Mary Frances*. The crews of the two vessels, which consisted in December of 64 individuals, had been reduced by death to 42, of whom 30 were in a condition of utter helplessness. The *William Tow* is the only vessel now unaccounted for.

15.—The appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in the University of Oxford, having excited an unusual degree of feeling among a portion of the resident members, a convocation was summoned for the purpose of procuring the adoption of a resolution, suspending, during the pleasure of the academic body, the privilege of the Regius Professor to form one of the Select Board for appointing University preachers, and examining into the opinions expressed in the University pulpit. The charge alleged against Dr. Hampden was, that he entertained heterodox principles, but his inaugural address on Thursday, March 17, contained ample proof of the fallacy of such notion. Moreover, the proctors of the University have put their *veto* on the proceedings of convocation, and thus the strong opposition which the appointment had excited in the minds of some members of the University has not been productive of any practical result, so far as Dr. Hampden is concerned.

THE METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. 97, FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVIS' BOUDNEY.

In remarking on his FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,

G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes; to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for £3 0
Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10
Black and Blue, 10s. extra on each
Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s new principles of Measurement, 1 8
Waistcoats 14
Ladies' Riding Habits... ..... 6 6

These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES

Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes; also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison, in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5
Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10
Black or Blue, 5s. each extra
Trousers 1 1
Waistcoats 10
The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10
A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar, and Cape—9 yds round 3 3
Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES

As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges: G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black; his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for

Two Suits per Annum.....£10 0
Three ditto ditto 14 18
Four ditto ditto 19 12

and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor. Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... ..... £3 18 6

For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials, but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each.

G. D. D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN**, that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents. (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

TERMS.—Cash on Delivery, without Discount. Country Orders must be accompanied by a Reference in Town.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

CHILDREN'S CARRIAGES, Light, Easy, Safe, Strong and Durable; a large Assortment ready for Inspection and Sale.—INVALID WHEEL CHAIRS, for in and out doors, in great Varieties, for Sale or Hire.—FLOWER STANDS, and GARDEN SEATS and CHAIRS, in profusion of Shapes and innumerable in Quantity, selling very cheap at INGRAM and SONS Manufactory and General Furniture Warehouse, No 29, City-road, near Finsbury square, London.

THE NEW FLAT GOLD WATCHES.—The price in gold cases, with accurately-finished vertical movements, 7*l* 7*s*. Ditto, with the well-finished horizontal movements, in double bottomed engine turned cases, jewelled in four holes, with silver dial, 9*l* 9*s*.—T. COX SAVORY'S Working Silversmith and Jeweller, 47, Cornhill, London.

N B A variety of second-hand Silver Watches may be selected from, all at Two Guineas each, warranted.

TO THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND PUBLIC

London, 1836.

FAMILIES OF DISTINCTION, and Visiters to the Metropolis at this Season, who frequently experience great difficulty in suiting themselves with Furnished or Unfurnished Houses, owing to the great demand, are respectfully informed every attention will be afforded in the HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY DEPARTMENT of HENRY L. COOPER in obtaining or disposing of the same, or in the Selling, Letting, or Valuing any description of Property in Town or Country.

From the central situations of the Establishments in their respective commanding localities, every facility is rendered to Families honouring his House with their instructions, and offering the advantage of a double Register, usually replete with eligible properties.

The general introduction of Plate Glass for Windows, Carriages, Conservatories, Internal Decorations, &c., has induced H. L. C to annex a Tariff of Sizes adapted to those uses, with Prices exceedingly moderate, but of a Quality not to be excelled; also is added, an outline of his general business comprising the Cabinet, Upholstery, and Decorative Departments, in each of which the most careful attention is paid both to Quality and Cost.

HENRY L. COOPER,

Plate Glass and Furniture Warehouses.

93, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN,

AND

WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT STREET,

(NINE DOORS FROM REGENT STREET, LEFT HAND SIDE.)

Among the variety of Articles above referred to, will be found LOOKING-GLASSES of every denomination and size, varying from one foot to eighty feet and upwards. PLATE-GLASS for Windows, Carriages, &c., which possess great advantages over crown, and when required for exportation, a considerable drawback obtained.

Annexed are the Prices of Current Sizes of Plate glass, for Sashes, &c.

In.	Inches. 15	Inches. 18	Inches. 20	Inches. 22	Inches. 25	Inches 28	Inches. 30
	£ s. d.	£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 7 5	0 9 3	0 10 6	0 11 9	0 13 8	0 15 6	0 16 11
12	0 9 3	0 11 6	0 13 0	0 14 6	0 16 11	0 19 8	1 1 6
14	0 11 2	0 13 9	0 15 6	0 17 6	1 0 9	1 3 11	1 6 1
16	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 18 6	1 0 10	1 4 7	1 8 0	1 10 0
18	0 14 11	0 18 9	1 1 6	1 4 3	1 8 2	1 11 6	1 13 9
20	0 16 11	1 1 6	1 4 6	1 7 6	1 11 3	1 15 0	1 17 6
25	1 2 8	1 8 2	1 11 3	1 14 5	1 19 1	2 3 9	2 6 11
30	1 8 2	1 13 9	1 17 6	2 1 3	2 6 11	2 12 6	2 16 2
34	1 11 10	1 18 3	2 2 6	2 6 9	2 13 2	2 19 6	3 3 9
38	1 15 7	2 2 9	2 7 6	2 12 3	2 19 4	3 6 6	3 11 3

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9*s*. per foot; thus a plate being 30 inches by 18 inches contains 3 feet 9 inches superficial measure, and costs 1*l*. 13*s*. 9*d*., as per above tariff. All under 3 feet superficial at a reduction.

CARVING AND GILDING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

In this department will be found a very elegant and extensive variety of Chimney and Pier Glass Frames, Cornices for Windows, Ornamental Tables and Furniture, and richly mounted Frames in various sizes for Portraits, Paintings, &c. Paintings and Prints mounted, framed, and re-gilt.

PAPER-HANGING AND INTERIOR DECORATIONS,

in all its Branches, from the most simple to the first Style of Elegance. A rich variety of new Patterns on show

IN THE UPHOLSTERY ARRANGEMENT

the greatest attention is paid to unite elegance with economy in character for the Drawing room, Boudoir, Dining-room, Library, and Bed-chambers, from the most quiet to the most costly styles. In the various articles of Chintzes, Moreens, Damask Silks, &c. a great variety of the most splendid and novel styles are constantly on view, of those qualities which can alone ensure permanent satisfaction, the extreme disparity of prices in these articles, mainly arises from the inferiority of the fabric.

CABINET, CHAIR, AND SOFA WORK

manufactured of the most seasoned materials. In the finish of Chairs, Sofas, &c., much depends on the quality of the materials used and the workmanship. It may not be unworthy of remark, that a similar effect may be produced at a saving of nearly one half, but which in the wear must eventually prove a serious disappointment to the purchaser. This applies also to the manufacture of Cabinet Goods, which, from being made of unseasoned materials and unsound work (that cannot be detected by the casual observer), can never be of that service and durability so essential. H. L. C begs to add, that he manufactures them on his own premises, and has always on hand a large stock of well-seasoned materials, which enables him to produce work at the lowest possible rate, and of a superior quality.

STEAM AND SAILING VESSELS PROMPTLY FITTED UP

with Cabin Furniture and Passengers' Requisites.

SOLID AND PORTABLE FURNITURE,

Bedding, Musquito Hangings, &c. for Foreign Climates. Families going abroad will receive every information respecting the Articles best adapted for their particular destination. Merchants, Captains, and Dealers supplied with the utmost despatch, on the most liberal terms.

CARPETING

of the fabric especially made for the first upholstery houses, viz.—Brussels, Kidderminster, and Venetian, also a few of the much-admired Velvet Pile Carpets, Hearth Rugs, Druggets, Baize, Floor Cloths, &c.

BEDDING, BLANKETS, &c.,

well seasoned, real Dantzic Feathers, also equally prepared light downy Feathers for second and third-rate Beds, Elastic Spring Hair and Wool Mattresses, real Witney, fine Bath, and York Blankets, Marseilles Quilts and Counterpanes. In the articles of Bedding, Blankets, &c., so essentially important to all, H. L. C is determined that no trader shall supply them on better terms.

Families in the Country may command the most approved Taste, by being waited on at Home with Patterns—and Designs made on the spot, calculated to harmonize with the plans, proportions, and decorations of the rooms, and their Orders delivered, and fixed on terms forming a very small addition to the first cost by the system adopted in this Concern.

With this short enumeration of the leading articles of his trade, and the very favourable terms on which he undertakes to supply them, Henry L. Cooper appeals to all classes for a continuation of that flattering preference hitherto afforded to his House, 93, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN; WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT-STREET, nine doors from REGENT-STREET.

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the Address; also that any Article will be exchanged should it not please, thus securing the public from risk.

This day is published, bound in cloth,

NATIONAL EDUCATION; its Present State and Prospects. By FREDERIC HILL.

In Two Volumes, 12mo.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

THE LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

HISTORICAL PICTURES.—ENGLAND.

Period the Second. Including the Wars of the Roses, 1450, to the Great Rebellion, 1642. With Forty Woodcuts, after Designs by W. Harvey.

Price 3s 6d. bound in cloth.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

In a few days will be published,

THE CHINESE: a General Description of the EMPIRE of CHINA and ITS INHABITANTS.

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq F.R.S., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China,

In Two Volumes Post Octavo, with numerous Woodcuts.

"The following Work owes its origin to a collection of notes which the author made while resident in China. A residence of more than twenty years (which terminated in the author succeeding, for some months previous to his final retirement, the late amiable and unfortunate Lord Napier as his Majesty's chief authority in China) has perhaps been calculated to mature and correct those opinions of the country and people which he had formed, as a very young man, in accompanying Lord Amherst on the Embassy to Peking in 1816. If some acquaintance, besides, with the language and literature of the Chinese empire has not been of considerable assistance to him in increasing the extent and accuracy of his information, it must have been his own fault entirely, and not any want of opportunities and means."—Extract from Introduction.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

This day is published, Part I, price 2s., of an entire new Work, entitled

THE ENGINEER'S AND MECHANIC'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA, comprehending Practical Illustrations of the Machinery and Processes employed in every description of Manufacture in the British Empire. With nearly 2000 Engravings. By LUKE HERBERT, Civil Engineer, Editor of the History and Progress of the Steam-Engine, Register of Arts, and Journal of Patent Inventions, &c.

To be completed in Sixteen Monthly Parts, price 2s. each, or Sixty four Sixpenny Numbers, forming two thick 8vo volumes, beautifully and closely printed, with a Type cast on purpose for this Work. The Engravings on Wood (about 2000) will be interspersed with the descriptive Letter-press.

London: THOMAS KELLY, 17, Paternoster row, sold by all Booksellers.

THE PENNY SUNDAY READER. Edited by the Rev. J. E. N. MOLESWORTH, Rector of St. Martin's, and one of the Six Preachers of the Cathedral, Canterbury.

Vols. I. and II. of the above Work, for 1835, treating of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, also containing various Subjects adapted to the perusal of all Ages and Classes on the Lord's Day, are now completed, and may be had, price 2s. 9d. each, neatly bound in cloth.

The Work, for 1836, will be continued in Weekly Numbers, having as the leading Subject the Proper Lessons for each Sunday, of which not only a plain and practical but an original view will be taken, showing the Reasons of their Selection, and their Harmony with the Service of the Day.

Sold by RIVINGTONS, St Paul's Church yard and Waterloo place, London; and all other Booksellers.

NEW SONGS.

THE YOUNGER SON	By Miss Smith
THE CHARMING WOMAN	Mrs. Blackwood
GIL! GIVE ME NEW PARTNERS	Miss Sheridan
ONCE MORE GOOD NIGHT	Ditto
THE DESERTED HOME	Miss Smith
THE ITALIAN GIRLS' HYMN TO THE VIRGIN	Ditto
MY GENTLE CHILD (Mrs Hemans)	A. D. Roche

DEAN, 148, New Bond street.

Just published, in one thick volume, Sixth Edition, price 16s.

Every Disease in this Edition has received additions, and the whole is much improved.

MODERN DOMESTIC MEDICINE: a popular Treatise, exhibiting the Symptoms, Causes, and most efficacious Treatment of Diseases, with a copious Collection of approved Prescriptions, Medical Management of Children, &c. The whole forming a comprehensive Medical Guide for the Clergy, Families, and Invalids.

By T. J. GRAHAM, M.D., &c.

"It is very far above the celebrated Buchan's, and we shall preserve it as the advice of an invaluable friend, to which we can refer, in the hour of need, without any doubt of being benefited by its wisdom."—Literary Chronicle.

"It is altogether deserving of permanent popularity."—London Weekly Review.

"It is one of the very best and most useful books published in modern time."—Monthly Obs.

"The public demand for this work is a proof that its value is duly appreciated. Every disease that flesh is heir to, with its remedies, are so minutely described, that mistake is scarcely possible."—Bristol Journal.

Also, by the same Author, in 8vo., price 10s. boards,

2. ON THE DISEASES OF FEMALES; a Treatise illustrating their Symptoms, Causes, Varieties, and Treatment. With numerous instructive Cases. Including the Diseases and Management of Pregnant and Lying-in Women. Designed as a Companion to the Author's "Modern Domestic Medicine." Containing an Appendix on the proper Principles of the Treatment of Epilepsy.

"It is an admirable performance, and should find a place in every family establishment."—Bath Herald, 3rd May, 1834.

"A most desirable acquisition."—Reading Mercury, 2nd June.

London: Published by SIMPKIN and MARSHALL, and HATCHARD and SON. Sold by all Booksellers.

BOOK SOCIETIES, AND FAMILIES IN EVERY PART OF THE KINGDOM,

are regularly supplied with WORKS for PERUSAL, including all the NEW and STANDARD PUBLICATIONS, MAGAZINES, &c., upon the most Advantageous Terms to them, according to the New System just planned and conducted by EDWARD BULL, Librarian, 19, Holles-street, four doors from Cavendish-square.

Full particulars can be had on application, or sent by post.

Second Edition, price 9s.,

THE HISTORY and PRINCIPLES of BANKING. By JAMES WILLIAM GILBART, General Manager of the London and Westminster Bank.

"Combining a clear appreciation of the science of Banking with the best practical knowledge of his business, we have seen no work on this subject which better deserves to be consulted and studied than Mr. Gilbart's volume."—Literary Gazette.

"He is fully master of the details, and ascends with equal ease to the examination of the elementary principles."—Atlas.

"This subject, which is generally considered abstruse and recondite, has been by the pen of Mr. Gilbart rendered so plain that the most ordinary capacity may easily comprehend it. The 'History and Principles of Banking' should be in the hands of every man who wishes to be acquainted with the manner in which the money transactions of this great country are carried on."—Waterford Chronicle.

"His work may be advantageously consulted for a practical knowledge of banking in all shapes, from the Bank of England down to loan banks, and the new law to facilitate the purchase of small annuities."—Spectator.

"We have been highly pleased with its agreeable and instructive character, and we think that no man connected with trade should be without this book."—Monthly Review.

"It is a clear well-written work, and must have been written by a person endowed with a lucid head and an impartial mind."—Metropolitan Magazine.

"A more complete and accurate work, with less irrelevant matter, we never read."—Gentleman's Magazine.

Also, by the same Author, "A Practical Treatise on Banking." Third edition, price 3s.—"A valuable and useful little work."—M'Culloch's Smith's Wealth of Nations.

London;—LONGMAN and Co., 39, Paternoster-row.

PLATED HASH DISHES, with strong Silver Edges and Handles. A Set of four Plated Hash Dishes and Covers are offered for Ten Guineas. The Handles take off the Covers, so as to form eight Dishes, when required.

T. COX SAVORY'S, Working Silversmith and Jeweller, 47, Cornhill, London.

N.B. A variety of Second hand Silver Watches may be selected from, all at Two Guineas each, warranted.

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials having gained for E. P. DOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting them unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to ensure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES.

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	£3 3 0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4 4 0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	1 15 0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2 10 0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s each, or three for	1 0 0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10s 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1 10 0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0 15 0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0 13 6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3 3 0

CONTRACT PRICES,

(The old suits to be returned.)

Two Suits per year	£7 7 0
The best that is made	8 6 0
Three Suits per year	10 17 0
The best that is made	12 5 0
Four Suits per year	14 6 0
The best that is made	15 18 0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s.; Hussar Suits, 30s.

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud-boots, and Gambadoes, India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard-street.

Established Fifty Years.

*** *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*

Clerk, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON:

CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 41. MAY 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Proposed Remedies for Irish Poverty	93	Committee on the State of Agriculture	113
Improvements in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies	97	Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi	116
Present State of the Danish Claims	100	Excise Duty on Soap	117
The Funds (concluded)	102	Statistical Notices of the Island of Cuba	117
Political Retrospect for April, 1836	103	Parliamentary Register	118
Relief of the Irish Poor	109	Abstracts of Returns presented to Parliament	119
Evidence reported by the		Miscellaneous	121
		Chronicle of Occurrences	122

PROPOSED REMEDIES FOR IRISH POVERTY.

THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR INQUIRING INTO THE CONDITION OF THE POORER CLASSES IN IRELAND.

THERE can be no question that the root of the rottenness which there is in the state of Ireland is the poverty of the great mass of the people. However much the irritation of political grievances may have frequently inflamed the disease, this is the poison-spring which has fed it, and kept it alive. And if all the constitutional reforms that have yet been proposed were carried into effect, without something being done to diminish this evil which is spread over the land, we might possibly have some abatement of speechifying, and of what is called agitation in Ireland; but we should have no less either of misery, or of crime, or of turbulence in that unfortunate country than we now have.

In England, before the late Poor Laws Amendment Act came into operation, the support of our poor swallowed up an annual revenue of about 7,000,000*l.* sterling; and the number of persons wholly or partially relieved by their parishes has been reckoned, we believe, to amount to one-tenth of the entire population. When this calculation of the extent of pauperism in England was first laid before the public, it was very generally received with incredulity and derision. Persons who had not inquired into the matter could not be persuaded that it was anything else than an exaggeration of the most wildly extravagant description, to say that every tenth individual in the country was a pauper. They maintained that an error of a cipher, at least, must have been made in casting up the numbers, and that one pauper in every hundred of the population must be much nearer the truth. But that calculation would have allowed about 50*l.* a-year from the rates to every individual—man, woman, and child—receiving parish relief. The first announcement, however, of the real state of the case—that the parish paupers formed a full tithe of the population of the country,—was sufficiently fitted to astound and stagger belief. But this is nothing to the state of pauperism in Ireland. In the Third Report of the Commissioners for Inquiry into the state of the poor in that part of the kingdom, which is now before us, the number of labourers out of employment there during thirty weeks of the year, and of those dependent upon them, is set down at not less than 2,385,000. This is not much under a third of the whole population of Ireland; so that in that country not every tenth, but every third individual, is a pauper or a beggar.

But further, if English pauperism, in its widest prevalence, affords no idea of the extent of Irish poverty, still more imperfectly does it shadow forth, by its character and degree, the extremity of destitution and wretchedness which is endured by a large portion of the labouring population of Ireland. The earnings of an English agricultural labourer average from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a-week. Whenever his income is below that amount he has been accustomed to apply for assistance to the parish. This, then, may be considered to be the lowest rate to which the expenditure of the poorest class of families is ever, except in extraordinary cases, depressed among ourselves.

In Ireland, the earnings of an agricultural labourer are stated in the present Report to average only from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, or thereabouts, if spread over the year. That is the common rate of living of about two-thirds of the whole population; for the whole number of agricultural labourers in Ireland is 1,131,715,—the whole number of families in the country being only about 1,600,000. Some of these families of labourers, no doubt, are better off than others; but by how much the incomes of some exceed the average, by so much do those of others fall below it; so that, on the whole, even supposing some addition to be made to the gains of the family, in a few cases, by the labours of the mother or of its younger branches, we may venture to affirm that there are probably 500,000 Irish families, the entire earnings of each of which do not amount to more than 2*s.* in the week. Here, then, are about two millions and a half of the population constantly sunk in the most abject destitution which it is possible to conceive as forming the lot of human beings, with no more than three farthings a day for each to subsist upon, beside what they receive in alms. There are probably as many more all below the lowest grade of our common English pauperism. So that, out of eight millions of individuals, which is the entire population of the island, we may set down five millions as living in a state of poverty which is unknown in England, as a common condition, even among our parish poor and our beggars.

The following is the description, given in the Report, of the privations to which the able-bodied population are habituated:—"A great portion of them are insufficiently provided at any time with the common necessaries of life. Their habitations are wretched hovels; several of a family sleep together upon straw or upon the bare ground, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes even without so much to cover them; their food commonly consists of dry potatoes, and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal in the day. There are even instances of persons being driven by hunger to seek sustenance in wild herbs. They sometimes get a herring or a little milk, but they never get meat, except at Christmas, Easter, and Shrovetide."

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

While such continues to be the condition of the people, it will produce, we may be assured, its annual harvest of crime and turbulence as regularly as any other harvest springs from its proper seed. The grand remedy, therefore, that is wanted for the distractions of Ireland is the relief of the poverty of Ireland. Where is such a remedy to be found?—and how is it to be applied?

If the poverty of Ireland is the grand exciting cause of its turbulence, it is equally evident that the root of its poverty is to be found in the character and habits of the people. The country itself, in natural resources is one of the most favoured under Heaven. But this is nothing. So long as a people are contented to multiply their species in the midst of such miserable destitution as has just been described, all the bounties of nature are showered upon them in vain. This is the plain and incontrovertible truth, to which there is no use in shutting our eyes. Ireland may be the finest country the sun looks down upon, to be "first flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea," is merely to be a convenient figure of speech for poets and orators, without a standard of comfort in the inhabitants, which shall make it impossible for them to live on, without obtaining to themselves a proper share of the wealth which their native land is capable of yielding. It is this that chiefly determines the degree of the civilization and happiness of every people. If the people of England, for instance, had no higher standard of comfort than the people of Ireland, there is nothing which could prevent them,—neither climate, nor soil, nor mineral wealth, nor all the artificial accommodations with which the country is furnished, nor its abundant capital, nor any lands and institutions,—from falling into the same depth of abject poverty. All these advantages would go for nothing, if the people were only generally willing to subsist on a single meal a day of dry potatoes. The decrease of their industry and the increase of their numbers, which would go on together under such a relaxation of what we may call the main-spring of civilization, would, in time, overcome all the forces that could be set in motion to produce plenty of employment and of bread. The social machine, with all its wheels, would come at length to move slowly and with laborious straining, as if weights were hung upon it, or the air through which it had to make its way had been changed into some denser element."

The thing, therefore, which is most of all required to be done for Ireland, and that without which every effort that may be made to call forth the resources of the country will be valueless, is to elevate the habits of the people, and their notions of what human beings require for their proper accommodation and comfort. Unless this be effected, there is no sound foundation on which the prosperity of the country can be placed, and all reforms are built upon the loose sand. This alone can brace up and sustain any other improvement, whether institutional or economical, that may be introduced, and make it something more than a mere temporary benefit. Even a river of gold poured into the country would not permanently enrich it, and establish a superior social condition throughout its bounds, if a low estimate of the necessaries and decencies of social life should continue to prevail among the people.

But much, undoubtedly, may be done to raise the popular standard of enjoyment by the very expedients which are applied to relieve the pressure of the existing distress. In their efficiency in the former respect consists the chief value of such expedients. For example, the natural encouragements held out by the circumstances of the country being found to be insufficient to attract to it as much capital as is considered desirable, it may be proposed to direct in the first instance a certain quantity of capital into it by a sort of forcing process. If the effect were to end with the mere amount of improvement which might be accomplished by the actual application of this capital, little good, comparatively, would be done; no permanent benefit would be conferred upon the country, and it may even be doubted if the particular schemes which were set on foot with the money so obtained would in general turn out profitable speculations, seeing that if they had been likely to do so, it would scarcely have been necessary to resort to any extraordinary method, in order to divert capital towards them, and considering, also, the imperfect economy with which such public projects are commonly managed. But if the greater quantity of employment, and increased rate of wages afforded to the people by the capital brought into operation among them should introduce and habituate them to a better mode of living than that to which they had previously been accustomed, and should implant in them the ambition of transmitting the advantages with which they had thus become acquainted to their children, the result would be a decided advance in the civilization and real welfare of the country. In this way it is that a judiciously-arranged plan for carrying on agricultural and other improvements on a considerable scale, by means either of compulsory assessments on the land, or of loans from the public Treasury, might probably be made to contribute materially, along with education and good government, to the regeneration of Ireland.

A full detail of the particular measures recommended by the Commissioners will be found in the abstract of their Report, which we have given in another place. We shall here confine ourselves to a few observations on some of the general principles involved in their propositions.

Their plans for the direct relief of the poor, it will be perceived, are wholly dissimilar to the English system, the fundamental principle of which is the support of the poor in workhouses, when they are supported by the rates at all. The reasons arising out of the state of Ireland, which are brought forward to shew the inapplicability of the same principle to that country, appear to be of great weight; but if you have a poor-law at all, it seems difficult to understand how you are to do without workhouses. From some of the expressions in the Report, we are not sure that we perfectly understand the extent to which it is proposed to carry the relief of helplessness and destitution under the plan which it recommends. In the leading statement, in Section 16, the cases enumerated as those for which it is considered that a legal provision should be made, and rates levied, are—1. The relief and support of incurable, as well as curable lunatics; of idiots, epileptic persons, cripples, deaf and dumb, and blind poor, and all who labour under permanent bodily infirmities; such relief and support to be afforded within the walls of public institutions. 2. The relief of the sick poor in hospitals, infirmaries, and convalescent establishments, or by extern attendance, and a supply of food, as well as medicine, where the persons to be relieved are not in a state to be removed from home. 3. The enabling of poor persons, who are willing to do so, to emigrate to the colonies. 4. The support of penitentiaries, to which vagrants may be sent. 5. The maintenance of deserted children. 6. The relief of aged and infirm persons. 7. The relief of orphans, of helpless widows with young children, and of the families of sick persons; and 8, the relief of casual destitution. Afterwards, under Section 27, it is recommended "that provision should be made, by law, towards the relief of the aged and infirm, orphans, helpless widows with young children, *and destitute persons in general.*" This last expression, especially, is a very comprehensive one; it would seem, indeed, to take in all cases whatever of poverty

or want not included under the preceding heads. If so, the poor-law established in Ireland will apparently be merely a copy of the English, with the omission of the great principle of recent introduction, which alone counteracts the mischievous tendencies of the English law. It will be the English poor-law as it stood before the passing of the late Amendment Act. If the right to relief is to be extended to destitute persons in general, without the check of workhouses, the expense, calculated in the Report at 4,000,000*l.*, of building and fitting up workhouses, will indeed be saved; but all the rest of the burden will have to be borne which it is shewn would be imposed upon the country by the introduction of the English system. Will not the 585,000 persons who are stated to be without employment for thirty weeks of the year, with the 1,800,000 more dependent upon them, be entitled to support as "destitute" for the whole of that period? And without workhouses they will scarcely be supported at the small expense of 2½*d.* a-day for each person, which is assumed, in the Report, as the cost at which they might be maintained, on the experience of the Mendicity Establishment of Dublin. The 5,000,000*l.* a-year, at which the burden is calculated in the Report, will not suffice. All the effect which might be produced by workhouses, besides, in keeping down the number of applicants for relief, will be lost; and the number will be left free to grow to any height to which it may be forced by the stimulus, now to be for the first time applied, of a legal right to support. It may swell, in these circumstances, even very far beyond its present amount.

It is true that other recommendations of the Commissioners may operate in checking the growth of pauperism, and diminishing the numbers of those who will have to be supported by the rates. But this does not bear upon the point we are at present considering. What we mean to state is, that the provision giving a legal right of relief to destitute persons in general, without the check of workhouses, may be expected, in so far as its operation merely is concerned, to augment the number of paupers; and, therefore, that provision remaining, we doubt if anything will be gained by avoiding the expense of erecting workhouses, by which alone the pernicious tendency in question can be counteracted.

We have observed, however, that we are not certain what it is exactly that the Commissioners mean by their proposal of extending relief to destitute persons in general; and possibly they may intend by it nothing more than the relief of what they have before called cases of casual destitution. But whatever their meaning be, the real and only important question is, what do they contemplate doing, in their scheme for the relief of the Irish poor, with the 2,500,000, or thereabout, of persons whom they describe in their Report as at present without employment for thirty weeks in the year, or with so many of them as their plans for increasing the quantity of employment in the country, and for promoting emigration, may not absorb? What are they to do with the man who is neither a lunatic nor an idiot, nor deaf and dumb, nor blind, nor a cripple, nor sick, nor aged, nor a vagrant, nor willing to emigrate, and who yet has no work; and with the woman who has a family of children which she cannot support, and yet is no widow; and with the young children who are neither orphans nor foundlings, and yet have no means of subsistence? Are such persons to have a legal claim to be supported out of the rates, or are they not? Whatever it may be intended that we should understand by the language used in the Report as to this all-important matter, we would state frankly, that in our apprehension, no scheme for the direct relief of the poor can be attempted to be set in operation in Ireland with any chance of success, which shall leave the descriptions of persons in question without any right to relief. Such able-bodied men without employment, and those dependant upon them, constitute the great mass of the Irish poor; and notwithstanding all that emigration and agricultural improvements together may be able to accomplish for many years, they will continue to form a numerous class. A plan for the relief of Irish poverty, in which they should be left out, would indeed be the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet omitted. But a plan, on the other hand, comprehending their case, and like the English poor-law giving a legal title to relief to all who, from whatever cause, are in want, would seem, from all theory and all experience, to require the accompaniment of the workhouse system as its indispensable balance and corrective.

One thing is very remarkable in the measures of direct relief proposed by the Commissioners—the absence of any recommendation on the subject of bastardy, which gave rise to so much discussion in the arrangement of the English law. For anything that is said in the Report we are left to conclude, that it is intended to allow the burden of supporting her illegitimate offspring to remain with the mother, except only in the case of her actual desertion of them, when they will be sent to nurse by the Board of Guardians of the district, "to some remote place, under such regulations as Parliament may think proper to appoint, and when of a suitable age removed to an emigration depôt, from whence they may be sent to an institution in some British colony, which shall be appointed for receiving such children, and training or apprenticing them to useful trades or occupations." Here, again, the want of the workhouse, which in England is open to receive both the mother and her child in every case in which the former chooses to resort to it, seems to afford no alternative to the woman who may be unable to support her child, except to leave it in the streets.

All this seems forcibly to shew that the only scientific poor-law, if we may so express ourselves, is that which has the workhouse system for its basis and governing principle. With that grand instrument of protection, a legal right to support may with little risk be freely accorded to all who choose to declare themselves to be in want; without it, the right to relief can hardly be extended to any description of mere poverty or destitution, without more misery being created than is relieved.

We are disposed, we confess, to expect the most benefit from some of the measures suggested in the Report for the indirect mitigation of poverty in Ireland, by the general improvement of the country. In the first place, the aim of the curative process here goes much nearer to the source of the disease than any application can be said to do which attempts merely to relieve actual cases of want. It takes in hand the morbid constitution of society, in so far, at least, as that is dependent upon physical causes. It seeks not to throw in the disease, but to throw it off.

The character of the whole scheme, however, we are well aware is such as will cause it to be looked upon with considerable jealousy by a large class of politicians. It is a system of interference on the part of the Government, in its compulsory capacity, with many matters which are generally considered to be best left to the voluntary exertions and care of individuals, acted upon only by their own views of their own interest.

Undoubtedly, the feeling of self-interest is the most efficient of all the motives by which men can be influenced, and where it is sufficiently enlightened, much may be trusted to it. But if it could accomplish everything in the regulation of social economy, any government at all would be unnecessary. Even in the most liberal scheme of a national government that has ever been devised, and where the most complete supremacy

is given to the popular will, it has been found necessary to assume that nearly one-half of the people may sometimes be blind to their true interests, and to make provision for such a case whenever it may occur. The most popular of all possible governments is, after all, but the government of the majority of the people—it may be of the bare majority. Even under such a government the people may be divided into two parties of nearly equal numerical strength; and then the rule which declares that the opinion of the majority shall prevail does, in effect, declare, at the same time, that the view of the national interest taken by the minority has been a mistaken one. This amounts to an admission, if not that an absolute majority of the people may take a wrong view of their own interests, at least that a portion of them constituting all but a majority may do so. This much we say the theory of the Government itself expressly admits and avows; a larger philosophy might go somewhat further. Since nearly half the people may be sometimes in the wrong, it seems hard to conceive that a full half of them may not be so on some occasions—that, in short, the majority may not possibly take the erroneous view, and the minority the correct one, when the two parties are pretty clearly poised. We venture not upon that more daring line of speculation which would lead to question the perfect certainty, in the most advanced state of society to which any people has yet attained, even of a very large majority being always in the right. It is indisputable, at any rate, that even in the most civilized of existing communities right convictions upon political subjects always begin among the few, and do not become the faith of the many till after a long struggle; so that, if the majority becomes the wisest part of the nation at last, it has very often been taught its wisdom by the minority.

These considerations ought, perhaps, somewhat to abate or temper the over-confidence we are apt to place in what is commonly laid down as an axiom or first principle in politics—namely, that the people are always sufficient, of themselves, to take care of the whole of their own social interests. The people here meant are merely a majority of the people; and their voice, although it determines the matter, is often opposed by another voice which it is neither impossible, nor very improbable, may frequently be the sounder of the two.

But something also must surely be allowed in the application of this maxim for the degree of intelligence and social advancement to which the people have attained. It cannot be pretended, with any semblance of reason, to be applicable alike to all communities, —highly civilized, or only imperfectly civilized, or not civilized at all. The view of the general interest taken by the majority will not be the same in these different conditions. If it is a true view in one case, it will be a false view, or a less correct view, in another. One people, therefore, may be fitted to govern itself, while another may not; one people may be better fitted to govern itself than another. Although the people of England, or of America, for instance, may be capable enough of managing their own affairs, the people of Ireland may not be so capable. In the Report before us, that country is broadly affirmed to be still "in a state of semi-barbarism."

Perhaps, however, even in the general case, we are apt to be somewhat too jealous of the Government stepping beyond the narrow province of a mere controlling power. Undoubtedly, much mischief has been done by interference, on the part of Governments, with matters better left to take care of themselves; in affairs of trade this interference has been especially pernicious. But it does not follow, because it has been thus abused by misapplication, that the protective system, properly guarded, and carried out in other directions, might not be made essentially to advance national prosperity and civilization. The government of a community, in its purest form, is a grand system of co-operation; it is the co-operative principle brought into action on the largest possible scale. Why might not the vast powers obtained by this, the only union which comprehends the whole people, be taken advantage of for effecting some other ends, besides simply those of preventing one man from cutting another's throat, or putting his hand into another's pocket? For our own parts, we hold a great state to be essentially something more and higher than a mere establishment of police. Applying to this mighty association of men the same rule that measures the duties of every individual man, we would seek the limit of its obligations and uses only in the limit of its powers. Whatever good it can do it is bound to do. Shew us, clearly, in any particular case of proposed interference, that a national benefit is likely to be the result which would not be otherwise obtained; and we certainly should not be disposed to forego the real advantage within our reach out of deference to any abstract dogma.

We cannot here go over and examine, one by one, the particular measures recommended by the Commissioners; a detail of them will be found in our abridgment of the Report. There is one other point, however, on which we will add a few words.

The proposal of forcing the general cultivation of waste lands by public authority, and by advances of public money, may be expected to be looked upon with considerable suspicion. To a certain extent this measure may be regarded as having merely the character of a general inclosure Act, and as being called for by the same considerations on which such an Act has been often recommended Much of the land is held by such conflicting or diverse rights of proprietorship as, whatever may be its capabilities, must continue to lock it up from cultivation, without some such interference of the Legislature. In other cases, the proprietors both of waste and of imperfectly cultivated land cannot themselves command the capital necessary for its improvement, even although it would in all probability well repay whatever might be laid out on it. This arises partly from the state of the country, and partly from the involved circumstances of individual landlords. The public aid here will clearly accomplish an important public and private good, which would not be accomplished without it. But it may very reasonably be apprehended that, of all the land thus to be farmed, as it were, by the Government, a considerable portion may not be cultivated at the usual profit. In ordinary circumstances, it would be unadvisable to attempt the cultivation of such land at all. But in the peculiar circumstances of the present case, there may still be a gain even in this expenditure of labour. If, in any country, the able-bodied poor who cannot find employment under the operation of the natural demand for labour, are to be entitled by law to be supported at the public expense, it is better that they should be kept doing any work, however small the return, than doing nothing at all. You have, we will suppose, on the one hand, ten thousand paupers to feed throughout the year, and, on the other, ten thousand acres of land. Let the quality of the land be so indifferent as that a year's labour on it of each man shall not produce a return in value sufficient for the maintenance of the labourer for more than six months. Still, by the paupers being set to cultivate it, the public saves half the cost of maintaining them in idleness. It is the same thing as if half the sum necessary for the support of the poor, instead of being raised by the rates were to come down in a

shower from heaven. In fact, if not drawn from the sky, it might be literally said to be dug out of the earth, which is the same thing.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.

Our attention has been drawn to this rich and beautiful country, by a very interesting statistical work, which, though published some time ago at Naples, has only just reached us in London.* The production of such a book as the Commander Afan di Rivera's in such a place is, in itself, a very favourable indication; for though abounding in talent and quickness of perception, the Neapolitans, in the absence of all wholesome stimulus, and in presence of that incubus, a censorship of the press, have not, of late years, been accustomed to do much in any of the serious departments of literature, while they have especially stood in awe of subjects of public economy that might commit them with a Government, which, however mildly administered at present, is still an absolute monarchy. Something of this fear and reserve peeps out in our Commander's volumes, but less than might be expected; and he deals fairly with large facts, and with figures, that, after all, are the things that convince and decide. The Neapolitans may almost be called the fathers of political economy, for their Serras, and Turbolos, who wrote on subjects connected with that science about the year 1615, and the Broggias, Galianis, and Genovesis, who wrote from 1743 to 1760, preceded our Adam Smith and the French Economists, and actually came to many of the conclusions which are now admitted as bases and corner-stones of the science. This is an honour of which they ought not to be deprived; and we indulge in the hope that the Neapolitans, following out the researches of their predecessors, may soon take their place with the distinguished economists of Europe and America. The materials and the capability exist among them, and in no country that we know of is there a finer field for carrying enlightened theory into practice, which very practice, being carried on on a large scale, may gradually rectify what is wrong or deficient in theory.

The greater part of Afan di Rivera's book is occupied by suggestions of improvements, and plans to be undertaken *in futuro*. All this is very interesting, and the projects, from what we know of the country, we should generally call judicious; but as we must set ourselves limits in an article like this, we prefer confining our attention to works already executed, or at least actually commenced, and in progress.

We rejoice to be able to say that the general *coup-d'œil* we have taken of the condition of the country gives a favourable and consoling result; and that though still much behind some of the most civilized of European nations, and though occasionally checked and driven from its course by revolutions, counter-revolutions, and wars, in which Italian blood was shed for the ambition of foreigners, the kingdom of the two Sicilies has made a prodigious step in advance during the last hundred years, and is still moving forward slowly but surely.

Not to go further back, or touch upon the bloody reigns of the sovereigns of the Aragonese and Angevin dynasties, from the year 1501 to 1734, Naples and Sicily were the worst governed and most wretched countries in Europe. We shall probably explain everything, by merely saying that for more than two centuries of that time they belonged to Spain, and were governed by bigoted, ignorant, indolent, and rapacious Spanish viceroys, who drained the heart's blood of the nation, and gave it absolutely nothing in return save religious intolerance, a degrading superstition, convents, monasteries, disease, and the plague.

In 1734, better times came with Prince Charles of Bourbon, who took and kept possession of the United Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. When this prince, who is known in history by the name of Charles III., ascended the throne, the population of the continental dominions had dwindled down to 2,100,000, and a large proportion of this number were friars, nuns, priests, beggars, and brigands, who, committing every atrocity, over-ran the country in all directions, infesting even the suburbs of the capital. The feudal system existed in all its rigour—the peasants were serfs to their ignorant, tyrannical barons, who had the power of life and death over them. Nearly all the landed property that did not belong to the barons belonged to the Church, which is said to have possessed, in 1734, nearly a half of the whole kingdom. Charles began, by making many wise, but moderate and slow reforms, both in Church and State. Had he attempted too much at once, he would have plunged the country into a civil war, and, in all probability, lost his throne. He, however, put strong legal checks on the tyranny of the aristocracy, prevented the constant flow of property into the hands of the Church, limited the number of monks and priests, and eventually contrived to put much of their lands in possession of laymen and plebeians. He, in short, laid the foundation of a *tiers etat*, a third estate, or middle class of society, of which there scarcely existed a single element before his time.

The sea-ports, the arsenals, the fortresses had been permitted to fall into ruin, and in the course of two centuries the Spaniards had hardly made a road. The mountainous provinces of Naples could scarcely communicate with each other, or with the capital; and the island of Sicily, in this respect, as in all others, was in an infinitely worse condition than her continental neighbours. Charles III. made fine carriage-roads from the capital to Capua, Caserta, Venafro, Persano, and the Bridge of Bovino, a most important point, and the key to the provinces of Apulia and the Terra d'Otranto. All these roads are excellent, and those to Persano and Bovino, which cross the Apennine Chain, are truly magnificent works. Charles also restored several of the sea-ports and fortresses, furnished the arsenals and dock-yards, and even built a small fleet to protect his coasts and the trade of his subjects from the Algerine and other pirates. Besides all this, he built several splendid palaces, aqueducts, and public edifices. His numerous works gave constant employment to a valuable part of the nation, among whom money obtained by their industry and ingenuity now began to circulate copiously.

In 1759 Charles ascended the throne of Spain, and was succeeded on that of the two Sicilies by his young son Ferdinand IV. The spirit Charles had awakened among the Neapolitans survived his reign, and during the first quarter of a century that Ferdinand reigned, improvements were carried on with more or less activity. This latter prince, as the world well knows, was neither distinguished by ability nor by application to business; still, however, he had a good sort of rude common sense, he let cleverer and more industrious people work for him, and his love of agriculture and domestic animals was really of important service to the State.

Let us say a word more in favour of an unlucky king, of whom few have spoken well, and who is not likely to go down to posterity with a very brilliant reputation. From all that we could glean in the country

* Considerazioni su i Mezzi da Restituire il valor proprio a' Doni che ha la natura largamente conceduto al Regno delle due Sicilie; del Commendatore Carlo Afan de Rivera.

from men who had been his contemporaries, we feel convinced that, until his head was confounded by the dreadful events of the French Revolution, and his heart acted upon by his vindictive queen, Caroline of Austria, sister to the murdered Queen of France, he sincerely loved his country, and desired the good of his subjects. In all the earlier part of his reign, he was frank, open-hearted, accessible, and jovial with all classes.

Under the guidance of Bernardo Tanucci, the old and favourite minister of his father Don Carlo, he abolished some humiliating concessions and ceremonies paid to the Court of Rome, and he still further restricted the power and influence of the nobility. In this last direction he went almost far enough. The spoliation and degradation exercised, at a later period, by the French on the Barons was at once a moral crime and a political blunder. The great want of the fertile Campagna Felice, around the city of Naples, was water: the government of Ferdinand turned its attention in this direction, and set a good example. Waterworks erected on the river Volturno raised a great volume of the precious fluid, which was conveyed, by means of a canal, to irrigate the royal park, farms, and grounds of Carditello, between Aversa and Capua. The waters of the royal canal of Sarno were also employed in extensive irrigations. To improve the breed of sheep the king imported a large number of the best merinos from Spain; and cows of the finest quality were purchased for him in Switzerland, Holland, and England.

Between the epoch of Ferdinand's accession in 1759, and the troublous date of 1798, a most important progress was made in road-making. The route which Charles III. left short at Capua was carried on to the frontiers of the Roman States; the road that ended at Venafro was carried on to Iserna, and thence boldly over a lofty ridge of the Apennines, through the table-land pass, called *Il piano di cinque miglia* (the plain of five miles), to the city of Solmona, the birth-place of the poet Ovid, in the very heart of the Abruzzi—the Highlands of Southern Italy. We have travelled this particular road more than once;—it is magnificent. In other directions an old road that had stopped at Sora and Ceprano was rendered practicable for carriages as far as Arce; the road which Charles III. had carried to the bridge of Bovino was prolonged to the important city of Bari; that which he left at Persano was continued to Bosco, and even beyond Lagonero in Calabria; the old road of Auletta was continued as far as Potenza; that of Evoli as far as Lavello; and a fine route through the country of the ancient Samnites was cut from Maddaloni as far as Ferrarise. A glance at the map will show the extent and importance of these routes; but no map can explain the immense physical difficulties that were encountered in most of the lines of road. Following the traces of an ancient Roman road, which seventeen centuries had not wholly destroyed, the engineers of King Ferdinand opened long tracts of a carriage-road between the city of Benevento, on the rivers Sabato and Calore, and the city of Troja, in Apulia, near to the shores of the Adriatic Sea.

In Sicily less was done, even in proportion to its minor importance and extent; but, there, a good road was cut from Palermo to Termini, and several others, leading into the interior of the island, were begun.

The government of Ferdinand also attended to the draining of those marshes and bogs, near to the sea-coasts, that are an annual source of malaria fevers and mortality. The neighbourhood of Baja, though far from being thoroughly drained, was much improved; and the case was the same with the low, swampy grounds near Fondi, Pescara, and Brindisi, and in the valley of the Tanagro. Attention was paid at the same time to the dock-yards and sea-ports of the kingdom. In Castellamare was established the fine yard for the construction of ships-of-war. The port of Naples was enlarged and improved, and spacious magazines were added to the arsenal. Both at Palermo and Messina arsenals and ship-yards were established for the repairs and arming of men-of-war. In Calabria, on the shores of the Ionian Sea, additions were made to the port of Cotrone; and, on the shores of the Adriatic, considerable repairs and additions were made to the harbours of Bari, Trani, Barletta, Molfetta, Giovenazza, and Bisceglia—six beautiful maritime cities, that succeed each other at very short intervals along the smiling coast of Apulia. At the very mouth of the Adriatic Gulf considerable sums were spent in clearing out the ancient port of Brindisi (Brundusium), whence the military expeditions of the Roman Empire sailed for Asia, and, in later times, those of the Crusaders for the Holy Land.

This celebrated port consists of two basins or harbours, connected with one another by a short and narrow passage. The general form may be compared to an hour-glass. Strabo, and other ancient writers, have minutely described it. In depth, capaciousness, and security, the basins remain unaltered; but the shallowness of the entrances render these advantages of almost no avail. In ancient times there was only one entrance, and this, in the course of centuries had become completely blocked up with sand and mud. Ferdinand, in the year 1776, began to cut a new entrance, which was completed in two years at a heavy expense. The old Roman passage ran in an oblique direction, which made Pratilli, the engineer, think he could avoid the evils of a rapid accumulation of sand by cutting his canal quite straight. The new passage, however, was soon blocked up like the old one; and when we were last on the spot (1824), this truly magnificent harbour was accessible only to vessels of very small tonnage.

On the southern coast of Sicily, which faces Africa, a strong mole was thrown out to protect the road-stead of Girgenti; and on both sides of the Faro a considerable number of bridges were built and some roads begun. Contemporaneously with these operations, the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, begun by Charles III., were continued by Ferdinand. The little royal navy which had been created was quite sufficient to protect the coasts and trading vessels; and the light Neapolitan frigates and gun-boats, under the command of the brave Caraccioli, beat the Algerines and Tunisisen whenever they met them. An indubitable proof of the rapid progress made in public prosperity was the prodigious increase of the population, which had more than doubled in sixty-two years. In 1734, as we have stated on the authority of Afan di Rivera, it stood at 2,100,000—in 1796 it had ascended to 4,850,000. These were the golden days of Naples: all classes were prosperous; and if education did not make all the progress it ought to have done, there was gathered in the capital a brilliant little knot of men of science and letters, such as the kingdom has never seen since. But the sun of these days was about to suffer a long and terrific eclipse. In 1796 Ferdinand got involved in the war with the French, who, in 1798, drove him out of Naples to Sicily. The king had nearly drained the country of its money—the Republicans completed that operation. Then followed internal warfare—a dislocation of society, a counter-revolution, the return of the Bourbons, and the executions on the scaffold of 1799. Under this anarchy, and the state of weakness and despondence that followed it, every improvement was stopped. Naples was a party to the peace of 1801; but she was obliged to submit to have a French army stationed along her coasts on the Adriatic, and even to pay for the support

of these her oppressors. In 1806 Ferdinand was again driven to Sicily, when Joseph Bonaparte ascended the Neapolitan throne. During the short, stormy, and yet voluptuous reign of Joseph, very little progress was made in public works of any kind. In July, 1808, he left Italy to take possession of the Spanish throne, and was succeeded on that of Naples by his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. Murat, though an uninstructed soldier of fortune, had a taste for grand civil undertakings; and we may safely assert he contracted a love for his beautiful kingdom, and a strong desire to render the people happy. But Napoleon kept him continually in the camp, away from his proper post; he exacted from him immense sacrifices both in men and money; while his precious continental system was a complete millstone round the neck of Naples.* Still, however, and in spite of all these adverse circumstances, Joachim actually did a good deal in the way of works of public utility; and in his omitting to make any mention of these, we must accuse the Commander Afan de Rivera of timidity, servility, and injustice. Old King Ferdinand himself was more just to his enemy; for, on his second return from Sicily, in 1815, on seeing the improvements that had been made, the excellent condition of the palaces, &c., he said, with a smile, "Well, it must be confessed that I have had a good steward in Mr. Murat during my absence!"

But Afan di Rivera's silence cannot make his fellow-citizens forget that to Murat they were indebted for the completion of the beautiful promenade of the Villa Reale, for the magnificent roads of Posilippo, Capo di Monte, and the Campo di Marte; all three in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and in beauty and convenience not to be surpassed by any country in the world. These, indeed, were large contributions to the comfort, amusement, and well-being of all classes of Neapolitan citizens, and the way in which these roads are crowded on holidays by people in carriages, on horseback, and by light-hearted pedestrians, is a constant tribute to the man who planned and executed the works. But in other respects, too many to enumerate, Murat improved the city, and rendered Naples both more beautiful and more salubrious. Under him the excavations of Pompeii were carried on with a spirit and activity that had never been known before. In the provinces several works were executed. The road of Apulia, which Ferdinand had left at Bari, was cut as far as Molo di Bari, and works were in progress to extend it by Ostuni as far as the city of Lecce, and thence to the important oil mart and port of Gallipoli, with branches from this main route, extending in one direction to Otranto and Brindisi, and in another to Taranto. The Abruzzi road, which stopped at Solmona, was carried on by Popoli to the populous city of Chieti. The almost constant presence of English cruizers obliged him to put his sea-board in a state of defence; and in building Martello towers and forts, Murat spent much money that would have been more profitably employed in road-making and draining.

The general peace of 1815 was a prodigious and an immediate benefit to the city and to most of the provinces of Naples, where, notwithstanding numerous errors of government, a mistaken system of political economy, and the presence of a strong Austrian army which was paid for enormously, prosperity again began to appear. We attentively watched on the spot the progress made between the years 1816 and 1820, and can affirm that it was very considerable. The government which, from the King downwards, was composed of old and indolent men, did not perform much, but the people began to do for themselves, which is always a better thing. In the capital, and in some of the chief provincial towns, as Santa Maria di Capua, Avellino, Salerno, Foggia, Chieti, &c., new houses were built, or old uncouth edifices converted into comfortable well-looking ones. The immense influx of English travellers, from which the Neapolitans reaped a fine harvest year after year, introduced the knowledge and the use of many English domestic comforts. In 1816 it was difficult to find a house with a fire-place;—it would be now difficult to find a house of the better class without one; and the disagreeable and pernicious practice of heating the rooms in winter by means of copper pans of ignited charcoal is falling rapidly into desuetude among respectable Neapolitans.

King Ferdinand had carried the Abruzzi road from Chieti nearly as far as Pescara, on the Adriatic shore; he had made the branch from the Apulia road passable for carriages all the way from Bari to Taranto, and he was slowly proceeding with other works of the kind, when the revolution of July, 1820, and the events that followed it, paralyzed all efforts, and threw everything into confusion. On the eve of their ill-augured, insane Spanish constitution, which lasted just nine months, and then expired, the laughing-stock of Europe, the Neapolitans were in a happier condition than they had known for many years. The aged absolutism of Ferdinand was not oppressive; on the contrary, much liberty of action and license of tongue were allowed; and as Don Luigi Medici, the Finance Minister, had liquidated nearly the whole of the national debt, there was a reasonable hope that government would soon be enabled to reduce the rate of taxation. But the Austrian army, that upset the constitution and restored Ferdinand in 1821, had to be paid an enormous price for its services, which were not dispensed with until they had fattened on the country for more than five years. To meet these and other *more secret obligations* that had all arisen out of the revolution, the Neapolitan government was obliged to contract loan after loan, until (considering her size and immediate resources) the nation was saddled with a very heavy debt. Old Ferdinand escaped out of these troubles by dying suddenly at the beginning of January, 1825. He was succeeded by his son, Francis I., who, in spite of his financial difficulties, contrived to employ considerable sums annually in road-making. On the royal road of Calabria alone he expended, from the beginning of 1825 to the beginning of 1828, about 1,200,000 Neapolitan ducats, or 200,000*l.* sterling, being nearly at the rate of 70,000*l.* per annum. In the immediate neighbourhood of the capital he finished Murat's beautiful Strada Nuova di Posilippo, carrying it down the precipitous face of a high hill to the plain of the Bagnuoli, opposite to the island of Nisita, so that timid travellers can now go to Pozzuoli, Baja, and the interesting scenes and antiquities there situated, without passing through the long, dark, subterranean tunnel, called the Grotta di Posilippo. Francis also brought to a termination an immense pile of buildings, destined for the reception of all the ministerial residencies, and public offices of the kingdom, and finished some other edifices begun by his father. Francis I. died in November, 1830. His son and successor, Ferdinand II. (the present King), was not quite twenty-one years when he ascended the throne. The young Prince's education had been confided to priests and monks, who seldom turn out a good king, but his natural ability and disposition are well spoken of; and if he has the inexperience of youth, he has also its ardour and sanguine hopes. Soon after his accession he directed his attention to the two capital wants of his states—roads, and the draining of marshy lands. In April, 1832, he ordered the "General Direction of Roads and Bridges," at the head of which Afan di Rivera is placed, to draw up and present to him a series of projects bearing on draining. At the same time he ordered works to be begun for the restoration of the ancient port at the island of Nisita

which is to be converted into a lazzaretto—an accommodation which, strange to say, the maritime and commercial city of Naples did not possess before. Ships arriving from plague countries were not admitted at all, but obliged to go to Leghorn, or some other distant port out of the kingdom that had a lazzaretto, and there perform their quarantine, after which they could be received at Naples. The inconvenience, delay, and experience resulting from this strange system, had long been very serious evils.

(To be continued.)

PRESENT STATE OF THE DANISH CLAIMS.

IN the 31st Number of the *Companion* (for July last) we stated, at some length, the origin and nature of these claims, and recounted the history of the successive attempts that have been made by the claimants to obtain compensation for their losses. A very short recapitulation will be sufficient to introduce a notice of the position in which the case now stands.

What are called the Danish Claims are the claims made by British subjects on account of losses sustained by them through the measures resorted to by the Danish Government in retaliation for our sudden attack upon Copenhagen in 1807, when, without any declaration of war, or other announcement of our intentions, the two countries being at peace at the time, we bombarded that city, and seized the Danish fleet, having previously also laid an embargo on all the Danish vessels in the Thames, which, to the number of three hundred, were afterwards sold by us with their cargoes, and produced to the Treasury a sum of nearly 1,200,000*l.* sterling. We have here nothing to do with the question of the right of the British Government, in the circumstances, to make that attack, which was justified by Ministers, on the ground that the Danish fleet would otherwise have been delivered over to, or would have fallen into the hands of, the French. It is perfectly clear that, if this danger made so unprecedented a measure necessary, it did not entitle the country to pursue its own objects, either of safety or convenience, at the expense of any particular class of individuals. Whatever loss or damage was occasioned by the extraordinary character of the proceeding fell in all fairness to be borne by the whole community.

The Danish Government, in point of fact, endeavoured to avenge the attack on Copenhagen, by seizing the property of British subjects wherever they could lay their hands on it. To adopt the classification given in a Report of the Commissioners for investigating the claims, which the House of Commons ordered to be printed on the 3rd of April, 1835, they first gave discharges to their subjects for all book-debts owing to British creditors; secondly, they seized and confiscated all goods belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, which were found anywhere on the soil of Denmark; and, thirdly, they did the same with all British ships and cargoes which they could find, either in port or at sea. The whole property of which British subjects were deprived, in these several ways, appears to have amounted to above 546,000*l.*, belonging to some hundreds of individuals.

We are here also relieved altogether from the consideration of another question—the right which Denmark had to act in this manner, in the circumstances in which she was placed. Whether she was or was not entitled, by the law of nations, to make all those seizures, in the predicament into which she was thrown by the aggression on the part of the British Government, in the first place, the principle of justice and of common sense which we have already stated again interposes to protect individuals from suffering any part of the loss arising out of the unusual and irregular nature of the proceedings, and to throw the whole upon the public; and, secondly, the dispute that might have existed between the English and the Danish Governments as to the legality, in certain respects, of the conduct of the latter, has been settled by a treaty of peace, concluded in 1814, between the two, in which it was not stipulated that Denmark should either restore, or make compensation for any property belonging to British subjects which she might have improperly confiscated. After this, the British Government must, of course, be considered as having taken upon itself the obligation of satisfying all just claims by its own subjects, on account of injuries sustained through the acts, however irregular, of the Danish Government, which were provoked by our attack on Copenhagen.

We contend, indeed, that these claims ought, in the first instance, to have been immediately satisfied by the British Government, whatever was the opinion entertained as to the eventual responsibility of Denmark. That responsibility remained to be enforced, if it was thought proper or found convenient to do so, at the termination of the war; the claimants, as such, had no concern with its enforcement or non-enforcement whatever. In the case, indeed, of an injury sustained by individuals from the act of a foreign Power, which had been provoked by no previous proceeding on the part of their own government, they would in general, we believe, according to the practice of nations, have to wait for redress until it could be either gained from the author of the wrong by negotiation, or extorted from him by force of arms, or, if neither of these results should be obtained, until the demand had been abandoned, by the conclusion of a treaty of amity and oblivion with the offending country, how long soever it might be before the matter should be arranged in any of these ways.

Much might be said on the hardship and unfairness of such a delay, even in these circumstances; and it might be very plausibly contended that, whenever a government sees fit to resort either to force or to negotiation, on account of a wrong done to any of its subjects by a foreign Power, it should begin by at once making full compensation to the sufferers, and thus taking upon itself their rights, as entitling it to act in the case. The protection of its subjects is the duty of the government, and this is admitted by its interfering at all: it would seem, therefore, that the protection ought to be accorded in a complete form; which it only can be by the compensation being made certain and instant, and not dependent upon the issue of a protracted attempt to extort it from the foreign Power. But whatever it may be thought the rule ought to be when the subject to whom the wrong has been done has merely a general claim upon his government for protection, we conceive there can be no doubt as to what justice demands in a case in which he has actually been exposed to the wrong by his government, for the sake of some important public object which could not have been attained except through the sacrifice of his property. Shall it be said that he is to be called upon to make this sacrifice without compensation? It would be quite as fair, it appears to us, to insist, when an armament is to be fitted out, that the merchants and manufacturers from whom the materials are obtained should furnish them for nothing.

In the present case, it appears that some of the ships seized by the Danes may be said to have been actually thrown into their hands by the British Government. Licences were granted to vessels about to proceed to the Danish dominions by the Lords of the Admiralty, after the expedition against Copenhagen was in preparation; and in other instances, in reply to inquiries

formally addressed to the same government board, merchants were distinctly assured that their ships might go to Denmark with perfect safety. All this concealment might have been necessary for the success of the expedition; it might have been necessary that the Danes should be thrown off their guard by the maintenance, on the part of the British Government, of this shew of friendly intentions, up to the moment when the blow was struck; but if the deception itself may be thus justified, that is surely the utmost length to which the justification can be carried. It never can be argued, on any grounds of equity or of reason, that the private individuals, through whose compulsory, or at least unconscious, instrumentality the public object was attained, should be denied any compensation for so much of their property as was in this way made a sacrifice of to the public convenience.

These persons would have had a right to be repaid their losses in any event—even if the attempt, in the prosecution of which they were sacrificed, had wholly failed. But, as is well known, so far from having failed, it succeeded completely. What is more, the British Government actually obtained by its seizures and confiscations of Danish property a very much larger sum of money than would have been required for the full satisfaction of all the claims in question. The value of the British property seized by the Danes amounted, as we have already mentioned, only to between four and five hundred thousand pounds sterling; but the Danish property seized by us produced, on being sold, very nearly twelve hundred thousand pounds. And it is very remarkable that, instead of this money being allowed to fall to the Crown as droits of Admiralty, which is the common and regular destination of revenue so acquired, it was thought proper, by the Government of that day, that it should be paid over to the public service, on the ground, as was expressly stated by Mr. Perceval, in his place in Parliament, on the 30th of May, 1810, that "there were certain merchants who claimed compensation out of it for the losses they had sustained, arising from the manner in which the war had broken out." In these words we have a distinct admission that "the manner in which the war broke out" makes all the difference in the world between the present case and that of merchants whose property has been seized by an enemy, after the breaking out of a war which has been preceded by the customary announcements and warnings. Here the British merchants who lost their property were nothing less than decoyed into the sacrifice of it by their own Government; and on this ground stands the whole of their case. They ask compensation for losses sustained, not by any negligence, or rashness, or other imprudence of their own, but through the credit they gave to the solemn assurances of the Government, and the absence they evinced of all suspicion or apprehension of being deceived in acting under its express licence and authority.

In fact, the Government has at length partially made compensation to what are called the first class of the claimants, those, namely, who claim for book debts that were due to them by subjects of Denmark, and which were confiscated by the Danish government. These have obtained the principal of the debts of which they were thus deprived, after a deduction of 2 per cent. for the expenses of the Commission for the settlement of the affair. No interest has been allowed for the period of between twenty and thirty years, during which the money, now acknowledged to be justly due, has been withheld. It is also understood that the case of the second class of claimants—those who claim for goods seized on shore—will probably receive the like measure of favourable consideration.

In this long-deferred concession, however, it does not appear that the government has in any degree given in to the view of the subject which we have here adopted. The claimants on account of book-debts are to be compensated, because the confiscation of these debts is held to have been an illegal act on the part of the Danish government; and it is for the same reason that those who claim on account of goods seized on shore may expect to be remunerated for their losses. It is considered that, according to the usual practice of nations, these confiscations never ought to have taken place; and, therefore, the two classes of claimants in question were entitled either to have their claims enforced against Denmark at the peace, or, that not having been done, to have them satisfied by their own Government, which had so chosen to conclude a treaty of peace with Denmark, without insisting upon their acknowledgment by that power.

Efforts are still making to obtain at least the same imperfect justice for the third class of claimants—those who claim on account of ships and cargoes taken at sea—which has been, or is about to be, accorded to the rest; and the subject, we believe, will be again brought before Parliament in the course of the present Session. The entire amount of this last description of claims does not exceed 150,000*l*. The ground upon which they stand appears to us to be at least as strong as that on which the others have been placed, although it may not, perhaps, be so easy to find any express *dictum* in the books which meets the circumstances. But this, it is to be remembered, is not a case to be decided by any of the rules commonly laid down as constituting what is called the law of nations. The whole affair of the attack upon Copenhagen was one of a peculiar and novel character, the circumstances arising out of which that code, as usually deduced and stated, might very well be excused for not contemplating or providing for. But the law of nations professes to have for its principle and foundation not usage merely, but also reason and justice; and in these last its decision must be sought for whenever usage offers no guide. In so far as the recognized practice of nations is concerned, all that it is here necessary to show is, that the claims are not opposed to that practice; and that follows from the fact, which will scarcely be controverted, that the case is altogether without any precedent among those transactions from which what is commonly designated the law of nations has been extracted and compiled. But, in truth, the law of nations has comparatively little to do with the question. Whether Denmark, in the circumstances in which she was placed by our attack on Copenhagen, had or had not a right immediately to seize and confiscate, as she did, all British ships and cargoes at sea upon which she could lay her hands, the justice of the present claims appears to us to be exactly the same. If Denmark acted illegally, she ought to have been called to account for her conduct by the British Government at the peace; or if good reasons were thought to exist against pressing the point, the persons who had been unwarrantably deprived of their property ought to have been compensated for their losses by their own Government, which had thus thought fit to release the party that had inflicted the injury. If on the other hand, Denmark, as can hardly be doubted, was quite justified in making the seizures, the claimants come at once upon their own Government, which induced and enticed them, for the sake of an important public end, to place their property in circumstances insuring its destruction; and it would surely be in violent opposition to all our established notions of right and wrong, and of the duties which a government owes to its subjects, if, after having thus had their private means, as it were, taken from them for the public service, they should not be repaid the full amount of their losses.

THE FUNDS.

(Concluded from No. 40.)

We shall now conclude what we had to say upon this subject by a short account of the mode of transacting business in the Fund-Market.

In former times all transactions in the sale and purchase of stock used to take place in Change Alley, or THE ALLEY, as it was commonly called. This was the centre of the excitement and bustle of the famous South Sea bubble in the year 1720. Afterwards, these bargains came to be made in the room in the Bank of England buildings, called the Rotunda; and some business is still done here by a certain description of persons. Bargains in stock by the regular brokers, however, are now transacted in the building called the New Stock Exchange, at the upper end of Capel Court, which was erected by the Committee in 1804. Brokers and jobbers, who are not members of the Stock Exchange, assemble in the open court in front of the buildding. A jobber is a person whose business it is to accommodate buyers and sellers with the exact sums they want. The jobbers are, in general, possessed of considerable property in the funds.

Almost all transfers of stock are effected through the agency of brokers, all the more respectable of whom are members of the Stock Exchange, into which association they are elected annually by ballot. The Committee of the Stock Exchange is the governing body of the establishment, and consists of twenty-four members, elected by ballot. A broker acting for another party must be authorised to do so by a power of attorney granted by his principal. This warrant, which is on a stamp that costs 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d*, may be so drawn as to empower the broker both to buy and sell stock, and also to receive the dividends for the person by whom he is commissioned. Many persons, however, who would not venture to sell or purchase stock except through the medium of a broker, are in the habit of calling at the Bank for their dividends themselves.

In the money-market, as in any other market, there are, of course, always one set of persons inclined to buy, and another to sell, the commodity dealt in, whatever may be its price at the moment. The very meaning of a market price is, a rate at which there are both buyers and sellers; it is a point up to which the value of the commodity is forced by the demand for it, but beyond which it cannot rise without the sale of the commodity being put a stop to altogether. This is the only price, properly so called; for a price at which there are no dealings is no price at all, for any practical end, and it matters not what may be its nominal amount —whether it be any particular sum, or a hundred or a thousand times as much. At whatever point, then, to which the price of stock is brought by this balance between the supply and the demand, if there be any business done in the article at all, there will be in the market both parties ready to buy, and other parties desirous to sell. The business of the broker consists in selecting the particular moment at which it is most advantageous to buy or sell. This, of course, he has to do, by exercising his judgment both upon the probable movement of the price of the stocks, and upon the particular circumstances and exigencies of the case in which he acts.

When a bargain in stock has been arranged between two parties in the market, they must resort to the Bank or the South Sea House (according to the fund) for the ratification of their agreement and the actual transference of the stock. "For this purpose," to quote the detail of the forms as given by Dr. Hamilton, "the seller makes out a note in writing, which contains the name and designation of the seller and purchaser, and the sum and description of the stock to be transferred. He delivers this to the proper clerk,* and then fills up a receipt, a printed form of which, with blanks, is obtained at the office. The clerk, in the mean time, examines the seller's accounts; and if he find him possessed of the stock proposed to be sold, he makes out the transfer. This is signed in the books by the seller, who delivers the receipt to the clerk; and upon the purchaser's signing his acceptance in the book, the clerk signs the receipt as witness. It is then delivered to the purchaser upon payment of the money, and thus the business is completed."

The established rate of brokerage is one-eighth per cent. (or 2*s.* 6*d.* in the 100*l.*) upon the amount of stock transferred. There is no stamp duty, or tax of any kind, upon transfers of Government Stock; but the transfer of Bank Stock under 25*l.* costs 9*s.*, above that amount, 12*s.*; of South Sea Stock under 100*l.*, 10*s.*, above it, 12*s.*; and of India Stock, of any amount, 1*l.* 12*s.*

The dividends, it is to be observed, are not actually paid till some days (usually about a week) after they have become due; and the books at the Transfer Offices are always shut for about six weeks previous to the days of payment, during which period no transfers can be regularly made. Good Friday, Christmas Day, and the 1st of May and 1st of November, (or the Monday following either of these two last-mentioned days, if it should fall on a Sunday), are also kept as holidays at the South Sea House and the Transfer Office in the Bank. The holidays in these establishments formerly amounted to forty-four in the year. At the India House the only holidays are Good Friday and Christmas Day.

In every sale of stock, the purchaser, at whatever time the sale may be made, purchases, along with the stock, the dividends upon it for the current half-year. In consequence of this, every description of stock, whatever other circumstances may affect its actual price in the market, rises in real value every day from term to term; and, if the action of all other circumstances were to be excluded, its price would, in point of fact, continue so to ascend. A person purchasing 100*l.* 3 per cent. consols, immediately before the shutting of the books for the dividends in July, acquires precisely the same amount of property as if he had made a similar purchase at the opening of the books immediately after the payment of the dividends in the preceding January; but as he has saved nearly half-a-year's interest upon his money by so deferring his investment, he will be willing, of course, to pay a correspondingly higher price for the stock at the one date than he would have paid at the other. Supposing the interval between the two dates to be four months, and the current rate of interest to be 3½ per cent., the Three per Cent. Consols, when that stock is at 90, should be worth about 1 per cent. more at the shutting than at the opening of the books.

In addition, however, to the actual transfers negotiated in the manner we have just explained, a vast deal of business is done in the money-market, both when the books are open and when they are shut, in what are called bargains *for time*. In these transactions one party engages to sell to another for a certain sum a certain amount of stock on a certain future day, the calculation of the seller being that by the day in question the market price of stock will be lower, that of the buyer that it will be higher, than the price agreed upon. If the bargain thus made were to be actually carried into effect, the seller, in case of the price turning out to be below that stipulated for, could purchase the requisite quantity of stock in the open market for a less sum than

* The letters of the alphabet are placed round the room, and the seller must apply to the clerk, who has his station under the initial of his name. In all the offices there are supervising clerks who join in witnessing the transfer.

he would have to receive for it, and would, therefore, be a gainer by the difference between the two sums, while the buyer would be a loser by the same difference: in case of the price rising above that stipulated for, exactly the reverse would happen. The matter, however, is usually settled without any actual delivery of the stock, but simply by the losing party paying the difference. "These bargains," says Dr. Hamilton, "are usually made for certain days fixed by a Committee of the Stock Exchange, called *settling days*, of which there are about eight in the year,—viz., one in each of the months of January, February, April, May, July, August, October, and November; and they are always on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, being the days on which the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt make purchases. The settling days in January and July are always the first days of the opening of the Bank books for public transfer; and these days are notified at the Bank, when the books are shut to prepare for the dividend. The price at which stock is sold to be transferred on the next settling day, is called the price *on account*. Sometimes, instead of closing the account on the settling day, the stock is carried on to a future day, on such terms as the parties agree on. This is called a *continuation*."

These practices are evidently nothing else than a sort of betting, or gambling in the public funds; and as such, they have been discountenanced by the Legislature, and endeavours have been made to repress them by means of prohibitions and penalties. As these attempts, however, have wholly failed of their design, it may be questioned if there be any wisdom in persisting in them. Besides, it is by no means clear that any mischief is really done by this kind of speculation in the funds. The consequence, however, of the denouncement of such transactions by the law is, that bargains for time cannot be enforced in the courts, and the parties, therefore, are only to be held to them by a sense of honour, and by such restraints in the way of exposure and degradation as a private society like the Committee of the Stock Exchange may apply to its members. Parties not fulfilling their engagements cease to be members of the society, and are incapable of being re-admitted; their names are also posted up for a certain time in the Great Room. In this way their credit on 'Change is, of course, effectually destroyed. Such defaulters, in the language of the Stock Exchange, are called *Lame Ducks*. In the same technical dialect the seller, in a bargain for time, is termed a *Bear*, and the buyer a *Bull*—in allusion, it is commonly said, to the nature of the opposite interests of the two parties—that of the seller being to beat down prices, as the bear tramples anything under its feet—that of the buyer, to elevate them, as the bull is accustomed to toss the object of its attack into the air.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR APRIL, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Both Houses of Parliament met on Monday the 21st of March, when the Lords sat in Committee on the Bill for the better administration of justice in the West Indies; and the Commons in a Committee of Supply, in which various grants for the service of the navy were agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, in the Commons, on the motion of Mr Buxton, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, into the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations respecting them. The motion gave rise to a short debate, in the course of which it appeared to be generally admitted that the working of the great measure for the emancipation of the negroes had been in the highest degree satisfactory. It was contended by Mr. Buxton that it had improved the circumstances of the planters as much as the condition of the negroes; but he complained that the former, though many of them had been saved from ruin by the money which it put into their pockets, had by no means shown any strong inclination to perform their part of the bargain. In this view of the conduct of the planters Sir George Grey concurred. A motion, brought forward by Mr. Peter Borthwick, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire how far the planters of the Mauritius had entitled themselves to compensation by their treatment of the negroes, was eventually withdrawn, in favour of an amendment moved by Sir George Grey, "for an Address to the Crown for copies or extracts of any despatch or document respecting the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government, since the Report of the Commission of Eastern Inquiry, in 1828, on the subject of slavery in the Mauritius." The House afterwards went into Committee on the Irish Municipal Corporations' Bill, when the clauses from 82 to 140 were agreed to.

On Wednesday, the 23rd, the House was occupied with one Irish subject after another, to the exclusion of almost all other business. A petition, from 350 of the tenants of Colonel Bruen, the Member for Carlow, contradicting certain allegations against the conduct of that gentleman, contained in a previous petition from Mr. Vigors, led to a somewhat violent altercation between Colonel Bruen and Mr. O'Connell. In the end, Mr. Wallace, the Member for Greenock, by whom the subject was first brought before the House, engaged to fix an early day for its full and final discussion. The House then resolved itself into Committee on the Irish Municipal Corporations' Bill, when the postponed clauses and the schedules were agreed to. After this, the Irish County Boards' Bill, and the Irish Civil Courts' Bill, were both read a second time. The Irish Constabulary Bill was also read a third time and passed. Mr. W. S. O'Brien then moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of the Royal Dublin Society; when, after a short debate, the motion, which was supported by Lord Morpeth, was carried by a majority of 49 to 13. In the course of the same evening, the English Municipal Corporations' Act Amendment Bill was read a third time and passed.

On Thursday, the 24th, the Todmorden Inclosure Bill was, after a short debate, rejected on the third reading by a majority of 77 to 38. The opposition to the measure was grounded on its alleged sacrifice of the interests of the poor to those of the lord of the manor. Mr. Robinson then brought forward his motion for a new scheme of taxation, including a property-tax, in a series of eight Resolutions, which, after some debate, were all negatived without a division.

On Friday, the 25th, the Report on the Tithes' Commutation Bill was taken into further consideration, when the House agreed to the first twelve clauses of the Bill, which, however, do not affect the principle of the measure. In the course of the discussion which arose, a suggestion was thrown out by Mr. Blamire, the Member for East Cumberland, which drew much attention, as an efficient and practicable medium between the two schemes of a compulsory and voluntary commutation. The Honourable Member said, he would recommend that they should fairly ascertain the value of the tithes in each particular parish, or benefice, or tithing district, as the

case might be; and having ascertained the reasonable and fair amount on which to assess the tithe, he would leave it to the parish, benefice, or tithing district, to apportion or applot the amount of rent-charge among themselves. This mode, he added, was frequently adopted in the North of England, and by means of it the matter was, in general, arranged without difficulty.

On Monday, the 28th, the third reading of the Irish Municipal Corporation Reform Bill was moved by Lord John Russell. Mr. Shaw moved, as an amendment, that the Bill be read a third time that day six months, on which a long and animated debate arose. The most remarkable speech delivered was that of Mr. Sheil, the brilliant eloquence of which appeared to make an extraordinary impression on the House. A division at length took place at nearly two o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were found to be for the original motion 260, for the amendment 199. This is a still greater victory than that which Ministers obtained on Lord Francis Egerton's motion for strangling the Bill in Committee, although that, as we remarked last month, was the greatest they had till then obtained from the commencement of the Session. In the present division, when only 459 Members were present, instead of the actual majority of 61, a majority of 54 would have been as large a proportional majority as that of 64 was in the House of 550 Members, which divided on Lord F. Egerton's motion.

On Tuesday, the 29th, another long debate took place on the subject of the conduct of the Home Secretary in the late appointments of magistrates for the new municipal boroughs, which was brought before the House by Sir Robert Peel. The discussion, however, which was enlivened by two successive episodes of personality, in which the first figures were Sir Richard Vyvyan and Mr. Richards, led to no result.

On Wednesday, the 30th, two divisions worth recording took place, on the motion for the third reading of the Hull and Selby Railway. The first was on Colonel Sibthorp's motion, that the Bill should be read a third time that day six months, which was negatived by a majority of 128 to 9. Mr. Lawson afterwards, on the question "that the Bill do pass," moved the insertion of a clause, prohibiting all travelling on the railway on Sundays. After a conversation of some length, this motion was also rejected by a majority of 101 to 11. The subject of the appointment of Lord Brudenell to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 11th Light Dragoons, after his removal two years ago from the command of the 15th Hussars, was then brought before the House by Sir William Molesworth, when Lord Howick and Lord John Russell explained, that individual appointments in the army must be considered to be made on the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief alone; Ministers were only responsible for retaining the Commander-in-Chief in office. At the same time both Noble Lords stated, that as to the particular appointment in question, they saw no grounds on which it could be objected to. Admitting Lord Brudenell to have been properly removed from his command, it did not follow that he should never again serve his Majesty in a military capacity. On the contrary, it was distinctly understood from the first that he should, after some time, be restored. Sir William Molesworth, however, gave notice, that he should move an Address to his Majesty on the subject, shortly after the recess. Various questions on foreign affairs were then put to Lord Palmerston by different Members. In his answers the Noble Lord stated, among other things, that he had as yet had no communication with the authorities of Cracow on the recent military occupation of that State by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; that he had received no official information of the new quarantine said by the public journals to have been recently enforced by Russia at the mouth of the Danube; that the negotiations for a new commercial treaty with Portugal were not yet brought to a satisfactory termination; that a new convention, which would shortly be laid on the table of the House, had been made with Frankfort, permitting that town, as it had requested, to join the great German commercial union; and that no loan had been negotiated with the Queen of Spain which had been guaranteed by the Government of this country. The Prisoners' Counsel Bill was then read a third time and passed; and the Roman Catholic Marriages Bill went through Committee.

This day the two Houses adjourned for the Easter recess, the Lords till Tuesday the 12th, and the Commons till Monday the 11th of April.

On the last-mentioned day, the Ordnance Estimates, which exhibited a diminution of 52,610*l.*, as compared with those of the preceding year, were voted in a Committee of Supply without opposition. On the Army Estimates, however, being afterwards taken into consideration, Mr. Hume opposed the motion for a grant of 106,211*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to defray the charge of the volunteer corps; but the amendment was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 53 to 9. The Stamp Duties Bill was then read a second time.

On Tuesday, the 12th, a debate of some length took place in the Lords, on the second reading of the Irish Constabulary Force Bill, which was moved by Lord Duncannon. The opponents of the Bill, however, did not divide the House, although some Noble Lords expressed their intention to oppose certain clauses in the Committee.

In the Commons, a debate of considerable interest arose on Mr. Ewart's motion, for leave to bring in a Bill, providing, that in cases of intestacy, and the absence of any settlement to the contrary, landed property should, like personal property, be equally divided among the children, or other next of kin of the deceased. The motion was opposed by Ministers, and lost on a division, the numbers being 29 for, and 45 against it. It is obvious that the true question to be considered here, was that of the propriety of the aid given by the law, sought to be abolished, to the preservation of landed property in considerable masses. This is a question, in the first place, of constitutional policy; and, secondly, of political economy. In other words, the law in question is to be looked to, first, in reference to its effects upon the working of the Government; secondly, in reference to whether it promotes or retards the creation of national wealth. Without at all adverting to these larger views, however, the change of the law is frequently urged upon certain sentimental considerations, better fitted for furnishing one a flourish of rhetoric, than for satisfying an understanding at all capable of surveying the subject in its whole extent. "If the possessor of landed property die without making a will," says a weekly newspaper of distinguished ability, in an article in defence of Mr. Ewart's motion, "and there be no settlement, the eldest son inherits the property, *and the other children are beggars, or dependents on his bounty.* Mr. Ewart has proposed to remedy this *cruel injustice*, &c." As for the injustice, we really cannot see that anything of the kind is chargeable on the present law, any more than it would be upon the proposed new scheme. The only case in which it can be pretended that injustice is done by the law as it now stands, is when a landed proprietor who *intended* to divide his property equally among his next of kin, is cut off by death before he has carried his intention into effect. But, if the law were altered, precisely the same injustice would be done whenever it happened that a person who intended to leave his whole landed property to his eldest son, died suddenly without having made his will. So that, in

regard to this point, the existing law and its proposed alteration are on a par. They may both occasionally lead to the defeat of the possessor of the property's intentions. But the injustice spoken of is, perhaps, an injustice assumed to be inflicted by the present law upon the younger brothers and sisters of the person who inherits. Now, we could understand the principle of a law which, out of a proposed regard to justice, should in all cases compel an equal division of the landed property of a person deceased among his children or other nearest relatives. This would be for the law distinctly to say that a man's property was his own only while he lived, and that it belonged to his children or next of kin after his death. It would be to affirm that his children or next of kin had, as such, a right to his property after his death. But the proposed new law does not lay down this doctrine, or anything like it. It in no respect denies the actual possessor of the property the right of devising it in any way he chooses. It asserts or recognises no right in his children or other next of kin to a single farthing's worth of it. It allows him to leave the whole of it, if he please, to a stranger, or to make any other disposition of it that may suit his humour. It acknowledges, in short, just as completely as the present law does, that no part of it belongs, in reversion, either to his eldest son, or to his younger children, or to any of his other relations. It maintains, just as the present law does, that the property which a man has earned, or otherwise come legally into the possession of, is his own, to dispose of as he pleases after his death as during his life, and that no other person whatever has anything to do with it. How can it be said, then, that the proposed law would remedy the cruel injustice alleged to be perpetrated by the existing law? If what is meant be the disposition by a father of his whole property, or the bulk of it, to his eldest son, it does not regard that as an injustice, for it does not, in the least degree, attempt to prevent it. The principle, whether sound or the reverse, that a father ought to be compelled, in all cases, to make all his children equal sharers in his property after his death, is not asserted by it. It does not pretend to maintain that there is, necessarily, any injustice in a distinction being made by a father, as to this matter, between one child and another. The *injustice* of the existing law, therefore, cannot, in any view, be admitted as an argument for the proposed change; for that change would leave the injustice, if injustice there be, the same as ever. Whether the change might or might not be advisable on other grounds, we shall not, at present, stop to inquire; it is a very large and complex question. But upon the point of the alleged injustice and cruelty of the whole estate of a landed proprietor going after his death to his eldest son, we may observe that it has been somewhat strongly stated. All people, whose fathers die without leaving them anything, are not necessarily left beggars. This is, in fact, the case of by far the larger portion of the community. Probably not one individual in fifty of the present population of the kingdom has derived, or will derive, any pecuniary benefit on his father's decease. The younger children of the landed proprietor, therefore, where the whole estate goes to his eldest son, are really no worse off than the great body of their fellow-citizens; and it might be difficult to make out any right they have to be better off.

On Wednesday, the 13th, the Tithe Commutation Bill was re-committed, on the motion of Lord John Russell, in order that certain alterations might be made in it. "The Bill," his Lordship said "originally proceeded upon the principle, that individuals, in the first instance, would have to make voluntary arrangements, which afterwards were to be combined in one general arrangement for the parish, and that, failing such voluntary arrangements being made, compulsory regulations were, in the same way, to be applied to the property of each particular person, and afterwards to whole parishes. But in consequence of the difficulties to which it was found this would give rise, and owing, also, very much to what had been stated by Mr. Blamire, he should propose that a certain number of landowners—say two-thirds—should be empowered to propose a voluntary arrangement. The Bill would provide that this should be binding on the parish afterwards, but that that should not take place before the 1st of October, 1837. The Commissioners might then, if they thought fit, order a like commutation for the whole parish. In either case the landowners would appoint two valuers, one to be appointed by a majority of the property, the other by a majority of the numbers, to applot or apportion the whole sum to be paid by the parish, according to the extent of particular farms."

Major Fancourt, then, on the Order of the Day being moved for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the Mutiny Bill, moved, as an amendment—"That it is the opinion of this House that the punishment of flogging should be entirely abolished in the British army." A long debate followed, in which the motion was opposed by Ministers, and which ended in its rejection, on a division, by a majority of 212 to 95. Several Members who expressed themselves as opposed to the punishment in question, and of opinion that it might be got rid of in course of time, declined to vote for its entire abolition immediately; others thought that it might be dispensed with in time of peace, but not during war. Sir Ronald Ferguson is reported to have declared that, after forty years' service, he could not agree to the entire abolition of military flogging, though he would say the less of it the better. This seems to have been the sentiment of the majority of the House. Since the debate, an order is stated to have been issued from the Horse-Guards, by which the number of lashes that may in future be inflicted is restricted to 200 by a general court-martial, and to 150 by a district court-martial.

Whatever objection may lie against the punishment of flogging on other grounds, it must be admitted, at least, to answer its main end—that of maintaining the discipline of the army. And this, be it remembered, does not mean merely the preservation of an important instrument of national strength in a serviceable condition—the maintenance of the army in such a state as that it may at all times be ready to act with the greatest effect against an enemy in the field. What is much more essential than that is, that the army should be kept in order and subjection, when it is not engaged with an enemy; that it should be effectually restrained from turning its strength against the peace and security of society at home. This perfect subordination is necessary to prevent it from being a curse to the country instead of a protection.

Until, therefore, some other means shall be discovered, which can be perfectly depended upon as equally efficient with the present system for this great end, to abolish flogging would certainly be an experiment of the utmost hazard. The advocates of the abolition do not seem to have yet worked out this essential point of their case in a satisfactory manner. No other punishment has been pointed out which appears, on examination, to be, in all circumstances, an adequate and practically applicable substitute for flogging. Attempts, indeed, have been made to shew that the necessity for corporal punishment might be got rid of by such a complete change in the constitution of the army as would both fill its ranks with a wholly different description of men

from that of which they now consist, and would also place its officers in a very different relation to their fellow-citizens from that in which they actually stand. Such an organic revolution as this, however, will scarcely be resolved upon, unless it be held to be called for by much weightier considerations than any that belong to the present question; nor can the proposition be examined, to any useful purpose, by being looked to merely with reference to the desirableness of getting rid of the punishment of the lash.

On Thursday, the 14th, Mr. Robinson moved the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the practicability of admitting foreign corn and flour in bond to entry for manufacture, on condition that it should be afterwards exported. The motion, however, was opposed by Ministers, on the ground that the thing proposed could not be allowed without risk to the revenue; and, on a division, it was negatived by a majority of 77 to 40. After this, on the bringing up of the Report on the Mutiny Bill, Mr. Lennard revived the discussion of the preceding evening, by moving—"That no court-martial held in the United Kingdom shall be authorized to award the infliction of corporal punishment, except in time of war;" but this motion, also, after another debate, was rejected by a large majority, the numbers being 62 for it, and 135 against it.

On Friday, the 15th, in the Lords, on the Marquess of Clanricarde moving the second reading of the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill, Lord Lyndhurst moved, as an amendment, that the Bill should not be read a second time till witnesses had been examined in proof of its preamble, and till, also, the electors of the borough, who had petitioned against it, should be heard by themselves, their counsel, or their agents, on the matters contained in their petition. This amendment was carried, without a division.

In the Commons, the Dissenters' Marriages Bill, and the Bill for the regulation of the bishopric of Durham were both read a second time.

On Monday the 18th, the second reading of the Irish Municipal Reform Bill was moved in the House of Lords by Viscount Melbourne, when, although the measure was allowed to pass through that stage without opposition, Lord Lyndhurst, speaking as the leader of the Opposition, announced, that when it should come into Committee, he intended to move an amendment similar to that which had been proposed by Lord Francis Egerton in the Commons. In other words, the Opposition have made up their minds to brave all the consequences of refusing to pass the measure, at least for the present Session.

In the Commons, Lord John Russell, in answer to a question from Mr. Poulett Scrope, stated, that it was not thought expedient by the Government to bring in a series of measures in the present Session, embracing all the recommendations contained in the last Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners; but it was possible that parts of the Report might be taken into consideration, with a view to some practical measure. The Registration of Voters Bill then passed through Committee, after a motion by Mr. T. Duncombe, that the Committee should be instructed to introduce a clause, repealing that part of the Reform Bill which requires the payment of poor-rates and assessed taxes as a qualification for voting in boroughs, had been negatived by a majority of 154 to 51.

On Tuesday, the 19th, in the Lords, the Bill for regulating plurality of benefices in the Church and residence of the clergy was read a second time. In the Commons, Mr. Harvey's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to revise the Pension List, with a view to ascertain, in the case of each pension, whether its continued payment is justified by the circumstances of the original grant, or the present condition of the party, gave rise to a long debate. The motion was resisted by Ministers, chiefly on the ground that to assent to it would be a breach of the compact made with the Crown at the last settlement of the Civil List; and it was negatived on a division by a majority of 216 to 146.

On Wednesday, the 20th, Mr. P. Stewart brought again before the House the subject of the alleged aggressive policy of Russia, in a motion for an Address to his Majesty, praying him to send a diplomatic agent forthwith to Cracow; and also to take such steps as may seem best adapted to protect and extend the commercial interests of Great Britain in Turkey and the Euxine. In the course of an interesting debate that followed, Lord Palmerston stated, that it was the intention of Government to send out a consular agent to Cracow immediately; and feeling, as he stated, that his object was substantially attained by this and other assurances of the Noble Lord, Mr. Stewart, in the end, withdrew his motion.

The only event of the month in domestic politics, apart from the proceedings of Parliament, that requires notice, is the vote to which the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland came, after a debate of two days, on Friday, the 14th. The Society has agreed to dissolve itself by a majority of 82 to 62. At the same time, it is stated that many of the district Lodges have since held their meetings as usual; and that the minority of the association generally deny that they are to be considered as bound by the decision of the majority, and threaten that nothing short of an Act of Parliament shall put them down.

FRANCE.

The debate on the question of the reduction of the Five per Cents. commenced in the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st of March, and was resumed the next day. Ministers consented to a reduction at some future, fitting period, but they claimed to be the sole judges as to which should be the most fit moment. They also proposed to change the original scheme of a reduction of one per cent. into one of a half per cent.; so that at some definite period the French Five per Cent. Stock will be converted into Four and a Half per Cent. Stock. What the new Ministry wanted was, to put off the decision, and gain time; and in this they completely succeeded, having obtained a triumphant majority in their favour. The Chamber of Deputies adjourned all further consideration of the question until next year; and even M. Goum, the champion for the reduction, agreed in this decision, on the condition that the principle should be established. The Chamber has thus borne out M. Thiers in doing very nearly the same thing for the attempting of which they drove the Duke de Broglie from office; but, as we have frequently had occasion to remark, there is no safe speculating on the votes of French Deputies, or judging by what they do to-day what they will do next month.

Some interesting debates followed on the Ministerial demand for secret service money, which led to a declaration of principles on the part of the new Cabinet. M. Sauzet declared officially, for M. Thiers, that the existing Ministry was neither that of the 11th of October, nor that of the 13th of March,—but the Ministry of its own date, with its own views, and standing upon its own merits. M. Guizot delivered a good speech in defence of the *juste milieu* principle, which he maintained would not go backward with the ultra-Royalists, nor rush madly forward with the Jacobins and Republicans. He insisted that neither of those extreme parties were wholly suppressed. "Those who assert the contrary,"

said he, "might as well say a man was dead because he had fallen to the ground."

M. Sauzet, the Minister of Justice, is reported to have promised to submit a request for commuting to banishment for life, the perpetual imprisonment of the four Ministers of Charles the Tenth, now in the Castle of Ham.

The trial of the low ruffians for an attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe on his road to Neuilly, in June last, came on before the Court of Assizes at the end of March. Boireaux, already condemned to twenty years' imprisonment for the Fieschi affair, is also foremost in the Neuilly plot. The trial occupied several days. Some of the accused were convicted, and sentenced to long imprisonment, but Boireau was acquitted.

Long discussions have taken place in the Chamber on the new tariff and the beet-root sugar manufacture.

On the 9th of April certain petitions for the recall of the proscribed members of the Bonaparte family, and the removal to France, from St. Helena, of Napoleon's remains, gave rise to much animated discussion. It was the prayer of the petitioners that the ashes of the man who had conferred so much glory on France should repose under his own bronze pillar of victory and of triumph in the Place Vendome. All parties seem to have been convinced that the British Government would readily open the alien tomb near the willow, and give up its contents to the French people. Ministers evaded the decision of this part of the prayer with their usual address; and the other petitions for the recall of the Bonaparte family were disposed of by the Chamber's passing the Order of the Day. The following is an extract from a speech delivered on the occasion by M. Thiers:—

"Gentlemen, the explanations I am about to submit to you shall be short and frank, and shall express the feeling of the Cabinet No one more than myself can sympathize with the feelings of the petitioners. I partake them without any mental reserve, leaving to history the painful task of finding out what there may be of weakness and of error, by the side of grandeur and of genius. But there is something more elevated and important than even glory or misfortune, and that is, the country and its interest—that which governs all other interests. As far as I am concerned, may I live to see the day when all who bear a French name may return to the French soil!—I desire it with ardour. But, Gentlemen, you cannot push forward time;—time marches as God tells it to march It is for time to restore to France the family of the great man who adopted it. Hasty, imprudent measures, such as those proposed, may revive troubles which are calmed, and culpable hopes which should be stifled. The name of this family—this name so sympathized with and so often abused—might furnish new pretexts for bad-intentioned persons. I do not think that France is at all disgraced, and I protest against any such expressions. France has no occasion for shame, and is disgraced nowhere. France is glorious and respected, as she ought to be."

The preparations in the naval arsenal of Toulon are still proceeding. Unluckily, the Trocadero, a hundred and twenty gun ship, that had recently entered the basin to be fitted for sea, has been burned by accident.

The Paris papers have published a letter purporting to be from Marshal Clausel, who complains that the difficulties of his position at Algiers are not properly understood at Paris, and that he does not obtain from Government the assistance he has a right to expect in his perilous enterprises. We can readily believe that the Marshal has just grounds for such complaints; but, even at their present rate of supply and assistance, the French pay dearly for this Algiers whistle. The natural effect of Clausel's recent expedition up the country has been to unite against him most of those tribes who were formerly in a constant state of hostility with one another.

According to the "Journal du Commerce," the French Cabinet has agreed to make an advance of 1,000,000 francs (about 40,000*l.*) on the instalment of the loan about to fall due to the Government of Greece, which seems to be in a deplorable state of poverty, while a considerable part of the Morea is again in insurrection against it.

The "Moniteur," of the 5th of April, stated that the new arrangement entered into between the French and English Postmasters-General was signed in Paris, on the 29th of March, by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs and Lord Granville. The stipulations included in this convention form a supplement to a former convention signed on the 14th of June, 1833.

Louis Philippe has lately despatched the Baron de Mortier to the Hague, to press the King of Holland (once more!) into a final settlement of the Belgian disputes.

SPAIN.

The affairs of this unhappy country are still in an unsettled and doubtful state. In the seat of war in the North none but paltry affairs have taken place, and they seem to have been as often in favour of the Carlists as of the Christinos. The cruelties we have so often shuddered at have been continued by both parties, who have shewn themselves more brutal and sanguinary than the Moors and Kabyles of the African coast. Here is a proof:—The Carlist chief, Tristany, made prisoner a National Guardsman, from whom he demanded 600 gold ounces as a ransom; and the unfortunate man not being able to comply with such a demand, was shot on the spot! In atrocious retaliation, the Christinos seized and put to death Tristany's father and brother! It has, however, we are happy to add, within these few days, been stated on the highest authority, that the Convention effected last year between the two parties by the mediation of this country has been observed in that part of the scene of the war to which it originally had reference, and also that it has been recently extended to Catalonia and other parts not at first contemplated.

In the capital Mendizabal has had the greatest difficulties to contend with. Isturiz and Ferrer, with whom he opened negotiations, showed a determination not to accept office under him or with him. When this was known at Madrid, it was expected that Mendizabal would be obliged to resign, and make way for the ultra-liberals, with Isturiz as their head. Some of the members of the new Cortes began to arrive at the capital about the middle of March; these were mostly ultra-liberals—men who do not conceal their preference of the democratic constitution of 1812 to the one they now enjoy. A change, however, came over the dreams of Isturiz, who, a few days after, was said to be ready to accept office as Minister for Foreign Affairs. On the 17th of March the Cortes held their preparatory meeting when Isturiz was elected temporary President of the Chamber of Procuradores, by a majority of 73 to 1. The temper of the Chamber, at this time, seemed hostile to Mendizabal. The following individuals were spoken of as members of the Cabinet yet to be composed:—Rodil, war; Ballesa, justice; Solarte, finance; Galiano, public instruction.

On the 22nd of March her Majesty delivered her Speech for the opening of the Cortes. The two first causes of the Address are of no importance: in the third is the following passage:—"Your attention will be particularly called to the negotiations set on foot

with the States of Spanish America. It is high time that two countries, sisters by nature, should become eternal friends, and that milder and more lasting ties, grounded on reciprocal advantage, should succeed those of subordination and dependence." In the fourth clause her Majesty said that both France and England continued to afford Spain all the aid the country required, and mentioned the entrance into Castile, of the Portuguese division, which was joining her own troops, and co-operating with them. The sixth clause attributes the want of complete success in Biscay and Navarre to the extraordinarily hard and long winter; and speaks of the triumphs which must ensue when the 70,000 recruits, said to be already levied, shall be clothed, armed, drilled, and sent into the field. The eighth clause is curious and important. "The former Cortes granted with perfect frankness the vote of confidence demanded by my Government. The Government, in demanding it, had in view the object of strengthening itself in the public opinion by a manifest harmony amongst the powers of the State, thereby to smooth the difficult task it had in hand. It also depended on not having recourse to this great confidence but in the sight, with the support, and under the influence of the Cortes. This failed it, and it was obliged to resolve not to make use of its extraordinary powers but with the greatest caution and reserve. The promise of ameliorating the condition of the State creditors was received by the public with enthusiasm, and its fulfilment was looked upon by my Government as one of its most sacred obligations. Such was the origin of the decrees published from the middle of February to the commencement of the present month; they all led to this important end, and some of them to the advantage of increasing guarantees to the public debt, besides satisfying a national wish. There is no doubt that the monastic institutions have, in former times, rendered great services to the Church and to the State, but as they are not now in harmony with the progress of civilization, nor with the want of the age, the public voice demanded their suppression, and it was neither just nor convenient to resist it."

In the next clause the Regent enlarged on the subject of reforms and improvements in the different branches of the Finance department.

A day or two after the opening of Cortes, an address, expressing entire approbation of Mendizabal, was presented to the Queen Regent: it bore the signatures of 500 of the principal and most respectable inhabitants of Madrid. If this class were to decide, that Minister would remain in power; but though we earnestly hope it may turn out otherwise, we are not without our fears that the decision may rest with those who are respectable only in numbers. To the surprise of most people, however, when it was known that Isturiz had again changed his mind, and definitely refused to join the Cabinet, Mendizabal contrived to prevail over him in the Procuradores, where, in spite of the immense majority which had elected him temporary president, in the election for the permanent presidency, he was the last of five candidates. Gonzales was elected president, and Arguelles vice-president. Both these señors are said to have been very instrumental in conciliating the House in favour of Mendizabal. The address to the Queen Regent was afterwards passed, in terms decidedly favourable to Mendizabal. The Proceres, or Peers, however, in their address, very properly stigmatized the detestable cruelties that had been committed, and were still committing in the Queen's name in the northern provinces. The Procuradores had omitted this clause, and Arguelles and Count Almodovar defended the execution of Cabrera's old mother, on the ground that she was engaged in a conspiracy to deliver up Tortosa to the Carlists. When Spaniards of this quality can talk in this manner, we need not be surprised at the atrocities of the rabble. On the 5th of April, Mendizabal frankly avowed to the Chamber, that he had sought, in vain, for persons in whom he could trust, to co-operate and form a Cabinet with him; and that his only reliance was on the support of the Cortes.

Fresh riots and assassinations have been perpetrated at Saragossa and elsewhere. On the 6th of March some shameful disorders took place at Valencia. The Carlist partisan, Cabrera, with a numerous and resolute band, had approached, or was said to have approached that city; and this news had such an effect on the Valencians, that, with the usual wisdom of Spanish mobs, they cried "treachery," and rose against their own governors. The national guards took part with the populace, who demanded the head of Caratela, the Captain-General of the province. The civil Government and the officers of the national guards in vain attempted to quiet the tumult, and in the end Caratela was obliged to resign his command and fly for his life. About the middle of March, Mina marched from Barcelona with vaunting promises, of which not one has been kept.

The letter of the British commodore, Lord John Hay, and the co-operation it distinctly promises on the part of England, is likely to benefit the cause of the Queen much more than anything Mina is capable of doing. This letter, which is printed in the Government Gazette of Madrid, and the authenticity of which has been acknowledged by Ministers in both our Houses of Parliament, is to the following effect:—

"Head-quarters, Vittoria, March 24.

"On board his Britannic Majesty's ship Castor, Santander, March 22.

"Excellency,—I hasten to announce to you that his Britannic Majesty's Government has just ordered me to afford your Excellency and the troops under your command the most efficient assistance, in order to prevent the Pretender's troops from taking possession of the fortified points on the coast still displaying the flag of Queen Isabella the Second, and to wrest from those rebels such of those fortified points of which they may have already obtained possession.

"His Britannic Majesty's squadron has received a considerable reinforcement of ships and troops that have come from England with a view of seconding and protecting all such operations as your Excellency may deem proper to undertake on this part of the coast. I likewise inform your Excellency that all the ships of my Government are instructed to receive on board of them the troops of her Majesty the Queen, and to convey them on such part of the coast as may be designated.

"I have delivered to the bearer of this despatch the most detailed information respecting the number of troops that each ship can receive. Your Excellency may rest assured that the forces composing my squadron will actively co-operate in the movements of the Spanish army, and that I shall personally feel much pleasure in fulfilling the wishes that your Excellency may convey to me.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "HAY,

"Captain of his Majesty's ship Castor, and Commander of the squadron stationed on the northern coast of Spain.

"To General Cordova."

The object of General Alava's recent mission to Paris is said on all sides to have been to request the armed interference of France, and it is pretty generally reported and believed that this kind of assistance has been decidedly refused by Louis Philippe.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

RELIEF OF THE IRISH POOR.

THE Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, have presented their third Report, in which they point out the remedial measures which appear to be required in the case of the Irish poor. The evidence on which the Commissioners have formed their opinions is contained in several bulky volumes, and constitutes a mass of information such as was, perhaps, never before brought to bear upon any question of social interest. It is needless to say that the existence of deep-seated distress in all parts of Ireland is amply proved

In the introductory part of the Report some important positions are established which render the consideration of the whole question much more clear and distinct. It is stated that there is not in Ireland the division of labour that exists in Great Britain; the body of the labouring class look to agricultural employment, and to it only, for support; the supply of agricultural labour is thus so considerable, as greatly to exceed the demand for it: hence come small earnings and wide-spread misery. The Commissioners further remark, that while in Great Britain the agricultural families constitute little more than a fourth, in Ireland they constitute about two-thirds of the whole population; that there were, in 1831, 1,055,982 agricultural labourers in Great Britain; and in Ireland, 1,131,715, while the cultivated land of Great Britain amounts to about 31,250,000 acres, and that of Ireland only to about 14,600,000. There are in Ireland, therefore, about five agricultural labourers for every two that there are for the same quantity of land in Great Britain.

It is stated by the Commissioners, with respect to actual produce, that the agricultural produce of Great Britain is more than four times greater than that of Ireland; that agricultural wages vary from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a-day; that the average of the country in general is about 8½*d.*: and that the earnings of the labourers do not amount, on an average of the whole class, to more than from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a-week, or thereabouts, for the year round.

It is not possible, under such circumstances, for the able-bodied in general, to provide against sickness, or the temporary absence of employment, or against old age, or the destitution of their widows and children in the contingent event of their own premature decease.

The application of remedial measures to such a state of things is not less necessary than difficult of introduction. Wretched as are the wages of the Irish labourer, they yet seem to afford to him as great a share of the produce he raises as falls in Great Britain to the labourer there. For as the Irish labourers exceed the British in number, and the produce of Great Britain exceeds that of Ireland by three-fourths, if a proportional share of the produce of each country were given to the labourers of each, there would be more than four-times as much for the British labourer as for the Irish. The earnings of an agricultural labourer in Great Britain average from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a week, while in Ireland they average from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* only, if spread over the year. If it were attempted to give the Irish labourer a larger share of the produce of the land than he at present receives, without, at the same time, its productive powers being increased, the land might be thrown out of cultivation, and not only the landlords and tenants, but the labourers and the whole community be involved in general destruction.

The English poor-laws are shown to be inapplicable to the circumstances of Ireland. Workhouses could not in Ireland contribute to the same ends as these institutions do in England; for the difficulty in Ireland is not to make the able-bodied look for employment, but to find profitable employment for the many who seek it. It is necessary again to consider, that there are in Ireland a greater number of labourers absolutely than in the whole of Great Britain, more than double the number relatively to cultivated land, and more than four times the number relatively to produce. The number of persons in Ireland out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year, is estimated by the Commissioners at not less than 585,000, and the number of persons dependant upon them at not less than 1,800,000, making in the whole 2,385,000. This, therefore, is about the number for which it would be necessary to provide accommodation in workhouses, if all who require relief were there to be relieved. The Commissioners consider it morally and physically impossible so to provide for such a multitude, or even to attempt it with safety. The expense of erecting and fitting up the necessary buildings would come to about 4,000,000*l.*, and allowing for the maintenance of each person only 2½*d.* a-day, the cost of supporting the whole 2,385,000 for thirty weeks annually would be something more than 5,000,000*l.* a-year; whereas the gross rental of Ireland (exclusive of towns) is estimated at less than 10,000,000*l.* a-year; the net income of the landlord at less than 6,000,000*l.*; and the public revenue is only about 4,000,000*l.* In other respects, the state of things in Ireland is just that in which the workhouse system is not applicable; for though the regulations of a workhouse would be especially irksome, yet in Ireland the labouring class are eager for work, which they cannot obtain, and they are therefore, not from any fault of their own, in permanent want. If, on the contrary, work was easily to be obtained, and the repugnance to workhouses continued general, then in-door relief could be afforded to the few who might from time to time fall into distress, and yet no temptation be offered to idleness or improvidence. The Commissioners come to the conclusion, that if workhouses were established, and want should send some of the labouring class into them, the strict discipline which, as in England, it would be needful to enforce—separation of families and so forth—would produce resistance; that tumults would ensue: and that after much trouble, expense, and mischief, the system would necessarily be abandoned altogether.

Relief, coupled with out-door employment, would scarcely be attended with fewer difficulties. The number of persons for whom work must be provided is immense, and the experience of England is against such a mode of relief. If the farmers were compelled to take more men than they chose, or thought they wanted, they would reduce the wages of all to a *minimum*. On the other hand, wages or allowances, if framed by magistrates or local authorities could not be fixed at a lower rate than the *bonâ fide* wages of the district; nor would anything less enable the labourer to support himself in such a manner as any person, undertaking to provide permanently for human beings in a civilized country, could say they ought to be satisfied with. Acting upon this principle, it would be necessary to fix different scales of wages, or allowances, which would average for the whole of Ireland about 4*s.* 6*d.* a-week. This would be to double the present earnings of the body of labourers, and these appear to amount to about 6,800,000*l.* a-year. The additional charge for labour would, therefore, come to about that sum. The tenantry are not in a condition to bear this burden, even if the labour so employed were likely to make a profitable return, which the Commissioners are of opinion would not be the case, as there would be five labourers for every two employed on the same extent of cultivated land in Great Britain; and the labourers not being freely chosen by their employers, and not being found to give satisfaction, or lose their employment, would lessen the productiveness of his exertions. The charge must therefore come upon the landlords. To this the objections are of the most weighty character. At present the rental of the country goes to feed commerce, to give employment directly or indirectly to profitable labourers, and to keep society in a healthy state. If any considerable portion of it were devoted to the support of unproductive labourers, it would be in a great degree consumed without being reproduced; commerce must decay, and the demand for agricultural produce and all commodities (save potatoes and coarse clothing) must immediately contract; rents must therefore diminish, while the number of persons out of employment and in need of support must increase, and general ruin be the result. The whole of Ireland would soon have to lean on Great Britain for support. The experience which England has had of the ill effects of the allowance system will not sanction its introduction into Ireland, where its evil would probably operate even on a more extensive scale. It is said that England has flourished with poor-laws, while

Ireland, without them, is in a state of semi-barbarism. But because extraordinary strength has withstood poison, it does not follow that poison should be prescribed as a remedy for weakness. The object is not to guarantee to the labourer pauper support, but to render him independent of it.

With this view the Commissioners call for enactments calculated to promote the improvement of the country, which, by extending the demand for free and profitable labour, should form an essential part of any law for ameliorating the condition of the poor. And, for the same reasons, while they feel that relief should be provided for the impotent, they consider it due to the whole community, and to the labouring class in particular, that such of the able-bodied as may still be unable to find free and profitable employment in Ireland should be secured support only through emigration, or as a preliminary to it—*i. e.*, those who desire to emigrate should be furnished with the means of doing so in safety, and with immediate support, when they stand in need of it, at emigration depôts. It is thus, and thus only, that the market of labour in Ireland can be relieved from the weight that is now upon it, or the labourer be raised from his present prostrate state. Until this is effected there cannot be such a degree of content, or of peace and order, established, as can alone encourage enterprise, or draw the overflowing capital of England to those commercial undertakings in Ireland for which the country in general, if pacified, would afford so wide and so promising a field. It is only in the degree in which there is a demand for profitable labour by those to whom, in the natural course of things, the labourer looks for employment, that he can have security even for such support as may prevent the extremity of want. In England itself, when a pressure of distress comes—when there is a supply of labour for which there is not a demand, the poor laws afford no guarantee against misery of the most dreadful description. As to emigration, the feelings of the suffering agricultural labourers in Ireland are most decidedly in favour of it. They do not desire workhouses, but they do desire a free passage to a colony where they may have the means of living by their industry. The Reports of the Assistant-Commissioners abundantly confirm this fact The Commissioners observe that they do not look to emigration as an object to be pursued upon any extensive scale, nor by any means as the main relief for the evils of Ireland, but, for the present, as an auxiliary essential to a commencing course of amelioration.

Having thus explained the general views of the Commissioners, we shall now enumerate the recommendations which they submit for the improvement of Ireland, and the relief of the poor there.

It is chiefly through their occupation as agriculturists that a general improvement can be primarily wrought in the great mass of the Irish people. But, in proportion as the earnings of the agricultural labourer extend, so will his consumption of commodities produced by persons in other occupations. Trades of different arts will thus be encouraged; and in the natural, and therefore certain, course of things, that division of labour may be expected to take place in Ireland which exists in England, and which is at once an acting and reacting cause and consequence of the wealth of nations.

The laws which form the constitution of the Bedford Level Corporation in England afford principles of legislation directly suited to the purpose which the Commissioners have in view in reference to improvements in the lands of Ireland. These laws enforce improvements in property at the expense of the proprietors improved. In order to accomplish the same end in Ireland, the Commissioners recommend that a Board shall be appointed, with the necessary powers for carrying into effect a comprehensive system of national improvement; and that it shall consist of a president and vice president, having suitable salaries, and of such other members as shall be named with them. The president and vice-president, with two of the Judges, in order that all legal questions which may be raised by the proceedings of the Board shall be promptly and justly decided, are recommended to be constituted a court of review and record, with power to hear and determine certain matters laid before them with or without a jury, or to direct issues of fact where it may think proper. The Board of Improvement shall be authorized to appoint Commissioners, from time to time, to make a survey, valuation, and partition of any waste lands in Ireland. The Board of Improvement will be vested with powers for bringing these lands into cultivation; and considering the embarrassed state of landed property in Ireland, the extent to which it is in the hands of creditors and courts of justice, and the difficulties which would arise from confusion of rights, if any particular assent were required before a commission of partition could issue, the Commissioners further recommend that the Board shall be authorized to issue a commission of its own motion in any case in which it may think proper, provided due notice be given of its intention to the parties interested, who may file objections to the same, which will be heard and disposed of by the Court of Review.

The Report proposes that main drains and roads which may be required in or through lands partitioned by the Commissioners of Partitions, for the purpose of being brought into immediate cultivation by the Board of Works, which, in consideration thereof, shall have an allotment of a certain part of each waste made to it in trust for the public; the extent to be proportioned to the charges incurred in making the survey, partition, drainage, and roads. The annual acreable value of the land comprised in each allotment made by the Commissioners of Partition is to be stated in their award; and it is recommended that each proprietor, whether he have a limited estate only, or hold subject to charges or incumbrances, shall have a right to make a lease of the share assigned to him, or of any portion of it, at a rent equal to the annual value so fixed, for a term of sixty-one years, to a tenant undertaking to inclose and cultivate the premises in such manner as shall be approved of by the Board of Improvement; and each party authorized to make such lease shall also be authorized to contract for the transfer in fee of part of the allotment made to him, to any person or company that shall undertake to inclose and bring the residue into good cultivation, provided the contract be made with the approbation of the Board of Improvement; and, when the work is satisfactorily perfected, a proper deed of transfer shall be executed, which shall be good against all parties whatever.

The Commissioners also recommend that the Board of Works be authorized and required to cause each allotment made to it to be fenced as well as drained, and to sell or let it in such portions, and subject to such conditions, as the Board of Improvement shall think expedient; and, when required so to do so by the said Board, to cause any part of such allotment to be improved, and hamlets to be built thereupon as model-hamlets, and to effect any other improvement thereupon that the Board of Improvement may think proper.

The Commissioners propose that the provisions of Mr. More O'Ferrall's Act, which empowers landed proprietors in Ireland to embank and remove obstructions in rivers; and also the provisions of the English Sewers Act, which is one of the laws of the Bedford Level, but is applicable to the whole of England, should be modified, incorporated, and extended, so as to cause all lands to be kept duly fenced and drained. They recommend that both draining and fencing, wherever necessary, shall be enforced by law, and that the Board of Improvement shall be authorized to appoint Local Commissioners for any district they may think proper for the purpose,—such Commissioners to be a Court of Record for their district; and that an engineer shall be named for each district by the Board of Works, who shall inspect all parts of the district before the periodical meetings of the Commissioners, and make a report upon the works which are required, such Report to be printed, and circulated throughout the district. The presentments made in open Court by the Local Commissioners, with the aid of a jury, to be carried into execution by rates levied for the purpose, but not before the time for making objections against them has expired. As the presentments might require a sum which it would not be possible to raise by a single rate, it is suggested that if rates beyond a certain amount per cent. were made payable to the Board of Works, and the Board, in consideration thereof, were authorized to advance the requisite sum at once, the Board of Improvement would be kept in funds for continuing operations. Powers are proposed to be given for enforcing the rate by entry and distress; but the rate may

be redeemed by the proprietor paying off, within a certain time, the sum in respect of which it had been laid on, and when redeemed it may be transferred.

As every outlay of money that has taken place in the making of roads, facilitating intercourse, and opening remote districts in Ireland, has not only tended to great local advantages, but, by improving the condition of the people, to a very great increase of the public revenue, the Commissioners recommend that the fund placed at the disposal of the Board of Works, to be employed for these and similar purposes, be considerably increased.

The Commissioners consider it advisable that the Board of Improvement should be enabled, as far as possible, to make provision for the occupants of cabins which may be nuisances, and, when such provision is made, to cause the cabins to be taken down; and that landlords should be required to contribute towards the expense of removing the occupants and providing for them. It is therefore recommended that, at the instance of the Board of Improvement, the Local Commissioners and jury shall present as nuisances any cabins within the district which may appear unwholesome, or calculated to generate or continue disease, and to present a certain sum for each; and that a portion thereof shall be raised off the property of the immediate landlord of the tenant, and the residue off the district at large; that it be paid to the Board of Works, and that the said Board, under the directions of the Board of Improvement, do let to each tenant whose cabin shall be so presented, a certain quantity of land out of some of the allotments to be made to it as aforesaid, for such term, and at such rent, and subject to such conditions as the Board of Improvement shall approve of; and that it shall assist him, to the extent at least of the sum presented for his use, in erecting a cottage thereupon, and shall cause the presented cabins to be taken down.

The occupiers of land who do the work of it themselves amount to about one-half of the whole class of labourers; they are at times employed on their own holdings – at others, they work for hire. At present, they are so utterly unacquainted with any good course of cultivation, that it is supposed they do not make the land they hold yield one-third of the produce it might, under proper management. They have no notion of alternate cropping, nor of house-feeding, nor of the value of manure, except as applied to a potato-garden. The Commissioners observe that the extraordinary improvement that has been wrought in their holdings, where proper attention has been paid to them, affords the hope that, by bringing agricultural instruction home to their doors, and affording them examples of order and cleanliness, and good cottier-husbandry, a general change will be effected in their habits and circumstances, and the whole of Ireland be essentially improved. They therefore propose, that an agricultural model-school shall be established for Ireland, and that a school, having four or five acres of land annexed to it, shall be established in each parish or other district that may be appointed by the Board of Improvement; that the master shall give instruction in letters and in agriculture; that he undergo due examination as to both before he be appointed, and that he be required to pursue an approved course of cropping on the land annexed to the school. The local Commissioners and jury shall present it, at the instance of the Board of Improvement for a site for the erection of a school with the requisite quantity of land, with the rent to be paid for the same in perpetuity.

The Commissioners are of opinion that improvements may be very extensively, though indirectly, promoted by all proprietors of lands who are tenants for life, or *quasi* tenants for life, being authorized to grant leases for thirty-one years thereof at the improved rent, and without fine, provided each lease be made with the approbation of the Board of Improvement, and contains covenants for due management; and they propose that proprietors, as above-mentioned, shall be permitted to charge the inheritance to a certain extent, with any sum which they may expend on lasting improvements, provided the expenditure be made with the approbation of the Board of Improvement, and that it do not exceed the amount of three years' annual value of land; and that it do not extend to ornamental works, or any buildings, save farm-houses and such out-offices and homesteads as may be required for them.

The Commissioners recommend that the fiscal powers of grand-juries be transferred to county Boards, the members of which should be chosen by those whom they shall be authorized to tax. They therefore propose that a fiscal Board shall be established in every county; that the number of the Board shall not exceed thirty-one; and that each county be divided into as many districts as there are quarter-session towns therein, and that a certain number of the Board be chosen from each district. The provisions for the constitution of the Board, and the mode in which its operations are to be conducted, are detailed in the Report, and appear to be of a liberal and comprehensive character. The Board, when constituted, is to exercise the power of making presentments for public works which is now possessed by grand-juries, and to be invested with the power of enforcing its presentments, subject to the revision of the Court of Review. A certain number of the Board to go out each year in rotation, and to be replaced, by election, as in the first instance. The proceeds of the county Boards are to be laid before Parliament, and due provision is made to ensure the just and equitable exercise of their functions.

The Commissioners, before entering upon the consideration of the measure necessary to be adopted for affording direct relief to the poor, notice two widely-diffused notions as to the injurious effects produced in England by the introduction of Irish corn, or other agricultural produce, and the migration of Irish labourers. They shew that, as the import of Irish produce in England has increased, so has the import of English manufactures into Ireland; and in reference to the other point, they direct attention to the valuable Report of G. C. Lewis, Esq., on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain, which shews that the Irish labourers, who settle in towns in England, and other parts of Great Britain, do not cause a redundancy, but supply a deficiency of labour; that they keep work going, not wages down; and that without them, capital could not increase and fluctify as it does to the general good of the community. Where the Irish are most numerous there wages are highest. Then, as to the labourers who arrive in Great Britain at the time of harvest, it is notorious that the crops, in many places, could not be saved without their aid.

Measures of direct Relief for the Poor.—After great consideration, the Commissioners adopt the opinion, that a legal provision should be made, and rates levied as hereinafter mentioned, for the relief and support of incurable, as well as curable lunatics, of idiots, epileptic persons, cripples, deaf and dumb, and blind poor, and all who labour under permanent bodily infirmities, such relief and support to be afforded within the walls of public institutions; also for the relief of the sick poor in hospitals, infirmaries, or convalescent establishments, or by extern attendance, and a supply of food as well as medicine, where the persons relieved are not in a state to be removed from home; also for the purpose of emigration, for the support of penitentiaries to which vagrants may be sent, and for the maintenance of deserted children; also toward the relief of aged and infirm persons; of orphans, of helpless widows with young children, of the families of sick persons, and of casual destitution.

To effect the several purposes above stated, the establishment of a Board, consisting of Commissioners, with power to appoint Assistant-Commissioners, is recommended, the said Board to carry into execution all such provisions as shall be made by law for the relief of the poor in Ireland.

After the country has been partitioned into relief districts, the lands in each are to be surveyed and valued, and lists prepared of the names of all proprietors of houses or lands within the district, and of all lessees and occupiers thereof, with full particulars of the nature of their respective tenures, and the annual value of such houses and lands respectively; and such lists are to be placed in some public office within the district; and objections to the list shall be heard before an assistant-barrister, whose decision shall be final, if not appealed against within a certain period.

The Local Board of Guardians for each district is recommended to be elected by the rate-payers, who are proprietors, lessees, and occupiers. A certain number of the Board to go out each year, and other persons to be elected in their stead, and the list of rate-payers to be altered

from year to year. The Board of Guardians to have the direction of all institutions for the relief of the poor which are supported by local rates, and it shall be their duty to cause them to be upheld and maintained.

National establishments are proposed to be formed of the following description:—Asylums for the relief and support of lunatics and idiots, and for the support and instruction of the deaf and dumb and blind poor; depôts for receiving persons willing to emigrate, and penitentiaries for vagrants; for the maintenance of which the Commissioners shall be authorized to assess a national rate upon the whole of Ireland, and to require the Board of Guardians of each district to raise a proportional share thereof,—regard being had to the annual value of each district.

The formation of institutions in each district is recommended for the support and relief of cripples and persons afflicted with epilepsy, or other permanent disease; also an infirmary, hospital, and convalescent establishment, and such number of dispensaries as may be necessary; each district being bound to provide for those institutions by local enactments.

On the principle that the United Kingdom must be benefited in a very great degree, and particularly in point of revenue, by the improvement which extensive emigration, coming in aid of a general course of amelioration, cannot fail to produce in Ireland, the Commissioners propose that one half of the expense should be borne by the general funds of the empire. And, considering the particular benefit which Ireland will derive from it, and especially those landlords who may thus be relieved from a starving population, they propose that the other half be defrayed partly by the national rate, and partly by the owners of the lands from which the emigrants remove, or from which they have been ejected within the preceding twelve months, provided that they previously resided thereupon for a period of three years.

Lessees who have sub-let to the emigrants shall be considered the landlords liable to the charge: the contribution thus payable to be added to the portion of the national rate allocated to each district; and the district at large, in case of non-payment by the landlord, to be answerable for it. Landlords of the rural districts only to contribute in the aforesaid manner.

It is proposed that, for the purposes of emigration, the Poor Law Commissioners shall have the power of borrowing monies from the Exchequer Bill Commissioners; and that arrangements be made between the Commissioners of Poor-Laws and the Colonial Office, by which all poor persons, whose circumstances shall require it, shall be furnished with a free passage, and with the means of settling themselves in an approved British colony to which convicts are *not* sent.

The Commissioners likewise propose that the means of emigration shall be provided for the destitute of every class and description who are fit subjects for emigration; that depôts shall be established, where all who desire to emigrate may be received; that those who are fit for emigration be there selected for the purpose, and that those who are not, be provided for under the directions of the Poor-Law Commissioners.

The Commissioners recommend the establishment of penitentiaries to which vagrants may be sent, and instead of being liable to transportation, as at present, that they shall be removed as free labourers to some colony; but that the wages of all able-bodied adults amongst them shall be attached in the colony until the expenses of their passage be defrayed, and that those who may be unfit for removal to a colony shall remain for a certain time in the penitentiary, and be there kept to such work as may hereafter be determined upon. Thus, by means of the provisions respecting emigration and vagrancy, all poor persons who cannot find the means of support at home, and who are willing to live by their labour abroad, will be furnished with the means of doing so, and with intermediate support, if fit to emigrate,—and if not, will be otherwise provided for; while the idle, who would rather beg than labour, will be taken up, and the evil of vagrancy suppressed.

The establishment of loan funds is recommended, to be administered under the direction of the Poor-Law Commissioners. The operation of these institutions will be exceedingly beneficial, as the poor, when compelled to purchase on credit, are frequently compelled to pay double, or nearly double, the market price.

A revision of the Act establishing regulations for preventing contagious diseases in Ireland is recommended, and the transfer of the powers which it confers to the Board of Guardians of each district, who shall elect officers of health for every parish within their jurisdiction. The officers of health are to be authorized to grant tickets of admission to the next emigration depôt to any poor inhabitants of their parish who may, on behalf of themselves, or of themselves and their families, demand such tickets from them, and also, where necessary, to procure means for passing such persons to the depôt; and it shall, also, form part of their duty to pass all persons, whom they may take up under the provisions of the Act already referred to, to a penitentiary; also to cause all foundlings to be sent to nurse to some remote place, under regulations to be hereafter determined upon by Parliament; such foundlings, when of a suitable age, to be removed to an emigration depôt, from whence they may be sent to an institution in some British colony, where they shall be trained and apprenticed to useful trades or occupations; orphan children to be provided for in like manner; and the funds for each of the above purposes to be raised by local assessments.

The rates for the relief of the poor are proposed to be levied in the following manner,—that is to say, one-third on the occupier of each house or tenement of land above the value of 5*l.* in respect of his occupation, and the remaining two-thirds in respect of the beneficial interest therein; the whole to be paid, in the first instance, by the occupier, who, if he be not the proprietor, shall be reprised as to the two-thirds payable in respect of the beneficial interest as follows,—that is to say, if the rate be 1*s.* in the pound on the annual value, he shall be entitled to deduct 8*d* in the pound from whatever rent he pays to his immediate landlord; and if such landlord be a lessee, he shall be entitled to deduct the like poundage from any rent which may be payable by him, and so upward, where there are several lessees. The Commissioners further recommend, that if the immediate occupier be a tenant-at-will, or from year to year, and hold a tenement of less value than 5*l.* a-year, he shall be entitled to deduct the whole rate from his own immediate landlord, who shall not be entitled to deduct the 4*d.* in the pound payable in respect of the occupation from the person, if any, under whom he may hold.

The Commissioners endeavoured to ascertain if it were not practicable to render the rate payable out of every description of property; but the difficulty of effecting this, except through very inquisitorial proceedings, compelled them to recommend that the land should be the fund charged in the first instance with it. The gross landed rental of Ireland amounts to less than 10,000,000*l.*; expenses and losses not less than 10*l.* per cent., 1,000,000*l.*; annuities and the interest of charges payable out of land, 3,000,000*l.* per annum; so that the total net income is less than 6,000,000*l.* The landed property of Ireland being deeply incumbered, the Commissioners think that the incumbrancers should be called upon to bear a proportional share of the burden, the security of their investments being bound up with the productiveness of the land and the well-being of its inhabitants. The individual who receives but a minute portion of the rent is not to be made liable for taxation as affecting the whole. A person paying any annual charge in respect of any beneficial interest in land, is to be authorized to deduct the same sum in the pound thereout that he pays to the poor-rate, as in the case already put of successive lessees.

The Commissioners recommend that the original rate shall never be raised by more than one-fifth, unless for the purpose of emigration, save by the authority of Parliament.

The Commissioners, at the conclusion of their Report, advert to some general matters connected with the objects of their Commission. In the first place, they allude to the baneful effects experienced by every class in consequence of the inordinate use of ardent spirits; and as such a barrier to improvement, both moral and physical, cannot be removed by direct legislative enactments, they state that the chief hope of amendment lies in the improved state of moral feeling which may be expected to grow out of the improved condition of the people. The Commissioners

strongly deprecate the mischiefs arising from the two licences of publican and grocer being combined; and trust that no question of merely fiscal policy will be suffered to interfere with the great and paramount object of reforming the moral habits of the country, and thus affording the best guarantee for its future prosperity.

The Commissioners suggest the following plan for creating a national fund that might be made available towards the charitable purposes for which a national rate must be raised, and which would render such a rate much less burdensome than it would otherwise be to the country This plan is founded upon the contingent settlement of the tithe question. The Commissioners observe, that the tithe composition payable for the whole titheable land of Ireland amounts to about 665,000*l.* a-year: of this about 555,000*l.* is for ecclesiastical, and 110,000*l.* for lay tithe. The highest value set upon tithe composition has been sixteen years' purchase. The whole tithe composition, purchased at sixteen years' purchase, would amount to 10,640,000*l.* A government annuity of 352,000*l.*, sold at the present price of three per cent. consols., would produce something more than 10,640,000*l.* Thus, if the Government purchased up the tithe composition, it would pay for it 10,640,000*l.*, and it could raise this sum by the sale of a perpetual annuity of 352,000*l.* Therefore, if the State purchased the tithe composition, and then vested it in the Poor-Law Commissioners as a fund for the relief of the poor, charged with an annuity equal to that which the State had to grant in order to raise the money for purchasing it, there would be a surplus of 313,000*l.* a-year applicable to the purposes of the national rate; while the 10,640,000*l.* might be invested in the purchase of rent-charges in Ireland, which would tend to reduce the interest of money, and enable landlords advantageously to pay off incumbrances upon their estates. The gain would result entirely from the difference in value between a government annuity and tithe composition; the former being worth thirty years' purchase and the latter sixteen.

The Report of G. C. Lewis, Esq., on the Irish Poor in Great Britain, is quoted in proof of the happy effects that may be produced upon the Irish of the labouring class by treating them kindly. There are, in Ireland, landlords who think of their tenants, and whose estates appear as green spots in a desert. The Commissioners observe that absentee landlords may, in some degree, compensate for their non-residence by putting in their place and stead active agents, who will feel that it is their duty, not merely to compel the tenant to pay his rent, but to take care that he may be enabled to make it. There are such agents in Ireland, and where these are, the tenants are comfortable and the landlord's rent is secure.

The employment of agricultural stewards, too, is now becoming general; they mix continually with the tenantry, and reform both their cottage economy and their husbandry. This is a most beneficial practice, and infinite good may be augured from it.

The following are among the concluding paragraphs of the Report:—

"We have now proposed such remedial measures as we hope will tend to ameliorate the general condition of the Irish poor: but, whatever may be their tendency, their efficacy, under Providence, must depend mainly upon those who possess power and influence in the country. It is only through these that the poor can be put into proper courses of industry, taught the value of comforts, or animated to exertions to procure them. In proportion as such persons are raised high, they have high duties to perform; they are endowed with wealth and intelligence, not as means of self-indulgence, or for effecting any sordid object of ambition, but as trusts for the good of their fellow-creatures, and which they administer under an awful responsibility. We earnestly hope that this may be felt and remembered by all who are elevated above the poor, and that they may act accordingly. Those who are uncivilized cannot civilize themselves; it requires external aid to enable them to improve. . . . . Upon the whole, we think there is a rising spirit of improvement in Ireland; but it must be stimulated by sound legislation, or it cannot speedily relieve the country from the lingering effects of the evil system of former times. What ought to be done, we trust will be done; the improvement of Ireland is of the deepest importance to every part of the United Kingdom; at present, with a population nearly equal to half that of Great Britain, she yields only about a twelfth of the revenue to the State that Great Britain does; nor can she yield more until more she has to yield. Increased means must precede increased contribution; and to supply Ireland with these is the great object of our recommendations. We anxiously hope that they may conduce to it, and that Ireland may at length become what Sir William Temple so long ago stated, that under good government she might be made 'one of the richest countries in Europe, and a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the Crown of England.'

"Rd. Dublin, D. Murray, James Carlile, F. Hort, John Corrie, J. W. L. Napier, W. B. Wrightson, Killeen, A. R. Blake, J. E. Bicheno."

EVIDENCE REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE.

The appointment of a Committee to inquire into the state of Agriculture, and into the causes and extent of the distress which affects some of its interests, was noticed in the "Companion" for March, and at the same time a list was given of the Members composing the Committee. Fifteen witnesses, conversant with the affairs of agriculture, had been examined up to the period at which the Committee reported the progress they had made in the inquiry, which is still pending. In giving publicity to the minutes of evidence already taken, the Committee do not, of course, express any opinion on the subject to which it refers, but postpone their Report until the investigation is brought to a close. The following is an abstract of portions of the evidence:—

W. Jacob, Esq., Comptroller of Corn Returns, examined.—Mr. Jacob advances the opinion that the consumption of wheat, relative to population, has been gradually declining for the last twenty years. The extent of land planted with potatoes has been gradually increasing, and within the last seven years to an astonishing extent; and the low price of wheat, to what extent it is impossible to say, may be partly attributed to the increased consumption of potatoes. This view is not the result of any accurate calculation—it is a matter of uncertainty and guess. Looking at the population in the northern districts, which are the most densely peopled, and the extent of potatoes cultivated in those counties, Mr. Jacob imagines there must be at least 2,000,000 of the inhabitants of England whose chief vegetable food is potatoes. He is acquainted with land cultivated formerly to wheat and beans, which is now cultivated to potatoes, especially in the vicinity of towns; but he is not able to state that the number of acres under cultivation to wheat is less than it was some years ago. There is a practice lately introduced of sowing wheat after potatoes where manure is plentiful, so that the same piece of land produces food for three people which formerly was only capable of affording sustenance for two. Within his recollection the labouring class, as well as every other, has improved in a most remarkable degree as compared with other countries. The higher classes certainly live more luxuriously, but the lower classes live much more luxuriously, according to their rank in life. Their circumstances are better, their food is better, and they live in houses of a different description. There never was a period, for any length of time, when a labourer with employment could command more of the comfort and conveniences of life, in respect of dwelling and clothing, and provisions and fuel, than at the present time. Employment is more abundant than it ever was, and there has been less fluctuation in the last ten years than formerly. In respect to agriculture there has, on the whole, been an improvement. An improved system, called the four course husbandry, places the interests of a farmer on a more enlarged basis. Mr. Jacob, being asked if the four-course husbandry could be maintained if wheat continued at its present low price? replied—That must depend upon other circumstances. In the four-course system the turnips are converted into mutton and wool, and much will therefore depend upon the price of mutton and wool for the first year. The second year comes the barley; the profits of that year depend upon what the brewers and distillers give for the barley. The third year comes clover; if it be used for fattening bullocks or sheep, farmers will look to the

price of beef, butter, or cheese for their profit. Then the fourth year comes wheat, to which, in former times, the former looked for his remuneration; and if he gets but half the price for the wheat, and gets an additional price on barley or oats, and a high price for meat, wool, butter, cheese and bacon, the farmers could still go on with a low price for wheat, seeing that the wheat occupies but one year in four.

Mr. John Brickwell, of Leckhampstead, Bucks, examined.—Mr. Brickwell occupies 700 acres of land, 150 of which are arable, and the remaining portion grass. He gave in a statement of the expense of growing wheat per acre on strong clay land, and shewed that, under the price which he was then receiving for the produce, a loss of 2*l.* 17*s.* an acre was sustained. The cultivation of stiff clay land is much more expensive than a lighter soil. Four horses are required to break it up from the stubble against a hill, and the second and third ploughings in the summer are performed by three horses. The cost of cultivating poor land, which produces only 20 bushels an acre, is the same as good land which produces 30 bushels. Where the land is all arable the low prices of wheat are the most ruinous. Only 150 acres of Mr. Brickwell's is under the plough, and it remains fallow one year out of four: the remaining 550 being grass land, and more remunerative, enables him to pay a fair rent. He occupies a larger portion of grass land than farmers generally. Since the depreciation in the prices of agricultural produce, many farmers have driven their farms to carry wheat, to make money to pay their rent, because wheat was selling higher. They grew wheat when barley ought to have been grown, and thus impoverished the soil. Mr. Brickwell attributed the recent advance in the price of wheat to the fact that it had been used for feeding cattle to a great extent. Within the last twelve months wheat has been lower than beans, in fact about 2*s.* a bushel cheaper, and hence it has been cheaper to give horses wheat than to give them beans. The price of beans is stated by this witness to be too high.

Mr. John Houghton, an extensive farmer in Berks and Bucks, a receiver of rents and land valuer, states that on the heavy clay lands the distress of the farmers is very great more than it is on the turnip and barley lands or grass land. The cultivator of light lands, having an opportunity of growing stock and wool, which obtain better prices than wheat, is in a much more comfortable condition. Wheat can be grown at a much lower price now than it used to be when it was grown on the heavy soils. On the whole of the lands from Louth to Boston in Lincolnshire, where, thirty or forty years ago, wheat was scarcely known, it is now extensively cultivated There have been improvements by drainage on the heavy soils, but not to the extent to which they have been carried on light soils. In cases where money has been borrowed on the heavy lands, the farmers have, in many instances, been swept away. This witness is of opinion that the effect of the rot in sheep, which was so disastrously experienced a few years ago, is now got over; and that the present high price of wool is owing to the prosperous state of the manufacturers. He suggests that relief might be afforded to the agriculturists, and without injury to the West India interests, by allowing a liberal drawback on the exportation of spirits distilled from British grain. The prices of barley, oats, and beans, are considered remunerating at the present time, taking them all together. In the witness's case he makes a considerable profit on rye straw, for which there is a great demand for thatching, brickmaking, and collar-making. The amended system of poor-laws is spoken of as the best thing which has been done for the farmers. Mr. Houghton is of opinion that, in consequence of the low price of wheat, the labourers consume a greater proportion than at any previous time. The consumption of potatoes has not occasioned a decreased consumption of wheat. He says: "I am certain it has not, in places where I have personal knowledge; and I am continually visiting the cottages, and turning my attention to the state of the poor. There is more wheat used now than when it was very dear." In consequence of the low price of wheat, horses, pigs, and beasts have been fed upon it to a great extent. The wages and profits of the handicraftsmen employed by the farmers do not bear the proportion which they ought to those of the farmer and farm-labourer. Mr. Houghton states that he has reduced his blacksmiths' bills very much, knowing what they ought to charge; but there are many small farmers who do not know what ought to be the blacksmiths' charges, and are paying them at the same rate they did some years ago.

Mr. John Rolfe, a farmer, an appraiser of farming stock, and a land-valuer at Beaconsfield, Bucks, states that, in the district with which he is acquainted, several farmers have latterly been obliged to give up their farms, and there are a great many now on the brink of ruin. There is a difficulty in getting tenants on poor soils. Within the last few years rents have generally been reduced about one-fourth. The business of a farmer was never one in which great fortunes could be made. During the war, farmers, by being very careful and industrious, might realize property, and many did so. The distress of the farmer is to be attributed, in many cases, to the loss of his sheep-stock, which he sustained a few years ago. Not having capital to obtain a fresh stock, the crops have not been so good as when a flock was kept on the farm, and the farmer has depended more upon the price of wheat. The wages and profits of wheelwrights and blacksmiths have, not come down in proportion to the price of corn. Tradesmen are paid better in proportion to the price of produce than they ever were. The condition of the agricultural labourer in employment is considered at present to be very good, and but few are unemployed.

Mr. John Kemp examined:—Is an occupier of 500 acres at Southminster in Essex, and has been on his farm eight years, and during this period he stated, that his losses, if he were now to leave it and the stock to be taken at a valuation, would amount to 3000*l.* The soil of this farm is good, neither heavy nor light, but of a mixed quality, and 400 acres are arable and 100 are in pasture marsh land, and the whole is taken at an average rent of 30*s.* an acre. The following is a statement of the expenses and the produce of the farm:—120 acres of wheat, averaging three quarters two bushels an acre, at 56*s.* a quarter, equal 1192*l.*; 30 acres of barley, at four quarters six bushels, at 30*s.* a quarter, equal 213*l.* 16*s.*; 30 acres of oats, at six quarters an acre, at 20*s.* a quarter, equal 180*l.*; 30 acres of beans, at three quarters one bushel an acre, at 32*s.* a quarter, equal 150*l.*; 30 acres of peas, at two quarters six bushels an acre, at 38*s.* a quarter, equal 156*l.* 15*s.*; 60 acres of clover, at 3*l.* per acre, equal 180*l.*; pigs and poultry, 60*l.*; total 2032*l.* 10*s.* Then as to expenses:—Lands at 30*s.* an acre, 600*l.*; tithe 6*s.* 6*d.* per acre, 130*l.*; labour 30*s.* per acre, 600*l.*; poor-rates about 50*s.*, equal 100*l.*; church rate 15*l.*; horse-keep for sixteen horses, at 15*l.* a horse, 240*l.*; allow wear and tear of horses, 3*l.* per horse, equal 48*l.*; wheelwright's bill about 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre, equal 30*l.*; blacksmith's bill 2*s.* per acre, 40*l.*; collarmaker's bill 10*s.* per horse, 8*l.*; malt and hops 30*l.*; corn factor's commission, freight and metage, 100*l.*; interest on capital of 3500*l.*, equal 175*l.*, and 5 per cent. more for skill and industry 175*l.* more, making a total of 2291*l.* Instead of getting 10 per cent., he had for the last three years been receiving only 2½ per cent. for his labour, skill, and capital. A month previous to the examination of witness wheat was from 42*s.* to 44*s.* per quarter, from 12*s.* to 14*s.* per quarter less than mentioned in the above estimate, which is the average of the preceding seven years; but at the period of giving his evidence it had risen from 8*s.* to 10*s.* per quarter. A deduction of one-third of the rent would enable this farm to realize ten per cent., or 350*l.* per annum, on a capital of 3500*l.*, and a less per centage would not, in witness's estimation, enable a farmer to cultivate the land to advantage. The parish contains 6000 acres; the poor-rates were formerly 1600*l.* per annum; last year they amounted to 1200*l.*; and the Poor Law Amendment Act is stated to be working favourably. Four or five years ago the supply of labour was redundant. The farmers are in a better condition now than they were three years ago, and consequently have been enabled to employ more men. The labourers have been very fully employed for the last three years, and they are as well off now with wages at 10*s.*, as when they were paid 12*s.* when corn was dearer. They consume quite as much bread as ever they did, and of a good quality. The farm servants live in cottages, and not with the farmer. Two of them who are single, lodge in the cottages of others who are married. This witness was unable to state on what particular portions of the farm his losses had been sustained.

Mr. William Thurnall examined:—Residence at Duxford, Cambridgeshire; occupies a farm of 400 acres, and is a maltster, miller, oil crusher, and general corn mer-

chant. The soil of his farm is light, and last year he lost the whole of his rent, and the year before 300*l.* The production of wheat per acre on an average of years is twenty-five bushels, and of barley nearly five quarters, but the quantity of barley last year did not amount to more than half this average. Instances have occurred where the crop of grain on this farm has been good, and six miles off, on the wet and heavy lands, there have been deficient crops. The labourers, in proportion to the value of corn, are receiving better wages than formerly, but their moral and physical condition is described as having considerably deteriorated owing to the want of employment. The witness adds:—"I will venture to say, that I could take my horse to the district in which I reside, and put the whole of it in a state of revolution; and any other farmer who is well known could do the same." Two or three fires had occurred last winter but one, and in the year and a-half previous to that there had been thirteen in one village. The last winter there had not been one, as one of the stack-burners had been executed. It was stated that the Poor Law Amendment Bill had scarcely come into operation in the above district.

Mr. Charles Page examined.—Rents a farm of about 1100 acres, chiefly arable, at Southminster, in Essex, and has lost money every year since he commenced farming in 1821. The same labour is employed upon the farm as there was ten years ago; wages have diminished, and are now from 9*s.* to 10*s.*; and the land is better cultivated than it was five or six years since. Farming has improved, but the farmer has deteriorated. There has been no land out of occupation at Southminster, but a great quantity in the neighbouring parishes was in the hands of the landlords two or three years, chiefly land of a very heavy, tenacious kind, expensive to cultivate, and requiring three horses instead of two. Some of these farms are again let, at a lower rent, and others are still in the hands of the landlords. In the opinion of witness the malt-tax had not been the cause of the farmer's distress; and when asked what was the prevailing opinion of the farmers as to the cause of the low prices? he stated that "there has been very little opinion entertained about it," and that "nobody pretends to give a reason for it." Accounts are kept of the sales and outgoings of the farm,—an account of stock is taken once a-year, but the accounts are not kept in a manner which shews on what portions of the farm a loss or profit has accrued.

G. Smallpiece, Esq., examined.—Occupies 500 or 600 acres of land of a great variety of soil, chalk and sand principally, near Guildford, and is also a land-valuer. In his opinion the condition of the farmer has been improved in the last few years, and the profits upon witness' farm have been greater this year than they were last. The expenses of cultivation have been diminished; but though the price of labour is less, it has not fallen in proportion to the decline in the price of corn, and the labourer was never better off. The poor-rates have been very much diminished in some parishes in Surrey, and average about 10 per cent. Farmers who have great numbers of sheep upon their farms, and who farm light barley land, are doing tolerably well; but the losses sustained by the rot have not been made up. All other grain but wheat is at a fair remunerating price, and the low price of wheat is attributed to the increased consumption of potatoes. In many parts of Surrey, where only one acre of potatoes was formerly grown, there are now ten. The labourer now subsists more upon potatoes than he did formerly, and the children live very much upon potatoes; and this practice has increased more particularly within the last two years. The labourers have allotments of land, and Mr Smallpiece adds,—"I have not a labourer who has not his 20*l.* worth of potatoes and pigs by him, generally speaking; this is not the case at present, as this year is a bad one." The poor-law has done a great deal of good. The following is given as the average number and price of lambs, bought by witness and his brother, for the last ten years—1714 lambs at 18*s.* 11½*d.* each, namely:—

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
1825 . .	23	1	1831 . .	21	7
1826 . .	13	9	1832 . .	17	5
1827 . .	18	0	1833 . .	22	10
1828 . .	20	8	1834 . .	23	3
1829 . .	16	9	1835 . .	16	0
1830 . .	15	10			

Mr. Robert Babbs examined.—Occupies a farm of 228 acres in Essex, 224 of which are arable, and the rest in grass. The rent is 14*s.* an acre, and seventeen years 30*s.* was paid for it. The soil is a heavy strong loam, and has borne a very good crop this year. It is under the six-course husbandry, namely—68 acres of wheat, 14 acres of barley, 20 of oats, 17 of peas, 17 of beans, 34 of clover, and 34 acres of fallow. The witness read a detailed statement of his sales and expenditure on an average of seven years, from which it appeared that the former amounted to 1089*l.* 18*s.*, and the latter to 1292*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*, the difference being a loss on each year of 202*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* The capital employed is 2000*l.*, the interest upon which is reckoned at 5 per cent., and 5 per cent. is added for labour and superintendence of the occupier. It appears that the rent in this average, which commences with 1828, is put down at 21*s.* an acre, although, in 1830, it was lowered 15 per cent. The rent paid in 1829 amounted to 302*l.* 8*s.*, or 21*s.* per acre; in 1830, an abatement of rent was made, and 225*l.* was paid, instead of upwards of 300*l.*; in 1831 only 200*l.* rent was paid; in 1832, about 250*l.*; in 1833, the same; and in 1834 the rent was reduced to 14*s.* an acre. The grass-land, amounting to 64 acres, upon which three-score sheep are kept, is not included in the estimate. The following extracts from the Evidence shew some of the difficulties of the present inquiry:—

Sir James Graham.—Do you keep regular books?—No; I do not keep regular books.

Do you take stock once a-year?—No.

How do you ascertain your profit and loss, if you neither keep books, nor take stock?—I take accounts of the sales of the produce of my farm, and of the expenses.

If you do not annually take an account of the improved condition of your stock, how can you say whether you are a gainer or loser by you farm?—I do not take a valuation of the farm, but I keep an account of the produce of the farm, and the charges upon the farm; but I do not go into a valuation to know whether the land is improved.

Do you, as a practical farmer, say that it is possible to know, year by year, what is the precise amount of your loss, without keeping regular books, and taking stock annually?—I cannot state the precise profit and loss annually.

Then, when you say you have lost 200*l.* a-year, is not that more conjecture than matter of fact ascertained?—No; I do not think it is.

The Chairman. The total amount of the reductions, upon your farm, in the expenses have been 174*l.* within the last three years—that is to say, the labour of 84*l.* less (per annum), and the rent 90*l.*, therefore there has been a reduction of 174*l.* in the expenses of your farm in the last three years?—I think it may be somewhere thereabout.

Do you consider that there has been a corresponding reduction in the value of your produce in that time? I do, in the value of the produce.

With respect to the price of barley, has there been any alteration in the price of barley in that period?—No; I think the price of barley is about the same.

The price of oats?—That is reduced.

What is the difference between the price of oats now and three years ago?—The price of oats now is 21*s.* a-quarter; in 1832, in was 20*s.* 5*d.*

In all other articles of farming produce, except wheat, has there been any material reduction of price within the last three years?—No, I think there has not—it has kept about the same.

You have put down nothing for the profit upon the sheep?—No; I have not taken the account of the sheep into the question.

Mr. Evans.—In your estimate of profit and loss, do you give credit for the maintenance of your family?—I consider that I keep my family upon the charge of per centage upon my capital.

The O'Conor Don.—When you state that your capital is lessening year by year, how can you now be better off?—I have had the good luck to bring some more money into my business; and I think I have improved the condition of my farm by the outlay of that capital.

Mr. Thomas Bowyer examined:—Is an occupier, at Buckden in Huntingdonshire, of 400 acres of land, half of which is arable and the other half in grass; paid

for labour on his farm, in 1832, 430*l.* and for the last three years about 350*l.* His rent has also been reduced 10 per cent. since 1832. All other articles bear nearly as high prices now as in 1832, with the exception of wheat; the low price of wheat did not make up for a difference of 80*l.* less in labour and 10 per cent. abatement on the rent. Of the tenantry of Huntingdonshire it is said that nearly half of them have almost nothing—they are at a very low ebb. The soil of Huntingdonshire consists of a strong clay, turnip-land and light woodland. The best turnip-land would pay a rent if corn were 5*s.* a bushel; but with that price, and other articles of produce in proportion, two thirds of the county would go out of cultivation. Mr. Bowyer states that the number of acres sown with wheat bears no proportion to what it did twenty years ago. In the last three years there have been three acres of wheat to one of barley; and, previously, it was three acres of wheat to five of barley. Then, the extraordinary produce of the last three years, owing to the not less unusual occurrence of three successive dry seasons, will account for the low price of wheat. But not only has the produce been heavy, but the wheat has been of a quality which gave an increased quantity of flour. From the low price of wheat, the labourer is receiving double the amount of food which he formerly did.

Mr. Henry Thornton, of Denham, Middlesex, examined:—Rents about 2000 acres, none of which is clay land, in Middlesex and Hertfordshire—states that light land farms will let, but that others will not. If the price of wheat were to be not higher than 6*s.* a bushel, and barley in proportion, tenants could be found readily for lands that will bear turnips on a four-course system. Upon the grazing part of witness's farm, there has been a profit rather than a loss since 1833; on the arable part the loss has been on the wheat crops; for barley there has been a fair price. A farm, consisting of land of an average quality, would command as good a price now as in 1833. Looking forward to the prospect of alleviations of local burdens, county-rates, and poor-rates, it would command a rise of 1*s.* or 2*s.* an acre. Witness had lost, during the last two years, the interest of capital employed upon his farm. One hundred men and boys are employed upon Mr. Thornton's farms—two-thirds of whom receive 10*s.* a-week, and one-third 12*s.* and 13*s.* a-week. The labourers were never so well off as at present. When a man earned 15*s.* per week, it took the whole of it, or nearly the whole of it, to buy him a bushel of flour. The labourers do not use so much bread as when it was much dearer. They do not use so much now by one-fourth as they did three or four years ago. Their wages are not lowered to the price of bread; therefore the man who has a large family and goes and buys his three pecks of flour, finds that it takes less of his weekly wages than formerly, and he is enabled to buy meat and beer for his family, and does not, in consequence, require near so much bread. They eat the best sort of bread; they will not eat the second bread they used to do, nor fat bacon: they are much changed within the last two years in this respect.

Mr. F. Sherborn examined.—Occupies, with his brother, 1600 acres near Staines. The farms are stocked as well in this district as they formerly were, but the farmers are stated not to be so well off. In consequence of the fine harvests of the last three years, the average weight of the wheat per bushel has exceeded that of the three preceding years. The wheat never made more flour than it does at present, and this circumstance may, to a certain extent, have affected prices. The price of meat has been low, and the labourers having consumed more, have required less bread. The food of the labourers is of finer quality to what it was formerly. There never was a time when they could command so large a proportion of the necessaries and comforts of life as at present.

Mr. J. Tillyer, an occupier of 1600 acres at Harmondsworth, attributes the low price of wheat to a succession of heavy crops. The produce of 1834, the largest ever known, at the same time was much damaged, the effect of which would be to lower the general average price. Mr. Tillyer provides lodgings for his labourers, but they find their own victuals, which, however, their employer dresses for them; he also gives away 60 quarters of malt, and at Christmas 50 stone of meat. They have a fire and a tub of beer always [illegible]. The labourers were never so well off as at present within his recollection. Wages are about 12*s.*, one or two labourers get 13*s.*, some 14*s.* and 15*s.*, and one man 18*s.* The poors'-rate, which had been 4*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, was expected to be reduced this year to 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Evan David, who occupies 730 acres near Cardiff, produced a statement of agricultural expenses and profits of cultivating 650 acres of land (450 arable and 200 pasture) in Glamorganshire, at three different periods, viz., 1790, 1813, and 1835. Expenses in 1790 amounted to 792*l.* 8*s.*; produce, 1852*l.* 18*s.* Expenses in 1813 were 1635*l.* 2*s.*; produce, 3408*l.* 16*s.* Expenses in 1835 were 1231*l.* 12*s.*; produce, 1984*l* 16*s.* Balance for rent, interest of capital, and superintendence and skill, 1060*l.* 10*s.* in 1790; 1773*l.* 14*s.* in 1813; and 753*l.* 4*s.* in 1835. He alluded to a large manufacturing establishment, employing a capital of 120,000*l.*, and 600 persons, which only contributed 90*l.* for poor-rate, road-rate, county-rate, and land tax, being only 1*s.* 6*d.* per cent.; while on his farm of 730 acres, which only employed a capital of 4000*l.* and 25 men, the same taxes amounted to 185*l.*, being rather more than 4*l.* 10*s.* per cent., or sixty times as much.

TREATY OF UNKIAR SKELESSI.

THE following is a Translated Copy of the Treaty of Constantinople, of the 8th of July, 1833 (called the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi); together with the Separate Article of the same date; printed by Order of the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Dudley Stuart:—

Treaty of Alliance concluded between Russia and Turkey on the 26th of June (8th July), 1833, communicated to his Majesty's Government by the Prince of Lieven, on the 6th of January, 1834.

Translation.

His Imperial Majesty, the most high and most mighty Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and his Highness the most high and most mighty Emperor of the Ottomans, being equally animated with the sincere desire of maintaining the system of peace and good harmony happily established between the two empires, have resolved to extend and strengthen the perfect friendship and confidence which reign between them by the conclusion of a Treaty of Defensive Alliance.

Their Majesties have accordingly chosen and named as their Plenipotentiaries; that is to say, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the most excellent and most honourable Alexis Count Orloff, his Extraordinary Ambassador at the Sublime Ottoman Porte, and the most excellent and most honourable Apollinaire Bouteneff, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Ottoman Porte, &c. &c.

And his Highness the Sultan of the Ottomans, the most illustrious and most excellent, the most ancient of his vizirs, Hosrew Mehmet Pacha, Seraskier, Commander-in-Chief of the Regular Troops of the Line, and Governor-General of Constantinople, &c. &c., and the most excellent and most honourable Ferzi Akhmet Pacha, Mouchir and Commander of the Guard of his Highness, &c. &c., and the most excellent and most honourable Hadgi Mehmet Akiff Effendi, actual Reis Effendi, &c. &c.;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Article 1. There shall be for ever peace, amity, and alliance between his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, their empires and their subjects, as well by land as by sea. This alliance having solely for its object the common defence of their dominions against all attack, their Majesties engage to come to an unreserved understanding with each other upon all the matters which concern their respective tranquillity and safety, and to afford to each other mutually for this purpose substantial aid and the most efficacious assistance.

Art. 2. The Treaty of Peace concluded at Adrianople, on the 2nd of September, 1829, as well as all the other Treaties comprised therein, as also the Convention signed at St. Petersburg, on the 14th of April, 1830, and the arrangement relating to Greece, concluded at Constantinople, on the 9th and 21st of July, 1832, are fully confirmed by the present Treaty of Defensive Alliance, in the same

manner as if the said transactions had been inserted in it word for word.

Art. 3. In consequence of the principle of conservation and mutual defence, which is the basis of the present Treaty of Alliance, and by reason of a most sincere desire of securing the permanence, maintenance, and entire independence of the Sublime Porte, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in the event of circumstances occurring which should again determine the Sublime Porte to call for the naval and military assistance of Russia, although, if it please God, that case is by no means likely to happen, engages to furnish, by land and by sea, as many troops and forces as the two high contracting parties may deem necessary. It is accordingly agreed that, in this case, the land and sea forces, whose aid the Sublime Porte may call for, shall be held at its disposal.

Art. 4. In conformity with what is above stated, in the event of one of the two Powers requesting the assistance of the other, the expense only of provisioning the land and the sea forces which may be furnished, shall fall to the charge of the Power who shall have applied for the aid.

Art. 5. Although the two high contracting parties sincerely intend to maintain this engagement to the most distant period of time, yet, as it is possible that in process of time circumstances may require that some changes should be made in this Treaty, it has been agreed to fix its duration at eight years from the day of the exchange of the Imperial ratifications. The two parties, previously to the expiration of that term, will concert together, according to the state of affairs at that time, as to the renewal of the said Treaty.

Art. 6. The present Treaty of Defensive Alliance shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Constantinople within the space of two months, or sooner if possible.

The present instrument, consisting of Six Articles, and to be finally completed by the exchange of the respective ratifications, having been agreed upon between us, we have signed it, and sealed it with our seals, in virtue of our full powers, and have delivered it to the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in exchange for a similar instrument.

Done at Constantinople, the 26th of June, 1833, (the 20th of the moon Safer, in the 1249th year of the Hegira).

(Signed) Comte Alexis Orloff.
A. Bouteneff.

Separate Article of the Treaty of Alliance concluded between Russia and Turkey, on the 26th of June (8th July), 1833, communicated to his Majesty's Government, by the Prince of Lieven, on the 16th of January, 1834.

Translation.

In virtue of one of the clauses of the first Article of the Patent Treaty of Defensive Alliance concluded between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte, the two high contracting parties are bound to afford to each other mutually substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance for the safety of their respective dominions. Nevertheless, as his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to spare the Sublime Ottoman Porte the expense and inconvenience which might be occasioned to it, by affording substantial aid, will not ask for that aid if circumstances should place the Sublime Porte under the obligation of furnishing it, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in the place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need, according to the principle of reciprocity of the Patent Treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the strait of the Dardanelles, that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatsoever.

The present separate and secret Article shall have the same force and value as if it was inserted word for word in the Treaty of Alliance of this day.

Done at Constantinople, the 26th of June, 1833, (the 20th of the moon Safer, in the 1249th year of the Hegira).

(Signed) Comte Alexis Orloff.
R. Bouteneff.

EXCISE DUTY ON SOAP.

The following is a summary of the recommendations of the Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry:—

1. That the present system of Excise survey on soap manufacturers be discontinued, and that they be at liberty to manufacture the article in any way, and of any material, they may think proper, subject only to such general superintendence of the officers of Excise as may be deemed necessary for the security of the revenue, such superintendence not to extend to any interference with the process of manufacture.

2. That the duty on hard soap be reduced from 1½*d.* to 1*d.* per lb.; and on soft soap from 1*d.* to ½*d.* per lb.

3. That the charge for duty be made on the soap when framed, and that previous to framing reasonable notice (to be agreed upon between the traders and the Excise) shall be given by the manufacturer of his intention to frame, so that an officer may be always in attendance during the operation of cleansing the soap from the coppers into the frames.

4. That the duty be extended to Ireland, and that the regulations be the same in both countries.

5. That a meeting should take place between the department of Excise and the manufacturers, for the purpose of discussing the question of shortening the present period allowed for payment of the country duties, and for settling some other points relating to facilities to be given for the making of experiments, for the purpose of improving the manufacture.

6. That the allowances to manufacturers be renewed before the period of their expiration, with a view of repealing, if possible, the allowance on soft soap, and materially diminishing that of hard soap.

7. That the penalties for breach of the laws affecting soap be revised, and more equally adapted to the offences committed, and that all laws relating to the manufacture be consolidated into one Act.

8. That the duties on various vegetable oils be materially reduced or repealed.

Lastly,—That the present survey of Excise on tallow-melters be reduced to an occasional superintendence, with a view to its final abolition.

STATISTICAL NOTICES OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

Cuba is the largest of all the West India Islands, being about 670 miles in length, and 110 in breadth in the narrowest part; and possessing a line of coast nearly 520 leagues in extent. The superficies of the island is upwards of 3600 square leagues.

The importance of Cuba consists not only in its vast extent, the fertility of its soil, and its convenient harbours, but also in its population, being composed of three-fifths of free people, whilst its favourable geographical position, adjoining Hayti and Jamaica on the south side, Campeachy on the west, and being within a few days' sail of Florida and the Bahama Islands on the north, renders it in a great measure the key to the Gulf of Mexico.

The climate of Cuba is considered quite as healthy as that of any other of the West India Islands, although situated almost within the limits of the Torrid Zone: the hottest months in the year are those of July and August, and the most temperate December and January. Hurricanes are not so frequent in Cuba as in other parts of the West Indies, but the north winds blow occasionally with great violence. A chain of mountains which runs through the whole length of the island divides it into two equal parts; the elevation is, however, not considerable.

The chief rivers of Cuba are the Guines, Canto, Maximo, and the Sagua, besides several rivulets, some of which are navigable for boats a few miles from their mouths.

Cuba is divided into four districts, the western part being within the jurisdiction of the Havannah, whilst the eastern side comprises the districts of Puerto Principe, Quatro Villas, and Santiago, containing altogether twenty towns, including two bishoprics. The whole population of the island is estimated at about 720,000 inhabitants, of whom one-half are whites, one-third slaves, and the remainder free people of colour.

The principal sea ports are those of Havannah and Matanzas on the north side, and Santiago and Trinidad on the south.

The city of Havannah, the capital of Cuba, is situated in lat. 23° N., on a promontory formed on one side by the sea, and on the other by a large bay nearly two and a-half miles in width: the entrance to the harbour is narrow, and defended by the Castle of the Moro on the east and Puntal on the west. The city is surrounded with walls and strongly fortified, being defended on the south side by the arsenal, on the north by the fort of Puntal, and on the west by three castles. The principal buildings consist of the cathedral, government house, dock-yard, arsenal, and the tobacco warehouses. The houses are mostly built of stone, but the streets are narrow and ill paved. There are two public walks, one within the walls called the Alameda, in which there is a fine statue of Charles III., and the other without the city: there is also a well laid-out botanical garden in the vicinity, and on the borders of the bay are numerous country seats, to which the inhabitants retire in the hot and unhealthy seasons. The population within the walls amounts to about 45,000 inhabitants, of whom one-half are people of colour and slaves, whilst the suburbs contain about 10,000 more inhabitants.

Sugar is the principal article of produce in Cuba: there are upwards of 800 sugar plantations in the island. The exports of sugar in 1834 amounted to 468,000 boxes, and in 1835 to 490,000; each box weighing about 3½ cwt. There are three qualities of sugar made in the island, viz., the white, mixed, and muscovado: the proportion being five-ninths of the first sort, three-ninths of the second, and one-ninth of the last. A sugar estate in Cuba, to produce 2000 boxes, requires 300 negroes: able-bodied negroes are valued at from 450 dollars to 500 dollars each, and their keep costs 45 dollars to 50 dollars a-year. It is estimated that sugar plantations return on an average a net income of about 6 per cent. per annum on the capital employed.

Coffee is the next important article of produce, and there are about 800 coffee plantations. In 1834 the exports of coffee amounted to 32,000,000 lbs. weight, and in 1835 to 28,000,000 lbs.

The cultivation of tobacco, although the Cuba tobacco is reckoned superior in flavour to that of any other country, has greatly decreased of late years, as the preference given to coffee-planting has occasioned the rental of land to increase more rapidly than the increase of capital. The average quantity of tobacco grown in Cuba is 10,000,000 lbs. weight, one-half of which is consumed in the island, and about 2,500,000 lbs are annually sent to Spain. The other principal articles of export are wax and hides: of the former upwards of 500,000 lbs. are annually exported, and of the latter about 60,000 lbs.

A valuable source of mineral wealth has arisen in the discovery of some copper mines, situated near the town of Colre, about ten miles distant from the port of Santiago, in the eastern part of the island, and which have been worked by some individuals for the last five or six years. A lease of this mine in perpetuity was granted by the King of Spain in 1832, exempting the produce from dues for the first ten years, after which period a duty of 5 per cent. is to be paid on the value of the copper contained in the ores. Up to the close of last year upwards of 800 tons of copper ore had been imported into this country from Cuba, the price of which averaged 21*l.* per ton.

Of all the Spanish colonial possessions, Cuba is that which has been the most prosperous: the revenue of the island for several years past has not only exceeded its expenditure, but has also added to the resources of the mother country in the late struggles with its colonies. Spain still defers recognizing the independence of Mexico and Columbia, and obliges Cuba to keep up a large military force, as a protection against any attack on the part of those States, and at the same time draws from the revenues of Cuba from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 dollars every year for her own wants.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

(Exclusive of Private Bills.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Bills which have received the Royal Assent:—

1. Slaves Compensation.
2. Capital Punishments Act Amendment.
3. Farnborough Road.
4. Reading Union Gas.
5. Hardwick's Inclosure.
6. Steiner's Naturalization.
7. Slave Treaty (Spain).
8. Indemnity.
9. Clifton Suspension Bridge.
10. Exeter Commercial Gas.
11. Reading Gas.
12. Bridgend Market.
13. Middlesex Hospital Incorporation.
14. Rochdale and Ealand Road.
15. Buckingham and Newport Pagnell Road.
16. Radcliffe Roads.
17. Wootton Common.
18. Orwell Common.
19. 20. 21. 22. Ring's, Darthez's, Focke's, and Michaelis's Naturalization.
23. Mutiny.
24. Marine Mutiny.
25. East Suffolk County Hall.
25. Cornwall Assize Hall.
27. Macclesfield Small Debts.
28. Birmingham and Gloucester Railway.
29. Bristol and Clifton Gas.
30. Manchester Improvement.
31. Richmond and Reeth Roads.

Bills brought in:—

March 22. Bill to amend the laws relating to bankruptcy in Ireland.—*Lord Plunket.*

— 24. Bill to abolish certain offices connected with the Court of Chancery in Ireland.—*Lord Plunket.*

— 29. Bill to repeal the several Acts now in force relating to bread to be sold out of the City of London and the Liberties thereof, and beyond the Weekly Bills of Mortality, and ten miles of the Royal Exchange; and to provide other regulations for the making and sale of bread, and for preventing the adulteration of meal, flour, and bread, beyond the limits aforesaid.—*Duke of Richmond.*

April 12. Bill to abridge and regulate the holding of benefices in pluralities, and to amend the laws relating to the residence of the clergy, and to the appointment and payment of stipendiary curates in England. *The Archbishop of Canterbury.*

— 25 Bill to grant certain powers to heirs of entail in Scotland, and to authorize the sale of entail lands for the payment of debts affecting the same.—*Lord Rosebery.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 24. Bill to enable persons to make deposits of Stock or Exchequer Bills, in lieu of giving security by bond to the Postmaster-General, and Commissioners of Customs, Excise-stamps, and taxes.

— Bill for the relief of persons elected to municipal offices, and entertaining conscientious objections to subscribe the declaration provided and enjoined by an Act made in the 9th Geo. IV., for repealing so much of the several Acts as imposes the necessity for receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a qualification for certain offices and employments.—*Mr. Baines.*

— Bill for the better regulation and protection of the fisheries, on the coast of England and Wales.

— Bill to remove difficulties which may arise from the confusion between calendar and lunar months in the computation of time.—*Mr. Pryme.*

— 25. Bill for the more perfectly uniting to the Crown the county palatine of Durham.—*Lord John Russell.*

— 29. Bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the stamp-duties.—*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

— Bill to regulate the navigation of steam-vessels upon certain parts of the river Thames.—*Mr. Alderman Wood.*

— Bill for the amendment of the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland.

— 30. Bill to render effectual powers of a former Act for enabling heirs of entail in Scotland, in possession, to burden their estates for the purpose of making turnpike roads and bridges thereon.

April 22. Bill to promote the observance of the Lord's Day.—*Sir Andrew Agnew.*

Declared by the House, "That, according to the established rules of Parliament, the Chairman of a Select Committee can only vote when there is an equality of voices."

The elevation of Mr. Dominic Browne to the Irish Peerage has occasioned a vacancy in the representation of the county Mayo.

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

(Exclusive of Committees to consider Bills.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

March 30. Committee to inquire into the existing facilities for intercourse between the United Kingdom and the colonies of North America, and the expediency and means of improving them.

- Committee to consider of some additions to the Library of the House, and of other matters relating thereto.

- 12. Committee appointed in the last Session of Parliament to consider the Bill, intituled, "An Act for enabling prisoners to make their defence by counsel or attorney," revived.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 23. Committee to consider the state of the salmon fisheries in Scotland.

ABSTRACTS OF RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

Power Looms.—A Parliamentary Return gives the following as the number of power looms in use in the various manufacturing districts visited by the factory inspectors:—In Lancashire 62,684, of which 61,176 are employed in the cotton manufacture, and the remainder in the woollen and silk manufactures, viz., 1142 in woollen, and 366 in silk. The number of power looms in Manchester is 15,960, Bury 9301, Blackburn 4256, and Ashton-under-Lyne 4018. The returns do not show the proportion for other places comprised in the Macclesfield district. The number of power looms in Yorkshire is 7809, of which 3885 are employed in the cotton manufacture, 3123 in worsted, and 801 in woollen. In Cheshire there are 22,913 looms—22,491 cotton, 411 silk, and 8 woollen; in Derbyshire 2403 looms—2403 cotton, and 166 silk; in Staffordshire 346, all of which are cotton looms; in Westmoreland there are 8 woollen looms; in Devonshire, 80 silk looms; in Essex, 506 silk looms; in Kent, 12 flax looms; in Leicestershire, there are 40 cotton looms and 89 woollen and worsted looms; in Middlesex, 8 cotton looms and 300 silk looms; in Norfolk, 24 silk looms; in Somersetshire, 71 woollen looms and 32 silk looms; in Warwickshire, 25 looms are used in the manufacture of girths, belts, braces, garters, &c.; in Worcestershire there are 7 riband looms; in Gloucestershire, woollen looms; in Montgomeryshire, 4 woollen looms; in Waterford, 339 cotton looms; in Wexford, 67; in Kildare, 52; and in Dublin, 23 cotton looms. In Scotland the number of power looms in use is 17,721, viz., 17,531 cotton, 168 linen, and 22 woollen. The number of cotton looms in Glasgow is 13,253. In the north of Ireland there are 935 cotton looms and 100 linen looms; and in the four northern counties of England the number is 221; 186 cotton looms at Carlisle, and 29 linen and 6 woollen looms at other places in these counties. The total number of power looms in use in the United Kingdom is 117,151; viz., in England, 95975; in Wales, 1939; in Scotland, 17,721; and in Ireland, 1516. This number is likely to be increased, as it is stated that in the manufacture of several articles the power loom had only been experimentally introduced, but that its success would occasion many more to be employed.

Punishments in the Army.—Within the five years, ending December 31st, 1835, there had been punished by the lash 1440 men belonging to regiments and depôts in Great Britain and Ireland, and 9591 had been imprisoned. Corporal punishment was inflicted on 1227 soldiers once only; on 172 twice; on 32 three times; on four times; and on 2 five times. Of the 1440 who received corporal punishment, 825 were also imprisoned, namely—294 once; 203 twice; 170 three times; 88 four times; 46 five times; 10 six times; 8 seven times; 4 eight times; 1 nine times; and 1 ten times. During the above five years, 415 men belonging to the Royal Marines received corporal punishment, namely—332 once; 70 twice; 12 three times; and 1 five times; and 1115 men had been imprisoned, namely—869 once; 171 twice; 56 three times; 17 four times; and 2 five times. Of the 115 who had been imprisoned, 263 had also received corporal punishment, namely—46, previous to imprisonment; 73, subsequent to imprisonment; and 44, both before and after imprisonment.

THE REVENUE.

ABSTRACT of the NET PRODUCE of the REVENUE of GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th of April 1835, and 5th of April 1836, showing the Increase or Decrease on each head thereof.

	Quarters ended						Year ended	Year ended April 5, 1835.		Quarter ended Apr. 5, 1836.		
	July 5, 1834.	October 10, 1834	January 5, 1835.	April 5, 1835.	July 5, 1835.	October 10, 1835.	January 5, 1836.	April 5, 1836.	April 5, 1835.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
CUSTOMS.													
Consolidated Duties	2,847,320	3,473,036	2,755,926	3,374,751	3,129,293	3,831,572	3,385,599	3,417,614	18,795,867	1,165,562	..	169,961	
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund			917,847	912,123	1,329,339	1,469,115	1,034,516	518,369	11,720,494	..	499,570	153,738	
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	1,220,887	1,472,444	304,049	..	4,000	..	..	..	6,612,806	47,685	..	43,497	
TOTAL CUSTOMS	£4,077,207	4,950,500	3,977,822	4,286,874	4,461,632	5,303,687	4,590,115	3,935,983	37,129,167	1,213,247	499,570	367,196	
EXCISE	3,033,500	3,924,750	3,484,200	1,688,554	1,302,018	4,007,375	3,347,763	4,963,314	17,920,805	1,067,509	..	702,709	
STAMPS	1,696,344	1,699,008	1,755,462	1,694,987	1,624,111	1,671,204	1,649,547	1,637,844	6,612,806	47,685	..	43,497	
TAXES	1,925,423	508,714	1,433,123	245,864	1,500,493	355,420	1,575,646	189,464	3,620,323	..	692,404	..	56,800
POST OFFICE	388,000	376,000	833,000	339,000	342,000	372,000	345,000	●306,000	1,425,000	..	33,000	7,000	
MISCELLANEOUS	5,473	1,712	38,447	10,283	10,789	16,513	21,576	16,743	65,621	..	9,990	5,725	
TOTAL ORDINARY REVENUE	£11,095,934	11,459,719	11,539,950	8,444,190	10,441,028	11,776,199	11,429,947	8,652,543	42,290,015	..	56,821	..	117,039
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	102,760	99,527	59,611	215,734	101,359	78,269	142,581	99,702	421,811				
TOTAL INCOME	£11,198,694	11,510,246	11,599,561	8,460,924	10,542,387	11,854,468	11,572,528	8,752,241	42,651,826	1,261,196	1,178,795	394,951	173,332
Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund	6,642,945	7,500,541	8,276,213	5,223,543	6,917,595	7,359,989	8,123,429	5,730,383	29,191,896	1,178,795	Deduct Decrease.	173,332	Deduct Decrease.
to pay off Exchequer Bills	1,220,987	1,472,464	302,048	..	..	1,462,116	1,034,516	503,339	3,000,000				
charged on Sugar Duty, as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	3,325,862	2,537,241	2,821,295	2,232,331	3,624,792	3,032,364	2,414,583	2,318,291	11,469,930	82,401	Increase on the Year.	221,619	Increase on the Quarter.
	£11,198,694	11,510,246	11,599,561	8,460,924	10,542,387	11,854,468	11,572,528	8,652,543	42,651,826				

Joint Stock Banks.—The following is a correct list of all the Joint Stock Banks which have been established under the Act 7 Geo. IV., together with the number of partners therein:—Bank of Birmingham, 227 partners; Bank of Liverpool, 441; Bank of Manchester, 552; Bank of South Wales, 7; Bank of Walsall, 112; Bank of Westmoreland, 154; Barnsley Banking Company, 118; Birmingham Banking Company, 311; Bradford Banking Company, 173; Bradford Commercial Banking Company, 160; Bristol Old Bank, 8; Chesterfield and North Derbyshire Banking Company, 98; Commercial Bank of England, 444; Coventry and Warwickshire Banking Company, 261; Cumberland Union Banking Company, 52; Darlington District Joint Stock Banking Company, 247; Derby and Derbyshire Banking Company, 204; Devon and Cornwall Banking Company, 146; Dudley and West Bromwich Banking Company, 190; East of England Bank, 534; Gloucester County and City Bank, 23; Gloucestershire Banking Company, 265; Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, 178; Hampshire Banking Company, 141; Holywell Bank, North Wales, 7; Huddersfield Banking Company, 335; Hull Banking Company, 247; Knaresborough and Claro Banking Company, 160; Lancaster Banking Company, 127; Leamington Bank, 157; Leamington Priors and Warwickshire Bank, 135; Leeds Banking Company, 451; Leeds and West Riding Banking Company, 161; Leicestershire Banking Company, 101; Leith (Carlisle) Banking Company, 9; Lichfield, Rugeley, Tamworth Banking Company, 98; Lincoln and Lindsey Banking Company, 230; Liverpool Commercial Banking Company, 263; Liverpool Tradesmen's Bank, 542; Manchester and Liverpool District Bank, 1054; Mirfield and Huddersfield Banking Company, 263; National Provincial Bank of England, 485; Norfolk and Norwich Joint Stock Banking Company, 125; North of England Joint Stock Banking Company, 571; Northern and Central Bank of England, 1204; North Wilts Banking Company, 152; Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Banking Company, 272; Pare's Leicestershire Banking Company, or the Leicestershire Union Banking Company, 15; Saddleworth Banking Company, 114; Sheffield Banking Company, 225; Stamford and Spalding Joint Stock Banking Company, 85; Stourbridge and Kidderminster Banking Company, 223; Stuckey's Banking Company, 34; Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Banking Company, 238; York City and County Banking Company, 207; York Union Banking Company, 277; Yorkshire District Bank, 680; Wakefield Banking Company, 192; Warwick and Leamington Banking Company, 122; West of England and South Wales District Bank, 469; Whitehaven Joint Stock Banking Company, 236; Wilts and Dorset Banking Company, 299.

British Museum.—The usual accounts of the Income and Expenditure of the British Museum for the Year 1835; of the estimated Charges and Expenses for the Year 1836, and of the Sums necessary to discharge the same; and an Account of the Number of Persons admitted to view the same have just been published.

No. 1, exhibits a General Account of all Receipts, from Christmas, 1834, to Christmas, 1835, and is as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, December 26, 1834		248	3	3½
Fourth Instalment of Parliamentary Grant for 1834-5		4,254	5	0
Parliamentary Grant for 1835-6	£17,796			
Fourth Instalment for Qr. ending Lady-day, 1836, not received	4,449			
		13,347	0	0
One Year's Dividends on 30,000*l.* Red. Ann.		900	0	0
Do. on 12,972*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* Three per Cent. Cons. bequeathed by the late Earl of Bridgewater, for the purposes named in his Lordship's Will		389	15	8
Rent of a real Estate also bequeathed by the said Earl of Bridgewater, for the purposes named in his Lordship's Will		26	0	5
Cash received by the Sale of the Synopsis		308	11	0
Cash by the sale of other Museum Publications		120	6	0
Balance of Imprest to Mr. Baber returned, not having been expended		9	6	8
1. [illegible]				
2. Cash [illegible] Amer		£19,603	8	0½

No. 2, shews the actual Expenditure from Christmas, 1834, to Christmas, 1835, and estimated Expenditure from Lady-day, 1836, to Lady-day, 1837.

	1835. £.	s.	d.	1836. £.
Salaries of Officers of the old Estab.	4,400	0	0	4,400
Salaries of Assistants	*1,254	17	0	*1,520
Salaries and Wages of Attendants and Servants	*3,278	8	0	*3,350
Salaries of Librarians for the King's Library	740	0	0	740
Salaries of Officers for the Banksian Collections	500	0	0	500
Attendants on Stoves, & Labourers	198	5	0	200
Supernumeraries employed on Oriental MSS.; on Greek Papyri; and in indexing Minutes	*90	14	0	*400
Supernumeraries employed on various Catalogues of Printed Books	620	4	0	*950
Rent, Rates, and Taxes	198	9	7	200
Coals, Coke, and Faggots	462	6	0	460
Candles, and Gas Light Company	86	11	8	100
Incidents for sundry Articles of Domestic Use, &c.	236	17	4½	250
Repairs, fitting up Shelves, &c. not paid by the Board of Works	371	15	1	350
Stationery	180	19	6	200
Binding of Books, and Manuscripts, and Portfolios, and unrolling and framing Papyri	963	5	6	1,200
Purchase of Manuscripts	540	2	9	500
Purchase of Manuscripts pursuant to the Will of the late Earl of Bridgewater	3	19	3	—
Purchase of Manuscripts, special for this year	.	.	.	2,000
Purchase of Printed Books	1,969	15	8	2,000
Purchase of Minerals and Fossil Remains	459	15	9	1,150
Purchase of Zoological Specimens	198	14	0	
Cabinets, Spirits of Wine, &c., for preserving the Mineralogical and Zoological Collections	288	8	4	
Purchase of Specimens to continue Sir J. Banks's Botanical Collections	11	17	9	80
Cabinets for Botany	.	.	.	100
Purchase of Coins, Medals, and Antiquities	497	13	0	800
Cabinets for Coins and Gems	.	.	.	50
Purchase of Prints and Engravings	372	0	6	250
Printing and stitching Synopsis	313	13	6	300
Printing List of Additions, Tickets, Rules, &c.	87	7	6	100
Printing Catalogues of Manuscripts	155	19	0	250
Printing Description of Ancient Marbles	153	13	0	100
Drawings from Ancient Marbles	179	11	0	150
Engravings from Ancient Marbles	212	11	0	400
Drawings and Engravings of Egyptian Inscriptions	16	16	0	—
Towards making Moulds of Elgin Marbles	.	.	.	500
Law Expenses	31	13	0	50
Treasury and Exchequer Stamps	—			—
Totals	19,076	4	6½	23,600

The Balance available for the service of the year ending Lady-day, 1837, is 1626*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; and the amount required 21,974*l.* Of a Special Parliamentary Grant of 6000*l.* for the purchase of Egyptian antiquities, the amount expended is 5081*l.* 16*s.*; and there remains with the Lords of the Treasury unexpended, the sum of 918*l.* 4*s.*

The number of persons admitted to view the General Collections in the British Museum was 71,336 in 1829;

* *Mem.*—The additional charge in these items is to be attributed chiefly to an increase in the number of Assistants and Attendants, and to a provision for an increased number of Copyists, for the purpose of furnishing the Public in the Reading Rooms with a complete Catalogue of the Printed Books within the current Year.

99,912 in 1830; 147,396 in 1831; and the following is a detailed return for the last three years:—

	1833. No.	1834. No.	1835. No.
January	16,318	16,977	17,431
February	12,464	16,639	15,309
March	17,738	16,181	17,918
April	12,994	16,252	20,355
May	19,485	19,057	37,054
June	28,821	36,652	35,565
July	36,191	36,485	50,951
August	28,260	26,144	35,151
September	207	485	463
October	19,932	29,160	32,466
November	11,626	12,216	13,882
December	6,459	11,088	12,559
	210,495	237,366	289,104

Number of visits made to the Reading Rooms for the purpose of study or research, about 1950 in 1810; 4300 in 1815; 8820 in 1820; 22,800 in 1825; 31,200 in 1830; 38,200 in 1831; 46,800 in 1832; 58,800 in 1833; 70,266 in 1834; 63,466 in 1835.

Number of visits, by artists and students, to the Galleries of Sculpture, for the purpose of study, 4938 in 1831; 4740 in 1832; 4190 in 1833; 5645 in 1834; 6081 in 1835.

Number of visits made to the Print Room, about 4100 in 1832; 2930 in 1833; 2201 in 1834; 1065 in 1835.

Internal Corn Trade.—The Appendix to the Evidence taken by the Select Committee on the State of Agriculture contains an account prepared by the Comptroller of Corn Returns, of the total number of quarters of wheat sold annually in each of the 149 markets from which Returns are made agreeably to the Acts of 7, 8, and 9 Geo. IV.: and also an Account of the aggregate number of quarters of wheat returned during the last three years, which latter is as follows:—

Years.	Quarters.	Bushels.
1833	3,576,653	1
1834	3,768,602	6
1835	3,927,620	5

The markets in which the quantity of wheat sold in 1834 exceeded 30,000 quarters per annum, are the following: and the quantity sold in each of the two previous years is also given:—

	1832.	1833.	1834.
Birmingham	69,139	67,508	66,164
Boston	78,173	92,925	131,370
Bristol	30,042	43,776	43,342
Bury	35,406	40,897	38,907
Cambridge	25,216	42,588	48,536
Canterbury	35,681	41,673	41,737
Chelmsford	56,927	68,231	67,338
Chichester	32,194	37,475	33,959
Colchester	48,603	53,062	51,668
Fakenham	22,664	27,822	32,810
Hertford	33,895	38,011	31,119
Hull	34,989	53,362	47,572
Ipswich	53,325	61,396	57,400
Leeds	128,473	136,179	165,693
Lincoln	42,861	46,107	65,228
Liverpool	168,170	153,632	155,155
London	362,495	373,730	409,211
Lynn	92,199	95,764	93,694
Manchester	61,120	54,169	66,556
Newark	28,877	35,581	46,768
Newcastle	64,161	59,740	63,207
Northampton	28,814	30,452	33,391
Norwich	95,310	94,929	84 069
Nottingham	51,414	46,127	44,393
Reading	32,897	36,113	32,759
Romford	31,908	40,901	37,038
Uxbridge	39,325	40,822	35,952
Wakefield	183,460	202,139	263,117
Wisbeach	68,189	86,234	122,198
Woodbridge	32,668	40,805	42,228
York	43,179	58,014	54,168

Consumption of Rape-seed, Rape-cake, and Linseed cake, and of Bones, as Manure.—The following is an abstract of a Return prepared at the Custom-house for the use of the Committee on Agriculture. The importations for Scotland are included in this Return for each of the above articles; but without giving the quantities for each year, it may be sufficient to state that the use of rape-seed appears to be comparatively unknown in that part of Great Britain—that the consumption of linseed and other oil-cakes averages not quite one-eighth of the quantity imported in England; and that of the bones imported, which are intended to be used as manure, nearly one-fourth are employed for that purpose in Scotland. The following table has reference entirely to the importations into England:—

Years.	Rape-seed, qrs.	Oil-cakes, cwts.	Bones, Declared Value.
1821	9,091	110,030	£ 15,[illegible]
1822	30,963	75,019	9,[illegible]
1823	16,992	170,540	14,[illegible]
1824	74,561	488,872	43,[illegible]
1825	60,637	673.957	86,[illegible]
1826	73,449	510,824	94,[illegible]
1827	63,378	479,006	77,[illegible]
1828	53,587	478,886	59,782
1829	47,287	356,037	59,741
1830	66,195	298,979	58,233
1831	50,891	419,155	65,623
1832	72,744	398,253	77,847
1833	74,079	440,097	97,909
1834	62,733	537,367	118,121
1835	94,304	344,762	127,131

The duty paid on rape-seed, imported into England in 1825, exceeded 55,000*l.*, and, in 1835, amounted to 4316*l.*; duty on oil-cakes, in 1825, 5618*l.*; in 1835, 2918*l.*; duty on bones as manure, in 1825, 865*l.*; in 1835, 1309*l.*

Vagrants.—A Parliamentary Return shews the expenses incurred by different counties in England in removing poor persons to Ireland, Scotland, and the Isles of Man and Scilly, during the year 1834. In the county of Bedford, 36 Irish and Scotch paupers were removed at an expense of 7*l.* 19*s.*; Berkshire, 1 pauper, 3*l.*; Cambridge, 51 Scotch, 11*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*; Chester, 54 paupers, 92*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; Cornwall, 1 Irish, 3*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*; Devon, 6 Irish, 6*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; 26 Scotch, 5*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*—Total, 12*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* Durham, 375 paupers, 49*l* 2*s.*; Essex, 15 Irish, 27*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*; Gloucester, 14 Scotch, 11*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; 23 Irish, 15*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*—Total, 27*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* Lancaster, 1,873 Irish, 49 Scotch, 683*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; Leicester, 15 removals, 34*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*; Lincoln (return imperfect), 1 removals to the Isle of Man, 19*l.* 4*s.*; City of London, 84 Irish, 1 Scotch, 96*l.* 8*s.*; Middlesex, 709 Irish, 25 Scotch, 1,112*l.* 1*s.*; Monmouth, 115 Irish, 122*l* 8*s.*; Northumberland, 10 Scotch, 5 Irish, 22*l.* 11*s* 4*d.*; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 12 paupers, 28*l.* 8*s.*; Oxford, 11 Scotch, 12 Isle of Man, 5 Isle of Scilly, 77*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*; Rutland, 6 Irish, being 2 removals of the same individuals, 24*l.* 13*s.* 10*d* ; Somerset, 4 Irish, 6*l.* 9*s.*; Stafford, 16 men, 26 women, and 67 children to Ireland; 11 men, 27 women, and 89 children to Scotland; to the Isle of Scilly, 32 men and women, and 145 children, 616*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; Suffolk, a man, his wife, and eight children to Ireland, 28*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; a man and six children, 23*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*—Total, 51*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* Surrey, 61 removals, 70*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*; Westmoreland, 5 Irish, 5*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*; York, East Riding, 6 paupers, 16*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; York, North Riding, 9 paupers; York, West Riding, 242 removals, all Irish but 6, 436*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*, including the expenses of preparing a vagrant depot at Wakefield; York City, 3 Scotch, 5*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* The expenses are charged on the county rate by 3 & 4 William IV., c. 40. This Act has considerably reduced the costs of removing vagrants. When the mileage was higher, many individuals were constantly moving from one place to another, solely for the purpose of obtaining the allowance. The mileage in Kent, as established by the magistrates in 1816, was so high, that in sending a man, his wife, and four children, from Dover to Canterbury, sixteen miles, it was 10*s.* more than a post-chaise and four would have been. In 1832, the sum charged on the county rates in England for the removal of vagrants amounted to 28,597*l.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bankruptcy Analysis from March 20 to April 24.

Agent 1; auctioneers, 2; beer retailer, 1; brewers, 2; brass-founder, 1; builders, 2; butchers, 2; chandler, 1; chemist, 1; cheesemongers, 2; clothier, 1; coach-makers,

3; coal-merchants, 2; cord-wainers, 2; cotton-spinner, 1; drapers, 8; dyer, 1; earthenware manufacturer, 1; factor (Birmingham), 1; flax-spinner, 1; fruiterer, 1; grocers, 5; hat-manufacturers, 2; horse-dealer, 1; hosier, 1; iron-founder, 1; jeweller, 1; joiner, 1; lace-dealer, 1; linen-manufacturer, 1; livery-stable keeper, 1; lodging-house keepers, 2; mariner, 1; miller, 1; mercer, 1; merchants, 3; oilmen, 2; packer (Manchester), 1; painter, 1; plumber, 1; printer, 1; rope-maker, 1; saddler, 1; schoolmistress, 1; scrivener, 1; ship-owner, 1; silversmith, 1; tailors, 2; timber-merchant, 1; victuallers and innkeepers, 8; warehouseman, 1; wheelwright, 1; wine-merchants, 4.—Total, 91; from the 28th of December, 326.

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from 'The London Gazette,' of Friday, April 22:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats	Rye	Beans	Peas
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Week ending April 19	48 8	32 1	21 1	29 7	35 7	38 4
Same period last year.....	38 10	32 5	23 3	32 5	36 6	36 0
Average of last six weeks .	46 1	30 7	21 7	30 0	35 4	35 5
Duty on foreign corn.....	40 8	16 10	15 3	21 3	16 9	16 9

Bank of England.—Quarterly Average of the Weekly Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, from January 12 to April 5, 1836, inclusive, published pursuant to Act 3 and 4 William IV., c. 98.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£18,063,000	Securities	£27,927,000
Deposits	14,751,000	Bullion	7,801,000
	£32,814,000		£35,728,000

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

March 26.	April 2.	April 9.	April 16.	April 23.
91⅛	91¼	92	91⅛	91⅞

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar per cwt., computed from the returns published in the London Gazette:—

Weeks ending March 22, . .	38*s.* 0½*d.*
„ March 29, . .	38*s.* 2½*d.*
„ April 5, . .	38*s.* 4*d.*
„ April 12, . .	38*s.* 3*d.*
„ April 19, . .	38*s.* 8½*d.*

Sweden.—The following details are taken from tables which have been recently prepared by the Swedish Government:—From January, 1822, to December, 1834, the freehold property of the nobility had *decreased* to the amount of 631,362; that of the middle class had *increased* by 360,176*l.*; and that of the peasantry had increased by 271,599*l.* The unredeemed mortgages of the property of the three classes are stated to be—of the nobility 2,511,661*l.*; middle class, 2,222,774*l.*; peasantry, 2,247,375*l.* All transfers of land are registered, and all individuals are divided by law into these three classes; so that the accuracy of the above calculation may be relied on.

Holland.—We learn from official documents, that the population of Holland, on the 1st of January, 1835, was as follows:—North Brabant, 335,150; Gelderland, 323,167; North Holland, 420,315; South Holland, 492,918; Zealand, 140,342; Utrecht, 134,364; Friesland, 217,882; Overyssel, 186,062; Groningen, 166,164; Drenthe, 67,230—total, 2,503,624 souls. In the year 1834, there were born in the Northern Netherlands, 87,392 children; the deaths were 68,124; the marriages, 21,281.

Canton of Luzern, Switzerland.—The official Returns for the year 1834 state the revenue of this canton to have been 355,181 Swiss francs (about 24,350*l.*), and the expenditure 357,524 Swiss francs (about 23,354*l.*)

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

The Postmaster-General and the Commissioners of the Board of Excise have respectively issued orders prohibiting all persons having connexion with these establishments from belonging to Orange Lodges.

It is understood that the Convention recently entered into between the authorities connected with the French and English Post Office will take effect in the month of June next. Newspapers exchanged between the two countries will be subject to a postage of one halfpenny in England, and four centimes, or about the same amount, in France. At present twopence is paid in England, and fivepence in France, on a newspaper transmitted from London to Paris, while in future a postage of only one penny (one halfpenny in England and one halfpenny in France) will be charged on newspapers destined for either country. The cost of a daily newspaper on the Continent is enormous; but the proposed reductions, both in the stamp-duty and postage, will doubtless occasion a great increase in the number of English newspapers circulated in France.

A meeting has been held at the London Coffee-House, the Lord Mayor in the Chair, to establish a society for the protection of life from fire. It was stated that, within the last twelve months, fourteen lives had been lost at fires.

The "Cygnet," with the first party of emigrants to the new colony of South Australia, has sailed from Gravesend. Eight gentlemen have gone out as surveyors, taking with them upwards of twenty artisans and labourers, a surgeon, steward, and harbour-master.

At the last Limerick assizes, the high-sheriff, Vere de Vere, Esq., presented Judge Perrin with a pair of white gold-fringed gloves, sentence of death not having been passed on any prisoner tried.

March 22. Death of the Right Reverend Christopher Butson, Bishop of Killaloe and Clonfert, aged 89.

29. At a meeting of the newspaper proprietors of Ireland, a Committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the House of Commons, and a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, praying that, in case a penny duty should be established in England, the duty in Ireland should be one penny. At a meeting of the Trades' Political Union, Mr. Lawless moved a resolution to the effect that the equalization of the duties would be "a complete extinguisher of the Irish press." No allusion was made at this meeting to the existence of 50 newspapers in Scotland, although they paid the same duty as the newspapers published in England

31. Death of the Hon. and Right Reverend Henry Ryder, Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, aged 59.

— Death of Mr. Ruthven, M.P. for the city of Dublin, aged 63.

April 4. The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ely (Dr. Sparke) died at Ely House, aged 77.

— Dinner given to Mr. O'Connell at Nottingham; and in the same week the Honourable Member visited York and Hull, by invitation, where public dinners were given to him.

7. Death of William Godwin, aged 81, author of a work on "Political Justice," the novel of "Caleb Williams," and other works.

8. A little after midnight the statue of King William the Third, on horseback, on College-green, Dublin, was blown up by gunpowder. The statue stood on a pedestal eighteen feet in height, surrounded by an inclosure of iron railing, the summit of the statue being about thirty feet from the level of the street. It was situated almost in a central position between the Bank of Ireland and the College, and not more than ten or a dozen yards from some houses. The report was heard for a considerable distance in the neighbourhood, and the lamps in the streets were extinguished by the concussion. The figure was of lead, and, though weighing several tons, was blown up some distance in the air, and fell a few paces distant from the pedestal. The authors of the plot have not yet been discovered.

12. "The Gazette" announces that Dominic Browne, Esq., M.P. for the county of Mayo, has been raised to the dignity of a Baron of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, by the name, style, and title of Baron Oranmore and Browne, of Carra Browne Castle, in Oranmore, in the county of Galway, and of Castle Mac Garrett, in the county of Mayo.

Just Published, Price 2s.,

THE ABOLITION OF ARREST and IMPRISONMENT for DEBT CONSIDERED, in Six Letters addressed to a Constituent. By B. Hawes, Jun., Esq., M.P.

B. Fellowes, Ludgate-Street.

A SURGEON in a respectable Practice in the Country, has Two Vacancies for ARTICLED PUPILS. As a Dispenser is kept, the time of the Pupils will be chiefly devoted to the acquirement of General and Professional Knowledge.

Apply (if by Letter) post paid, to Messrs. Corbyn and Company, Chemists, 300, Holborn.

TO THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND PUBLIC.

London, 1836.

FAMILIES OF DISTINCTION, and Visiters to the Metropolis at this Season, who frequently experience great difficulty in suiting themselves with Furnished or Unfurnished Houses, owing to the great demand, are respectfully informed every attention will be afforded in the HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY DEPARTMENT of Henry L. Cooper in obtaining or disposing of the same, or in the Selling, Letting, or Valuing any description of Property in Town or Country.

From the central situations of the Establishments in their respective commanding localities, every facility is rendered to Families honouring his House with their instructions, and offering the advantage of a double Register, usually replete with eligible properties.

The general introduction of Plate Glass for Windows, Carriages, Conservatories, Internal Decorations, &c., has induced H. L. C. to annex a Tariff of Sizes adapted to those uses, with Prices exceedingly moderate, but of a Quality not to be excelled; also is added, an outline of his general business comprising the Cabinet, Upholstery, and Decorative Departments, in each of which the most careful attention is paid both to Quality and Cost.

HENRY L. COOPER,

Plate Glass and Furniture Warehouses,

93, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN,

AND

WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT STREET,

(Nine Doors from Regent Street, Left Hand side.)

Among the variety of Articles above referred to, will be found LOOKING-GLASSES of every denomination and size, varying from one foot to eighty feet and upwards, PLATE-GLASS for Windows, Carriages, &c., which possess great advantages over crown, and when required for exportation, a considerable drawback obtained.

Annexed are the Prices of Current Sizes of Plate glass, for Sashes, &c.

In	Inches. 16	Inches. 18	Inches. 20	Inches. 22	Inches. 25	Inches 28	Inches. 30
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 7 5	0 9 3	0 10 6	0 11 9	0 13 8	0 15 6	0 16 11
12	0 9 3	0 11 6	0 13 0	0 14 6	0 16 11	0 19 8	1 1 6
14	0 11 2	0 13 9	0 15 6	0 17 6	1 0 9	1 3 11	1 6 1
16	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 18 6	1 0 10	1 4 7	1 8 0	1 10 0
18	0 14 11	0 18 9	1 1 6	1 4 3	1 8 2	1 11 6	1 13 9
20	0 16 11	1 1 6	1 4 6	1 7 6	1 11 3	1 15 0	1 17 6
25	1 2 8	1 8 2	1 11 3	1 14 5	1 19 1	2 3 9	2 6 11
30	1 8 2	1 13 9	1 17 6	2 1 3	2 6 11	2 12 6	2 16 3
34	1 11 10	1 18 3	2 2 6	2 6 9	2 13 2	2 19 6	3 3 9
38	1 15 7	2 2 9	2 7 6	2 12 3	2 19 4	3 6 6	3 11 3

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9s. per foot, thus a plate being 30 inches by 18 inches contains 3 feet 9 inches superficial measure, and costs 1*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, as per above tariff. All under 3 feet superficial at a reduction.

CARVING AND GILDING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

In this department will be found a very elegant and extensive variety of Chimney and Pier Glass Frames, Cornices for Windows, Ornamental Tables and Furniture, and richly-mounted Frames in various styles, for Portraits, Paintings, &c. Paintings and Prints mounted, framed and repaired.

PAPER-HANGING AND INTERIOR DECORATIONS,

in all its Branches, from the most simple to the first Style of Elegance. A rich variety of new Patterns on show.

IN THE UPHOLSTERY ARRANGEMENT

the greatest attention is paid to unite elegance with economy in character, for the Drawing-room, Boudoir, Dining-room, Library, and Bed-chambers, from the most quiet to the most costly styles. In the various articles of Chintzes, Tabareens, Damask Silks, &c., a great variety of the most splendid and novel designs are constantly on view, of those qualities which can alone ensure permanent satisfaction; the extreme disparity of prices in these articles, mainly arises from the inferiority of the fabric.

CABINET, CHAIR, AND SOFA WORK

manufactured of the most seasoned materials. In the finish of Chairs, Sofas, &c., much depends on the quality of the materials used and the workmanship. It may not be unworthy of remark, that a similar effect may be produced at a saving of nearly one half, but which in the wear must eventually prove a serious disappointment to the purchaser. This applies also to the manufacture of Cabinet Goods, which, from being made of unseasoned materials and unskilful work (that cannot be detected by the casual observer), can never be of that service and durability so essential. H. L. C. begs to add, that he manufactures them on his own premises, and has always on hand a large stock of well-seasoned materials, which enables him to produce work at the lowest possible rate, and of a superior quality.

STEAM AND SAILING VESSELS PROMPTLY FITTED UP

with Cabin Furniture and Passengers' Requisites.

SOLID AND PORTABLE FURNITURE,

Bedding, Musquito Hangings, &c. for Foreign Climates. Families going abroad will receive every information respecting the Articles best adapted for their particular destination. Merchants, Captains, and Dealers supplied with the utmost despatch, on the most liberal terms.

CARPETING

of the fabric especially made for the first upholstery houses, viz.—Brussels, Kiddermaster, and Venetian; also a few of the much-admired Velvet Pile Carpets, Hearth Rugs, Druggets, Baize, Floor Cloths, &c.

BEDDING, BLANKETS, &c.,

well seasoned, real Dantzic Feathers, also equally prepared light downy Feathers for second and third-rate Beds, Elastic Spring Hair and Wool Mattresses, real Witney, fine Bath, and York Blankets, Marseilles Quilts and Counterpanes. In the articles of Bedding, Blankets, &c., so essentially important to all, H. L. C. is determined that no trader shall supply them on better terms.

Families in the Country may command the most approved Taste, by being waited on at Home with Patterns—and Designs made on the spot, calculated to harmonize with the plans, proportions, and decorations of the rooms; and their Orders delivered, and fixed on terms forming a very small addition to the first cost by the system adopted in this Concern.

With this short enumeration of the leading articles of his trade, and the very favourable terms on which he undertakes to supply them, Henry L. Cooper appeals to all classes for a continuation of that flattering preference hitherto afforded to his House, 93, Bishopsgate-street Within; Western Branch, 57, Conduit street, nine doors from Regent-street,

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the Address; also that any Article will be exchanged should a fair objection arise, thus securing the public from risk.

THE METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. 97, FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVID BOUDERY.

In remarking on his

FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,

G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes, to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for.....£3 0

Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10

Black and Blue, 10s. extra on each

Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s new principles of Measurement, 1 8

Waistcoats 14

Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6

These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES

Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes, also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison, in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5

Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10

Black or Blue, 5s. each extra

Trousers 1 1

Waistcoats 10

The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10

A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar and Cape—9 yds round 3 3

Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES

As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges. G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black; his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for

Two Suits per Annum.....£10 0

Three ditto ditto 14 18

Four ditto ditto 19 12

and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor. Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... £3 18 6

For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials, but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each.

G. D. D. respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN**, that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make his Rhodian Excursions through England, his Traveller will wait on them on those occasions, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents, according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

TERMS.—Cash on Delivery, without Discount. Country Orders must be accompanied by a Reference to Town.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED BY JACKSON AND WALFORD,
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

In Two Vols. Foolscap 8vo., 10s. 6d. Cloth,
A Second Edition of

A NARRATIVE of the VISIT to the AMERICAN CHURCHES, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales. By ANDREW REED, D.D., and JAMES MATHESON, D.D.

In Foolscap 8vo., 6s. Cloth,

THE MANNER OF PRAYER. An Inquiry relative to the best means of discharging the duties of public and social devotion. By W. WALFORD, late Tutor in the Academy at Homerton.

In Foolscap 8vo., with Portrait, 5s. Cloth,

THE RETURN TO FAITH; or, the Autobiography of WILLIAM KOELLNER, a German Protestant Divine. Translated from the German, by SAMUEL JACKSON, Esq., Translator of "Heinrich Stilling," &c., &c.

In 18mo., 1s. 6d., Cloth,

THE PATH OF LIFE, faithfully exhibited, and affectionately recommended to the Young, on their going out into the World. By JOHN CLUNIE, LL.D.

22, *Ludgate Street*, 1836.

NEW BOOKS,
JUST PUBLISHED BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

I.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

THE SCHOOLMASTER: Essays on Practical Education, selected from the Works of ASCHAM, MILTON, LOCKE, and BUTLER; from the Quarterly Journal of Education, and from Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s.

II.

NATIONAL EDUCATION; its Present State and Prospects. By FREDERICK HILL. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s.

III.

A DISCOURSE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY; showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study. Being the First Volume of PALEY ILLUSTRATED. By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM. Fourth Edition, post 8vo. 8s.

IV.

Published by Direction of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES. With the APPENDICES. Second Edition, 8vo. 5s.

V.

Also by the same Authority,

REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE IRISH POOR IN GREAT BRITAIN. By GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Esq. Being Appendix G. of the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Poor Inquiry. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

VI.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

1. HISTORICAL PICTURES.—ENGLAND. PERIOD THE SECOND:—WARS of the Roses, 1450, to the Great Rebellion, 1642. With Forty Wood-cuts, after Designs by HARVEY, price 3s. 6d. PERIOD THE FIRST, uniformly bound, may also be had, price 3s.

2. THE ELDER BROTHER Illustrated with Wood-cuts. 1s. 6d.

VII.

A FAMILIAR ABRIDGMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT, 5 and 6 William IV., c. 76; intended as a Guide to Citizens and Burgesses: with a Table of Periods, Notes, and a copious Index. Second edition, revised; to which is added an Introduction and an Appendix. By ROBERT GUPPY, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 2s. sewed.

VIII.

A FAMILIAR ABRIDGMENT OF THE GENERAL HIGHWAYS ACT, 5 and 6 William IV., c. 50; with a copious Index. By A. A. FRY, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1s 6d.

IX.

THE TRAVELLER'S GUIDE; with Regard to the Duties of Customs of England, France, and Belgium. By ROBERT COX, Searcher, Landing and Coast Waiter to his Majesty's Customs, and Principal Inspecting Officer of the Steam Packet Baggage Department in London. Second Edition. 1s. sewed.

NEW BOOKS
IMMEDIATELY TO BE PUBLISHED BY
CHARLES KNIGHT.

I.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

THE CHINESE: A General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants. By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China. Two Vols. post 8vo., with Wood-cuts. 1l. 1s.

"The following Work owes its origin to a collection of notes which the Author made while resident in China. A residence of more than twenty years (which terminated in the Author succeeding, for some months previous to his final retirement, the late amiable and unfortunate Lord Napier as His Majesty's chief authority in China) has perhaps been calculated to mature and correct those opinions of the country and people which he had formed, as a very young man, in accompanying Lord Amherst on the Embassy to Peking in 1816. If some acquaintance, besides, with the language and literature of the Chinese empire has not been of considerable assistance to him in increasing the extent and accuracy of his information, it must have been his own fault entirely, and not any want of opportunities and means."—*Extract from Introduction.*

II.

PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY ILLUSTRATED: Notes by HENRY LORD BROUGHAM and SIR CHARLES BELL. To which are added, Supplementary Dissertations by SIR CHARLES BELL. Two Vols. post 8vo., with numerous Wood-cuts. 1l. 1s.

III.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANUFACTURES; or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. Second Edition, corrected; with Wood-cuts and Steel Plates. Post 8vo., 10s. 6d.

IV.

THE COTTON-MANUFACTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, described from actual Survey; with an Historical View of the Factory System. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. Illustrated with Steel Plates, engraved by LOWRY, and many Wood-cuts, from Original Drawings of Machinery, made by eminent Artists, under the Author's superintendence, in the Factory Districts. 2 Vols. post 8vo. 1l. 1s.

V.

HOW TO OBSERVE:—GEOLOGY. By H. T. DELABECHE, Esq. Second Edition, post 8vo., with 138 Wood-cuts. 10s. 6d.

VI.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM: EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES. Vol. II., royal 18mo., 4s. 6d. Forming Vol. XXX. of the LIBRARY OF ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE. Any of the Volumes of the Series to be had, uniformly bound, at the same price.

VII.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG:

HISTORIC SKETCHES—SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. Vol. II. Price 3s. 6d. Vol. I. may be had, price 2s., and any of the Volumes of the Series at varying Prices.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

This day is published, price 7s 6d. bound in cloth,

THE PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA.—VOL. V.

Including from BLOIS to BUFFALO. Among the more important articles will be found—Blood, Bloodhound, Boa, Bodleian Library, Boerhaave, Boileau, Bokhara, Bolingbroke, Bolivar, Bolivia, Bombay, Bombycilla, Bonaparte, Bonasia, Bone, Booby, Book-keeping, Bootan, Bordeaux, Borneo, Boroughs of England, Boston, Botany, Bothnia, Bourgogne, Boyle (Robert), Brachiopoda, Brad ord, Bradley, Brahe (Tycho), Brahmapootra, Brain, Branchiopoda, Brandenburg, Brazil, Bread, Brecknock (town and county), Brehon Laws, Bremen, Brescia, Breslau, Brest, Bretagne, Brewing, Brick, Brickwork, Bridge, Bristol, Britannia, British Museum, Bronchitis, Bronze, Bruce (James), Bruce (Robert), Bruges, Brunelleschi, Brunswick, Brussels, Brutus, Bruyère (La), Buckingham (town and country), Buckingham (Dukes of), Buda, Buddhism, and Buenos Ayres.

The Work is illustrated with numerous Woodcuts.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

On Monday, the 2nd of May, will be published,

THE PENNY MAGAZINE.—PART XLIX. Price 6d.

The PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA.—PART XL. Price 1s. This Part contains the completion of the Fifth Volume.

The GALLERY of PORTRAITS.—No. XLVIII., containing Portraits and Memoirs of Madame de Staël, Queen Elizabeth, and Palladio. Imperial octavo, price 2s 6d. This Number completes the Sixth Volume.

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.—Vol. II., completing the subject, and being the Thirtieth Volume of the LIBRARY of ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE. Price 4s. 6d. bound in cloth uniformly with the Series; or in Parts, price 2s. each, sewed.

Also, on the same day will be issued,

The PICTORIAL BIBLE.—PART III. Price 2s. This Bible will contain the OLD and NEW TESTAMENTS according to the authorized Version, illustrated with many hundred Woodcuts, representing the Historical Events, after the most celebrated Pictures, the Landscape Scenes, from Original Drawings or from Authentic Engravings; and the Subjects of Natural History, of Costume, and of Antiquities, from the Best Sources. To which are added ORIGINAL NOTES, chiefly Explanatory of the Engravings, and of such Passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures as require Observation.

It is also published in Weekly Numbers, price 6d each.

The MUSICAL LIBRARY.—PART XXVI. Price 2s.

The SUPPLEMENT to the MUSICAL LIBRARY—No. XXVI. Price 6d.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

This day is published,

THE GALLERY OF PORTRAITS.—Vol. VI. The Sixth Volume of this Work is now completed, and may be had, bound in cloth, and lettered, with gilt tops, price One Guinea. The following is a list of the Portraits and Memoirs contained:—Raleigh, Jenner, Maskelyne, Hobbes, Raphael, Knox, Adam Smith, Calvin, Mansfield, Bradley, Melancthon, Wesley, Dr. Cartwright, Porson, Wight, Cortez, Leibnitz, Ximenes, Addison, Buonarote, Madame de Staël, Queen Elizabeth, and Palladio.

The Five preceding Volumes may also be had, uniformly bound; at 1l 1s. each. They contain Dante, Sir H. Davy, Kosciusko, Flaxman, Copernicus, Milton, James Watt, Turenne, Hon R. Boyle, Sir I. Newton Michael Angelo, Molière, C. J. Fox, Bossuet, Lorenzo de' Medici George Buchanan, Fenelon, Sir C. Wren, Corneille, Halley, Sully, N. Poussin, Harvey, Sir J. Banks, Lord Somers, Smeaton, Buffon, Sir Thomas More, Laplace, Handel, Erasmus, Pascal, Titian, Luther, Lagrange, Rodney, Erskine, Dollond, John Hunter, Petrarch, Burke, Henry IV., Berkley, Kepler, Hale, Franklin, Schwartz, Barrow, D'Alembert, Hogarth, Galileo, Rembrandt, Dryden, La Perouse, Cranmer, Tasso, Ben Jonson, Canova, Chaucer, Sobieski, D'Agueseau, Cromwell, Leonardo da Vinci, Vauban, William III., Goethe, Linnæus, Correggio, Napoleon, Priestley, Ariosto, Marlborough, De L'Epée, Colbert, Washington, Murillo, Cervantes, Frederic II., Delambre, Drake, Charles V., Des Cartes, Spenser, Grotius, Taylor, Lavoisier, Sydenham, Clarendon, Sir J. Reynolds, Swift, Locke, Selden, Paris Blake, L'Hôpital, Mrs Siddons, Herschel, Romilly, Shakspeare, Euler, Sir W. Jones, Rousseau, Harrison, Montaigne, Pope, Arkwright, Bolivar, and Cowper.

A few sets of Proofs have been taken, and may now be had as far as the end of the Third Volume, handsomely bound in cloth, or in a Patent Portfolio, price 6l. 6s.

The Work is also published in Monthly Numbers, each Number containing Three Portraits, the Biography occupying upon an average Twenty-four pages of Letter-press, price 2s. 6d. The size of the Work is imperial octavo. Forty-eight Numbers are already issued: eight form a volume.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

*** *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East. Clerk*, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 42. JUNE 1, 1836. Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Improvements in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies	123	Ecclesiastical Establishments of Russia and Ireland	142
Changes of Administration, and History of Parties	127	New Arrangement of Dioceses	144
Political Retrospect for May	131	Electoral Statistics	146
Criminal Offenders — England and Wales	139	Parliamentary Register	146
Post Office Inquiry	140	Abstracts of Returns, &c.	148
		Trade, Statistics, &c.	152
		Chronicle of Occurrences	152

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.

(Continued from last Number.)

An additional interest is given to the restoration of the post of Nisita, by the circumstance that the works undertaken there are little more than a repairing of what was left by the ancient Romans. In the classical soil of the two Sicilies, where the splendid remains of monuments of an ancient civilization everywhere awaken great recollections, there are probably no works that have better withstood time, neglect, and the violence of the barbarians, and the tempests of eighteen centuries, than the great Mole of Pozzuoli, commonly called the Bridge of Caligula, and the Moles of Nisita and Cape Miseno, which places were the Portsmouths and Plymouths of the Roman Empire, while Pozzuoli was the great commercial port for the trade with Egypt and the East. These works, thrown boldly out into a sea where the Sirocco gales frequently exercise a tremendous violence, though damaged, still preserve a wonderful solidity, and not only serve as a model for new constructions of that kind, but by being repaired, are quite capable of performing the same valuable offices for which they were destined by the Cæsars of old. The ancient engineers and builders employed on these works availed themselves of the favourable sites and other advantages offered by nature with a felicity truly admirable, and which leaves the modern architect little else to do than follow their example. The piles that form the base of the moles, and which are the most difficult and expensive part of those works, are, in general, so well preserved, that with a little repairing they can serve as a foundation to the new masonry. "In this manner," says Afan de Rivera,"* as heirs of our remote ancestors, we can make use of the treasures which were the fruit of their industry, and can profit, at the same time, by their experience and ability." Many of these piles, of materials which seem almost indestructible, are driven into the sea where there are sixty *palmi* of water. Vitruvius has left a description of the method in which these sub-marine works were executed, and this method has been precisely imitated by Afan de Rivera and his colleagues. After commending the volcanic production called Pozzuolana, which is a soft, light substance, something between a stone and an earth, and easily pulverable, Vitruvius goes on to say, that being mixed with one-third of lime, it forms a compost or mortar, which not only renders all kinds of buildings exceedingly strong, but in a special manner binds and consolidates such as are constructed under water. The wood work used in fixing the piles, ought, he says, to be good oak, to be driven firmly into the bottom of the sea, and secured by chains, so as to form a hollow frame, within which (the water being pumped out) the masons were to build with their stone, and their mixture of lime and pozzuolana, which soon hardens. The pozzuolana, to be good, ought to be dug in the places situated between Cuma and Cape Minerva, now Cape Campanella, at the extremity of the Sorrentine promontory—a tract of country which embraces the whole of the Neapolitan gulf, and following the sinuosities of the shores may be thirty-five miles in extent. With deference to the high authority of Vitruvius, we are inclined to believe that the terra pozzuolana, differing in no essential respects in quality, is to be found in many other parts of these volcanic kingdoms; but, confining it even to his limits, there is more of this valuable material than the industry of man will ever exhaust. The territory around Mount Vesuvius, the hills of Posilippo close to Nisita, and Monte Nuovo, the Solfatara, and Monte Barbaro, immediately in the rear of the town and Port of Pozzuoli, would furnish pozzuolana enough to *set* piles and bridges for the world. Here, then, the Neapolitans have an invaluable material close at hand, and the forests of the kingdom, of which the Astroni, and Mondragone are not far from the Bay, abound in the very oak that Vitruvius recommends.

Strabo also attributed to the quality the Neapolitan Pozzuolana has of taking a quick and fast hold in water, the facility with which the ancient inhabitants of these regions built moles and piers, and made deep and safe ports; but in more modern times the successive eruptions of Mount Vesuvius have furnished a substance called *Pozzuolana di Foco* (Fire Pozzuolana), which Afan de Rivera and other experienced engineers consider even better for making the mortar which is to lie under water.

It was the dread of the cholera and the number of foreign vessels arriving at Naples from countries infected with, or supposed to be liable to that malady, which hastened the restoration of the ancient Port of Nisita, and the formation of a general lazzaretto. The operations were intrusted to Signor de Fazio, an intelligent engineer, who, for many years, had devoted himself to the study of the construction of the posts made in the best days of the Romans, and the works were actively commenced on the 26th of April, 1832. To enlarge and defend the existing Port two moles were requisite—the one to the east, and the other to the west, which had existed in ancient times. With the first made the first of these defences, the old piles were sunk and injured, that it was [illegible] Neapolitan ducats (about make much use of them, which seemed enormous to mole were so firm and besides, were not well satisfied operation. In 1825, after the

* Printed by mistake, in last Number, "di Rivera." The name is not Italian, but Spanish.

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

once began to rebuild upon them, and so to re-produce the ancient work. These piles, that had been many centuries under water, and particularly the layers of pozzuolana cement that enter so largely into their composition, were as hard as granite: they perfectly well supported the ponderous arches thrown across them, and in a short space of time this mole was finished. It presents the appearance of a bridge with low arches and massy pilasters, and sufficiently breaks the force of the waves in that direction to allow of good riding ground to ships of a high tonnage.

The eastern mole, which was to be almost entirely a new construction, was commenced in the middle of June, 1832; and the piles, after the manner of the ancients, were driven in deep water, fixed, and built upon, without any serious accident. During the execution of the more exposed and dangerous parts, under water, the men worked night and day, incessantly, fresh gangs relieving those who were fatigued; and, altogether, the energy and activity displayed reflect honour on the people and government. These qualities have not been considered inherent in the Neapolitan character, but they have only lain dormant from want of encouragement and circumstances favourable to their development. The result of these labours of six months, and the restoration of parts of the Roman works, has been an excellent port in an advantageous situation, wherein there is much less swell of the sea, and ships are much less laboured in rough weather than in the ports of Naples and Genoa. In the month of November, very shortly after the two arched moles were finished, a violent tempest set in and lasted for several days, but during its continuance the ships at anchor between them, though crowded rather closely together, suffered no inconvenience. Signor Afan de Rivera quotes this example as a triumphant refutation of the arguments of those who disapprove of the ancient Roman method of making moles or piers with open arches that allow a passage to the waves. These open arches, he says, guarantee a port from that accumulation of sand, earth, and rubbish, which has choked up the splendid harbour of Brindisi, and so many other ports in Italy; and he insists that the portion of water which finds its way through the arches, encountering the mass of still water within the port, does not, even in the roughest weather, produce any inconvenient swell.

Signor Afan de Rivera proposes that the Neapolitan government should erect Nisita into a Porto Franco—a purpose for which, from its situation, compact size, and the facility with which smuggling might be prevented, that small island is admirably adapted. Hitherto the kingdom of Naples has had no Porto Franco; and the one which existed in Sicily (at Messina) was deprived of most of its privileges about ten years ago. On the Mediterranean side of Italy the advantages of the Porto Franco system are confined to the ports of Leghorn and Genoa, and on the Adriatic shores to Trieste and Venice—which latter city was allowed the privilege by its Austrian masters some five or six years since.

But we must look to another part of the kingdom, remote from the capital, for the most curious, interesting, and praiseworthy improvement, undertaken and persisted in by the Neapolitan government. Here, too, we are carried back to the days of antiquity, and find our contemporaries only following the traces of the Romans, and repairing and renewing what was conceived and acted eighteen centuries before our time.

not any want very heart of the mountainous regions of the

PALEY'S NA may be considered the Highlands of
Notes by HENRY Lord BROUGHAM, and an Analysis of the Evidences, with additional Illustrations. 8vo., with numerous Woodcuts. If In a beautiful and picturesque,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANUFACTURES to augmentations and
position of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of Arts and Manufactures, and on the Principles of the Division of Labour, as exemplified in the System. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., lands on its banks. This
with Wood-cuts and Steel Plates. Post 8vo.,

is the Lacus Fucinus of the Romans, the Lago d Celano of modern times; the present name being derived from the town of Celano, which stands on a hill that overlooks the whole lake. The vale in which the lake lies, and all the lower part of which it fills, is of an irregular but somewhat oval form; its greatest length is from south to north, and it is surrounded by mountains, or very lofty hills, that allow of no channel or passage for the accumulating water. It is a complete concha, or hollow, deep shell; and may be compared to the enormous crater of some volcano, the lips of which have not fallen in. The rain, the melted snows, most of the springs of an elevated region 400 miles square, pour themselves into this basis, and were it not for the calcareous, porous nature of part of the surrounding Apennines, which allows some of the water to filter through the rocks, the increase would be rapid and constant,—the supplies far outbalancing the decrease produced by evaporation during the heats of summer; which heats, moreover, by melting the snow on the loftiest mountains, act with two-fold effect. But, besides the filtration, there are several deep caverns which penetrate into the sides of the surrounding hills; and, from the eddies and whirlpools made by the water as it rushes into these caverns, it is supposed that a portion of the fluid finds its way, through the bowels of the earth, into the valley of the Liris, or into that of the Pescara—the lake, when at its lowest ebb, being much higher than either of those rivers. It has been observed by the old inhabitants of the country, that though, taking a long period, the volume of water has very sensibly increased, yet the increase has not been regularly progressive, year after year; but that, on the contrary, the lake, after rising for several years, has sunk for as many successive ones. People have endeavoured, though not very successfully, to account for this alternation of increase and decrease by the difference of the seasons, the greater or less fall of rain, snow, &c., and the greater or less facility afforded by the surrounding rocks and mountains to the filtration and passage of the water. Whatever may be the causes of the phenomenon, it is quite certain that no fall of the lake has ever reduced its superfices to the extent to which it was confined in former ages, when corn-fields flourished and towns and villages stood where there is now deep water. The Fucinus, indeed has never sunk low enough to allow an opportunity of discovering the sites of the ancient submerged cities. When we were on the spot a few years back, the lake was on the increase;—it had rolled its beautiful but destructive waves over one field and vineyard after another; and many of the inhabitants of Avezzano—an agreeable, industrious little town at the head of the lake—had lost some of their best lands by its encroachments. An old fisherman, whose boat we engaged at that town, showed us a spot, far from the then shore of the lake, where once stood the house in which he was born, surrounded by the fields his father cultivated.

As early as the time of Julius Cæsar the rising of Lacus Fucinus attracted attention, and that extraordinary man occupied his active mind in devising means for the prevention of the evil. Of some works he began, to drain the lake, no traces are found. About eighty-six years after the death of Julius Cæsar (A. D. 42), aroused by an extraordinary rise of the lake, which had swallowed up a great extent of the most fertile lands of the Marsi, a Germanic race who had settled near the Fucinus, in a country checkered with forests, the Emperor Claudius resolved to cut a great subterraneous passage, or tunnel, through the mountains, which should carry off the water to the bed of the river Liris, and prevent its usurpations for the future. The magnitude of this undertaking will be understood when we mention, that it is more than three English miles from the head of the

lake to the valley of the Liris, that the intervening distance is occupied by mountains, and that the base of Monte Salviano, which shelves down to the water, and through which it was necessary to cut, is composed in good part of hard rocks. At the will of the master of the world, however, a prodigious host of artisans and labourers, freedmen and slaves, crowded to the usually quiet shores of the lake, and began their excavations under Monte Salviano, at a short distance from the spot where the town of Avezzano now stands. The excavation was then continued simultaneously at several points, the direction of the tunnel being properly defined, and shafts to admit air sunk through the body of the mountain from its sides and summit, at regular distances, down to the level and course of the passage. Seutonius tells us that part of this excavation was made by digging, and that part was cut out or chiselled (*excisa*), and we observed in some portions of the tunnel, where the masonry had been destroyed, evident marks of the chisel, which must have been wielded upon such masses of rock at a tremendous expense of time and human labour. Many of the cuniculi, or shafts, were not sunk perpendicularly, but in a sloping direction, and up these inclined planes the earth, stone, and rubbish dug below in the tunnel, were carried on men's shoulders. When the extent of the work, with its numerous accessories of shafts, and the want of those arts in modern engineering which so materially economise labour, are taken into consideration, the assertion of the Roman writers that it took 30,000 men eleven years to complete the tunnel becomes perfectly credible.

According to Tacitus, the gigantic labours of so many years were thrown away in a moment by the puerile vanity of Claudius who, anxious to produce a striking effect, got up a grand fête and spectacle on the lake, and at a given sign, had the dikes and sluices which retained the water at the mouth of the tunnel removed at once, without any precaution, when an immense volume of water, with a terrific roar, rushed into the passage, breaking up and destroying the tunnel, and shaking the hills like an earthquake. It has been doubted from this account whether at the time a drop of water reached the Liris, but had the works held good against such rash violence, the valley of that river must have been inundated and ruined to a great extent. A passage in Pliny, if correctly transmitted and understood, explicitly says that Claudius failed in giving a current to the water through the tunnel, and that his successor, Nero, abandoned the work out of hatred to his name. Hence several Roman and national antiquaries have concluded that this grand tunnel was never of any use; but an inscription discovered at Avezzano seems to settle the fact that, at least, in the time of Trajan, the work which had cost so much, served the purposes for which it was destined, and carried off the surplus water of the lake to the river on the other side of the mountains.

The ancient relict here alluded to records the gratitude of the people to the Emperor for his recovering the fields and possessions which the Lacus Fucinus had devastated. An equally convincing proof that the tunnel at one time or other performed its office is found in a thickish stratum of the sand of the lake, which lies on the floor or bottom of the passage, and has evidently not been left there by one inrush from the lake, but deposited quietly and gradually by many successive streams.

In the ruin of all good and useful things that took place in the dark ages, it was natural that this tunnel should be abandoned and become useless through want of attention, but there is some evidence to prove that in later ages attempts were made to restore it. In a register kept in the Camera della Sommaria (the Neapolitan Treasury of old times), it was recorded that Frederic II., who flourished in the thirteenth century, and one of whose earliest and warmest friends was the Count of Celano, the feudal lord of the lake and surrounding country, undertook to clean and repair the tunnel of Claudius, or, as it is commonly called in Italian, the *Emissary* of Claudius. It is also asserted on pretty good grounds by some local historians, that Alfonso I., of the house of Aragon, made a similar attempt in the fifteenth century. But conclusive evidence that some such essays have been made is presented by the tunnel itself, where, in several places, there are pieces of brick wall of a construction altogether different from the old Roman walls and vaulted roof they were vainly meant to continue and support. Moreover, in clearing out the shafts the workmen employed in restoring the tunnel have discovered a number of copper vessels and iron tools, which clearly are not Roman, but of a much more recent date. The awkward manner in which the latter repairs were executed, preclude the idea of their having been of much or indeed of any use.

From the middle of the fifteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century it appears that this tunnel was wholly neglected. In 1786 the lake began to rise with alarming rapidity; many thousands of acres of productive land were inundated, and some villages were either submerged or threatened with speedy ruin. A priest of the country, the canon Lolli, who had long and attentively observed the Claudian emissary, called the attention of government to the increasing calamity, and maintained that it would not be a difficult undertaking to restore that tunnel. Ferdinand, the grandfather of the present king, lent a ready ear to these suggestions; and shortly after the work of restoration was commenced by his orders. The worthy canon, however, was more of a philanthropist and antiquary than engineer, nor were his deficiencies supplied by those who were intrusted with the actual execution of the work. They began without any fixed plan of operation—every one, even down to the common labourer, seems to have had a plan of his own; and, after committing various blunders, and causing an enormous expense, they were stopped in their progress of folly in order that government might have time to devise, or consider, and adopt, a wiser plan of proceeding. The calamities of wars and revolutions alluded to in a former part of these notes interrupted the whole affair for more than twenty-six years. In 1816, a year after the return of King Ferdinand from Sicily, Signor de Fazio, then at the head of the royal engineers, was charged to make a report, and on a careful examination of all the parts of the tunnel that were accessible, he gave it as his opinion that it would not be a very difficult undertaking to clear it out, and perfectly restore it. At the same time he drew up an approximative estimate of the expense. The old restored government had little money and not much enterprise: in default of these it was attempted to get up one of those companies or associations of capital in shares, that have done so much, and, in fact, almost everything for the improvement of modern Britain. But the plan of such joint-stock societies was altogether new in the kingdom of Naples, and after some landed proprietors in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake, and *three* or *four* patriotically-disposed gentlemen in the capital had set down their names, no more subscribers offered themselves, and the scheme fell to the ground.

Ferdinand then thought of undertaking the work on his own account, and he employed a Roman architect, Signor Pietro Ferrari, to examine the works and draw up an estimate of the expenses. This artist made the estimate amount to 2,393,483 Neapolitan ducats (about 400,000*l.* sterling), a sum which seemed enormous to the government, who, besides, were not well satisfied with Ferrari's plan of operation. In 1825, after the

death of Ferdinand, Francis I., his successor, charged Signor Afan de Rivera* with a commission to examine and report on the tunnel, and this he did with so much success, maintaining that the ancient work might be restored with comparative ease, and showing the means by which the repairs might be effected, that government immediately placed a fixed sum of money at his disposal, to do a part of the work as an experiment and a sample. Accordingly, in the spring of 1826, the long-talked-of labours were commenced under the immediate direction of the Cavalier D. Luigi Giura, inspector of roads and rivers.

Nobody had attempted to clear out the shafts, and descend by them into the intermediate spaces, but the subterranean channel had often been entered and examined at its two extremities, and as both on the side of the lake and on that of the river it was found to be cut, as far as people could safely penetrate, in a hard, calcareous rock that almost perfectly preserved the form given it by the Romans, it was rather hastily concluded that the same material would be found all through the mountain, and that there would be little more to do than clear out the fallen walls, rubbish, stones and sand, that blocked up the passage. But when the workmen had proceeded 2388 palmi† from the mouth of the tunnel on the river side, they found it was cut through a calcareous concretion that had very little tenacity, and required walls and arches to support it. This soft matter, as was afterwards ascertained, extended for a tract of 4276 palmi; beyond it the tunnel was cut in the hard, calcareous rock for the distance of 3500 palmi, and then followed a tract of equal length, that reached to the lake, of the calcareous concretion. In some parts the Roman walls and arched roof, erected wherever the rocks did not occur, were found in perfect preservation, in others they were much injured. In cutting through the long tracts of rock the Romans had occasionally come upon caverns and crevices, some under foot, and some branching off from the sides of the tunnel; and all these chasms they had closed up with admirable masonry, which in most cases remained good. The greatest errors they committed were in departing from the straight line; in one place the tunnel turns off almost at a right angle, and it is crooked in several other places where the cuniculi or shafts are the farthest apart.

A long line of the tunnel lying under Monte Salviano had been wholly inaccessible for many ages, and as both ends of this tract were blocked up, one of the assistant engineers (Signor Mascari) resolved on the bold expedient of getting at it from above. Having sounded, and found that that part of the tunnel was nearly full of water, he lowered a small boat through one of the shafts, and in this, after being lowered from the crest of the mountain, through the narrow shaft to the level of the water, he embarked with the contractor for the works and one or two labourers, and in darkness and at a great risk, penetrated for nearly half a mile, when the earth that had fallen in through another shaft stopped his further progress. There was scarcely a space of three palmi between the surface of the water and the roof of the tunnel, and in some places they were obliged to lie flat in the boat, in order to have room to pass. This gloomy voyage, in the very bowels of the earth, with a mountain over their heads all the way, may indeed be considered as striking and romantic, as Afan de Rivera calls it. It conveyed the consoling certainty that for half a mile, or one-sixth part of the entire length, the tunnel was open, and required few repairs. Subsequently, on cutting through the earth and rubbish that blocked up the lower end of this space, the water sunk and flowed on to the Liris.

In excavating, a shield, copied from the ingenious one invented by the excellent Mr. Brunel, senior, for the Thames Tunnel, was used; and Afan de Rivera admits that, without this invention, the work in many points must have stopped as wholly impracticable. The poor peasants of the mountains, who were chiefly employed, had at first a great dread of working under ground, with no light but that furnished by lamps and torches, but, seeing the safety afforded by the shield, they gradually became accustomed to it, and laboured very cheerfully. In forcing their way from one end to the other of this remarkable emissary, not a single life was lost. The greatest danger arose from foul air, which at some points extinguished all the lights, and held the men in check; but by opening the cuniculi or shafts, and sinking two new ones, and by allowing a small current of water to run almost constantly at the bottom of the tunnel, a supply from the wholesome atmosphere of day was admitted, and a current of air created.

We should far exceed our limits were we to detail all the ingenious contrivances and expedients resorted to, but the result of them was, that after a labour of eight years, which we regret to think was too often checked or carried on languidly through the want of a proper supply of funds, the ancient Roman work was so far restored and rendered available as to carry off a constant though not voluminous stream of water from the lake to the river. It was calculated that this stream would suffice to keep the lake to its present level, and prevent further encroachments; but the plans of Afan de Rivera embraced a much greater object,—namely, that of reducing the lake to the limits it had in the year 1745, since which it has encroached upon and drowned more than 10,000 acres of the most fertile land in the Abruzzi. The value of this land he rates at 1,000,000 of Neapolitan ducats, and the expense of the works necessary to reclaim it he calculates cannot possibly exceed 500,000 ducats, one-half of which would be spent in the interior of the tunnel, and the other in exterior works on the lake. Supposing his project carried into effect, he estimates that, in addition to the 10,000 acres which would be thoroughly reclaimed, there would be 8000 square acres of land which would be under water only a part of the year, and excellent, by reason of the very inundation, for the production of Indian corn, sown grasses, &c., during the other months.

We do not know what progress has been made in this honourable undertaking, our information ending with the interesting volumes of Signor Afan de Rivera; but we will endeavour to procure further details from some friends in the country, which, together with a few notes on the present state of agriculture, trade, and manufactures in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, may form the matter of another paper.

The slightest indication of reviving enterprise and civil improvement in any corner of the world is matter of congratulation, but these beautiful and classical regions have an extra claim on our sympathies. Considered merely as a relic of ancient times, the tunnel of Claudius is a highly interesting object. When we were on the spot we could not sufficiently admire the beauty and durability of the bricklayers' work; the bricks, compact and sharply cut, were as hard as granite, and the cement or plaster was still harder. The only part of the ancient tunnel we had an opportunity of examining was that opening from the head of the lake, and there it was with great difficulty we penetrated about a hundred feet. At this point the height of the vaulted roof was above thirty feet, the breadth of the tunnel about twenty-eight feet. It appears, however, that these dimensions

* This gentleman had published an ingenious work on the Emissary and the draining of the Lake of Celano in 1823.

† A Neapolitan Palmo is about ten English inches.

are materially diminished as the subterranean passage advances towards the Liris.*

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

(Continued from No. 39).

THE operations of the war and the other transactions in America, during the summer and latter part of the year 1778, may be summed up in a few words. The English Minister, with the view of anticipating the arrival of the treaty of peace with France, had sent off to Congress rough drafts of his bills of conciliation at the same time that they were first introduced into the House of Commons. They reached America about the beginning of April, and before the end of that month, they had also arrived in the shape of Acts of Parliament, along with the three Commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Johnson, and their Secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, appointed to carry them into effect. In neither of the two forms, however, in which they were submitted to them, did the new propositions of the British government make any impression upon that of the revolted provinces. The Commissioners were distinctly informed from the first, that no terms would be accepted or listened to until the King of England should have acknowledged the independence of the States, by withdrawing his fleets and armies. At length, after pressing their object in every way they could devise, and in some instances with considerably more zeal than discretion, finding all their efforts in vain, they took their leave of the country in the month of October in an angry manifesto, in which they declared that the policy, as well as the benevolence, of Great Britain, had, hitherto, prevented it from carrying the war to extremes; but that now that America professed the design of mortgaging herself and her resources to France, the whole contest was changed; and the question was, how far Great Britain might, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of her enemy. "Under such circumstances," it was added, "the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Meanwhile, on the 14th of April, General Sir William Howe, who had, for some time past, solicited permission to resign his command, on the ground that he did not feel he possessed, in a sufficient degree, the confidence of the Ministry at home, (his opinions, in fact, were opposed to the policy of the war, or, at least, of the measures that had led to it), was allowed to come home, and was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Sir Henry Clinton. On the 2nd of May, Mr. Deane arrived in America with the French treaty. On the 18th of June, the English troops, in obedience to orders from home, evacuated Philadelphia, and proceeded to New York. Eleven days after, the French Admiral D'Estaing arrived off the mouth of the Delaware, with a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and three frigates. No important action, however, took place in the course of the summer, either by sea or land; but in the state in which affairs now were, every day that passed without a blow being struck by the British, added strength, both material and moral, to the American cause.

In these circumstances Parliament re-assembled on the 26th of November. The debates on the Address in both Houses were long and interesting. In the Lords, the very unusual course was adopted by the Opposition of moving a direct negative to the Address proposed by Ministers. In the course of the debate strong observations were made on the conduct of Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, for his alleged negligence, in not having the naval force of the kingdom in a state of better preparation for the crisis which had arrived, and especially for having, the preceding June, sent out Admiral Keppel at the head of a fleet, greatly inferior in strength to that which the French had, at the time, lying ready for sea at Brest. In point of fact, when Admiral Keppel was appointed to this command in March, he found, on his arrival at Portsmouth, only six ships of the Line fit for service; on his earnest representations the whole armament was, after some time, made up to twenty ships; and by great exertions, in the course of about four months, the twenty were increased to thirty. This was the whole naval force the British empire was then able to put to sea. The French fleet at Brest consisted of thirty-two sail of the line. On the 27th of July, the two fleets encountered off Ushant, when an action took place which lasted for some hours, but was prevented from being so decisive as it otherwise probably would have been by Sir Hugh Palliser, one of Keppel's captains, not being able to bring up his ship with the rest in the latter part of the fight, at the Admiral's signal. The ship had been greatly damaged, and the Admiral did not profess to have any charge to make against Sir Hugh; but the latter, in order to vindicate himself, thought proper to attack the conduct of the Admiral; and in the end each was brought to a court-martial. No events of the kind ever excited so great a popular ferment as did these trials. The issue of that of Admiral Keppel, which lasted for thirty days, was his acquittal of every charge brought against him in the fullest, clearest, and most honourable terms, the court also declaring that the charges were malicious and unfounded. Palliser was also acquitted, with a slight expression of censure for not having exerted himself to assist his commander to the utmost of his power. Admiral Keppel's trial did not terminate till the beginning of February, 1779; but from the first agitation of the affair it was made use of as a powerful lever in the Parliamentary attack upon Ministers. The popular feeling, all along, espoused the side of Admiral Keppel with the warmest enthusiasm. The Ministers, on whom —and on Lord Sandwich in particular—the public laid the original blame of all that had happened, were generally considered to have shown the greatest want of delicacy in the precipitate manner in which they went into the proposal of calling to account, as a criminal, the man whom their own mismanagement had previously deprived of adequate means of doing justice to himself and his country. On his acquittal this feeling broke out with extraordinary vehemence. "The general, public, and unusual rejoicings," says the Annual Register, "which took place in such various and remote parts of the kingdom upon this occasion, seemed to afford a strong presumption, that the people in general considered this business to be at least as much a public as a private concern; and, indeed, the whole manner of celebrating this event seemed rather as if it had been a great national deliverance than that merely of an individual. The rejoicings and illuminations in the cities of London and Westminster were of such a magnitude, as has scarcely been exceeded upon any public occasion whatever. The excesses committed by the populace, the latter, which were directed against the houses and persons of those whose supposed share in a division. tion had drawn on them the odium began to be in all were indeed furious, and had a the safety of the king disgust many of those who partook degree, stilled the the general joy. Even the measures of the Session the Admiralty were not sufficien by Ministers into the

* The Liris is now called the Garigliano. The traveller, in going from Rome to Naples by the usual high road, crosses it at a lower part of its course.

ing from receiving strong marks of the popular indignation; nor were some of the great officers of state free from sufficient cause of alarm, until the troops were brought forward to their protection." It may be added, that the disreputable private character of Lord Sandwich helped to sharpen the popular hatred which his politics excited.

In the debate on the Address his Lordship observed, that although he had been almost forty years a Member of the House, he did not recollect another instance in which a similar course had been pursued by the Opposition. He admitted that he had stated in the preceding Session, that he would undertake, at all times, to have a naval force equal to cope with, or superior to any which the united efforts of the House of Bourbon would be able to bring against it; "but then," he added, "it must be considered that this general opinion had relation only to the home defence; besides, it did not intend to imply any assertion that we had such a naval force, but that we ought to have a force at all times equal to cope with that of the House of Bourbon. I am still of the same opinion, that we ought; nor do I hold myself responsible, as an official man, that we have not. I act merely ministerially, under the direction of his Majesty's councils, and can never, therefore, be deemed further responsible, or bound by any engagement, than so far as I am enabled to perform it." Here we seem to have the particular Minister, against whom the accusation is directed, throwing the blame upon the general body of his colleagues—an indication of the state of the Government that must have been sufficiently intelligible. His Lordship concluded by declaring that he would never give his consent to any concession whatever, and by (very characteristically and appropriately, it must be acknowledged) recommending unanimity, and the most decisive and vigorous exertions.

Lord Shelburne, from the other side of the House, attacked the policy of Ministers with great warmth and acrimony. He admitted, however, that the conduct of France was, "beyond all instance, treacherous and unjustifiable." In the conclusion of his speech he recommended a union of all parties in the House for the purpose of acting with effect against the administration. He said that although he himself was of no party, (the cause of which, he presumed was, because he did not come into public life under the wing of any party), and although he preferred, and ever should, measures to men; yet that the conduct, temper, and apparent disposition of the present Ministers, were so strongly marked with infamy, weakness, and wickedness, that he would cheerfully co-operate with any set of men to drag them from their situations, and make them examples for the time to come, by punishing them in a manner suited to their crimes and notorious demerits. At this period a proposition to turn a set of Ministers out was not unusually accompanied by another for bringing them to the block; but, practically, the latter was much about as mere a figure of speech as it would be now. On a division the Address was carried by a majority of 67 to 35.

In the Commons an amendment to the Ministerial Address was moved, pledging the House to the support of such measures as might be necessary for the defence of the kingdom and for frustrating the designs of France, [illegible] "that restless Power," as it was called, "which has [illegible] often disturbed the peace of Europe,"—but adding [illegible] would think it one of their most important [illegible] calls it. [illegible]nire at the same time by what fatal councils [illegible] half a mile, or [illegible] brought to the state in which she now [illegible] tunnel was open, an[illegible] support of this amendment, Mr. [illegible] Majesty might have spared him[illegible] taken to shew that there was [illegible] is against France; "there is cause, said he, "to go to war with France —there was cause enough long ago." So that, upon this point, there was a perfect agreement among all parties in the country. Mr. Fox, in some remarks which are not reported, on the recent publications respecting the scheme projected by Doctors Addington and Wright, of a union between Lord Chatham and the Earl of Bute (See "Companion" for March, p. 41), appears to have taken occasion to intimate his conviction, formed upon the letter of Lord Mountstuart, that Lord Bute no longer possessed any of the influence at Court which had been so long attributed to him. From this conclusion, Mr. Wilkes, who afterwards rose, expressed his decided dissent. "Is the heir," he said, "of that noble family being lately created an English Peer, a proof of the father's now retaining no influence? Is the lieutenancy of a county, given to the same nobleman, to be admitted as evidence that his power is extinguished?" "I rejoiced," he added, "that the heir of that noble family was created an English Peer, for I thought that the young Lord's unspotted reputation, intrinsic merit, and great as well as amiable qualities, would reflect back more honour than he could receive from a modern peerage of this country; but I was persuaded that he owed his English peerage, no less than his birth, to his father." Very little doubt, however, can now be entertained as to the groundlessness of this favourite popular imagination. At two o'clock in the morning the House divided, when the original Address was carried by a majority of 226 to 107.

On the 4th of December the subject of the Manifesto of the American Commissioners was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, who moved an Address to the Crown, beseeching his Majesty forthwith publicly to disavow the Paper. The motion was negatived by a majority of 209 to 123; but the debate was rendered interesting by one of the Ministers, Lord George Germaine, the Secretary for the Colonies, being directly accused of mismanagement, and put upon his defence, by Sir William Howe, the late American Commander-in-Chief. "The war," Sir William said, "had not been left to his management; and yet, when he applied for instructions, he frequently could not get them. The Noble Lord at the head of the Treasury had, indeed, supported him; but the Noble Secretary for the American Department had not used him well,—had often left him without instructions, to shift for himself, at the opening of a campaign, without sending information how to act." Lord George Germaine, of course, defended himself against these general allegations by explanatory statements, which might or might not be a sufficient answer to them. But it was at any rate remarkable that the Ministers should now find among their political opponents so many of the principal persons whom they had employed in both services in the conduct of the war. In this very debate, Lord Howe, Sir William's brother, who had recently returned from the command of the naval force in America, seconded his brother's demand for an inquiry, and proposed that it should comprehend his own conduct as well as that of Sir William and that of Lord George Germaine. General Burgoyne next rose, and also spoke and declared he should vote against them; and Admiral Keppel, also a Member of the House, they had in like manner, as we have just seen, contrived to disgust and alienate.

On the 7th of the same month an Address, similar to that moved in the Commons by Mr. Coke, was proposed to the other House by the Marquess of Rockingham. The motion was negatived, after a long debate, by a majority of 71 to 37. On this occasion the young and ardent Lord Lyttelton was again, as he had been for some time past, the boldest and most thorough-going champion of Ministers out of their own ranks, on which account he was described by the Duke of Grafton as

* This gentleman had [illegible] Emissary and the draining[illegible]

† A Neapolitan Palmo [illegible]

"the Drawcansir of Administration, ready to undertake its defence at all times, even when they were ashamed to attempt it themselves." His Grace, in the course of his speech, called upon Lord Stormont, who had been ambassador at Paris when the late treaty between France and America was signed, to account for the extraordinary fact which had been stated in the last Session by Ministers, that they were without any information of the existence of such a treaty a month after it had been signed (See "Companion" for March, p. 40). Lord Stormont, being thus called upon, distinctly stated both that he had had himself the earliest intelligence of the treaty having been concluded, and that he had not lost a moment in acquainting Lord Weymouth, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with the fact. Lord Weymouth was now called upon to inform the House why a communication of such singular importance had been withheld, and why, especially when he had been expressly asked if any information of the signature of the treaty had been received, he had answered in the negative. His Lordship's explanation was sufficiently curious. He recollected very well, he said, the question which had been put to him on the 5th of March last, "and were he now questioned in the same manner, he should, he believed, return the same answer; for though the Noble Viscount did give him an account of the treaty being signed in the manner related by him, *he must confess it did not bring home conviction to his mind that the fact was so.*" This apology was justly treated by those who spoke after his Lordship as defying all commentary, and indeed as a palpable mis-statement of the motives by which he had really been actuated.

The storm to which Ministers were exposed in consequence of the affair of Admiral Keppel began immediately after the announcement of the verdict of the court-martial. On the 12th of February the thanks of the Commons were given to the Admiral, on a motion which was carried with only one dissentient voice; and on the 16th the thanks of the Upper House were voted to him unanimously. On the 23rd a motion, by Mr. Fox, in the Commons, for copies or extracts of all letters and papers received by Ministers respecting the state of the French fleet which had been equipped at Brest, was only negatived by the comparatively small majority of 134 to 97. On the 3rd of March, in a House so full that every seat below was occupied, and above fifty Members were obliged to take seats in the side galleries, Mr. Fox moved a resolution of strong censure on the Admiralty for having sent Admiral Keppel to sea in the preceding June with so inadequate a force. At half-past one in the morning the House divided, when the numbers were found to be, for the motion 170, against it 204. "This," observes the Annual Register, "was an unusual division on the side of the minority, and the Minister shewed a degree of passion and vehemence, in different parts of this debate, which was not at all customary with him. It was observed by some, who from long experience think they may form an opinion on the appearances of things in that House, that the question would probably have been carried in the affirmative if the Noble Lord at the head of the Administration, having equally perceived the same indications, had not immediately applied himself to prevent their effect. For that Minister, observing strong marks of defection, particularly among that part of the country gentlemen who supported the Administration, recalled both them and his other wavering friends to the standard, by openly declaring that the motion of censure against the First Lord of the Admiralty went directly to himself and to all the other Ministers; that there could be no discrimination; as they were all equally concerned in the conduct of public affairs, they were all equally liable to answer for the consequences; there could be no separate praise or censure; whatever reached one must reach the whole." Five days after, however, Mr. Fox returned to the charge, on a motion substantially the same in import, but varied in its terms, so as to express a general censure upon the Ministers, on the ground of the unprovided state of the navy at the breaking out of the war with France. The House this day was still fuller than it had been on the preceding occasion; but the accession of numbers appears to have consisted principally of the adherents of Ministers, for, when a division took place, at one in the morning, the motion was negatived by a majority of 246 to 174. Both Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel took part in this debate. The former said that, as for his own case, "he was deceived into his command; that he was deceived while he retained it; that, tired and disgusted, he desired permission to resign; that a thorough recollection of what he had suffered, induced him to decline any risk of ever returning to a situation which might terminate in equal ill-treatment, mortification, and disgust. Such were his motives for declining any future service so long as the present Ministers remained in office; for past experience had sufficiently convinced him, that besides risking his honour and professional character, he could, under such counsels, render no essential service to his country." Admiral Keppel concluded a long speech by pronouncing the Admiralty Board "totally negligent, misinformed, and every way unequal to the administration of the naval affairs of the country."

Still persevering in the attempt to improve his first advantage, or at least to regain the ground on which it had placed him, Mr. Fox, on the 22nd, moved a third resolution of censure on Ministers for their neglect and misconduct in not sending out reinforcements in the preceding June to America, and a fleet at the proper time to the Mediterranean. This motion was negatived by a majority of 209 to 135. On the 19th of April he moved an Address to the Crown for the removal of Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty, when the division shewed a still further falling off in the strength of the assailants of the Administration, the numbers on this occasion being, against the motion 221, and for it only 118. When the same motion was made in the Lords, on the 23rd, by the Earl of Bristol, it was rejected by a majority of 78 to 39. On the 15th of June, Mr. Thomas Townshend, in the Commons, moved an Address to his Majesty imploring him to defer the prorogation of Parliament, which was negatived by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 70 for the motion, and 142 against it.

Two days after this last division a Message from the King was delivered to both Houses, conveying the alarming information that Spain had followed the example of France, and declared war. To the Address in answer to this Message, which was proposed by Ministers in the Lords, two amendments were successively moved, the first by the Earl of Abington, calling, in very strong terms for the dismissal of Ministers; the second by the Duke of Richmond, representing in much milder language the necessity of a change of system as the only means of resisting the powerful hostile combination now threatening the country. The former was rejected by a majority of 62 to 23, the latter by a majority of 57 to 32. In the Commons the minority appear to have been discouraged by the result of their recent attempts from any further trial of strength, and the Ministerial Address was voted without a division. The apprehensions, indeed, that now began to be in all quarters seriously entertained for the safety of the kingdom, had for the moment, in some degree, stilled the agitation of party. The last measures of the Session were two Bills that were brought by Ministers into the

House of Commons, the one for doubling the militia, the other for more speedily manning the navy, by taking away for a limited time the exemptions from impressment of certain descriptions of seamen and seafaring persons. In introducing the former measure, Lord North expressly grounded it on the danger there was of an invasion, and the necessity of guarding against the consequences of such an event. No division took place upon either of these Bills in their passage through the Commons, but the debates were occasionally characterized by much violence and personality. In reply to many accusations of corruption, and threats to bring him to trial and to condign punishment, Lord North, on the second reading of the Militia Bill, spoke as follows:—"There is nothing, at a proper time, I more ardently desire than a public trial, nor anything I less fear than public punishment. I have been publicly accused in this House in the face of the nation; justice requires that I should be indulged with an opportunity of exculpating myself. I shall insist upon the exercise of that justice; I hope I shall not be refused; I shall and must be tried, be the event of the present measures what they may. . . . It is well known that I accepted my present situation with great reluctance; that I have remained in it much against my own judgment and liking; that I feel in the same manner at the instant I am speaking; and when the period arrives that I can resign with honour to myself, and consistently with the duty I owe to my sovereign and my country, I shall quit my present office with singular satisfaction. . . . . When I came into office my private fortune was not very considerable; and I can affirm, be it what it might then, whenever I quit my present situation, now or at any future period, I shall not be richer."

In the Lords, however, a strong stand was made against some parts of both measures; and on the 30th of June the Ministry were beaten on the most important clause of the Militia Bill, that empowering his Majesty to double the numbers of that description of force, which was rejected by a majority of 39 to 22. No report of the debate which led to this decision is given in the "Parliamentary History," further than the statement that it lasted till ten o'clock; but, according to other authorities, the rejection of the clause was occasioned by a speech of the Duke of Richmond, in which he displayed great military knowledge, and pointed out with much force of argument the objectionable character of the Ministerial proposition. It is also stated that the two Secretaries of State, Lords Weymouth and George Germaine, and Earl Gower, the Lord President of the Council, all voted with the Opposition on this occasion. When the Bill came down again, thus mutilated, to the Commons, a proposal was made to reject it altogether, on the ground that, being a money Bill, it ought not to be suffered to be altered by the other House; but this attempt not being supported by the Minister, failed. Lord North however shewed, by the manner in which he expressed himself, how much annoyed he was by the conduct of the Lords, and especially by the desertion of his colleagues. Complimenting the Commons upon what he called "the spirit and unanimity" with which they had passed the measure in its original shape,—a spirit and unanimity, he said, which did them the highest honour,—he added that he could not speak of the proceedings of the other House with the same degree of applause. "He was exceedingly sorry that any of his Majesty's Ministers, or any one member of the Cabinet, should differ in opinion from him, but he could not help it. . . . . He wished most heartily the whole Bill had been suffered to stand: as it had not, he must take the remnant, and pick up even the crumbs which fell from their Lordships' table." Mr. Fox had observed that the opposition in the other House was chiefly made by the lord-lieutenants of counties, and was understood to insinuate that the Premier had mismanaged the affair by not securing their approbation of the Bill before bringing it in. "Ought he," Lord North asked in reply to this charge, "as a Member of that House, and one of the representatives of the Commons of England, before he suggested the measure to the Commons themselves, to go and ask the opinion of such of the Lords as happened to be lieutenants of counties? He thought he should have degraded himself and insulted that House if he had ever taken any such step."

This long Session was brought to a close on the 3rd of July. The subject of "the rebellion in North America" was only adverted to in the concluding paragraph of the Royal Speech, and then in doubtful and almost desponding accents. It was impossible to speak of its continuance, his Majesty said, without the deepest concern; but he must still hope that the "unhappy provinces will not blindly persist in preferring an unnatural and dangerous connexion with a foreign power to peace and reunion with their mother-country."

Early in this Session—on the 7th of March—Lord Suffolk, one of the Secretaries of State, had died; and the business of his office had ever since been conducted by Lord Weymouth, whose own situation, according to the division of the duties that then prevailed, was that of Secretary for the Southern, as Lord Suffolk had been Secretary for the Northern Department. This arrangement subsisted till the 27th of October, when Lord Suffolk's place was given to David Murray, Viscount Stormont (in the Scottish Peerage), and afterwards Earl of Mansfield, in which British title he succeeded his uncle, the celebrated Lord Chief Justice. Lord Stormont, who was the father of the present Earl of Mansfield, had lately, as we have already noticed, been ambassador at the Court of France. He had spent his life, indeed, in a diplomatic capacity at different Courts. On the 24th of November, both Lord Weymouth, and Earl Gower, the President of the Council, resigned, when the Earl of Hillsborough (See "Companion" for December, 1835, p. 535) was again taken in, and appointed to the place of the former, and Earl Bathurst, the late Lord Chancellor, to that of the latter. On the 6th of November, also, the office of First Lord of Trade, which had been for some years conjoined with the Secretaryship for the Colonies, was again separated and given to Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle (the father of the present Earl).

These new arrangements were just completed, when Parliament re-assembled on the 25th of November. Up to this time no material change had taken place in the aspect of the war, which both in America and Europe continued to be actively waged, but without any event which threatened to be of a decisive character. In the speech with which he opened the Session, his Majesty urged the prosecution of the contest, the object of which he described to be the defence of the country, with all the energies of the national spirit and strength. The Address proposed by Ministers in both Houses adopted as usual the tone of the Royal Speech. Without dissenting from the determination expressed to resist to the utmost the hostile combination of France and Spain, which was indeed a national feeling, the Opposition renewed their demands for the removal from the conduct of affairs of the men whose incapacity and rashness had, as they alleged, brought the kingdom to the alarming condition in which it was. An amendment to the Address was moved in the Lords by the Marquess of Rockingham, in which his Majesty was told that if anything could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it could only be new counsels and new counsellors without further loss of time—a real

change, from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless. The debate that followed was long and animated. It was noticed by the Opposition as something very remarkable that, in the course of the Royal Speech, the war in America was not so much as mentioned. It seemed now to be understood on all sides that the object of recovering the revolted provinces must be given up as hopeless, and that all the efforts of the country must be concentrated upon the more pressing contest with France and Spain. Among their opponents the Ministers now found their former zealous champion Lord Lyttelton, who, making a singularly sharp and sudden turn, spoke in this debate as strongly against their whole policy as ever he had done in support of it. The people, he said, expected a decisive administration, not an administration of jobs and jugglers—they would not be satisfied with changing the balls, and putting out this man merely to take in that. A Noble Lord whom he saw present (Earl Gower), had gone out. Why? Was it not because the Noble Lord could not get an administration to meet his wishes, and come to some fixed rule of conduct? Administration was to the world the best instance of its own want of firmness; it was a rope of sand crumbling away, day by day, till it came to nothing. He went on to say, on the subject of the late appointment of Lord Stormont as one of the Secretaries of State, that he hoped the public would thereby derive the benefit of "the councils of an old, a noble, and a learned lord (Lord Mansfield), whom he had, from his childhood, been taught to reverence and admire, and to regard as an oracle of wisdom." After all this, and having observed that it was true he had a place, and perhaps he should not very long hold it, his Lordship concluded by saying that "he had, for the seven years he had been in Parliament, given Ministers his support; that he was free to correct past errors, but that he did not mean to retract any of his arguments respecting the legislative rights of Great Britain over America. He still remained firmly of the same opinion, but as he was convinced, by experience, of the improbability of attaining the desired end of the war, it appeared to him to be absurd to pursue so expensive a measure further." The opinion thus expressed by Lord Lyttelton had now become the general conviction of all men of all parties, including, there can be little doubt, the Ministers themselves.

A great part of this debate, and also of many subsequent discussions in the course of the Session, ran upon the extraordinary and alarming appearance which public affairs had suddenly assumed in Ireland. The manufacturing and commercial, which were the popular interests in that country, had for some time been addressing urgent remonstrances to Government on the subject of the restrictions by which the trade of the country was cramped and depressed, but without gaining any attention. It seemed to be felt by Ministers that the conduct of Ireland in this instance was nothing else than a dangerous imitation of the example set by America, and therefore the last thing in the world to be encouraged. The Irish, however, now took advantage of the crisis to press their demands in another attitude and tone. Under pretext of making ready to resist the threatened invasion of the country by France and Spain, associations were formed for calling forth and organizing the military strength of the people, and in a few weeks there sprung up in this way an army of between forty and fifty thousand volunteers in arms. With such a power in their hands the popular party did not affect to conceal that their object was as much to wrest the redress of domestic grievances from their own Government as to repel foreign violence. In everything, in fact, but the mere form, and almost even in that, it was nothing else than an insurrection. It had far more of that character than the remonstrances of the Americans had at first assumed. We may conceive how greatly the embarrassment of the Ministers must have been increased by thus finding themselves with a second colonial rebellion upon their hands, while they were every day more and more losing hope of being able to make head against the first. But, whether made wiser by experience, or forced by the necessities of their position, they fortunately resolved upon taking another course in this case than they had followed in the former.

(To be continued.)

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR MAY, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

A portion of the Parliamentary proceedings of the past month has been of unusual importance, though at the moment at which we write the fate of the measure about which the greatest interest has been felt still remains in suspense.

Our last Retrospect brought down the Chronicle of the Session to Thursday, the 21st of April. On that day nothing was done in the Upper House, but the Commons were occupied with two curious businesses—Sir Andrew Agnew once more on the Sabbath, and Mr. Hardy again on the Carlow election. For the moment a delusive show of success, or at least an escape from immediate defeat, was permitted to lure on the efforts of both the Honourable Members. The motion for leave to bring in a Bill for the better observance of the Sabbath was carried, after a short discussion, by a majority of 200 to 82; and the debate on Mr. Hardy's Resolutions, which went to affirm that the agreement between Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Raphael, to which Mr. Vigors was a cognizant and consenting party, was a high breach of the privileges of this House, was at a late hour adjourned till the following day. In the mean time Lord John Russell had met the motion by moving, as an amendment, the whole of the Report of the Committee on the Carlow election, reduced to the form of a series of counter-resolutions.

On Friday, the 22nd, the debate was resumed, when Lord John Russell's amendment was carried by a majority of 243 to 169. Lord Stanley afterwards moved the following additional Resolution:—"That it appears that there was between the contracting parties in this case a distinct understanding that any surplus which should remain after providing for the legal expenses of the election of Mr. Raphael, should be applied, first, to defraying the expenses of the previous election, and in the next place to the fund of the Carlow Liberal Club; that such an understanding called for the notice of the House, as liable to abuse, and as a dangerous precedent tending to subvert the freedom and purity of election." This Resolution was opposed on two grounds; first, by Mr. Warburton, who denied that its statement of facts was sustained by the evidence taken before the Committee; secondly, by Lord John Russell, who argued that, however the facts might stand, the House would act with the greatest discretion and wisdom in not going beyond the Report of the Committee. His Lordship accordingly moved, as an amendment,—"That the Order of the Day be now read." On this question another division took place, when the numbers were

found to be, for Lord Stanley's Resolution 166, for Lord John Russell's amendment 238, being nearly the same with those on the previous vote.

On Monday the 25th, the ministerial measure for the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland was brought forward in the House of Commons by Lord Morpeth, in a Committee of the whole House. It was stated by his Lordship that the present measure differed from that introduced last year, principally in an arrangement being now made, by which no parochial benefice would be altogether suppressed. It was now proposed, that in all parishes where the number of resident Protestants was below 50, the incumbent should have an income of 100*l.*; one of 200*l.*, where the number of Protestants was below 500; one of 300*l.*, where the number was below 1000; and one of 400*l.*, where the number did not exceed 3000. No parochial living would be above 500*l.* in annual value. According to this scheme his Lordship calculated that the annual remuneration to the clergy would amount to 361,938*l.* This sum was of course to be obtained from the tithes, which it was proposed to commute into a perpetual rent-charge, payable by the owner of the first estate of inheritance, a deduction being made from the present amount of the burden to the extent of 30 per cent. This, it was calculated, would afford a revenue of 459,550*l.*; so that the difference between the receipt and expenditure would be 97,612*l.* The present motion was merely preliminary to the bringing in of the Bill, and an assent to it would not pledge any Member to the principles of the measure; but his Lordship observed, that the Government felt they could not abandon the declarations or shake off the engagements they had made on entering office, and that therefore they still adhered to the principle of what was called the appropriation clause in the Bill of last year, and should propose that if, in the future disposition of the revenues of the Irish Church, any portion of them should appear to be superfluous for the legitimate and becoming uses of the members of her community, it should, after the satisfaction of all existing interests, be applied to the religious and moral instruction of the whole Irish people. The Noble Lord concluded by moving, "That it is expedient to commute the composition of tithes in Ireland into a rent-charge, payable by the first estate of inheritance, and to make further provision for the better regulation of ecclesiastical duties." After some remarks from Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Lord John Russell, and other Honourable Members, this resolution was agreed to, and leave was given to bring in a Bill founded upon it. The House then went into Committee on the Registration of Voters' Bill, and proceeded in the discussion of its clauses as far as to the forty-eighth.

On Tuesday the 26th the Lords assembled in great force to do execution, as threatened, upon the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill. On the Order of the Day being moved for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the Bill, Lord Fitzgerald, in a long speech, moved "That it be an instruction to the Committee to make provision for the abolition of the corporations, and for such arrangements as may be necessary, on their abolition, for securing the efficient and impartial execution of justice, and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland." The principal speakers in the debate that followed were, in support of the motion, Lords Abinger and Lyndhurst; and, in opposition to it, the Lord Chancellor and Lords Holland and Melbourne. Their Lordships divided at near one o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were found to be—for Lord Fitzgerald's motion, 203 (including 70 proxies); against it 119 (including 47 proxies).

This evening, in the Commons, the Great Northern Railway Bill was thrown out, on the second reading, by a majority of 99 to 85. Mr. Rippon then brought forward his Resolution, "That the attendance of the Bishops in Parliament is prejudicial to the cause of religion;" which, after a short debate, was negatived by a majority of 180 to 53.

On Wednesday, the 27th, the great strength of the landed interest in the present House of Commons was shown on occasion of the motion of the Marquess of Chandos, on the subject of agricultural distress. The Resolution proposed by his Lordship was—"That in the application of any surplus revenue towards the relief of the burdens of the country, either by remission of taxation or otherwise, due regard should be had to the necessity of a portion thereof being applied to the relief of the agricultural interest." Lord John Russell, in opposing the motion, pointed out the various ways in which the burdens of the proprietors and cultivators of the soil had been of late years diminished, and dwelt especially upon the important relief which it was unanimously agreed they had obtained through the new poor-law. The result, however, of this first side-blow aimed at the proposed reductions of the newspaper stamp and the paper duty, was calculated to give rise to some apprehension as to the fate of these propositions of enlightened policy; for Lord Chandos's motion was only negatived by a majority of 208 to 172. Thus, in a House of 380 Members, the exertion of all the strength of Government appears to be able to beat the combination of the landlords by no greater a majority than 36; and on this occasion both Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham deserted the opposition, and voted with Ministers against the motion.

On Thursday, the 28th, in the Lords, the Lord Chancellor explained the Ministerial plan for the new regulation of his own office, as contained in two Bills which he presented,—the one to provide for the better administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, the other respecting the appellate jurisdiction of their Lordships' House. By these measures it was, he stated, proposed that in addition to the Lord Chancellor, there should in future be another Judge, styled the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Chancery, who alone should preside in that Court, the Lord Chancellor remaining only at the head of all the ultimate appellate jurisdictions of the country, by presiding at appeals in error before the House of Lords, and also at appeals before the Privy Council. The new Lord Chief Justice would, like the other Judges, be appointed during life and good behaviour, and be removable upon an address from the two Houses of Parliament. It was also intended that the House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, should, notwithstanding any prorogation or dissolution of Parliament, be always accessible to suitors. Appeals from the Vice Chancellor and from the Master of the Rolls would be made in the first place to the Chief Justice of the Court of Chancery, and not directly to the House of Lords. These are the material provisions of the scheme, to which objections were made by various Noble Lords, and among others by Lord Langdale, the new Master of the Rolls, who, although he admitted that the two Bills were calculated to effect much good, yet regretted that political and judicial functions of the greatest importance would still be left united in the Lord Chancellor. For the mere purposes of deciding causes, and administering justice, a Judge altogether unconnected with the politics of the day might probably be the best. Yet in such a profession as the law, the man of eminent abilities will in general have distinguished himself in public life and party politics, as well as in his profession, and his having done so has scarcely been held as an objection to his appointment to a seat on the Bench. Thither, however, he of course carries with him his political partialities and connexion, even although he should not be actually invested with political functions. It has also

equently happened that the other Judges have as well s the Lord Chancellor been ennobled, and made legis- ators; and whenever that has been the case, although ey may not have held any ministerial office, they ave usually been as steady supporters of their party as ny other Members of Parliament. Lord Mansfield the great Chief Justice), Lord Denman, Lord Langdale imself, are all examples of the union in this way of im- ortant judicial and political functions. The late Lord llenborough at one time, while Chief Justice of the ing's Bench, actually held a place in the Cabinet. ere, then, we have various degrees of that which in all s forms appears to be condemned as an abuse by the bjection which we are considering. How far is our dmission of the force of that objection to carry us? Are ve only to have no Judges holding Cabinet offices? Or re we also to lay it down as a rule that no Judge ought o have a seat in either House of Parliament? Or are ve to go still further, and to insist that no decided poli- ical partisan, no man, that is to say, who has acted a onspicuous part in public life, shall ever be elevated to he Bench? Such a rule of exclusion as this last seems o be of impracticable application even if it were sound n principle, but its wisdom is at least as questionable as ts practicability. Yet give up this, and you abandon at he same time the principle, and at least a great part of he reason, of the other proposed exclusions.

But, upon the whole question, it may be observed, hat it is scarcely to be decided by the single consi- deration of whether the holding of a political office by a particular head of the law is favourable or the re- verse to his performance of his judicial functions. We will not say that there may be a higher or more important object than this to be contemplated in the right settlement of the matter; but there may be other objects which a comprehensive arrangement will not overlook, and for the sake of attaining which it may be well to sacrifice a very small portion even of that which must be regarded as the essential and pri- mary purpose to be kept in view. It is not the character of the primary purpose of any political insti- tution to exclude the consideration of all other ends but itself, or even to be so inviolable and monopolizing as never to admit, in any circumstances, of the least abridgment out of regard to such other ends. It is a great, though a common mistake, to assign this rigorous character to political institutions, and to reason respect- ing them accordingly. Such reasoning has, no doubt, the attraction of great directness, simplicity, and appa- rent clearness; but if it be indebted for its freedom from complexity, and the ease with which it may be followed, merely to its not taking in the whole of the *data* upon which the solution of the question depends, these qualities are manifestly of no value whatever.

In the particular case before us, while it is admitted that the chief design of the institution of the office of Lord Chancellor, and the end which is to be, in the first instance, and most directly, aimed at, is the right admi- nistration of justice, it may, at the same time be con- tended that that is neither the single object to be kept in view, nor even the one with which no other is ever in the least degree to be allowed to come into competi- tion. Another object, very inferior in importance on the whole, and therefore by no means to be sought at the expense of any considerable sacrifice of the primary object, may yet be so desirable as to be worth the securing at the expense of a very slight sacrifice of that other. For instance, it may be deemed expedient that some high testimony of respect and honour should be rendered by the State to the profession of the law, by the head of the profession being maintained in a station of eminent rank and splendour. It may be thought well in this way at once to elevate the law in the public imagination, and to stimulate the ambition of its mem- bers. Again, instead of altogether disconnecting the law from politics, and establishing an impassable barrier between the forum and the senate, it may be held to be a better polity to keep the statemanship of the country constantly in communication with, and under the in- fluence of, the spirit of its established laws. With this view, it may be considered proper that the head of the law should be always, in right of his office, a member of the executive government. Once more, in a country where distinctions of rank exist, and, especially, where the aristocratic principle is preserved in great strength as an element of the constitution, by the maintenance of hereditary honours, and the assignment to their holders of privileges extending to a large share in the government, it may be conceived that the coun- teracting force of the popular interest is materially invigorated, and that a valuable provision is made for keeping up the general health of the body politic, by a power being lodged in the State, and being in common exercise, by which the man of the humblest parentage may at any time be raised to a position, even in the artificial edifice of precedency, as high as or higher than that occupied by him of proudest ancestry. The Lord Chancellor, placed as he is at the head of the peerage, is yet the people's peer, the peer both taken from among the people and made by the people, for he must have been raised to eminence by the public voice before he can be ennobled by the King's patent. Such considerations as these would seem to make it desirable, that in the arrangement of the office of this head of the law, something more should be kept in view than the placing him merely in the best possible position for the hearing and deciding of causes. If even a slight dimi- nution of his efficiency in that respect were found to be necessary for securing the other objects which have been indicated, it might still turn out that the gain would be worth the cost.

On Friday, the 29th, the House was principally en- gaged in Committee on the Registration of Voters Bill. On Clause 51, Mr. T. Duncombe proposed an amend- ment, to the effect, that where the landlord of any house shall compound for the payment of any poor-rates or assessed taxes, the tenant in occupation should be enti- tled to be placed on the register of voters; but the motion was opposed by the Attorney-General, and negatived on a division, by a majority of 135 to 38. Some opposition was also made to the 52nd clause; the object of which is, to put an end to the system of creating votes by means of what may be called fictitious or fraudulent tenures, such as the erection on a piece of ground of a mere hovel or pigstye, and then claiming a vote for the tenant as the occupier of a tenement and land together, of the yearly value of 10*l.*; but the clause was at last agreed to without a division.

On Monday, the 2nd of May, the Lords were chiefly occupied with the Irish Constabulary Force Bill. The measure was strongly denounced by Lord Roden and other Noble Lords, but the motion of Lord Duncannon that the House should go into Committee on it, was eventually agreed to. In the Committee, however, all the amendments proposed by the opposition were carried without a division.

In the Commons, the Edinburgh Poor Rates Bill was read a third time, and passed. The House then went into Committee on the Tithes Commutation Bill, when the first thirty three clauses were agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 3rd, a petition wrs presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Goulburn, from the pro- prietors of four London daily papers, complaining of that part of the plan proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for regulating the stamp-duties, which im- poses an increased duty upon newspapers exceeding a

certain size. In his explanation, Mr. Rice completely vindicated himself from the supposition, if such could in any quarter have been entertained, that in limiting the size as he had done, he had been actuated by any view of injuring the papers belonging to the petitioners, which happened to be all opposed to the Government, and also to the only papers which were in the habit of publishing sheets exceeding the assigned dimensions. But if it is considered necessary to impose any limitation of size at all, it would certainly seem to be the fairer plan to make the allowed size sufficiently large to comprehend the largest of the papers which are now published, all the arrangements connected with which have of course been formed upon the till now universally entertained conviction of the permanence of the existing law. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, indeed, appears to have proceeded upon this feeling, when he enlarged the number of superficial inches at first proposed, upon learning that there were certain country papers now published of greater extent. Why not have enlarged it so far as to take in the largest of the present town, as well as the largest of the present country papers? As for the circumstance that the large sheet of the *Times*, *Herald*, &c., goes by the name of a double paper, that cannot be considered as of any importance. It is, in point of fact, a single paper just as much as the *Leeds Mercury* is a single paper, only that it happens to be differently folded. Several of the acknowledged single papers, too, are folded in the same way. The only thing that could reasonably be regarded as making a distinction as to this matter between certain of the existing newspapers and others, would be, that the former exceeded the size of the latter in some very remarkable degree—that they were of double, or nearly double, dimensions. In that case it might be said that, the stamp-duty being in lieu of a postage, it was not fair that a paper of twice the ordinary weight should be carried by the mails for no more than the ordinary charge. But the difference between the *York Courant*, for instance, which is within the Chancellor's limits, and the large sheet of the *Times*, which they do not comprehend, is nothing of this kind,—it is only a very few inches. If the one is to be conveyed over the country at the ordinary charge, so ought the other.

On the principle of a limited size, indeed, the limitation must be fixed somewhere; but the proper point evidently is, where it would take in all the existing papers—not where, taking in all the rest, it would exclude only some three or four, whose extent was but a few inches more than that of the largest of their favoured rivals. What reason there may be for standing out against this proposition we cannot perceive. No good purpose can possibly be served by putting down what are called the double sheets of *The Times*, *Herald*, *Post*, and *Standard*. On the contrary, the public will be thereby deprived of a cheap commodity, and the revenue will be affected by the diminished consumption of paper, and probably, also, by the return of the advertisement duty being less than they otherwise would be. What benefit we are to have in compensation for these evils we are quite at a loss to conjecture.

This evening a Resolution, moved by Mr. Grantley Berkeley, for the admission of ladies to the Gallery of the House to hear the debates was, after a short discussion, carried by a majority of 132 to 90. It does not, however, seem to have been arranged very precisely in what manner the project is to be carried into effect. Sir William Molesworth then brought forward his motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Commander of the Forces, in appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Brudenell to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons. The motion was supported by Mr. Hume, but was negatived on a division by a majority of 322 to 42.

On Wednesday the 4th, a short discussion took place on a series of resolutions brought forward by Mr. Poulett Scrope, recommending that no time should be lost in taking such steps as might tend to relieve the poor of Ireland from the calamitous situation in which they were described to be in the late Report of the Commissioners. The resolutions were eventually withdrawn on Lord Morpeth having moved the previous question, in a speech in which he assured the House that his Majesty's Government were not leaving this question at rest—that on the contrary they were now engaged in determining the proper and necessary steps to be taken for its adjustment, and that at the first moment when they were in a condition to propose such a general measure as they could recommend to the adoption of Parliament on their own responsibility, that moment they would do so without subterfuge or delay. The House was afterwards counted out while engaged with Mr. Buckingham's motion, for the second reading of his Public Walks Bill.

On Friday the 6th, in the Lords, the Report on the Irish Constabulary Bill was brought up on the motion of Lord Duncannon, when an amendment to one of the clauses moved by the Duke of Leinster, for the purpose of exempting freemasons from the provision obliging a constable or sub-constable to swear that he did not belong to a secret society, was rejected on a division by a majority of 44 to 41.

In the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the Budget in a Committee of Ways and Means. After going over the general condition of the country at great length, the Right Honourable Gentleman stated that the income of the current financial year was in round numbers 46,980,000*l.*, and the expenditure 46,318,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 662,000*l.* With this surplus he proposed to reduce the duty on first class paper, after the 10th of October, from 3*d.* to 1½*d.*, and to abolish altogether the duty on stained paper, from which he calculated upon a loss this year of 125,000*l.*; to remit the South Sea duties, amounting to 10,000*l.*; to reduce the duties on insurances of farming stock, from which there would be a loss of 20,000*l.*; to reduce the duties on taxed carts, from which the loss would be 5000*l.*; and to reduce the newspaper stamp-duty from 4*d.* to 1*d.* without discount, after the 5th of July, from which he calculated that the loss on the present year would be 150,000*l.* There would also be a loss of 20,000*l.* occasioned by the proposed alteration of the probate duties, and of as much more on the revenue of the Post Office under the new arrangement with France. The total amount of the repeals which he proposed he estimated at 351,000*l.* for the present year, and 520,000*l.* when they should all come into operation. It is understood that the Right Honourable Gentleman has since consented to reduce the stamp-duty on Irish newspapers to ½*d.*, being, as at present, half the amount of the English duty.

On Monday the 9th, the Lords went into Committee on the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill, when an amendment, moved by Lord Lyndhurst on the second clause, which raised the whole question between the plan of the reform of the corporations, as proposed by Ministers, and that of their destruction brought forward by the Opposition, was, after an animated debate, carried on a division, by a majority of 107 to 53. All the rest of the clauses to the 21st inclusive was then struck out, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, except the 3rd and 10th, which were agreed to. On the 22nd clause, which Lord Lyndhurst also proposed to strike out, the Duke of Richmond proposed an amendment, which went to allow corporations to the larger towns; but Lord

Lyndhurst's motion was eventually carried by a majority of 98 to 45. The remaining clauses, to the 37th, were then agreed to without discussion.

In the Commons a long debate took place on the second reading of the New Factory Bill, which was moved by Mr. Poulett Thomson. In his speech the Right Honourable Gentleman stated that the object of the Bill was to place the law regarding factories in the same situation as that in which it stood previously to the 1st of March last. By the law, as it stands at present, children under the age of thirteen years are prohibited from working in factories for more than eight hours a-day, and the object of the Bill is to allow children between the ages of twelve and thirteen to work, if they were so inclined, for twelve hours a-day. Lord Ashley opposed the Bill, and moved that it should be read a second time that day six months; but this amendment was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 178 to 176.

On Tuesday, the 10th, in the Lords, the Irish Constabulary Force Bill was read a third time, and passed, after the oath to be taken by constables had, on the motion of Lord Ellenborough, been amended so as to exempt freemasons from the words of exclusion directed against the members of secret societies. The House then went into Committee on the Church Pluralities Bill, when, on the first clause being read, which prohibits persons from holding two livings situated at a greater distance than ten miles from each other, Lord Wynford proposed an amendment to the effect, that the distance should continue to be forty-five miles, as at present. His Lordship, however, eventually acknowledged that he was convinced, by the arguments he had heard that he had taken a wrong view of the point, and withdrew his amendment. He afterwards moved another amendment on the 4th clause, to the effect that no spiritual person should hold two benefices with a cure of souls where the united value of the two livings exceeded 1000*l.* a-year, instead of 500*l.* a-year as proposed in the Bill; but this was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 29 to 7. The House then adjourned till Friday.

In the Commons, Mr. O'Connell's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the Dublin Steam Packet Company, notwithstanding that the Standing Orders had not been complied with, was carried by a majority of 106 to 65. The House afterwards went into Committee on the English Tithes Commutation Bill, and agreed to a modification of one of the original clauses proposed by Lord John Russell, to the effect that instead of the actual produce of the tithes for the last seven years being taken, the composition during that period should be deemed the actual value, only adding a fair equivalent in cases where the tithe-owner has been induced to take a smaller sum, in consideration of his being exempted from all burdens. Some other amendments were rejected.

On Wednesday, the 11th, the third reading of the Roman Catholic Marriages' Bill was carried by a majority of 100 to 91. Various other Bills were also forwarded a stage; after which, the House went into Committee on the Civil Courts (Ireland) Bill, when the clauses up to the 38th were agreed to.

On Thursday, the 12th, on the motion of Mr. Clay, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the operation of the present law respecting joint-stock banks. An addition to the motion proposed by Mr. Hume, that the Committee should be instructed to inquire into the effect of the clause in the charter of the Bank of England authorizing country bankers to pay their engagements in Bank of England paper, was rejected by a majority of 98 to 12. The House then went again into Committee on the Commutation of Tithes' Bill; when the 34th clause, fixing the *maximum* of the rent-charge at 75*l.* and the *minimum* at 60*l.*, gave rise to a long discussion, which was not terminated when the House rose at near one in the morning.

On Friday, the 13th, the House having gone again into Committee on the Tithe Bill, the 34th clause, after several other amendments had been rejected by considerable majorities, was carried, against a motion by Mr. Wrightson for its entire omission, by a majority of 78 to 70. The remaining clauses, up to the 49th, were then agreed to, with the exception of a few the consideration of which was postponed.

On Monday, the 16th, the Lords went into the re-consideration in Committee of the Irish Municipal Corporations' Bill, on the motion of Lord Lansdowne, after Lord Lyndhurst had declined moving its re-committal; and the several clauses were agreed to with some unimportant alterations.

In the Commons a division took place on the motion of Mr. Bannerman to refer back the Aberdeen Schools' Bill to the Select Committee that had already reported upon it, that they might re-consider their objections to the preamble. The motion was carried by a majority of 158 to 107. Mr. Roebuck then brought forward his motion for the House resolving itself into a Committee to take into consideration the present constitution of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Canadas. Sir George Grey, however, in the course of the debate that followed, having declared that it was the anxious desire of Ministers to conciliate the Canadians, and that when the Report of the Commissioners now in the colony was received, he did hope that, without superseding the King's prerogative in any way, measures might be taken, with respect to the remodelling of the legislative council, which would remove the existing discontent, the motion was withdrawn.

On Tuesday, the 17th, a motion, submitted by Mr. Wallace, for a Commission to proceed to the county of Carlow to inquire into the alleged coercion and intimidation of voters in that county was opposed by Lord John Russell, and negatived by a majority of 123 to 52. The House was afterwards counted out whilst engaged in considering the Lords' amendments on the Irish Constabulary Bill.

On Wednesday, the 18th, the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was read a third time in the Lords, on the motion of the Marquess of Lansdowne. A debate and division took place on an amendment of Schedule A, proposed by the Duke of Richmond; the object of which was to give municipal institutions to Dublin, Belfast, and five more of the principal towns of Ireland. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 141 (including 61 proxies) against 82 (including 37 proxies). The Bill was then passed.

In the Commons the Over Inclosure Bill was thrown out on the third reading, on the motion of Dr. Bowring, by a majority of 88 to 84. Sir Andrew Agnew then moved the second reading of his Sabbath-day Observance Bill, when Mr. Ward moved, as an amendment, that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months; and, on a division, the amendment was carried by a majority of 75 to 43. Afterwards the House went into Committee on the Tithes Commutation Bill, when, on the 76th clause being read, Mr. T. Duncombe moved that after the passing of the Act all tithes of fish or of fishing, and all personal tithes, should cease and determine; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 96 to 50.

On Thursday, the 19th, the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was brought down from the Lords, when the re-appearance of the metamorphosed measure produced, as was to be expected, a considerable sensation. In the course of an animated conversation which arose, Lord

John Russell expressed his decided dissent from the Lords' amendments, which he moved should be printed, and taken into consideration on the 2nd of June.

On Friday, the 20th, the Gravesend Pier Bill was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 93 to 14. Mr. O'Connell then presented a petition from certain electors of the city of Dublin against the sitting Members for that city, the question of printing which gave rise to a debate of some length, which was eventually adjourned till the 30th instant. The Tithe Commutation Bill and the Stamp Duties Bill were then considered in Committee, and the several clauses agreed to; and the Report on the Registration of Voters Bill was further considered.

At their rising, both Houses adjourned to Monday, the 30th of May.

FRANCE.

THERE have been some long debates in the Chamber of Deputies on the new Customs' Tariff Bill. On Monday the 18th of April some reductions were sanctioned in the duties on foreign iron, cotton yarn or twist, and a few minor articles; but from the general tone of the debates, it does not appear that the free-trade system has gained many new converts among French legislators, or that ministers are disposed to give up the principle of protecting duties. Among the warmest adherents to the old restrictive system are many of the ultra-liberal party, whose prejudices are incurable.

The whole of the new Tariff Bill was carried, in the Deputies, on the 29th of April, by a majority of 233 to 22. In some respect the trade of England will be benefited by it; but, for the interest of both countries, the reduction of duties ought to have gone further, and included other commodities. On iron the reduction was only from 22 fr. 65 c. to 20 francs.

In the Chamber of Peers there was some warm debating, towards the end of April, on the unhappy affairs of Spain. The Marquis de Deux Breze criticised the Quadruple Alliance, which, he said, had put France in a position in which she was obliged to afford protection to anarchy and misrule. He then inquired what line of conduct ministers meant to pursue with reference to Spain in future. In reply to the Marquis, the Minister of the Interior merely said, that neither his colleagues in office nor the members who voted with them in the Chambers would ever think of aiding and supporting an anarchical system or a republican party in Spain. He declined giving any more information than this.

Considerable interest was created by an announcement that the two eldest sons of King Louis Philippe —the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Nemours— were about to visit the northern courts with objects at once political and matrimonial. The ministerial paper, the *Journal des Debats*, said, on this important occasion, "Hitherto the ministers and ambassadors of France have treated only with governments: the Duke of Orleans will now treat with kings. The Duke will personify at the German courts that spirit of enlightened *conciliation* and prudent decision which is the spirit of new France; the government has caused the revolution of July to be respected—the Duke of Orleans will cause it to be *understood*." We should have thought that, by this time, the affair was intelligible enough to the commonest capacities; but the simple meaning of these fine words seems to be that Louis Philippe, who has made the constitution of France worth next to nothing, is to put himself on the most friendly footing with the sovereigns of countries that have no constitution at all; and that he is sending his sons across the Rhine in order that their formal reception by the northern Powers should look like, and stand for, an indirect recognition of his right to the throne he occupies, and of the right of his children to succeed him on it.

On Sunday the 1st of May, Louis-Philippe's fête, the usual diplomatic compliments and ministerial addresses were made to his Majesty. Count Appony, the Russian ambassador, was orator for the diplomatic body; and the Baron Pasquier and M. Dupin were principal speakers for the French cabinet. Count Appony praised "the wise and enlightened government" of the king— which, he said, was "a pledge of general peace;" and Baron Pasquier proclaimed that the proper name for his Majesty was "Louis-Philippe le Sage."

On the 7th of May a petition was presented to the Deputies, praying for the suppression of those licensed gaming-houses which disgrace Paris and the government that derives a profit from them. Several members spoke warmly in support of the petition, but M. Thiers stuck to the money. These hells yield a revenue of 5,000,000 of francs, and so government could not consent to their suppression. Ultimately, the petition was referred to the President of the Council. M. Thiers's open and sordid defence of what causes infinite immorality and wretchedness will not do him much honour. On the 14th of May, in a debate upon the expenses incurred in public buildings and improvements, M. Thiers was accused of extravagance; but he defended himself successfully.

Towards the end of April, all the ships of war at Toulon were ordered to be got ready, so as to be able to put to sea at a moment's notice. It was understood they were to proceed to Africa to take on board the garrisons of Oran and Bona, which unprofitable dependencies of Algiers, it seems, are to be evacuated. According to some of the French papers, this force is to be conveyed to Spain, and joined to the legion of Africa already there.

A report has been repeated in the Chambers, that in July next, on the anniversary of the revolution, two of the ministers of Charles X. in the castle of Ham (Messrs. Chantelauze and Guernon de Ranville), with other persons imprisoned for political offences, will receive the royal pardon.

The two French princes arrived, on the 11th of May, at Berlin, where, according to the German papers, they were received by the royal family in the most flattering manner. In April, the official gazette of St. Petersburgh contained an order for the celebration of a service, after high mass, on the fête day of Louis Philippe.

SPAIN.

IN consequence of their long and violent altercations in the Chamber of Procuradores, Senors Mendizabal and Isturitz fought a duel, on the 16th of April, outside the Puerta di Segovia at Madrid. Although they fought with deadly pistols, and not with the weapon of the country—the small sword, with which, in ninety cases out of a hundred, Spanish duellists merely scratch one another,—no harm of any kind was done, and after Senor Isturitz had retracted some words that were personally offensive, the affair ended.

The difficulties encountered by Mendizabal, in forming a Cabinet, appear to have been very great, nor was it until the 6th of May that the news of its completion reached London. The Spanish Government then stood thus:—

Mendizabal,	President of the Council and	Finances.
Rodil	,,	War.
Count Almodovar	,,	Foreign Affairs.
Martin de los Heros	,,	Interior.
Gomez Becerra	,,	Justice.

On the 23rd of April the Chambers voted the Address by a large majority. Mendizabal again promised the speedy putting down of the "faction" in the north, for

which purpose he said 70,000 faithful troops were actually marching thither. He also stated, that he had so far restored the credit of Spain as to be enabled to negotiate a loan on the foreign exchange upon very favourable conditions. On the subject of the quadruple alliance he did not say much, but the little that fell from him went to encourage the hope that France, as well as England and Portugal, would be faithful to the treaty. The great stumbling block in his path, and the main cause of his difficulties in getting together a Cabinet, was the disposal of monastic property, on which question the majorities of the two Chambers are directly and violently opposed to each other. The Proceres, or Peers, had moved a petition praying for the reversal of the royal decree issued some time since under Mendizabal's advice, and enjoining the immediate sale of all monastic lands, houses, &c. &c.; whereas the Procuradores, or Commons, were inclined to go hand in hand with Government, and even hurry on the Bills necessary to complete the measure of confiscation.

On the 23rd a Royal order, regarding the liquidation of the national debt, was published. It contained the following paragraph in relation to the foreign passive debt.

"It had been estimated that the amount of this debt would reach the sum of 1,051,000,000 reals, but the amount of documents hitherto produced in London and Paris reaches only 1,048,640,000 reals. Calculating, however, that they may amount to 1,051,000,000, the sixth part to be consolidated will be 175,166,666⅔."

The war in the north has been much more active, though, with the exception of the affair before St. Sebastian, it has consisted merely of skirmishes,—sharp, and desperate in some instances, yet still too unimportant to merit anything like detail.

On the 25th of April, the Carlists, under General Eguia, gained some advantages over the Queen's troops commanded by General Espeleta, in the valley of Mira; but on the 26th they were defeated on the heights of Larascana by the Algerine legion (the French auxiliaries of the Queen) commanded by General Bernelle.

The Carlists had for some time been gathering in great force in front of St. Sebastian, and erecting works which menaced that town. For part of this time they held a battery at the convent of San Bartolome which commanded the harbour. To dislodge these beleaguerers, General Evans's corps was ordered from Vittoria to St. Sebastian. These troops marched in good order, and with admirable rapidity, to the port of Santander, where they embarked. The 6th and 3rd regiments, with the General and his staff, landed on the morning of the 22nd of April at San Sebastian, which place they found in a deplorable condition. The rifle brigade under Colonel de Rottenberg, and the rest of the corps, (with the exception of the Cavalry), arrived in the course of the two following days, and then it was determined to dislodge the Carlists.

On the 5th of May a general sortie was made from the town, which is built upon a peninsula formed by the river Urumea and the sea. The road to Passages used to be carried over the river by a bridge, but that had been destroyed by the Carlists, who occupied the large convent of St. Francis, and a village on the opposite bank. General Evans having no materials for the construction of a bridge tried a ford lower down, by which the British, in 1813, advanced to the breach of St. Sebastian, but this ford was found to be impracticable, and being thus constrained to renounce his project of turning the enemies' positions and getting in their rear, he determined to attack them in front, in three columns. The Carlist works, through the centre of which ran the high-road to Hernani, were very strong, both by nature and art, and the steep hills that formed the position were defended by five heavy pieces of artillery, which swept the ground in their front (by which the British had to advance) in every direction. By three o'clock in the morning General Evans had brought up his three columns close to the enemy's first line, which was immediately penetrated and carried. The Rifle regiment then pushed back the enemy's right, while the Spanish Chapelgorries, and two English regiments advanced against the formidable centre of the position. In this attempt on the centre no good progress was made, but many lives were lost. A deadly fire drove back the head of the column which thrice strove to penetrate the line of the Carlists who, from behind their works, wounded and killed without exposing their own persons. General Evans stood amidst a shower of balls, urging on his men, who shewed the greatest gallantry in this unequal fight, but could not, with all their efforts, penetrate the position by that point. On the right, however, the brigades under Colonels Chichester and Shaw made considerable progress, and carrying some works above the Ajuda Convent, advanced against the last line of entrenchments.

This last line consisted of a strong redoubt on the extreme left, which was connected by a loop-holed wall, with the fortified village and redoubts that extended to the right nearly a league. Three bold attempts were made to carry the redoubt, but they all failed. The steep ascent—the slippery nature of the ground, and the mud, in which, owing to the heavy rains, the assailants sank nearly knee deep, were great advantages on the side of the Carlists, who fought under cover of their works. At this moment Lord John Hay, who a short time before had landed 800 men of General Evans's legion, opened a tremendous fire on the works, with the view of assisting the attacking party. Seldom has aid been more opportune or decisive. Such was the precision of the vertical firing, and the effect of the shells thrown at a distance of 1500 yards, that after killing a great many of the Carlists, they tore down an *epaulement*, and made a breach through which General Evans prepared to enter. In the meantime the men Lord John Hay had landed arrived on the ground; they were formed in columns of attack by General Evans in person, and presently advancing, they carried the redoubt through the breach at the point of the bayonet. The Carlists all along the line then fled in the greatest disorder, and were hotly pursued as far as Hernani. These advantages were rather dearly bought, for in killed and wounded General Evans lost above 800, among whom were from 70 to 80 officers. The only ships Lord John Hay brought into action were his Majesty's armed steamers the "Phœnix" and "Salamander."

The loss of the Carlists who were so long sheltered by their works was less than that of General Evans, but the death of the brave Segastibelza (the best of their commanders since Zumalacarregui) who was killed by a musket-ball in the midst of the attack, is a serious blow to the party. Two or three other Carlist generals were bayonet or cut down, "it being impossible" says one of the English reports of the battle, "to save them from the fury of our soldiers."

Soon after the victory was gained, the works of the Carlists, which had cost them between three and four months' labour to erect, were demolished. They left behind them four out of their five pieces of heavy artillery—a serious loss in their circumstances, for the vigilance of Lord John Hay's cruizers will prevent the landing of any supplies of the sort, while it will be very difficult to smuggle articles of such bulk and weight across the French frontier by land. The active co-operation of our ships of war will very soon enable the Queenites to drive the Carlists from all the sea-ports and places near the coast. It appears that Lord John Hay's squadron has concentrated at Bermeo, a central

point, near the theatre of war, whence he can promptly assist Bilboa and Sebastian if again attacked, and by detaching a steamer or two, drive the Carlists out of Lequeito, which was lately taken by Casa Eguia, and the other little ports they occupy, in half an hour. The wonderful precision of our marine artillery in throwing them, and the instantaneous effect of our shells and rockets, strike the Carlists with dread, and astonish all Spaniards. We fear that the prospects of the young Queen which are brightening on this side are darkening in the capital. On the 12th of May the Madrid newspapers pretty generally circulated a report that the Mendizabal Administration was about to be broken up. The mere rumour of this event, in the critical state of the finances—and, indeed, of everything belonging to Spain, created excitement and dismay; and we regret to see that the report of this new convulsion is rapidly gaining ground. Our papers of Saturday, May 21st., copied from the Paris journals of the 19th, give the following paragraphs:—

"A telegraphic despatch from Bayonne communicates intelligence to the effect, that in consequence of the Queen's refusal that Generals Quesada, Espeleta, and San Roman should be superseded in the commands they held in Madrid, all the Ministers have resigned.

"The Queen has accepted the resignations, and intrusted, on the 15th of May, M. Isteritz with the construction of a new Cabinet."

Whether true or false, or premature, this news caused the Spanish stock in Paris to fall at once from 46 to 44¼. In London the fall has been still greater; on Saturday morning (21st) the panic continuing to spread, the price was once as low as 40, and a universal confusion involved the stock and everything connected with it. This is sad news for the Constitutionalists of Spain, whose cause depends more on the Stock Exchange of Europe, than on their armies in the field.

Since the above was in type, intelligence has been received of the resignation or dismissal of Mendizabal and his colleagues, and the appointment, on the 16th, of the following new Ministry:—

Don Francisco Javier de Isturitz, President of the Council, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; in the room of Senor Mendizabal.

Don Angel Saavedra, Duke de Rivas, Minister of the Interior; in the room of Don Martin de los Heros.

Don Antonio Seoane, Minister of War; in the room of General Don Jose Ramon Rodil.

Don Jose Ventura Aguirre Solarte, Minister of Finance; in the room of Senor Mendizabal.

Don Antonio Alcala Galiano, Minister of Marine; in the room of Don J. M. Chacon.

It is also understood that Senor Gonsalez, President of the Chamber, is to have the office of Minister of Grace and Justice.

PORTUGAL.

PRINCE FERDINAND, the husband elect of Donna Maria, arrived at Lisbon, where the royal marriage was celebrated on the 9th of April. Senhor Campos, the new Finance Minister, had caused great dissatisfaction, by annulling the decree for the conversion of the 5 per cent. stock into 4 per cent.

A day or two after the celebration of the marriage the Queen prorogued the Cortes, delivering a speech in person. They had offended the Queen by not going readily into her views of appointing her husband commander-in-chief of the forces. On the 29th of April, however, her Majesty, by proclamation, convoked the Cortes for an extraordinary Session to commence on the 29th of May.

On the 20th of April another new ministry was announced, composed of

Duke of Ferceira . .	President of the Council.
Count of Villa Real .	Foreign Affairs.
Gonzalez da Miranda .	Navy.
Carvalho	Finances.
Jose Freire . . .	Interior.
Antonio d'Aguiar . .	Justice.

At the same time the Duke of Palmella was appointed Plenipotentiary to conclude a new treaty with England. This business, it appears, is to be arranged at Lisbon between the Duke and our ambassador Lord Howard de Walden.

It is said that the new Portuguese ministry, which has been much pressed for money, has had good credit enough to obtain considerable loans from capitalists, native and foreign, at Lisbon and Oporto. Some disturbances have taken place in various parts of the country, but they are represented as unimportant. The young prince has several times reviewed the troops, and is said to be popular with the army.

AUSTRIA.

THE Emperor is making very considerable reductions in his army, and a demi-official article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in praising this proceeding, dwelt upon it as a consoling proof that the peace of Europe is in no danger. The writer says that the Cabinet of Vienna, on higher grounds than merely financial ones, has long been anxious to lessen the standing army, and that Prussia will readily follow the example of Austria. "On the whole," he continues, "the peaceful impulse given from Vienna will be followed by St. Petersburgh and Paris; for however critical the situation of Spain may be, by which alone France might have been forced to maintain its warlike attitude, yet the united will of the great continental Powers to avoid everything that might produce fresh misunderstandings, has made it possible for France to wait calmly, and *without interfering*, for the end of the catastrophe which hangs over Spain."

The reduction of the Austrian force has happily been extended to Italy, where Bologna and the Legations of the Pope are to be evacuated, and the whole army beyond the Alps reduced to 30,000. When the Austrians are no longer at Bologna, we suppose the French will evacuate Ancona, and leave his Holiness once more the master of his own dominions. The recent act of grace by which the Emperor of Austria liberated Count Frederic Gonfalonieri, and the other Italian state prisoners, whom his father had barbarously confined so many years in the dungeons of Spielberg, will produce a favourable effect on the temper of the Italian people. We understand the distinguished captives are allowed to emigrate to America, and that the sequestration of their property is to be reversed.

In a later number of the German paper already quoted from, it is observed, that "The reduction of the Austrian army is the result of a thorough conviction, that war is one of the most improbable contingencies, and that it may be left to diplomacy to settle the European differences which already exist, or may arise hereafter. To this feeling the valuable works of peace in the Austrian empire are indebted for their recent rapid progress. During the last three days, the first payments for iron railroad shares have been made at the house of Baron Rothschild. The applicants were as eager as if they had to receive money, instead of paying it."

This is all very consoling, and as it should be. We will return to the subject of the internal improvements, the navigation of the Danube by steam-vessels, &c., on an early opportunity.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

CRIMINAL OFFENDERS—ENGLAND AND WALES.

A SERIES of elaborate tables has been prepared and laid before Parliament, exhibiting the following interesting particulars:—1. Table, showing the total number of persons committed for trial, or bailed, charged with each description of offences, and the result of the proceedings. 2. Table, showing the age, sex, and degree of instruction of the total number of persons committed for trial or bailed. 3. Table, showing, in each county, the total number of persons committed for trial, or bailed, and the result of the proceedings. 4. Table, showing, in each county, the age, sex, and degree of instruction of the total number of persons committed for trial, or bailed. 5. Table, showing, at one view, the counties in which the different description of offences were committed, with which the persons committed for trial, or bailed, were charged. 6. Table, showing, in each county, the proportion of persons committed for trial, or bailed, to the population; the proportion of males and females, the proportion of offenders at the different periods of life, the proportion of offenders who had received instruction, and the proportion of offenders charged with each class of offences; and 7. Table, showing, in each county, the Courts before which the persons committed for trial, or bailed, were tried, or discharged without trial. —These tables occupy 126 folio pages.

The following is an abstract of part of the sixth table. It shows the proportion of offenders to the population, calculated on the census of 1831; the centesimal proportion of offenders who had received instruction,; and the centesimal proportion of offenders of each class:—

COUNTIES.	Proportion of Offenders to the Population.	Read and Write.	Read only.	Neither Read nor Write.	Instruction could not be ascertained	Offences against the Person.	Offences against Property, committed with Violence.	Offences against property, committed without Violence	Malicious Offences against Property.	Forgery and Offences against the Currency.	Other Offences not included in the foregoing Classes.
England and Wales	1 in 631	42.46	20.84	34.10	2.60	9.72	6.53	71.66	0.75	1.78	6.56
Bristol (City) .	1 in 274	46.05	17.67	32.56	3.72	7.44	1.39	83.26	—	4.19	3.72
Middlesex . .	1 in 395	55.56	12.90	30.07	2.47	11.94	4.21	75.57	0.17	3.95	4.16
Warwick . . .	1 in 445	35.18	23.02	40.74	1.06	4.63	11.91	77.78	—	1.58	4.10
Surrey	1 in 483	51.41	13.90	33.07	1.59	9.83	5.56	77.56	0.70	2.78	3.57
Lancaster . . .	1 in 503	35.61	24.30	38.66	1.43	7.53	1.62	82.52	0.19	1.43	6.71
Gloucester . .	1 in 512	46.96	21.68	24.96	6.40	13.42	8.89	68.96	1.25	0.62	6.86
Kent	1 in 536	44.63	18.91	35.01	1.45	11.97	5.93	72.93	0.33	1.90	6.94
Essex	1 in 546	33.86	22.16	43.30	0.69	10.48	8.25	77.66	1.37	0.35	1.89
Bedford . . .	1 in 552	30.06	30.63	38.73	0.58	13.87	10.98	55.49	4.05	0.58	15.03
Oxford	1 in 561	35.79	22.88	40.59	0.74	15.13	9.59	61.62	1.11	1.11	11.44
Stafford . . .	1 in 574	40.28	25.45	29.79	4.48	9.37	8.25	64.62	1.53	0.98	15.25
Norfolk . . .	1 in 582	34.93	24.18	30.10	1.79	9.10	6.86	74.09	0.45	0.60	10.90
Somerset . . .	1 in 591	41.67	24.85	30.56	2.92	8.48	12.57	73.98	0.58	1.17	3.22
Hertford . . .	1 in 602	29.41	14.29	55.04	1.26	7.14	4.21	77.73	2.10	1.68	7.14
Chester . . .	1 in 627	38.46	29.08	31.34	1.12	6.38	9.38	71.10	0.56	0.56	10.32
Suffolk	1 in 658	33.78	17.33	48.00	0.89	8.00	8.22	72.22	1.33	0.45	9.78
Buckingham . .	1 in 660	35.59	21.17	42.79	0.45	6.76	11.26	64.87	0.90	0.45	15.76
Cambridge . .	1 in 682	33.18	23.22	43.13	0.47	11.38	9.95	74.41	0.95	0.47	2.84
Southampton .	1 in 711	52.72	22.05	22.05	3.18	12.27	7.27	71.37	0.68	3.41	5.00
Leicester . . .	1 in 716	53.46	21.45	23.27	1.82	6.18	10.55	73.09	1.82	0.36	8.00
Wilts	1 in 717	27.46	29.55	37.02	5.97	9.26	8.96	67.46	1.79	1.49	11.04
Sussex	1 in 754	41.83	19.11	37.67	1.39	9.14	6.09	72.02	1.66	1.39	9.70
Worcester . .	1 in 760	33.81	25.18	37.41	3.60	12.23	15.11	61.87	1.08	0.72	8.99
Berks	1 in 769	32.28	22.75	43.91	1.06	6.35	13.76	71.43	1.06	4.23	3.17
Huntingdon . .	1 in 794	43.29	19.40	35.82	1.49	11.94	25.37	52.24	10.45	—	—
Hereford . . .	1 in 800	46.76	16.55	32.37	4.32	12.23	6.48	74.10	—	—	7.19
Monmouth . .	1 in 818	47.50	19.17	28.33	5.00	15.83	11.67	69.17	0.83	—	2.50
Dorset	1 in 861	41.08	20.54	36.76	1.62	9.19	8.11	72.97	1.62	2.16	5.95
Devon	1 in 955	37.26	33.98	23.55	5.21	10.62	3.67	77.41	1.93	2.70	3.67
Salop	1 in 1082	32.52	23.30	40.78	3.40	10.19	10.68	75.24	0.49	—	3.40
Northampton .	1 in 1188	42.38	21.86	29.14	6.62	4.63	9.94	73.51	3.31	1.99	6.62
Rutland . . .	1 in 1292	66.67	20.00	13.33	—	26.67	6.67	53.33	—	—	13.33
Cornwall . . .	1 in 1461	51.45	26.70	19.42	2.43	10.68	1.45	70.39	0.49	1.45	15.54
Durham . . .	1 in 1567	53.08	7.41	38.89	0.62	10.49	9.26	68.52	—	3.09	8.64
Cumberland . .	1 in 1697	50.00	22.00	24.00	4.00	17.00	1.00	66.00	—	2.00	14.00
Northumberland	1 in 1755	61.42	15.75	22.83	—	12.60	7.09	68.60	—	3.15	8.66
Westmoreland .	1 in 2201	72.00	16.00	12.00	—	12.00	8.00	72.00	—	4.00	4.00

The total number of persons committed for trial, or bailed, in England and Wales, in 1835, was 20,731 (17,275 males and 3459 females)—namely, 2016 (1790 males and 226 females) offences against the person; 1354 (1286 males and 68 females) offences against property committed with violence; 15,478 (12,554 males and 2924 females) offences against property committed without violence; 156 (140 males and 16 females) malicious offences against property; 368 (279 males and 89 females) forgery, and offences against the currency; and 1859 (1226 males and 133 females) other offences, not included in the above classes. Of the above 20,731 offenders, sentence of death was recorded against 523 for capital offences, of whom 34 were executed; 306 transported for life; 52 transported for 14 years; 44 for 7 years; 3 imprisoned for periods above 2 and not exceeding 3 years; 22 imprisoned above 1 and not exceeding 2 years; 35 imprisoned above 6 months and not exceeding 1 year; 22 imprisoned 6 months and under; and 5 received a free pardon. The number of offenders transported for life was 746; for 14 years, 554; 7 years, 2325; and 4 for other periods, exclusive of those whose capital sentences were commuted. Of the offenders sentenced to imprisonment, with, in some cases, whipping, fine, &c., there were, for periods of 3 years and above 2 years, 11; 2 years and above 1 year, 290; 1 year and above 6 months, 1543; 6 months and under, 8071. The number sentenced to be whipped was 58; fined 351; discharged on procuring sureties 242; and 11 received a respite and pardon: making the number of persons in England and Wales who were actually convicted 14,729, exclusive of 4 found to be insane on arraignment, and 21 acquitted on the ground of insanity.

The total number of persons acquitted was 5977; of

whom 4034 were found not guilty on trial; 1526 no bill found; and 417 not prosecuted.

The table shewing the ages of offenders offers the following results: aged 12 years and under, 295 males, and 51 females; aged 16 years and above 12, males 1707, females 303; aged 21 years and above 16, males 5257, females 890; aged 30 years and above 21, males 5524, females 1093; aged 40 years and above 30, males 2371, females 533; aged 50 years and above 40, males 1042, females 327; aged 60 years and above 50, males 514, females 159; aged above 60 years, males 212, females 57. The ages of 353 males and 43 females could not be ascertained.

Of the 20,731 criminal offenders, 7896 males, and 906 females could read and write; 3159 males and 1162 females could read only; 5745 males and 1325 females could neither read nor write; and the degree of instruction of 475 males and 63 females could not be ascertained.

The following are some of the general results shewn by these valuable tables:—

There has been a *total decrease* in the numbers charged in 1835, as compared with the preceding year, of 1220 persons, or nearly 8 per cent.

In thirty English counties there was a decrease. This decrease was most marked in the following counties:—in Northamptonshire, it was nearly 100 per cent.; in Herefordshire, above 1-3rd; in Berkshire, Cheshire, Hampshire, and Worcestershire, 1-4th; and in Durham and Shropshire, 1-5th. In Middlesex the decrease was 17 per cent., in Surrey little more than 4 per cent., in Yorkshire 14 per cent, and in Lancashire 4½ per cent. In Wales the total decrease, on the twelve counties, was 27 per cent.

In the remaining eleven English counties, and in Bristol, there was an *increase*, which was proportionally greatest in Gloucestershire, where it amounted to 19 per cent., in Kent to 15 per cent., in Warwick to 14 per cent., and in Staffordshire to 10 per cent. In Essex the increase was above 8 per cent.

The decrease does not appear to be confined to any one class of offences, but to be spread pretty equally over the whole,—being however rather the greatest on the more heinous offences,—thus the offences against the person bore the proportion to the whole—

In 1834 of . . . 10·94 per cent., and
In 1835 of . . . 9·72 per cent. only;

and the violent offences against property—

In 1834 of . . . 6·53 per cent.
In 1835 of . . . 6·50 per cent.

Making the comparison with the *average of the preceding five years*, there is an increase in the offences against the person (exclusive of assaults and assaults on peace officers, which were not then admitted into the calculations) of 7 per cent. But in the violent offences against property a decrease is shewn of above 11·25 per cent.; and in the malicious offences against property of 137 per cent.

Resuming the comparison with the year 1834, the decrease which took place shews the following results on the number sentenced:—

Including the commutations, there is a decrease in the numbers transported of 414, and in the numbers imprisoned of 784. In the capital convictions there is an increase of 43 persons, which arose chiefly in the numbers charged with robbery and burglary, though the increase in the latter offence may be probably attributed more to the recent alteration in the law of house-breaking, than to an increase in the number of burglaries.—The numbers executed are the same in both years 34.

The decrease has not only been proportional on the juvenile offenders, but *greater* in that than in the other classes. The proportion of offenders aged 12 years and under was—

In 1834 . . . 1·78 per cent.
In 1835 . . . 1·67 per cent. only.

Of offenders aged 16 years, and above 12—

In 1834 . . . 9·82 per cent., but
In 1835 . . . 9·70 per cent. only.

From the new table, shewing the Courts before which the prisoners were tried, it appears that—

2819 were tried before the new Central Criminal Court,
3408 before the Circuit Assize Courts,
10,737 (above half) before the County Quarter-Sessions Courts, and
3767 before Local Courts.

As the different offences tried before each of these Courts are described in the tables, it will be seen how greatly the recent abolition of the capital punishment, in many cases, has tended to increase the jurisdiction of the sessions. Last year these Courts tried—

132 prisoners for house-breaking,
14 for cattle-stealing,
62 for horse-stealing,
108 for sheep-stealing, and
41 for larceny to the value of 5*l.* in dwelling-houses.

All of which offences, while the capital punishment existed, were tried at the assizes. The Acts for the Consolidation of the Criminal Law passed in 1827, also greatly increased the severity of the sentences which it was in the power of the sessions to pass, and transportation for life, theretofore not a common sessions punishment, is now of constant recurrence.

POST-OFFICE INQUIRY.

THE Fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed by a Treasury Minute of 9th May, 1835, to inquire into the mode of conducting the business of the Post Office Department, contains the following suggestions:—

"We have had under our consideration the general management of the post, and we feel convinced that it would be impossible for us to propose any substantive alteration in the number of clerks employed, the mode of conducting the business, or any of the complicated machinery of the department, without, in fact, putting ourselves in the situation of Postmaster-General, and devoting many months to the investigation. We have, however, sufficiently informed ourselves on this subject to be satisfied that an alteration in the present system is absolutely necessary, and that the supervision of a Board properly constituted, and subject to the control of the Treasury, would tend much to a more regular and satisfactory discharge of the business of this important department.

"It appears to us that it is the strong tendency of the present system to place all the duties and powers, both of control and execution, in the hands of a single subordinate officer; and, although we are not disposed to undervalue the services of Sir Francis Freeling, yet we cannot think that this is not the proper and satisfactory constitution of any public department. The Duke of Richmond, indeed, broke through the practice he found established, of leaving the management almost entirely in the hands of the secretary, and was in the habit of constantly attending and transacting business in person; and we have reason to believe that his successors have followed his example. But the public has no security against a recurrence to the former system; and when we consider how ineffectual any control over such a department must be, without an intimate knowledge of its details, we feel satisfied that, as long as it is vested solely in a high officer of State, liable to be removed with every change of Administration, it is not likely that it will be much more than nominal.

"We, therefore, recommend that a Board of Commissioners, with a responsible chief in Parliament, should be substituted for the office of Postmaster-General. We propose that the Board shall be constituted on such a principle as to make it necessary for the department to be under the immediate control of the Commissioners: and, with this view, we recommend that all correspondence, except what relates merely to matters of detail and ordinary occurrence, shall pass through them by letters signed by themselves, and that no money shall be paid but by drafts with their signatures. We are of opinion that all the officers of the department, whether surveyors, superintendents, or comptrollers, should act only through the Board, and that no clerk or officer should hold any other situation, or receive any pay, fee, or emolument, but the actual sum put down against his name, and considered commensurate to the duty he performs. We also recommend that a record of all official acts done by the Board shall be regularly kept, and that an annual report be made to the Treasury of any alterations in the preceding year, of new expenses incurred, and of the general state of the revenue.

"It may be said that a Postmaster-General can do all that is here recommended; but looking to the other departments, we are convinced that, in practice, it would not be done by an individual. We consider a Board to be peculiarly calculated to conduct the management of such a

department as the Post Office, which requires daily attendance, constant supervision, and a general control of the various branches connected with it; and we express this opinion with the greater confidence, as we find that all those who have preceded us in their inquiries into this subject have arrived at the same conclusion. We refer especially to the Report of the Select Committee of Finance presented in 1797; to the Ninth Irish Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Fees and Gratuities, in 1809; and to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Reports of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry, in 1829. We agree with them in recommending that the Board shall be composed of a chief and subordinate Commissioners; but we are of opinion that three of the latter would be sufficient, one of whom might occasionally visit Dublin and Edinburgh.*

"We are not without hopes that when the Commissioners have made themselves practically acquainted with the machinery and various duties of the Post Office, they will feel justified in proposing to your Lordships a reduction in several branches of the establishment; and we are satisfied that such suggestions can be most safely acted upon when they come from those whose experience gives great weight to their opinions. We believe, therefore, that we shall most usefully discharge our duty by proceeding to investigate those larger branches of the subject to which we have not yet directed our attention, such as the Steam-packet Establishment, and other questions of a general nature; but we are persuaded that your Lordships will agree with us that very dangerous consequences might ensue, if, on the examination of a Commission temporarily appointed, your Lordships were induced to make reductions in the establishment in London, which, in practice, might be found inapplicable to the service required.

"It is with these feelings and upon the best consideration that we have been able to give to the subject, that we recommend to your Lordships, even in the present Session of Parliament, to give directions that a Bill may be prepared which will enable the Treasury to appoint a Board of Commissioners for the management of the Post Office.

(Signed) DUNCANNON.
H. LABOUCHERE.
SEYMOUR.

"Office of Woods, July 23, 1835.

"We have appended some evidence to this Report, which has been received at different times from various officers of the Post Office. We think it advisable to postpone expressing an opinion on the subject to which it refers, until your Lordships have taken into consideration the recommendations which we have now made."

The Fifth Report of the Commissioners is devoted to an inquiry into the practicability of giving facilities for the transmission of commercial lists or Prices Current through the Post Office. The Report says:—

"By the Act 4 and 5 Will. IV. c. 44, the Paymaster-General is authorized to contract for the conveyance of certain unstamped publications, formerly circulated under the privilege of the clerks of the roads. Very few publications have, however, been sent under his authority, and the rates of composition which have been demanded by the Postmaster-General are so high as to amount almost to a prohibition.

"We find that, in France, and generally on the continent, the circulation of Prices Current, at a low charge, is encouraged by the government, and we are of opinion that any facility which can be given for the transmission of mercantile information, must tend to promote the commercial interests of the country. We therefore beg to recommend to your Lordships, in the first place, that English Prices Current, and publications of a similar nature published in this country, be permitted to pass through the medium of the Post Office without the imposition of a charge so high as to impede their general circulation.

"We are aware, that from the immense correspondence, the number and size of newspapers, and the heavy bulk of parliamentary and official documents, it would be impossible, under the present arrangements of the Post Office Department, to give to all mercantile publications that facility which might otherwise be desirable; nevertheless, we are of opinion that the conveyance by post of Prices Current, under certain restrictions, will not materially add to the weight of the mails, or occasion much inconvenience by the additional duty which will be imposed on the clerks of the Inland Office."

Lord Lowther, who has given much consideration to the subject, recommended that Prices Current should be permitted to pass free through the Post Office, if printed on paper bearing a reduced stamp. The Commissioners agree in this view; but, taking into consideration the reduction which is contemplated in the stamp-duty on newspapers, they feel it may be deemed inexpedient, at present, to permit the transmission of Prices Current for a less charge than that which is imposed on newspapers; otherwise they would have been inclined to suggest that the charge should not exceed a halfpenny; and they express a hope that, after the proposed change in the newspaper duties has taken effect, and been some time in operation, Prices Current bearing a halfpenny stamp may be freely transmitted by post.

The Commissioners are decidedly opposed to a postage instead of a stamp for the free transmission of Prices Current. A charge in the nature of a stamp would be collected with much greater facility and certainty than a postage, which would, besides, they remark, impose much additional duty on the Post Office. It is proposed, in order to give effect to the recommendations contained in this Report, that the Commissioners of Stamps should be authorized to fix a stamp bearing a certain duty on "Prices Current" intended for circulation by post (such publications, when unstamped, not to be made liable to any penalty), and by giving a power to the Postmaster-General to allow them to go free of postage, if so stamped: it being left to the Postmaster-General, with the concurrence of the Lords of the Treasury, to define what publications shall be permitted to circulate as Prices Current, and to make regulations with respect to the form in which they shall be received. To prevent publications of this class becoming vehicles for advertisements, the names and residences of the sellers of the various articles of which the prices are given should be excluded.

This Report is dated the 11th of April, at which period the Convention with the French Post Office had not been settled. The Commissioners state that when the negotiation then proceeding was completed, they should then feel inclined to take into consideration plans for the transmission of foreign Prices Current.

The Sixth Report on the management of the Post Office relates to the packet establishment. Without taking into account the original cost of the packets, amounting to 273,018*l.*, the total annual loss in this department has averaged 38,739*l.* 3*s.* during the last four years. The nature of the control exercised by the General Post Office over the management and expenditure of this branch of the public service, has been hitherto extremely defective. It was found that at Dover the accounts were not examined with a view to ascertain whether the stores charged had been actually supplied. The agent at Dover acknowledged that the only check he had was "his dependance upon the honour of the tradesman not to charge for more than has been actually delivered." At Holyhead various instances were discovered in which articles had been sold from the dock-yard by the resident engineer and storekeeper, and no account rendered to the Post Office of the produce of these sales. It has been impossible to trace the extent to which peculation has been carried. Mr. M'Knight who was despatched to investigate the matter, states, that the accounts of the receipts and issues were so complicated, as to afford no check on the remains in the store; not one half of the things in the store being made any return of whatever. An overcharge of 1000 tons of coals a-year to the packets has been clearly proved; and with respect to other stores, the books or accounts were in so imperfect a state that they did not show what ought to have remained.

The control exercised over the steam-packet establish-

"* Since this Report was presented to your Lordships we have completed the inquiry we proposed to make relative to the Post Office Packets, and have considered it expedient to recommend that this branch of the establishment should be transferred to the Board of Admiralty; if our recommendations are carried into effect, we are of opinion that two subordinate Commissioners will be sufficient."

ment on the part of the General Post Office having been found completely nugatory, the Commissioners, as a remedy, propose, in the first place, that the performance of this service should be contracted for to as great an extent as possible; and, secondly, that the remainder should be placed under the management of the Board of Admiralty. The Commissioners follow up this recommendation by the subjoined remarks:—

"We are so convinced of the advantages which a system of contract must generally secure to the public over one of establishment, however well conducted, that we wish we could have felt justified in recommending that it should be universally and immediately adopted. But we are satisfied that notwithstanding the great and rapid extension which has taken place in the private steam navigation of this country, it would not as yet be safe and expedient to throw open to competition at once all the six stations which are now maintained at the public expense.

"It has been stated to us that much inconvenience has been felt by the public from their not knowing the time fixed for the departure of the Post Office packets, and that when persons are at a distance from the station, this information is with difficulty procured. Private companies usually make their hours of departure known by means of advertisements, but the Post Office has a great advantage in this respect, since it possesses in every town and many villages a house where, without any additional expense, this information might be deposited for the convenience of the public.

"With regard to the passage fares at the different stations, wherever the service is conducted by a public establishment, we would recommend that the rates should be fixed by the Post Office with the concurrence of the Treasury, and that no fees of any kind, in addition to the sum so fixed, should be allowed to be received. We are also of opinion that the salaries of the officers of the packet service ought to be revised by the Lords of the Admiralty, and that these charges as well as the rest of the expenditure incurred by them for the Post Office, should be annually submitted to Parliament in the Navy Estimates.

"We desire, in conclusion, to state to your Lordships, that if the steam-packet department is transferred to the Admiralty, and you are disposed to act upon the recommendation we made in a previous Report, to substitute a Board of Commissioners for the office of Postmaster-General, we are of opinion that three Commissioners will be sufficient to execute the duties which will devolve upon them.

(Signed) DUNCANNON,
H. LABOUCHERE,
SEYMOUR."

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF PRUSSIA AND IRELAND

THE analogy between the state of Ireland and of parts of the kingdom of Prussia, in respect of the religious and ecclesiastical relations of the population, having led the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of religious and other instruction in Ireland to believe that an authentic account of the ecclesiastical state of Prussia would throw some light on the matters in which they were engaged, a series of questions was in consequence transmitted by Viscount Palmerston to the Prussian Government. The information thus obtained, accompanied by an introductory Report, has been printed, and presented to both Houses of Parliament.

It appears that the population of Prussia, in 1831 (leaving out the Jews and the Mennonites), consisted of 7,941,721 Protestants, and 4,915,153 Catholics. For the whole kingdom, therefore, the Protestants were to the Catholics nearly as 60 to 37, or somewhat more than 3 to 2. The largest proportion of Protestants occurs in the provinces of Brandenburgh and Pomerania. The largest proportion of Catholics occurs in the Rhenish province.

There is a close analogy between the circumstances of the Rhenish province of Prussia and those of Ireland, as respects ecclesiastical matters. The original and hereditary provinces of the Prussian monarchy are chiefly Protestant; the royal family has been, and is, Protestant. Berlin, the seat of government, is so far a Protestant town, that, in 1831, out of a population of 229,843 persons, there were only 4295 Catholics. It is in the more recent acquisitions of Prussia, such as the provinces of Posen and Silesia, that the Catholics form a considerable portion of the population. In the Rhenish province, acquired by the Treaty of Vienna, and which, like Ireland, is separated from the body of the kingdom, this character is still more strongly marked, the number of Protestants in 1831 being 500,546, of Catholics 1,699,002. This preponderance is especially seen in the three districts of Cologne, Treves, and Aix-la-Chapelle. The first district contains 51,975 Protestants, and 332,521 Catholics; that of Treves 39,252 Protestants, and 328,799 Catholics; and that of Aix-la-Chapelle 10,063 Protestants, and 339,025 Catholics: total for the three districts, 101,290 Protestants, and 1,000,345 Catholics. In the entire Rhenish province, therefore, the ratio of Protestants to Catholics is less than 1 to 3 (about 5 to 17); in the three districts just mentioned it is nearly as 1 to 10.

In the whole of Ireland the ratio of Protestants of all descriptions to Roman Catholics is nearly as 1 to 4; in the archiepiscopal province of Dublin, or the civil province of Leinster, it is nearly as 1 to 6; and in the archiepiscopal province of Cashel, or the civil province of Munster, nearly as 1 to 19.

The author of the introductory Report states, that on comparing the ratio of Protestant churches and clergymen to the number of Protestants in the Protestant part of Prussia, and in the Rhenish province, it appears that the provision for religious worship is strictly adapted to the actual wants of the population. The provision for the worship of the Protestants in the Rhenish province is not made on the supposition that the entire population is Protestant, and without reference to the fact that the majority belong to the Roman Catholic communion.

In the province of Brandenburgh, the number of Protestants is 1,512,828, and of Roman Catholics 13,082. The number of Protestant places of worship is 2,296, and of Protestant clergymen 1,203; the ratio of the former to the number of Protestants being as 1 to 658, and of Protestant clergymen to the Protestant population as 1 to 1257.

In the Rhine province, notwithstanding the preponderance of Roman Catholics, the provision for Protestant worship is not more ample. There the number of Protestants is 500, and of Roman Catholics 1,699,002; and the ratio of Protestant places of worship to Protestants is as 1 to 970; and of Protestant clergymen to Protestants as 1 to 1169.

In Ireland, the provision for the religious worship of the people, by means of the Established Church, is made on the supposition that the entire, or nearly the entire, population, is Protestant, although the Roman Catholics are 80 per cent. of the population; and it is arranged on the same principles as the Established Church in England, where this state of things in fact exists. Even in Ireland a considerable discrepancy may be observed, according as the number of Protestants in the population is great or small. In the diocese of Clogher there are 104,359 members of the Established Church; in Dromore, 41,737; in Ossory, 12,361; in Ardfert and Aghadoe, 7529; and in Tuam, 9619. The number of Roman Catholics in the first of these dioceses (Clogher) is 260,241; in Dromore, 76,275; in Ossory, 209,848; in Ardfert and Aghadoe, 297,131; and in Tuam, 467,970. Thus in the diocese of Clogher the Episcopalian Protestants form 26 per cent. of the population, and in Dromore 22 per cent., while in the three other dioceses they only form 5 and 2 per cent. of the population. In the two first-mentioned dioceses there are on an average 1999 Episcopalian Protestants to each benefice, and 1664 to each church, and in the three last, on an average, only 211 to each benefice, and 254 to each church. No such discrepancies as these, it is remarked, appear on the face of the Prussian statistical tables; but the ecclesiastical system of that kingdom seems to be adapted to the actual circumstances of each religious persuasion, and to its numbers in any given spot, and not to be arranged with reference to any hypothetical or possible state of things.

We learn, from answers to the queries put to the Prussian Government, and which are printed at the end of the Report, that the King confers a number of livings and other clerical offices in all provinces among both confessions. He appoints the Protestant general-superintendent, superintendents, and members of the consistories. By an

indult, implicitly contained in a Papal Bull, the King likewise appoints the Catholic cathedral provosts, and fills up those canonries which become vacant, in *mense papali*; but in this case the See of Rome gives the *provista*, or the institution. The appointment of Catholic bishops is regulated by the Bull of 1821. The Chapter has the right of election. Every ecclesiastic, whether he belongs to the chapter or diocese, or not, is eligible, even foreign clergymen, but only after a previous Royal permission. A contemporary brief of Pope Pius VII. obliges the Chapters to elect *personam regi gratam*. The King fixes the day of election, and sends a commissioner, who takes no part in the canonical affairs of the election; but assumes, notwithstanding, the initiative, by declaring to the members of the chapter the intentions of the Crown. By these means, not only has the election of an individual disliked by the Court been avoided, but the choice falls always on those whose promotion to the rank of bishop the Court had in view. The person canonically chosen receives his confirmation from the Pope, and the approbation from the Sovereign. The Pope is required to entrust a Prussian prelate with the consecration.

The King is the head of the Protestant Church. The department for ecclesiastical affairs is the central authority for all ecclesiastical matters. Each of the provinces has its consistory, subordinate to the ministerial department, to watch over the affairs of the Protestant Church. None but Protestants are members of these boards, which are presided over by the highest civil authority of the province. The consistory superintends the ecclesiastical seminaries, and appoints teachers to them; examines the candidates, and orders their ordination, and also grants clerical dispensations.

The departments for the management of ecclesiastical affairs in the district governments stand on the same line as the consistories. It is stated, that they exercise the Government right of patronage in concurrence with the general-superintendent of the province, manage the external affairs of the buildings, surplice-fees, &c., and, at the same time, together with the consistories, keep a watch over the moral and official conduct of the clergyman, positive breaches of official duty being reserved to the consistories. The superintendents are subordinate church-officers; and every consistorial district is geographically divided into different superintendencies. The superintendent, who is appointed by the King, is himself a parson, and has other parsons under him. He visits the churches in his district, and has only the duties of inspection. He sends his report, partly to the consistory, partly to the Government, according to the different objects.

Ordination, even in the Catholic Church, is only granted upon proof of the right of consecration, according to the canonical law; and is, besides, restricted by a regulation, obliging the bishops to deliver a list of the candidates for ordination, shewing the want of them, to the chief president of the province. Nobody, without a special permission, is permitted to be ordained abroad.

In reply to the ninth query, it is stated that there exists no general rules for the support of the clergy. Only the incomes of the higher Catholic clergy are fixed by the Papal Bull — namely, for the Archbishop and Prince Bishop of Breslau, about 1750*l.*; for the other bishops, about 1067*l.*; for the dignitaries of cathedral chapters respectively, about 292*l.*, and rather more than 200*l.*; and for canons and prebendaries respectively, 175*l.* 146*l.*, and 117*l.*, besides house-room. The incomes of all other livings, either of the Protestant or Catholic Church, are very different. The clergyman receives his income either in kind or money. It is paid in kind when it arises from a real estate belonging to his benefice, which he manages himself, or when it is paid to him by landed proprietors. Of the same kind are tithes, rents, and other payments from lands. The money-income of the clergy arises partly out of the public revenues of the Crown, or of the parishes, either as salary or compensation for appropriated lands or ground-rents, or as rents from private estates, or from endowments laid out at interest. The Crown has undertaken the above-mentioned payment of the Catholic dignitaries since their landed property had been appropriated to the public revenue. For the Trans-Rhenane part of the kingdom, where much of the Church property was alienated during its possession by the French, the Crown pays a salary to the clergy as a compensation, according to a Concordat which the Pope entered into with Napoleon, when First Consul.

The maintenance of the clergy proceeds in general from the peculiar endowments of each congregation. Where this is not the case the congregation that desires the service of a clergyman is responsible for his maintenance. The Government in general is not obliged to vouch for the salary of the clergy of either confession. Nevertheless, the number of parishes is not small which, in this case, enjoy a support out of the public funds by the favours of the King.

There exists in both confessions surplice-fees for marriages, baptisms, and bans. The cases where such fees are not levied are rare. Fees on confession are not levied among the Catholics. The surplice-fees are divided among the clergy, the church servants, and the church fund. New surplice-fees can only be enacted by permission of the Government.

In general every church has its own fund, out of which it has to defray the expense of building, repairing, and the expenses caused by divine service. Where this is not the case, the subsidiary obligation falls, according to the difference of the provincial or local law, either upon the beneficed clergyman, if he has more than a sufficient living; or the parish, if there is no patron; or the patron together with the parish; or the patron exclusively; or the proprietor of the church tithes; or the civil commune. In cases of urgent necessity, the assistance of Government is accorded, but only as a bounty, if there be no special legal ground providing for it.

New churches can only be erected by the permission of the clerical authorities—namely, the Bishops or the Consistory, and with the approbation of the Crown. But with regard to the re-building or repairing existing churches, that concerns the interested parties—namely, the parish and the patron. As regards the building of churches and schools, the civil and religious authorities concur in right of their superintendence, in examining their necessity or fitness. When parties cannot agree on these matters, the provincial governments decide whether, and how the building should be undertaken, and who is to bear the expense, reserving the final decision on the point of expense for a court of law.

In general every parish possesses a place of worship for its exclusive use. The exception is, when two congregations of different confessions are entitled to the use of the same building for divine worship, is very rare, and then, in many cases, depends on old usage. In the Trans-Rhenane part of the kingdom it is forbidden by law. Proselytism is prohibited by law, but only punished in case discord between parents, children, or married people, shall have been caused by it. In this respect the liberty of change of religion is open to everybody; but the clergyman receiving the proselyte into his congregation is bound to notify it to the Government. Controversial sermons are forbidden by law, and are punished by a fixed term of imprisonment. In the provincial school boards, spiritual and lay members of both confessions are to be found united, and also in the same manner in the school and poor communions of the towns.

The Report concludes with the following summary:—According to the Prussian ecclesiastical law, neither the Protestant nor the Catholic Church is considered as enjoying any legal precedence of the other, or as being in exclusive connexion with the State. The King is the head of the Protestant Church, and, in virtue of the episcopal power which he enjoys as sovereign, he governs this Church through authorities appointed by himself. The Protestant Church of Prussia is neither episcopal nor Presbyterian, but *consistorial* (if such an expression may be allowed); it is neither governed by bishops at the head of each diocese, nor by a general assembly, synods, and presbyteries, but by *consistories*, or boards appointed by Government, at the head of each province. The Protestant clergymen are in some cases elected by their congregations, in others they are named by the patron of the living. The Catholic Church of Prussia is governed like the other branches of the same Church in other countries. The bishops are nominally elected by the chapters, but are virtually (in consequence of an arrangement with the See of Rome) appointed by the King, who sends his Commissioner at the time of election, like the congé d'élire addressed by the King of England to the cathedral chapters.

The parish priests are appointed by the patron of the benefice, where there is an endowment; where the church property was confiscated by the French, they are appointed by the bishops. In general, throughout Prussia, the clergy of both persuasions are maintained by an endowment belonging to each parish or congregation; or, if such endowment should be insufficient, or should be altogether wanting, the Government in such cases furnishes assistance.

NEW ARRANGEMENT OF DIOCESES.

ANOTHER Report from the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church, with reference to the ecclesiastical duties duties and revenues, has just been presented to Parliament, and forms the Third Report which has been made since the establishment of the Commission in February, 1835. The object of the present Report is to render complete one branch of the inquiry—namely, the new arrangement of dioceses, and the adjustment of episcopal incomes; "because (it is remarked), in consequence of the number of Episcopal Sees at present vacant, any further delay in carrying into effect the new arrangements respecting the bishoprics will be attended with great inconvenience." The final Report of the Commissioners will be made at a future period. The Third Report presents, in the form of fifty-four distinct propositions, the various recommendations of the Commissioners contained in this and the two previous Reports. For the reasons upon which they are founded, and statements of an elucidatory nature, reference may be made to Nos. 28 and 40 of the "Companion." This Report is dated May 20th, 1836, and is signed by the following Commissioners:—W. Cantuar, Cottenham (C.), E Ebor, Lansdowne, Harrowby, Melbourne, J. Russell, C. J. London, J. Lincoln, J. H. Gloucester, T. Spring Rice, H. Hobhouse, Herbert Jenner.

PROPOSITIONS.

1. That Commissioners be appointed by Parliament, for the purpose of preparing, and laying before your Majesty in Council such schemes as shall appear to them to be best adapted for carrying into effect the following recommendations; and that your Majesty in Council be empowered to make orders, ratifying such schemes, and having the full force of law.

2. That the diocese of Canterbury consist of the county of Kent (except the city and deanery of Rochester, and those parishes which it is proposed to include in the diocese of London), and of the parishes of Croydon and Addington, and the district of Lambeth Palace, in the county of Surrey.

3. That the diocese of London consist of the city of London, and the county of Middlesex, of the parishes of Barking, East Ham, West Ham, Little Ilford, Low Layton, Walthamstow, Wanstead St. Mary, Woodford, and Chimford, in the county of Essex, all in the present diocese of London; of the parishes of Charlton, Lee, Lewisham, Greenwich, Woolwich, Eltham, Plumstead, and St. Nicholas Deptford, in the county of Kent, and St. Paul, Deptford, in the counties of Kent and Surrey, all now in the diocese of Rochester; of the borough of Southwark, and the parishes of Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Christchurch, Clapham, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Streatham, Tooting Graveney, Wandsworth, Merton, Kew, and Richmond, in the county of Surrey, and present diocese of Winchester; and of the parishes of St. Mary Newington, Barnes, Putney, Mortlake, and Wimbledon, in the county of Surrey, and in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury: together with all the extra parochial places locally situate within the limits of the parishes above enumerated, except the district of Lambeth Palace.

4. That the diocese of Winchester be diminished, by the transfer of the parish of Addington to the diocese of Canterbury, and of the before-mentioned parishes to the diocese of London.

5. That the whole of the parish of Bedminster be transferred from the diocese of Bath and Wells to the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol.

6. That the city and deanery of Bristol be united to the diocese of Gloucester; and that the southern part of the diocese of Bristol, consisting of the county of Dorset, be transferred to the diocese of Salisbury.

7. That the diocese of Ely be increased, by the counties of Huntingdon and Bedford, now in the diocese of Lincoln, by the deaneries of Lynn and Fincham, in the county of Norfolk and diocese of Norwich, and by the archdeaconry of Sudbury in the county of Suffolk and diocese of Norwich, with the exception of the deaneries of Sudbury, Stow, and Hatismere, and by that part of the county of Cambridge, which is now in the diocese of Norwich.

8. That it be declared, that the Scilly Islands are within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Exeter and of the Archdeacon of Cornwall.

9. That the sees of Gloucester and Bristol be united; and that the diocese consist of the present diocese of Gloucester, of the city and deanery of Bristol, of the deaneries of Cricklade and Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts, and now in the diocese of Salisbury, and of the whole of the parish of Bedminster, now in the diocese of Bath and Wells.

10. That the diocese of Hereford be added to the deanery of Bridgenorth, now locally situate between the dioceses of Hereford and Lichfield; and that those parts of the counties of Worcester and Montgomery, which are now in the diocese of Hereford, be transferred to the dioceses of Worcester and St. Asaph and Bangor, respectively.

11. That the diocese of Lichfield consist of the counties of Stafford and Derby.

12. That the diocese of Lincoln consist of the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham; and that the latter county, now in the diocese and province of York, be included in the province of Canterbury.

13. That the diocese of Norwich consist of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, except those parts which it is proposed to transfer to the diocese of Ely.

14. That the diocese of Oxford be increased by the county of Buckingham, now in the diocese of Lincoln, and by the county of Berks, now in the diocese of Salisbury.

15. That the diocese of Peterborough be increased by the county of Leicester, now in the diocese of Lincoln.

16. That the diocese of Rochester consist of the city and deanery of Rochester, of the county of Essex (excepting the parishes which it is proposed to leave in the diocese of London), and of the whole county of Hertford.

17. That to the diocese of Salisbury, reduced according to the foregoing propositions, be added to the county of Dorset, now in the diocese of Bristol.

18. That the diocese of Worcester consist of the whole counties of Worcester and Warwick.

19. That the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor be united; and that the diocese consist of the whole of the two existing dioceses (except that part of the diocese of St. Asaph, which is in the county of Salop), and of those parts of the county of Montgomery, which are now in the dioceses of St. David's and Hereford.

20. That the dioceses of Llandaff consist of the whole counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth.

21. That the diocese of St. David's be altered by the transfer of those parts of the counties of Montgomery, Glamorgan, and Monmouth, which it is proposed to include in the respective dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor, and Llandaff.

22. That the diocese of York consist of the county of York, except such parts thereof as it is proposed to include in the new diocese of Ripon.

23. That the diocese of Durham be increased by that part of the county of Northumberland, called Hexhamshire, which is now in the diocese of York.

24. That the Sees of Carlisle and Sodor and Man be united; and that the diocese consist of the present diocese of Carlisle, of those parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland which are now in the diocese of Chester, of the deanery of Furnes and Cartmel in the county of Lancaster, of the parish of Aldeston, now in the diocese of Durham, and of the Isle of Man.

25. That the diocese of Chester consist of the counties of Chester and Flint, and of so much of the county of Salop as is not in the diocese of Hereford; and that the whole diocese be included in the province of York.

26. That two new Sees be erected in the province of York—one at Manchester and the other at Ripon.

27. That the diocese of Manchester consist of the whole county of Lancaster, except the deanery of Furnes and Cartmel.

28. That the diocese of Ripon consist of that part of the county of York, which is now in the diocese of Chester; of the deanery of Craven, and of such part of the deaneries of the Ainsty and Pontefract, in the county and diocese of York, as lie to the westward of the following districts—namely, the liberty of the Ainsty, and the wapentakes of Barkston Ash, Osgoldcross, and Staincross.

29. That all parishes which are locally situate in one diocese, but under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of another diocese, be made subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese within which they are locally situate.

30. That such variations be made in the proposed boundaries of the different dioceses as may appear advisable, after more precise information, respecting the circumstances of particular parishes or districts.

31. That the Bishops of the two newly-erected Sees be made bodies corporate, and be invested with all the same rights and privileges as are now possessed by the other Bishops of England and Wales; and that they be made subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York.

32. That the collegiate churches of Manchester and Ripon be made the cathedrals, and that the chapters thereof be the chapters of the respective Sees of Manchester and Ripon, and be invested with all the rights and powers of other cathedral chapters; and that the members of these, and all other cathedral chapters, in England, be styled, dean and canons.

33. That the chapter of Carlisle be the chapter of the united See of Carlisle and Man.

34. That the Bishops of the See of St. Asaph and Bangor be elected, alternately, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, and by the Dean and Chapter of Bangor.

35. That the Bishops of the See of Bristol and Gloucester be elected, alternately, by the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, and by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.

36. That power be given to determine the future mode of confirming such acts of the Bishop, of either of the united Sees, as may require confirmation, by a dean and chapter.

37. That upon the first avoidance of either of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and of Gloucester or Bristol, the Bishop of the other of the Sees proposed to be united, become, *ipso facto*, Bishop of the two Sees, and thereupon become seised and possessed of all the property, advowsons, and patronage, belonging to the See so avoided.

38. That the jurisdiction of the Bishop's Court, in each diocese, be co-extensive with the limits of the diocese, as newly arranged.

39. That such arrangements be made, with regard to the apportionment of fees payable to the officers of the several diocesan courts, as may be deemed just and equitable, for the purpose of making compensation to those officers who may be prejudiced by the proposed alterations.

40. That such alterations be made in the appointment or exchange of ecclesiastical patronage, among the several Bishops, as shall be consistent with the relative magnitude and importance of their dioceses, when newly arranged; and as shall afford an adequate quantity of patronage to the Bishops of the new Sees.

41. That none of the proposed alterations, affecting the boundaries or jurisdiction of any diocese, or the patronage of benefices with cure of souls, belonging to any See, the Bishop of which was in possession on the 4th day in March, 1836—take effect until the next avoidance of the See without the consent of such Bishop.

42. That in order to provide for the augmentation of the incomes of the smaller bishopries, such fixed annual sums be paid to the Commissioners, out of the revenues of the larger Sees respectively, as shall, upon due inquiry and consideration, be determined on; so as to leave as an average annual income, to the Archbishop of Canterbury 15,000*l.*, to the Archbishop of York 10,000*l.*, to the Bishop of London 10,000*l.*, to the Bishop of Durham 8000*l.*, to the Bishop of Winchester 7000*l.*, to the Bishop of Ely 5500*l.*, to the Bishop of St. Asaph and Bangor 5200*l.*, and to the Bishops of Worcester and Bath and Wells respectively 5000*l.*

43. That out of the fund thus accruing, fixed annual payments be made by the Commissioners, in such instances and to such amount, as shall be in like manner determined on; so that the average annual incomes of the other Bishops, respectively, be not less than 4000*l.* nor more than 5000*l.*

44. That at the expiration of every seven years, reckoning from the 1st day of January, 1836, a new return of the revenues of all the bishopries be made to the Commissioners; and that, thereupon, the scale of episcopal payments and receipts be revised, so as to preserve, as nearly as may be, to each Bishop, an amount of income, equivalent to that which shall have been determined, in the first instance, to be suitable to the circumstances of his bishopric; and that such revised scale take effect, as to each See respectively, upon the then next avoidance thereof.

45. That if, in determining the mode of regulating the episcopal incomes, either in the first instance, or on any future revision of them, it shall be deemed expedient to make the alteration required, in any case, by the subtraction or addition of any real estates, such real estates be transferred accordingly.

46. That, out of the property of the See of Durham, provision be forthwith made for the completion of those augmentations of poor benefices which the late Bishop had agreed to grant, but which he left uncompleted at the time of his death.

47. That the Bishop of Durham do in future hold the Castle at Durham in trust for the University of Durham, and that all expenses of maintaining and repairing the same be defrayed by the University of Durham.

48. That so soon as the relative values of the several Sees, under the new arrangements, shall have been ascertained, apportionment be made of the sums to be thereafter paid by the respective Bishops for first fruits, so as to leave the aggregate amount payable from all the Sees to the bounty of Queen Anne, the same as at present; and that the Bishops who shall, on the present vacancies, succeed to the Sees of Durham and Ely, be relieved from the excess beyond their due proportion payable for first fruits; and that the residue of the sums due be paid by the Commissioners out of the surplus funds arising from those Sees.

49. That the tenths to be hereafter payable by the respective Bishops be regulated by the amount of the first fruits payable under the preceding propositions.

50. That no ecclesiastical dignity, office, or benefice, be in future granted to any Bishop to be held *in commendam*; but that such of the endowments of certain prebends in the cathedrals of Lincoln, Lichfield, Exeter, and Salisbury, as now belong to the Bishops of the respective dioceses, continue annexed to the respective Sees.

51. That fit residences be provided for the Bishops of Lincoln, Landaff, Rochester, Manchester, and Ripon; and that for the purpose of providing the Bishop of any diocese with a more suitable and convenient residence than that which now belongs to his See, sanction be given for purchases or exchanges of house or lands, or for the sale of lands belonging to the respective Sees; and also, where it may be necessary, for borrowing, by any bishop, of a sum not exceeding two years' income of his See, upon such terms as shall appear to be fit and proper; and that the governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne be empowered to lend money, upon mortgage, to such Bishops.

52. That so much of the sum of 6000*l.*, recovered by the late Bishop of Bristol, for damages done to the episcopal residence at Bristol, and of its accumulations, as may remain after deducting proper expenses, together with the money arising from the sale of the site of such residence, if sold, be applied to the purchase, or erection of a residence, for the Bishop of the See of Bristol and Gloucester.

53. That new Archdeaconries of Bristol, Maidstone, Monmouth, Westmoreland, Manchester, Lancaster, and Craven, be created, and that districts be assigned to them; that archidiaconal power be given to the Dean of Rochester, within that part of Kent, which will remain in the diocese of Rochester; and that the limits of the other existing deaneries and archdeaconries, be newly arranged; so that every parish and extra-parochial place be within a rural deanery, and every deanery within an archdeaconry; and that no archdeaconry extend beyond the limits of one diocese.

54. That all the archdeaconries of England and Wales be in the gift of the Bishop of the respective dioceses in which they are situate; and that all archdeacons have and exercise full and equal jurisdiction, within their respective archdeaconries.

ELECTORAL STATISTICS.

County Electors in England.—A Return has been printed of the number of persons qualified to vote for county Members at any election which may take place before the 1st of November, 1836. This Return will be rendered more interesting by placing in connexion with it the information afforded by another Parliamentary Return which shews the number of persons who were on the registry at the period of the last general election:—

	1834	1836
Bedfordshire	3966	4152
Berkshire	5632	5843
Buckinghamshire	5371	5689
Cambridgeshire	6710	7391
Cheshire, S.	6313	6852
„ N.	5045	5900
Cornwall, E.	4392	4416
„ W.	3612	3504
Cumberland, W.	4119	4406
„ E.	3992	4623
Derbyshire, S.	5359	6630
„ N.	4175	5410
Devonshire, N.	6236	7889
„ S.	8160	10,946
Dorsetshire	5679	6320
Durham, N.	4772	5208
„ S.	4154	4864
Essex, N.	5351	5833
S.	4655	5286
Gloucestershire, E.	6521	7584
„ „ W.	6173	6859
Hampshire, N.	2691	3508
„ S.	3785	5475
Herefordshire	4970	7175
Hertfordshire	4520	5098
Huntingdonshire	2653	2744
Kent, E.	7087	7228
W.	6850	8322
Lancashire, N.	6581	9943
„ S.	11,519	17,800
Leicestershire, S.	4214	4590
„ „ N.	3806	4144
Lincolnshire (Lindsey)	8872	1016
„ „ N.	7691	8215
Middlesex	8005	12,431
Monmouthshire	3714	4360
Norfolk, E.	7281	8098
„ W.	4633	6980
Northamptonshire, N.	3552	3627
„ „ S.	4163	4478
Northumberland, S.	5042	5121
„ „ N.	2367	2703
Nottinghamshire, S.	3432	3432
„ „ N.	3379	3379
Oxfordshire	4716	5055
Rutlandshire	1264	1391
Salop, N.	4653	5016
„ S.	2852	3566
Somersetshire, E.	9107	8504
„ „ W.	7678	8854
Staffordshire, N.	8717	9611
„ „ S.	6990	7531
Suffolk, E.	5031	6147
„ W.	3731	4952
Surrey, E.	3537	5308
„ W.	2967	3681
Sussex, E.	3811	4824
„ W.	2408	3122
Warwickshire, N.	4779	6505
„ „ S.	2901	3997
Westmoreland	4644	4846
Wilts, N.	3560	5059
„ S.	2118	3059
Worcestershire, W.	4127	4612
„ „ E.	5164	5867
Yorkshire, E.	5140	7965
„ N.	9515	11,768
„ W.	18,061	29,456

Electors in Ireland.—Return of the number of electors registered as qualified to vote in the counties, cities, and boroughs, in Ireland, at the last general election (1834):—Counties, Antrim, 3822; Armagh, 3423; Carlow, 1269; Cavan, 2241; Clare, 2671; Cork, 3926; Donegal, 1618; Down, 3729; Dublin, 2132; Fermanagh, 1484; Galway, 2511; Kerry, 1212; Kildare, 1152; Kilkenny, 1262; King's County, 1514; Leitrim, 1437; Limerick, no return; Londonderry, 2658; Longford, 1581; Louth, 904; Mayo, 1682; Meath, 1617; Monaghan, 2472; Queen's County, 1692; Roscommon, 1864; Sligo, 804; Tipperary, 2369; Tyrone, 1250; Waterford, 1478; Westmeath, 1525; Wexford, 3567; Wicklow, 1679. Boroughs:—Belfast, 2137; Lisburn, 134; Armagh, 541; Carlow, 307; Carrickfergus, 1431, of whom a considerable number are duplicates; Ennis, 238; Bandonbridge, 293; Kinsale, 221; Mallow, 474; Youghall, 338; Cork, 4461; Downpatrick, 525; Newry, 1134; Dublin, 7113; Drogheda, 651; Enniskillen, 215; Galway, 2062; Tralee, 174; Kilkenny, 599; Limerick, 2976; Londonderry, 703; Coleraine, 320; Dundalk, 376; Portarlington, 156; Sligo, 691; Clonmel, 805; Cashel, 325; Dungannon, 197; Dungarvon, 707; Waterford, 1473; Athlone, 274; Wexford, 373; New Ross, 221.

County Electors in Scotland.—Number of persons qualified to vote at any election which shall take place at any time before November 1st, 1836:—Aberdeenshire, 2894; Argyleshire, 1506; Ayrshire, 3913; Banffshire, 670; Berwickshire, 1195; Buteshire, 334; Caithness, 267; Clackmannanshire, 688; Dumbartonshire, 1073; Dumfriesshire, 1439; Edinburgh County, 1518; County of Elgin, 615; Fifeshire, 2635, Forfarshire, 1720; Haddingtonshire, 675; Inverness, 689, Kincardineshire, 910; Kinross shire, 157; stewarty of Kirkcudbright, 1166; Lanarkshire, 3714; Linlithgowshire, 692; Nairnshire, 106; Orkney and Zetland, 457; Peebles, 455; Perthshire, 4027—namely 203 old roll, and 3821 Reform Act; Renfrewshire, 2007, of whom 1883 were created by the Reform Act, the remaining 124 being on the old roll; Ross and Cromarty, 621; Roxburghshire, 1863, Selkirkshire, 462; Stirlingshire, 2088; Sutherlandshire, 125; Wigtonshire, 875.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

(Exclusive of Private Bills.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Bills which have received the Royal Assent:—

1. Aliens Registration Bill.
2. Stafford Witnesses' Indemnity Bill.
3. Writers to the Signet Widows' Fund Bill.
4. Family Endowment Society Bill.
5. British Alkali Company Bill.
6. Westminster Hospital Bill.
7. Glasgow Court House and Bridewell Bill.
8. Leicester Small Debts Bill.
9. Arbroath and Forfar Railway Bill.
10. Great Western Railway Bill.
11. Birmingham and Derby Railway Bill.
12. Ulster Railway Bill.
13. Dundee and Arbroath Railway Bill.
14. Bristol and Exeter Railway Bill.
15. Aylesbury Railway Bill.
16. Exeter Gas Bill.
17. New Mills Gas Bill.
18. Henley Bridge Bill.
19. Leeds Bridge Bill.
20. Crediton Improvement Bill.
21. Wearmouth Docks Bill.
22. Southampton Docks Bill.
23. St. Katherine's Docks Bill.
24. Forth & Clyde Canal Bill.
25. Aberystwith Harbour Bill.
26. Teignmouth Harbour Bill.
27. Nottingham Cemetery Bill.
28. Lanarkshire Roads Bill.
29. Epping and Harlow Road Bill.
30. St. Leonard's and Sedlescomb Road Bill.
31. Hollington and Hastings Road Bill.
32. Ashford and Maidstone Road Bill.
33. Poole Roads Bill.
34. Totness Roads Bill.
35. Kyan's Discovery Bill.
36. Hicks's Name Bill.
37. Hodges's Divorce Bill.
38. North Runcton (Norfolk) Inclosure Bill.
39. Alveston (Gloucester) Inclosure Bill.
40. Alstonefield (Stafford) Inclosure Bill.
41. Abbotsley (Hunts) Inclosure Bill.
42. Godmanstone (Dorset) Inclosure Bill.
43. Liebricht, Marcus, Wurtzburg, and Heymann's Naturalization Bill.
44. Steinkeller's Naturalization Bill.
45. Constabulary (Ireland) Bill.
46. Bankrupts (Ireland) Bill
47. Division of Counties Bill.
48. Forth and Cart Canal Bill.
49. Bolton and Leigh Railway Bill.
50. Wakefield and Sheffield Road Bill.
51. Steppingley (Bedford) Inclosure Bill.

Bills brought in :—

April 28. Bill for the better administration of justice in the High Court of Chancery.—*The Lord Chancellor.*

— — Bill for the making better provision for the hearing of appeals and writs of error in the House of Lords, and of appeals in the Privy Council.—*The Lord Chancellor.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

April 29. Bill for the better regulation of ecclesiastical revenues, and the promotion of religious and moral instruction in Ireland.

May 3. Bill to enable persons to recover debts contracted for spirituous liquors.

— Bill to enable persons holding licenses to sell beer, spirits, and other Exciseable liquors, in Scotland, to obtain a renewal of their licenses from the Excise.

— 7. Bill to amend an Act for the better administration of justice at the holding of petty sessions by justices of the peace in Ireland.

— Bill to repeal such portions of all Acts as impose prohibitory tolls on steam-carriages, and to substitute other tolls on an equitable footing with horse-carriages.

— 10. Bill for granting an additional rate of postage on letters between Great Britain and Ireland by way of Milford and Waterford.

— Bill for the more effectual recovery of small debts in Scotland.

— Bill to indemnify the Governors and others of several of the West India islands for having permitted the importation of certain articles duty free.

— Bill to amend the laws relating to loan societies in Ireland.

— 12. Bill for facilitating the inclosure of open and arable fields in England and Wales.

— Bill for facilitating the recovery of the possession of tenements after the determination of the tenancy.

— 14. Bill for investing in Government securities unemployed cash belonging to bankrupts' estates.

— 17. Bill to amend an Act for the encouragement of building of chapels of ease in Ireland.

— 18. Bill to provide for the appointment and election of magistrates and councillors for certain burghs of regality and barony, and incorporated towns in Scotland.

— Bill for consolidating and amending the laws relating to the presentment of public money by grand juries in Ireland.

— 20. Bill for carrying into effect the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues, so far as they relate to episcopal dioceses, revenues, and patronage.

— Bill for extinguishing the secular jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely in certain liberties in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Cambridge.

— Bill for the better administration of justice in the Cinque Ports.

NEW MEMBERS.

May 16. Dublin Election Committee.—House informed that the Committee had determined that Daniel O'Connell, Esq. is not duly elected a citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the city of Dublin: that Edward Southwell Ruthven, Esq. was not duly elected a citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the city of Dublin: that Geo. Alex. Hamilton, and John Beatty West, Esqrs. are duly elected, and ought to have been returned citizens in this present Parliament for the said city of Dublin: and that the petition of the said Robert King, John Mallet, and others, does not appear to the said Committee to be frivolous or vexatious: that the opposition to the said petition does not appear to the said Committee to be frivolous or vexatious: that the said Committee have altered the poll taken at such election, by striking off (here a list of 373 names is given): House also informed that the Committee have come to the following resolutions:—That the Committee feel it to be their duty to report to the House, that eight persons, viz.—Matthew Madden, George Osborn, Patrick Finucane, Oliver Richards, John Forsyth, Charles Dempsey, James Baldwin, and Andrew Hutchinson, were struck off the poll as having voted under a corrupt expectation, and having subsequently received money; but the Committee are unanimously of opinion, that there is no evidence that Messrs. West and Hamilton, for whom they voted, were either directly or indirectly implicated in such corrupt practices. That the Committee further consider it their duty to make known to the House, that they have found a very general irregularity to prevail in the assessment and collection of municipal taxes in Dublin; and that from the absence of all public notice of their imposition, the uncertainty attending their collection, and the liability to payment attaching in many instances to various occupiers of the same premises, the exercise of the franchise is frequently subject to impediments and difficulties, which the Committee cannot believe were contemplated by the Legislature.—To be entered in the Journals; Clerk of the Crown to attend forthwith to amend the Return; Clerk of the Crown attending, amended the Return accordingly.

Essex.—There is a vacancy in the representation of the southern division of this county, occasioned by the decease of R. W. Hall Dare, Esq.

Kilkenny City.—Daniel O'Connell, Esq., duly elected, without opposition, in the room of R. Sullivan, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

Mayo County.—Robert Dillon Browne, Esq., in the room of Mr. Dommic Browne, now Lord Oranmore. The election was contested. Final close of the poll:—R. D. Browne, 599; John Browne, 305; majority, 294.

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

(Exclusive of Committees appointed to consider Bills.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

April 28. Committee to inquire into the management of Dover harbour and the dues received, and to report their observations thereupon to the House.

May 12. Committee to inquire into the operation of the Act of 7 Geo. IV., c. 46, permitting the establishment of joint-stock banks, under certain restrictions; and whether it be expedient to make any alterations in the provisions of that Act. Ordered, that the Committee be a Committee of Secresy. Names of the Members:—Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Sir James Graham, Mr. Clay, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Baring (Portsmouth), Mr. Loch, Mr. Morrison, Mr. John Abel Smith, Mr. Pattison, Sir John Wrottesley, Mr. M. Attwood, Mr. Strutt, Sir T. Fremantle. Power to send for persons, papers, and records; five to be the quorum.

— 16. Committee on the affairs of the city of Edinburgh and port of Leith.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

The Twelfth Report, dated April 25th.

	No of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour	2	1,364
Ecclesiastical.		
Church of Ireland, against appropriation	1	2
Ecclesiastical Leases Bill, against	6	197
Lord's Day, for better observance	535	76,731
Marriages Bill, for alteration	1	4
Maynooth College	2	2
Protestant Dissenters	45	13,487
Tithes Commutation Bill, praying that it may not pass	58	2,383
Tithes (Ireland), for abolition	54	30,907
„ „ for re-valuation	4	111
„ „ for alteration	2	134
„ „ for final settlement, from the clergy of the Church of Ireland	1	52
Colonies.		
Mr. Buckingham's claim	85	22,099
Salt (East India)	3	207
Taxes.		
Attorneys' Certificates	36	935
Fire Insurance, repeal of duty	1	18
Grand Jury Assessments (Ireland)	1	620
Marine Insurance, repeal of duty	10	575
Newspaper Stamps, repeal	208	170,260
Spirits	1	1

[The petitioner (the Rev. J. Maurice, clerk) considers that the cheap rate at which spirits can be procured is greatly prejudicial to the health and morals of the country; he therefore prays that no measure may be entertained which is calculated to increase the evil.]

	Petitions.	Sigs.
Spirit Licenses, repeal of additional duty	134	13,666
Statute Labour (Scotland)	7	1,330
Miscellaneous.		
Accidents in Mines	1	1
Agricultural Distress	83	33,633
Civil Bill Courts (Ireland) Bill, against	2	2
Copyholds, Manorial Boundaries, and Escheats Bills, against	9	45
Corporal Punishment	8	2,800
County Rates	10	1,880
Criminal Laws, against capital punishments except in case of murder	9	688
Factories Regulation Act	19	6,845
Handloom Weavers, protection of their labour from unnecessary depreciation	21	17,363
Medical Practitioners, remuneration for attending coroners' inquests	25	1,612
Poor-Law Amendment Act, increase of time to repay building-loan for new workhouses	36	715
Sale of Beer, for placing retailers on a footing with licensed victuallers	2	38
Turnpike Trusts Consolidation Bill	5	35

ABSTRACTS OF REPORTS AND RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

Revising-Barristers.—In 1832 the number of revising-barristers was 165; 169 in 1833; 170 in 1834; and 174 in 1835. The aggregate number of days in which the whole of them were employed was 3662 in 1832; 2632 in 1833; 2585 in 1834; and 3838 in 1835;—the total cost being for each of the above years, respectively, as follows:—30,400*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*; 23,182*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*; 22,520*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; and 32,086*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

Bankers' Notes.—The aggregate amount of notes circulated in England and Wales by private banks and joint-stock banks, in the quarters ending 1st October, 1835, 1st January, 1836, and 1st April, 1836, was as follows:—viz., 10,420,623*l.*; 11,134,414*l.*; and 11,447,919*l.*:—viz, for the quarter ending October last—by private banks, 7,912,587*l.*, by joint-stock banks, 2,508,036*l.*; quarter ending 1st June, 1836—by private banks, 8,334,863*l.*; joint-stock banks, 2,799,551*l.*; quarter ending 1st April by private banks, 8,353,894*l.*; joint-stock banks, 3,094,025*l.*

Corn.—The average prices of corn for 1835 have been struck by the Comptroller of Corn Returns, and are, for wheat, 39*s.* 4*d.*; barley, 29*s.* 11*d.*; and oats, 22*s.* per quarter. The average, for the seven years preceding 1836, are—for wheat, 56*s.* 3*d*; barley, 31*s.* 9*d.*; and oats, 22*s.*

Joint-Stock Banks in Ireland.—There are eight joint stock banks in Ireland viz, the Hibernian Joint-Stock Company, established by a special Act in 1825, and which has 225 partners; the Northern Banking Company, 208 partners; the Provincial Bank of Ireland, 644 partners; the Belfast Banking Company, 292 partners; the Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland, 2170 partners; the National Bank of Ireland, 250 partners; the Limerick National Bank of Ireland, 523 partners; and the Ulster Banking Company, which has 117 partners. The four last have been established since September, 1834, and the other four in 1824-5-6. The Provincial Bank and the Agricultural Bank have each a great number of branch establishments.

New Houses of Parliament.—It is stated in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the Lords on the Rebuilding of the Two Houses of Parliament, that the expense of the whole building may be expected to amount to 724,984*l.*, including 14 per cent. to cover contingent charges, and any probable change in the value of materials; to which would be to be added about 60,000*l.* for the purchase of ground in Abingdon-street, and 30,000*l.* for fittings and fixtures.

Highland Roads and Bridges.—The Twenty-second Report states that the Commissioners have ordered a survey of the whole line between Perthshire and Inverness, in order to ascertain the best mode of shortening and improving the road, and thereby prevent the chance of incurring expense upon portions of this line, which may by future alterations be superseded. The sum expended last year was 9353*l.*

Beer Licenses.—Return for 1835 of the number of houses licensed under 1 Will. IV. c. 64, and 4 and 5 Will. IV. c. 85, for the sale of beer, to be consumed on the premises, 35,536; not to be consumed on the premises, 4118.—Total, 39,654.

Window Duty.—Amount of Window Duty paid by twelve towns which contribute the largest amount, except London:—

	1834. £.	s.	d.	1835. £.	s.	d.
Bath	18,029	12	6	18,035	5	3
Birmingham	6,290	9	2½	6,570	1	0
Brighton	10,644	2	6	10,778	2	9
Bristol	11,127	2	7	11,386	16	1
Cambridge Town, &c.	3,749	14	0½	3,761	9	3
Cheltenham	4,873	8	3	5,156	7	10
Clifton	4,491	14	1	4,632	17	7
Leeds	4,190	11	2	4,335	17	2
Liverpool	19,722	0	5	20,189	15	6
Manchester	11,055	5	9	11,551	13	2
Norwich	4,863	15	10	4,791	16	9
Portsmouth	3,830	18	5	3,635	9	3

Taxes.—Return of the Gross and Net Amount of all Taxes repealed, expired, reduced, and imposed in each of the last Five years:—

	Taxes Repealed. Gross.	Net.	Taxes Imposed. Gross.	Net.
Customs.				
1831	£1,070,991	£1,048,854	£626,206	£626,206
1832	247,746	247,746	22,976	22,976
1833	349,147	346,740	nil	nil
1834	307,364	305,817	17,391	17,394
1835	31,939	31,877	77	75
	£2,007,187	£1,981,034	£666,653	£656,651
Excise.				
1831	£2,108,000	£529,000	£ nil	£ nil
1832	483,500	476,500	nil	nil
1833	809,000	626,000	nil	nil
1834	531,900	505,200	181,000	181,000
1835	188,000	131,000	nil	nil
	£4,120,400	£2,267,700	£181,000	£181,000
Stamps.				
1831	£ nil	£ nil	£ 210	£ 210
1832	7,234	7,162	21,550	21,550
1833	159,020	156,800	nil	nil
1834	31,618	31,204	nil	nil
1835	Cannot be given.		nil	nil
	£ 197,872	£ 195,166	£ 21,760	£ 21,760
Taxes.				
1831	£ 3,283	£ 3,152	£ 1,170	£ 1,170
1832	44,665	42,879	nil	nil
1833	419,145	402,588	nil	nil
1834	1,273,224	1,222,295	nil	nil
1835	nil	nil	nil	nil
	£1,740,317	£1,670,914	£ 1,170	£ 1,170
Post-Office.				
1831	£ 25,000	£ 25,000	nil	. .
1832	nil	. .	nil	. .
1833	nil	. .	nil	. .
1834	1,600	1,600	1,500	. .
1835	nil	. .	nil	. .
	£ 26,600	. .	£ 1,500	. .
Summary.				
1831	£3,207,274	£1,601,006	£627,586	£627,586
1832	783,145	774,287	44,526	44,526
1833	1,736,312	1,532,128	. .	. .
1834	2,145,706	2,064,516	199,894	198,394
1835	219,939	162,877	77	75
Totals	£8,092,376	£6,134,814	£872,083	£870,581

Customs and Excise Duties (Ireland).—The following is

an account of the duties of customs (excluding casual and miscellaneous receipts) collected in each district in Ireland in the years 1834 and 1835; and also an account of the amount of the duties of excise collected in each revenue district in Ireland for the same two year:

Ports. Customs.	1834.	1835.
Dublin	£ 761,832	£ 914,946
Baltimore	1,031	2,059
Belfast	288,756	357,645
Coleraine	2,046	3,271
Cork	196,519	216,446
Drogheda	15,347	9,443
Dundalk	4,460	3,598
Galway	38,185	31,065
Limerick	136,775	142,636
Londonderry	87,022	99,631
Newry and Strangford	50,028	53,902
Sligo	34,679	35,506
Waterford	124,920	135,751
Westport and Newport	508	413
Wexford and Wicklow	4,083	4,917
	£1,746,199	£2,009,234

Districts. Excise.	1834.	1835.
Armagh	£ 76,506	£ 69,076
Athlone	36,681	37,927
Clonmel	76,514	75,520
Coleraine	44,577	46,878
Cork	251,875	252,452
Drogheda	79,471	75,007
Dublin	415,490	381,585
Dundalk	105,417	112,189
Foxford	17,224	18,722
Galway	47,283	50,145
Kilkenny	69,137	70,665
Limerick	86,050	71,616
Lisburn	165,373	189,590
Londonderry	64,458	78,942
Mallow	93,055	87,630
Maryborough	81,923	71,479
Naas	57,208	53,575
Sligo	31,171	44,180
Tralee	11,433	11,265
Waterford	68,349	60,835
Wexford	81,852	76,453
	£1,961,057	£1,935,742

Salaries in Public Offices.—A reduction of 128 persons was effected in the public offices in 1835, whose salaries amounted to 44,644*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* per annum. In the same period the diminution of expenses, under the head of emoluments, was 705*l.*; retired allowances, 17,441*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*; and expenses, 4963*l.* 15*s.*;—making a total reduction of 67,754*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The reductions effected in the Treasury, and some departments immediately connected with it, such as the Comptroller of the Exchequer, have amounted to 40,470*l.* in the last two years. An increase in the number of persons employed in some of the public departments took place within the above period, amounting altogether to 152 persons, of whom 119 were required for the service of the Post-Office. The expenditure has, in consequence, been increased 13,711*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* in salaries; emoluments, 1264*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*; retired allowances, 32,552*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; expenses, 10,707*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; making a total of 58,235*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*

Negro Education.—A statement has been laid before Parliament, shewing the appropriation in detail of the sum of 20,000*l.* voted in 1835 for promoting the education of the negroes in the West Indies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel received 7500*l.* of the grant, to which the Society added 3750*l.*, being a total of 11,250*l.*, with which they proposed to erect 52 schools, capable of accommodating 7395 scholars. The Church Missionary Society received 2500*l.*, to which 1250*l.* was added by the Society for the purpose of building 15 schools, which will hold 2400 scholars. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has added 1500*l.* to a grant of 3000*l.*, the result of which will be the erection of 19 schools for the accommodation of 2740 scholars. The London Missionary Society received 3000*l.* of the grant, and by private aid increased the amount to 4553*l.*, with which 16 schools will be built, and 2000 scholars accommodated. The Moravian Missionary Society, with a grant of 1500*l.*, and 750*l.* added thereto by private donations, will build 8 schools capable of containing 1790 scholars. The Baptist Missionary Society received 1100*l.*, added 1270*l.* to that sum, and will erect 4 schools. The Ladies' Negro Education Society, the Governor of Trinidad, and the trustees of a charity, received 1400*l.* among them, on condition of adding 1245*l.*; and with the total, amounting to 2645*l.*, 10 schools will be built, and 1670 scholars provided with school accommodation. Altogether the number of new schools to be erected will be 124; estimated number of schools 18,665; amount of grant and voluntary contributions 31,318*l.* The sum of 500*l.* was placed at the disposal of the Governor of Trinidad in consequence of only one society having included that island in its estimates; and this amount will be increased from local sources to 750*l.* Some societies, it is understood, did not make applications for a portion of the grant to an extent commensurate with their means of co-operation with the Government. The grant of 5000*l.* voted by Parliament in 1835 in aid of normal schools for the purpose of training teachers, has been placed at the disposal of the Marquess of Sligo, the Governor of Bahamas, and the trustees of the Mico charity. Each society to whom a portion of the grant was appropriated was called upon to pledge itself not to withdraw any portion of its funds heretofore devoted to negro education. All such schools as may have received aid from the Parliamentary grant will be subject to the inspection of an officer appointed by the Government for that purpose, who will report upon their state and efficiency. It is not intended to interfere with the religious instruction given in the schools, but only to ascertain that they really conduce to the moral and religious education and improvement of the negro population, and thus answer the end for which the public money has been advanced.

Liverpool.—From the 1st of January, 1835, to the 1st of January, 1836, there was imported into Liverpool 491,271 bales of cotton, in 396 foreign ships; and for the same period 180,870 bales, in 157 British ships. The number of American ships entered inwards at the port of Liverpool, from New York, in 1835, was 121; tonnage, 63,526: the number of British ships entering from New York was 13; tonnage, 4257.

Legacies.—A Return has been published, shewing the amount of capital on which the several rates of legacy-duty have been paid in Great Britain, in the years 1834 and 1835—namely,

Rate of Duty.	1834	1835.
1 per cent.	£ 22,109,303	£ 22,085,931
2½ do.	160,338	206,593
3 do.	12,400,973	11,931,642
4 do.	36,792	16,549
5 do.	1,558,875	1,642,198
6 do.	300,872	300,998
8 do.	91,538	91,844
10 do.	4,915,934	4,813,882
	£ 41,574,628	£ 41,092,660

For the two years the capital amounts to 82,667,288*l.* A similar Return for Ireland exhibits the extraordinary difference in the circumstances of the two countries; the amount of capital on which duty was paid being, for the two years, 4,545,765*l.*

	1834.	1835.
At 10*s.* per cent.	£ 1,243,471	£ 1,552,892
2*s.* do.	606,059	597,406
40*s.* do.	83,912	68,391
50*s.* do.	81,983	4,382
100*s.* do.	163,792	143,377

Glass Duty.—In the last Session the duty on flint glass was reduced to one-third of the former rate. The following returns of the amount of duty charged on such description of glass, with the drawback on exportation for the years 1834 and 1835, exhibit a comparative view of this branch of industry. The reduction alluded to amounted to 155,000*l.*; and the duty for 1834, on flint glass, produced 233,317*l.*; and for 1835, the sum of 188,813*l.* In 1834, the duties on all descriptions of glass made within the United Kingdom amounted to 923,056*l.*; in 1835, to 966,136*l.* The amount of drawback allowed on exportation was 257,855*l.*, in 1834; and 322,789*l.* in 1835. An increased domestic consumption has therefore taken place, the exports have been greater, and the revenue, instead of sustaining a diminution has been considerably improved.

King of the Belgians.—A Paper embodying the following Returns has recently been presented to Parliament:—

(1.) A Return of the sums received by the trustees in each of the seven quarters, from July, 1834, to February, 1836, inclusive, on account of his Majesty's annuity:—

September 3, 1834, the quarter due July 5, 1834	£12,500	0	0
October 22, 1834, the quarter due October 10, 1834	12,500	0	0
January 19, 1835, the quarter due January 5, 1835	12,500	0	0
April 20, 1835, the quarter due April 5, 1835	12,500	0	0
July 11, 1835, the quarter due July 5, 1835	12,500	0	0
October 19, 1835, the quarter due October 10, 1835	12,500	0	0
January 22, 1836, the quarter due January 5, 1836	12,500	0	0
	87,500	0	0
Deduct Stamps for Receipts	3	12	6
Balance Received	£87,496	7	6

(2.) An Account of the sums paid by the trustees on account of Marlborough House in each quarter:—

For the quarter ending July 5, 1834	£943	4	10½
For the quarter ending October 10, 1834	785	6	11
For the quarter ending January 5, 1835	799	0	1½
For the quarter ending April 5, 1835	888	4	9½
For the Remainder of the Term of the Lease, ending June 4, 1835	693	19	1
For amount of Dilapidations of Marlborough House, paid to the surviving trustee of the Duke of Marlborough, and by him to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, December 15, 1835	1,645	0	0
	£5,763	15	9½

(3.) A Return of the annual amount reserved by the King of the Belgians by the Deed of Trust, to be applied by the Trustees in payment of the salaries, annuities, allowances, and charities, as specified in a list signed by his Majesty, and delivered to the Trustees on their acceptance of the Trust:—£9263.

(4.) A Return of the sums paid in each of the Quarters by the Trustees into the Exchequer:—

The first payment was delayed in consequence of the appointment of the Trustees not being completed, so that no one could act, and other unavoidable circumstances, until March 31, 1835, when was paid into the Exchequer the sum of	£25,000	0	0
April 28, 1835	5,000	0	0
July 17, 1835	9,000	0	0
November 28, 1835	7,500	0	0
February 6, 1836	8,600	0	0
	£55,000	0	0

Abstract of the above Returns:—

Received in respect of the Annuity	£87,496	7	6	Paid in respect of Marlborough House	£5,763	15	9
Sums specified on the other side	76,444	2	3	Paid Pensions and Annuities	15,680	6	6
Remainder expended by the Trustees for seven quarters, including the Balance now standing to the credit of the Trustees at the Banker's	£11,052	5	3	Paid into the Exchequer	55,000	0	0
					£76,444	2	3

Irish Constabulary Force.—This force consists of 4 inspectors-general, 1 superintendent county of Dublin, 10 resident magistrates, 155 chief constables, first class, including sub-inspectors, 59 chief constables; second class, 1232 constables, 6233 sub-constables: total number of individuals 7594, and 277 horses. The total annual expense is 314,071*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* Besides the Constabulary Force there is the "Peace Preservation Force," which consists of 10 magistrates, 9 chief constables, 109 constables, 492 sub-constables, and 10 horses. The annual expense of this force is 31,824*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; making, with the constabulary force, and 4739*l.* allowed to 7 stipendiary magistrates, the large sum of 350,635*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* The amount chargeable to counties is 143,060*l.* 9*s.*; the remainder is defrayed out of the Treasury of the United Kingdom.

Metropolitan Police.—Receipts and disbursements on account of the metropolitan police, made up to the 31st of December, 1835. Amount received from parishes 151,759*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; from the Treasury, 49,489*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*; total, 201,249*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* The receipts were augmented to 210,428*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* by the following payments:—further sum out of the Consolidated Fund in addition to one-fourth of parochial warrants, 6258*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*; and voluntary payments for attendance at theatres, races, fairs, sales of condemned clothing, fines for assaults upon public constables, &c., 2920*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* The amount outstanding from parishes was, 16,154*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; from the Treasury, 26,908*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*; total, 43,062*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*; from which the sum of 32*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* is deducted for official buildings, making the balances outstanding 43,030*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* The following are the chief items under the head of disbursements:—salaries to superintendents, (200*l.* per annum)—inspectors, (1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per week)—serjeants, (22*s.* 6*d.* do.)—and constables, (19*s.* 6*d.* do.)—169,745*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*; clothing, 16,362*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*; police premises, 9868*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; coals, 3607*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; lamps and gas-lights, 1444*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; medical attendance, 1115*l.* 9*s.*; stable expenditure, 2548*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*; total amount of disbursements, 208,221*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*; all of which, with the exception of 6257*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* had been actually paid within the year.

Irish Ecclesiastical Commission.—The Annual Report of the Commissioners for the year ending August 1st, 1835, has only just been printed. The attention of the Commissioners within the above period has been occupied principally in—1st, the examination of the items and sums of money required by the estimates for providing things necessary for the celebration of Divine service in the several parishes in Ireland: 2ndly, the investigation of outstanding claims on account of the vestry cess for the year 1833, and of arrears of cess for preceding years: 3rdly, the examination of the estimates furnished by the provincial architects for the repairs of churches and chapels; 4thly, the sale of perpetuities; 5thly, demising and setting the see-houses and mensal or demesne lands of or belonging to the bishoprics, the temporalities of which have become vested in the Commissioners; 6thly, the suspension of the appointments of clerks to such benefices as became vacant within the year, and in which Divine worship had not been celebrated for the three years next preceding February, 1833; and, 7thly, in the several other important matters in connexion with the execution of the trusts reposed in them. The Commissioners have paid the sum of 29,816*l.* in salaries to clerks and sextons, and for purposes connected with the celebration of Divine service; 10,268*l.* on account of arrears of vestry cess: making the total expenditure incurred under this head since the opening of the Commission, amount to 46,259*l.* The Commissioners have also paid 11,366*l.* on account of repairs of churches, being part of the sum of 75,000*l.*, which they have deemed it indispensable to devote to this object. Applications have been received for aid in order to enlarge several churches where the accommodation is insufficient, and also for the rebuilding or erection of sixty churches; the parties expressing their willingness to contribute sums varying in amount from 60*l.* to 600*l.* The Commissioners state that some churches had been wantonly injured; and that in such cases where the amount of injury was sufficient to justify the expense necessary to be maintained, they had, under the provisions of the Statute, applied to the grand-juries of the respective counties in which the churches were situated for compensation, to be levied by presentments. During the year 164 applications had been received relative to the sale of perpetuities, making 270 since the establishment of the Commission. The sum received on account of the Perpetuity Purchase Fund is set down in the annual account at 89,552*l.* The see-estates which had fallen into the Commissioners' hands had produced the following sums:—Waterford and Lismore, 2773*l.*; Clonfert, 366*l.*; Killala, 3760*l.*; Raphoe, 1613*l.* The fines on the demise of the mansion-houses and demesnes of Killala and Clonfert were 2000*l.* each. The other sees which have more recently been vested in the hands of the Commissioners have not yet produced any available income. The sum of 4000*l.*

had been paid by the Bishop of Derry, under the provisions of the Act for regulating the revenues of that see. Under the peculiar circumstances in which the clergy have been placed, the tax on benefices has not been very productive. In three benefices having neither church, glebe-house, or glebe, and in which Divine service had not been performed for three years preceding February, 1833, the appointment of the incumbents had been suspended by the Commissioners, with the consent of the respective diocesans. The spiritual duties have been committed to the care of curates of adjoining parishes, nominated by the respective ordinaries, and at stipends fixed by the Board. These benefices were—Dunbyn, annual value, 290*l.*; Erry, 77*l.*; and Kilteynan, 320*l.* There are 53 Protestants in the parish of Erry, and 86 in the adjoining benefice of Ballyshehan, which has no church, nor is there one within four miles of the parish. The Commissioners express their regret that the smallness of the income of the benefice of Erry will render the erection of a church, upon which they have decided, a work of considerable time.

Miscellaneous Estimates.—We select a few of the items of expense under this head for the current year. For the Polish refugees, 10,000*l.*; the Euphrates expedition, 8000*l.*; for school-houses in England, 20,000*l.*; captured negroes, 20,000*l.*; convict expenditure, Australia, 171,600*l.*; revising-barristers, 40,000*l.*: Commissioners of Religious Instruction in Scotland, 10,000*l.*; in Ireland, 36,000*l.*; Portpatrick harbour, 12,226*l.*; Kingstown (Dublin) harbour, 15,000*l.*; British Museum buildings, 25,860*l.*; National Gallery, 31,112*l.*

Irish Miscellaneous Estimates. — Under the head of "Charitable Institutions," an aggregate sum of 97,345*l.* is put down: of which the most important items are, schools of education, 35,000*l.*; Foundling Hospital, 1400*l.*; House of Industry, 20,000*l.*; Catholic College, 8928*l.*; Royal Dublin Society, 5300*l.*; Royal Irish Academy, 300*l.*; Belfast Academical Institution, 2375*l.* Under another head there are, for nonconforming and other ministers, 26,579*l.*; for the police of Dublin, 17,900*l.*; for criminal prosecutions and low charges, 65,000*l.*; household of the Lord-Lieutenant, 12,406*l.* The whole amount for these and other charges for Ireland is 282,574*l.*

Colonial Miscellaneous Estimates. — These amount to 296,988*l.*. Among the items are—clergy, North America, 14,110*l.*: of this sum the Catholic Bishop of Quebec receives 1000*l.*; the Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland, 75*l.*; five Presbyterian ministers, 375*l.*, and the rest for the clergy of the establishment, including 3000*l.* to the Bishop of Quebec. The expense for the Indian department in Canada is 20,000*l.*; for justices in the slave colonies, 69,950*l.*; and for education in the slave colonies, 25,000*l.*

The documents, of which the following are abstracts, were introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on bringing forward the Budget:—

Reduction in Poor-rates by the operation of the new Bill.

Counties.	Estimated Annual Expenditure.	Average Annual Expenditure, 1833 4 5.	Saving On Annual Average Expenditure.	Saving Rate per Cent. on
	£.	£.	£.	
Northampton	31,629	77,505	45,876	59
Oxford . .	18,201	45,556	27,355	58½
Bucks . . .	16,117	36,516	20,099	58
Suffolk . .	62,766	141,056	78,290	55½
Kent . . .	74,021	165,229	91,208	55
Berks . . .	54,989	114,820	59,831	52
Bedford . .	42,427	83,532	41,105	49
Dorset . . .	8,969	17,290	8,321	47
Herts . . .	36,066	67,059	30,993	46
Sussex . .	110,102	198,639	88,537	44½
Essex . . .	43,333	77,669	34,326	44
Wilts. . . .	29,009	51,440	22,431	43
Hants . . .	83,081	136,296	53,215	39
Gloucester .	11,582	19,096	7,514	39
Cambridge .	16,722	27,164	10,442	39
Totals	639,314	1,258,867	619,553	49

Savings' Banks.—In the summary of depositors, and the amount of deposits in savings' banks in England, Wales, and Ireland, the increase or decrease since November 20th, 1834, is shown in the third column; and in the last the amount invested by each class of depositors on the 20th November, 1835. The increase in the number of depositors is about 7 per cent., and in the amount deposited about 6 per cent. The deposits of charitable institutions and friendly societies are not included.

Depositors.		Increase or Decrease. £.	Amount of Investment. £.
Not exceeding—			
281,038	20*l.* each. Increase	19,745	1,983,810
155,171	50*l.* do. do. .	9,644	4,765,291
64,780	100*l.* do. do. .	4,483	4,448,800
21,228	150*l.* do. do. .	1,119	2,563,387
11,049	200*l.* do. do. .	627	1,879,061
3,125	above 200*l.* do Decrease	90	781,256
536,691	Depositors in 1835 . . .		16,421,605
501,163	Do. in 1834 . . .		15,430,814
35,528	Increase.	Increase	£990,791

Insolvent Debtors.—The number of persons discharged as insolvent debtors in 1832, was 4648; 1833—4583; 1834—4275; 1835—3890.

British Produce of Manufactures Exported.—The declared value of the exports was, in 1833—36,531,000*l.*; in 1835—41,350,000*l.* Increase 4,819,000*l.*, or 13 per cent. Out of 17 articles there has been an increase on 14. The only articles on which a decrease has taken place are tin plates, salt, and refined sugar. The exports of the five great staples of manufacture have been as follows:—

Linen, 1834—2,579,000*l.*; 1835—3,226,000*l.* Increase 647,000*l.*, or 26 per cent.

Cotton, 1834—15,302,000*l.*; 1835—16,394,000*l.* Increase 1,092,000*l.*, or 7 per cent.

Hardware and cutlery, 1834—1,485,000*l.*; 1835—1,835,000*l.* Increase 350,000*l.*, or 23 per cent.

Silk, 1834—637,000*l.*; 1835—972,000*l.* Increase 335,000*l.*, or 6 per cent.

Woollen, 1834—5,975,000*l.*; 1835—7,046,000*l.* Increase 1,071,000*l.*, or 18 per cent.

Cotton Wool. — Home consumption in 1833—293,682,000 lbs.; in 1834—302,935,000 lbs; in 1835—333,080,000*l.*lbs. Increase in 1834 over 1833—3.15 per cent.; 1835 over 1834—10.36 per cent.; 1835 over 1833—13.48 per cent. The average consumption for the ten years from 1816 to 1825, was 138,120,000 lbs.; and from 1826 to 1835—255,975,000 lbs. Increase 85 per cent.

Saving effected in the Public Offices.—In 1815 the number employed in the public departments was 27,365: number employed in 1835—23,578. Salaries paid in 1815—3,763,100*l.*; ditto in 1835—2,786,278*l.* The actual reduction is, in salaries, 976,000*l.*; and in the number of persons employed, 3787. The reductions since 1825 have been:—Treasury, 27,421*l.*; Exchequer and Paymaster of Civil Services, 58,994*l.*; War-Office, including Military Boards, 29,509*l.*; Ordnance, 122,174*l.*; Admiralty and Naval Departments, 303,489*l.*; Excise, 152,301*l.*; Stamps and Taxes, 103,929*l.*; Audit Department, 54,078*l.*; Vice-Treasurer's Office, &c., 23,805*l.*

Estimated Income and Expenditure for 1836-7:—

Total income estimated for 1836-7 . .		£46,980,000
Total expenditure for debt and other charges on Consolidated Fund, exclusive of charge for West India grant	30,620,000	
Supplies for 1836-7 . .	14,585,807	
Total expenditure, exclusive of charge for West India grant		45,205,807
Surplus . .		1,774,193
The utmost amount of the liabilities that can occur in the year 1836-7 for the charges on the West India grant will be . . .	1,454,604	
But the probable amount of the same, for which payment will be required in this year, is only	1,111,863	
If, therefore, the latter amount be deducted from the above surplus . .		1,111,863
The remaining amount of surplus of income over expenditure will be . . .		£662,330

TRADE, STATISTICS, &c.

Algiers.—From Statistical Tables recently published in the French journals: European population on the 1st of December last.—Algiers 6649, Oran 1212, Bona 1154, Mostaganem 41; total, 9056. In March, 1835, the lands in cultivation in the district of Algiers were 15,000 acres, or 25 square miles. The total revenue raised in the colony in the year was 100,000*l.*, about one-fifteenth part of the expenditure. The ships which entered the ports of the colony in 1835 were 2090, their burden 136,000 tons, of which only one-fifth belonged to France. The imports of the colony were 1,040,000*l.*

United States.—The revenue of the quarter ending the 31st of March, was 10,725,000 dollars—namely, Customs, 5,006,050 dollars; Public Lands, 5,439,650 dollars; and Miscellaneous, 280,000 dollars. The amount of public money in the Treasury, on the 31st of March, was 31,895,155 dollars.

Public Instruction.—The "Instituteur," a French journal devoted to education, states that there are in France 43,951 primary schools, having together 2,453,254 scholars, two-thirds of whom are boys.

Grain consumed in Distilleries.—An approximate Return has been prepared by the Excise Office, of the total quantities of grain used in distilleries in the three kingdoms, by estimating 1 quarter of grain to every 14 gallons of spirits, if made from malt only, and the like quantity to every 19 gallons, where mixed grain is used, including barley, wheat, oats, and such proportion of malted grain as may be necessary. Upon these principles of forming a calculation, it would appear that the consumption for the last three years, ending October 10th in each year, has been as follows:—

Years.	Quarters.
1833 . . .	1,221,607
1834 . . .	1,238,047
1835 . . .	1,294,224

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

April 30.	May 7.	May 14.	May 21.
91⅛	92	92⅛	91⅞

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar per cwt., computed from the Returns published in the *London Gazette*:—

Weeks ending	April 26 . .	39*s.* 8*d.*
,,	May 3 . . .	40*s.* 1½*d.*
,,	May 10 . . .	40*s.* 9*d.*
,,	May 17 . . .	40*s.* 8¾*d.*

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from the *London Gazette* of Friday, May 20:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
Week ending May 17	49 3	33 2	23 1	33 4	38 9	40 10
Average of last six weeks .	48 5	32 6	22 4	31 6	36 10	38 11
Duty on foreign corn.....	38 8	13 10	13 9	22 9	15 6	12 6

Bankruptcy Analysis from April 24th to May 22nd.—Agent, 1; bill-broker, 1; bone-dust manufacturer, 1; brassfounder, 1; brewer, 1; builders, 2; butcher, 1; carpenter, 1; cheesemonger, 1; cloth-merchant, 1; coach-builder, 1; coach-proprietor, 1; coal-merchant, 1; cooper, 1; corn-merchant, 1; cotton-doubler, 1; cotton-spinner, 1; dealer, 1; drapers, 2; dyer, 1; factor (Birmingham), 1; flax-spinner, 1, fishmongers, 2; glass-manufacturer, 1; grocers, 4; hardwareman, 1; hotel-keepers, 2; iron-founder, 1; ironmonger, 1; machine-maker, 1; mercer, 1; merchant, 1; needle-manufacturer, 1; paper-manufacturer, 1; pastry-cook, 1; 1; plumbers, 2; potato-dealer, 1; poulterer, 1; printer, 1; scriveners, 2; silk-spinner, 1, slater, 1; stable-keeper, 1; stationer, 1; surgeon, 1; tailor, 1; timber-merchant, 1; victuallers, 3; wine-merchants, 2.—Total 61; from the 28th of December, 387.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

May 2. In the Court of King's Bench, the parties convicted of bribery at the Ipswich election were brought up for judgment. W. B Finch was sentenced to be imprisoned four months; J. M. Dasent, two months, and fined 100*l.*, and to be further imprisoned until paid; W. Filgrim, six months; and J Cooke, four months.

5. A new statute for excluding Dr. Hampden from one vote out of five in the appointment of select preachers for the University of Oxford, was this day brought forward in Convocation, and agreed to: the numbers being 474 to 94. The number of members who have the privilege of voting in Convocation is 2500. Sir John Campbell and Dr. Lushington have given it as their opinion, that the Convocation do not possess the power of curtailing any privilege belonging to Regius Professors. The undergraduates were not admitted to the theatre on the present occasion, their unruly conduct at the previous meeting having been strongly censured. In consequence of being excluded, about 800 of them assembled outside, attempted to force the doors, broke the windows, and kept up an incessant disturbance during the meeting

— It was stated by the lord-mayor, while presiding at the annual festival of the City of London School of Instruction and Industry, that there were in London 100,000 children totally destitute of education.

13. A public meeting, numerously attended, was held in London, for the purpose of forming a Colonial Missionary Society, to supply the great deficiency that now exists in the means of religious instruction in the colonies of Great Britain.

14. At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Civil and Religious Liberty, it was moved, that the grateful thanks of the meeting were due to Lord Melbourne's administration for municipal reform; and the Dissenters were called upon at the next general election, to insist upon this one pledge, from every candidate for their suffrages—"Justice to Ireland." Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., in seconding the above resolution, said, "that the great principle on which the government of this country was at present conducted was, that every man should be placed upon a footing of equality with regard to all civil and religious rights; and it was their glory that they were arriving, perhaps somewhat slowly, at the establishment of this principle in every part of the empire."

16. The thirty-first anniversary of the British and Foreign School Society was held at Exeter-hall, Lord Morpeth in the chair. While an encouraging report was made of the exertions of the institution, it was stated that in the preceding year the expenditure had exceeded the income to the amount of nearly 500*l.* A donation of 100 guineas was announced from his Majesty.

17. At a preliminary meeting of the requisitionists for calling a public meeting of the citizens of Dublin, on the rejection of the Irish Municipal Reform Bill by the House of Lords, H. Grattan, Esq., M.P., in the chair, Mr. Sheil insisted that the time was arrived for "a strenuous and simultaneous movement of the popular masses." "From every district," he said, "petitions to Parliament, demanding justice, must be poured in; thousands must assemble; and above all, the active system of organization devised by O'Connell must be strenuously, immediately, and simultaneously supplied. Call it by what name you please—association, board, committee, anything—let us have the weekly meetings, the appeals to the people, the exciting eloquence, the enthusiasm, the devotedness—and again and again we shall beat down every obstacle before us. We are sure that the House of Lords can be brought to reason, and be persuaded to be just. But for this purpose the energy and determination of the people must be made manifest." An open committee was formed for obtaining, from all parts of Ireland, petitions for a measure of municipal reform founded upon the same principles of popular election and popular control already extended to England.

BOOK SOCIETIES, AND FAMILIES IN EVERY PART OF THE KINGDOM,

are regularly supplied with WORKS for PERUSAL, including all the NEW and STANDARD PUBLICATIONS, MAGAZINES, &c., upon the most Advantageous Terms to them, according to the New System just planned and conducted by EDWARD BULL, Librarian, 19, Holles-street, four doors from Cavendish-square.

Full particulars can be had on application, or sent by post.

TO THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND PUBLIC.

London, 1836.

FAMILIES OF DISTINCTION, and Visiters to the Metropolis at this Season, who frequently experience great difficulty in suiting themselves with Furnished or Unfurnished Houses, owing to the great demand, are respectfully informed every attention will be afforded in the HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY DEPARTMENT of HENRY L. COOPER in obtaining or disposing of the same, or in the Selling, Letting, or Valuing any description of Property in Town or Country.

From the central situations of the Establishments in their respective commanding localities, every facility is rendered to Families honouring his House with their instructions, and offering the advantage of a double Register, usually replete with eligible properties.

The general introduction of Plate Glass for Windows, Carriages, Conservatories, Internal Decorations, &c, has induced H. L. C. to annex a Tariff of Sizes adapted to those uses, with Prices exceedingly moderate, but of a Quality not to be excelled, also is added, an outline of his general business comprising the Cabinet, Upholstery, and Decorative Departments, in each of which the most careful attention is paid both to Quality and Cost.

HENRY L. COOPER,

Plate Glass and Furniture Warehouses,

93, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN,

AND

WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT STREET,

(NINE DOORS FROM REGENT STREET, LEFT HAND SIDE.)

Among the variety of Articles above referred to, will be found LOOKING-GLASSES of every denomination and size, varying from one foot to eighty feet and upwards, PLATE-GLASS for Windows, Carriages, &c, which possess great advantages over crown, and when required for exportation, a considerable drawback obtained.

Annexed are the Prices of Current Sizes of Plate-glass, for Sashes, &c.

In	Inches. 15			Inches. 18			Inches 20			Inches 22			Inches 25			Inches. 28			Inches. 30		
	£	s.	d.	£	s	d	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
10	0	7	5	0	9	3	0	10	6	0	11	9	0	13	8	0	15	6	0	16	11
12	0	9	3	0	11	6	0	13	0	0	14	6	0	16	11	0	19	8	1	1	6
14	0	11	2	0	13	9	0	15	6	0	17	6	1	0	9	1	3	11	1	6	1
16	0	13	0	0	16	0	0	18	6	1	0	10	1	4	7	1	8	0	1	10	0
18	0	14	11	0	18	9	1	1	6	1	4	3	1	8	2	1	11	6	1	13	9
20	0	16	11	1	1	6	1	4	6	1	7	6	1	11	3	1	15	0	1	17	6
25	1	2	8	1	8	2	1	11	3	1	14	5	1	19	1	2	3	9	2	6	11
30	1	8	2	1	13	9	1	17	6	2	1	3	2	6	11	2	12	6	2	16	3
34	1	11	10	1	18	3	2	2	6	2	6	9	2	13	2	2	19	6	3	3	9
38	1	15	7	2	2	9	2	7	6	2	12	3	2	19	4	3	6	6	3	11	3

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9*s*. per foot, thus a plate being 30 inches by 18 inches contains 3 feet 9 inches superficial measure, and costs 1*l*. 13*s*. 9*d*., as per above tariff. All under 3 feet superficial at a reduction.

CARVING AND GILDING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

In this department will be found a very elegant and extensive variety of Chimney and Pier Glass Frames, Cornices for Windows, Ornamental Tables and Furniture, and richly-mounted Frames in various sizes for Portraits, Paintings, &c. Paintings and Prints mounted, framed, and re-gilt.

PAPER-HANGING AND INTERIOR DECORATIONS,

in all its Branches, from the most simple to the first Style of Elegance. A rich variety of new Patterns on show.

IN THE UPHOLSTERY ARRANGEMENT

the greatest attention is paid to unite elegance with economy in character for the Drawing-room, Boudoir, Dining-room, Library, and Bed-chamber, from the most quiet to the most costly styles. In the various articles of Chintzes, Moreen, Damask Silks, &c., a great variety of the most splendid and novel styles are constantly on view, of those qualities which can alone ensure permanent satisfaction, the extreme disparity of prices in these articles, mainly arises from the inferiority of the fabric.

CABINET, CHAIR, AND SOFA WORK

manufactured of the most seasoned materials. In the finish of Chairs, Sofas, &c, much depends on the quality of the materials used and the workmanship. It may not be unworthy of remark, that a similar effect may be produced at a saving of nearly one half, but which in the wear must eventually prove a serious disappointment to the purchaser. This applies also to the manufacture of Cabinet Goods, which, from being made of unseasoned materials and unsound work (that cannot be detected by the casual observer), can never be of that service and durability so essential. H. L. C. begs to add, that he manufactures them on his own premises, and has always on hand a large stock of well-seasoned materials, which enables him to produce work at the lowest possible rate, and of a superior quality.

STEAM AND SAILING VESSELS PROPERLY FITTED UP

with Cabin Furniture and Passengers' Requisites.

SOLID AND PORTABLE FURNITURE,

Bedding, Musquito Hangings, &c. for Foreign Climates. Families going abroad will receive every information respecting the Articles best adapted for their particular destinations. Merchants, Captains, and Dealers supplied with the utmost despatch, on the most liberal terms

CARPETING

of the fabric especially made for the first upholstery houses, viz.—Brussels, Kiddermenster, and Venetian; also a few of the much-admired Velvet Pile Carpets, Hearth Rugs, Druggets, Baize, Floor Cloths, &c.

BEDDING, BLANKETS, &c,

well seasoned, real Dantzic Feathers, also equally prepared light downy Feathers for second and third-rate Beds, Elastic Spring Hair and Wool Mattresses, real Witney, fine Bath, and York Blankets, Marseilles Quilts and Counterpanes. In the articles of Bedding, Blankets, &c., so essentially important to all, H. L. C. is determined that no trader shall supply them on better terms.

Families in the Country may command the most approved Taste, by being waited on at Home with Patterns—and Designs made on the spot, calculated to harmonize with the plans, proportions, and decorations of the rooms, and their Orders delivered, and boxed on terms forming a very small addition to the first cost by the system adopted in this Concern.

With this short enumeration of the leading articles of his trade, and the very favourable terms on which he undertakes to supply them, Henry L. Cooper appeals to all classes for a continuation of that flattering preference hitherto afforded to his House, 93, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN; WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT-STREET, nine doors from REGENT STREET,

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the Address; also that any Article will be exchanged should a fair objection arise, thus securing the public from risk.

THE METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. **97,** FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVID' EDWARDS.

In remarking on his

FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,

G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes, to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for.....£3 0
Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10
Black and Blue, 10*s*. extra on each
Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s new principles of Measurement, 1 8
Waistcoats 14
Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6

These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES

Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes; also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison; in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5
Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10
Black or Blue, 5*s*. each extra
Trousers 1 1
Waistcoats 10
The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10
A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar, and Cape—9 yds round 3 3
Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES

As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges: G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black, his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for
Two Suits per Annum.....£10 0
Three ditto ditto 14 18
Four ditto ditto 19 12
and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor. Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... £3 18 6
For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials; but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each.

G. D. D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN**, that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents. (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

This day, with Six Wood-cuts, price 3s. 6d.,

HISTORICAL SKETCHES: — SPAIN and PORTUGAL. Vol II., completing the Work.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

On the 1st of June will be published,

THE PENNY MAGAZINE.—PART L. Price 6d.

The PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA.—PART XLI. Price 1s This Part contains the completion of the Fifth Volume.

The GALLERY of PORTRAITS.—No XLIX., containing Portraits and Memoirs of Marc Antonio Raimondi, Gustavus Adolphus, and Coke Imperial octavo, price 2s 6d. This Number completes the Sixth Volume.

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.—Vol. II., completing the subject, and being the Thirtieth Volume of the LIBRARY of ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE. Price 4s. 6d. bound in cloth uniformly with the Series; or in Parts, price 2s. each, sewed.

Also, on the same day will be issued,

The PICTORIAL BIBLE.—PART IV. Price 2s. This Bible will contain the OLD and NEW TESTAMENTS according to the authorized Version, illustrated with many hundred Wood cuts, representing the Historical Events, after the most celebrated Pictures; the Landscape Scenes from Original Drawings, or from Authentic Engravings; and the Subjects of Natural History, of Costume, and of Antiquities, from the Best Sources To which are added ORIGINAL NOTES, chiefly Explanatory of the Engravings, and of such Passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures as require Observation.

It is also published in Weekly Numbers, price 6d each.

The MUSICAL LIBRARY.—PART XXVII. Price 2s

The SUPPLEMENT to the MUSICAL LIBRARY. — No. XXVII. Price 6d.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

This day is published, price 1s.

THE PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA,

PART XLI.

ADVERTISEMENT TO VOLUME THE SIXTH.—The Fifth Volume of the 'Penny Cyclopædia' being now finished, the Committee of the Society, and the Publisher, feel themselves called upon, for the satisfaction of the numerous body of Purchasers, to announce their intentions with regard to the completion of the work. The great anxiety of the Committee and of the Editor has been to produce a Cyclopædia which, in accuracy, completeness, and originality, should not be surpassed by any similar publication of this or any other country; and the Publisher has not hesitated to incur the large expenses which are necessary for the attainment of this excellence, although the work is sold at a price not amounting to a fourth of the cost of any other Cyclopædia of established reputation The articles in this work have been drawn up with the greatest care from the best and most recent authorities It will be found, on making a comparison, that the essential differences between the articles in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' and those in other Cyclopædias or Dictionaries, are sufficient to prove that original sources of information only, and not previous compilations, have been consulted by the writers for this work Independently of this, the numerous references given in all the more important articles show distinctly what are the authorities that have been used, they indicate to the careful reader the means of extending his knowledge on any particular subject, and at the same time give him the power of testing the general accuracy of the work, by consulting the same sources of information that have been used by the writers. By means of the gentlemen who are members of the London and Local Committees, and with the aid of other gentlemen, not members of the Committees, who have in many cases kindly given their assistance, the present work has had the advantage of a careful revision of many of the most important articles, and has received a number of valuable additions from documents and authorities which have never before been made public.

A publication such as this, among at the union of excellence with cheapness, requires the support of a very large body of purchasers, and this support has been obtained. The continuance of this support must, however, in great part, depend upon the Cyclopædia being completed within a reasonable period, and in a moderate number of volumes, it being borne in mind, at the same time, that no rate of publication must be attempted which would prevent the careful revision of every portion of the work, and that no scale as to the length of articles must be adopted which would destroy their usefulness It has been the constant endeavour of the Editor and the gentlemen who contribute to the Cyclopædia, to render the articles as concise as was compatible with preserving their value, and experience will now enable them to effect this object more completely than has already been done Added to this, many of the articles already published are, necessarily of greater length than the majority of those which are to come, for advantage has been taken, in most cases, to explain the general principles of a subject on the first notice of a word connected with it, and in many instances it has been considered advisable to give under one head or title such a general view of a subject as will render it sufficient, in many subsequent heads or titles, to refer to the general article. Without any material alteration of the present scale as regards the length of the more important articles, the Committee feel assured that *somewhat more than a fourth of the whole Cyclopædia is now published*, and they therefore propose that the work shall be completed in Eighteen Volumes of the present size, and they pledge themselves that it shall not exceed Twenty Volumes. Having settled these limits, the Committee look forward with confidence to the production of a work which will be useful to the most critical student by its completeness and accuracy, and will present a vast body of information, at the cheapest rate, to those who are seeking for knowledge in a popular form.

In order to comply with the wishes of the bulk of the Subscribers to the Cyclopædia, it is the intention of the Committee, upon the completion of the letter B, to publish at the rate of *Three Volumes Annually*, instead of Two, so that *the entire work may be published in little more than Four Years from the present date*. The Monthly Parts will therefore be raised to Eightcenpence each, and *Four Parts will complete a Volume*, instead of Six.

In making this announcement as to an increased speed in publication, and giving this pledge as to limitation of quantity, the Committee and the Publisher beg it to be understood that they consider those arrangements as final. They do not think it possible to proceed at a quicker rate than they have announced, or to attempt any curtailment that may reduce the number of volumes below eighteen, without injury to the character of the work.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

On Wednesday May 25, was published, in 2 Vols. post 8vo., with numerous Wood-cuts, price ONE GUINEA,

PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY, with Illustrative Notes, by HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S. and Member of the National Institute of France, and SIR CHARLES BELL, K.G.H., F.R.S.L. & E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, formerly of the Council, and Professor of Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c. &c. To which are added SUPPLEMENTARY DISSERTATIONS, by SIR CHARLES BELL.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

On Saturday, May 27, in 2 Vols. post 8vo, price ONE GUINEA,

THE COTTON-MANUFACTURE of GREAT BRITAIN SYSTEMATICALLY INVESTIGATED, and illustrated by 150 Original Figures engraved in Wood and Steel, with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries, chiefly drawn from Personal Survey. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., M.G.S., M.A.S. London, M. Acad. N.S. Philadelphia, Corresponding Member of the Pharm Soc North Germany, and of the Société Industrielle of Mulhausen, &c., &c., &c

London. CHARLES KNIGHT, 22 Ludgate street

LIBRARY OF ANECDOTE AND TABLE TALK.

This day is published, fcp 8vo, price 6s,

THE BOOK of TABLE-TALK, Vol. I., illustrated with many Wood cuts.

"I love anecdotes. I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically, except in narrative, grow weary of preparation, and connexion, and illustration, and all those arts by which a big book is made If a man is to wait till he weaves anecdotes into a system, we may be long in getting them, and get but few in comparison of what we might get."—*Dr. Johnson (Boswell's Tour)*

London. CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate street

SILVER WATCHES TWO GUINEAS EACH. An Assortment of Second hand Watches, all of them Warranted, and of Various Sizes, may be selected from, for the above Price, at T. COX SAVORY'S, Working Silversmith, Goldsmith, and Watchmaker, 47, Cornhill, London.

N.B.—A Pamphlet, containing a detailed List of the Prices of Plate, Plated Goods, Watches, Clocks, &c., may be had Gratis.

DESSERT FRUIT KNIVES AND FORKS

	Plated on Steel Blades.	Silver Blades.
Pair Ivory handles, Silver ferrules, per dozen pair...	£3 3 0	£8 18 6
Carved Ivory handles, Silver ferrules, per dozen pair...	3 16 6	9 9 0
Plain Pearl handles, Silver ferrules, per dozen pair....	4 4 0	11 11 0
Carved Pearl handles, Silver ferrules, per dozen pair.	5 8 0	12 12 0
King's Pattern or Queen's Pattern, Silver handles ...	6 16 6	14 14 0

T. COX SAVORY, Working Gold and Silversmith, 47, Cornhill, London.

N.B.—A detailed List of the Prices of Silver Plate, Plated Goods, &c., may be had Gratis

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials, having gained for E. P. DOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting them unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to ensure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES.

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	£3	3	0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10s. 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES,

(The old suits to be returned.)

Two Suits per year	£7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s., Hussar Suits, 30s.

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud-boots, and Gambadoes, India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard-street.

Established Fifty Years.

*** *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*

Clerk, Mr. T. W. PARKES.

LONDON: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 43. JULY 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Reform of the Scottish Univ.	153	Turnpike Trusts, Eng. & Wales	174
Changes of Administration, and History of Parties . . .	156	Joint Stock Banks	176
Political Retrospect for June .	160	Ecclesiastical Revenues (Ireland)	176
Reasons of the Commons for dissenting from the Lords' Irish Municipal Bill . . .	169	Public Petitions	178
Post Office Treaty	170	Library of House of Commons	178
Circulation of Country Newspapers	172	Paper Duties—Sugar Duties—Railways—Factories' Regulation Act	179
Charges of Collection on the Public Revenue, 1835 . .	173	Parliamentary Register . . .	180
		Abstracts of Returns, &c. . .	181
		Chronicle of Occurrences . .	182

REFORM OF THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

This is a subject to which, for some years past, the attention both of the public and of the legislature has been a good deal directed. No inquiry or interference with the Universities of Scotland, on the part of the State, had taken place since the year 1690, when, under an Act passed by the Scottish Parliament, entitled an "Act for Visitation of Universities, Colleges, and Schools," certain persons therein named were constituted and appointed visitors, with full power and commission to consider the foundations of these institutions, with the rents and revenues thereof, and how the same had been administered and managed, and to set down rules and methods for the good management thereof in future; as likewise for ordering the said Universities and Colleges, and the professors and manner of teaching therein, and all things else relating thereto, as they should think most meet and convenient, according to the foundations thereof, and consistently with the established government of Church and State. A dispute which arose in 1826 between the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh and the town-council of that city, induced both parties to apply to Government for a royal visitation; and the consequence was the appointment of a Commission for visiting and inquiring into the condition, not only of the metropolitan University, but also of each of its sister establishments. The original commissions were dated the 23rd of July, and 28th of September, 1826; and after the accession of his present Majesty the powers of the Commissioners were renewed by another commission, dated the 12th of October, 1830. On the 28th of the same month the Commissioners gave in a general Report of great length, having separate Reports on each of the Universities appended to it, together with a large mass of evidence. These documents were some time after, laid, by order of his Majesty, before the House of Commons; and the several Reports, but without the evidence, were ordered by that House to be printed on the 12th of March, 1832. The volume forms No. 100 of the House of Commons' papers of that Session, and contains 436 folio pages.

No step having been taken by the Government to carry the recommendations of the Commissioners into effect, two Bills were introduced into the House of Commons in 1834, by individual Members of Parliament —the one by Mr. Oswald, for the regulation of the University of Glasgow,—the other by Mr. Bannerman, for the union of the two Aberdeen Colleges into one University, with a new constitution. The former of these measures, however, was withdrawn after it had passed through the Committee, and the latter after the second reading.

Within these few days, however, a general measure on the subject has at length been submitted to the House of Lords by Viscount Melbourne, in the form of a Bill entitled an "Act for the Visitation and Regulation of the Universities of Scotland." We shall, in the first place, briefly state the leading provisions of this proposed measure.

The Bill begins by reciting that the rules and regulations established by the visitors under the Act of 1640, "have proved insufficient for the objects in view, or have not been duly observed;" and that the late Commissioners suggest in their Report, "that the most expedient form of introducing the necessary changes in reference to the said Universities and Colleges which might be found not to be within the existing powers of the Crown, was for Parliament to grant special powers to his Majesty in regard to the same, and that it was expedient that Royal visitors should be appointed, with authority to superintend the execution of the regulations to be approved by his Majesty in the Report of the said Commissioners, and to modify or extend such regulations, as circumstances might appear to require." It then enacts, "That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, if he shall think fit, with the advice of his Privy Council, to appoint a Board of Visitors to the several Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and to the Universities of King's College and Marischal College, of Aberdeen; and such Boards shall respectively (including the constituent members thereof herein after nominated) consist of not fewer than five, or more than seven members, and shall subsist for a period of five years from and after the appointment thereof." By subsequent clauses it is enacted that the Principals of the several Universities, for the time being, shall be constituent members of the respective Boards of Visitors, —that a majority of the members of each Board shall constitute a quorum,—that the chairman, who shall be chosen by the members, shall have only a casting vote in cases of equality,—and that in case of a vacancy occurring in any of the Boards, it may be filled up by the Crown.

It is then provided, "That the several Boards of Visitors to be appointed as aforesaid, shall constitute a Court of Review in the University to which such Boards are so appointed respectively; which Court shall have full power and authority to entertain and determine all questions which shall be brought before the same, in relation to the regulation and discipline of the University, the management and distribution of the property and funds thereof, or under their administration, and generally, in all questions touching the affairs and interests of such Universities, of whatever kind or description." Appeals, it is added in another clause, may be made to the said Court of Review, by any person connected with the University, "against any decision, deliverance, or regulation made or pronounced by the

 [Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

Senatus Academicus, or Rectorial Court of such University, or by any other court, body, or person, possessing, or claiming to possess, any jurisdiction, control, or authority in regard to the regulation, discipline, property, and administration of, in, or concerning such University."

The unlimited language here made use of would seem to go the length of even superseding the authority of the ordinary courts of law, and giving a right of appeal in any matter connected with the Scottish Universities from the highest legal tribunal in the country to these Courts of Review, the members of which at the same time appear to be bound to the observance of no rules or statutes whatever beyond those which they may please to lay down by their own authority. Even in dealing with questions of property they seem to be authorised to dispense, not only with foundations and charters, but also with Acts of Parliament, and all the established principles of law. There are many rights both of property and of other kinds which individuals possess, or lay claim to, in connexion with these Universities; surely it never can be intended that all such rights and claims should be thrown in a heap into the hands of the new royal courts, to be treated just as they, acting without either control of law or responsibility, shall think fit, to be abridged or extended, confirmed or extinguished, without regard to anything except the view of general expediency that may chance to be taken by this arbitrary supreme jurisdiction. Indeed, if we have rightly understood the terms of the clause, it may be safely affirmed that these proposed Boards will form a species of courts, with powers far transcending any that were ever before delegated by Parliament.

The authority to be exercised by the Boards of Visitors, in making regulations respecting the internal arrangements of the Universities, as conveyed by subsequent clauses, is of the same ample description with that which is conferred upon them in their capacity of Courts of Review; only that it is provided by the 12th clause, that all such regulations which they may make shall, within one month after the same shall be framed and settled, be submitted to his Majesty's Privy Council for revision and approbation. The supreme authority here, therefore, is divided between the Boards of Visitors and the Crown. The former are also required, in framing their orders, to take into consideration the representations of the Senatus Academicus, the patrons, and the professors, and to have regard to the Reports of the late Commission of Visitation. With these slight restrictions—if they at all deserve that name—the Boards are authorized "to make such regulations in relation to the government, discipline, and system of education in the Universities, and to the management and distribution of the property and funds thereof, as they shall think most conducive to the improvement of education in such Universities, and to the beneficial administration of the affairs of the same;" and further, "to make such regulations regarding the abolition of professorships within the universities to which they shall be appointed, or to the institution of new professorships therein, and also regarding the endowment of professorships instituted, or to be instituted in such Universities, out of the funds of the same, as shall appear calculated to promote the prosperity and success of such University, and the interests of science and learning." Of course, they are restrained from interfering with any existing professorship during the life of the present incumbent or holder, and from injuring or affecting the legal vested rights or interests, or the pecuniary or other emoluments or advantages derived by any such present professor, from or out of the property or funds of the University. But the rights of patrons and all other parties connected with the Universities, except the professors, seem to be left at their mercy.

By subsequent clauses the rights of patrons are directly interfered with. In the first place, it is enacted that in no case shall it be lawful to fill up a vacancy in a professorship until the expiration of two months, at least, after the fact of the vacancy shall have been intimated by the Principal of the University to the Board of Visitors. And then, in all cases in which the professors are patrons of the vacant chair, no professor who has been appointed by the Crown since the year 1832, is to be allowed to vote, but the Board of Visitors are to nominate a person to act as elector for, and in lieu of the professor, or several professors, so excluded from voting, and such person shall have a vote for each professor, in whose place he shall be so appointed to vote and act. In other words, the patronage, in all these cases is to be transferred from the professors to the Board of Visitors. Provision is afterwards made for gradually extinguishing altogether the right of patronage at present belonging to professors, and vesting it in the Crown, unless Parliament shall interfere to make another disposition of it.

Of the remaining clauses, one directs the Board of Visitors to be nominated to the Universities of Aberdeen to consider and report upon the propriety of uniting King's College and Marischal College; and another enacts, that in case the office of Principal of the United College of St. Andrews shall become vacant before the expiration of the Commission appointing a Board of Visitors to that University, it shall be lawful for the said Board to nominate any of the professors of the said University to such vacant office, and to appropriate the salary of the said Principal, either partially towards an additional salary of the professor so to become Principal, or towards the endowment of a new professorship, or to provide for its accumulation towards the creation of a fund for the payment of suitable retiring salaries to the professors of the said college, who, from age or sickness, may be unable to discharge the duties of their respective offices.

The only other clause of any importance is the 19th, which enacts that the Board of Visitors shall annually, on or before the 1st of April, make Reports of their proceedings to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; which Reports shall, within one month thereafter, be laid before both Houses of Parliament, if Parliament shall be then assembled, and, if not, then within a month after the meeting of Parliament.

This Bill then may be shortly described as a proposition for throwing the entire business of regulating the Universities, and, with scarcely any exception, the settlement of the rights and claims of all the parties connected with them, into the hands of five Boards, to consist of from twenty-five to thirty-seven individuals, all, except four, nominated by the Crown, not liable to be removed even by the power that has appointed them, and released from all obligation to decide the questions that may come before them according to any other law than that of their own pleasure. Sitting as courts superior, in regard to the matters over which they have jurisdiction, to every other court in the kingdom, they are not even bound to hold their sittings in public. Nor is any provision made for ensuring uniformity in the decisions of so many separate and independent tribunals. Each is left both to settle the disputes of the parties that may appeal to it, and to form a new constitution for the University that is to be given up to it, according to its own particular views or fancies; and the probability is, that in both tasks the most contradictory principles will be brought into operation in the different cases.

It does not appear whether or not salaries are to be paid to the visitors; but from the number of persons to be appointed, it is likely that their services are to be gratuitous. In that case each Board must be composed of such individuals willing to undertake the duty, and

having leisure to perform it, as can be found on the spot. In this way there seems reason to apprehend that the field of selection will be very inconveniently narrowed, and that the office will not always fall into the hands of those most competent for its discharge. Besides, the system of having public services rendered without pay is vicious in principle. It is not to be expected that people in general will really give their time and labour to the public for nothing; if they are not paid in salaries, they will take care to be paid in some other way. They will, at least, have consideration and authority if they cannot get money—more consideration and authority than it is right they should have; or, they will perform the business assigned them, not with the diligence and submission to rule, of persons feeling that it has a fair claim upon their best exertions, but rather in the notion that, as they are doing the public work for nothing, they may do it in the way that best suits their humour or convenience.

While upon the subject of the powers proposed to be conferred on the visitors, it may be proper to mention that some stress appears to be laid on the privilege accorded to the Senatus Academicus of proposing the reforms to the Board in the first instance; but the visitors are in no respect bound to adopt the suggestions thus submitted to them, and the provision, therefore, does not in the slightest degree interfere with their absolute authority. It gives them the advantage of the advice of the professors, in so far as they choose to take it, and that is all.

We confess that the five separate Boards seem to us to be a machinery, beyond all necessity or use, extensive and cumbrous. Surely, after the long and minute examination of the subject by the late Commissioners, who spent nearly four years in investigating and considering it in all its details and all its extent, and who have recorded in a series of voluminous reports, both the facts ascertained in the course of their inquiries, and a full detail of the various measures of reform which they deemed to be advisable, it cannot require the labours of five additional Boards for five years more, merely to carry the propositions thus made into effect. The new Boards, indeed, are to be authorized to begin the investigation anew, if it shall so please them, and to substitute altogether new arrangements of their own for those proposed by their predecessors. What is expected to be gained in this way we are at a loss to conceive. There seems to be no reason for anticipating that the views and conclusions of the new Boards will be, upon the whole, sounder or better considered than those of the old ones. If the plans of the latter, therefore, are not thought deserving of adoption, why is it to be assumed that those of the [illegible]ll necessarily be so much wiser, that Parliament ma[illegible]ely, beforehand, sanction their being at once carried into execution by their authors, subject only to such amendments or objections as may be offered by the Crown?

The Bill has all the look of a lazy expedient for relieving the Government from the trouble of taking the arrangement of the business into its own hands, as we cannot help thinking it was bound to do, at least in regard to the fundamental principles and great outlines of the reform to which the Universities are to be subjected. But if the whole of this task must be devolved upon a new body of Commissioners, at the same time that the investigations and recommendations of the Commission which has already inquired into the matter are to go for nothing, we are decidedly of opinion that one Board would answer the purpose quite as well as, and indeed much better, than the five which it is proposed to appoint. We see no chance, as we have already observed, of fit persons being found to compose so many Boards. Most certainly it is altogether improbable that each of these local Boards will bring to its task anything like the amount of ability which might be concentrated in a single Board, or which was actually embodied in the former Commission, whose judgments and recommendations, nevertheless, the new visitors are to be entitled to throw overboard at their pleasure, their own views and the enactments founded upon them, which they may substitute, becoming final, and having all the force of law. Then, you are likely to have as many different systems as you have Boards, and the reform of the Universities, when it is completed after this mode of proceeding, stands a chance of being a shapeless mass of contradiction and confusion, like any other production of many hands working without concert and without a common head.

It has been stated that the Bill, in the generality and vagueness of its enacting clauses, and the large powers it confers upon the royal visitors, is in conformity with the recommendation of the late Commissioners themselves. But this statement is not quite correct. The Commissioners say in their Report (p. 14), "We beg leave humbly to suggest that, in framing any Act of Parliament, it may be expedient that it should not consist of positive enactments, embracing the details of the particular changes intended to be introduced, but should rather confer on your Majesty, by legislative provisions, full power and authority to make, in the exercise of the right of visitation, the special alterations recommended in this Report, and to embody them in the Statutes of Visitation, which are to form the code of laws for the government of the Universities." To propose that his Majesty should, by Act of Parliament, be authorized to make certain alterations in the constitution of the Universities which are distinctly specified, is a very different thing from proposing that the legislature should sanction by anticipation, and give the force of laws to any changes whatever that may obtain the approval of his Majesty on the recommendation of any one of five Royal Boards, which are not yet appointed, and all the members of which are probably yet to be sought out.

There is another point which deserves to be noticed. It appears by the words already quoted from the Bill, that the royal visitors are to be commissioned to act for five years, nor is any provision made for the cessation of the functions of any one of them, except only in the event of his death. Would it not be proper that the Crown should be empowered to withdraw its commission in any case in which it should see occasion—unless, indeed, this discretion be already a part of the prerogative in regard to all royal commissions. If we rightly understand their words, the Commissioners who have already inquired into, and reported upon, the state of these Universities, consider their powers as in existence up to the present time; and unless their commission can be annulled, they may dispute the management of the business with the new Boards. Towards the conclusion of their Report, they say—"In regard to the code of laws or statutes of visitation which are submitted to your Majesty along with this Report, we are aware that various alterations may be proposed before these statutes can be finally issued, which it may be necessary to adopt, in order to render them better adapted for practical operation, and that many additional regulations may become necessary, in order to carry into effect some of the recommendations and suggestions which we have made. As your Majesty's Commission continues the powers committed to us as visitors until these Statutes shall be finally issued, and the other purposes of our appointment shall be accomplished, such additions and alterations may be carefully considered by us, and submitted for your Majesty's approbation, after your Majesty's pleasure in regard to our recommendations, has been notified to us." It is plain, from these expressions, that the authors of the Report were not at

all prepared when they drew it up for the task which they had begun, and carried on so far, being taken out of their hands, and made over to be finished by others, in the manner that is now proposed.

CHANGES OF ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY OF PARTIES.

(Continued from No. 42).

WE resume our account of the debate in the House of Lords on the Address of Thanks, at the opening of the Session which commenced on the 25th of November, 1779.

In his speech, Lord Lyttelton, who stated that he had lately returned from Ireland, drew a forcible picture of the extraordinary attitude the people of that part of the kingdom had taken. "Ireland," he said, "is ready to part from us. Ireland, my Lords, is armed, and what is her language? 'Give us free trade;' and not only that, my Lords, but they add something more, 'and give us the free Constitution of England, such as it was originally, such as we hope it now continues and will remain, the best calculated of any in the known world for the preservation of freedom.' This language, my Lords, is not the language of an idle mob, it is the loud voice of the whole kingdom of Ireland, who thunders it in your ears, and who will be heard. The Parliament itself says—Government there, my Lords, as well as here, has a majority at command, but that majority dare not dissent from the popular opinion in this particular; it is therefore the unanimous voice of Parliament, and through them of all Ireland—that nothing less than a free trade will content them, and that they will have it." Of the associations he said—"They are now, at least the greatest part of them, disciplined, and have not only received the thanks of their counties, but of both Houses of Parliament, and of the Lord-Lieutenant, in whose printed speech you will find those thanks." "Let me also, my Lords," he added, "recite to you an expression which I heard from a gentleman in the Irish House of Commons, and which struck me very forcibly: talking of the situation of Ireland, her necessities, and her just rights, 'We have, Sir,' said he, addressing himself to the Speaker, 'our back towards England, and our face towards America.'"

Lord Hillsborough, in reply, professed to be surprised at hearing the Noble Lord give so exaggerated an account of the situation of affairs in Ireland. "He had been in that kingdom as well as the Noble Lord, and he believed, more recently; and he had never seen or heard of any of those forerunners of tumult, sedition, or revolt, which had been so strongly described by the Noble Lord; he was satisfied the case was exactly the reverse; that the people of Ireland were not only loyal, but affectionate; and that it was as abhorrent to their principles as it was alien to their hearts and inclinations to employ those arms which were put into their hands for their safety, protection, and self-defence, in endeavouring to dissolve the ancient and constitutional connexion by which both kingdoms were knit together." The new Secretary, however, admitted that the situation of Ireland was, to the last degree, miserable and distressed—that the people were starving and unemployed—and that measures of relief were become highly necessary. Such measures, therefore, it behoved the Legislature to adopt, "not from any motives of compulsion or threat, such as had been held out by the Noble Lord, but upon solid and substantial grounds of good policy and mutual benefit."

The controversy upon the subject of Ireland between Lords Lyttelton and Hillsborough was continued through several additional speeches, in which the former Noble Lord, whose abilities were of a very high order, greatly distinguished himself. It was the last appearance this young Nobleman ever made in Parliament. He died suddenly on the 27th, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Everybody has heard of the story of the ghost that is said to have announced his death to him three days before it took place, and which has been often quoted as one of the most extraordinary and seemingly best authenticated relations of the kind on record.

In the preceding August, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to nearly seventy ships of the line, besides a great number of frigates and fire-ships, had entered the British Channel, and while the British fleet commanded by Sir Charles Hardy fled before them, had approached the town of Plymouth, and threatened a descent, which, if they had executed, there can hardly be a doubt that that important place must have fallen. This subject was now taken up by the Duke of Richmond. His Grace frankly expressed his astonishment that the Noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty (Lord Sandwich) was not ashamed to stay in office, when every day's experience afforded fresh proofs of his total unfitness for his important station. He then alluded to the fact, that all the most distinguished naval officers belonging to the country—Keppel, Howe, Harland, Pigot, Barrington—to mention no other names,—had distinctly declared their determination never to serve under his Lordship; and that, he observed, if no other reason existed, ought to be a sufficient motive to induce the Noble Lord to resign. He went on to remind him of his constant answer on former occasions to all who expressed any apprehension of either a French or a Spanish war,—"that any First Lord of the Admiralty who had not always in readiness a fleet equal, if not superior, to the House of Bourbon, ought to lose his head." Was the fleet in the Channel, asked his Grace, equal to cope with the united fleets of France and Spain in the late campaign? He then informed the House, that he was in the neighbourhood of Plymouth at the time of the sudden terror excited in the minds of the inhabitants by the presence of the enemy, and he was never more astonished than when he beheld the weak and defenceless condition of the place. "There were guns and shot, but neither the one nor the other answered; but if there were guns and shot, all pieces of what are called small stores were totally wanting; there were neither handspikes to work the guns, or give them the necessary direction, nor wadding, rammers, sponges, spring-bottoms, nor, in short, any one part of the apparatus fit to receive an enemy. The persons who were to work and direct them, were still, if possible, less able to answer any one purpose of defence; they consisted, in the whole, of thirty-six or thirty-eight persons—most of them old and infirm." His Grace computed that besides the possible injury which the inhabitants of the town might have suffered in the loss of property, the stores, shipping, docks, &c., might be well estimated at a loss equal to 5,000,000*l.*, attended with this circumstance, that the mere loss of property was not the object, but the difficulty, if not impossibility, of repairing it in due time. From whence could we procure the necessary supplies of timber, stores, guns, sails, rigging, &c.? The attempt would have been impracticable; and, though we had not lost a single ship of the line or frigate, the capture of Plymouth, or rather its destruction, would in fact amount to an annihilation of the navy of England." The debate lasted till half-past one in the morning, when a division took place, and the amendment of the Marquis of Rockingham was negatived by a majority of exactly two to one, the numbers being, for the amendment 41, against it 82.

In the Commons, an amendment to the Ministerial Address was also proposed by Lord John Cavendish, and gave rise to a long and violently personal debate, in which nearly the same topics were urged by

the assailants of the Government as in the House of Lords. The original Address was eventually carried by a majority of 233 to 134. This debate is memorable, as having occasioned a duel between Mr. Fox and Mr. William Adam, Member for Gatton, in which the former was wounded. Early in the debate Mr. Adam, who had till now voted with the minority, had intimated his intention of supporting Ministers; and his desertion was made by Mr. Fox the text of some very severe remarks.

The contest that had thus commenced was carried on throughout the remainder of the Parliamentary campaign with the ardour that was to be expected from this first encounter, and with a fluctuation of fortunes that renders the present Session one of the most remarkable in the history of parties. We can afford only to notice, very shortly, a few of the most memorable occasions on which the opposing bands made trial of their strength.

The first ground that was taken up from which to make an attack upon Ministers, was the state of Ireland. This subject was brought before the House of Lords on the 1st of December by the Earl of Shelburne, who concluded a long speech, by moving that it was highly criminal in his Majesty's Ministers to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of Ireland, and to have suffered the discontents of that country to rise to such a height as to threaten a dissolution of the constitutional connexion between the two kingdoms. In the course of the discussion that arose, Earl Gower said that he was fully convinced the charge urged against Ministers was strictly true; but he should vote against the motion, on the ground that they had desired a few days to acquit themselves, and the dignity and wisdom of Parliament was interested in giving them the short time they asked. On a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 82 to 37.

A similar motion, made in the Commons on the 6th, by the Earl of Upper Ossory, gave rise to a long and animated debate, followed by a division, in which Ministers beat their opponents by a majority of 192 to 100. This was the first occasion on which Mr. Fox had appeared in the House since his duel with Mr. Adam; and both he and Mr. Burke greatly distinguished themselves in the debate. The latter, by the part which he took in supporting the demands of the Irish for the release of their trade from the restrictions that had been imposed upon it by various Acts of the English Parliament, so deeply offended his constituents at Bristol, that at the next election he lost his seat for that city. A short passage from the report of one of the speeches delivered on the question may show the extraordinary heat and animosity with which the discussion was carried on, and illustrate the habits of parliamentary warfare at this period. Mr. Archibald Macdonald, one of the Members for Hindon (afterwards Sir Archibald Macdonald, and successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer) having begun by declaring that although he believed the charges against Ministers to be perfectly well founded, he could not, as a Member of Parliament, give his assent to the motion, unless its allegations were supported by proper proofs, proceeded to indulge in an unmeasured invective against the personal character of the Premier. "He accused him," says the report, "of being lazy, indolent, and incapable; of being evasive, shuffling, cutting, and deceptious—of being plausible and artful, mean, insolent, confident, and cowardly—of being a poor, pitiful, sneaking, snivelling, abject creature, fraught with deceit, and one whom no man of honour could support or trust as a Minister or an individual." When the House met again two days after, indeed, Mr. Macdonald apologized to Lord North for what he called "the hasty expressions" he had thus given way to, declaring that he now considered his censures to be totally unfounded, and directly contrary to the real opinion of his cooler moments, as he never had any reason for entertaining such sentiments respecting the Noble Lord. He imputed his diatribe to a natural infirmity which sometimes suddenly hurried him beyond the limits of his judgment. With his usual good humour, Lord North thanked the Honourable and Learned Gentleman for the very handsome manner in which he had expressed himself, and begged to assure him that the whole matter should be from that moment forgotten.

On the 7th of December the Duke of Richmond brought forward a motion in the Lords for an Address to his Majesty, humbly recommending a reduction of the Civil List; but it was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 77 to 36.

On the 13th Lord North came down to the House of Commons, and, in wise compliance with the demands of the people of Ireland, moved a series of Resolutions for the relief of the trade of that country, which were agreed to without a vote. Three Bills, founded upon these Resolutions, were afterwards brought in, and passed.

The next debate of importance which took place was that in the Lords, on the motion of the Earl of Shelburne for a Committee of both Houses to inquire into the Public Expenditure, which was brought forward on the 8th of February, 1780. In this debate the Marquis of Carmarthen (afterwards Duke of Leeds), who had some years before been summoned to the House of Peers, in the lifetime of his father, as Baron Osborne, declared his secession from the party of the Ministers, to which he had hitherto belonged. "He said he had, a few days since, resigned a place in the Household (Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen) the occupying of which he should ever esteem one of the greatest honours of his life. Why had he resigned it? Because his duty to his Sovereign and his country, and a regard to his own honour, would not permit him longer to retain it. He could no longer give his support to a Ministry which had, after a series of repeated trials, proved themselves pusillanimous, incapable, and corrupt—who had brought the nation to the brink of destruction, and still persisted to plunge it deeper into calamity and danger. They were the curse of this country, and he feared would prove its ruin,—one of them from his deserved ignominy, and another, from his criminal indolence and neglect (he was supposed to mean Lords Sandwich and North). * * * While he remained in office, he did not think it decent to oppose Government. He could not, in conscience, absent himself from his duty at so momentous a crisis; the only method which, therefore, presented itself to him, to get rid of the embarrassment, was to resign. But what had been the consequence of his moderate conduct? That of dismissing him, that morning, from an office he held under the Crown—the Lord-Lieutenancy of the East Riding of the county of York. He did not pretend to say who it was that advised this measure; but let it have come from whom it might, he despised the little, mean resentment which gave it birth, laughed at the folly, and felt the injustice and intended insult as he ought." One thing very observable in all these desertions of the adherents of the North Ministry, is the extreme bitterness of feeling which the parties manifest in reference to those with whom they have been recently connected. It has all the appearance of an explosion of long-cherished, though suppressed resentment, the growth of accumulated provocations. There is no expression of regret at the separation from old friends,—no syllable of hesitation as to the propriety of the step which has been taken,—no admission even that the policy dissented

from may have been directed by honest motives,—nothing but the foulest imputations and the keenest indignation and contempt. The present motion was negatived by a majority of 101 to 55.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Burke submitted to the House of Commons his "plan for the better securing of the independence of Parliament, and the economical reformation of the civil and other establishments," in a motion for leave to bring in a Bill for carrying it into effect, which he prefaced by one of his greatest speeches. For some weeks previous an extraordinary fermentation had pervaded the public mind, which began in a demand for a diminution of the public expenditure, but had latterly risen in many places to the expression of a strong desire for a reform, in addition, of the Parliamentary representation. Since the beginning of the year public meetings had been held and numerously attended in almost every county of England, at which petitions for one or both of these objects had been agreed on, and committees appointed to organize and join in a general national effort for their accomplishment. The petition of the great county of York, which had been the first to meet, had been presented to the House of Commons on the 8th of this month by Sir George Savile, who stated in his speech that it had been first moved at a meeting of 600 gentlemen and upwards—that in the hall where it was voted there was more property than there was within the walls of the Commons' House—and that it bore the subscriptions of between 8000 and 9000 individuals. The Committee appointed at the meeting consisted of sixty-one gentlemen, of whom fourteen were clergymen, including two dignitaries of the church.

Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform was mainly intended, as he has himself stated, to avert the cry for organic changes in the Constitution, which, both to him and to the other chiefs of his party, appeared pregnant with danger; and it undoubtedly, in a considerable degree, answered that end. In his Letter to a Noble Lord on his Pension (written in 1796), he has said, after drawing a striking picture of the elements of agitation that were gathering over the country on the one hand, and "the unnerved, confounded, and in a manner suspended," condition of the Government on the other,—"At that time I was connected with men of high place in the community... The liberty they pursued was a liberty inseparable from order, from virtue, from morals, and from religion; and was neither hypocritically nor fanatically followed. They did not wish that liberty, in itself one of the first of blessings, should, in its perversion, become the greatest curse that could fall upon mankind. To preserve the Constitution entire, and practically equal to all the great ends of its reformation, not in one single part, but in all parts, was to them the first object. ..... By what accident it matters not, nor upon what desert, but just then, and in the midst of that hunt of obloquy which ever has pursued me with a full cry through life, I had obtained a very considerable degree of public confidence... I endeavoured to turn that short-lived advantage to myself into a permanent benefit to my country..... In that period of difficulty and danger, more especially, I consulted and sincerely co-operated with men of all parties, who seemed disposed to the same ends, or to any main part of them. Nothing to prevent disorder was omitted; when it appeared, nothing to subdue it was left uncounselled nor unexecuted, as far as I could prevail. At the time I speak of, and having a momentary lead, so aided and so encouraged, and as a feeble instrument in a mighty hand, I do not say I saved my country—I am sure I did my country important service. There were few indeed that did not at that time acknowledge it."

Mr. Burke's Bill for economical reform, however, although, as will be afterwards seen, it was eventually carried through both Houses, was materially curtailed and mutilated before it passed into a law. The present motion was only opposed by Lord George Gordon, who however insisted upon dividing the House on the question. "On this, Lord George," says the Parliamentary History, "was appointed one of the tellers for the noes; but no other Member remaining in the House to be a second teller for the noes, the ayes returned into the House, and the Speaker declared the ayes had it."

One of the most animated debates and closest divisions of the Session took place a few days after this on a motion by Sir George Savile, for an account of all pensions granted during pleasure, or otherwise. The motion was made on the 15th, but the debate, in consequence of the sudden illness of the Speaker, was adjourned to the 21st. Lord North did not directly oppose the motion, but moved, as an amendment, that the account should be confined to those pensions which were paid at the Exchequer, contending that over those paid out of the privy purse the House had no control. Even this amendment, though supported by a speech of great power from the Attorney-General, Wedderburn, was only carried by a majority of 188 to 186. The Pension List had been one of the favourite topics of declamation at the county meetings.

The discussion on the particular enactments of Mr. Burke's Bill began on the 8th of March, when the first clause for abolishing the recently-created office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave rise to a debate which lasted till nearly three o'clock in the morning. The House then divided, when the clause was negatived, but only by a majority of 208 to 201. On the 13th another great contest took place on the clause for abolishing the Board of Trade; and this time the victory remained with the opposition, the clause being carried, at a quarter past two o'clock in the morning, by a majority of 207 to 199. Mr. Burke supported his proposition in a speech which, in rich and overflowing humour, appears to have been one of the most effective he ever pronounced, but of which no adequate report has been preserved. "I can never forget," says Gibbon, who was present, and was himself one of the members of the Board, "the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the House, and even by those whose existence he prescribed. The Lords of Trade blushed at their insignificancy, and Mr. Eden's appeal to the 2,300 volumes of our Reports, seemed only to excite a general laugh." This unfortunate illustration of the laborious duties of the Board was eagerly seized upon by Burke, and made the theme of the most merciless merriment. The present debate is further memorable for a warm altercation which took place in the course of it between Lord North and the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, who, in a long speech which he delivered on the question from his place as a Member of the House, expressed himself with strong feeling in regard to the treatment he had lately received from the Minister. "The Noble Lord and he," he said, "were not friends; he was not a friend to the Noble Lord, and he had repeated proofs that the Noble Lord was no friend of his." He imputed the feeling which he had experienced to a speech which he had addressed to his Majesty, on presenting some money bills at the Bar of the House of Lords, so long ago as the 7th of May, 1777, when he was understood to have given great offence in certain quarters, by describing the revenue which had been then granted by the Commons as "great beyond example—great beyond your Majesty's highest expense." Ever since then he declared that the Noble Lord had withdrawn even the appearance of all friendship and confidence. "The Noble Lord and he," he added, "from a recent transaction, must henceforward stand upon the most unequivocal terms; his Lordship's con-

duct was such as to put an end to every appearance of mutual goodwill and friendship. The time was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of this transaction public. If the Noble Lord did not do him justice he would state the particulars to the House, and submit to it how far he was bound to remain in a situation where the performing the duties annexed to it was the pretext of doing him a gross and flagrant injury." Upon Lord North declaring his utter inability to conceive what Sir Fletcher alluded to, the latter explained that he had accepted the office of Speaker, upon the express condition that he should not be taken out of the line of his profession, but that, as he expressed it, "the way, whenever an opportunity offered, should be kept open for his return to Westminster Hall." In plain language, he meant that he was to have the first place on the Bench that should become vacant. He had, however, lately heard, from the best authority, that a negociation was in progress for getting the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (De Grey) to retire on a pension, and putting the Attorney-General (Wedderburn) in his place. Many violent personalities followed which we cannot stop to detail. But it will be seen that the arrangement mentioned by Sir Fletcher, in so far, at least, as regarded the offices, soon after actually took place. And thus the Minister contrived to disgust and alienate another of his natural adherents and supporters.

On the 20th another contest took place on the clause of the Bill, which proposed to abolish the household office of Treasurer of the Chamber, and ended in the rejection of the clause by a majority of 211 to 158. This blow, coming so soon after the success of their last effort, seems to have for the moment staggered the Opposition, and on the division being announced, Mr. Burke, in a passion of disappointment and dejection, declared that having lost this point he was indifferent as to what became of the rest of the Bill. He was strongly exhorted, however, still to persevere with the measure by Mr. Fox, who, not so easily thrown down by a sudden shock, observed, that even if they could obtain no more than the abolition of the seven Lords of Trade, he should think that well worth the struggle, were it only for this, that when they renewed the Bill session after session, as they should certainly do, till they had fully effected their purpose of bringing within due limits the overgrown influence of the Crown, they would have seven of the enemy less to fight against.

On the 6th of April, another series of attacks against the Ministry, which were waged with all the strength and skill of opposition, and at one time threatened to prove fatal to their existence, was commenced by Mr. Dunning in his famous motion, brought forward in a Committee of the whole House, for taking into consideration the Yorkshire county petition, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is necessary to declare that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." After a debate, which lasted till twelve o'clock, the motion was carried by a majority of 233 to 215. It was followed up by other two resolutions in the same spirit, which were agreed to without a division; and in spite of Lord North's vehement appeals to the House to proceed no farther in a course which he denounced as violent, arbitrary, and unusual, a fourth motion, that the resolutions should be immediately reported, and a fifth, that the Report should be received, were insisted upon, and carried by the remorseless majority.

On the 10th, another resolution, brought forward by Mr. Dunning, to the effect, that for preserving the independence of Parliament, exact accounts of all disbursements of the public money should in future be laid before the House within seven days after the opening of each Session, was agreed to without a division. The same Honourable and Learned Member then moved, that it was incompatible with the independence of Parliament, that persons holding the offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Treasurer of the Household, Cofferer of the Household, and his clerk, Master of the Household, and the clerks of the Green Cloth, should be entitled to sit in Parliament, if such places should be permitted to exist; and this resolution was also carried, though only by a majority of 215 to 213. On the 13th of the same month, the motion for the second reading of a Bill for disabling revenue officers from voting at elections, which was opposed by Ministers, was only negatived by a majority of 224 to 195. Meanwhile, in the Upper House, also, the old ministerial preponderance seemed to be giving way. On the 14th of April, a Bill brought in by the Duke of Bolton, for restraining any Member of the House of Commons from being concerned in Government contracts, and which Ministers opposed, was only thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 61 to 41.

From this point, however, the tide turned. On the 21th, a motion by Mr. Dunning, in the Commons, for an address to the King, not to dissolve the Parliament, nor prorogue the Session, was negatived by a majority of 254 to 203. On this occasion Mr. Fox declared, with great heat, that "it was a scandalous, treacherous, and disgraceful vote." He threw no blame on the regular supporters of Administration. "But who could contemplate, without surprise and indignation, the conduct of another set of men in that House, who, on a former night, resolved that the influence of the Crown was increased and ought to be diminished, and that the grievances and complaints of the people ought to be redressed; and who pledged themselves to that House, to the nation, to their constituents, to the people at large, and to themselves, that it was their duty to redress the grievances complained of; but who, on the only two occasions that offered, shamefully fled from that solemn engagement, by rejecting the means proposed! It was shameful, it was base, it was unmanly, it was treacherous. The gentlemen he alluded to surrounded him; they sat on his side of the House; he was sorry for it . . . . He was taken in, deluded, and imposed on. He acknowledged it; for in his conscience he thought the assistance of such men did more harm than good." On the 28th, the clause in Mr. Burke's Bill, for abolishing the offices of the Great Warbrobe, the Removing Wardrobe, the Master of the Robes, and the Jewel Office, was thrown out by a majority of 210 to 162, and that for abolishing the Board of Works, by a majority of 203 to 118. On the 18th of May many other clauses were negatived by majorities some of which were two to one. In reference to these divisions, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge observed, that ever since the vote of the 6th of April, which denounced the growing influence of the crown, that influence had been in a progressive state of increase. "Some measures for the purpose of following up that vote were proposed in the course of the ensuing week, and a few country gentlemen or county Members, from what motives he would not pretend to say, seemed or affected to be staggered; they divided from their friends, or absented themselves. But this was only the forerunner of the sudden alteration which was about to take place. The Speaker's illness caused a recess of a few days, and what was then before in embryo, in the interim grew into full maturity. The Minister brought over persons of a doubtful description so successfully, that, by the time the House met again, so many new converts were made as to ensure the Noble Lord a decided majority. * * * The moment was critical; the accursed system which directed the affairs of the country to the very brink of ruin, was on the very point of dissolution, when by the art and management of the Noble Lord, it was esta-

from may have been directed by honest motives,—nothing but the foulest imputations and the keenest indignation and contempt. The present motion was negatived by a majority of 101 to 55.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Burke submitted to the House of Commons his "plan for the better securing of the independence of Parliament, and the economical reformation of the civil and other establishments," in a motion for leave to bring in a Bill for carrying it into effect, which he prefaced by one of his greatest speeches. For some weeks previous an extraordinary fermentation had pervaded the public mind, which began in a demand for a diminution of the public expenditure, but had latterly risen in many places to the expression of a strong desire for a reform, in addition, of the Parliamentary representation. Since the beginning of the year public meetings had been held and numerously attended in almost every county of England, at which petitions for one or both of these objects had been agreed on, and committees appointed to organize and join in a general national effort for their accomplishment. The petition of the great county of York, which had been the first to meet, had been presented to the House of Commons on the 8th of this month by Sir George Savile, who stated in his speech that it had been first moved at a meeting of 600 gentlemen and upwards —that in the hall where it was voted there was more property than there was within the walls of the Commons' House—and that it bore the subscriptions of between 8000 and 9000 individuals. The Committee appointed at the meeting consisted of sixty-one gentlemen, of whom fourteen were clergymen, including two dignitaries of the church.

Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform was mainly intended, as he has himself stated, to avert the cry for organic changes in the Constitution, which, both to him and to the other chiefs of his party, appeared pregnant with danger; and it undoubtedly, in a considerable degree, answered that end. In his Letter to a Noble Lord on his Pension (written in 1796), he has said, after drawing a striking picture of the elements of agitation that were gathering over the country on the one hand, and "the unnerved, confounded, and in a manner suspended," condition of the Government on the other,—"At that time I was connected with men of high place in the community... The liberty they pursued was a liberty inseparable from order, from virtue, from morals, and from religion; and was neither hypocritically nor fanatically followed. They did not wish that liberty, in itself one of the first of blessings, should, in its perversion, become the greatest curse that could fall upon mankind. To preserve the Constitution entire, and practically equal to all the great ends of its reformation, not in one single part, but in all parts, was to them the first object. ..... By what accident it matters not, nor upon what desert, but just then, and in the midst of that hunt of obloquy which ever has pursued me with a full cry through life, I had obtained a very considerable degree of public confidence... . I endeavoured to turn that short-lived advantage to myself into a permanent benefit to my country..... In that period of difficulty and danger, more especially, I consulted and sincerely co-operated with men of all parties, who seemed disposed to the same ends, or to any main part of them. Nothing to prevent disorder was omitted; when it appeared, nothing to subdue it was left uncounselled nor unexecuted, as far as I could prevail. At the time I speak of, and having a momentary lead, so aided and so encouraged, and as a feeble instrument in a mighty hand, I do not say I saved my country—I am sure I did my country important service. There were few indeed that did not at that time acknowledge it."

Mr. Burke's Bill for economical reform, however, although, as will be afterwards seen, it was eventually carried through both Houses, was materially curtailed and mutilated before it passed into a law. The present motion was only opposed by Lord George Gordon, who however insisted upon dividing the House on the question. "On this, Lord George," says the Parliamentary History, "was appointed one of the tellers for the noes; but no other Member remaining in the House to be a second teller for the noes, the ayes returned into the House, and the Speaker declared the ayes had it."

One of the most animated debates and closest divisions of the Session took place a few days after this on a motion by Sir George Savile, for an account of all pensions granted during pleasure, or otherwise. The motion was made on the 15th, but the debate, in consequence of the sudden illness of the Speaker, was adjourned to the 21st. Lord North did not directly oppose the motion, but moved, as an amendment, that the account should be confined to those pensions which were paid at the Exchequer, contending that over those paid out of the privy purse the House had no control. Even this amendment, though supported by a speech of great power from the Attorney-General, Wedderburn, was only carried by a majority of 188 to 186. The Pension List had been one of the favourite topics of declamation at the county meetings.

The discussion on the particular enactments of Mr. Burke's Bill began on the 8th of March, when the first clause for abolishing the recently-created office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave rise to a debate which lasted till nearly three o'clock in the morning. The House then divided, when the clause was negatived, but only by a majority of 208 to 201. On the 13th another great contest took place on the clause for abolishing the Board of Trade; and this time the victory remained with the opposition, the clause being carried, at a quarter past two o'clock in the morning, by a majority of 207 to 199. Mr. Burke supported his proposition in a speech which, in rich and overflowing humour, appears to have been one of the most effective he ever pronounced, but of which no adequate report has been preserved. "I can never forget," says Gibbon, who was present, and was himself one of the members of the Board, "the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the House, and even by those whose existence he prescribed. The Lords of Trade blushed at their insignificancy, and Mr. Eden's appeal to the 2,300 volumes of our Reports, seemed only to excite a general laugh." This unfortunate illustration of the laborious duties of the Board was eagerly seized upon by Burke, and made the theme of the most merciless merriment. The present debate is further memorable for a warm altercation which took place in the course of it between Lord North and the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, who, in a long speech which he delivered on the question from his place as a Member of the House, expressed himself with strong feeling in regard to the treatment he had lately received from the Minister. "The Noble Lord and he," he said, "were not friends; he was not a friend to the Noble Lord, and he had repeated proofs that the Noble Lord was no friend of his" He imputed the feeling which he had experienced to a speech which he had addressed to his Majesty, on presenting some money bills at the Bar of the House of Lords, so long ago as the 7th of May, 1777, when he was understood to have given great offence in certain quarters, by describing the revenue which had been then granted by the Commons as "great beyond example—great beyond your Majesty's highest expense." Ever since then he declared that the Noble Lord had withdrawn even the appearance of all friendship and confidence. "The Noble Lord and he," he added, "from a recent transaction, must henceforward stand upon the most unequivocal terms; his Lordship's con-

duct was such as to put an end to every appearance of mutual goodwill and friendship. The time was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of this transaction public. If the Noble Lord did not do him justice he would state the particulars to the House, and submit to it how far he was bound to remain in a situation where the performing the duties annexed to it was the pretext of doing him a gross and flagrant injury." Upon Lord North declaring his utter inability to conceive what Sir Fletcher alluded to, the latter explained that he had accepted the office of Speaker, upon the express condition that he should not be taken out of the line of his profession, but that, as he expressed it, "the way, whenever an opportunity offered, should be kept open for his return to Westminster Hall." In plain language, he meant that he was to have the first place on the Bench that should become vacant. He had, however, lately heard, from the best authority, that a negociation was in progress for getting the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (De Grey) to retire on a pension, and putting the Attorney-General (Wedderburn) in his place. Many violent personalities followed which we cannot stop to detail. But it will be seen that the arrangement mentioned by Sir Fletcher, in so far, at least, as regarded the offices, soon after actually took place. And thus the Minister contrived to disgust and alienate another of his natural adherents and supporters.

On the 20th another contest took place on the clause of the Bill, which proposed to abolish the household office of Treasurer of the Chamber, and ended in the rejection of the clause by a majority of 211 to 158. This blow, coming so soon after the success of their last effort, seems to have for the moment staggered the Opposition, and on the division being announced, Mr. Burke, in a passion of disappointment and dejection, declared that having lost this point he was indifferent as to what became of the rest of the Bill. He was strongly exhorted, however, still to persevere with the measure by Mr. Fox, who, not so easily thrown down by a sudden shock, observed, that even if they could obtain no more than the abolition of the seven Lords of Trade, he should think that well worth the struggle, were it only for this, that when they renewed the Bill session after session, as they should certainly do, till they had fully effected their purpose of bringing within due limits the overgrown influence of the Crown, they would have seven of the enemy less to fight against.

On the 6th of April, another series of attacks against the Ministry, which were waged with all the strength and skill of opposition, and at one time threatened to prove fatal to their existence, was commenced by Mr. Dunning in his famous motion, brought forward in a Committee of the whole House, for taking into consideration the Yorkshire county petition. 'That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is necessary to declare that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." After a debate, which lasted till twelve o'clock, the motion was carried by a majority of 233 to 215. It was followed up by other two resolutions in the same spirit, which were agreed to without a division; and in spite of Lord North's vehement appeals to the House to proceed no farther in a course which he denounced as violent, arbitrary, and unusual, a fourth motion, that the resolutions should be immediately reported, and a fifth, that the Report should be received, were insisted upon, and carried by the remorseless majority.

On the 10th, another resolution, brought forward by Mr. Dunning, to the effect, that for preserving the independence of Parliament, exact accounts of all disbursements of the public money should in future be laid before the House within seven days after the opening of each Session, was agreed to without a division. The same Honourable and Learned Member then moved, that it was incompatible with the independence of Parliament, that persons holding the offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Treasurer of the Household, Collerer of the Household, and his clerk, Master of the Household, and the clerks of the Green Cloth, should be entitled to sit in Parliament, if such places should be permitted to exist; and this resolution was also carried, though only by a majority of 215 to 213. On the 13th of the same month, the motion for the second reading of a Bill for disabling revenue officers from voting at elections, which was opposed by Ministers, was only negatived by a majority of 224 to 195. Meanwhile, in the Upper House, also, the old ministerial preponderance seemed to be giving way. On the 14th of April, a Bill brought in by the Duke of Bolton, for restraining any Member of the House of Commons from being concerned in Government contracts, and which Ministers opposed, was only thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 61 to 41.

From this point, however, the tide turned. On the 24th, a motion by Mr. Dunning, in the Commons, for an address to the King, not to dissolve the Parliament, nor prorogue the Session, was negatived by a majority of 254 to 203. On this occasion Mr. Fox declared, with great heat, that "it was a scandalous, treacherous, and disgraceful vote." He threw no blame on the regular supporters of Administration. "But who could contemplate, without surprise and indignation, the conduct of another set of men in that House, who, on a former night, resolved that the influence of the Crown was increased and ought to be diminished, and that the grievances and complaints of the people ought to be redressed; and who pledged themselves to that House, to the nation, to their constituents, to the people at large, and to themselves, that it was their duty to redress the grievances complained of; but who, on the only two occasions that offered, shamefully fled from that solemn engagement, by rejecting the means proposed! It was shameful, it was base, it was unmanly, it was treacherous. The gentlemen he alluded to surrounded him; they sat on his side of the House; he was sorry for it . . . . . He was taken in, deluded, and imposed on. He acknowledged it; for in his conscience he thought the assistance of such men did more harm than good." On the 28th, the clause in Mr. Burke's Bill, for abolishing the offices of the Great Warbrobe, the Removing Wardrobe, the Master of the Robes, and the Jewel Office, was thrown out by a majority of 210 to 162, and that for abolishing the Board of Works, by a majority of 203 to 118. On the 18th of May many other clauses were negatived by majorities some of which were two to one. In reference to these divisions, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge observed, that ever since the vote of the 6th of April, which denounced the growing influence of the crown, that influence had been in a progressive state of increase. "Some measures for the purpose of following up that vote were proposed in the course of the ensuing week, and a few country gentlemen or county Members, from what motives he would not pretend to say, seemed or affected to be staggered; they divided from their friends, or absented themselves. But this was only the forerunner of the sudden alteration which was about to take place. The Speaker's illness caused a recess of a few days, and what was then before in embryo, in the interim grew into full maturity. The Minister brought over persons of a doubtful description so successfully, that, by the time the House met again, so many new converts were made as to ensure the Noble Lord a decided majority. * * * The moment was critical; the accursed system which directed the affairs of the country to the very brink of ruin, was on the very point of dissolution, when by the art and management of the Noble Lord, it was esta-

blished upon a firmer and more permanent basis than ever."

In reply to Lord North's warm protestations, that the charge thus made against him was wholly unfounded, the Honourable Member reiterated his assertion in more direct and unqualified terms than before. He said—"He was satisfied that the Noble Lord had, during the Speaker's illness, influenced or corrupted several of the majority of the 6th of April; and he was convinced that he had tampered with many. He was ready and fully prepared to go into the proofs of the tampering, or of offers having been held out to influence some of the Members of that House to vote against their former opinions, their perfect conviction, and the interests of their country." It is right to add, however, that these proofs were never actually brought forward. On the 26th, on Mr. Dunning moving to report the Resolutions which had been carried on the 10th of April, the motion was negatived by a majority of 177 to 134.

The last month of the Session was chiefly occupied with proceedings connected with the petitions of the Protestant Association, and with the dreadful riots which arose out of the meeting of that body in St. George's Fields on the 2nd of June, and for that and the three or four following days kept the metropolis of the empire in subjection to all the horrors of mob-domination. With these events, however, we have here nothing to do.

Parliament was prorogued by a Speech from the Throne on the 8th of July. "Such," says the "Annual Register," was the end of this unusually long, and very extraordinary Session of Parliament—a Session in which almost every day produced a question, and every question a debate, which in any other would have been deemed highly interesting, but which were frequently lost in that glare of still greater matter, which was so continually thrown out in this—a Session in which unexpected victories and unaccountable defeats alternately raised and sunk the hopes of the contending parties from the highest pitch of exultation to the lowest state of despondency. The point of decision seemed more than once quivering and hanging only by a hair. Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence, that so great a number of important affairs were never agitated in any one Session. The riot, in the close, threw a general damp upon all endeavours whatever for reformation, however unconnected with its particular object. Popular fury seemed, for that time at least, the greatest of all possible evils; and Administration then gathered, and afterwards preserved, no small degree of power, from a tumult which appeared to threaten the subversion of all government."

On the 1st of September the Parliament, which had now completed its sixth Session, but might have continued in existence for another year, was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JUNE, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Both Houses of Parliament reassembled, pursuant to adjournment, on Monday, the 30th of May; but the business in the Lords was confined to the presentation of a few petitions. In the Commons, the debate on the Dublin Election Petition was resumed; but on the Attorney-General stating that he had, although with much reluctance, come to the conclusion that the petition could not be received by the House, it was withdrawn by Mr. O'Connell. A strong opinion, however, was expressed by the Speaker, and appeared to be generally concurred in by the House, that the Committee, although it might be unadvisable to disturb their decision, had committed a great error in declaring the sitting Members duly elected, while they refused to examine the charge of bribery brought against them. After this, Mr. Grove Price withdrew the motion of which he had given notice for expunging from the Order Book Mr. O'Connell's notice of motion relating to the reform of the House of Lords. Lord John Russell expressed himself very glad that the Honourable Member had determined upon taking this course, and stated that had the motion been persevered in, he should certainly have voted against it, as he should also do against that of Mr. O'Connell. The House then went into a Committee of Supply, when a considerable portion of the Miscellaneous Estimates was voted. In the course of the discussion that took place upon some of the votes, Mr. Rice observed that, in his opinion, it was very desirable the British Museum should be kept open both on holidays, and also, if possible, on Sundays. He likewise announced that he intended to lay before the House a small supplementary Estimate, for the purpose of establishing a School of Design, with a view generally to the cultivation of the popular taste, and to the practical improvement of our manufactures.

On Tuesday, the 31st, the Lords went into Committee on the Jamaica Slavery Abolition Bill, on the motion of Lord Glenelg, who, in stating to the House the nature of the measure, explained that it was a Bill for carrying into effect certain of the provisions of the Emancipation Act, and that it had become necessary that it should be submitted to the British Parliament in consequence of the Colonial House of Assembly not having come to an agreement in favour of a similar measure before being dissolved. The remainder of the sitting was occupied in the discussion of the Bill for abolishing the civil jurisdiction now possessed by the Bishop of Durham, which was eventually read a second time, without a division.

In the Commons, an interesting debate took place on Mr. Thomas Duncombe's motion for an Address to his Majesty, humbly submitting the propriety of his Majesty using his good offices with the King of the French for the liberation of the Prince de Polignac and the other state prisoners confined at Ham. The feelings which had dictated the motion appeared to be generally participated in by the House; but it was finally withdrawn by Mr. Duncombe, in the conviction that he should best consult the interests of the parties whose cause he had taken up, by not pressing its adoption. Lord John Russell then intimated that he should, on Thursday, move that the consideration of the Lord's amendments to the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill should be postponed till that day week. A motion for certain Returns, by Mr. Bannerman, afterwards gave rise to a short conversation on the claims to an increase of pay, or a brevet promotion, of naval and military officers of long standing, in the course of which Lord Howick stated that, although Government did not feel at liberty at present to propose a general brevet promotion, they were prepared, with the least possible delay, to look into the general state of the army, with a view to a better arrangement of the whole system, and and that this would most probably be done next Session.

On Wednesday, the 1st of June, on the Order of the

Day for the second reading of the Irish Tithe Bill being read, Lord Stanley rose, and after having, in a speech of great length, explained his own plan for the settlement of the question, concluded by moving, as an amendment upon the Order of the Day—"That leave be given to bring in a Bill for the conversion of tithe composition into rent charges, and for the redemption thereof, and for the better distribution of ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland." Lord Stanley intimated that he was, he might venture to say, empowered, on the part of the Church, to offer the propositions which he did, and that his plan would, he had reason to believe, meet the concurrence of those who never could, and never would concur in the principles of the Bill already before the House. Of course the leading feature of his Lordship's scheme was the preservation to the Irish Church of all its present revenues, and the consequent negation of what has been called the appropriation principle in the Ministerial measure. Lord John Russell, who replied to Lord Stanley, rested his opposition on the distinct ground that in legislating for Ireland with regard either to the present, or any other matter, it was right and necessary to consult the interests and feelings of the great body of the people. This is, no doubt, the consideration which goes most directly to meet the pretensions of the general policy of the Tories in regard to Ireland. On the other hand, the weakness of the position occupied by Ministers consists in the undeniable insufficiency of their proposed measures to satisfy the principles upon which they are brought forward and defended. To take, for instance, the present question, if the Irish Church is henceforth to be regulated simply according to the fashion that shall best suit the taste of the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, it is manifest that the mere abstraction, as proposed, of some 90,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* yearly from its present revenues, will not at all attain that object. There is no denying the truth of the charge that, upon the principles asserted by Ministers, this concession can only be rationally regarded as the first instalment of a vastly larger debt, as but the insertion of the sharp edge of the wedge which is eventually to leave no Protestant Established Church in Ireland at all. This may or may not be a desirable result; but the awkwardness of the case lies in this—that whether it be the one or the other, it is at any rate a result which the Ministers do not profess to contemplate, while yet it is the legitimate and inevitable consequence, if not of the measures they bring forward, at least of the principles on which their measures are by themselves vindicated and urged. Lord John Russell put the question upon the true ground, when he stated that the controversy, both with regard to the Church and the corporations was, in fact, nothing else than a controversy about the system on which Ireland was in future to be governed—whether it was to be a system of Protestant supremacy as heretofore, or a system by which the control of their own affairs should be left in the hands of the majority of the people. But while all this was very clearly and effectively put, there remained to be given any satisfactory explanation of how the reform of the Church proposed by Ministers offered even the remotest chance of settling the question on the principle which they themselves assumed. Neither, in default of this explanation, was there any admission of the final result to which the principle thus assumed must really lead. The debate was continued, by adjournments, over the two following nights, and was terminated by a division at a quarter-past three o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 4th, when the numbers were found to be—for Lord Stanley's amendment 261, against it, 300. Lord John Russell's Bill was then read a second time.

On Thursday, the 2nd, in the Lords, the presentation by Lord Clare of a petition for an equalization of the duties on East and West India sugars, from a meeting of East India proprietors, which was, however, in the end withdrawn, on account of an informality, gave rise to a short conversation on that subject, in the course of which Lord Melbourne said that his Majesty's Ministers entertained the deepest sense of the importance of the subject, and the strength of the claims set forth by the petitioners; and he trusted that when they had communicated with the various parties, whose interests were concerned, they would be enabled to introduce a measure that would prove satisfactory to all.

On Friday, the 3rd, the third reading of one of the Railway Bills having been moved by the Marquess of Clanricarde, the motion was opposed by the Duke of Wellington, on the ground that before any of these Bills were passed, a general measure should be introduced, securing to Parliament the power of periodically revising the arrangements made, to prevent the railways becoming perpetual monopolies; and Lord Melbourne having concurred in this view of the subject, the third reading of the Bill was deferred.

On Monday, the 6th, in the Commons, in answer to a question from Mr. Robinson, respecting the state of our commercial relations with Portugal, Lord Palmerston said that negotiations for a new commercial treaty were now in progress, but while in progress he could not state to what point they had yet arrived. Mr. Robinson had particularly called attention to the fact, that the Portuguese government had recently raised the duty on British produce from 15 to 29 per cent. in some of the ports of the kingdom, in violation of an assurance given to our Minister, Lord Howard de Walden, that no increase of duty would be made by the government of Portugal without due notice being given to this country; but of this point in the case Lord Palmerston, in his reply, appears to have taken no notice. Afterwards, on Lord John Russell moving the Order of the Day for the further consideration of the Report of the Registration of Births and Marriages Bill, Sir Edward Codrington attempted to bring forward, by way of amendment, a motion on the subject of certain naval and military officers who had been deprived of their half-pay without trial by a court-martial; but on Lord John Russell declining to discuss the question thus raised at that moment, Sir Edward withdrew his motion. The House then went into a Committee on the Registration Bill, when the clauses up to the 27th were agreed to, with the exception of a few that were postponed. On the 27th clause being read, Mr. Goulburn objected to certain expenses connected with the registration being paid out of the parochial funds, and contended, that as the object was a national one, the expenses should be defrayed out of the general funds of the country; but on a division the clause was carried by a majority of 71 to 28. The remaining clauses to the 33rd inclusive were then agreed to.

On Tuesday, the 7th, the Lords were engaged for some hours in the discussion of a matter of certainly as singular a nature as has for many a day been brought before Parliament—a petition presented by Lord Lyndhurst from a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland for redress against his diocesan, by whom he had been turned out of his living. His Lordship, in presenting the petition, went at great length into the details of its allegations, and took all manner of pains to make out a strong case for the attention of the House. In this course he was followed by Lord Wicklow and the Duke of Wellington, both of whom not only contended stoutly for the reception of the petition, but expatiated on its high importance and the extraordinary claims it had upon the notice of their Lordships. The disingenuousness of all this has not

been often matched. On the question, indeed, of allowing the petition to lie on the Table, if that had been all, there might fairly have been room for a difference of opinion. The friends of liberty will naturally be inclined to open the doors of Parliament as widely as possible to the petitions of the people; and if the Rev. Mr Mulholland should take it into his head to draw up a pathetic representation, humbly setting forth that he had for many months past been subjected to grievous sufferings from toothe-ache in one of his jaws, or gout in one of his great toes, and praying that, as he had been unable to obtain relief from any other quarter, their Lordships would be pleased to take his case into their merciful consideration, it might be as well not absolutely to refuse to hear the petitioner, however obviously impossible it might be to grant his request. In truth, such a petition as we have just supposed would not be a whit more preposterous than the one actually presented by Lord Lyndhurst. In the eye of the law the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is a mere voluntary association, over the internal arrangements of which the State has no more control than it has over those of the society of Freemasons. The case of the Rev. Mr. Mulholland is, by his own showing, simply that of a member of this voluntary association, whom the other members do not choose to recognise in a particular character or position which he wishes to assume or to retain. For if he should please still to call himself priest of the parish from which he has been dismissed, he is at perfect liberty to do so; he has, in the eye of the law, as much right to that title as the person who has been appointed by the bishop to take his place. Of what, then, is it that he has really been deprived? Of the income of the appointment, perhaps it will be said. But this is altogether the voluntary contribution of the people, which, if they shall choose to refuse it, his successor can no more enforce than he can. It is probable, no doubt, that they will pay the money to his successor and decline paying it to him; but that is entirely their own affair; the law does not insist that the money shall be paid at all, either to the one or the other. If the whole Catholic population of Ireland were to resolve to-morrow never to contribute another farthing for the support of their priests, the law would have nothing to say in the case. In such circumstances, would any one of these priests be listened to if he were to come to Parliament, and ask it to compel his parishioners to pay him as formerly? Above all, would Lord Lyndhurst be the man to present and support such a petition? Yet the petition which his Lordship actually presented from Mr. Mulholland goes even further than this. It calls upon the Legislature to compel the Roman Catholics of a certain parish in Ireland to pay a certain sum of money annually, not to the person regularly appointed to be their priest according to the rules and forms of their Church, but to another person whom their Church has regularly deprived of that character. A more impudent application never was made. It is, in fact, precisely the same thing as if a merchant's clerk, who had been dismissed at the end of his engagement, should petition the House of Lords to compel his master to reinstate him, because he had been turned off, and his place given to another, without any other reason being assigned than his employer's good pleasure. It is curious enough, however, as was well remarked by Lord Holland, that Lord Lyndhurst, of all men, should have brought this matter before their Lordships; because if the House could have been prevailed upon to interfere in the case, the State might almost be said to have thereby for the first time recognised the Catholic Church, and taken it in some degree under its superintendence and protection. The act would have gone far to place that Church on the footing of a legal establishment. But it was with no such view, we may be sure, that the proposition was made; and, indeed, the real design of the proceeding was much more transparent than creditable to its movers. They were compelled to admit in the course of the debate, that the case stated in the petition was one in which nothing could be done; that, in fact, in so far as respected the purpose avowed on the face of it, the reverend gentleman's application was a piece of absurdity and nonsense. It was the same thing as if he had asked the House to make him Pope or Grand Lama. Yet the story he had to relate was taken up, and produced in the most imposing form, with a view to the effect with which the *ex parte* statement might tell in inflaming the public mind against certain parties to whom it referred. It is impossible to consider such a proceeding as anything else than a gross abuse of the privilege of Parliamentary debate. Nothing can be more detrimental to the character and influence of the House of Lords, and especially of the party in that House which attempts to attain its objects by expedients so tortuous and unfair.

In the Commons, on occasion of the presentation, by Mr. Ewart, of a petition for the redress of grievances from the inhabitants of Malta, and of another from the Maltese merchants by Mr. Holland, Sir George Grey stated that Ministers had determined to send out a Commission to inquire on the spot into the several points which were made matter of complaint. On Mr. Wallace being afterwards called upon by the Speaker to bring forward his Resolution on the subject of the Post-Office, Mr. Spring Rice rose, and intimated that it was the intention of Government, in the course of the present Session, to introduce one or more Bills founded upon the recommendations of the Commissioners who had been appointed to inquire into that establishment; and upon this assurance Mr. Wallace consented to abandon his Resolution. A Resolution moved by Mr. Tulk, for granting compensation to Mr. Buckingham, in compliance with the Report of the Committee which investigated his claims in 1834, was then, after a short debate, negatived by a majority of 92 to 60.

On Wednesday, the 7th, Mr. Labouchere, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, on his attention being called to the subject by Mr. Loch, stated that the department of the Government with which he was connected was fully impressed with the importance of giving every possible encouragement and protection to the fisheries of the country, and that no time should be lost in making such representations to Russia, which now imposed almost a prohibitory duty upon British herrings, as he hoped would be attended with a beneficial result. Mr. Ward afterwards withdrew his motion for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the different modes in which land has been and still is disposed of in the British colonies and in the United States of North America, on Sir George Grey consenting that the Committee should be appointed, provided its inquiries were limited to our Australian colonies. The House then went into Committee on the Bribery at Elections Bill, when the first three clauses were agreed to; the 4th, prohibiting the giving to voters any sum of money as a consideration for loss of time, in travelling to or from, or attending at the election, was carried against an amendment of Mr. Roebuck, which went to prohibit the giving of money altogether, by a majority of 65 to 58; and the 5th, which imposed a fine of 50*l.* upon any person who should "by himself, or by or with any person, or by any ways, means, or devices, or any colour, excuse, or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly give, present, allow, provide, or procure, or promise, engage, or agree to give, present, allow, provide, or procure, any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision, to or for any person, with the intent or for the purpose of thereby corruptly influencing such or any other person to give or refuse

his vote in any such election, or for the purpose of corruptly recompensing such or any other person for having given, or refused, or forborne, to give his vote in any such election," was negatived by a majority of 40 to 33. Afterwards the Poor Rate Bill was recommitted, and several of the clauses were agreed to; Sir R. Musgrave, Mr. W. S. O'Brien, and Mr. P. Scrope, severally withdrew their Bills for the relief of the poor in Ireland, on an understanding that the subject would be taken up by the Government; the Bill for the Recovery of Tenements, the Chapels of Ease (Ireland) Bill and the Copyright Act Amendment Bill, were read a second time; and the Fisheries Bill, and the Oyster Fisheries Bill, were amended in Committee. Divisions took place upon several of the clauses of the two last-mentioned measures, which, however, were all carried by considerable majorities.

On Thursday, the 9th, the Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill was read a second time in the Lords, on the motion of the Earl of Devon, who stated that the object of the measure was to raise money by shares, to be applied to the cultivation of tracts of land in Ireland which were at present unproductive, but which were capable of improvement if capital could be found to expend upon them. The Marquis of Downshire expressed in warm terms his approbation of the measure.

In the Commons a short conversation, followed by a division, took place on Mr. Buckingham's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to protect the copyright of prints and engravings in Ireland. The motion was carried by a majority of 169 to 80. Lord John Russell then proceeded to move the Order of the Day for the further consideration of the Lords' amendments to the Irish Municipal Reform Bill, and to explain the views which were taken of those amendments by his Majesty's Ministers. His Lordship, after minutely detailing the destructive provisions introduced into the Bill by the other House, declared emphatically, and amidst the tumultuous cheers of those around him, that to these provisions he never could, and never would, agree. He objected altogether to the principle of substituting for the local government of municipal corporations the single authority of the supreme central executive. It was, therefore, quite impossible for him to consent either to the first part of their Lordships' Bill, which proposed to destroy corporations; or to the second part of it, which placed such extraordinary powers in the hands of Commissioners nominated by the Lord-Lieutenant. He would not propose that all the original clauses of the Bill, which the Lords had struck out, should be restored to it, for that would lead to its certain rejection; but what he should propose was this—that all the great towns which originally stood in the first and second schedules of the Bill—namely, Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Drogheda, Londonderry, and Sligo, and also Carrickfergus as being a county of a town, should be placed in one and the same schedule, and that all the clauses for the government of corporate towns, which their Lordships had erased, should be restored to the Bill, and applied to these particular towns. He proposed further, that the provisions of the Act of the 9th Geo. IV., by which the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered, on the application of the inhabitants of towns, to permit Commissioners to be elected by them for paving, watching, &c., should be applied immediately to twenty-two towns, and that the Commissioners should be chosen by the five-pound householders. As to all the remaining boroughs, they should be left to adopt that Act or not as they chose; and if it should after some time appear that any of them had declined to adopt it, he should then have no objection that in these the corporations should be wholly abolished. His Lordship concluded by moving, in the first place, that the House disagree to the Lords' amendments on the 4th clause of the Bill, that being the first provision of importance which had been struck out. The debate which followed was adjourned till the next day.

On Friday, the 10th, in the Lords, evidence was examined by Counsel in support of the second reading of the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill. The Report on the Bishopric of Durham Bill was afterwards agreed to on the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the clauses having been struck out which abolished the local courts.

In the Commons, it was intimated by Mr. Poulett Thomson, that after the division which took place on the Factory Bill the other evening, it was not the intention of Government to proceed further with the measure in the present Session. All that the Government had now to do, he added, was to see the provisions of the existing Act duly enforced. After this the debate on the Lords' Amendments to the Irish Municipal Corporations Reform Bill was resumed, and continued till nearly four o'clock in the morning, when, on a division, the numbers were found to be—for Lord John Russell's motion 324, against it, 238—majority for Ministers, 86. In the course of the evening, Sir Frederick Trench and Mr. Rigby Wason were both ordered to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, on a Report from the South Durham Railway Committee, that something of a personal nature had taken place that day in the Committee between the two Honourable Members.

On Monday, the 13th, the second reading of the Court of Chancery Bill was moved, in the Lords, by the Lord Chancellor, when a debate arose which lasted till a late hour. A division then took place, when Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, was carried by a majority of 94 to 29. The principal speech delivered in favour of the measure was that of Lord Langdale, which however was, for the greater part, directed to the advocacy of changes which the Bill did not contemplate. His Lordship even disapproved of some of the provisions of the proposed plan of reform; but he stated that, as it was not likely to present any obstacle to what he deemed desirable, and as, on the whole, it would afford considerable relief, he should vote for the second reading. His own views Lord Langdale explained as follows:—"He thought that there ought to be a Lord Chancellor in the Court of Chancery appointed by letters patent, without delivering to him the Great Seal. Thus he would be exempted from all political duties, and from sitting as a Judge of Appeal in the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor in the Court of Chancery should be precluded from re-hearing the decisions of the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor; so that he would, in fact, be converted entirely into a Judge of original jurisdiction. He would have the Great Seal delivered to a Lord Keeper, and would annex to that office all the political functions, numerous and important as they were, at present discharged by the Lord Chancellor. He further thought that provision should be made for the constant, regular, and due administration of justice in the House of Lords, and that there should be appointed by his Majesty a Lord-President or Lord-Speaker of the House in Judicature, who should be a permanent Judge, unconnected with politics, and to be assisted by persons called Lords-assistants." His Lordship, however, after giving a detail of the various changes which had been made in the constitution of the Court of Chancery since its creation, and adverting to the alterations which had been contemplated and proposed at different times by various persons with respect to the administration of justice in the House of Lords as a court of appeal, and to the shifting views with which even the eminent projectors of those alterations had regarded the subject, ob-

served that it would ill become him, after this statement, to express any confidence in any views which he had himself formed, seeing the great diversity of opinion that had prevailed even among the most able and experienced persons. Of course the present decision also determines the fate of the other Ministerial Bill—that for regulating the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords.

The House of Commons met this day at twelve o'clock; but the greater part of the morning sitting was occupied in debating the affair between Sir Frederick Trench and Mr. Wason, both of whom were brought up in custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Both parties at length expressed themselves satisfied with each other's explanations and willing that the matter should go no further, upon which they were ordered to be discharged from custody, on the payment of the usual fees. After this the Lords' amendments on the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill were taken into further consideration, when most of the original clauses, up to the 86th inclusive, were restored without alteration, and with scarcely any discussion. Sir Robert Peel stated that, after the decisive majority which had supported Ministers on Friday evening, he thought it would be vexatious for the minority to carry their opposition further. When the House met again at five o'clock, Mr. Bannerman stated that in consequence of the Committee (the second to which it had been referred) having decided against the principle of the Aberdeen Public Schools Bill, he would not proceed further with the measure this Session, but he would, next Session, assuredly bring the subject again before the House. In answer to a question from Lord Francis Egerton, Mr. Spring Rice explained, but only in general terms, his intentions with regard to the manner in which the reduction of the paper-duty would be brought into operation. He intimated that, with regard to the duty on stained paper, he was prepared to allow the reduction to take place in July, instead of in October, as at first proposed. As to first-class paper, he remained opposed to the proposition of allowing a drawback upon stocks in hand. "To give increased facility, however, to the manufacture, he was inclined to grant the privilege of manufacturing in bond, under certain regulations, and also the power of placing, under certain regulations, duty-paid first-class paper in the hands of stationers; and in the event of any surplus of paper remaining on the 10th of October, an allowance of the amount of duty would be made—he did not mean a drawback on paper generally, but on paper under the particular regulations which would be provided." The House then resolved itself into a Committee on the Registration of Births and Marriages Bill, when the clauses from 34 to 42 inclusive, and also the schedules, were agreed to. After this the Marriages Bill was considered in Committee. The first fourteen clauses were agreed to after some debate; but on the 15th, relating to the registering of dissenting places of worship for the celebration of marriages being proposed, Dr. Bowring moved that the signatures of ten, instead of twenty, householders belonging to the congregation should be sufficient to entitle the chapel to be registered; and the Committee having divided upon this motion, the clause, in its original form, was carried by a majority of 128 to 22. Another division took place on the 18th clause, which enacts that any person who may object to marry in a registered building may contract marriage at the office of the registrar. The omission of this clause was moved by Mr. Poulter, who objected to it that it would alter the whole marriage law of England, by separating the contract of marriage from a religious sanction. To this it was well answered by Dr. Lushington, that to expunge the clause would be contrary to the principle upon which the whole Bill was founded. The clause was eventually carried by a majority of 123 to 58. The other clauses, up to the 28th inclusive, were all agreed to. On the proposition of Dr. Nicholl, the 17th clause was amended, by its being enacted that each of the parties at a marriage, in addition to saying to the other —"I call upon these persons here present to witness that I, A. B., do take thee, C. D. to be my lawful wedded wife (or husband)" should make the following declaration:—"I solemnly declare that I do not know of any lawful impediment why I, A. B., should not be joined in holy matrimony to thee, C. D." The Learned Gentleman observed that he thought this declaration would be offensive to the conscience of no man. It may be considered, however, from the phraseology employed, as amounting to a recognition of the religious character of the marriage contract.

On Tuesday, the 14th, in the Lords, the Marquess of Lansdowne having stated that the Government were not prepared to bring forward any general proposition on the subject of railroads, although they were fully alive to the great importance of the suggestion which had been made about preventing these undertakings from becoming permanent monopolies, the Duke of Wellington said that he should propose the insertion of a clause in every Railway Bill which should come before the House, providing that the railroad to be formed should not be exempted from the operation of any general Act or Acts for the regulation of railroads which might be passed, with a view to the advantage, protection, and security of the public, before the expiration of one year after the passing of the Bills, or, if Parliament should not then be sitting, before the end of the next Session of Parliament. Afterwards the Dublin Police Bill was read a second time, and the Bishopric of Durham Bill was read a third time, and passed. The Bill for the regulation of the Universities of Scotland was then read a second time, on the motion of Lord Melbourne, who explained the nature of the measure at some length. We have given an account of it in another part of the present number. The second reading of the Bill was not opposed, although it was admitted that it conferred extraordinary powers. On the suggestion, however, of the Duke of Wellington, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Haddington, —the latter of whom observed that the subject had excited the greatest possible interest in Scotland, and he thought that time ought to be given for the promulgation of the Bill in that country, and for hearing the sentiments of the Universities upon its provisions, it was agreed that the consideration of the measure in Committee should be fixed for that day fortnight.

In the Commons, the consideration of the Lords' amendments to the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was resumed, when most of the original clauses were restored to the Bill without opposition. The only debate that took place was that which arose on Mr. S. Crawford's motion, to add the town of Bandon to those in which corporations were to be established, a proposition which the Honourable Member made with the intention of following it up by similar motions for the restoration of all the small towns which it was originally intended to endow with corporations. This amendment, however, after having been discussed with an extraordinary display of warmth and much bandying of personalities on the part of certain Honourable Members, was eventually thrown out by a majority of 148 to 8. The House then went into Committee on the Marriages Bill, when the clauses from the 27th to the end were agreed to.

On Thursday, the 16th, in the Lords, on the third reading of the London Grand Junction Railway Bill being moved by the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Duke of Wellington moved the clause which he had given notice that he should propose to insert in that and all future

Railway Bills, and after considerable discussion, it was, with a slight modification, carried on a division by a majority of 33 to 15, although various reasons were strongly urged against both its expediency and its equity.

In the Commons, a Committee was obtained on the motion of Mr. Alderman Wood, to consider the most effectual plan for raising money for certain extensive improvements in the metropolis, a sketch of which was given by the Honourable Member. They were stated to embrace the formation of a new street from Southwark Bridge to the Bank of England; of another from Waterloo Bridge to the North Road; of another from the Bank through Lothbury to the Post Office; of another from the Post Office to Smithfield; of another from St. Paul's to Blackfriars' Bridge; of another from Holborn to the Strand; of another from Westminster Abbey to Belgrave-square; and of another through Southwark; besides the purchasing of the interest of the proprietors of the Waterloo and Southwark Bridges, that they may be thrown open for the use of the public, free from toll. It was calculated by the Honourable Member that all this might be accomplished at an expense of about 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Registration of Voters Bill, when the first seventeen clauses were all agreed to, or carried by considerable majorities. The question of adjournment was then twice moved by the minority, on the pretext of an aversion to midnight legislation; but was negatived on the first division by a majority of 85 to 39, and on the second by a majority of 83 to 30. It was eventually agreed, however, on the motion of Mr. Rice, that the Chairman should report progress. A misunderstanding, which took place on the debate on one of the motions for adjournment, between Sir John Hobhouse and Colonel Sibthorp, was arranged on the interposition of the House, by the former declaring that he had not intended any personal offence by the words which were objected to, and the latter intimating that he was perfectly satisfied.

On Friday, the 17th, in the Lords, the Municipal Act Amendment Bill was read a third time, and passed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Members of the House of Commons then appeared at the Bar, and requested a conference on the subject of their Lordship's amendments to the Irish Municipal Corporation Reform Bill. The conference having taken place, the Lords who had been appointed to manage it reported that the Commons had communicated, in writing, their reasons for not agreeing to the amendments. It was then agreed, on the motion of Lord Melbourne, that the reasons of the Commons should be taken into consideration on that day week. It was, however, afterwards arranged that the question should be deferred till Monday, the 27th.

In the Commons, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented, at the Bar, the Report of the Committee appointed to draw up the reasons to be offered to the Lords for not agreeing to their Lordship's amendments on the Irish Corporation Reform Bill, Sir Robert Peel protested against being supposed to concur in the Report, though he offered no opposition to its being received. It was admitted by Mr. Rice, that the reasons were to be considered as only speaking the sense of the majority.

The House having then resolved itself into a Committee on the Tithe Commutation Bill, two new clauses were adopted on the motion of Lord John Russell, materially modifying the rule originally laid down in the Bill for fixing the amount of the commutation. They provided that, on notice being given to the Commissioners, either by any landowners or any titheowners having an interest to the extent of not less than half the lands or tithes of any parish, the Commissioners shall have power to diminish or increase the average derived from the payments of the last seven years by any sum not greater than one-fifth part of its amount; that cases appearing to the Commissioners to be fraudulent or collusive shall be reserved for separate adjudication; and that the Commissioners shall make a Report to the Secretary of State before the 1st of May, 1837, stating in what manner the discretion thus vested in them ought in their judgment to be exercised, which Report, and all other Reports given in by the Commissioners, shall be laid before Parliament within six weeks after they shall have been received, or after Parliament shall have met. The Church of England Bill, the object of which is to carry into effect the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners respecting the alteration of the extent of dioceses and the incomes of Bishops, was then read a second time. After this the House went into Committee on the Registration of Voters Bill, when the clauses up to the 66th were agreed to, after several amendments proposed by the Opposition had been negatived by large majorities.

On Monday, the 20th, in answer to a question from Lord Stanley, Lord John Russell stated that he should not be able to bring in any Bill upon the subject of church-rates during the present Session; but whenever he did introduce such a measure, it would be founded upon the principle which he had always maintained—that it was the duty of the State, either by means of rates, or of some other public fund, to maintain the buildings set apart by the State for divine worship in good and sufficient repair. The House having then resolved into Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the duty now payable on newspapers should be reduced to 1*d.*, subject to such provisions with respect to the size of the newspapers as may be enacted by any Act passed in the present Session. As an amendment on this Resolution, Sir Charles Knightley moved that the duty on hard soap be reduced from 1½*d.* to 1*d.*, and that on soft soap from 1*d.* to one farthing per lb. A long debate followed, in which the principal speakers were Mr. Spring Rice in support of the reduction of the newspaper duty, and Mr. Goulburn for the reduction of the tax on soap. When the Committee at length divided, the numbers were found to be—for the original motion 241, for the amendment 208. The question of the reduction of the newspaper stamp-duty may now, therefore, be considered safe. Some other Bills were afterwards advanced a stage.

On Tuesday, the 21st, in the Lords, among some other business of less importance, the Dublin Police Bill went through Committee, and a Bill was brought in by the Lord Chancellor, and read a first time, for the improvement of church discipline.

In the Commons, in answer to a question by Mr. Grote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that in order to relieve the tea-dealers as far as possible from the pressure occasioned by the circumstance of the duty on Boheas being to be augmented from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb. by the 1st of July, it had been determined to permit the payment of the duty to be deferred to any time not exceeding thirty days after that date. In answer to another question from Sir George Clerk on the subject of the duty on first class paper, Mr. Rice made the following statement:—In the interval before the reduction of the duty, (on the 10th of October), papermakers would be allowed to pass paper into the stocks of their customers under the direction of the Board of Excise, the duty having been paid before it was issued from the mills, and any stock of that paper unconsumed on the 10th of October in the hands of stationers, would entitle them to a return equal to the excess of the old duty over the new. Mr. Hume afterwards obtained leave to bring in a Bill for separating the administration of the financial from that of the judicial affairs

of counties. During the remainder of the evening the House sat in Committee on the Registration of Voters Bill, when a good deal of discussion took place on some of the clauses, and several amendments were proposed, all of which, however, were negatived. The clause directing the poll to be taken in one day was omitted, on an understanding that the point should be made the subject of a separate Bill. An amendment was proposed by Sir James Graham, with the view of preventing the creation of county votes out of leases conferring votes for a town; but at this point it was moved that the Chairman should report progress, and the motion was carried, on a division, by a majority of 63 to 49.

On Wednesday, the 22nd, on the further consideration of the Report on the Metropolitan Suspension Bridge over the Thames being moved by Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt, Mr. Tooke moved that the Report should be taken into consideration that day six months; but, on a division, the amendment was negatived by a majority of 109 to 30. Mr. Gully then, in support of a statement which he had made on a former evening, read a letter, addressed by Mr. Hardy, the member for Bradford, to one of his supporters in that place, in which the Honourable Member had used the following words:—"I always felt bound in honour, though much against my conscience, to pay the head-money to those who voted for me, and which was, in many instances, taken by those who ought to have been ashamed of such a thing." In a long reply which Mr. Hardy made to Mr. Gully's speech, and in which he entered into very full explanations of various matters alluded to in the letter, he appears to have passed over this the most material sentence in it, without observation. Mr. Hume afterwards moved that the letter, which had been laid upon the table of the House, should be printed, but the motion was negatived by a majority of 136 to 97. The House having then resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution, of which he had given notice a day or two before, for equalizing the duties on East and West India sugar. Although some difficulties and objections were started by one or two Honourable Members, this important proposition appeared to be generally received with much gratification by the House. The resolution was agreed to without a division. A division then took place, after a short debate, on Mr. Wakley's motion for the second reading of the Parish Vestries Bill,—the object of which is to repeal the 28th of Geo. III., commonly called Sturges Bourne's Act, which gives a plurality of votes in vestry to property; when the numbers were found to be, Ayes 42, Noes 60. After this the Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Bill went through Committee; and the Bribery at Elections Bill was also considered in Committee, and several of the clauses agreed to.

On Thursday, the 23rd, the Lords were for some time occupied, as they had been for several days previously, in hearing evidence in support of the Stafford Borough Disfranchisement Bill. Lord Lyndhurst then moved the second reading of a Bill for allowing the aid of counsel to prisoners in making their defence in cases of felony, which had been some days before introduced by the Lord Chancellor. The motion was agreed to without a division.

In the Commons the question of the ballot was again brought forward by Mr. Grote, in a motion for leave to bring in a Bill, providing that the votes at elections for Members of Parliament should be taken by that method. The motion was supported by Mr. Leader, Dr. Bowring, Mr. Ewart, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. Roche, and opposed by Lord Dalmeny and Mr. Robinson. On the division it was negatived by a majority of 139 to 86. Lord John Russell afterwards obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the more convenient division of counties into polling districts for the election of Members of Parliament, and for taking the poll in one day. A debate and a division then took place on a motion of the Lord Advocate, for leave to bring in a Bill for the better regulation of the office of auditor of accounts in the Court of Session in Scotland, and for the appointment of two accountants-general in the said court. The motion was opposed by Sir William Rae, Sir George Clerk, and Mr. Goulburn, but was carried, on the division, by a majority of 93 to 69. The Lord-Advocate also obtained leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the constitution, jurisdiction, and forms of process of sheriffs' courts, and the civil jurisdiction of sheriffs' burgh courts, in Scotland. Mr. P. Thomson obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the better regulation of light-houses, founded on the Report of the Committee which had lately inquired into that subject.

FRANCE.

THE affairs of Algiers have occupied the attention of the Chambers, and caused considerable embarrassment to government, which feels more and more the weight of that useless conquest. A party proposed that the army of Africa, as it is called, which is 23,000 strong, and costs an enormous sum, should be forthwith reduced, but this was opposed by government; and Marshal Clausel, the governor of Algiers, who was present at the debate, stated plainly, that instead of being in a condition to maintain himself against the Arabs and Kabyles with fewer men than he then had, he actually wanted reinforcements. The Marshal, moreover, gave it as his opinion, that in order to ensure the prosperity of the African colony, government ought to prevent both the civil and military functionaries from occupying themselves, so much as they have been doing, with the purchase and cultivation of land for their own benefit, and require them to devote themselves solely to the support of French influence in Algiers and its dependencies.

We suppose this means that both civil and military functionaries—the colonist who goes thither on his own account, as well as the paid servant of government,—should be constantly in arms. On the very day of the debate at Paris, news arrived that General Arlanges required re-enforcements on the river Tafna, his entrenched camp there being surrounded by clouds of Arabs.

It appears that General Arlanges has since succeeded in getting back to Oran, and that considerable re-inforcements were landed at that place from the ship of the line "Nestor," on the 4th of June. Admiral Hugon was expected to arrive with fresh forces on the 7th or 8th, and, after landing them, to proceed to Tripoli with his squadron of observation, to watch the proceedings of the Sultan's fleet. Mahmoud, it seems, is determined to reduce the Bey of Tripoli, and this the French are anxious to prevent.

The subject of the total abolition of slavery in the French colonies has been again introduced in the Chamber of Deputies. No specific motion was made, but Ministers declared that they warmly desired the emancipation of all slaves, and were studying the means of accomplishing that important measure. As compensation must in justice be given to the French slave-holders, we hope that when that word is mentioned the zeal and humanity of the deputies will not evaporate as they did last year when treating of the same subject.

On one or two matters of no great moment the Cabinet has been defeated in the Chamber of Deputies. At the end of May a majority of 168 to 148 voted against Ministers, who were for keeping the salaries of the

prefects of the departments *in statu quo*. The whole of the proposed reduction amounted to about 4000*l*. sterling!

On the 1st of June, the Duke de Fitzjames, a fanatic absolutist of the most hopeless description, who was formerly a peer, but not choosing to take the oaths to Louis Philippe, threw up his peerage, and now sits in the lower house, delivered there a long and most ferocious tirade against England, the natural, the eternal enemy of France. This ultra-royalist imitated the reasonings and style of the Jacobins and the worst of the Bonapartists, scarcely omitting a single term of abuse coined between 1790 and 1815. To strengthen his declamation he had recourse to falsehood, misrepresenting a speech of Mr. Canning's, and the feeling, of the English people, which at this moment is anything but hostile to the French. We wish we were quite sure of the reciprocity of this good feeling. The speech was interesting only inasmuch as it led to a declaration from M. Thiers, the head of the present Cabinet, who said in reply, that a good understanding and the best of feelings existed between France and England,—that the alliance with England was not only, under circumstances, the very best that France could enter into, but also the one likely to last longest, and he treated as a vulgar absurdity the Duke's assertion that the people of France and the people of England are, and ever must be, irreconcilable enemies.

On the 2nd of June some questions were put to Ministers with respect to their projects for the third series of the Greek loan, and some other points of foreign policy. The first question was altogether evaded, but after deprecating a too busy interference in the affairs of other nations, M. Thiers said, with reference to the occupation of the free city of Cracow by Prussian, Austrian, and Russian troops, "That there could be no doubt that the Treaty of Vienna guaranteed the freedom of Cracow; but he found by Article 9 of that Treaty, that it was laid down, that the free city of Cracow should not be made an asylum, and the centre of plots and operations, for individuals proscribed by the neighbouring States. He said it appeared that a number of Polish refugees had taken up their residence there —had formed an extensive conspiracy, and caused disturbances in the town; and that, apprized both of the plot and the riot, the Three Great Powers had determined to occupy Cracow for the avowed purpose of preserving tranquillity."

In this case the accusers make themselves witnesses and judges. It is very probable, however, that some imprudent men may have been renewing at Cracow the desperate measures by which the Poles have occasioned Switzerland so much trouble.

The debates in the chamber of deputies on the 14th and 15th of June were rather remarkable, though they led to no results. M. Lafitte, who considers himself an ill-used man, and a victim to Louis Philippe's duplicity and ingratitude, denounced the extravagance of the present government, which, it appears, costs the nation much more than the government of Charles X. According to his showing, during the six years immediately preceding the expulsion of Charles, the receipts of the Treasury had been 5,500,000,000 francs,—in the six years that have since elapsed the receipts have been swelled to 7,500,000,000 francs,—in the first of these six years, a deficit had always existed, and in spite of the increase of revenue, a deficit is equally to be remarked now. He said, in conclusion, "If this deficit continue whilst the existing high taxes are maintained, I shall feel bound to ask pardon of my God and of my country for the part I took in the revolution of July."

M. Lafitte, the liberal, was followed in his line of reasoning by M. Berryer, the ultra-royalist, who said that the budget of 1837 exceeded that for 1829, by 105,000,000 francs.

A mission has been despatched by Louis Philippe's government to the Emperor of Morocco, some of whose subjects have fought along with Abdel Kader against the French, in the neighbourhood of Oran. Another mission to the Pasha of Egypt is spoken of.

Louis Philippe's sons—the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Nemour—have been as favourably received by the Austrian as they were by the Prussian court. His Royal Highness of Orleans is said to have been much affected as he stood before the tomb of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, in the imperial vaults of the church of the Capuchins,—and well he might be, if he recalled the many vicissitudes crowded within a few years!

SPAIN.

From the hard fighting in front of St. Sebastian, on the 5th of May, which we described in our last retrospect, no operations of any consequence took place until the 24th of the same month, when Lord John Hay, our naval commander on the station, who seems to have become the hero of this war, ran down the coast as far as Fonturabia, which town, together with the town of Passages, he reconnoitred with the view of subsequently making an attack on the Carlists there. One of his steamers got a-ground near to Passages, and lay exposed for some time to the musketry of the Carlists, who lined the cliffs above the sea, but the vessel was got off without any serious injury, and no lives were lost in her. While the men on the cliffs were firing, several women were seen charging the muskets and handing them to the men; but these Amazons, as well as their companions, were put to flight by a few of Lord John's shells. On the 28th of May, the Carlist entrenchments on the right bank of the Urumea were attacked by land and water by General Evans and Lord John Hay, and after some sharp cannonading, the town and Port of Passages were taken possession of for the Queen. These operations were greatly facilitated by Captain Maitland, of the Tweed, who succeeded in laying a bridge of boats across the broad and rapid Urumea. If General Evans had had such a bridge on the 5th, some hundreds of his men who then fell might have been spared.

The Carlists gathering in force made a bold attempt on the 6th of June to recover all the ground they had lost since the 5th of May. In ten battalions they attacked all along the Christino lines, from the works opposite St. Sebastian to those at the south-west of the Port of Passages, but they were beaten at every point, and gave up the attempt after losing 300 men. It will surprise those who took the most favourable view of General Evans's successes, that they should have been in a state to attack at all. On the 9th, however, they fell on the lines again, or rather on an advanced post to the east of Passages, principally defended by British; but here again they were driven back with loss. Still it should seem that they keep the Queen's forces close to the sea line, and maintain themselves inland. The Queenites had received a re-enforcement of 2000 men on the 8th.

In Lower Arragon the Carlist bands have been more successful, and Cabrera, whose old mother was foully murdered by the Christinos, seems to be taking a fearful vengeance. In conjunction with some other insurgent chiefs he surrounded the far inferior force of Colonel Valdez, and cut it to pieces. It is reported that, after his victory, he shot 70 of the Carlist prisoners, "amid manifestations of much delight, and to the sound of music." Valdez himself escaped with great difficulty.

There was some fighting at Arlaban, near Vittoria, on the 23rd and 24th of May, when the insurgents tried the lines of General Cordova, but instead of carrying them they were beaten back, and are said to have lost some fortified works of their own. The Queenites lost 250 men in killed and wounded; the loss of the Carlists was more considerable. A few days after Cordova repaired to Madrid.

Turning from the field of actual warfare, we find little to raise our hopes for this unhappy country. On the 22nd of April, Carthagena became the scene of disgraceful disorders which lasted three days, during which some twenty defenceless individuals—government clerks, priests, and notables of the town,—were seized and massacred in the public square. The Governor-General O'Daly and the National Guards are said to have remained passive spectators of these atrocities, which were committed by about a hundred ruffians, crying "Death to the Carlists." The civil authorities were panic-struck, and did nothing. At Saragossa an attempt at a similar riot was put down through the firm and proper conduct of General San Miguel. A revolutionary junta, formed at Malaga, dissolved itself at the end of May, finding it impracticable to organize a powerful insurrection in favour of "the spirit of unlimited democracy."

Some uneasiness was created at Madrid among the *moderate* party (if we can call any party in Spain moderate) at the admission into the different public offices of a number of persons notoriously attached to the movement party; but it is said in defence of Isturitz, the new Minister, that these appointments were made by his predecessor Mendizabal, a few days before quitting office. It was considered matter of great congratulation for Isturitz that the provincial deputies from Leon, General Palarea from Valencia, General Roten from Alcaniz, and a few other officers, had explicitly declared that they would support his Ministry. The Premier himself, however, does not appear to have much confidence in its stability; and certain measures of suppression and prohibition he has adopted against the journals in opposition to him, added to the readiness with which he has recourse to the military, have much increased his unpopularity. In the hope of gaining strength for him, the Queen Regent has dissolved the Cortes; but it is much doubted whether, in the new estate of Procuradores, he will have more friends than in the old one. As for the Proceres, or Peers, they are expected to be against him almost to a man.

Cordova, who had left his army unpaid and in perfect inactivity at Vittoria, was still lingering at Madrid.

The Madrid Gazette of the 7th of June contained a royal decree respecting the non-consolidated debt. By a previous decree issued by Mendizabal, one-third of that kind of debt was secured to the holders, and the 15th of May last was fixed as the latest term on which claims to that advantage could be made. Only one-half of the holders having presented themselves by that day, one-third promised to those who had lodged their claims was paid them (in cash, it is said), and the other one-third not claimed was secured to them; the non-claimants being for ever disqualified. The decree set forth that the paper debt was to be paid integrally.

Another decree, published by the same official organ, is intended to regulate the sale of church and monastic, or, as it is called, "national" property. It offers still more facilities and accommodations than the decree on the same subject issued by Mendizabal, but capitalists and purchasers continue to be wanting or diffident.

The new Cortes are convoked for the 20th of August. The elections are to be conducted according to the new scheme proposed to the legislature in the ministry of Mendizabal, but which had not been passed into a law when the late Cortes were dissolved: this is something new in the history of constitutional governments. The Exchequer is represented as empty; but as far as inclination goes to keep good faith, Isturitz is favourably regarded by the foreign creditors of Spain.

PORTUGAL.

The political atmosphere of Lisbon has been stormy, and is still very threatening. On the 29th of May the Queen opened the Cortes with great ceremony, and seven days after she dissolved them with the shortest, or without any notice. The majorities against Ministers were overpowering in both Chambers, and in both the debates had been carried on with much violence and gross personality. The chief bone of contention seems to have been the appointment of Donna Maria's husband, now styled Prince Don Fernando, to be Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. The meeting of the New Cortes now stands appointed for the 15th of August. The finances are in disorder.

SAXONY.

The King, Anthony Clement Theodore, died at Pilnitz on the 6th of June in the eighty-second year of his age. He succeeded his brother Frederick Augustus (the most steady of Bonaparte's allies) in 1827, and he is now in his turn succeeded by a nephew (another Frederic Augustus) who ever since 1830 had been associated with him in the Government, under the title of co-regent. This interesting but very limited State has had but little influence in the affairs of Germany since the Congress of Vienna, when, in punishment for their Sovereign's having been the last to quit Napolean and join the allies, a million of the Saxon people who had all along disapproved of the tergiversations of the King, and his devotion to the French, were given over to Prussia, and the territories they occupied (about half of the kingdom) incorporated with the Prussian dominions. Since then the King of Prussia has exercised an influence over the whole, and recently Saxony, in opposition to her best interests, has been induced to become a party to his exclusive trade-leagues.

The people have paid dearly for the fault of their ruler, and yet, according to M. de Talleyrand, the only fault to be attributed to the old King in not seceding from Bonaparte quite as soon as some other allies of the French, was his having allowed his clock to be a quarter of an hour slower than his neighbours.

The new King's first proclamation is as brief as need be—it merely summons all public functionaries to take the oath of allegiance to him.

SOUTH AMERICA—MEXICO AND TEXAS.

If we can place faith in news received from more than one quarter, the Texians have entirely defeated the Mexican army sent against them, captured or killed Santa Anna, the Mexican President, and achieved, for the time, their independence. Nearly all the names that appear of those in command on the part of the Texians have a very English sound! The Secretary-of-War signs "Thomas Rush."

As the President refused to interfere, or take the field on Government account, Brother Jonathan got up a joint-stock war against Mexico on his own account. The subjects of the United States are numerous in Texas, and if they have the lead, they are likely to settle down into a quiet and durable State much sooner than the turbulent republicans of Spanish descent in South America.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

REASONS OF THE COMMONS FOR DISSENTING FROM THE IRISH MUNICIPAL BILL SENT DOWN FROM THE LORDS.

In the discharge of the high trust committed to them by the Constitution of this realm, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland feel it to be their duty to guard against the establishment of any precedent inconsistent with the maintenance of that good correspondence and understanding between the two Houses of Parliament which is essential for the framing and enacting of good laws to the ease and contentment of all classes of the King's subjects, and the security, honour, and dignity of his Majesty's Crown.

In considering the amendments made by the Lords in the Bill for the regulation of municipal corporations in Ireland, the Commons are bound to advert to the mode of procedure adopted in the other House of Parliament.

The Bill passed by the House of Commons provided for the regulation of municipal corporations and borough-towns in Ireland, and was framed upon the principle of reforming existing abuses, but of preserving within certain cities and towns in Ireland a system of municipal government.

It appears from the Minutes of the House of Lords, that in pursuance of an instruction from the House, the principle of the Bill has been altogether altered in Committee, and a change of title has been consequently rendered indispensable.

By the Bill returned from the Lords, it is proposed to abolish municipal corporations throughout all Ireland, and to place the management of all corporate property under Commissioners appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and holding their offices during his pleasure.

The Bill, as amended, founded on a new principle, bearing a new title, and varying in its enactments from the Bill sent to the other House of Parliament, must, therefore, be considered as an original measure. The Commons are far from questioning the undoubted right of the Lords to exercise their undisputed powers and privileges in modifying or rejecting legislative measures submitted to them; but as the due and careful examination in each House of Parliament of the principle and details of all legislative enactments passing through the various stages as prescribed by the orders, ancient usages, and constitution of Parliament, is essential to the making of just laws, and as such due and careful consideration is rendered difficult, if not wholly impossible, if original Bills are transmitted in the form of amendments from one House of Parliament to the other, the Commons trust that the course pursued on the present occasion by the Lords may not be drawn into precedent.

But while the Commons have felt it to be their duty to state the reasons which preclude them from agreeing to the Bill as amended, yet, from an earnest desire to maintain undisturbed that good understanding and correspondence between the two Houses which they consider as essential to the well-being of the British monarchy, and from a conviction of the evil consequences of leaving great and admitted grievances without present and adequate remedy, they have proceeded to take into their consideration the Lords' amendments, in an earnest hope that such a measure may be thereon founded as shall meet the concurrence of the other House of Parliament, as shall be consistent with the principles of legislation adopted in the reform of the municipal corporations of Great Britain, satisfying the just expectations of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and thereby maintaining and strengthening the union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Because the Commons cannot consent to abolish a branch of the institutions of this free country, which is coeval with the earliest connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, which is founded upon charters granted by his Majesty's royal predecessors, and is recognised by the statute law of the realm, at various periods, more particularly in the Act of Settlement and the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Because, as the Imperial Parliament has passed laws for Great Britain, reforming the existing corporations, but providing a permanent system of municipal government, the Commons are not prepared to assent to any enactments for Ireland irreconcilable with those sound principles which have given ease and contentment to the inhabitants of the corporate cities and towns in Great Britain, and have been conducive to the common weal.

Because it appears to the Commons essentially necessary to the best interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the maintenance of the legislative union between the two countries, that the same general principles of legislation should be applied to both parts of the empire, subject to such modifications as local circumstances may render indispensable or expedient.

Because if the rights, immunities, and franchises granted and continued to municipal corporations in Great Britain, are in Ireland abolished or withheld, the Commons are apprehensive that a spirit of distrust and discontent will be produced in Ireland, lessening the confidence reposed in the decisions of Parliament, endangering the public tranquillity, and thereby impairing the strength, the resources, and the security of the British empire.

Because the Commons consider the discharge of local duties, and the enjoyment of local privileges, under a system of self-government, as established in the Acts for the reform of the municipal corporations of Great Britain, to be among the most efficient guarantees and securities for peace and good order, and contentment, and to afford the surest means of directing the active ambition of the free subjects of a constitutional monarchy to just and legitimate objects, thus ensuring obedience to the laws, and an attachment to the constitution of the realm.

Because the conduct of the several corporations in Ireland, as set forth in the Reports presented to Parliament, has been such as to render it wholly inexpedient to continue in office, by one general enactment, all the servants of such corporations, intrusted as they are with the performance of duties highly important to the mercantile and commercial interests of the several cities and towns in Ireland.

The Commons disagree to the amendments of the Lords, by which members of the corporations other than the officers of such corporations may claim to receive compensation.

Because the grant of such compensation, without reference to duties of office performed by the party claiming compensation, is unprecedented, and likely to lead to injurious results.

Because the payment of pensions, alowances, and annual sums, without reference either to the time at which such pensions, allowances, or annual sums were granted, or to any public services rendered by the persons to whom such grants have been made, whether supported by an alleged established usage or a previous resolution, may entail on the cities and towns of Ireland charges created contrary to law, unsupported by any just authority, and may thus continue and sanction abuses of trusts, augmenting the local burdens, and diminishing the revenues applicable to the common good.

Because these enactments of the Lords, if not amended, are wholly at variance and irreconcilable with the facts of the case, as appearing on the face of the Report of the Commissioners presented to both Houses of Parliament.

Because, if the malversation and abuse of trust by existing corporations be such as to impose an obligation upon the Legislature to extinguish or remodel all such corporations, a continuance of the existing corporators in the discharge of their duties is inexpedient and unjust.

Because the property of many of the existing corporations has been granted in trust for paying and improving several of the cities and towns in Ireland, and for other public uses, and consequently these enactments would continue the powers of the existing corporations, or of the governing bodies and leading members thereof, by a law which proposed to provide for their absolute abolition and extinction.

Because these enactments would, in some cases, have the effect of converting a terminable trust or office into an office or trust for the life of the party, and that not in the

case of persons appointed or elected with such intent, but for the benefit of such as are casually in office on a given day.

Because such enactments might create an impression, that whilst the Legislature proposed to abolish the existing corporations, care was taken to continue and to sanction the powers and authority of the existing corporators.

Because the estates and personal property of corporations being granted for local purposes, will be most advantageously administered by those who are at once locally interested and locally responsible.

Because in so far as these corporate funds are applicable to the purposes of paving, watching, and lighting, and other analogous public services, which must otherwise be provided for by local taxation, it is just that the parties authorized and empowered to impose these local taxes should also be intrusted with the management and application of the corporate estates.

Because the effect of placing the management of these estates and funds in the hands of Commissioners, holding office during the pleasure of the Lord-Lieutenant, would be the creation of an undue influence in the several cities and towns inconsistent with their freedom and political independence.

Because the transfer of the right of nominating various public servants and officers from a local authority to Commissioners, holding office during the pleasure of the Lord-Lieutenant, will increase the patronage of the Crown, unsupported by the suggestion of any adequate grounds either of necessity or of expediency.

Because the enactment that such surplus revenue may be applied to the public benefit of the several towns is vague and indeterminate, and leaves too wide a discretion to the nominees of the Lord-Lieutenant.

Because it is proposed in this enactment to sanction the appropriation of corporate revenues to the uses of local boards or trustees, acting under a statutable authority, and the public revenues of the cities and towns may thus be applied to purposes of limited usefulness, by which the general interests of the inhabitants may not be promoted.

Because this enactment may sanction a misapplication of the corporate funds from the public purposes to which they were originally destined, and to which, for the benefit of the country, they should still continue to be applied.

Because, if the conduct of the existing corporations in Ireland has been such as to render their abolition not only expedient but indispensable, the continuance in office of the nominees of such corporations, without reference to their character or qualifications, cannot be justified.

Because such offices are connected with the administration of justice in Ireland, and should therefore be removed from local influence, and placed under the immediate authority of the Crown.

Because the effects of the Lords' amendments would be to give to several of their officers a more permanent title in their several offices than that which they now possess.

Because the effect of such an enactment would be, to give to the officers in question a more extended interest in their offices than that which they now enjoy.

Because the officers appointed by or under the authority of the existing corporations of Ireland, are not in all cases the best qualified persons to be continued in the exercise of functions connected with the administration of justice.

Because such officers have been appointed by the corporate bodies, whose abuse of trust is proved by the Report of the Royal Commission, and is admitted by both branches of the Legislature.

Because such offices relating to the administration of justice ought not to be exposed to animadversion or suspicion.

Because the effect of the Lords' amendment will be, in some cases, to convert an office held during pleasure, or by annual appointment, into an office held during good behaviour, thereby creating a new and extended title, for the benefit of the officers of existing corporations.

The Commons have felt it to be incumbent on them to state the foregoing reasons for their disagreement with certain of the amendments sent to them by the Lords.

In the Bill, as now amended, the Commons have consented to confine the establishment of town-councils to twelve considerable cities and towns, of which the wealth and importance render them well suited to such a system of local government. The Commons have further provided for the local government of twenty cities and towns of lesser extent and population, by applying to them the enactments of a statute specially relied upon in the amendments of the Lords. Within these several cities and towns it cannot be doubted but that the wealth, the intelligence, and the public spirit of the inhabitants, will supply both a constituent and a representative body fully qualified for the performance of local duties. The Commons have excluded from the immediate operation of the Bill, as returned to the Lords, eighteen towns in which the necessity of legislative interference is less apparent.

The Commons have thus endeavoured to maintain a good understanding between the two Houses, by not insisting on many provisions contained in the Bill as it originally passed their House.

The amendments to which the Commons have still felt it their duty to refuse their concurrence are such as appear to them to be wholly irreconcilable with the principle of the Bill as introduced, and no less at variance with the principles adopted in reforming the municipal corporations of Great Britain.

From these leading principles the Commons think it would be expedient, unwise, and unjust to depart. In an Address carried by both Houses to the foot of the Throne, a determination was expressed to preserve inviolate the legislative union, but at the same time to remove all just causes of complaint, and to promote all well-considered measures of improvement. Were the present corporations of Ireland, or the governing bodies thereof, to be continued in the exercise of their functions, proved and admitted, as has been, their scandalous abuse of trust, the Commons feel that a just cause of complaint would remain unremoved; and if a Bill were permitted to become law, extinguishing in Ireland all traces of those municipal institutions, which have existed for upwards of six centuries, and which at no former period, even during internal commotion and civil war, it was ever proposed to abolish, the Commons do not conceive that enactments of such an unprecedented nature would come within the description of those well-considered measures of improvement which Parliament has pledged itself to promote.

POST-OFFICE TREATY.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE KING OF THE FRENCH, FOR EXTENDING THE FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION BY POST, BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE DOMINIONS, SIGNED AT PARIS, MARCH 30, 1836.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the French, being desirous of extending the facilities of communication by post between their respective dominions, and to accomplish by means of a convention this important object, have for this purpose named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. Granville Earl Granville, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Privy Councillor, and his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France:—

And his Majesty the King of the French, M. Louis Aldolphe Thiers, Commander of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., a Member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments, Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council of Ministers:—

Who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. I. Persons desirous of sending letters either from France to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to those British colonies or possessions where the Post Office of Great Britain has established post-offices, or from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the British colonies or possessions, to France, shall have the option—First, of allowing the whole of the postage of such letters to be charged to the receiver; secondly, of paying the postage in advance to the place of destination; thirdly, of paying the postage only as far as the frontier of the country to which the letters are sent.

Art. II. The system of optional payment of postage spe-

cified in the preceding article, in favour of ordinary letters from the two countries, shall be applicable to letters and packets containing patterns of merchandise.

Art. III. Letters and packets containing patterns of merchandise, which shall be forwarded from one country to the other, either paid or unpaid, shall be conveyed at such reduced rates of postage as are allowed for such articles by the laws and regulations of each country.

Art. IV. The inhabitants of the two countries may send from one country to the other, letters termed registered or recommended letters. The postage of such letters shall be fixed according to the combined rates of both countries, and shall always be paid in advance to the place of destination.

Art. V. The postage of a single letter (for which the post-offices of the two countries shall account to each other), for ordinary letters, paid or unpaid, is fixed as follows; that is to say:—

FOR THE FRENCH POST-OFFICE.

1. Between Paris and the frontier of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, one franc.

2. And with respect to any other part of the French territory situated on either side of Paris relatively to the frontier of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a charge in proportion to the rate of postage above fixed for the conveyance between Paris and the said frontier.

FOR THE POST-OFFICE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1. Between London and the frontier of France, 10*d.*

2. And with respect to any other part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland situated on either side of London relatively to the frontier of France, a charge in proportion to the rate of postage above fixed for the conveyance between London and the said frontier.

Art. VI. The postage of a single letter, for which the French Post Office will have to account to the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with regard to letters arriving from the British colonies and possessions, or from other countries beyond sea, destined for France, or from France for the British colonies and possessions, or other countries beyond sea, which shall be conveyed by the regular packets of the Post Office of Great Britain and Ireland, is fixed as follows; that is to say:—

1. From and to Jamaica, Barbadoes, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Domingo, the British settlements and islands, the mails for which are conveyed by the Jamaica and Leeward Island packets, the United States of America and British North American, 2*s.* 3*d.*

2. From and to Portugal, 2*s.* 7*d.*

3. From and to Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries, 2*s.* 8*d.*

4. From and to Carthagena, La Guayra, and Honduras, 3*s.* 1*d.*

5. From and to Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Chili, and all other places in South America, the mails for which are conveyed by the Brazil packet, 3*s.* 7*d.*

With respect to such of the above-mentioned letters as shall be conveyed by merchant-vessels leaving the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or arriving at those ports, the rate for which the French Post Office will have to account to the Post Office of Great Britain and Ireland, is fixed as follows; that is to say:—

For letters destined for France, 1*s.* 6*d.* for each single letter.

For letters coming from France, 1*s.* also for each single letter.

The postage of the letters from France for the countries beyond sea, mentioned in the present Article, which shall be conveyed by merchant-vessels leaving the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, shall be paid in advance, agreeably to the practice with respect to the letters sent from the United Kingdom.

Art. VII. The two Post Offices shall mutually account to each other for the postage received on letters, whether paid or unpaid, forwarded from one office to the other, according to the scale of postage in force in that one of the two countries to which the account is to be rendered.

Nevertheless, the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall account to the Post Office of France at the rate of a single rate of postage for each quarter of an ounce, on letters addressed to France, post paid, to their destination.

Art. VIII. English newspapers sent to France shall, like newspapers coming from other foreign post-offices in correspondence with France, and like French newspapers in France, be subject to a rate of only four centimes for each newspaper, to be paid by the receiver; and, reciprocally, French newspapers destined for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, shall be subject only to a postage equivalent to that of four centimes, and to be paid by the English receiver. The whole, however, upon the condition that on both sides the newspapers shall be printed in the language of the country in which they shall have been published; and that, with respect to them, the laws and decrees which regulate their publication and circulation shall have been duly complied with.

With regard to newspapers coming from foreign countries through the French territory, and destined for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the English Post Office shall pay to the French Post Office, for the conveyance of those newspapers through France, a postage of four centimes on every printed sheet.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of the French promises to use his good offices with the governments of those countries, of which the Post Offices are in relation with the Post Office of France, in order to procure for the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, whose correspondence with those countries passes through the French territory, the option reserved by Article I. of the present convention to the correspondence between France and the United Kingdom.

Art. X. Letters misdirected, or mis-sent, as well as letters addressed to persons who have changed their residence, shall be returned without delay to one of the offices of exchange belonging to the Post-office from which they have been forwarded, for a return of the postage at which they were delivered by that office to the office of the other country.

Art. XI. Dead letters of every description shall be mutually returned by each office at the expiration of every month, or oftener if possible; and those letters which shall have been charged in account, shall be returned for the same amount of postage which was originally charged for them by the office from which they were sent.

Art. XII. Independently of the respective offices for the exchange of letters for the two countries, which are established at Dover and Calais by Art. I. of the convention of June 14, 1833, and through which principally the correspondence between Great Britain and France shall continue to be forwarded, it is agreed that bags may be made up for the transmission of local correspondence between Brighton and Dieppe, Southampton, and Havre, and all other places on the coast of each of the two countries, for which such direct communications may hereafter be deemed necessary.

The inhabitants of the places above-mentioned shall have the option of paying in advance, or not, the postage of the letters which they may forward from one country to the other by the above-mentioned channels, in the same manner as stipulated by Art. I. of the present Convention.

Art. XIII. The transit postage through France on letters from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to those countries to which France is the channel of communication, and from those countries to the United Kingdom, shall continue as fixed by Article IX. of the Convention of the 17th May, 1802, with the exception of the undermentioned modifications, that is to say:—

1. Letters from Austria, and from the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, shall pay for every 30 grammes, net weight, independently of the sum of 1 franc 50 centimes, stipulated by the before-mentioned convention as transit postage through France, the sum of 1 franc 80 centimes, as a reimbursement to France of the sum paid to the Austrian Post-office for the conveyance of the said letters through Switzerland; making, in all, 3 francs and 30 centimes.

2. Letters from Turkey, from the Levant, from the Archipelago, and from Greece, shall pay for every 30 grammes, net weight, independently of the sum of 3 francs stipulated by the above-mentioned convention as transit postage through France, the sum of 3 francs 20 centimes, as a reimbursement to France of the sum paid to the

Austrian Post-office for the conveyance of the said letters through the Austrian territory and through Switzerland; making, in all, 6 francs, 20 centimes.

3. Letters from the Ionian islands shall pay for every 30 grammes, net weight, independently of the sum of 3 francs, stipulated by the above-mentioned convention as transit postage through France, the sum of 2 francs 40 centimes as a reimbursement to France of the sum paid to the Austrian Post-office for the transit of the said letters through the Austrian territory and through Switzerland; making, in all, 5 francs 40 centimes.

With respect to those foreign governments, the transit postage of whose correspondence is now paid to France by the Post-office of Great Britain, both going and returning, the French government engages, in the event of the renewal of any Post-office conventions with those governments, to demand that they should bear the charge of one of the rates of transit.

Art. XIV. The Post-offices of Great Britain and France shall, every month, balance their accounts for the mutual transmission of letters; and those accounts, after having been examined, compared, and settled by the Post-offices, shall be liquidated at the expiration of every three months by that Post-office which shall be acknowledged to be in debt to the other.

Art. XV. The form in which the accounts mentioned in the preceding article are to be made up, as well as the mode of verifying the account of the postage to be mutually accounted for by each office, and all other matters of detail which are to be arranged by mutual consent for ensuring the execution of the stipulations contained in the present convention, shall be settled between the Post-offices of the two countries as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the said convention.

It is also agreed that the measures of detail mentioned in the present article, may be modified by the two Post-offices whenever, by mutual consent, those Post-offices shall have decided that modifications would be beneficial to the Post-office service of the two countries.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties engage to recommend, with the least possible delay, the one to his parliament, and the other to the chambers, that they should be empowered to carry into execution such of the stipulations of the present convention as may not now be in conformity with the laws of the two countries respectively.

Art. XVII. The present convention is concluded for an indefinite period. If, at any future time, circumstances should render desirable any change or modification in any of its articles, the high-contracting parties will concert upon the subject; but it is understood that, unless by mutual consent, neither the convention, nor any of its stipulations, shall be invalidated or annulled without a previous notification of six months. During that term of six months, the convention shall continue to be fully and entirely carried into effect, without prejudice to the settlement and liquidation of the accounts between the two Post-offices after the expiration of the said term.

Art. XVIII. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, at the expiration of three months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done, in duplicate, at Paris, the 30th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1836.

GRANVILLE, (L.S.)
A. THIERS, (L.S.)

CIRCULATION OF COUNTRY NEWSPAPERS.

A RETURN has been published of the number of stamps issued in each month by the Stamp Office for all the newspapers in Great Britain, from 30th June, 1835, to 30th of April, 1836, specifying each newspaper by name, and the number of stamps issued each month during the above period. The principle on which the Return has been made is obviously better [illegible] it merely shewed the aggregate supply, as the apparent circulation of a single newspaper cannot be swelled by the receipt of a large quantity of stamps just previous to the accounts being made out. Nevertheless, the present Return is not entirely perfect; and in the subjoined list we have made corrections of the aggregate supply in the case of the "Manchester Guardian," "Liverpool Mercury," "Leeds Times," and "Sheffield Mercury." It will be seen that in several instances blanks occur in cases where the papers have nevertheless been in existence during the whole of the period which the Return comprises. It is stated that "this can only be accounted for by supposing they were included in the number of stamps taken out and returned as issued for other papers." A large number of stamps taken out by the "Liverpool Mercury" were supplied by an agent who furnishes the "Age" with stamps; and that paper has probably an excess of stamps put down in its name. The blank returns for some of the country papers may be accounted for in several cases by the fact of their being partly printed by a London newspaper proprietor at his office in London. These papers are of very small circulation. The following journals are published on this plan:—"Blackburn Standard," "Chatham Standard," "Dover Telegraph," "Gravesend Journal," "Greenwich Gazette," "Greenwich Guardian," "Leicester Herald," "West Kent Guardian," and "Devonport Standard." The defective nature of the Return is by this means in some degree satisfactorily explained, and becomes more worthy of attention. The number of country newspapers for which Returns are made is 165; the total number of stamps supplied to them is 7,019,947. This yields an average circulation of 966 per week; but as 57 newspapers have a circulation of from 1000 to upwards of 5000 per week, the remainder have a much lower average weekly circulation than 966. The "Leeds Mercury," "Stamford Mercury," "Manchester Guardian," and "Liverpool Mercury," all papers of the same political complexion, are at the head of the English provincial press, and rank in the order in which they are placed. There are 4 papers whose average weekly circulation exceeds 3000; 11 circulate 2000 and under 3000 per week; 12 above 1500 and under 2000; and 29 1000 and under 1500. The Returns of the London and Scotch newspapers will be published in a succeeding Number.

	Aggregate Supply of Stamps.	Weekly Circulation.
Bath Chronicle	51,000	1,159
Bath Herald	38,000	863
Bath Journal	22,500	511
Bath and Cheltenham Gazette	37,500	852
Bath Guardian	35,000	795
Berkshire Chronicle	27,500	622
Berwick Advertiser	19,000	431
Berwick and Kelso Warder	14,000	311
Birmingham Advertiser	20,850	473
Birmingham Gazette (Aris's)	110,000	2,500
Birmingham Journal	57,000	1,290
Birmingham Philanthropist	18,325	416
Blackburn Gazette	,,	,,
Blackburn Standard	,,	,,
Bolton Chronicle	9,000	204
Bolton Free Press	,,	,,
Boston and Lincoln Herald	7,500	170
Bradford Observer	35,000	795
Brighton Gazette	39,000	886
Brighton Guardian	32,000	727
Brighton Herald	22,000	500
Brighton Patriot	19,000	431
Bristol Gazette	20,000	451
Bristol Journal (Felix Farley's)	61,000	1,386
Bristol Mercury	36,500	829
Bristol Mirror	79,500	1,806
Bucks Gazette	11,500	261
Bucks Herald	13,600	309
Bury and Suffolk Herald	16,000	363
Bury and Norwich Post	60,000	1,363
Cambridge Chronicle	50,200	1,140
Carlisle Journal	55,000	1,250
Carlisle Patriot	32,950	748
Chatham Standard	,,	,,
Chelmsford Chronicle	85,000	1,931
Cheltenham Chronicle	24,500	556
Cheltenham Journal	16,000	363
Cheltenham Free Press	9,000	204
Chester Chronicle	54,000	1,227
Chester Courant	39,500	897

	Aggregate Supply of Stamps.	Weekly Circulation.
Colchester Gazette	15,000	340
Cornubian (Falmouth)	4,000	90
Cornwall Royal Gazette	25,500	579
Cornwall West Briton	51,300	1,165
County Press (Herts)	20,000	454
Coventry Herald	25,000	568
Coventry Mercury	15,000	340
Cumberland Pacquet	20,000	454
Derby Mercury	39,300	893
Derby and Chesterfield Reporter	27,000	611
Derbyshire Courier	16,000	363
Derbyshire Chronicle (commenced 1836)	9,000	,,
Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette	26,500	602
Devonport Independent	20,000	454
Devonport Telegraph	21,375	485
Devon (West) Standard	,,	,,
Devonshire Chronicle	15,900	361
Doncaster Gazette	63,000	1,432
Doncaster Chronicle (commenced 1836)	3,000	,,
Dorset County Chronicle	98,200	2,231
Dover Chronicle	5,000	113
Dover Telegraph	,,	,,
Durham Advertiser	22,025	500
Durham Chronicle	8,000	181
Essex Herald	,,	,,
Essex Standard	53,100	1,206
Exeter Flying Post	44,500	1,011
Exeter and Plymouth Gazette	67,025	1,523
Falmouth Packet	22,000	500
Gloucester Journal	63,000	1,431
Gloucester Chronicle	47,500	1,079
Gravesend Journal	,,	,,
Greenwich Gazette	12,000	272
Greenwich Guardian	,,	,,
Halifax and Huddersfield Express	12,250	278
Halifax Guardian	14,000	318
Hampshire Advertiser	61,000	1,386
Hampshire Chronicle	44,000	1,000
Hampshire Independent	45,700	1,038
Hampshire Telegraph	117,000	2,659
Hereford Journal	57,800	1,311
Hereford Times	31,000	704
Hull Advertiser	56,000	1,270
Hull Observer	7,500	170
Hull Packet	30,500	693
Hull Rockingham	20,000	454
Huntingdon Gazette	59,825	1,359
Ipswich Journal	127,250	2,892
Kendal Mercury	22,000	500
Kentish Chronicle	6,300	168
Kentish Gazette	33,000	750
Kentish Observer	30,000	681
Kent Herald	54,000	1,227
Lancaster Gazette	18,000	409
Leamington Spa Courier	25,050	569
Leamington Chronicle	18,000	409
Leeds Intelligencer	80,000	1,819
Leeds Mercury	255,000	5,795
Leeds Times	52,000	1,181
Leicester Chronicle	,,	,,
Leicester Herald	,,	,,
Leicester Journal	73,500	1,670
Lincolnshire Chronicle	44,000	1,000
Lincoln Gazette	23,500	534
Lincoln (Stamford) Mercury	220,000	5,000
Liverpool (Gore's) Advertiser	77,300	1,756
Liverpool (Myer's) Mercantile Advertiser	29,500	671
Liverpool Albion	97,500	2,211
Liverpool Chronicle	36,500	829
Liverpool Courier	40,500	920
Liverpool Journal	43,000	977
Liverpool Mercury	159,960	3,635
Liverpool Standard (twice a-week)	75,000	852
Liverpool Times	40,000	909
Macclesfield Herald	,,	,,
Maidstone Gazette	30,000	681
Maidstone Journal	38,000	881
Manchester and Salford Advertiser	64,000	1,454
Manchester Chronicle	22,000	500
Manchester Courier	,,	,,
Manchester Guardian	200,940	4,566
Manchester Herald	,,	,,
Manchester Times	92,000	2,113
Monmouthshire Merlin	28,050	637
Newcastle Courant	109,500	2,495
Newcastle Chronicle	89,497	2,034
Newcastle Journal	62,500	1,420
Newcastle Tyne Mercury	21,000	477
Norwich Mercury	80,000	1,818
Norfolk Chronicle	72,000	1,636
Northampton Mercury	68,000	1,545
Northampton Herald	48,500	1,102
Northampton Chronicle	16,500	375
Nottingham Review	53,000	1,204
Nottingham Journal	45,000	1,022
Nottingham and Newark Mercury	35,600	809
North Devon Advertiser	7,500	170
North Devon Journal	,,	,,
Oxford Journal	92,500	2,102
Oxford Herald	31,000	704
Plymouth Herald	21,500	488
Plymouth Journal	17,000	386
Preston Pilot	15,000	340
Preston Chronicle	11,000	250
Reading Mercury	88,000	2,000
Reformer and Herts Advertiser	19,900	452
Rochester Gazette	2,000	45
Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald	25,000	568
Salisbury and Winchester Journal	110,000	2,500
Salopian Journal	43,000	977
Sheffield Mercury	44,968	1,002
Sheffield Independent	31,375	713
Sheffield Iris	22,200	504
Sherborne and Yeovil Mercury	28,000	636
Sherborne and Dorchester Journal	,,	,,
Shrewsbury Chronicle	74,000	1,681
Staffordshire Advertiser	105,000	2,386
Staffordshire (Northern) Mercury	18,500	420
Stockport Advertiser	,,	,,
Suffolk Chronicle	,,	,,
Sunderland Herald	24,000	545
Surrey Chronicle	1,000	22
Sussex Advertiser	42,000	954
Taunton Courier	18,000	408
Warwick Advertiser	37,000	840
Western Luminary (Exeter)	22,500	511
Western Times (Exeter)	35,000	795
Westmorland Gazette	15,000	340
West Kent Guardian	,,	,,
West Riding (Wakefield) Herald	14,000	317
Whitehaven Herald	17,000	386
Windsor Express	27,600	627
Wolverhampton Chronicle	36,000	818
Worcester Herald	24,000	1,681
Worcester Journal	21,000	477
Worcestershire Guardian	13,050	296
York Herald	75,000	1,704
Yorkshire Gazette	67,500	1,534
York Courant	50,000	1,135
Yorkshireman	29,500	670
York Chronicle	14,000	318
Yorkshire Racing Calendar	1,650	375

CHARGES OF COLLECTION ON THE PUBLIC REVENUE, 1835.

Excise.

The total expenses of the Civil Department are 1,067,168*l.*; salaries and allowances are 747,455*l.*, viz.—salaries to officers on the establishment, 704,729*l.*; salaries to incidental officers, 18,330*l.*; salaries and allowances temporary, 24,395*l.* The day-pay to weighers, watchmen, tidewaiters, watermen, sitters, and boatmen, is 1855*l.*; allowances for special services and travelling charges, 17,611*l.*; sitting expenses of the country officers at the several places where the duties are collected, 9564*l.* Tradesmen's Bills, &c. are 3985*l.*, viz.—buildings and repairs of buildings, 2998*l.*; coals and candles, 1936*l.*; printing permits and paper labels, 7274*l.*; other bills, 5994*l.* The rent of offices, rates, taxes, and tithes is 15,646*l.*; law charges, 11,373*l.* Stationery, postage, &c. cost 29,169*l.*,

viz.—stationery, 554*l.*; postage, 20,429*l.*; carriage, ferriage, &c., 8195*l.* Superannuation, or retiring allowances, 99,311*l.*; superannuation, or retiring allowances to Irish officers residing in England, 867*l.*; compensation allowances upon abolition of office, per Act 3 Geo. IV. c. 113, 12,437*l.*; compensation allowances to Irish officers residing in England, 2989*l.*; incidents, being allowances to superannuated worn-out inferior officers of Excise, per Act 52 Geo. III. c. 81 and 82, 321*l.* Total superannuations, allowances, &c. as above, 115,927*l.*; from which deduct amount arising from abatement made from salaries of officers appointed subsequently to 4th August, 1829, and applied towards the payment of these allowances, 1831*l.*, reducing the sum to 114,096*l.* The allowances for offices abolished is 18,082*l.*; and gratuities and compensations, 360*l.* Other payments, 83,744*l.*; of which the principal are:—Expenses attending the revenue police, 39,191*l.*; expenses for suppressing illicit distillation, 4270*l.* removal of country officers, 3,832*l.*; payments on account of sales, being the officers' share, expenses, &c., 13,437*l.*; expenses incurred on unproductive seizures and searchers, 6903*l.*, and stamps for the use of the revenue, 4353*l.*, &c. &c. The total expense of cruisers is 5225*l.*; and those of the Civil Department being 1,067,166*l.*, make the total charges of collection on the Excise revenue of Great Britain 1,072,392*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.*

STAMPS.

Salaries and allowances, 86,797*l.*; poundage to distributors, 59,820*l.*; allowances for special services and travelling charges, 6216*l.*; tradesmen's bills, 2305*l.*; rents, rates, taxes, and tithes, 706*l.*; law charges, 6216*l.*; postage, carriage, &c., 15,215*l.*; superannuation, or retiring allowances, 7602*l.*; compensation to officers for loss of offices and for office abolished, 9114*l.*; other payments, 9821*l.* Total charge on the stamps revenue, 203,815*l.* 18*s.* 9½*d.*

TAXES.

Salaries and allowances, 38,0[illegible] poundage and percentage under Acts of Parliame[illegible] 10,230*l.*; allowances for travelling and other expen[illegible] 029*l.*; tradesmen's bills, 36*l.*; rates and taxes, 40[illegible] law charges, 2414*l.*; postage and carriage, 4408*l.*; superannuation, or retiring allowances, 3588*l.*; compensation to officers for loss of office, 23,801*l.*; other payments, 2574*l.*; church and corporation land-tax, 240*l.* Total charge on the revenue, 209,372*l.* 15*s.* 6¾*d.*

POST OFFICE.

Salaries and allowances, 244,509*l.* 13*s.* 4¾*d.* Salaries to the postmaster-general, officers and clerks in the London and Edinburgh offices, and wages and allowances to letter-carriers, messengers, &c., also in the Dublin office, 89,252*l.*; salaries and allowances to deputy-postmasters and agents in Great Britain and the Colonies, &c., also in Ireland, 114,576*l.*; salaries and wages to officers and letter-carriers in the twopenny post-office, 40,680*l.* The allowances for special services and travelling charges are 9039*l.* The conveyance of mails, transit postage, and payments for ship letters cost 260,539*l.* 11*s.* 10¾*d.*, viz.—Riding work and expresses by the deputy-postmasters in Great Britain and Ireland, 96,341*l.*; mileage to mail-coaches, wages to mail-guards, and other mail-coach expenses, 101,503*l.*; tolls paid on mail-coaches, 28,075*l.*; riding work and conveyance of mails in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Jamaica, 12,672*l.*; riding work of the twopenny post-office, 4219*l.*; transit postage through foreign countries, 9160*l.*; ship-letter payments, 8567*l.* The expense of the packet service, including Port dues, is 109,987*l.*; the tradesmen's bills, buildings and repairs, amount to 9975*l.*; rents, taxes, and tithes, to 4085*l.*; law charges, to 6912*l.*; stationery, printing, and postage, to 3539*l.*; superannuation allowances, to 15,071*l.*; and with deductions, to 14,312*l.*; the allowances for offices abolished are 11,670*l.*; and the allowance to Secretary of State's clerks, in consideration of the loss of their privilege of franking newspapers by the Acts of 9 Geo. III. c. 25, and 25 Geo. III. c. 60, is 2500*l.*; there are other payments which amount to 1565*l.* 10*s.* 3¾*d.*, making the charge of collection 678,837*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.*

TURNPIKE TRUSTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

A Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons to authorise the consolidation of the trusts of turnpike roads in England, "in order," as the preamble states, "to lessen the expense of the management and maintenance of turnpike roads." It is proposed by this Bill to appoint a Board of Commissioners, who are to have a common seal, and to be empowered to unite so many turnpike trusts as they may think fit to be consolidated, the management of such consolidated trusts to be placed in the hands of the Commissioners.* In order to show the financial state of the present turnpike trusts, there has been printed, by order of the House of Commons, "An Abstract of the General Statements of Income and Expenditure of the several Turnpike Trusts in the different counties of England and Wales, from 1st January, 1834, to 31st December, 1834." We shall give, in the first place, the aggregate amount for England and Wales under the various items exhibited by the abstract, and afterwards the most important items for each of the counties separately. The general state of the turnpike trusts, as exhibited under more than forty heads, is deduced from separate accounts, equally minute, of each of the 1108 trusts of England and Wales. The number of surveyors employed in England is 857, and there are 764 treasurers and 716 clerks; in Wales, 55 surveyors, 55 clerks, and 58 treasurers. In 1830, the number of trusts in England was 956, length 18,244 miles; in Wales there were, as at present, 69 trusts, and their total length was 2631 miles.

INCOME.	England.	Wales.
	£	£
Balance in treasurer's hands, 1st Jan. 1834	266,149	13,997
Revenue received from tolls	1,364,284	66,784
Parish composition in lieu of statute-duty	55,345	2,732
Estimated value of statute-duty performed	70,473	5,284
Revenue from fines	500	16
Revenue from incidental receipts	33,045	1,932
Amount of money borrowed on security of tolls	132,766	20,377
Total income	£1,656,417	£97,127
EXPENDITURE.		
Balance due to the treasurer, 1st January, 1834	121,401	5,614
Manual labour	362,760	21,673
Team labour & carriage of materials	128,815	3,127
Materials for surface repairs	210,942	6,105
Land purchased	19,272	912
Damage done in obtaining materials	9,651	366
Tradesmen's bills	64,975	2,123
Salaries of treasurers	6,230	494
Salaries of clerks	21,204	1,409
Salaries of surveyors	50,775	3,842
Law charges	26,565	2,323
Interest of debt	271,183	18,192
Improvements	190,266	26,885
Debts paid off	105,280	2,530
Incidental expenses	56,848	2,196
Estimated value of statute-duty performed	70,473	5,284
Total expenditure	£1,725,647	£103,083
DEBTS.	£	£
Bonded or mortgage debts	6,655,483	412,791
Rate of interest per cent.	4 to 5	4 to 5
Floating debts	258,075	15,861
Unpaid interest	964,249	38,006
Balance due to treasurer, 31st December, 1834	102,936	5,986
Total debts	£7,980,744	£472,646
ARREARS OF INCOME.	£	£
Arrears of tolls for current year	33,556	5,910
Arrears of parish composition for current year	8,913	228
Arrears of other receipts for current year	15,679	1,022
Arrears of former years	31,761	6,502
Balance in treasurer's hands, 31st December, 1834	299,854	14,027
Total assets	£389,765	£27,691

* The Bill has been withdrawn for the present Session.

ENGLAND.	No. of Trusts.	Revenue received from Tolls.	Total Income.	Total Expenditure.	Total Debts.
Bedford	18	£12,689	£16,902	£18,932	£59,215
Berks	15	15,813	22,228	16,557	59,925
Bucks	14	18,554	21,020	18,952	56,995
Cambridge	13	12,099	13,842	12,621	47,097
Chester	35	51,066	63,742	66,456	329,259
Cornwall	13	14,351	24,004	23,895	101,726
Cumberland	14	14,458	17,365	17,658	128,106
Derby	40	31,084	38,920	41,819	413,620
Devon	28	49,398	61,374	61,786	477,564
Dorset	17	19,937	25,002	24,281	132,901
Durham	19	27,923	38,199	36,614	129,963
Essex	11	29,178	34,504	39,557	24,322
Gloucester	48	67,669	76,705	80,123	386,679
Hants	36	24,637	28,035	26,560	152,265
Hereford	14	15,913	19,418	20,978	57,202
Hertford	11	26,601	29,641	28,581	69,393
Huntingdon	7	9,256	12,176	11,909	25,089
Kent	50	60,839	68,754	65,688	307,832
Lancaster	62	123,126	141,175	162,881	946,189
Leicester	24	24,381	29,307	33,987	97,105
Lincoln	29	28,265	36,138	33,962	128,229
Middlesex	7	91,760	96,744	101,498	192,335
Monmouth	11	11,223	13,962	16,011	90,944
Norfolk	14	9,797	14,016	13,322	54,976
Northampton	26	32,424	38,999	40,531	140,992
Northumberland	13	16,143	24,376	23,050	166,599
Nottingham	22	16,218	19,751	24,245	130,360
Oxford	21	24,636	33,885	29,816	109,962
Rutland	4	3,757	6,406	6,081	12,307
Salop	39	26,298	38,720	38,541	121,318
Somerset	22	52,933	69,654	73,185	329,658
Stafford	48	48,553	57,151	58,263	305,014
Suffolk	15	9,925	13,271	14,620	36,159
Surrey	20	57,011	59,283	59,822	193,074
Sussex	50	44,609	51,089	55,271	345,398
Warwick	33	26,785	33,116	32,611	117,481
Westmorland	10	6,873	7,538	10,068	62,361
Wilts	32	32,672	37,147	39,276	206,080
Worcester	22	29,644	39,847	42,525	128,178
York	117	147,599	182,997	201,098	1,116,651
WALES.					
Anglesey	2	5,838	6,375	6,266	18,546
Brecknock	1	4,174	5,006	5,506	38,454
Caernarvon	4	4,059	4,778	4,734	21,558
Cardigan	2	2,595	2,721	2,757	13,796
Carmarthen	11	10,616	22,367	22,569	95,550
Denbigh	6	3,492	4,034	3,906	13,356
Flint	14	10,706	13,918	16,211	81,384
Glamorgan	12	10,281	10,734	12,752	77,008
Merioneth	6	2,843	3,628	3,982	15,393
Montgomery	5	8,635	18,139	18,856	62,126
Pembroke	4	1,757	2,074	2,220	18,236
Radnor	2	1,582	3,347	3,318	17,233

THE COAL TRADE.

A series of Accounts has been published in a Parliamentary Return, shewing—1. The quantities of coal, culm, and cinders shipped coastways at the different ports of the United Kingdom in the years 1834 and 1835. 2. The quantities exported in the above years, distinguishing the countries to which the same were sent; also—3, distinguishing the ports of the United Kingdom from which the same were shipped. 4. The rate and amount of duty on the quantities exported in 1835; and 5. An account of the quantity of coals brought coastwise, and by inland navigation into the port of London in the years 1834 and 1835. The following is an abstract of these Accounts, omitting places of secondary importance.—

1. The Exports coastwise to other ports of the United Kingdom consisted of 5,822,561 tons in 1834; and 6,117,093 tons in 1835; and the chief places of shipping were—

	1834. Tons.	1835. Tons.
Newcastle	2,022,226	2,266,531
Sunderland	952,087	929,187
Stockton	623,484	677,941
Newport	427,681	443,651
Whitehaven	354,524	354,098
Swansea	345,367	361,417
Irvine, North Britain	122,949	147,949
Cardiff	120,774	123,279
Borrowstoness	117,130	110,616
Goole	105,618	121,445
Llanelly	94,150	86,080
Glasgow	87,083	77,913
Grangemouth	80,880	76,675
Chester	75,163	79,207
Air	56,189	53,432

2. The foreign Export of coal amounted to 615,255 tons in 1834—declared value, 220,746*l.*; in 1835, to 736,060 tons—declared value, 244,816*l.*

Principal countries to which exported.	1834. Tons.	1835. Tons.
Holland	94,447	115,138
Denmark	72,188	83,109
Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney & Man	63,182	68,482
France	59,690	104,136
British North American Colonies	55,201	38,565
Germany	50,258	66,055
British West Indies	43,617	61,654
United States of America	39,855	19,585
Russia	35,214	42,061
Prussia	23,781	43,675
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira	13,714	11,981
Italy	12,587	6,377
Sweden	110,658	16,076

3. Ports from whence the largest quantities were exported:—

	1834. Tons.	1835. Tons.
Newcastle	230,342	313,107
Sunderland	149,956	154,638
Liverpool	59,078	61,542
Borrowstoness	22,273	23,640
Swansea	20,419	23,741
Whitehaven	18,121	19,606
London	17,056	20,353
Greenock	14,710	13,998
Hull	12,161	10,078
Stockton	9,988	26,840
Bristol	5,340	7,294

4. The duty on coal, cinders, and culm exported in British ships, or ships of countries with which a treaty of reciprocity has been concluded, is—to British possessions, free; to foreign countries, 10*s.* per cent. *ad valorem*; if exported in foreign ships, not entitled to the privileges conferred by treaties of reciprocity, the duty is 4*s.* per ton, whether to foreign countries or to British possessions. At the rated duty of 4*s.* per ton, 5,480*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* duty was paid in 1835; and the duty of 10*s.* per cent., *ad valorem*, produced 747*l.* The distinction between large and small coals has not been observed at the Custom-house since August 6th, 1834, when an Act came into operation, by which the duty chargeable on both descriptions was made the same.

5. The coals brought coastwise, and by inland navigation into the port of London, in 1834, were 2,080,547 tons; in 1835, the quantity was 2,299,816 tons.

CUSTOMS' DUTIES.

The gross amount of Customs' Duties collected in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the years ending Jan. 5, 1835 and 1836, was as follows:—

	1835.	1836.
England	£17,912,978	£19,614,974
Scotland	1,441,245	1,529,810
Ireland	1,757,142	2,016,149

The net receipt exhibits the produce after deducting re-payment of trade vouchers, officer's expenses, and incidental charges. The net amount remitted in the above years was as follows:—

	1835.	1836.
England	£15,918,843	£17,579,960
Scotland	1,090,485	1,199,292
Ireland	1,484,988	1,743,642

The following was the gross receipt at the re[illegible] ports named in the above-mentioned years:—

	1835.	1836.
London	£10,697,263	£11,773,616
Liverpool	3,846,306	4,272,847
Bristol	1,072,106	1,177,687
Hull	682,008	720,870
Newcastle	286,916	289,508
Gloucester	131,105	150,464
Plymouth	94,495	93,462
Dovor	60,897	52,714
Portsmouth	55,153	51,887
Falmouth	21,661	19,157
Southampton	46,825	49,806
Stockton	47,870	51,487
Sunderland	65,284	62,626

	1835.		1836.
Whitehaven	86,063		96,079
Yarmouth	64,410		56,814
Greenock	482,138	448,661	
Glasgow	270,667 893,089	314,701	888,524
Port Glasgow	140,284	125,162	
Leith	386,905		489,851
Aberdeen	54,581		53,835
Dundee	48,592		45,609
Dublin	768,632		918,801
Belfast	289,024		357,974
Cork	198,089		217,788
Limerick	136,910		142,843
Waterford	125,028		135,844
Londonderry	87,469		100,088
Newry	51,083		54,081
Galway	38,308		31,133
Sligo	34,915		33,703

JOINT-STOCK BANKS.

The following Circular has been addressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons on Joint Stock Banks, to the Directors of each of these Establishments:—

(Copy). Downing-street, May 21, 1836.

Gentlemen,—In pursuance of a Resolution of the House of Commons, adopted unanimously on the 13th instant, a Committee has been appointed "to inquire into the operation of the Act 7th Geo. IV. cap. 46, permitting the establishment of Joint Stock Banks under certain restrictions, and to examine whether it be expedient to make any alterations in the provisions of that Act." Of that Committee I have the honour to be Chairman, and at the first meeting I was requested to obtain from the joint stock banks such information as may enable the Committee to execute the duties confided to them by the Legislature.

As it was considered just to the parties concerned that the Committee appointed should be one of secrecy, for the purpose of avoiding any disclosure of private transactions not required by the public interest, in place of addressing to you the usual order of the Committee, issued under the power and authority of the House of Commons, it has been judged more advisable this communication should be addressed to the joint stock banks by me as Chairman, and that your reply should be addressed, under cover, to "the Chancellor of the Exchequer," and marked "Confidential Bank Returns." I enclose two papers, calling your attention to the particular points on which the Committee require information, and you will be so good as to fill up the Returns with as little delay as possible.

The amount of Liabilities and Assets (No. II.) should, if possible, be furnished from the *three* last half-yearly periods to which your accounts are made up; and the answer to the questions in No. I., may be made in reference to your period of balance. This may, I hope, diminish the trouble imposed upon you, and the returns called for may also limit the examination of witnesses.

You will not hold yourself precluded from adding any explanation not coming within the scope of these inquiries: and I can assure you that while I place every confidence in the zeal and readiness with which you will promote the objects of this inquiry, it is at the same time the earnest desire of the Committee so to govern their proceedings as most to conduce to the convenience of all parties concerned.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.
(Signed) T. SPRING RICE.

No. I.

1. Name of the bank and date of commencement.
2. Number and situation of branches, and distance of each from the parent establishment.
3. Amount of nominal capital.
4. Number of shares and nominal value of each share.
5. Number of shares issued.
6. Amount of paid up capital.
7. Date of the several calls for paid up capital, and amount of the several instalments paid up.
8. Number of shares, if any, which may have been forfeited for non-payment of instalments.
9. Rate of declared dividend.
10. Variations in rate of dividend, and date of such variations.
11. Date of deed of settlement and number of persons who have signed such deed.
12. Copy of deed of settlement when it has been printed and published.
13. Copies of the last reports and accounts laid before the proprietors. A statement of the nature of the audit and examination to which the accounts are subjected, and of the responsibility under which such reports are prepared.
14. Statement whether the Bank holds any and what amount of its own shares or stock, either in trust as security for advances, or in its own right.
15. Places at which promissory notes and bank post bills are made payable.
16. At what date or sight bank post bills are issued.
17. Rate of interest paid by the bank, whether on deposits or balances of accounts.
18. Variations in such rate, and date of such variations.
19. Date to which the account is made up.

No. II.—LIABILITIES.

Amount of promissory notes payable on demand	£
Bank post bills	
Other original bills drawn or accepted by the Bank	
Bills bearing the endorsement, or guaranteed by the Bank	
Deposits.—1. Bearing interest, and at what rate.	
2. Not bearing interest	
Balance of accounts current due from the Bank	
1. Bearing interest, what rate	
2. Not bearing interest	
Total liabilities	£

ASSETS.

Cash, in coin and Bank of England notes	£
Stock.—1. Government Stock, Exchequer Bills, Bank Stock, India Stock, or Bonds	
2. All other stock or shares in public companies, distinguishing the amount (if any) of its own shares or stock, held by the Bank itself, or in trust for the Bank	
Bills of Exchange—distinguishing the amount, if any, over due	
Total assets	£

ECCLESIASTICAL REVENUES (IRELAND).

THE following documents were introduced by Lord Morpeth, in the course of his speech on Irish Tithes, June 3rd:—

I. CHURCH TEMPORALITIES ACT, 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 37. Revenues as at present contemplated to arise from

1. Produce of suppressed sees	£50,780
2. Reduction of the bishopric of Derry, immediate and prospective	6,160
3. Future reduction of Armagh see	4,500
4. Glebe-house loan instalments, repayable for the next fifteen years	7,500
5. Tax on continuing bishoprics	4,600
6. Tax on incumbents of benefices	7,300
7. Interest at 4*l.* per cent. on 1,050,000*l.*, to arise from sale of perpetuities	42,000

N.B. Of the 1,200,000*l.* calculated to arise from sale of perpetuities by the ecclesiastical commissioners (but estimated by Mr. Finlaison, the Government actuary, to amount to 1,507,050*l.*), there has been realised and disbursed by the commissioners 150,000*l.*; but the interest of the residue thereof, amounting to 1,050,000*l.*, will, at the rate of 4*l.* per cent., produce an annual permanent sum, as above specified.

8. Income of benefices, suspended under the non-celebration service clause, for the three years to February, 1833 . . . . Nil

Carried forward . . . £122,840

Brought forward . . .	£122,840
II. Act to alter and amend Church Temporalities Act, 4 and 5 Will. IV. c. 90.	
9. From 38 dignities, without cure, and 49 prebends, without cure of souls, after deducting the expenses of collection, and making other abatements and deductions	8,000
N.B. This Act provides that in the case of any person holding any dignity or office under the rank of an archbishopric or bishopric, and not having cure of souls in any parish appropriated thereto, the appointment to such dignity or office may, on the next avoidance, be suspended, which is the case of the aforesa. 38 dignities and 49 prebends.	
	£130,840
III. The Present Tithe Bill.	
10. The 77th clause saves existing interests, but vests the property belonging to minor canons and vicars choral in the ecclesiastical commissioners (some of which offices are reported by the revenue commissioners to be complete sinecures); and after providing for such of these offices as have duties, and are necessary to be upheld, authorises the surplus arising from such estates, amounting to an entire sum of 22,624*l.*, to be carried to the general fund, which surplus is estimated to amount to	4,000
11. The 79th clause provides that the sinecure tithes disappropriated from *all* dignities (having cure) may, instead of being given to the vicars or perpetual curates, if otherwise sufficiently endowed, be carried to the general fund, under the administration of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; the revenue arising from which, after making all necessary deductions and abatements, is estimated to amount to . .	5,300
	£ 139,140

The Revenues contemplated to arise from the combined provisions of the Church Temporalities Act, the Amendment Act, and the present Tithe Bill, therefore, amount to 139,140*l.*

Application of this Revenue.

The charges which the foregoing fund of £139,140 is designed to meet will be as follow:—	
1. When the churches shall have been put into complete repair, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners report that the future repair of them will require an annual sum of . . .	£25,000
Other expenses formerly defrayed by vestry cess, they state, will require	35,000
2. Expenses of the Commission . . .	10,000
3. Interest on 100,000*l.* advanced the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in way of loan, at 4 per ct.	4,000
	£74,000
4. Building of churches, as estimated by Earl Grey	20,000
5. Building of glebe-houses, as estimated by Earl Grey	10,000
6. To repayment of the loan of 100,000*l.*, by annual instalments, for the next five years, of	20,000
	£124,000
There will remain, therefore, to meet deficiencies in the items as above specified, which must increase as the building of churches increases; for the other objects of the Commission, and for the additional clerks which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are authorised to employ to carry the provisions of the Tithe Bill into effect, a residue of	15,140
	£139,140

By the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, it appears that there are 1,385 ecclesiastical benefices in Ireland at the present time; but should a new distribution of ecclesiastical benefices take place, it is proposed to reduce the number to 1,250, with an average net income of 294*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Of these 1,385 benefices there are—

Without any Protestants.	Where the Protestant Population does not exceed, or is less than				
	5 Persons.	10 Persons.	15 Persons.	20 Persons.	25 Persons.
Class I. 41	Class II. 20	Class III. 23	Class IV. 31	Class V. 23	Class VI. 27

The details of the proposed 1,250 benefices, with the average amount of clerical incomes under the present Bill, are these. There will be—

675 benefices, containing more than 50 and less than 500 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of 200*l.* arising from rent-charge, and 45*l.* arising from thirty statute acres of glebe, valued at 30*s.** per acre; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—

Rent charges . .	£135,000	
Glebe lands . .	30,373	
Total . .		£165,373

211 benefices, containing more than 500, and less than 1,000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of 300*l.* from rent-charge, and 45*l.* from thirty statute acres of glebe, valued at 30*s.** per acre; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class, amount to—

Rent charges . .	£63,300	
Glebe lands . .	9,495	
Total . .		£72,795

190 benefices, containing more than 1,000, and less than 3,000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of 400*l.* from rent-charge, and 45*l.* from thirty statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class, amount to—

Rent charges . .	£76,000	
Glebe lands . .	8,550	
Total . .		£84,550

51 benefices, containing more than 3,000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of 500*l.* from rent-charge, and 45*l.* from thirty statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class, amount to—

Rent charges . .	£25,500	
Glebe land . .	2,295	
Total . .		£27,795

And if to these be added the 123 benefices, containing less than 50 Protestants; to each of which may be assigned an income of 100*l.* from rent-charge, and 45*l.* from thirty statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to

Rent-charges .	£12,300	
Glebe lands .	5,535	
Total . . .		17,835
1250 benefices requiring an entire sum of .		£368,338

thereby making the average net income of the 1250 benefices amount to 294*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

	Benefices.	Of Income.	Population.	Acres.	Square Miles.
England and Wales	10,718	£285	1,014	3,460	5
Scotland . . .	900	240	2,770	21,048	32
Presbyterians of Ulster . . .	300	155	2,500	15,903	40
Established Church in Ireland . .	1,250	295	681	10,000	13 to 14

* The value of the glebe-lands is taken at 30*s.* per statute acre, as the glebes to be assigned the clergy will consist wholly of profitable land, rent-free, which is about the average acreable value of the profitable glebes in Ireland at present.

The preceding table is given for the purpose of comparing the incomes, &c., of the Irish clergy under the Ministerial Bill, with the incomes of the English and other clergy.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

The Sixteenth Report of the Committee on Public Petitions has been printed, and comprises from the 16th to the 20th of May, up to which period the following is an account of petitions presented since the commencement of the Session:—

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
Carlow County Election	1	201
Registration of Voters	26	975
Ecclesiastical.		
Bishopric of Durham Bill, against	20	7,836
Church of Ireland Bill, against	2	51
Church Building Materials, for remission of duty on	11	2,669
Church Rates	5	3,126
Jews, against relief	1	1
Lord's Day Bill, in favour	909	130,455
Marriages and Registration of Births, &c., Bill	1	19
Tithes (Ireland), for abolition	73	42,843
Colonies.		
Canada, from the Commons of Lower Canada, signed by the Speaker	1	1
East and West India Produce	10	873
East India Salt	7	947
Taxes.		
Building Societies	12	624
Charitable Bequests	4	197
Cotton Wool	1	53
Joint Stock Banking Companies	1	2
Land Tax (Scotland)	1	1
Marine Insurances	37	4,128
Newspaper Stamps, repeal of duty	436	210,237
Post Horses and Carriages	2	47
Spirit Licenses	152	1,595
Stamp Duties Bill, for alteration	2	42
Statute Labour (Scotland)	8	1,489
Miscellaneous.		
Bankrupts' Estate (Scotland) Bill, against	1	1
Civil Bill Courts (Ireland) Bill, against	13	1,346
Coal Trade	1	7
Copyholds, &c. Bills, against	13	65
Criminal Laws, for limiting capital punishments	41	3,383
Danish Claims	2	268
Excise Licenses (Ireland) Bill, in favour	20	1,974
Factories Regulation Act, for amendment	74	100,398
Herring Fishery	1	27
Joint Stock Banks	1	1
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Bill, in favour	11	16,070
Medical Practitioners, coroners' inquests	29	1,684
Patents for Inventions, for an alteration of the law	2	16
Poor Law Amendment Act, relative to workhouses	47	918
Poor Laws (Ireland)	8	4,485
Poor Relief (Ireland)	1	244
Prisoners (Scotland)	8	39
Salmon Fisheries (Scotland)	3	6
Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Bill, against	38	1,480
Spirit Licenses (Ireland), against grocers having spirit licenses	9	659
State of Ireland	1	933
Steam Navigation Companies	1	60
Turnpike Trusts Consolidation, for compensation	1	17
Turnpike Trusts Consolidation Bill, against	15	172

LIBRARY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In 1834 it was resolved that a Standing Committee of sixteen Members be appointed, and be renewed at the commencement of each Session, to assist the Speaker in the direction of the Library. The Report of the Committee appointed in February last has recently been printed, and is as follows:—

"The limited space allotted to the Library in the present building has prevented any extensive purchase of books during the recess. Such additions have, however, been made as were more urgently required; and no opportunity has been allowed to pass of procuring works which were more particularly of a Parliamentary nature. Some law books and works of general history have also been added. It is the opinion of the Committee that Mr. Speaker should continue, at his discretion, to replace the books lost by the fire of 1834, in such a manner as to ensure an adequate Library by the time that any new building shall be erected: this arrangement being the best plan for ensuring an economical supply, and a choice of the best copies which may come into the market during the intervening period.

"An arranged set of Reports of the Commissioners on Charities, divided into counties, and accompanied with an Index to each county, has been placed in the Library, and affords the most ready method of rendering available the information contained in the twenty-nine Reports which had been presented up to the time when the Act, under which those Commissioners were employed, expired in 1834.

"Your Committee in 1835 reported that the Index to the Acts from 1800 to 1834 had been destroyed. Of that work the portion from 1800 to 1829 was in print, and the portion for the subsequent years was added in MS. This Index has been recompiled, and a copy in MS. is now on the Table of the House as well as in the Library. This work has been performed in pursuance of the orders of the Committee.

"The Librarian was directed to resume the compilation of the Index to Local and Personal Acts, which was also destroyed in the fire of 1834, "as soon as circumstances would permit." Some progress has been made in the work, but not sufficient to enable the Committee to consider that the Index can be printed before 1837.

"Considerable progress has been made by Messrs. Hansards in the Index to Reports, and Indexes to several subjects have been printed. They will, when finished, be the means of opening easily the information contained in the Reports of the House of Commons, to which at present the access is difficult, owing to the absence of any means of reference.

"In pursuance of the Report of the Library Committee in 1835, the Librarian, under the superintendence of Mr. Speaker, has been employed in preparing for publication the General Index to the Journals, 1820 to 1834, for which purpose an office has been taken, and several clerks engaged. Such progress has been made in the work as renders it necessary for your Committee to establish the mode of payment.

"The Select Committee appointed in 1818 reported—"That a General Index to the Journals from 1800 to 1820 should be formed; that Mr. Speaker should appoint a person to carry the same into effect; and that the best mode of payment was a fixed payment per volume; and that 600*l.* per volume (or 12,000*l.* for the whole work) was a proper remuneration. The sum to be advanced partly during the progress of the work, the balance on the production of the volume." This plan was considered the best mode of ensuring expedition and economy.

"The opinions above stated were sanctioned by the aurity of a Select Committee in 1825. Both Committees reported on the necessity of the Index being in future compiled annually.

"The Library Committee of 1835, having examined the state of the work, reported that it had become desirable that the Index should be printed, as the bulk of the volume, owing to the increase of business from 1820 to 1834, would exceed considerably in extent the General Index to the Journals from 1800 to 1820. The following Table proves this fact:—

Number of Pages in Annual Indexes to Journals, 1800 to 1820, compared with those in 1820 to 1834:—

1800 to 1820	1050 pages.
1820 to 1834	1382 "
Average for the twenty years, 1800 to 1820,	52 pages per annum.
Average for the fifteen years, 1820 to 1834,	98 "

"The Select Committee of 1825 proposed a scale of payment which would have produced the volume now under consideration for the sum of 3600*l.*; and this might possibly have been effected had not the following causes disturbed the calculation on which such a presumed result was founded:—

"1st. The labour of the Index has been nearly doubled from the increase of business transacted in the House,—a fact reported on by the Library Committee of last year, and proved by reference to the preceding Table.

"2nd. In the fire of the Houses of Parliament, in 1834, though the volumes of alphabetical Index were saved, the digested headings of proceedings of the House, which were necessarily kept separate, were destroyed; as also papers of reference and queries for alterations which had arisen from time to time. The loss of the digested headings has rendered it necessary to re-compile that portion of the Index. The loss of the papers of reference has in like manner entailed a tedious re-examination of the whole work.

"An arrangement has been made which leads to the following gratifying result:—While the Index from 1800 to 1820 was formed at an expense of 12,000*l.*, the present work, if completed on the same plan, would, taking into consideration also the increased matter, have required an expenditure of nearly 16,000*l.*; the volume now in preparation, exhibiting a much larger quantity of Index matter than that in the preceding volume, will be completed for 6000*l.*, including the cost of compilation. And it has been practicable to enter into this arrangement, notwithstanding the destruction of a considerable portion of the MSS. by the fire."

PAPER DUTIES.

The following Resolutions, moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were agreed to on Tuesday, June 21. The Committee of Ways and Means was empowered to make provisions therein pursuant to the first Resolution. A Bill on the subsequent Resolutions was ordered to be brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

1. "That the duty now payable on newspapers shall be reduced, and that the following duty shall be paid and payable thereon—that is to say, for every sheet or piece of paper whereon any newspaper shall be printed, a duty of 1*d.*, subject to such provisions respecting the size of newspapers, and the printing of supplements, as may be provided by any Act to be passed during the present Session of Parliament.

2. "That the duties and drawbacks on paper printed, stained, or painted, in the United Kingdom, should cease and determine.

3. "That the duties now payable on paper, and other articles of paper or materials of the first class, made in the United Kingdom, should cease and determine; and that, in lieu thereof, the duty now payable on paper of the second class, shall be charged and paid on all paper, glazed paper, sheathing-paper, buttonboard, millboard, pasteboard, and scaleboard, of whatever kind or description, made in the United Kingdom.

4. "That the allowance and drawbacks on paper, glazed paper, sheathing-paper, button-paper, buttonboard, millboard, pasteboard, and scaleboard, and on books, now payable, shall be reduced to the amount of the duty now payable on second-class paper.

5. "That for every dozen square yards of paper, printed, painted, or stained, in the United Kingdom, which shall be exported as merchandise to foreign parts, there be granted and paid, in respect of the paper-duty charged thereon, a drawback of 2*d.*"

SUGAR DUTIES.

In a Committee of Ways and Means on Thursday, June 23rd, the following Resolutions were moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and agreed to. A Bill for carrying the same into effect was ordered to be brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the following duties shall be paid on the importation of sugar on and from the 5th day of July, 1836, for a time to be limited, and under such regulations and conditions as shall be provided by any Act to be passed in this Session of Parliament (that is to say):

Sugar, viz.—	£.	s.	d
—— Brown, or Muscovado or Clayed Sugar, not being refined, the cwt.	3	3	0
—— the growth of any British Possession in America, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	4	0
—— the growth of any British Possession within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, into which the importation of Foreign Sugar may be prohibited by law, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	4	0
—— the growth of any other British Possession within those limits, and imported from thence, the cwt.	1	12	0
—— Molasses, the cwt.	1	3	9
—— the produce of and imported from any British Possession, the cwt.	0	9	0
—— Refined, the cwt.	8	8	0
—— Candy, Brown, the cwt.	5	12	0
—— White, the cwt.	8	8	0

RAILWAYS.

CLAUSE PROPOSED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO BE INSERTED IN RAILWAY BILLS.

"Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed, deemed, or taken to extend to exempt the railroad to be formed under or by virtue of the powers in and by this Act contained and given, or any branch thereof, from the provisions of any general Act or general Acts for the regulation of railroads which may be passed with a view to the advantage, protection, and security of the public, before the expiration of one year from the passing of this Act, if Parliament shall be sitting at the expiration of such period of one year, or (if Parliament shall not then be sitting) before the end of the then next Session of Parliament."

FACTORIES' REGULATION ACT.

The following notice is taken from *The London Gazette* of June 24th:—

"As all the clauses of the Factories' Regulation Act are now in full operation, the inspectors of factories deem it expedient, in order to remove any doubt as to the employment of children subject to restricted hours of labour, to issue the following notice:—

"1st. No child under nine years of age can be employed in any cotton, flax, or wool factory.—Sec. 7.

"2nd. No child between nine and thirteen years of age can be employed, or even allowed to remain in such factory, without the certificate of a physician or surgeon, countersigned by a magistrate or inspector of factories, certifying in the form set forth in the 13th section the strength and appearance of such child.—Secs. 11, 12, and 13.

"3rd. No child between nine and thirteen years of age can be employed in such factory, without producing weekly a schoolmaster's certificate that the "child has, for two hours at least, for six out of seven days of the week next preceding, attended his school, excepting in cases of sickness, to be certified in such manner as such inspector may appoint, and in case of any holiday, and in case of absence from any other cause allowed by such inspector, or by any justice of the peace in the absence of the inspector."—Sec. 21.

"4th. No child between nine and thirteen years of age can be employed, or even allowed to remain in such factory longer than forty-eight hours in any one week, and not more than nine hours in any one day.—Secs. 8 and 24.

"5th. No child under thirteen years of age can be employed in any silk-mill more than ten hours in any one day.

"The above, and all other provisions of the Factories' Regulation Act, together with all orders and regulations issued by the inspectors in their several districts under the authority of this Act (3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 103, passed the 29th of August, 1833) must be strictly observed in the mills and factories subject to the said Act."

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

BILLS WHICH HAVE RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT.

June 7.

Consolidated Fund Bill.
West India Judicature Bill.
Slavery Abolition (Jamaica) Bill.
Seamen's Fund (Shetland) Bill.
Universal Life Assurance Society Bill.
Birmingham Coal Company Bill.
Imperial Continental Gas Association Bill.
Brandling Railway Bill.
Dukinfield Water Bill.
Teignmouth Improvement and Water Bill.
Carlisle Docks Bill.
Dundee Harbour Bill.
Grampound Road Bill.
Mackenzie's Estate Bill.
Gartside's Estate Bill.
South Petherton (Somerset) Inclosure Bill.
Claremont's Naturalization Bill.

June 21.

Postage Duties Bill.
Ecclesiastical Leases Bill.
Bastards Testaments (Scotland) Bill.
Wandsworth Chapel Marriages Bill.
Perlethorpe Chapelry Bill.
London and Dovor Railway Bill.
Bishopric of Durham Bill.
Letter Stealing (Scotland) Bill.
Insolvent Debtors (Ireland) Bill.
Bristol Damages Compensation Bill.
Tweed Fisheries Bill.
Newcastle and North Shields Railway Bill.
Cheltenham and Great Western Railway Bill.
Birmingham, Bristol, and Thames Junction Railway Bill.
York and North Midland Railway Bill.
Greenwich Improvement Bill
Hungerford Market Bill.
Newport (Monmouth) Harbour Bill.
Gloucester Water Bill.
Cow Cawzey and Buckton Burn Road Bill.
Birstall and Huddersfield Road Bill.
Earl of Murray's Estate Bill.
Midland Counties Railway Bill.
Hull and Selby Railway Bill.
Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff Railway Bill.
Deptford Pier Railway Bill.
Newton Abbot Road Bill.
Newry Navigation Bill.
Ulster Canal Bill.
Beverley Pastures Bill.
Newton Bushell Road Bill.
Teignmouth and Dawlish Road Bill.
Marlborough and Salisbury Road Bill.
White's Estate Bill.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

June 6. Bill for the visitation and regulation of the Universities of Scotland, by *Lord Melbourne.*

— 21. Bill for the more effectually enforcing Church discipline, by the *Lord Chancellor.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

May 30. Bill to facilitate the recovery of certain arrears of highway-rates and composition in lieu of statute-duty.

June 2. Bill to amend the law in ecclesiastical matters, and to consolidate and amend the Courts for the probate of wills, and granting letters of administration throughout England and Wales.

— 9. Bill to repeal two Acts relative to the period of the execution and the prison discipline of persons convicted of the crime of murder.

— Bill to abolish sinecure and useless offices in the Superior Courts of Common Law, and to provide a more uniform establishment of offices, and to fix and regulate the fees.

— 14. Bill for relief of his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion.

— 15. Bill for the regulation of Benefit Building Societies.

— Bill to provide for the attendance and remuneration of medical witnesses at coroners' inquests.

— Bill to extend the protection of copyrights in prints and engravings to Ireland.

— 17. Bill to consolidate the trusts of several turnpike-roads in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and to substitute a local rate for the present tolls.

— 20. Bill to amend the laws relating to letters-patent for inventions, and for the better encouragement of arts and manufactures.

June 20. Bill declaring the law as to the day for presenting to the acceptor or others bills of exchange which have been dishonoured.

— 21. Bill to continue for a limited time the laws for the relief of insolvent debtors in England.

— Bill for the better defining and establishing the powers and jurisdiction of his Majesty's Consuls in the Ottoman dominions.

— 22. Bill to prevent the fact of a previous conviction being given in evidence to the jury on the case before them, except when evidence to character is given.

— Bill for the better regulation of the Corporation of the Trinity House in Hull.

— 23. Bill for the more convenient division of counties into polling districts for the election of Members of Parliament, and for taking the poll in one day.

— Bill to repeal the duties and drawbacks of Excise on paper, printed, painted or stained, in the United Kingdom; and to reduce the duties, allowances, and drawbacks on paper, buttonboard, millboard, and scaleboards made in the United Kingdom of the first class; and to discontinue the Excise survey on the manufacturers of certain articles made from paper; and on dealers in, and retailers in vinegar.

— Bill for granting to his Majesty, for a time to be limited, certain duties on sugar, imported into the United Kingdom, for the service of the year 1836.

— Bill to alter and amend several Acts for the better regulation of public notaries in England.

— Bill for vesting lighthouses, &c., on the coasts of England, in the corporation of Trinity House, and for making provisions respecting lighthouses, &c, and the tolls and duties payable in respect thereof.

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

June 2. Committee to inquire into the state of the coal trade as respects the supply of coal to the Port of London and the adjacent counties, from the rivers Tyne, Wear, Tees, and other places; and into the several charges added to the price of coal.

— 9. Committee to inquire into the different modes in which land has been, and is at present disposed of, in the Australian Colonies, in the Cape of Good Hope, and the West Indies, with a view to ascertain that mode which would be most beneficial in future, both to the colonies and to the mother country.

— 10. Committee to consider of the practicability and expediency of adopting some plan for the more carefully preparing, drawing, and revising Public Bills, previous to their being brought in, or during their progress through the House of Commons.

— 14. Committee to inquire into the causes of the increased number of shipwrecks, with a view to ascertain whether such improvements might not be made in the construction, equipment, and navigation of merchant vessels, as would greatly diminish the annual loss of life and property at sea.

— 16. Committee to consider of the most effectual plan for raising of money to carry into effect the necessary improvements required in the cities of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, and counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and for the purchasing of the interest of the proprietors of the Waterloo and Southwark Bridges, that they may be thrown open for the use of the public free from toll.

NEW MEMBER.

For South Essex, George Palmer, Esq., in the room of R. W. Hall Dare, Esq., deceased. The election was contested, and at the close of the poll the numbers were—for Mr. Palmer 2103, for Mr. Branfill 1527; majority 576.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

For the county of Merioneth, in the room of Sir Robert Williames Vaughan, Bart., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

For South Warwickshire, in the room of E. R. C. Sheldon, Esq., deceased.

ABSTRACTS OF RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

Victuallers and Retail Brewers.—The number of licensed brewers in England is 2099, who consume 16,412,440 bushels of malt; of victuallers 54,551, of whom 25,962 brew their own beer, and consume 9,521,797 bushels of malt. There are 35,536 persons licensed to sell beer to be drunk on the premises, of whom 14,840 brew their own beer, and consume 3,702,417 bushels of malt; and of the 4118 licensed sellers of beer not to be drunk on the premises, 987 who brew their own beer consume 218,616 bushels of malt. In Scotland 242 brewers consume 988,800 bushels; and out of 17,026 victuallers there are 335 who brew their own beer, and consume 149,380 bushels. In Ireland there are 245 brewers, whose consumption of malt is 1,829,587 bushels.

Jesuits and other Religious Orders.—On the motion of Sir Robert Inglis, a Return has been prepared of the "notices or statements which, pursuant to the provisions of the Act 10 Geo. IV. c. 7, have been delivered to the several clerks of the peace by Jesuits and members of other religious orders, communities, or societies of the Church of Rome bound by monastic vows." No such statements appear to have been made in England, and only two in Wales; one by a Benedictine, and the other by a member of the Society of Jesus. In Ireland the individuals coming within the prescribed forms are more numerous. The "Brothers of the Christian Schools," in the county Clare, four in number, gave in the required notice to the clerk of the peace in 1829, accompanied by a protest, "that they do not come within the meaning of the Act for suppressing monastic or religious orders in the United Kingdom, inasmuch as they are a society of laymen only, and not subject to any foreign superior." Altogether 281 individuals have given in notices to the clerks of the peace in Ireland.

Tobacco and Snuff.—The total quantity of tobacco and snuff imported into the United Kingdom in the year ending January 5th, 1836, was 25,818,965 lbs.—namely, 25,523,611 lbs. of unmanufactured tobacco; 294,601 lbs. of manufactured tobacco and cigars; and 753 lbs. of snuff. The imports from the United States amounted to 25,133,158 lbs., of which 24,955,419 lbs. were unmanufactured tobacco; 177,724 lbs. of manufactured and cigars; and 15 lbs. of snuff. The supply from Russia was 162,794 lbs.; from Germany, 197,416 lbs.; from Cuba, 143,852 lbs., including 79,752 lbs. of manufactured tobacco and cigars; from Turkey, 27,265 lbs. The imports at London were 16,604,715 lbs.; at Liverpool, 5,662,695 lbs.; at Bristol, 1,794,598 lbs.; and the imports at other places were in quantities under 1,000,000 lbs. The quantity of snuff and manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco entered for home consumption in the year ending January 6th, 1836, was—for England, 15,222,884 lbs.; Scotland, 2,014,156 lbs.; Ireland, 4,879,719 lbs.: total, 22,116,759 lbs. The duty amounted to 3,354,459*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* The duty payable on unmanufactured tobacco imported from British possessions in America is 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb.; from other parts, 3*s.* On manufactured tobacco and cigars the duty is 9*s.* per lb., and on snuff, 6*s.* The duty paid on cigars and manufactured tobacco amounted to 63,746*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; on snuff, to 58*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* Of the 22,116,756 lbs. entered for consumption during the above period, 16,385,901 lbs. had been imported at Liverpool; 5,822,963 lbs. at London; and at Bristol, Glasgow, and Dublin, the quantity exceeded 1,000,000 lbs.

Spirits.—The total number of proof gallons of British and foreign spirits on which duty was paid in the United Kingdom during the year ending January 5th, 1836, was 29,528,889, and the duty was paid for consumption on 24,710,208 gallons. The total duty paid amounted to 8,140,469*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* The number of gallons of spirits of all kinds on which duty was paid, in England, 11,939,608; duty, 5,681,071*l.*: Scotland, 6,160,110 gallons; duty, 1,095,340*l.*: Ireland, 11,429,171 gallons; duty, 1,364,057*l.* Duty paid on foreign spirits in the United Kingdom, 3,047,359*l.*; the number of gallons, 4,765,706,—namely, 3,416,966 rum; 1,314,943 brandy; 19,648 geneva; and 14,149 of other foreign spirits. In England 2,918,071*l.* duty was paid on 3,285,473 gallons of rum; 1,260,374 brandy; 12,775 geneva; and 12,958 gallons of other foreign spirits: in Scotland, 93,035*l.* duty on 146,178 gallons,—namely, 105,198 rum; 34,806 brandy; 5251 geneva; and 923 other foreign spirits: in Ireland, 36,251*l.* duty on 47,948 gallons,—namely, 26,295 gallons rum; 19,763 brandy; 1622 geneva; and 268 other foreign spirits. The number of gallons of spirits of the manufacture of the United Kingdom on which duty was paid for the above-mentioned period was 25,763,183; duty, 5,093,110*l.*;—namely, England, 7,315,053 gallons; duty, 2,743,124*l.*: Scotland, 6,013,932 gallons; duty, 1,002,305*l.*: Ireland, 11,381,223; duty, 1,327,805*l.*: Guernsey, &c., 52,975 gallons; duty, 19,874*l.* The number of gallons of proof spirits imported into England from Scotland was 2,463,295 gallons. Ireland sent 524,333 gallons to England, and imported 763,890 gallons from Scotland. The duty on rum is 9*s.* per gallon; on brandy and geneva, 22*s.* 6*d.*; and on other foreign spirits various rates are imposed. The duty on spirits distilled in England is 7*s.* 6*d.* per gallon; Scotland, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and Ireland, 2*s.* 4*d.* Of the spirits distilled in the United Kingdom, 6,210,810 gallons were made from malt only; 18,489,135 from a mixture of malt with unmalted grain; and 10,263 gallons were distilled from potatoes. In England no spirits are distilled from malt alone; and in Ireland only 91,308 gallons.

Executions.—The executions in England and Wales since 1820 have been in each year as follows:—1820, 107; 1821, 114; 1822, 97; 1823, 54; total for four years, 372: 1824, 49; 1825, 50; 1826, 57; 1827, 73; total for four years, 229: 1828, 58; 1829, 74; 1830, 46; 1831, 52; total for four years, 230: 1832, 54; 1833, 33; 1834, 34; 1835, 34; total for four years, 155. The executions in London and Middlesex, in each year, from 1827 to 1835, have been:—1827, 17; 1828, 21; 1829, 25; total for three years, 63: 1830, 6; 1831, 4; 1832, 6; total for three years, 16; 1833, 2; 1834, 0; 1835, 0; total for three years, 2.

Copper and Tin.—Returns for the year ending January 5th, 1836, of the copper and tin imported into, and exported from, the United Kingdom:—unwrought copper, 5389 cwts.; partly wrought, namely, in bars, rods, or ingots, 1968 cwts.; plates and coin, 2 cwts.; old copper to be re-manufactured, 493 cwts.; copper ore, 278,900 cwts.; of which, 84,136 from Cuba, 84,536 from Columbia, and 76,245 from Chili; and manufactured copper, 5353 cwts., namely, from Germany, 2903 cwts., and France, 2287 cwts.—total imports, 292,755 cwts. The total quantity of British copper exported was, 182,228 cwts., and 55,456 cwts. smelted in the United Kingdom from foreign ore; and of the latter, 41,108 cwts. were sent to France. Of the British copper, 72,830 cwts. were exported to Asia; 32,538 cwts. to the United States; 26,389 cwts. to France, 8023 cwts. to Brazil; and smaller quantities to different parts of the world. The largest quantity of copper is exported from the port of Liverpool—namely, 96,100 cwts. of British copper, and 15,131 cwts. smelted in this country from foreign ore: from London, the export of the former amounts to 54,340 cwts.; and of the latter description, to 4921 cwts. The quantity of copper ore imported and warehoused during the year for the purpose of being afterwards exported, or delivered for home consumption, at the option of the merchants, was 277,133 cwts., none of which, however, was exported: the drawback was allowed on 55,456 cwts. of foreign copper smelted in this country. The tin imported in 1835, amounted to 19,704 cwts.: of which 10,029 cwts. were from Singapore, 4186 from Java, and 4768 from Belgium. Of British tin the exports amounted to 7765 cwts., of which France took 5034 cwts.: foreign tin 23,795 cwts.; 6200 cwts. of which were taken by Belgium, 5738 by Russia, 4079 by the United States, 2385 by Turkey and Continental Greece, and the remainder in inconsiderable quantities was sent elsewhere.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bank of England.—Quarterly Average of the Weekly Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, or February 9 to May 3, 1835, inclusive, published according to Act 3 and 4 William IV., c. 98.

OATS.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£18,154,000	Securities	£27,042,000
Deposits	13,747,000	Bullion	7,782,000
	£31,901,000		£34,824,000

Quarterly Average from March 8 to May 31 inclusive:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation	£18,051,000	Securities	£26,534,000
Deposits	13,273,000	Bullion	7,663,000
	£31,324,000		£34,197,000

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from the *London Gazette* of Friday, June 24:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Week ending June 17	51 1	32 1	24 5	34 10	39 7	40 1
Average of last six weeks .	50 2	32 11	24 0	34 3	39 8	40 2
Duty on foreign corn.....	36 8	13 10	10 9	18 8	11 0	9 6

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

May 28.	June 4.	June 11.	June 18.
92⅛	92⅛	92⅛	92¼

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar per cwt., computed from the Returns published in the *London Gazette*:—

Week ending May 24	40*s.* 5½*d.*
,, 31	
,, June 7	41*s.* 1½*d.*
,, 14	41*s.* 4¾*d.*
,, 21	41*s.* 6½*d.*

Bankruptcy Analysis from May 22nd to June 26th.—Bath proprietor, 1; brewers, 2; builder, 1; coal-merchants, 2; cotton-manufacturer, 1; currier, 1; cheesemonger, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; carpenters, 2; chemist, 1; china-manufacturer, 1; drapers, 4; druggist, 1; dealer, 1; grocers, 6; horse-dealers, 3; hatter, 1; ironmonger, 1; jeweller, 1; linen-yarn-dealer, 1; leather-seller, 1; millers, 2; merchants, 2; mason, 1; music-seller, 1; master-mariner, 1; manufacturer of fancy goods, 1; millwright, 1; oilman, 1; picture-dealer, 1; printer, 1; rope-maker, 1; shopkeepers, 2; shipowner, 1; sugar-refiner, 1; scrivener, 1; soap-manufacturer, 1; surgeon, 1; straw-hat-maker, 1; shoemaker, 1; stationer, 1; tailors, 2; victuallers, 7; woollendraper, 1; warehousemen, 2; wine-merchant, 1—Total 70; from the 28th of December, 457.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

June 1. A very numerous and respectable meeting of the friends of Mr. O'Connell was held at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of setting on foot a subscription to indemnify that gentleman for the expenses to which he had been put in defending his seat for Dublin. Nearly 3000*l.* were subscribed at the meeting.

— 10. The operation of removing the cataract which had for so long a period obstructed the vision of the Duke of Sussex, was successfully performed, and his Royal Highness has gradually been recovering the use of his sight.

— 15. A meeting of the friends of Mr. Buckingham, M.P., at which Lord William Bentinck, M.P., late Governor-General of India, presided, was held at Exeter Hall. Many Members of Parliament attended, and a series of Resolutions was agreed to, declaratory of the sense of the injustice which had been done to Mr. Buckingham, and recommending a subscription to be entered into with the view of purchasing an annuity for Mr. and Mrs. Buckingham on their joint lives.

— 16. The following notice was issued by the East India Company relative to the payment of the duties on bohea teas:—

"East India House, June 15th, 1836.

"The buyers of bohea teas at the East India Company's sale in the present month, are hereby informed that the Company will be prepared to advance on their account the duties which may be payable upon such of those teas as they may require to be entered for home consumption previously to the 1st of July, provided the warrants for those teas shall be delivered up by them to the Company's tea warehouse-keeper, at his office in Cutler-street, on or before the 27th instant, in order that the proper officer of the Company may be enabled to pass the necessary entries previously to the 1st of July, when the Act 5th and 6th William IV. cap. 32, will come into operation. The warrants will be redelivered to the trade at the East India House on the 1st of July, with the amount of duty stated thereupon, which amount the buyers will be required to pay to the Company at the prompt day, or previously thereto if cleared before that day."

— 21. Robert Rickards, Esq., having resigned his office of Inspector of Factories, the Secretary of State for the Home Department has directed Leonard Horner, Esq., In-
— 20. [illegible] Factories, to take charge of the district hitherto for inven[illegible]spection of Mr. Rickards, viz. Yorkshire, arts and manuf[illegible] Cheshire, with the adjacent parts.

[illegible]eath occurred a few days afterwards.

June 23. Died, Mr. James Mill, the author of the "History of British India," the Treatise on the "Elements of Political Economy,' and also the Treatise on "The Analysis of the Human Mind."

— 25. The following paragraph, respecting the newspaper duty, appeared in "The Globe" and "Courier" newspapers of this evening:—"We are authorized to state that a mistake has occurred as to the period at which the reduction of duty on newspapers will take effect. The time originally intended was the 6th of July next; but as it is impossible that the Bill can pass by that period, or for some weeks after, we understand that no day can yet be positively fixed upon for its commencement."

— 27. The following telegraphic despatch was published in "The Morning Chronicle" of this day:—

"Paris, June 26th,
"One o'clock in the morning.

"The King has just escaped from a new danger. An individual has fired at his Majesty, who has not been hit. The assassin is apprehended. Paris is indignant; order everywhere prevails."

The same Journal contains the following account of this transaction, from "The Journal de Paris" of Saturday night, received by extraordinary express:—

"This evening, at six o'clock, an assassin, armed with a walking-stick gun, who had lain in wait near the gateway leading from the Tuileries to the Pont Royal, fired at the King the instant he was passing in his carriage, in company of the Queen and Madame Adelaide, on his return to Neuilly. Providence has again preserved the days of his Majesty. No one was struck. The King himself tranquillized the assembled people. The assassin was immediately arrested, and attempted to stab himself, but was disarmed in time. The National Guards on duty, in the highest state of indignation, were about inflicting summary punishment, but, after a moment's pause, gave up the villain to the proper authorities. The King reached Neuilly at half-past six. The ball has been found in the carriage."

The Paris correspondent of "The Morning Chronicle" says—"It is singular enough that one of the National Guards on duty, who is a gunsmith, recognised the assassin as being employed in the trade."

Public meetings have been very generally held during the month in all the large towns in the United Kingdom, for the purpose of petitioning in favour of the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill, and advocating the claims of Ireland to equal laws and institutions with other parts of the empire.

BOOK SOCIETIES, AND FAMILIES IN EVERY PART OF THE KINGDOM,

are regularly supplied with WORKS for PERUSAL, including all the NEW and STANDARD PUBLICATIONS, MAGAZINES, &c., upon the most Advantageous Terms to them, according to the New System just planned and conducted by EDWARD BULL, Librarian, 19, Holles-street, four doors from Cavendish-square.

Full particulars can be had on application, or sent by post.

TO THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND PUBLIC.

London, 1836.

FAMILIES OF DISTINCTION, and Visitors to the Metropolis at this Season, who frequently experience great difficulty in suiting themselves with Furnished or Unfurnished Houses, owing to the great demand, are respectfully informed every attention will be afforded in the HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY DEPARTMENT of HENRY L. COOPER in obtaining or disposing of the same, or in the Selling, Letting, or Valuing any description of Property in Town or Country.

From the central situations of the Establishments in their respective commanding localities, every facility is rendered to Families honouring his House with their instructions, and offering the advantage of a double Register, usually replete with eligible properties.

The general introduction of Plate Glass for Windows, Carriages, Conservatories, Internal Decorations, &c., has induced H. L. C. to annex a Tariff of Sizes adapted to those uses, with Prices exceedingly moderate, but of a Quality not to be excelled; also is added, an outline of his general business comprising the Cabinet, Upholstery, and Decorative Departments, in each of which the most careful attention is paid both to Quality and Cost.

HENRY L. COOPER,

Plate Glass and Furniture Warehouses,

93, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN,

AND

WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT STREET,

(NINE DOORS FROM REGENT STREET, LEFT-HAND SIDE.)

Among the variety of Articles above referred to, will be found LOOKING-GLASSES of every denomination and size, varying from one foot to eighty feet and upwards; PLATE-GLASS for Windows, Carriages, &c., which possess great advantages over crown, and when required for exportation, a considerable drawback obtained.

Annexed are the Prices of Current Sizes of Plate-glass, for Sashes, &c.

In.	Inches. 15	Inches. 18	Inches. 20	Inches. 22	Inches. 25	Inches. 28	Inches. 30
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 7 5	0 9 3	0 10 6	0 11 9	0 13 8	0 15 6	0 16 11
12	0 9 3	0 11 6	0 13 0	0 14 6	0 16 11	0 19 8	1 1 6
14	0 11 2	0 13 9	0 15 6	0 17 6	1 0 9	1 3 11	1 6 1
16	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 18 6	1 0 10	1 4 7	1 8 0	1 10 0
18	0 14 11	0 18 9	1 1 6	1 4 3	1 8 2	1 11 6	1 13 9
20	0 16 11	1 1 6	1 4 6	1 7 6	1 11 3	1 15 0	1 17 6
25	1 2 8	1 8 2	1 11 3	1 14 5	1 19 1	2 3 9	2 6 11
30	1 8 2	1 13 9	1 17 6	2 1 3	2 6 11	2 12 6	2 16 2
34	1 11 10	1 18 3	2 2 6	2 6 9	2 13 2	2 19 6	3 3 9
38	1 15 7	2 2 9	2 7 6	2 12 3	2 19 4	3 6 6	3 11 3

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9*s.* per foot; thus a plate being 30 inches by 18 inches contains 3 feet 9 inches superficial measure, and costs 1*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, as per above tariff. All under 3 feet superficial at a reduction.

CARVING AND GILDING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

In this department will be found a very elegant and extensive variety of Chimney and Pier Glass Frames, Cornices for Windows, Ornamental Tables and Furniture, and richly-mounted Frames in various sizes for Portraits, Paintings, &c. Paintings and Prints mounted, framed, and re-gilt.

PAPER-HANGING AND INTERIOR DECORATIONS,

in all its Branches, from the most simple to the first Style of Elegance. A rich variety of new Patterns on show.

IN THE UPHOLSTERY ARRANGEMENT

the greatest attention is paid to unite elegance with economy in character for the Drawing-room, Boudoir, Dining-room, Library, and Bed-chamber, from the most quiet to the most costly styles. In the various articles of Chintzes, Moreens, Damask Silks, &c., a great variety of the most splendid and novel styles are constantly on view, of those qualities which can alone ensure permanent satisfaction; the extreme disparity of prices in these articles, mainly arises from the inferiority of the fabric.

CABINET, CHAIR, AND SOFA WORK

manufactured of the most seasoned materials. In the finish of Chairs, Sofas, &c., much depends on the quality of the materials used and the workmanship. It may not be unworthy of remark, that a similar effect may be produced at a saving of nearly one-half, but which in the wear must eventually prove a serious disappointment to the purchaser. This applies also to the manufacture of Cabinet Goods, which, from being made of unseasoned materials and unsound work (that cannot be detected by the casual observer), can never be of that service and durability so essential. H. L. C. begs to add, that he manufactures them on his own premises, and has always on hand a large stock of well-seasoned materials, which enables him to produce work at the lowest possible rate, and of a superior quality.

STEAM AND SAILING VESSELS PROPERLY FITTED UP

with Cabin Furniture and Passengers' Requisites.

SOLID AND PORTABLE FURNITURE,

Bedding, Musquito Hangings, &c. for Foreign Climates. Families going abroad will receive every information respecting the Articles best adapted for their particular destinations. Merchants, Captains, and Dealers supplied with the utmost despatch, on the most liberal terms.

CARPETING

of the fabric especially made for the first upholstery houses, viz.—Brussels, Kidderminster, and Venetian; also a few of the much-admired Velvet Pile Carpets, Hearth Rugs, Druggets, Baize, Floor Cloths, &c.

BEDDING, BLANKETS, &c.,

well seasoned, real Dantzic Feathers, also equally prepared light downy Feathers for second and third-rate Beds, Elastic Spring Hair and Wool Mattresses, real Witney, fine Bath, and York Blankets, Marseilles Quilts and Counterpanes. In the articles of Bedding, Blankets, &c., so essentially important to all, H. L. C. is determined that no trader shall supply them on better terms.

Families in the Country may command the most approved Taste, by being waited on at Home with Patterns—and Designs made on the spot, calculated to harmonize with the plans, proportions, and decorations of the rooms; and their Orders delivered, and fixed on terms forming a very small addition to the first cost by the system adopted in this Concern.

With this short enumeration of the leading articles of his trade, and the very favourable terms on which he undertakes to supply them, Henry L. Cooper appeals to all classes for a continuation of that flattering preference hitherto afforded to his House, 93, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN; WESTERN BRANCH, 57, CONDUIT-STREET, nine doors from REGENT-STREET.

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the Address; also that any Article will be exchanged should a fair objection arise, thus securing the public from risk.

THE METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. 97, FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVID ROUDNEY.

In remarking on his

FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,

G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes; to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for..... £3 0

Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10

Black and Blue, 10*s.* extra on each

Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s new principles of Measurement, 1 8

Waistcoats 14

Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6

These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES

Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes; also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison; in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5

Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10

Black or Blue, 5*s.* each extra

Trousers 1 1

Waistcoats 10

The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10

A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar, and Cape—9 yds round 2 2

Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES

As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges: G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black; his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for

Two Suits per Annum..... £10 0

Three ditto ditto 14 18

Four ditto ditto 19 12

and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor. Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... £3 18 6

For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials; but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each.

G. D. D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN**, that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents, (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

TEAS of the FINEST QUALITIES at the REDUCED PRICES.—In consequence of Government having reduced the Duty on the finer descriptions of Teas, we are enabled to offer as under :—

Good sound Breakfast Tea, 3s. 6d.—3s. 8d.—4s.
Common, as low as 2s. 4d.
Better, with more flavour, 4s. 6d.
Rich Pekoe Souchong, 6s.
Good Green, 3s. 8d.—4s.
Real Hyson, 5s.
Fine Hyson, rich and full, 6s—Finest, 8s.
Coffee, 1s. 6d.—1s. 8d—1s 9d.——Finest imported, 2s.

O. T. MANSELL and Co., Tea Importers, 2, Bucklersbury, Cheapside.

MAW'S DOMESTIC MEDICAL MACHINE, by Royal Letters Patent. This Instrument is accompanied by a Book of Instructions for the proper employment of Lavements or Injections in all CASES OF INTESTINAL IRREGULARITY; to which is appended, Copies of NUMEROUS TESTIMONIALS from the most eminent Professors of Medicine in the Kingdom. No Preparation is required beyond the mere act of opening the Case, on which all the parts are found in connexion, and arranged for use, so as to render the usual adjuncts of Basins, Chairs, &c., quite unnecessary. J. & S. M. have also the pleasure to state, that they are now enabled to supply this valuable invention at a REDUCED PRICE. Full Descriptions, with Professional Testimonials of its superiority, forwarded to any part of the Kingdom on Post-paid application.

MAW's Apparatus may be obtained on the same Terms as of the Manufacturers through any Respectable Druggist in Town or Country. But to prevent mistakes, observe that these words, viz.,

"BY THE ROYAL LETTERS PATENT,
"MAW'S DOMESTIC MEDICAL MACHINE,
"11, ALDERSGATE STREET, LONDON,"

are Stamped on each.

STEPHENS' WRITING FLUID.

THE Inventor of this original Composition for Writing, begs to call the attention of the Public to the following facts:—1st, that the inconvenience of writing with common ink had long been a source of general complaint,—2ndly, that to remedy this inconvenience was the subject of his serious occupation and experiment for several years:—3rdly, after composing a colour more suitable for writing, his further investigations were directed to improvements calculated to ensure the utmost possible durability and safety,—4thly, that the colour may be imitated by compositions which are deficient in most of the less apparent but highly-essential qualities—a fact which he is ready to demonstrate by experiment,—5thly, he has innumerable memoranda and records, written with the results of various modes of preparation, to which he can refer as *standing proofs* of the best composition, and of the best mode of preparation. The Public may thus judge of the superior value of an article which has had years of trial and experiment over hastily prepared imitations. Lastly, unprotected by a Patent, he trusts to the merits of the composition, and the preference and protection of a discerning Public, who, he believes will not, while feeling the convenience of "THE WRITING FLUID," forget the encouragement which is due to the Original Inventor.

The Public is hereby apprized that imitations of this article are selling in gallons, to parties who bottle and sell it as improvements and originals, a false recommendation being often given to them, by stating that they never require to be shaken—a good evidence of dilution and dearth of colouring materials.

Sold by all respectable Stationers and Dealers; as also STEPHENS' NEWLY FORMED STANDS, contrived to prevent lodgments of dust, to afford an oblique and more convenient access, with grooved rests for the Pen.

HENRY STEPHENS, Stamford street, Blackfriars-road, London.

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials, having gained for E. P. DOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting their unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to ensure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES.

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	£3	3	0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10s 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES,
(The old suits to be returned.)

Two Suits per year	£7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s.; Hussar Suits, 30s.

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud-boots, and Leggings; India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard-street.
Established Fifty Years.

T. COX SAVORY, Goldsmith, &c., 47, Cornhill, London, informs the Public that he offers DESSERT FRUIT KNIVES AND FORKS, with plain Ivory handles, silver ferrules, plated on steel blades, at Three Guineas per dozen pair, or with solid silver blades, at Eight Guineas and a Half per dozen pair.

N.B.—Carved Ivory handles at 13s. 6d. extra per dozen pair.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

Just published, with Six Wood cuts, price 3s 6d,

HISTORICAL SKETCHES: — SPAIN and PORTUGAL. Vol II., completing the Work.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

In 2 Vols post 8vo, with numerous Wood-cuts, price ONE GUINEA,

PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY, with Illustrative Notes, by HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S. and Member of the National Institute of France, and SIR CHARLES BELL, K.G.H., F.R.S.L. & E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, formerly of the Council, and Professor of Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London,. &c &c. To which are added SUPPLEMENTARY DISSERTATIONS, by SIR CHARLES BELL.

London; CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

In 2 Vols, post 8vo, price ONE GUINEA,

THE COTTON-MANUFACTURE of GREAT BRITAIN SYSTEMATICALLY INVESTIGATED, and illustrated by 150 Original Figures, engraved in Wood and Steel; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries, chiefly drawn from Personal Survey. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., M.G.S., M.A.S. London, M. Acad. N.S. Philadelphia, Corresponding Member of the Pharm. Soc. North Germany, and of the Société Industrielle of Mulhausen, &c., &c., &c.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22 Ludgate street.

LIBRARY OF ANECDOTE AND TABLE-TALK.

In fcp 8vo., price 6s,

THE BOOK of TABLE-TALK, Vol. I., illustrated with many Wood-cuts.

"I love anecdotes. I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically, except in narrative; grow weary of preparation, and connexion, and illustration, and all those arts by which a big book is made. If a man is to wait till he weaves anecdotes into a system, we may be long in getting them, and get but few in comparison of what we might get."—*Dr. Johnson (Boswell's Tour).*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

THE CHINESE: A General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants. By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China. Two Vols. post 8vo., with Wood-cuts, 1*l.* 1*s.*

"The following Work owes its origin to a collection of notes which the Author made while resident in China. A residence of more than twenty years (which terminated in the Author succeeding, for some months previous to his final retirement, the late amiable and unfortunate Lord Napier as His Majesty's chief authority in China) has perhaps been calculated to mature and correct those opinions of the country and people which he had formed, as a very young man, in accompanying Lord Amherst on the Embassy to Pekin in 1816. If some acquaintance, besides, with the language and literature of the Chinese empire has not been of considerable assistance to him in increasing the extent and accuracy of his information, it must have been his own fault entirely, and not any want of opportunities and means."—*Extract from Introduction.*

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

On the 1st of July will be published,

THE PENNY MAGAZINE.—PART LI. Price 6*d.*

The PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA.—PART XLII. Price 1*s*

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.—VOL. II., completing the subject, and being the Thirtieth Volume of the LIBRARY of ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* bound in cloth uniformly with the Series, or in Parts, price 2*s.* each, sewed.

Also, on the same day will be issued,

The PICTORIAL BIBLE.—PART V. Price 2*s.* This Bible will contain the OLD and NEW TESTAMENTS according to the authorized Version, illustrated with many hundred Wood cuts, representing the Historical Events, after the most celebrated Pictures; the Landscape Scenes from Original Drawings, or from Authentic Engravings; and the Subjects of Natural History, of Costume, and of Antiquities, from the Best Sources. To which are added ORIGINAL NOTES, chiefly Explanatory of the Engravings, and of such Passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures as require Observation.

It is also published in Weekly Numbers, price 6*d* each.

The MUSICAL LIBRARY.—PART XXVIII. Price 2*s.*

The SUPPLEMENT to the MUSICAL LIBRARY. — No. XXVIII. Price 6*d.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, Ludgate-street.

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*

Clerk, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON: CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 44. AUGUST 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Public Revenue	193	Communication between London and Dublin	204
Admission to the Commons' Gallery	198	Communication with France	ib.
Political Retrospect for July	199	Record Commission	ib.
Irish Municipal Corporation Bill	199	Reports of Prisons' Committee (Newgate)	205
Defence of Prisoners by Counsel	200	New Customs' Duties	ib.
Management of the British Museum	202	Abstracts of Returns, &c.	ib.
Prison Reforms (Scotland)	203	Parliamentary Register	209
Fourth Report of the State of the Established Church	ib.	Miscellaneous	210
		Chronicle of Occurrences	211

THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

THE publication, at the usual time, of the account of the Quarter's Revenue, affords us a fit occasion for laying before our readers a brief sketch of the origin and progress of the public income of the kingdom, together with an explanation of the several items that enter into the periodical statements as they are now made up.

In every country where any form of government is established, a portion of the national income, that is, of the entire annual earnings of the community, must be allotted to the support of the public institutions of the State. It will be convenient to speak, as we have done, of the portion thus set apart, or abstracted, as the public income or revenue, and of the whole from which it is taken as the national income, or the income of the community.

With the income of the community we have at present nothing to do, except to point out the distinction between it and the public income or the revenue of the State. The consideration of the various questions relating to the former—of the manner in which it is created and distributed—belongs to the science of political economy, and may, indeed, be said to constitute the whole of that science as strictly defined. The consideration of the subject of the income of the State belongs to political economy no farther than inasmuch as it is necessary to take into account the incidence and effect of taxes, tithes, and other public burdens, on the growth of the national wealth.

The governing power in a country may receive its share of the national income in a variety of ways. The amount thus appropriated will also vary greatly according to circumstances. It ought of course to be no greater than may be necessary for the attainment of those really public objects in which the whole community has an interest; and wherever the government is properly constituted, this rule will be the limit of its expenditure and its exactions. Such a government is merely the organ and representative of the community—a system of establishments and functionaries created and maintained for the effecting of certain purposes which are held to be essential for the existence and well-being of the State.

We are far, however, from here undertaking to determine who, or what portion, of the inhabitants of every country are fittest to be the judges and regulators of what the government ought to be. Even the theories upon this subject that have gone farthest in the assertion of what is called the sovereignty of the people, have never contemplated by that doctrine anything like the sovereignty of the whole people. In the first place, almost all of them, by denying political rights to women, have begun by excluding from the scheme of a purely democratic government one entire half of the people. Then, the remainder they have in like manner reduced to half its number, by discarding all males under the age of twenty or twenty-one. The young man of twenty-one years of age is considered one of the people, but the young man of twenty years and eleven months is not. In this way what is designated the people is in reality, at the most, only a fourth part of the people. The reasons for excluding the other three-fourths may be perfectly sufficient. But there may also possibly be grounds equally good for excluding a portion of the remaining fourth. The expediency and right of exclusion at all being admitted, as it is admitted by the most liberal theories, and by those that affect to be based upon the simplest and purest principles, it is impossible to refuse at least to consider the propriety of any further exclusion that may be proposed, provided any reasons are alleged for it as advisable for the public good. It is possible that reasons as sound as those on account of which it has been thought fit to deprive all females and all males under a certain age of any share in the government, may exist for confining the political suffrage, as is done among ourselves, to persons possessed of a certain amount of property, and also, from among that body, for giving more power in the State to one class than to another.

And not only may it be the best arrangement for the public good that the actual working of the government should be conducted upon this plan; it may be even expedient that the original institution of the government should be the work only of a comparatively small portion of the people, and even if they should have to effect their purpose in opposition to the wishes of the rest. This again must be admitted upon the most liberal theory that has been propounded by any body. Even the theory which would exclude from the exercise of political rights only the women and the males under age, cannot maintain itself unless it shall allow that a good and legitimate government may be founded by one-fourth part of the people, without the wishes of the other three-fourths being at all regarded; for otherwise the government—namely, that of the grown-up men,—which it considers to be the best,—might probably be found in most cases to be of impracticable institution, it being unlikely that the women and the young men under twenty would give their consent to it if the question were fairly put to them, and its establishment really depended upon their concurrence. Their concurrence, therefore, must be held not to be necessary. But if the opposition of three-fourths of the people may thus be properly disregarded, there may also be good reasons for disregarding in this matter the opposition of a still larger portion of them. In short, it comes to this, that the ordinary proportional number of the people by whom the necessary government is either originally established or from time to time controlled, although of course operating as a powerful restraint, is [illegible] royal saying his enemies a word and threats, as [illegible] pleasant, courteous

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

other elements to affect the character of the government in various important respects, has no claim whatever to be accounted that decisive test of a free or a despotic, a legitimate or an anti-national, a fundamentally good or bad government, which it is often assumed to be. Why, indeed, should it be so accounted? The number of noses that may be reckoned up on either side of any question, does not in most cases form by any means the principal part of its real strength, either moral or even physical. Even in a mere contest of blows, an array of disciplined and instructed men will usually be found more than a match for many times their number of an untrained and unorganized rabble. Knowledge in the few is always, when properly exerted, able to obtain and to keep the ascendancy over ignorance in the many. Union, and preparation, and contrivance commonly in every kind of contest give the victory to the side in which they are found in the greatest perfection, no matter what may be the disparity of mere numbers. What reason is there, then, for demanding, that in political disputes the advantage of mere numbers should be the only thing looked to, and that all these other natural and inherent advantages should go for nothing?

What, then, is really the distinction between a free government and one not entitled to that name? Is not every government in which a particular class of the people enjoys the ascendancy, and that in opposition it may be to the wishes of the numerical majority of the whole people, essentially of the same kind with a government established by force or the right of conquest? Is not the ascendant class to be regarded precisely as a body of foreign conquerors holding the rest of the country in subjection?

The true answer to this question, we apprehend, is, that a free government is that in which, however unequally political power may be distributed among the different classes of the people, every man, in whatever class he may be born, finds no bar raised by the constitution to prevent him from making his way up to the class in whose hands the greatest amount of power and privilege is lodged, if he have sufficient talent and force of character to conquer the natural obstacles which must ever oppose the ascent of an individual from his original position. We do not see that upon any other definition than this, either our own country, or any other in which certain classes of the people are intrusted with more political power than others, can be said to have a free constitution.

Both in such a constitution as that now established in England, and even in others which do not affect to be of nearly so popular a character, it is at least always professed, that the portion of the national income abstracted for the expenditure of the government is not more than is necessary for the general good. Every tax or other exaction of the government is defended simply upon that consideration. Whatever may be the fact, it is at least never admitted that any office is maintained, or any payment made, merely for the benefit of individuals. Individuals may, incidentally, be benefited by the expenditure of the government; but nobody pretends to defend that expenditure on any other grounds than those of its public and general usefulness. This may now be said to be the principle upon which the fiscal affairs of the government are professed to be managed in every civilized country.

In other circumstances, however, governments have distinctly proceeded upon a different principle. A government, especially, that has established itself over a country by actual conquest, has usually conceived itself entitled, in regard both to revenue and to other matters, "to look to its own advantage without any regard to the [illegible] of the people, and has exercised this assumed [illegible] E. ring its exactions [illegible] the utmost limit the country or the [illegible] rance of the people would bear. In this case the government has openly professed to be an institution established not for the benefit of the people, but solely for that of the sovereign. Elsewhere, even while it has been denied that the right of sovereignty resided in the people, or that the government was to be considered as at all an institution emanating from their will, it has still been held, in profession at least, that the good of the people ought to be the sole directing motive of the operations of the government. But in the case we are considering the sovereign power has acknowledged neither a popular origin nor any popular connexion or obligation whatever; it has looked upon the people and the country simply as its property, and has in all its proceedings frankly avowed no other design than that of turning both to the best account, with a view to its own particular profit and advantage.

It was the fortune of our own country to be generally in the circumstances here described down to a comparatively recent date in its history. When was it that we had for the first time in England anything that really deserved the name of a national government? Our early history is the history of a succession of foreign conquests. During the period of above three centuries that the country was a province of the Roman empire, a revenue is said to have been drawn from it very considerably exceeding the actual expenditure of the government. All the expedients of taxation appear to have been applied by the sovereign power to wring from its subjects the largest possible portion of their earnings for the imperial treasury. All arable lands paid a tax to the government, in the shape of a portion of their produce, varying from a twentieth to a fifth. The proportion exacted from orchards was commonly a fifth part of their produce. In the case of pasture lands, a certain sum was demanded for each beast that grazed on them. All mines paid a proportion of their profits, commonly, it is believed, a tenth. The twentieth part of all estates and legacies, left by will to persons not within a certain degree of consanguinity to the testator, went to the State. So did a twenty-fifth part of the price of all slaves that were sold, All goods above a certain value that were sold by auction, or in the public markets, also paid a per centage upon the price which they brought. There were levied besides a poll-tax, which affected every individual whether possessed of property or not—a tax on the bodies of the dead before they were allowed to be buried—taxes on houses, pillars, hearths, &c.—taxes on artists for the liberty of exercising their several arts, &c. &c. And customs were paid on all goods exported or imported. "Though it is impossible," adds the historian Henry, from whom we have abridged this enumeration, "to discover the exact value of the Roman revenues in Britain, we have reason to believe that these revenues were very considerable. They were sufficient not only to defray all the expenses of the civil government, and to support a very large military establishment, but also to afford valuable remittances to the imperial treasury. If the calculations of Lipsius concerning the Roman revenues of Gaul be just, those of Britain could not be less than 2,000,000*l.* sterling annually."

The Saxon government of England partook, no doubt, in some respects more of the character of a national government than that to which the country was subjected while it was a Roman province. At least all the land of the country was now in the hands of the same race with its sovereignty; and the sovereignty was not exercised without the check of a considerable popular control. But we should fall into a great error if we supposed that the inhabitants of South Britain at this time were, in the greater part, even of Saxon blood. "The Anglo-Saxons," as Mr. Turner has observed, "did not, as some have fancied, exterminate the Bri-

tons, though many devastations must have accompanied their progress. The fierce warriors of Germany wanted husbandmen, artisans, and menials for domestic purposes. There can be no doubt that the majority of the British population was preserved to be useful to their conquerors." And in another place he adds—"The great bulk of the Saxon population was in a servile state, and therefore without any constitutional rights. All the villani, servi, bordarii, coscetæ, cotarii, and coliberti, esnes and theows; that is, all the working agricultural population, and most of those who occupied the station of our present small farmers; and in the burghs and cities all those who were what is called the men, or low vassals of other persons, analogous to our inferior artisans and mechanics, and small tradesmen, were the property of their respective lords, and with no more political rights than the cattle and furniture, with which we find them repeatedly classed and transferred. Two-thirds at least, more probably three-fourths, of the Anglo-Saxon population were originally in this state, till voluntary or purchased emancipations, and the effects of war and invasion, gradually increased the numbers of the free. Domesday-book shews, that, even in the reign of the Confessor, the largest part of the English population was in the servile state."

In reference, therefore, to the greatest number of their subjects, the Saxon Kings must be held to have exercised not a national government, but one of conquest and force. From the extent, also, of the lands annexed to the Crown, they were very nearly, if not altogether independent of the people in respect of their revenues. Speaking of the position of the Anglo-Saxon monarch, after the whole country had been brought under one sceptre, Mr. Turner observes—"The royal property consisted of lands in demesnes in every part of England; and though in the lapse of time he had given large possessions to his friends and followers, yet from many he reserved rents and services which were a great source of wealth and power. The places which occur with the denomination of royal towns, or royal villas, are very numerous; and among these we may notice the name of Windeshore (Windsor), which is still a regal residence. His revenues were the rents and produce of his lands in demesnes, customs in the sea-ports, tolls in the markets, and in the cities on sales; duties and services to be paid to him in the burghs, or to be commuted for money, wites, or penalties and forfeitures which the law attached to certain crimes and offences; heriots from his thanes, and various payments and benefits arising to him on the circumstances stated in the laws." It is to be remembered, also, that the royal revenues were not burdened with the support of the military force of the kingdom, which was both furnished and maintained by the proprietors or occupants of the land. And there was besides the land-tax called the Danegeld, originally imposed about the end of the tenth century as a tribute exacted by the Danes, afterwards collected to put the kingdom in a posture of defence against these invaders, but eventually continued as a regular part of the revenue of the Crown, after the occasion of its original application had long passed away. At first this tax is said to have amounted to a shilling on every hide of land in the kingdom, which contained in all 243,600 hides. The value of the Saxon money is very uncertain; but Henry calculates that even at this, its lowest amount, the tax must have produced a sum "equal in quantity of silver to about 36,540*l.* sterling, and in efficacy to more than 360,000*l.* of our money at present." It was afterwards raised to 2*s.*, and at last to 7*s.* on every hide of land. "This tax," continues Henry, "was raised so high, and collected with so much severity, by King Canute, A. D. 1018, that it amounted to the prodigious sum of seventy-one thousand Saxon pounds, besides eleven thousand of the same pounds paid by the city of London." This, estimated according to the previous calculation, would make about as much silver as is contained in 250,000*l.* sterling, or in real value, about 2,500,000*l.* of our present money. But as for the assumption involved in the latter computation, that one pound of silver in those times would have gone as far as ten pounds of the same metal at present, it is one upon which no dependence can be placed. The matter evidently does not admit of any precise determination, or indeed of any determination at all. It appears that houses in towns, as well as lands, were subjected to the Danegeld, a house of a certain value paying the same as a hide of land. The hide is supposed to have contained 120 acres.

Passing over the Danish Conquest, which first subjected the Saxons to a temporary foreign domination, we come to the complete and permanent subjugation of the country by the Norman invasion. The government now established held itself as independent of the great body of the people which it kept in subjection, as it did of the cattle that grazed in the fields. During the reigns of the Conqueror himself and his successor, the sovereignty of the Crown seems to have been without limit or control of any kind. The first two Williams were as independent of their Norman Barons as of their Saxon serfs. The revenues of the Conqueror were derived from many sources, and were of very great amount. It appears, in the first place, that he retained in his own possession, or, in other words, annexed to the Crown, no fewer than 1422 manors, besides a great number of forests, parks, chases, farms, and houses in all parts of the kingdom. The rents or produce of all these possessions flowed annually into the royal treasury; but even from the estates which were given away to the nobility, clergy, and others, the Crown at this period derived large revenues. From all the holders of these estates certain small annual payments were collected by the sheriffs for the king, under the name of reserved rents. So long as an heir was under age, the possession of his estate, under the name of wardship, fell to the Crown, which then drew the rents, or granted or sold the right of drawing them to a third party. No female ward of the Crown could marry without the consent of the Sovereign, which was never given without being purchased. When the heir became of age, he was not permitted to enter upon the possession of his property until he had paid a fine to the Crown, under the name of a relief, which is supposed to have usually amounted to about a fourth part of the rent. All vassals of the Crown who were either unable or unwilling to perform military service in person, were obliged to compound with the King, as often as the latter chose to engage in any military expedition, by the payment of what was called scutage or shield-money. Such expeditions were sometimes got up for the mere purpose of exacting these fines. Payments, denominated aids, were also made by every vassal of the Crown when the King's eldest son was made a knight, when his eldest daughter was married, and for the ransom of his person, when he was taken prisoner in war. A branch of the royal revenue, so important as to have a particular court or office—the Escheatry—erected for its management, was that derived from the escheats or forfeitures of their lands by the vassals of the Crown. When any ecclesiastical office became vacant, its temporalities were seized and kept possession of by the King during the vacancy, which, in the case of the richer sees and abbeys, it was not unusual to prolong for several years. Extraordinary payments, in addition to their annual rents, were sometimes arbitrarily exacted from the tenants of the demesnes, and the inhabitants of the royal manors, by the name of "tallages"—a French word signifying his entire, and threats, as

nearly the same thing with the modern term "excise," of Latin origin,—namely, *cuttings*, as being a certain proportion of the goods on which the tax was laid. The Danegeld continued to be levied for many years after the conquest. Customs were paid to the Crown on most goods that were imported or exported. Royal tolls were exacted at bridges, and in fairs and markets. A large amount of revenue was derived from what were called generally, fines, free gifts, and oblations. "No franchise or privilege of any kind," says Henry, "could be obtained from the Crown without a fine or oblation proportioned to its value. Great fines were paid by prodigious numbers of people in order to obtain justice, and that they might be allowed the benefit of a legal trial; while others gave great gifts to procure the royal interposition for preventing law proceedings against them; and not a few agreed to give one half, or a third or fourth part, of their lawful debts, to the King, that they might procure payment by his authority. No office, either in Church or State, could be obtained without a bribe; and in some reigns even bishoprics were exposed to sale, and bestowed on the highest offerers. There was hardly any business so contemptible or so dishonourable in which some of our princes of this period did not engage for money; nor did they disdain to accept of dogs, hawks, hens, lampreys, shads, and such paltry presents, when they could not obtain more valuable bribes." Amerciaments for crimes, which were often imposed on the most frivolous pretences, constituted another valuable species of royal pillage. Once in every three years every hearth in the kingdom paid the King a shilling under the name of moneyage, to withhold his Majesty from exercising his prerogative of debasing the coin. The Crown received two-thirds of the dues paid on all law proceedings in the county courts throughout the kingdom. The inhabitants of all the royal cities and towns, as well as the tenants of the Crown lands, paid annual rents to the King. Considerable sums of money were paid yearly into the Exchequer by corporations or gilds for various privileges granted them by the Crown. A particular office was eventually established, called the Exchequer of the Jews, for the receipt and management of the large sums which the Crown was constantly extorting in the most arbitrary manner from that people. Add to all these the royal property in all forests and mines throughout the kingdom, in all treasures found hid in the earth, in all estrays or animals strayed, in all large fish caught near the shore, in all goods wrecked when no owner appeared, and in all goods uninherited, or to which no person could establish a legal claim. The revenues of the early Norman kings derived from all these sources must unquestionably have been of great amount. "We are assured," says Henry, "by an author who was born in England only nine years after the Conquest, that those of William I. amounted to the incredible sum of 1061*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.* per day, which (neglecting the fraction) was equal in efficacy to 157,915*l.* of our money per day, and to 5,806,975*l.* per year. This amount, extravagant as it may appear, is not very different from that which is given by Roger Hoveden, a contemporary historian, of the revenues of England in the reign of Richard I. When Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, was about to resign the office of high justiciary, A. D. 1196, he proved from his books, that the revenue he had collected in England in the two preceding years was no less than 100,000 marks of silver. A great sum, equivalent to 11,000,000*l.* at the above rate of computation, or 5,500,000*l.* in one year. But though it should be allowed that both these accounts are exaggerated, we have still no reason to be surprised that the Gen. of the England in this period kept such splendid and ind Prince's Onsing urts—lived in such affluence—entertained civil E. P. tes and nobles at the three great festivals—endowed so many monasteries, built so many strong castles and magnificent churches—carried on so many wars—and, after all, left so much money in their treasury when they died."

It is not our intention to follow up this statement by any deduction in detail of the changes that took place from time to time, in the modes and contrivances resorted to by succeeding kings to procure the means of maintaining their power and dignity. The materials, indeed, do not exist for furnishing any full and accurate history of the royal revenues. But it may be observed, in general, that, although the gradual alienation of the Crown lands (notwithstanding the strict provisions made by the law against that practice), the charters which were extorted from Henry I. and his successors, the rise of the House of Commons, and the sentiment of a common nationality which in course of time united sovereign and subject, tended both to throw the King more into the hands of his people and to give to the income and expenditure of the Government more of a public character, yet the power of arbitrary exaction to any amount remained one of the almost undisputed prerogatives of the Crown down, we may say, to the beginning of the seventeenth century. We shall merely, for the present, subjoin in conclusion a few of the most important of the scattered notices that have been preserved relating to the remainder of this period, which may be called, by way of distinction, that of our ancient financial history.

Among the provisions of the Great Charter granted by King John, in 1215, were clauses regulating the royal prerogatives of wardship and marriage; but they only went the length of confining, within certain specified limits, the exactions to be made in future under these pretences. The prerogatives were not abolished. Another right which the Crown then had, and which it made an instrument of the most vexatious robbery, that of the pre-emption of all things necessary for the court and the royal castles, called the right of purveyance, was apparently taken away by the Great Charter; but this prerogative was in full exercise even so lately as in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

The first Parliament in which representatives of the commons appeared is commonly considered to have been that which was called together in 1265, in the reign of Henry III. Before this time the great council of the barons and military tenants of the Crown had been in the habit of occasionally making grants of money to the King, which they raised by taxes upon their lands, when a war or other national object demanded an extraordinary expenditure. The weak prince who now occupied the throne, however, had by his prodigal dissipation of his hereditary revenues, and his wasteful mismanagement in a variety of ways, reduced himself to such a state of poverty, that he was obliged to make constant applications to his Parliament even for the ordinary maintenance of his court. The Parliament supplied his wants by grants, sometimes of a twentieth, sometimes of a fifteenth, sometimes of a tenth of all the moveable property in the kingdom. On these occasions, the books of the clergy, the ornaments of churches, the horses and armour of knights, and the implements of husbandry, were not taken into account.

In the next reign, that of Edward I., the method of obtaining money by scutages, which had been much employed till then, was dropped; and the inadequacy of the hereditary revenues of the Crown to meet the expensive wars in which the King was engaged during a great part of his reign, was chiefly supplied by parliamentary grants. Taxes were thus imposed on the moveable property of the kingdom in different years, varying from a thirtieth to a seventh part of its value. Yet, on other occasions, the method of arbitrary extortion was employed by Edward with as much license as

by any of his predecessors. "From the Jews," observes Henry, "he extorted prodigious sums of money at different times; and at last he seized the whole possessions of that devoted people, banishing the owners out of the kingdom. Though he was really a friend to trade, yet when his want of money was great and urgent he sometimes made too free with the cash and goods of merchants. Before his departure on his expedition into Flanders in 1297, he seized great quantities of wool and leather belonging to the merchants, for no other reason but that it was the most speedy and effectual means of procuring money. At the same time he took by mere force, without any other plea but that he had need of them, immense quantities of corn and great multitudes of cattle for the use of his army. Nor did this prince abstain from laying violent hands on the property of the Church, however sacred it was then esteemed. At one time he seized all the money and plate in the monasteries and churches; and at another all the possessions of the clergy, for refusing to grant him a subsidy."

Edward III., whose wars involved him in great expenses, was in the habit of applying for supplies to Parliament more regularly than any of his predecessors; but Hume has completely shown that in no reign since the Conquest were either the old royal prerogatives in general, or the power of arbitrary exaction in particular, carried to a greater height. The oppressive right of purveyance, for instance, though repeatedly characterized by the Parliament as an outrageous and intolerable grievance, was in constant exercise by this Sovereign. Among other prerogatives always complained of by the Commons, but which Edward, nevertheless, exerted to the full, were the granting of monopolies (for the first time, as far as is recorded) the exacting of loans, the levying of arbitrary and exorbitant fines, &c. "But there was no act of arbitrary power" continues the historian "more frequently repeated in this reign than that of the imposition of taxes without consent of Parliament. Though that assembly granted the King more supplies than ever had been obtained by any of his predecessors, his great undertakings, and the necessity of his affairs obliged him still to levy more; and after his great success against France had added weight to his authority, these impositions became almost annual and perpetual. . . . The King openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. At one time he replied to the remonstrance of the Commons, that the impositions had been exacted from great necessity, and had been assented to by the Prelates, Counts, Barons, and *some* of the Commons; at another, that he would advise with his Council. When the Parliament desired that a law might be enacted for the punishment of such as levied these arbitrary impositions, he refused compliance. In the subsequent year they desired that the King might renounce this pretended prerogative; but his answer was, that he would levy no taxes without necessity for the defence of the realm, and where he reasonably might use that authority. This incident passed a very few days before his death, and these were in a manner his last words to his people." It is worth noticing that this Prince is said to have derived an annual revenue of 30,000*l.* from Ireland. He also, in all probability, drew considerable sums from his continental dominions. A chief part of the royal revenue was now obtained from the Customs. In 1331 those of the port of London alone amounted to 8000*l.* per annum—that is, to 24,000*l.* of our present money. In 1354, the Customs for the whole kingdom appear to have amounted to about 240,000*l.* of our money, principally arising from duties on the exportation of wool. The first duty on merchants' ships and the value of their cargoes, called the tonnage and poundage duty, was imposed by Edward, without the authority of Parliament, as is thought, in the year 1871. This tax, from the first levied professedly for the guard of the seas, came afterwards to be usually granted by Parliament to each King for his life-time.

In the reign of Richard II. the Crown-lands had from alienations become quite insufficient to defray even the ordinary expenses of the Government. Among the taxes now resorted to, was one imposed by Parliament in 1378 of a novel description—a capitation or poll-tax, embracing the male and female population of the kingdom, of all ranks, of the age of sixteen and upwards. An earl was taxed 4*l.*; a baron, 2*l.*; an esquire entitled to be made a knight, 20*s.*; an esquire of less estate, 4*s.* 7*d.*; the Judges, 100*s.* each; the Mayor of London, 4*l.*; merchants of the highest class, 8*s.* 4*d.*; every married man, for himself and wife, 4*d.*; and every unmarried woman, 4*d.* This was the tax which occasioned the insurrection of Wat Tyler. It is also in this reign that we find the first mention made of the practice of levying benevolences, which was, in truth, nothing else than a mode of taxing the people by the sole authority of the Crown, under pretence of only soliciting their voluntary contributions.

The doubtful title of the House of Lancaster served to augment considerably for the time the power and influence of the House of Commons; and it is observed that neither Henry IV., Henry V., nor Henry VI. ever attempted to impose a general tax, without the authority of Parliament. An account has been preserved of the entire ordinary revenues of the Crown, and also of their expenditure for the year 1421, in the reign of Henry V., from which it appears that they amounted only to 55,714*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* in money of that time. "This," observes Hume, "is nearly the same with the revenues of Henry III., and the Kings of England had neither become much richer nor poorer in the course of so many years. The ordinary expenses of the Government amounted to 52,507*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*, so that the king had of surplus only 3206*l.* 14*s.* for the support of his household, for his wardrobe, for the expense of embassies, and other articles. This sum was nowise sufficient; he was therefore obliged to have frequent recourse to Parliamentary supplies, and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were a monstrous expense, which neither the prince's ordinary revenue, nor the extraordinary supplies, were able to bear; and he was always reduced to many miserable shifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and sometimes the crown itself; he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy." At this time the charge of the town of Calais cost the Crown nearly 20,000*l.* a-year, and Ireland about 2000*l.* a-year over and above its own revenue. It has been noticed that the first instance of a debt being contracted upon Parliamentary security occurs in the reign of Henry VI.

Some of the succeeding kings descended to still more extraordinary practices. "Edward IV., for example," says Henry "not only carried on trade like a common merchant, but also solicited charities, which he called benevolences or free gifts, like a common, or rather like a sturdy beggar. Having expended all the aids granted to him by Parliament in preparing for his expedition into France, A.D. 1475, he sent for all the rich lords, ladies, gentlemen, and merchants, of whom he had procured a list, received them with the most captivating affability, represented the greatness of his necessities, and earnestly entreated them to grant him as great a free gift as they could afford, accompanying his entreaties with smiles and promises, or frowns and threats, as he saw occasion. Being a handsome, gallant, courteous,

and popular prince, he was exceedingly successful in his solicitations, particularly with the ladies, and collected a greater mass of money than had ever been in the possession of a king of England. This mode of raising money appeared to be so dangerous to the liberties of the kingdom, as well as hurtful to particular persons, who were induced to contribute more than they could afford, that an Act of Parliament was made against it, 1st Richard III., A.D. 1483." A subsequent Act, however, passed in the reign of Henry VII., empowered that king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence; "a statute by which," as Hume has justly observed, "that arbitrary method of taxation was directly authorized and justified." This last-mentioned monarch left at his death the sum of 1,800,000*l.* in cash, an amount of gold and silver equal to 2,700,000*l.* of our present money, and in effective value undoubtedly to much more. The profusion of his successor, however, soon dissipated all this anxiously-gathered treasure; and Henry VIII., notwithstanding the extraordinary resources he opened to himself by his wholesale confiscation of the religious establishments, and by debasing the coinage, died in debt. So did both his successor, Edward VI., and Edward's successor, Mary.

Elizabeth paid off these debts of her father, her brother, and her sister, and also left more money due to her than she owed at her death. Mr. Hume thinks that the ordinary revenue of this Princess could not have fallen much short of half a million. All the supplies she received from Parliament during her whole reign were only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths; amounting probably in all to about three millions, which is at the rate of only 66,666*l.* a-year. But the Crown had still a great variety of ways of obtaining money from the subject without the assistance of Parliament. From the year 1590 the Customs of the port of London alone were farmed at 50,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Hume has shown that nearly all the most obnoxious of the old royal prerogatives continued to be both maintained and exerted in this reign; and of these many were largely productive in a pecuniary sense. The Star Chamber still possessed and exercised its unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment. The Court of High Commission still took cognizance of ecclesiastical offences, and outraged all sense of justice at once by the monstrous tyranny of its pretensions, and by the inquisitorial process by which it sought to enforce them. The Queen was resolved, she herself declared in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions." Martial law was still put in force by the Crown at its discretion. The mere warrant of a Secretary of State or of the Privy Council was still authority enough to consign any individual in the kingdom to imprisonment in any gaol, and for any length of time that these ministers might think proper. The rack was still frequently used on the same authority. The power of pressing and obliging any person to accept of any office was another royal prerogative which was still kept up; and money was frequently extorted by the exercise, or threatened exercise of this iniquitous power. Benevolences and ship-money were still occasionally exacted. The country was still obliged to raise, arm, and clothe any number of soldiers the Crown might at any time demand. The prerogative of purveyance was still exercised almost without limitation; so was that of wardship. When an estate fell to a female she was obliged to marry any one the sovereign pleased; whether the heir was male or female, the Crown enjoyed the whole profits of the rents during the minority: nay, none of the nobility could marry without permission from the Crown, nor could any person visit a foreign country without a similar license. Embargoes on merchandize imported from abroad were still laid on by the Sovereign at pleasure. The Crown still exercised what was called the dispensing power,—that is, the power of declaring any statute null and of no effect at its discretion. A royal proclamation had still all the authority and effect of law. A royal warrant was still allowed to stop the course of justice, and to shelter the person in whose favour it was issued from all suits and prosecutions. In short, as Hume has observed, "the inventions were endless which arbitrary power might employ for extorting money, while the people imagined that their property was secured by debarring the Crown from imposing taxes." But the power of imposing taxes was the only power which the House of Commons at this time exercised. Its general demeanour to the Crown was the very extreme of timidity and abjectness. "The Crown, on the other hand," continues the historian, "conceived the Parliament in no other light than a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom assembling Parliaments." .... "The Government of England in that age," he observes in another place, "bore some resemblance to that of Turkey at present; the sovereign possessed every power except that of imposing taxes; and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey it obliges the Sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents or takes forfeitures; in England it engaged the Queen to erect monopolies and grant patents for exclusive trade; an invention so pernicious, that had she gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco or the coast of Barbary."

ADMISSION TO THE COMMONS' GALLERY.

For a long time past the public have obtained admission as spectators to the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, only by written orders of Peers for the House of Lords, and for the House of Commons by the Speaker's order to a seat below the Gallery, and either by a Member's order, or by the payment of half-a-crown, to the Gallery. By a regulation promulgated a few weeks ago, the privilege of admission to the Commons' Gallery by the half-crown payment is abolished, and the written order of a Member is made the only passport.

The pretence, or the chief pretence, for this innovation, we believe, is, that it is expedient to put an end, in all cases, to the practice of the receipt of fees or gratuities by the officers of the House. But with whatever object the new regulation may have been made, it appears to be impossible to regard it as in effect anything else than a material abridgment of an important public accommodation, and, we will add, of a great public right.

It is sufficient, in order to place the matter in a proper light, merely to observe, that of two modes of obtaining admission to the Gallery which were heretofore available to the public, one is now wholly put an end to. And we shall be very much surprised, indeed, to find that the mode which is left has hitherto been one-fiftieth part as much resorted to,—in other words, has been one-fiftieth part as much an accommodation—as the one which has been taken away. For one person who came to the Gallery with a Member's order, we should think there must have been fifty who had no other means of admission than their half-crowns. These last are now deprived of all means of admission whatever.

The system according to which the public were admitted to the House of Lords has always been consi-

dered as exclusive and illiberal, in comparison with the system of admission to the Gallery of the Commons. There are many persons, we will venture to say, who have resided in London for years, and who, although they have repeatedly visited the Commons' Gallery, have not been once present at a debate in the Lords. Yet now the exclusive system of the Lords has been adopted by the Commons also. In these days of popular ascendancy, and of the fashion of liberalizing old institutions, it might rather have been expected that the more accommodating system of the Commons would have been extended to the Lords.

The objection to the practice of the door-keeper taking money from the visitors to the Gallery rests, we presume, upon his putting the money in his pocket. It is conceived to be an inexpedient mode of paying an officer of the House. But the half-crowns, although received at the door, might, instead of going into the pocket of the door-keeper, be carried to the public account. Any fraud on the part of the person receiving the money might be prevented, by the same means that will have to be used to prevent similar frauds under the newly-established system.

But perhaps the half-crown payment is disliked as giving an advantage to the man who has got half-a-crown over him who has not. It is an advantage, we fear, which will always exist. But is it anything else, after all, than mere cant to pretend that the class of persons who cannot occasionally spare half-a-crown to pay for admission are those to whom it is most important to secure the means of visiting the Gallery? Are such persons, generally speaking, likely to have either much leisure for going to hear the debates, or much taste for that kind of amusement, or sufficient information and intelligence to make them on any account the fittest audience for a legislative assembly to collect around it? Did not the mode of admission by Members' orders, considered as supplementary to the ordinary mode of admission by a money payment, allow as many of this class of persons to find their way into the Gallery as was desirable? However, with room enough, and proper regulations to preserve order, we should, for our own part, have no objections to the admission of all who choose to come, without either money or orders, as freely as people are admitted into a church. This would be the really liberal and popular system. That recently established, and now in operation, has nothing whatever of a popular character about it; but on the contrary, is the most illiberal and exclusive that it is possible to imagine.

If Members, as a general practice, are only to give orders to their acquaintances, it is needless to remark that not many of them will go to persons whom their poverty would otherwise exclude from the Gallery;—they will be given away, as franks are, for the most part just to those to whom the saving of half-a-crown is least a matter of any consequence.

But even to the acquaintances of Members, or to persons having any such knowledge of, or connexion with them, as may be supposed to entitle them to ask an order, the new system is infinitely less convenient than the old. Formerly, when you wished to be present at a debate, if you chanced to meet with a Member whom you knew, good and well, you might have your order; but, if not, you got in by paying your half-crown. Now, as the cookery-book says of the goose, you must in all cases first catch your Member; unless you succeed in that attempt, all your time and trouble in going down to the House are thrown away.

How would it answer to extend the principle of this rule to our other places of public resort? Would it deserve to be accounted an accommodation to any class of persons whatever, if instead, for instance, of the shilling paid for admission to the exhibition at Somerset House, it were to be insisted that every applicant should bring with him an order from one of the Academicians? The only plan that could prevent such a rule from operating as an impassable barrier of exclusion, in regard to the greater part of the public, would be the plan adopted at the Zoological Gardens, where, although the admission is by members' orders, the orders are to be had, for the asking, in every grocer's and confectioner's shop. So, the only way in which the new rule for admission to the Gallery of the House of Commons could be made tolerable, would be by its being distinctly understood that an order was no favour, but that you might call a Member as you would a coach from the stand; and that, as a matter of course, they should "come when you do call for them."

We take it for granted that, at least, Members are not to be restricted, under the new system of admission, from giving as many orders as they please for the same day. If each Member is only to have the power of granting a single order, the regulation, under a show of reform, goes as near as possible to the shutting of the Gallery, and the exclusion of the public, altogether. It would be a very small portion of the public, indeed, that would ever enter the Gallery through so narrow an opening as would be thus afforded.

By the way, admission to see the Houses, when the Lords and Commons are not sitting, has hitherto been to be had for a shilling. Is this also to be put a stop to, and a Member's order to take the place of the gratuity to the housemaid? The practical application of the soundest and most salutary general principle may be carried out to a point at which it becomes both tormenting and ridiculous.

(To be continued.)

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR JULY, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Our last Retrospect brought down the account of the proceedings of Parliament to Friday, the 24th of June. Both Houses met that evening; but in the Lords nothing took place requiring notice. In the Commons a somewhat warm discussion on the Liverpool Docks Bill was terminated by a division, by which a motion, made by Mr. Ewart, for throwing out the Bill, was carried by a majority of 197 to 173. The matter seems to have been made a party question, the Ministerial Members generally voting for Mr. Ewart's motion, and the Opposition against it. Mr. Ewart opposed the Bill principally on the ground that it took the management of the Dock estate out of the hands of the town-council. It is understood that this decision will prove a serious, if not a fatal, blow to the parliamentary interest of the Opposition in the borough of Liverpool. The House then went again into Committee on the English Tithe Bill, when the remaining clauses were carried, after divisions had taken place on several of them. A motion, by Mr. Trevor, for the insertion of a proviso that the Commissioners should be members of the Established Church, was negatived by a majority of 58 to 19; and another by Mr. Hume, for an alteration of the proposed mode of taking the tithes on hop-grounds and market-gardens, by a majority of 104 to 23. We record these divisions merely as indicative in some degree of the strength of parties in the House.

The Lords assembled in unusual force on Monday,

the 27th, to debate the question of taking into consideration the amendments of the Commons to the Irish Corporation Reform Bill. Lord Melbourne having moved that their Lordships should proceed to consider the amendments in a remarkably earnest and striking speech, a long and animated debate arose. The opposition to the motion was led by Lord Lyndhurst, who was followed on the same side by Lord Ripon, Lord Winchilsea, Lord Ellenborough, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Westmeath, and Lord Wharncliffe. The speakers in support of the motion were the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Falkland, Earl Grey, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Richmond. At length, after a reply from Lord Melbourne, the House divided at one o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were found to be, for Lord Melbourne's motion 123 (including 48 proxies), against it 220 (including 78 proxies); majority for rejecting the amendments of the Commons, 97.

Lord Grey, in the course of his speech, threw out a suggestion for a modification of the Bill, with the view of effecting a compromise between its supporters and opponents, which we deem to be very deserving of notice for the sake of the principle involved in it, and the more as it does not seem to have been well understood either in the House or by the public. His Lordship is reported to have said—"Suppose that every voter was restricted to voting for only half the number of town-councillors; the consequence would be that there would be no exclusive party established, but that a minority in any corporation, of whatever persuasion they might be, would retain their due share of influence. . . . It is obvious, that if a voter were restricted to vote for only half the town-councillors, unless the majority of one opinion could be swelled to two to one, no principle of exclusion could be established. What I propose, however, is, that the voter should be restricted to vote for five-eighths of the town-councillors."

A respectable weekly newspaper, commenting upon this proposition, observes—"Lord Grey appeared in the character of a mediator or middle man. He professed to have a plan of compromise, and he attempted to explain it, but it was quite unintelligible. He proposed that the electors in Irish municipalities should have the right of voting for only half the number of councillors, in order to insure a share of the representation to the Protestant minority. But how this was to be effected by his plan—who were to choose the other half of the council, or whether they were to be nominated by the Crown, or in what way the body was to be put together—Lord Grey did not seem to understand himself, and certainly did not explain to his hearers. Whatever it was, it found little favour in the House."

The total misconception of the matter involved in this commentary will appear from the remarks that follow.

We have already adverted, on more than one occasion in the pages of the "Companion," to the importance of securing in all public bodies of a representative character a representation of the minority of the community, as well as of the majority. We would refer our readers in particular to what we said upon this subject in our Political Retrospect for March last (see "Companion" for April, No. 40, pp. 71, 72). At present we shall only observe, that a representation of all interests and of all parties that may exist in the community, great or small, for which the representative body professes to act, appears to be demanded by the very principle in which such bodies originate and have their being. And the considerations of expediency which call for such an arrangement are as decisive as those of principle and equity.

But the common plan of election is obviously unfitted to secure this result. Suppose that a constituency is divided into two parties, as nearly equal as you please; say that there are 101 blue and 100 yellow voters; if every elector has a vote for every member to be returned, the blues have it in their power to make the whole representation of their own colour. Who will say it is fit that in the circumstances they should have this power?

But this is not all. To see the whole absurdity and unfairness of the common mode of election, we must look beyond a single constituency. Let us take the case of a number of distinct constituencies, each returning the same number of members to some common representative body. Let the number of constituencies, for example, be six, and let each have the privilege of returning two members. It may very well happen that while in each of five of the six constituencies there is a small majority of one party, there is in the sixth so considerable a majority of the opposite party, that if the whole six constituencies were to be formed into one, the numbers of the latter party would preponderate. Yet, each party putting forth its full strength, what is the result of the election? Why, that the party which is really the majority on the whole returns only two of the twelve members, and that which is the minority on the whole all the remaining ten.

Now it is impossible, by any practicable plan of voting, altogether to reduce and equalize this injustice; it is impossible to provide that the two parties shall always be represented in exact proportion to their numbers. But a very considerable approximation to that result is attainable.

The method is, to give to each individual voter the right of voting only for a certain portion of the whole number of members to be returned.

In the case, for example, of the Irish municipal constituencies, Lord Grey appears to have proposed that each elector should vote for only five-eighths of the whole number of town-councillors. Let us see what would be the effect of this arrangement.

Suppose the entire number of voters in the town to be 100, and that they are divided into two parties; one of 60, and the other of 40 votes. Suppose, further, that the number of councillors to be elected is eight; each voter, therefore, upon Lord Grey's plan, would vote for five councillors. How much of the representation could each party secure to itself, in these circumstances, by the most economical and effective distribution of its forces?

It is plain, in the first place, that no candidate supported by the minority can have more than 40 votes. The whole question, therefore, is, to how many candidates can the majority give more than 40 votes each?

That question is easily answered. The entire number of votes which the majority can command is sixty times five, or 300; there are in 300 seven times 41, and 13 over; the majority, therefore, may give 41 votes each to seven candidates; that is to say, they may place seven of their own men highest on the poll. The minority will be able to return the eighth man only.

The majority would distribute their votes in the following manner:—Let the seven candidates whom they intended to bring in be designated A, B, C, D, E, F, G. Then, of the 60 voters, 17 would vote for A, B, C, D, E; 17 for A, B, C, F, G; 8 for A, D, E, F, G; 8 for B, D, E, F, G; and 8 for C, D, E, F, G. The result would be that A, B, and C, would each have 42 votes; D, E, F, and G, each 41; and there would be two voters to spare. The 126 votes divided among A, B, and C; the 164 divided among D, E, F, and G; and the 10 votes over, make up the whole 300 votes of the party.

It is evident that, upon this scheme, the power of the majority is increased directly in proportion to the number of votes allowed to each elector. That is the reason why the power of the majority is greatest when each elector may vote for the whole number of candidates, as is done under the existing system. Every diminution made in the number of votes allowed to each elector

reduces the inequality of strength between the majority and the minority; and the greater that diminution, the more is the inequality reduced. By limiting each elector to a very small number of votes in proportion to the whole number of members to be elected, a very considerable majority might be brought down to an absolute equality of strength with the minority,—an effect which, of course, it would not be desirable to produce in any case. But Lord Grey's proposition, on the other hand, seems to err in giving too great a preponderance to an inconsiderable majority. A minority of 40 in a constituency of 100 ought surely to possess more than an eighth part of the representation. Even an eighth part, however, is better than none at all—than that complete preponderance and despotism of the majority (nay, as we have shown above, by possibility, of the minority), which is established by the existing system.

The working of this principle of proportional voting may be most distinctly exemplified by supposing its application in a case where the number of persons to be elected is very small. Take for instance the case of the election of Members of Parliament. The House of Commons, it is admitted on all hands, should present a perfectly faithful reflection of the public sentiment, from which it is presumed to spring. But this it does not do if it represent only the majority in the nation. A fair representation of the minority, as well as of the majority, might be secured by a very simple plan, and one that seems to be free from objection in all respects. *Let every place represented in Parliament return three Members, but let each elector have only two votes.* It may be demonstrated that, upon this scheme, the full strength of each party being exerted, the minority never could carry one of the three Members, unless they amounted in number to *more than two-thirds of the majority.* Let us suppose them to be only half the number of the majority—to be, for instance, 1000, the majority being 2000. In this case they would, upon a principle of perfectly equal justice, be entitled to return one Member out of the three. But, upon the plan proposed, they would not be able to do so; the majority would return all the three. Let A, B, and C, be three candidates in the interest of the majority, and D a candidate in the interest of the minority. D, it is plain, can at most have only the 1000 plumpers of his friends; if any of the 1000 should split his vote, he would only assist the enemy. But the other side will distribute their force in this way:—668 of them will vote for A and B; 666 for A and C; and the remaining 666 for B and C: thus giving to A and B each 1334 votes, and to C 1332 votes. A, B, and C, will therefore be the Members, and D will be thrown out. Suppose, again, that the minority amounts exactly to two-thirds of the majority,—that they are 2000, the majority being 3000; even in this case they will not necessarily be able to secure the return of one Member. The candidate D will now have 2000 plumpers; but of the 3000 friends of the other candidates, 1000 will vote for A and B, 1000 for A and C, and the remaining 1000 for B and C; so that A, B, and C, will have each 2000 votes, or as many as D. D will not be returned unless the officer authorised to give the casting vote shall give it in his favour. It is only, as we have said, when the minority is in a *higher* proportion to the majority than that of two to three, that, by the exertion of their utmost strength, they could, upon this plan, secure to themselves one-third of the representation.

The plan, therefore, can hardly be objected to as giving too much to the minority. It does not give them so much as they are fairly entitled to. But still it is a much more equitable plan than that actually in operation; according to which, be the minority in any instance ever so near the majority, it is allowed no share in the representation whatever. The Members, whether one, two, or three, are all returned by the majority exclusively.

In the House of Commons, on Monday the 27th, the Registration of Voters Bill was considered in Committee, when Sir James Graham moved the insertion in the Bill of a clause to prevent freeholders and leaseholders of property in boroughs, which conferred the privilege of voting for borough Members, from voting also in right of the same property for county Members. It appeared to be admitted that the intention of the Reform Bill was to prevent such double voting; but the clause was rejected by a majority of 133 to 100. The English Tithe Bill was then, after some debate, read a third time and passed. It was proposed by Mr. Hume to strike out the 37th and 38th clauses, which fixed the amount of tithe to be paid for hop-grounds and market-gardens; but the amendment was negatived on a division, by a majority of 153 to 39.

On Tuesday, the 28th, a debate of some length took place on the question of receiving the Report of the Committee on the Brighton Railway, which had decided in favour of Stephenson's Line; the motion for receiving the Report was carried by a majority of 101 to 61. The Registration of Births Bill was then read a third time, and passed, after an amendment proposed by Mr. Goulburn to prevent the registration of the name of the child, in order that that might be only done, as at present, on the performance of a religious ceremony, had been negatived by a majority of 97 to 73. Lord John Russell next moved the third reading of the Marriages Bill, when Mr. Goulburn proposed the insertion of a clause, compelling parties, in giving notice of their intention to marry to the registrar, to declare that they had conscientious scruples against being married according to the forms of the Established Church; the clause was rejected by a majority of 132 to 68. The clause requiring parties about to be married to make a declaration of their religious opinions was afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Warburton, who was supported by Lord John Russell, struck out by a majority of 108 to 67. Finally, the third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 104 to 54.

On Wednesday, the 29th, a petition from Dr. Mulholland similar to that presented a few days before in the House of Lords (See 'Retrospect' for last month) was, after a short discussion, received in the House of Commons, and laid upon the Table. Afterwards the Resolutions of the Committee upon the House of Commons' Officers Compensation were agreed to. The Bill for regulating the sale of spirits was thrown out, on the motion for its being considered in Committee, by a majority of 52 to 15; and the Civil Bill Courts (Ireland) Bill went through the Committee.

On Thursday, the 30th, in the Lords, the Report of the Select Committee appointed to draw up reasons for dissenting from the Commons' amendments to the Irish Municipal Reform Bill was agreed to, on the motion of Lord Ellenborough, without a division, after Lord Melbourne had, in his own name, and that of his colleagues, emphatically disclaimed all participation in the course which the majority of their Lordships had adopted. The Prisoners' Counsel Bill afterwards went through Committee.

The reasons of the Lords on the Irish Municipal Bill having been communicated at a Conference, were presented in the House of Commons by Mr. Spring Rice, when Lord John Russell, in an address of considerable length, which was frequently interrupted by the loud cheers of the Ministerial side of the House, moved that they should be taken into consideration that day three months—in other words, that the measure should be dropped for the present Session. No opposition was made to this motion; but various Members took occasion to express their sentiments on the conduct of the

Lords, which was attacked with less or more asperity by Mr. Hume, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Dillon Brown, and defended by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. J. M. Gaskell. Of the former speakers several directed their remarks against the constitution of the Upper House.

On Friday, the 1st of July, the Commons, on the motion of Lord Morpeth, went into Committee on the Irish Tithe Bill. The only division that took place was on a Resolution proposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford, declaring it to be expedient that tithes, and all compositions for tithes in Ireland should cease, and be for ever extinguished, after compensation had been made for all vested interests out of a tax on rents, which was opposed by Mr. O'Connell, as well as by Ministers, and negatived, after a short discussion, by a majority of 51 to 18. The first forty-nine clauses of the Bill were agreed to; after which, the appropriation clause being the next in order, it was agreed that the Chairman should report progress.

The tug of war, as Lord Morpeth expressed it, came when the consideration of the Bill was resumed on Monday, the 4th. The 50th clause having been read, it was moved by Lord Mahon that it should be struck out, on which a vehement and protracted debate arose. The most distinguished speeches were those of Mr. Sheil and Mr. O'Connell against Lord Mahon's motion, and that of Lord Stanley in support of it. At length the Committee divided, when the numbers were found to be, for the clause 290, against it 264; majority for ministers 26.

On Tuesday, the 5th, in answer to a question from Mr. H. L. Bulwer, Sir George Grey said it had been intended to bring in a Bill to regulate the legislation of New South Wales during the present Session, but subsequent intelligence from the colony had rendered it necessary to take the question into further consideration. He pledged himself, however, that a measure of the kind would be introduced next Session. Lord Palmerston intimated that a new and satisfactory treaty with Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade had been almost arranged. A short discussion then arose on a motion by Mr. Plumptre, for an address to his Majesty, praying that his subjects in the civil and military services abroad may be relieved from assisting in religious ceremonies to which their own tenets are opposed: the motion was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 44 to 38. After this the remaining clauses of the Irish Tithes Bill were considered in Committee, and agreed to. The House then went into Committee on the Paper Duties Bill, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that in order, as far as possible, to obviate the difficulty arising from the stock of paper that would be on hand when the reduction of duty took place, he intended in the first place to postpone the reduction to the 10th of October; and, secondly, to allow parties in the interim to take from the mill any quantity of paper they pleased, which should bear, not only the Excise mark, but be so identified and distinguished as to exclude all attempts at fraud; and upon all of that paper that remained on hand on the 10th of October, the amount of duty that had been paid would be returned. This would prevent any stoppage of purchases and of manufacturing in the meantime.

On Thursday, the 7th, in the Lords, the Bill for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales was read a second time, after scarcely any debate. In the Commons, the Bill for the regulation of the Court of Session in Scotland went through a Committee; after which the House went into Committee on the Poole Corporation Bill, the object of which is to nullify the late election of town-councillors for that borough, which a Select Committee to whom the Bill was referred, declared had been effected through fraud and falsification. Mr. Forbes having moved that the first clause of the Bill be expunged, a debate and division took place, when the numbers were found to be, for the motion 64, against it 98. The chairman then reported progress.

On Friday, the 8th, Lord John Russell, in moving the Order of the Day for the House going into Committee on the Reform of the Church of England Bill, founded on the fourth Report of the Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenues and Duties, explained the leading provisions of the proposed measure. The principal object of the Bill is to settle the future incomes of the Bishops; to whom it proposes to allot 150,000*l.* a-year in all, to be divided as follows:—To the Archbishop of Canterbury 15,000*l.*; the Archbishop of York, 10,000*l.*; the Bishop of London, 10,000*l.*; the Bishop of Durham, 8000*l.*; the Bishop of Winchester, 7000*l.*; to the other Bishops incomes varying from 4500*l.* to 5500*l.* With these endowments Bishops are to be prohibited from holding any subordinate cathedral office with their Sees. The Bill also reduces the number of canons and prebendaries in cathedrals, and takes about 130,000*l.* from the revenues of the Deans and Chapters, for the augmentation of poor livings. On Lord John Russell's motion being put from the chair, Mr. C. Lushington moved as an amendment that an address should be presented to his Majesty, praying him to direct the Commissioners to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the translation of Bishops from one See to another. In the course of the debate that followed, the amendment was supported by Mr. Ewart, Mr. Wason, Mr. Hume, Mr. Lennard, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Poulter, and Mr. C. Buller, most, if not all, of whom also expressed their dissatisfaction with the Bill in general, as not going far enough in the way of a reform of the Church. The amendment was opposed by Sir Robert Peel, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. A. Trevor, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. Rice; but Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Trevor at the same time declared themselves opposed to the Bill. On a division Mr. Lushington's amendment was negatived by a majority of 124 to 44. Mr. A. Trevor then moved that the Bill be committed that day six months; and the motion was supported, though on various grounds, by Mr. Potter, Mr. Lambton, and Sir H. Williamson. It was negatived on a division by a majority of 142 to 22. The House then went into Committee on the Bill, when the first eight clauses were agreed to, the only division having been on a motion by Mr. Hindley to throw out the third clause, which was negatived by a majority of 79 to 21. These several divisions show that although ministers on this occasion were pertinaciously enough opposed, both on particular points and on the general measure, by individual members, they were supported throughout by an overwhelming majority of the House.

On Monday, the 11th, in the Lords, the second reading of the Bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt was moved by the Lord Chancellor, in a speech in which he detailed the principal provisions of the measure at considerable length. It proposed to carry the new system into effect by means of the Bankruptcy Court of Review in London, and of Commissioners in the country. The Duke of Wellington, however, protested against entering, at so late a period of the Session, upon the consideration of a measure which, especially by the new rights which it gave to creditors over the landed estates of their debtors, interfered to such an extent with the whole law of property. Without pledging himself either to oppose or to support the Bill in another Session, he moved that the second reading should be postponed to that day three weeks. The same views were urged by Lord Abinger, and upon a division the amendment was carried by a majority of 46 to 22. After this the Registration of Births Bill, and the Marriages Bill were read a second time without opposition,

but not without intimations of their intention to oppose certain clauses of both from several Peers on the opposition side of the House.

In the Commons the several clauses of the County Election Polls Bill were considered in Committee, and agreed to. By this Bill elections in counties are limited to a single day. The House then went into Committee on the Stamp Duties Bill, when, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was agreed to proceed at once to the part of the Bill relating to the newspaper stamp, and to postpone the first 162 clauses, the substance of which would probably be brought forward in the shape of another Bill next Session. The only division that took place was on a motion by Mr. Wakley, to strike out from the 163rd clause the words "or pamphlets," on the alleged ground, that by these words pamphlets were brought under the same duties and liabilities in other respects with newspapers; the motion was negatived by a majority of 69 to 1. Some amendments suggested from different quarters were afterwards introduced; among others, the fine on a person selling an unstamped supplement was reduced from 50*l.* to 20*l.*; and the 175th clause imposing penalties upon persons violating the new law, by having unstamped newspapers in their possession, was qualified by the insertion of the words "knowingly and wilfully." Some conversation, also, passed on the projects of registering at the Stamp Office the names of all the proprietors of every newspaper, and of having a distinct die for the stamps issued to each; but both were eventually reserved for further consideration. Some Members even proposed that the names of all the writers in every newspaper should be required to be registered at the Stamp Office. We may be of opinion that our newspapers would be raised in character and influence were the writers in them generally to put their names to their articles; but this is a very different thing from holding that it would be expedient to attempt to put down all anonymous writing in newspapers by law. Such an attempt we should regard as one of the most direct blows that could be dealt at the liberty of the press. If anonymous writing in newspapers were to be prohibited, anonymous writing of every other kind would have to be made illegal upon the same principle; that is to say, it would be necessary to establish a system of inquisition to ascertain the real authorship of every book, and every pamphlet, and every printed page that should henceforth appear in any part of the United Kingdom. And as a necessary consequence all anonymous publications that might be imported from foreign parts, whether in our own or in any other language, would have to be equally prohibited. Nay, the reason of the prohibition would include many other things as well as the productions of the common printing press; if anonymous letter-press was forbidden, it would be impossible to tolerate a page of lithography, or even a page of penmanship, the authorship of which was not registered at the Stamp Office. But even if the law were to be confined to newspapers alone, it would be found to be of impracticable application. The prohibition, to be worth anything, would have to comprehend all the matter of every description whatever inserted in the paper. Then, not a letter from a correspondent could be given until the authorship had been verified and duly registered at the Stamp Office. Not even an advertisement would be allowed to appear until the same process had been gone through in regard to it. Otherwise, the letters from correspondents and the advertisements would soon become the most important and attractive parts of the publication. But such a proposition is really not worth discussing. It belongs to that impetuous legislation which looks only at the single evil to be got rid of, and in its reckless precipitation never stops to examine whether it is not creating a dozen other evils by its mode of remedying, or trying to remedy, that one. There is also another point of view in which this busy law-making deserves to be looked at with considerable jealousy. The eagerness of its authors appears to be little restrained by any dislike to interfere unnecessarily with that freedom of individual action which in this country has long been not only the soul of all commercial speculation, but the very breath of our social existence altogether. The motives that prompt such intermeddling may be very good; but that only makes the habit more dangerous. Nothing requires to be more carefully kept within its proper province than the law. It has a strong tendency to overstep its proper limits, and it is exceedingly mischievous when it does so.

On Tuesday, the 12th, the Lords sat in Committee on the English Tithe Bill, when all the clauses were agreed to without any material alteration.

In the Commons the Lighthouses Bill was considered in Committee, when all the clauses were agreed to, without any division, with the exception of the 41st; on which Mr. Warburton moved an amendment to the effect that the Trinity House, the Commissioners of Northern Lights, and the Ballast Board of Dublin, should all be placed under the control of a Central Board, which itself should be under the superintendence of the Admiralty; the amendment was negatived by a majority of 68 to 7. Lord John Russell then moved the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into a Committee on the Established Church Bill, on which Mr. Maxwell moved, as an amendment, the second reading of his Hand-Loom Weavers Bill; on a division taking place, the numbers were 51 for the amendment, and 65 against it. Previous, however, to the House resolving itself into a Committee on the Church Bill, Mr. Jervis moved that it be an instruction to the Committee to receive a clause enacting that no clergyman not fully conversant with the Welsh language be appointed to any see or benefice in the principality; and the motion, although opposed by Lord John Russell, was carried, on a division, by a majority of 74 to 64. The House then went into Committee on the Bill, when Mr. Lambton moved, as an amendment to the 10th clause, that no part of the revenues of the See of Durham should be devoted to other ecclesiastical purposes until provision had been made for the spiritual instruction of the people of that diocese; the amendment was rejected by a majority of 68 to 8. The remaining clauses were then agreed to. It was this evening ordered, on the motion of Mr. Divett, that no new writ should be issued for the borough of Stafford till that day fortnight.

On Wednesday, the 13th, the House of Commons was counted out while sitting in Committee on the Hackney Carriages Bill, of which, however, the first twenty clauses were carried.

On Thursday, the 14th, a debate of some length arose in the Lords, on the motion for receiving the Report on the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, which was opposed by Lord Wharncliffe. His Lordship moved that the Report should be received that day three months; but he did not press his amendment to a division, and eventually the original motion was agreed to.

In the Commons, after the Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Bill had gone through Committee, and the Greenwich Pier Bill, the Personal Tithes Bill, the Deeds Registration Bill, and the Irish Constabulary Act Amendment Bill had been read a third time and passed, Mr. Hume called the attention of the House to a petition from Calcutta on the present state of India, and concluded by moving certain resolutions on the subject, which, after a short discussion, were negatived without a division. A long debate then took place on the motion for receiving the Report on the Established Church Bill,

as an amendment on which Mr. Hume moved that the Report be received that day six months. Mr. Hume was supported in his opposition to the Bill by Mr. Cayley, Mr. Lennard, Mr. Poulter, Mr. C. Buller, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Mark Philips, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Warburton; but the amendment was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 90 to 43. On this occasion most of the Opposition Members present voted in the majority with Ministers.

The Report having then been brought up, Mr. Trevor moved the insertion of a clause, providing that the income of the Bishop of Durham should be 10,000*l.* a-year, but on a division, it appeared that the number of votes against the motion was 133, and that nobody voted in favour of it. Mr. Charles Buller then moved a clause, fixing the income of the Archbishop of Canterbury at 8000*l.*; that of the Archbishop of York at 7000*l.*; that of the Bishop of London at 4500*l.*, and that of each of the other Bishops at 4000*l.*, until such time as those parts of the country declared by the Commissioners to be destitute of religious instruction should be supplied with it, and the incomes of clergymen reported to be inadequate were sufficiently augmented. The motion was supported by Mr. Villiers and Colonel Love Parry, and opposed by Lord John Russell and Mr. A. Trevor. On a division, it was negatived by a majority of 82 to 44. The Report was then agreed to.

On Friday, the 15th, the Prisoners' Counsel Bill was read a third time in the Lords. On the question, that the Bill do pass, Lord Radnor moved the restoration of a clause which had been struck out on a former day, giving the prisoners' counsel the last word; but the motion was negatived by a majority of 24 to 14.

The House of Commons met this day at twelve o'clock, when a long debate arose on a motion by Mr. Warburton for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the case of Catherine Robson and Isabella Ainslie, claiming to be the heirs of Samuel Troutbeck, a merchant at Madras, who died in 1785, and whose property which, in 1814, amounted to upwards of 140,000*l.*, had, in default of heirs, been taken possession of by the Crown. The rights of the claimants were strongly insisted upon both by Mr. Warburton and by Sir F. Pollock. Eventually the debate was adjourned.

At the evening sitting, on the Order of the Day being moved for the third reading of the Irish Church Bill, Mr. Clay, as an amendment, brought forward a motion of which he had given notice some time back, for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the Danish Claims, in so far as they yet remained unsatisfied. This is a subject to which we have more than once adverted in the "Companion" (See No. 31, p. 415, and No. 41, p. 100). The motion was, as on former occasions, opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but on a division, it was only negatived by a majority of 8 votes in a House of 110 Members. The Church of Ireland Bill was then read a third time and passed; and various other Bills were advanced a stage, with little or no discussion.

On Monday, the 18th, the Lords acquiesced in the reasons of the Commons for dissenting from several of their amendments on the Municipal Corporation Act Amendment Bill, but resolved by a majority of 63 to 33 to insist on the clause compelling town-councils to choose their mayors by lot, when parties in the councils are equally divided, instead of referring the choice to the votes of the burgesses.

In the Commons, Mr. Cundy the engineer was called to the Bar of the House to answer the complaint of Sir Charles Burrell, whom he was said to have charged with having been influenced by corrupt motives in the support he had given to Stephenson's Line in the Committee on the Brighton Railway. Mr. Cundy denied that he had made any such charge, but admitted that he had mentioned something of the kind as a general rumour. On this it was moved, by Lord John Russell, that the next Order of the Day be read, which was carried by a majority of 114 to 56. The House then went into Committee on the Stamp Duties Bill, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he intended to strike out the 180th clause, making the printer of a newspaper liable to have his property seized for payment of an arrear of newspaper duty, and to alter other clauses imposing upon printers the liability to penalties, by allowing them to register their names at the Stamp Office as the printers of certain papers, and entitling them, in that case, to a notice from the Stamp Office to desist from any illegal practice before they could be proceeded against for the penalty. Such printers as did not register their names would be liable to be proceeded against without notice. He also intended to omit the word "pamphlets" wherever it could be interpreted as extending the duty to any publications that were not newspapers. The Right Honourable Gentleman then moved the addition of a clause reducing the duty on Irish newspapers from a penny to three farthings. On this clause no fewer than three divisions took place. The motion for the second reading was carried by a majority of 89 to 52. Mr. Robinson then moved to strike the word "Ireland" out of the clause, the effect of which would have been to extend the reduced duty to all the newspapers of the United Kingdom; this amendment was negatived by a majority of 106 to 61. Finally, a division took place on the question whether the clause should stand part of the Bill, when it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 104 to 79. A clause was then moved by Mr. Grote for assigning a distinctive die to each newspaper, and after a debate of some length, in the course of which the proposition was supported by Mr. Leader, Mr. Robinson, and Sir Robert Peel, and opposed by Mr. S. Rice and Dr. Bowring, it was agreed that the consideration of the matter should be postponed. Mr. S. Rice has since agreed to adopt the proposition. Mr. Goulburn then called the attention of the Government to the proposed retrictions on the size of newspapers, and urged the expediency and fairness of allowing the 1530 square inches to be the measure, not of the whole paper, but only of the printed portion of it. To this amendment the Chancellor of the Exchequer assented. The Paper Duties Bill was then read a third time, as was also the Lighthouses Bill.

On Tuesday, the 19th, the Lords went into Committee on the Parochial Assessment Bill, the object of which is to provide that the poor-rates shall be assessed on the full rent of the property rated, and not, as is done in most parishes at present, on the value, or a proportion of the value, as estimated by the churchwardens. The only opposition the measure met with was from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Ellenborough, who objected to the rating of tithes at the full value. The clause, however, which they wished on this ground to strike out, or to amend, was carried, on a division, by a majority of 31 to 28.

In the Commons a debate took place on the Charitable Trustees Bill, the object and provisions of which were, for the first time, explained by Mr. Vernon Smith on moving that the Report on it should be taken into further consideration. By an Act passed last year the management of charitable trusts remains for the present in the hands of the members of the old corporations, the Act providing that they should retain it till the 1st of August. The new Bill proposes to transfer it to the hands of trustees elected by the reformed municipal constituency; and it adopts the principle to which we have adverted at length in a preceding page, of securing some power to the minority in the borough, by giving to each elector the right of voting only for half the

number of the trustees to be elected. The motion was opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who, besides objecting to several details of the Bill, urged strongly the unadvisableness of making over the control of charities to bodies so much apt to be swayed by party feeling as the borough constituencies. Colonel Sibthorp afterwards moved that the Report be received that day three months; but on a division this amendment was negatived by a majority of 133 to 88. The House of Lords, we may observe, by an alteration made by them in the Municipal Act Amendment Bill, have provided for the continuance of the old corporations in their trusteeships till August, 1837.

Another debate then arose on Lord John Russell moving the third reading of the Established Church Bill. As on several former occasions, this measure was strenuously opposed by Mr. Hume and other Members of the same section of the Ministerial side of the House. It was also opposed by Sir Robert Inglis. Finally, the debate was adjourned to Friday.

On Wednesday, the 20th, the Lords concluded the hearing of evidence against the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill, which had occupied a part of almost every day for some weeks past. Several measures were also advanced a stage without discussion. In the Commons only 81 Members assembled at four o'clock, and there was, consequently, no House.

On Thursday, the 21st, in the Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry brought forward a motion of which he had given notice, to delay any legislative measures that might affect the spiritual interests of the diocese of Durham till the circumstances of the diocese should be further investigated by a Select Committee; but the motion being opposed on all hands, was ultimately withdrawn. Some amendments were afterwards made in the Parochial Assessments Bill on the Report being brought up. One clause introduced provided that "nothing in this Act contained should alter the proportion or principles on which different kinds of lands or hereditaments are rated under the existing law." This seems to have been intended, in some degree, to meet the views of the Archbishop of Canterbury about the proper mode of rating tithes.

Of various subjects that occupied the Commons this evening, the first was the, so called, Report of the Agricultural Committee, which proved to be, in fact, no Report at all. The Committee, after their four months' labours, had agreed merely to lay before the House the evidence they had taken. It appears that they could not come to an agreement upon almost any one point of the subject they were appointed to consider, with the exception of the preference due to a particular description of plough. Nay, there would seem not to have been even a majority in favour of any positive opinion or doctrine whatever. A Report had been actually drawn up by one of the Members, but when a vote was about to be taken upon it, it appeared that there was scarcely a chance of a paragraph of it being carried; and it seems to have been thought that no other possible Report would fare better.

After this business had been disposed of, Mr. Hume made another attempt to obtain a revisal of the decision that had been come to on the subject of the new Houses of Parliament, by moving, that his Majesty should be requested to direct a further competition in designs, without limitation to any particular style of architecture, but with a limitation of the cost to a certain fixed sum. The proposition, however, met with scarcely any support, and was ultimately negatived without being pressed to a division. Mr. Wallace then addressed the House, on the motion for the second reading of the Post Office Bill, and concluded a long detail of alleged abuses in the present management of that establishment, by moving a series of Resolutions in conformity with his statements. He afterwards, however, consented to withdraw them, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer representing that they would have the effect of impeding measures that were already in preparation or contemplation for the removal of the evils complained of. The new Bill proposes to abolish the office of Postmaster-General, and to transfer his duties to a Board of Commissioners.

On Friday, the 22nd, in the Lords, the English Tithe Bill was read a third time and passed. Lord Melbourne then moved the second reading of the Church of Ireland Bill; and the motion was agreed to without a division, the Duke of Wellington intimating that he and his friends would reserve their opposition to the parts of the measure to which they objected till its clauses should come to be discussed in Committee. There can be no doubt that the appropriation clause will be then struck out. Their Lordships then went into Committee on the Scotch Universities Bill, when various amendments were made in the Bill. Among others, it was carried by a majority of 16 to 8, on the motion of Lord Haddington, that whatever alterations might be proposed by the visitors affecting the course of theological study in the universities should be reported to the General Assembly, and by that body communicated to his Majesty in Council, who should thereupon make such orders in the matter as to him should seem fit.

The meeting of the House of Commons this evening was looked forward to with much expectation, from the reports that had been prevalent of the strong disinclination of a portion of the Ministerial Members to support the Government on the question of the Established Church Bill, or even to allow the measure to proceed further without resisting it to the utmost of their power. When the Speaker, however, took the Chair at the usual hour, it was found that there was not a sufficient number of Members present to constitute a House; and an immediate adjournment of course took place. The House met again on Saturday, when it was ordered that the adjourned debate on the third reading of the Established Church Bill should be resumed on Monday.

FRANCE.

We briefly noticed in our Chronicle of Occurrences last month, another foul attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe. No evidence was found to connect the man who fired the gun with any accomplices. He was merely a fellow in desperate circumstances, professing republican principles according to the fashion of the day, and thinking that to kill the King was a good way to be rid of a life that was of no value to him or any one else. The notoriety given to Fieschi by the laboured details of the newspapers, had evidently had an effect on his imagination. He was tried by the Court of Peers on the 8th of July, and found guilty of high treason. He was guillotined on the 11th. His name was Alibaud, or Alibeau. When congratulated on his escape Louis Philippe is reported to have said despondingly, "Henry IV. escaped twenty-two attempts of the kind, and was murdered by the twenty-third!"

As the Session of the Chambers drew towards a close, the Finance Minister agreed with the deputies, that this should be the last year Government would derive a revenue from licensing gambling houses. Count d'Argout and others defended the old system of licensing, on the ground that the Government could not spare the revenue it yielded, and that whether licensed or not there would still be gambling-houses to tempt people to their ruin. He referred to the example of England, whose government had never derived revenue from such establishments, and where, in fact, gambling-houses are illegal, and yet he was well informed that there were from fifteen to twenty houses of this sort open every night in

London alone. On this speech the 'Standard' newspaper has well remarked—"We are afraid there are many more than fifteen or twenty gaming-houses in London; but that is not the point. The French Finance Minister ought to know that there is a marked difference between overlooking the existence of a nuisance and openly encouraging it, by making it contribute directly to the necessities of the State. Gaming, no doubt, will always exist, and minute legislation on matters of the minor morals is seldom, if ever, attended with a beneficial result; but that the legislation should participate in the profits of vice and robbery, is in the highest degree disgraceful. As for the revenue derived from them, it is, under any circumstances, disgraceful to insist upon that, when compared with any question of national honour or morality; and in the present case, viewing it only in a financial light, it is ridiculous to say that France cannot from other sources supply such a paltry sum as a couple of hundred thousand pounds, which is the whole amount. The whole revenue of France amounts to something more than 41,000,000*l.* sterling this year."

To this we may add, that whatever be the number of hells or gaming-houses in London, they are for the most part difficult to get at, and almost altogether unknown to the mass of the people. This is very different from the open doors and glaring lamps of the Parisian ridottas, that are known to every man in that capital, that are accessible to all, and that tempt the poor by a pompous display of silver and gold. We have ourselves watched the change resulting from a suppression of public and licensed gaming. At Naples there used to be a ridotto, open day and night, in a house in the Strada Toledo, the most frequented part of the city, and another, open all night, in the great theatre of San Carlo. The short-lived constitutional government of 1820 very laudably suppressed both in spite of the profits that had been derived from them, and the restored absolute government of 1821 had not the face to renew the license. The consequences were an immediate and sensible decrease of peculation, vice, and misery, among the classes of servants, mechanics, and the like, notwithstanding that the government continued a weekly lottery —another source of misery. Two or three houses were opened in different parts of the town, where inveterate gamesters ruined themselves in profound secrecy, but these places were unknown and inaccessible to the masses that had formerly been tempted to the open and authorized establishments; and a master could give money to his servant or his workman to pay an account for him, without incurring the risk, that in the hopes of being lucky, the poor fellow would go and lose it all at the roulette table—a case that was constantly occurring before. In the course of the debate in the French Chambers, a member asked, whether it was not probable that had Fieschi never been tempted into the public gaming rooms (where he lost a sum of money that had been entrusted to him by his employers, and his character and chances of honest employment with it,) he would never have attempted the life of the King?

General Bugeaud claims some successes in the war of Algiers, which seems likely to become as long and tedious as the war in Spain. The affairs of this African colony were again discussed in the Chamber of Deputies on the 6th of July, when it was formally announced that the cruel, exterminating system of warfare hitherto adopted by the French is to be wholly abandoned, and a mild, but firm principle of government adopted there. We are inclined to believe that the mildness will come too late, and that their fir[illegible]s will not avail the French in securing themselves i[illegible]ose extensive possessions they aim at, unless the troops are re-inforced to an extent that will prove very burdensome to France.

The Chambers, after an unusually long Session, were prorogued on the 12th of July by a royal ordinance. At that time a report prevailed that the Duchess of Berri had again thrown herself into France, and that alarming movements were observable among the Absolutists; but this, like so many other reports got up for the sake of agitation, has proved wholly without foundation. It is said that the King has at length paid to King Leopold, of Belgium, the million of francs agreed upon as the marriage portion of his daughter, the Princess Louise of Orleans, new Leopold's consort; and that an application is to be made to the Chambers, next Session, for the refunding of the money thus advanced by Louis Philippe. The amount is not much for so great a King, and so rich a man—a million of francs being only 40,000*l.* of our money.

Rumours have been afloat of other plots to murder the King, and many men have been arrested both in Paris and the provinces. The strictest caution is now adopted to prevent any unknown individual from approaching the person of Louis Philippe, who is attended with a numerous and vigilant guard, wherever he goes.

The celebrated Abbé Sieyes died at Paris towards the end of last June, after having survived many revolutions and changes. At the beginning of the French Revolution he was grand-vicar to the Bishop of Chartres, but having already obtained a reputation by some political writings, he was elected a member of the National Assembly, where he was soon considered as the oracle of the Tiers-etat, and the most redoubtable enemy of the privileged classes. Dumont, who knew him at that time, speaks of him as an absent-minded, shy, dreaming man, who had lived a great deal in solitude, and had an immense conceit in his own political wisdom, and ability in Constitution-making. One day, after breakfasting together at Talleyrand's, he said to Dumont, "*La politique est une science que je crois avoir achevée*" (Politics are a science which I believe I have brought to perfection). The whole of the British Constitution appeared to him as nothing but a *charlatanerie* —a piece of juggling to impose on the people; he looked upon the English, in spite of some few years of experience, as mere infants in matters of Constitutions, and believed himself quite able to give a much wiser and better system than theirs to the French people. He subsequently tried,—but though he made about *fifty constitutions*, he never hit upon the practicable and right one! He was successively a member of the National Convention, a Director, and Consul, (being associated in the latter capacity with Napoleon Bonaparte and Roger Ducos), and on the fall of the republic he became a Count and Peer of the Empire. On the return of the Bourbons, he was proscribed, with others, for having voted the death of Louis XVI. These proscriptions were removed by the government of Louis Philippe, on which Sieyes returned to France. He was eighty-seven years old when he died. His vote for the death of the King was given with peculiar energy and harshness. While other members of the convention made long speeches to explain the cruel necessity of the case, and the purity of their own intentions, Sieyes merely said—*La mort sans phrase*.

SPAIN.

AFTER a long absence at Madrid, Cordova, the commander-in-chief, returned to the army at Vittoria, upon which it was expected that some decisive operations would take place. Hitherto, however, he seems to have done little more than make a series of short marches and countermarches, which have not even had the effect of clearing the neighbourhood of Vittoria of the Carlists, or checking their advance into Navarre. His rear guard, composed of the Portuguese contingents, having been removed from the good positions it occupied in

the mountains, has been engaged, and has suffered considerable loss. This General's plan of operation (if indeed he has one) puzzles military men who are on the spot, and seems to us utterly inexplicable.

Gomez has made farther advances in the Asturias, and though Espartero is following him with much superior forces, he cannot, it should seem, bring the Carlist chief to action.

Cabrera has continued his successes and cruelties in Lower Aragon, and the Carlists are evidently masters of more ground than they were at the opening of the campaign, notwithstanding their losses on the coast of Guipuzcoa. In the latter direction General Evans, though reinforced by three thousand men, remained for some time inactive in and about St. Sebastian, and when he moved from those lines he met with a serious reverse —at least, if we may place credit in the concurring accounts of several English and French papers.

According to these accounts, he embarked between three and four hundred English and Spanish troops on the 11th of July, which force, covered by Lord John Hay's squadron, was to proceed down the coast to assist in driving the Carlists out of Fuenterrabia, which place, he had been most incorrectly informed, was weakly defended by a few battalions. The larger portion of his force, including the British Royal Marines, moved from St. Sebastian and Passages by land, making their way by night along the ridge of high cliffs that extends from Passages to Fuenterrabia. Altogether he employed about five thousand men on the expedition.

The squadron got into the bay at an early hour, and between seven and eight o'clock the heads of the columns that had proceeded by land began to show themselves on the extremity of the heights that look down upon the town and bay of Fuenterrabia. As soon as they were visible, the vessels of war and steamers (English as well as Spanish) opened a tremendous fire of shot and shell upon the town, under cover of which the troops on board were landed on the sands not far from the town. On the land-side General Evans commenced the action by advancing a body of Chapelgories and two companies of the 10th regiment, which, descending the heights, and crossing the bridge of Fuenterrabia, gallantly drove the enemy before them along the road that leads to St. Jean de Luz. But the Carlists soon rallied in front of a strong reserve, and throwing forward three fresh battalions, not only checked the pursuers, but drove them, by force of numbers, back over the bridge they had crossed. Other reinforcements pouring in from the rear and both flanks, the Carlists advanced as assailants, and made the engagement a general one. Their furious attacks were sustained with admirable coolness, and successively repulsed by the Royal British Marines, the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 10th regiments of the British Legion, and the Spanish Chapelgories.

The Rocket Company, directed by Lieutenant Backhouse, did terrible execution on the Carlists, the advance of large bodies of them being three several times completely checked and scattered by the fall of those formidable projectiles. Still, however, the Carlists continued to gather in strength from all points; and seeing that an attack on the town of Fuenterrabia, the object of the expedition, was utterly hopeless under the circumstances, General Evans beat a retreat about seven o'clock in the evening, and retraced his steps to Passages, without disorder, and with very little loss.

Meanwhile the squadron in front of the town had been maintaining its fire, though English and Spaniards were alike ignorant of General Evans's movements, being able only now and then to see the troops in action on the heights. The sailors, however, expected the General would enter Fuenterrabia, the only battery in which place they silenced and dismantled several times in the course of the day. The next morning, as no firing was heard on shore, and the white caps of the Carlists were seen on the hills where the red coats of the British had been the day before, it was reasonably enough concluded that Evans had retreated. The larger portion of the ships then sailed for Passages, where they found the General and all his staff, several officers on which were openly complaining of treason on the part of Cordova and their Spanish allies.

If only half of these facts are correct, there will remain enough to prove that this expedition, which cannot fail of having a disheartening effect, was most blindly conceived, and impotently executed.

It is reported that General Evans, in his dispatch to the Minister of War, excuses his failure, by saying he had received false reports concerning the *strength of the walls of Fuenterrabia!* But was it not as easy, as it was expedient, to ascertain the condition of that town, which is only a few miles from the lines he has so long occupied, before moving to its attack?

The chief command of Don Carlos's army is now in the hands of Villareale, Eguia having retired from ill health; but the Pretender is said to be in treaty with Marshal Bourmont.

The effects of this lingering, desolating warfare begin to show themselves in frightful colours. The vallies of Biscay, once so happy and flourishing, are now filled with a wandering starving population—the villages are burnt or deserted, or only occupied by the sick and wounded—the fields lie uncultivated, and famine and disease threaten the entire destruction of the most interesting province of Spain.

At Madrid, and in all the large cities occupied by the Queenites, the public mind is filled with anxious expectations as to the result of the elections for the new Cortes, which is to be assembled on the 20th of August.

The ministry of Isturitz does not appear to be firmly seated, nor does the Queen Regent show it much favour. When the Premier's decree for the removal of the University of Alcala to Madrid was presented to her Majesty, she met it with a direct refusal, and this is not the only instance of her differing in opinion from her advisers. Isturitz, however, has succeeded in arranging a loan of 1,000,000*l.* on the special guarantee of the Queen. This money, it appears, is to proceed from the issue of Treasury or Exchequer bills, which are to be taken at the Custom-house, and other Government offices, in payment of duties and taxes for the present and ensuing year, with a discount of 15 or 16 per cent., and 3 per cent. commission, being in all a discount of from 18 to 19 per cent.! The whole sum is to be paid in monthly instalments. The whole scheme shows the deplorable straits the Government is reduced to.

Don Carlos is at Villafranca busied in organizing a regular Court and Cabinet. His devoted partisan, the Bishop of Leon, succeeded in crossing the French frontier, and joined him a day or two after the affair of Fuenterrabia. Although it does not very plainly appear from what quarters he obtains his supplies, it is quite certain that considerable sums of money are placed at his disposal from time to time, and that his troops are much better paid, clothed, and fed than those of the Queen. Some desertions, though we believe not many, have taken place among the British Legion. This induced General Evans to issue a proclamation, usual on such occasions, but which has been misunderstood, or wilfully misinterpreted by a certain party at home.

The Carlists continue to receive supplies from the French frontier. To check this, the new ministry has made earnest representations to Louis Philippe, who

published a Royal Ordinance, in the 'Moniteur;' dated the 14th of July, wherein the interdiction decreed by the Ordinance of the 7th of July, last year, against the transport into Spain of ammunition, clothing, warlike equipments, and stores and horses, by the frontiers of the Lower Pyrenees, is extended to the whole of the frontier of the Pyrenees, and all such ammunition, stores, horses, &c., are further forbidden to be brought or circulated within two *myriamètres* of the same frontier, without an express authority from the Minister of the Interior. If this ordinance could be strictly carried into effect, the Carlists would be sorely embarrassed; but the difficulty of watching the whole line of the Pyrenees, from the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of the Mediterranean, and of blocking up all the numerous defiles and passes that occur along such a vast and wild tract of country, must be evident to every one. The contrabanderos, or smugglers, on the Spanish side of those mountains, who are by far the most energetic class of men in Spain, and professionally the best acquainted with the passes of the Pyrenees, incline rather to Don Carlos than to the Queen, and will carry ammunition and stores from France to his camp, as long as they can make anything by so doing.

We willingly leave untold many acts of cruelty perpetrated on both sides, but there is one atrocious deed which we must record. Don Carlos has recently ordered the execution of the venerable Doctor Manzanares, whose only crime was that of being father of Señor Manzanares, who was constitutional minister at Cadiz in 1823, and who was shot by order of Ferdinand, when a French army had enabled that monarch to wreak his vengeance on his subjects. The elder Manzanares, the victim to the vengeance of Ferdinand's brother, was eighty-five years of age. He was shot at Escoriaza, before the door of his own house.

TURKEY.

A SERIOUS contest arising out of an accidental circumstance, has gone very near to break off our diplomatic relations with the Porte. Mr. Churchill, a British merchant settled at Constantinople, accidentally wounded a young Turk, while shooting quails, at a village near Scutari. A crowd of Turks immediately fell upon him, and after treating him most cruelly, dragged him before the Cadi of Scutari, who, unmindful of existing treaties, and of Mr. Churchill's explanations, and regret at the accident that had happened, ordered him to be bastinadoed. Nor was this all. After the torturing and degrading punishment had been inflicted he loaded his victim with chains, and sent him across the water to Constantinople, where, to the surprise alike of Turks and Franks, he was thrown by the judicial authorities at Galata into the Bagnio or common Turkish prison.

When our ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, applied to the Porte for the enlargement of Mr. Churchill, and satisfaction for the unheard-of treatment he had endured, he was met by the Reis Effendi with evasive answers, nor did he obtain his first object (the liberation of Mr. Churchill) for some time,

On this, Lord Ponsonby ceased all communication with the Reis Effendi, and applying directly to the Sultan, insisted on that minister's dismissal, as one who had identified himself with the most violent breach of our treaties, and had offered the grossest insult to the British nation. The Porte tried to satisfy the Ambassador, with assurances that the cadi of Scutari and all the subalterns should be severely punished, but Lord Ponsonby very firmly and properly insisted on the punishment of the great offender. The Sultan, sceptical that all his relations with the British Govern-

The Co. interrupted, deputed the Seraskier Pasha were prorogued Ponsonby. A long interview took place. The Seraskier stated that he was authorized to offer an adequate satisfaction, if his Lordship would accept of his mediation; to which Lord Ponsonby replied, that he would listen to no attempts at reconciliation until the Reis Effendi were dismissed. Matters remained in this state for some weeks, when finally, and reluctantly, the Sultan agreed to the dismissal of this favourite minister, who was forthwith sent to Brusa in Asia Minor—a place of exile much nearer the capital than those generally appointed for the residence of state offenders. The cadi of Scutari, and the chief of the police at Galata, who committed Mr. Churchill to the Bagnio, are now inmates of that horrible prison, and all the inferior actors have been soundly bastinadoed. In the latter respect, as long as it was confined to poor helpless subjects, the Porte would readily have satisfied the most vindictive spirit; but Lord Ponsonby was quite right in insisting on a higher and more exemplary satisfaction. By our treaties with the Porte no British subject can be tried or punished by a Turkish court of any kind. France, Austria, Russia, and other countries, enjoy the same advantage, without which, owing to the very summary nature of Turkish proceedings, few subjects of those Christian States would venture to trade or reside in Turkey. Until the entire nature of the Turkish government and people be changed, it is impossible to insist too sternly on the observance of this essential part of our treaties. Lord Ponsonby's firm conduct entitles him to that praise which we see is liberally bestowed upon him by the merchants of all nations resident at Constantinople.

It appears that Silistria is not yet given up, but that Halil Pasha, the Sultan's son-in-law, is just gone thither as commissioner to receive that fortress from the Russians.

PERSIA.

ACCORDING to advices from Constantinople, Mr. Ellis, *the ambassador sent out to the Schah, by our Government* last year, has fully succeeded in obtaining for British merchants the same advantageous commercial privileges as are enjoyed by Russian merchants,—that is to say, a duty of no higher than 5 per cent. on every article of British manufacture imported into the Persian dominions, and the same duty on all Persian exports.

Our trade with the Schah's dominions by the Black Sea and the port of Trebizond, and thence over-land by Baïbout, Erzeroum, and Tabriz, is somewhat on the increase, though cramped by the impoverished state of the people and other circumstances. The rapid and large increase of the exports of Turkish raw silk from Brusa to England checks the trade in Persian silks, which are to be brought from so much greater a distance.

PERU.

THE termination of another revolution, of which we have never known any particulars, is just announced in a manner very characteristic of these turbulent and sanguinary countries.

"The civil war in P[illegible] completely at an end. The chiefs executed are—Generals Salaverry and Fernandini; Colonels Cardenaz, Valeiva, Solar, Boza, Escovedo, Sudres, Lagomarsino, Carsillo, Rivero, Salaverry, Rivas, Mayo, Montaya, Negron, Medina, Lersundi, Picoaga, and Arrizueno. In Lima, General Obregosa caused to be shot the General Brestamente, and the Colonels Guellen and Salarena. In Huacho, General Vidal shot Lieutenant-Colonel Lusan and Major Ecovar —the latter a bandit chief." This compendious account of executions is followed by a list of exiles and refugees who have fled from the victorious party to Valparaiso.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

IRISH MUNICIPAL CORPORATION BILL.

REASONS OFFERED BY THE LORDS IN CONFERENCE FOR DISSENTING FROM THE AMENDMENTS OF THE COMMONS.

HAVING given in the last Number of the "Companion" the "Reasons of the Commons for dissenting from the Irish Municipal Bill sent down from the Lords," we now publish the following replicatory document:—

The Lords participate in the conviction expressed by the Commons that a good correspondence between the two Houses is essential to the well-being of the British monarchy, and it is always a subject of regret to them when, in the performance of their duty, they are compelled to take a different view of any important measure from that which has been adopted by the House of Commons.

The Lords are earnestly desirous of removing all just causes of complaint, and of promoting all well-considered measures of improvement in all parts of the United Kingdom.

Impressed with these feelings the Lords were anxious to co-operate with the Commons in carrying into effect some of the important objects of the Bill for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in Ireland, although there was one principle in that Bill in which they were unable to concur.

They assented to the dissolution of corporations, the practical effect of whose constitution is a subject of reasonable dissatisfaction.

It did not appear to them advisable to establish in their place that particular form of local government which was proposed by the Commons, but they were not without the hope that the two Houses might agree upon provisions, which, accomplishing at once their common object—of removing a just cause of complaint—might, at the same time, secure the due administration of justice in cities and towns, preserve the corporate property for their respective benefit, and leave their local government under acts voluntarily adopted.

The Lords coincide in the opinion that it is not generally expedient to introduce, in the form of amendments, matters which may seem to require the more mature consideration which is given in its successive stages to an original Bill; but on this occasion the most convenient mode of procedure appeared to be that which enabled the Lords to make the fullest communication of their views to the House of Commons.

The Lords remain strongly impressed with the belief that the system of local government proposed by the Commons would, in the actual state of Ireland, be the present cause of party triumph, and the continued source of party and religious dissension.

The Lords earnestly desire the tranquillity of Ireland; they are unwilling to adopt a measure which would, in their apprehension, supply new occasions of collision to the adherents of different creeds and principles.

They are prepared to do equal justice to all; but it cannot always be assumed that, by the grant of similar institutions to countries differing in their circumstances, equal justice will be done.

The Lords are unable to acquiesce in the proposition now made by the Commons, that corporations, as reconstructed by the Bill, shall be confined to twelve cities and towns, because it is in those cities and towns of larger population that the most extensive evils would, in their opinion, result from such reconstruction.

The Lords disagree to the amendment whereby the existing corporations are to be continued in eighteen towns. They are reluctant to circumscribe the extent of the general relief they deem it expedient to grant.

Neither are the Lords prepared to concur in the proposition that the Act of the 9th year of the late King George the Fourth, to make provision for the lighting, cleansing, and watching of towns in Ireland, and to give the power of taxation for such purpose to elective commissioners, should be imposed upon twenty cities and towns. Anxious that there should exist the power of taxation for local purposes wherever its existence might be desired by the inhabitants to be taxed, the Lords had not suggested any alteration of that Act. They had afforded new inducements to its voluntary adoption by giving the means of placing the surplus property of the corporations to be abolished at the disposal of the commissioners who might be elected in the towns with which such corporations are respectively connected.

The Lords readily acquiesce in the desire of the Commons, that, whenever that Act may be adopted, the whole corporate property shall be at once transferred to the management of the commissioners, elected under its provisions.

But the Lords must call to the recollection of the Commons that hitherto the inhabitants of towns in Ireland have very generally refrained from availing themselves of the power of local government and taxation so offered to them. To render indispensable the election of commissioners, to whom would be confided the power of raising taxes for local purposes, would, undoubtedly, be in accordance with the principle adopted in the reform of municipal corporations in Great Britain; but the Lords cannot apprehend that the proposed intervention of the Legislature to overrule a manifest reluctance to be so governed and to be so taxed, would not, as the Commons anticipate, have any tendency to satisfy the just claims or a term tions of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, or want of and strengthen the union.

The Lords have abstained from insisting upon several amendments to which the Commons appear to attach much importance.

They acquiesce in the opinion that officers connected with the administration of justice in Ireland should be removed from local influence, and placed under the direct authority of the Crown.

They have willingly consented not to insist upon amendments which conflicted with the immediate application of the principle thus established.

It will be a matter of sincere regret to the Lords if their adherence to the more important amendments made by them in the Bill, and their inability to concur in the new propositions made by the Commons, should have the effect of leaving a just cause of complaint without a full and present remedy.

The Lords will, however, still entertain the hope that the two Houses of Parliament, maintaining the good understanding which happily subsists between them, and zealously co-operating in the discharge of their common duty to the country, may at no distant period devise such measures of reform in the administration of local affairs as may give real contentment, by effecting real improvement, and promote prosperity by promoting social and religious peace in the cities and towns of Ireland.

Because the retention of the preamble, as amended by the House of Lords, is rendered necessary by the other amendments on which they insist.

Because the Bill, as it passed the House of Commons, having practically extinguished all existing municipal corporations in Ireland, and the Lords having assented to that provision, the question between the two Houses is no longer whether corporations should be abolished, but whether they should be reconstructed.

Because, in the present state of Ireland, the general ease and contentment of the inhabitants of cities and towns therein would not be effected without modifications of the principle of local government, as applied to England and Scotland respectively, different from and more extensive than those which have been proposed by the Commons.

Because the public good is the only true object of legislation; and, according to the difference of circumstances, that object is to be equally attained by different measures in different parts of the United Kingdom.

Because confidence in the decisions of Parliament follow the well-considered adaptation of measures to the advantage of those for whose benefit they are desired; and a spirit of distrust and discontent would be produced by instituting measures similar in name but dissimilar their results.

Because it is similar in effect to another provision contained in a clause proposed to be inserted by the Commons

ted under such

in a subsequent part of the Bill, and the omission of which is proposed by the Lords.

Because it is necessary, consistently with other amendments proposed by the Lords, to make a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of the officers to whom the clause refers.

Because the 1st and 2nd of such clauses contain regulations respecting the corporations proposed to be abolished.

Because the 3rd of such clauses contains regulations respecting property held upon charitable trusts, and which for further reasons hereinafter mentioned are insufficient.

Because the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of such clauses contain regulations for transferring trusts and powers under Acts of Parliament to members of the corporations proposed to be abolished.

Because the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of such clauses contain regulations of police which the Lords consider to be sufficiently provided for by the Act passed in the present Session of s. Parliament for establishing a constabulary force in Ireare land.

and Because the remaining clauses contain regulations reof thecting the corporations proposed to be abolished.

the Que Lords have taken into their consideration the rea- France tonexed by the Commons to the proposed amend- by so doing Clause 1, which reasons apply to other subsequent

We willing which the Commons equally disagree.

petrated on be observe that the Bill, as passed by the Com- ained certain trusts in certain corporations, being trustees casually in office on a given day, notwithstanding those persons might have ceased to hold any office, by virtue of which they were such trustees, and that the clauses objected to were intended to prevent the detriment which might have arisen from the provision made by the Commons, that all such trusts should cease on a day named; and the Lord Chancellor then made such orders as he might see fit for the appointment of trustees and the administration of the trust estate, if Parliament should not have otherwise directed.

The Lords are of opinion that it was inexpedient to throw upon the Lord Chancellor a duty he could not satisfactorily discharge, the more especially as no provision was made by the Commons for the security of the trust property, in the event of the duty imposed upon the Lord Chancellor not being in any case performed.

The Lords therefore thought it desirable to continue the several trusts in the several persons in whom they were continued by the Bill, as it passed the House of Commons, until Parliament should otherwise provide.

The clauses objected to contain other enactments obviously necessary to meet cases which, arising out of the proposed abolition of corporations, had not been provided for by the House of Commons; but all such enactments, proceeding upon the same principle, are of a character subject to the future direction of Parliament.

For these reasons the Lords insist upon these several clauses:—

Because it is necessary to provide for the security and management of corporate property when, by the enactments of the Bill insisted upon, corporations shall be abolished.

Because it is advisable to place the management of such property in the hands of commissioners removed from local influence, and responsible for the due performance of their duties.

Because the management of an inconsiderable property, and the right of nomination to some offices of small value required for the collection of such property, or otherwise necessary, cannot, in the apprehension of the Lords, create an influence inconsistent with the freedom and independence of the several cities and towns in Ireland.

Because the amendment proposed by the Lords appears to them to be necessary, with a view to the title to the lands which the commissioners are by that clause empowered to purchase.

Because the provisions to which the Commons have disagreed appear to the Lords to be necessary, on account of the peculiar circumstance of the right of patronage to which these provisions were intended to apply.

Because there are duties to be performed by the officers to whom that clause refers which the Lords agree with the Commons in regarding as highly important to the mercantile and commercial interests of the several cities and towns in Ireland, and for the performance of which no sufficient provision would otherwise be made.

DEFENCE OF PRISONERS BY COUNSEL.—PUNISHMENTS, AND PARTICULARLY THAT OF DEATH.

THE Second Report of the Commissioners on the state of the Criminal Law is chiefly devoted to a consideration of what "partial alterations may be necessary or expedient for more simply and completely defining crimes and punishments, and for the more effectual administration of criminal justice;" and to the question respecting the defence of prisoners by counsel, to which their attention was especially called by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. On this latter point the Commissioners submit the following views as the result of their inquiries:—

"It appears (they say) to us, that, as a general position, the right of a party accused to be heard previously to condemnation, is founded on principles of reason, humanity, and justice, recognised by the law of England.

"That it is essential to this right that it should, at the option of the accused, be exercised through the agency of Counsel.

"That no reasonable distinction, as to the exercise of the right, can be made between felonies and other classes of crimes.

"That the present practice is, in many respects, detrimental to the interests of justice, in regard to the conviction of the guilty, as well as to the protection of the innocent.

"That, whilst it appears to us that considerable inconvenience might follow from permitting a full defence by Counsel on trials for felony, we do not think that the arguments urged in favour of the monopoly are sufficient to warrant its continuance.

"That the prisoner's Counsel should, in all classes, be entitled to the concluding address; and that the same practice, in this respect, should be extended to trials for misdemeanours.

"Considering, however, the deference due to opinions which are entitled to high respect, and that the alleged inconveniences of the proposed change would principally occur on trials in the inferior criminal courts, we have to remark that, if it should be deemed desirable to make an experiment as to the probable effect of the change, full defence by Counsel might be allowed, in the first instance, in capital cases only, and it might be declared that, in other cases of felony, the prisoner's Counsel should have the like privilege, in case the prosecuting Counsel addressed the jury."

On the other branch of inquiry, to which attention was directed, the Commissioners, after a number of preliminary observations, remark as follows:—

"The result of our observations being, that capital punishment ought (subject to the exercise of the Royal prerogative) to follow conviction of a capital offence, the next question is, what are the offences to which capital punishment ought to be confined?

"It is certain that severity of punishment, when carried too far, defeats its purpose, and tends to impunity. It is, therefore, inexpedient to annex capital punishment to an offence, if the actual infliction of it would offend the sense and feelings of the generality of society, and particularly of those members of it, on whom, in the capacity of jurors, the administration of the criminal law essentially depends. It is the presumed unwillingness of juries to convict capitally, where the offence is free from any peculiar aggravation, that commonly inspires the offender with the hope of impunity, and makes him congratulate himself on the capital nature of the charge. The administration of a law not in accordance with the opinions of society, and shocking their moral or religious sentiments, cannot but be precarious; and without supposing that they break deliberately the sacred obligation of their oath, we may presume that slight grounds will satisfy the conscience of jurors in acquitting a party accused of infringing it. At the same time it is perfectly true that the public feeling on subjects of criminal jurisprudence is not always directed by the most enlightened views, and would of itself be no sufficient ground for determining the measure of punishment.

"Considering the general principles which, in particular

instances, justify or forbid the resort to so severe a means of preventing crimes as that of capital punishment; considering the opinions on the subject of capital punishment entertained by the bulk of society, and especially of those members of it who are engaged as jurors in the administration of the criminal law; and considering the opinions on the same subject entertained by the executive magistracy, so far as they may be inferred from the actual decline in the infliction of the penalty, we think that the punishment of death ought to be confined to the crime of high treason (happily now of rare occurrence) and (with perhaps some particular exceptions) to offences which consist in, or are aggravated by, acts of violence to the person, or which tend directly to endanger human life."

Capital offences, as thus limited, would, it is stated, be reduced to the crimes of—1st. High treason; 2nd. Murder; 3rd. Attempts to murder, accompanied with actual injury to the person, to be particularly defined; 4th. Burning of buildings or ships, with danger to human life, and under circumstances to be particularly defined; 5th. Piracy, accompanied with actual injury to the person, or acts endangering human life, to be particularly defined; 6th. Robbery, aggravated by cruelty or violence, under circumstances to be particularly defined; 7th. Rape; and violation of a female child under the age of ten years, with or without consent. The Commissioners, for the present, exclude from consideration an offence of great enormity. In this list several offences, now capital, are wholly omitted, and many extensive classes of offences are now reduced, in regard to their liability to capital punishment, to very narrow limits.

The Commissioners are of opinion that in all the cases above enumerated, it is desirable, if it be practicable, that death should be invariably inflicted agreeably to the dispositions of the law, subject only to the exercise of the royal prerogative of mercy. But if, with regard to any one or more of the above enumerated offences, (as, for example, burglary or robbery), it should be found impossible to frame a definition capable of such invariable application, the inconvenience might be remedied by investing the court with a limited power of reducing the capital punishment to that next in degree.

Some of the witnesses whom the Commissioners examined are of opinion that it is impolitic to visit the offence of rape with death, on account of the great difficulty attending conviction of this crime; the Commissioners, however, state that, considering the enormous atrocity of this offence, and its mischief to society, they do not venture to recommend that it should cease to be capital, although it certainly admits of aggravating circumstances; *e.g.* the administration of drugs or the perpetration of the offence by numbers.

After diminishing the number of capital offences, the punishment of those from which the capital punishment is removed becomes an important object of attention. This subject leads the Commissioners to notice the existing law and practice as to the infliction of secondary punishments, having reference to specified gradations of crime, and upon a uniform system. They observe that the law, in respect of punishments less than capital, exhibits defects such as naturally result from long-continued neglect and want of legislative supervision. Such inferior punishments are applied indiscriminately, are often disproportioned to the offences in respect of which they are inflicted, unsystematic, and frequently of a description ill-adapted to the effectual prevention of crime. One of the leading causes of the want of discrimination in punishments arises from offences not being properly defined. The fear of punishment is thus diminished, and the more heinous are confounded with the more trivial degrees of crime.

Striking instances of disproportion in punishment to the nature of the crime are very frequently exhibited in cases where prisoners, charged with capital offences, are, for want of proof of the consummation of a meditated capital offence, acquitted, and after great delay, expense, and inconvenience, are convicted of the attempt to commit such capital offence. Having narrowly escaped the punishment of death, the offender thus escapes altogether, or is sentenced as for a misdemeanor to imprisonment for one or two years; a punishment wholly disproportioned to an offence so proximate in point of guilty intention to that which is capital. The Commissioners suggest that it would be a great improvement in the administration of criminal justice to provide, for the purpose of obviating this inconvenience, that in every case of capital felony, where the intention and attempt were fully proved, but the evidence was insufficient to prove actual consummation of the crime, the jury should be enabled to convict the offender of such attempt, and a punishment better proportioned to the real malignity of the offence should be inflicted. By these means the punishment of very atrocious offenders would be much more certain than it now is. It appears from the criminal returns for England and Wales, that out of 134 persons tried for the capital offences of shooting at, stabbing, administering poison, &c., with intent to murder, maim, &c., only sixty were convicted.

The Commissioners are of opinion that the certainty of punishment would be much greater, if, upon all capital charges, the jury acquitting the prisoner of the capital charge, might, when the evidence warranted such a verdict, find him guilty of the minor offence; as, for example, if, upon a prisoner being indicted for arson accompanied with aggravations making the offence capital, the jury might find him guilty either of arson simply, or of arson with such aggravations, as would make the offence capital. In the same manner, upon indictments for murder, juries at present have very frequently the power of finding the prisoner guilty of the inferior degree of culpable homicide.

The Commissioners point to the present practice of criminal courts in rarely inflicting imprisonment for a term exceeding two years, as one course of the existing want of discrimination in punishments. A wide chasm in the scale of punishments is left between death and the longest term of imprisonment. The punishment of transportation which in legal contemplation ranks next to capital punishment, is one which very inadequately fills up the chasm between loss of life and loss of liberty for two years. The Commissioners suggest the adoption of a less frequent and better regulated use of the punishment of transportation by the infliction of longer periods of imprisonment in certain cases, and by a much more frequent judicious use of the punishment of solitary confinement.

Another cause of the want of discrimination in punishments arises from their having been imposed or mitigated at various times, ancient and modern, and upon the spur of the occasion, and without reference to any uniform system. In some instances, it is remarked, misdemeanors are punishable with greater severity than felonies; and a number of examples are adduced by the Commissioners in proof of the unequal operation of the criminal law. Curious instances are given of punishments for particular offences having undergone a succession of changes without any apparent reason. For example, the punishment for forging assay marks on plate was by a Statute of Geo. II. pecuniary; by another Statute of the same King it was punished with death; by a Statute of Geo. III. the punishment of death was reduced to that of transportation; by a later Statute of Geo. III. it was made a capital offence again. By a subsequent Statute of Geo. III. the punishment for forgery of assay marks on gold plate is reduced to transportation, leaving the forgery of the like marks on silver plate a capital offence, and as such it remained till the passing of the late Forgery Act.

In awarding punishments a most inconvenient latitude of discretion is allowed by the law in the case of the greater number of offences, yet the law is not uniform in this policy; for in the case of some felonies, the punishment is made transportation for life, without any power given to the Court of mitigating the sentence.

It appears to us, say the Commissioners, that it would be desirable, for the reasons already adverted to, that a scale of punishments should be established by which the different gradations of crime should be more distinctly marked, and settled according to some uniform system.

That the more heinous of such offences as were not capital should subject the offenders to longer terms of imprisonment than are now in use.

That the offences cognizable by the superior Criminal Courts, and by Courts of Quarter Sessions, should be distinguished into four classes.

That the first should consist of such as were capital, in accordance with the principles already considered.

That the second should be punishable with imprisonment for a term of ten years or more, or transportation for life; and should include burglaries, robberies, arson, rape (if it should cease to be capital), together with other offences not capital, but committed under such defined circum-

stances of aggravation as might render them worthy of the punishment second in degree.

That those of the third class should be punishable by imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, nor less than two years, or by transportation not exceeding fourteen years, nor less than seven years; and should consist chiefly of ordinary burglaries and robberies (exclusive of those which are such by mere construction), together with theft aggravated by its extent, the time and place of its commission, the number concerned in committing it, their relation to the prosecutor, or such other defined circumstances of aggravation as might render it worthy of the punishment third in degree.

That those of the fourth class should be punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years, transportation not exceeding seven years, or fine; and should consist of simple thefts, and of offences not included in any of the three preceding classes.

That with regard to any such of the above-mentioned offences as should be made punishable with imprisonment, solitary confinement and hard labour might be added to the punishment, according to definite rules.

In suggesting the propriety of a scale of punishments, the Commissioners profess to do no more at present than attempt to sketch a mere outline of the principles on which such a scale ought to be constructed. They are of opinion that benefit would result from the adoption of such a scale, because the process of adjusting punishments to particular offences would be much expedited by referring to such an established scale; and because the referring offences to such a scale would tend to preserve a greater degree of consistency in the measure of punishments than now exists. Whilst it might, as a general rule, be convenient to refer to such a scale in apportioning punishments, deviation from it might frequently be necessary in particular instances.

The Commissioners advert to the shortness of the period limited by law between the sentence and execution of persons convicted of murder, and express an opinion, founded upon several strong reasons, that the time ought to be left to the discretion of the Judge who tries the prisoner, and who is most competent to determine the validity of the reasons which may render a greater or less interval expedient.

The order adopted by the Commissioners, in pursuing their inquiry, is as follows:—

1st. The Classification of Crimes.
2nd. The Definition.
1.—Of Crimes.
2.—Of Punishments.
3rd. The Jurisdiction of Courts.
4th. The Process of Accusation, Inquiry, Judgment, and Execution.

MANAGEMENT OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The Committee appointed in the Session of 1835, to inquire into the management of this institution, and which resumed its sittings at the commencement of the present Session, have agreed upon the following Resolutions, which were reported to the House of Commons, July 14:—

1. That the great accessions which have been made of late to the collections of the British Museum, and the increasing interest taken in them by the public, render it expedient to revise the establishment of the institution, with a view to place it upon a scale more commensurate with, and better adapted to, the present state and future prospects of the Museum.

2. That this Committee do not recommend any interference with the family trustees, who hold their offices under Acts of Parliament, being of the nature of national compacts.

3. That though the number of official trustees may appear unnecessarily large, and though practically most of them rarely, if ever attend, yet no inconvenience has been alleged to have arisen from the number; and the Committee are aware that there may be some advantage in retaining in the hands of Government a certain influence over the affairs of the Museum, which may be exercised on special occasions; yet if any Act of the Legislature should ultimately be found necessary, a reduction in the number of this class of trustees might not be unadvisable.

4. That, with regard to the existing elected trustees, the Committee think it very desirable that the trustees should take steps to ascertain, whether some of those whose attendance has been the most infrequent, might not be willing to resign their trusteeships: that, in future, it be understood, that any trustee hereafter to be elected, not giving personal attendance at the Museum for a period to be fixed, is expected to resign his trusteeship, being, however, re-eligible upon any future vacancy.

5. That in filling up vacancies it would be desirable that the electing trustees should not in future lose sight of the fact, that an opportunity is thus afforded them of occasionally conferring a mark of distinction upon men of eminence in literature, science, and art.

6. That the extension of the collections which has taken place, and the still greater extension which may be looked for, render a further division of departments necessary; and that at the head of each department there be placed a keeper, who shall be responsible for the arrangement, proper condition, and safe custody of the collection committed to his care.

7. That it is desirable that the heads of each department shall meet once in three months, for the purpose of consulting with reference to any matters of detail relating to the internal arrangements of the Museum, which they may desire jointly to submit to the trustees in writing.

8. That whenever there may be a vacancy in the office of principal librarian, or in that of secretary, it is desirable that the distribution of the duties now discharged by those officers respectively, including the expenditorship, be reconsidered, and that the office of secretary be not combined with the keepership of any department.

9. That it is desirable that the hours during which the Museum shall be open on public days, be hereafter from ten o'clock until seven throughout the months of May, June, July, and August; and that the reading-room be opened throughout the year at nine o'clock in the morning.

10. That it is desirable that the Museum be hereafter opened during the Easter, Whitsun and Christmas weeks, except Sundays and Christmas Day.

11. That it is expedient that the trustees should revise the salaries of the establishment, with the view of ascertaining what increase may be required for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing resolutions, as well as of obtaining the whole time and services of the ablest men, independently of any remuneration from other sources; and that when such scale of salary shall have been fixed, it shall not be competent to any officer of the Museum paid thereunder, to hold any other situation conferring emoluments or entailing duties.

12. That it is desirable that the heads of departments do consult together as to the best method of preparing on a combined system, an improved edition of the Synopsis of the Museum; that each officer be responsible for that part which is under his immediate control, and attach his signature to such part, and that the work be prepared in such a manner as to enable each part to be sold separately, which should be done at the lowest price which will cover the expenses of the publication.

13. That it is expedient that every exertion should be made, to complete within the shortest time, consistent with the due execution of the work, full and accurate catalogues of all the collections in the Museum, with a view to print and publish such portions of them as would hold out expectations of even a partial sale.

14. That it be recommended to the trustees, that every new accession to the Museum be forthwith registered in detail, by the officer at the head of the department, in a book to be kept for that purpose; and that each head of a department do make an annual report to the trustees of the accessions within the year, vouched by the signature of the principal librarian, of desiderata, and of the state and condition of his own department.

15. That it be recommended to the trustees to take into consideration the best means of giving to the public a facility of obtaining casts from the statues, bronzes, and coins, under competent superintendence, and at as low a price as possible.

16. That the committee are well aware that many of the alterations, which they have suggested, cannot be carried into effect, except by increased liberality on the part of Parliament, both with respect to the establishment of the Museum, and also to a much greater extent, for the augmentation of the collections in the different departments; but they confidently rely on the readiness of the representatives of the people to make full and ample pro-

vision for the improvement of an establishment which already enjoys a high reputation in the world of science, and is an object of daily-increasing interest to the people of this country.

17. That the Committee, in the alterations which they have suggested, do not mean to convey any charge against the trustees, or against the officers of the Museum, whose talents, good conduct, and general and scientific acquirements, are universally admitted; and they are aware, that where imperfections exist in the collections, those imperfections are mainly attributable to the very inadequate space hitherto available for their exhibition, and to the limited pecuniary means at the disposal of the trustees, and they are of opinion that the present state of the British Museum, compared with the increasing interest taken in it by all classes of the people, justifies them in the recommendations contained in the above resolutions.

18. That the Committee, having taken into consideration the petition presented to the House by Mr. Charles Tilt, and referred to the Committee, which petition prayed for public assistance in the preparation of a work from the medals in the British Museum, and having taken evidence on the said subject, consider that in no way can they more satisfactorily discharge the duty confided to them by the reference in question, than by simply laying before the House the minutes of evidence so taken, and ordering the petition of Mr. Charles Tilt to be placed as an appendix to that evidence, and to these resolutions.

PRISON REFORMS (SCOTLAND).

Frederick Hill, Esq., Inspector of Prisons (Scotland), has made a Report to the Secretary of State, in which the following remedial measures are proposed:—

1. A uniform system to be adopted.
2. All prisoners, except those confined for very short periods, to be placed in large penitentiaries.
3. The principle of entire separation of prisoner from prisoner to be immediately carried into effect where possible, and to be provided for in the construction of all new prisons.
4. Female prisoners to be placed under the care of female officers.
5. All prisoners to be required to work.
6. Prisoners to be instructed, as far as possible, in such kinds of work as will enable them to earn an honest livelihood on leaving prison.
7. An increased provision to be made for the mental, moral, and religious instruction of prisoners.
8. A general asylum to be provided for juvenile offenders after they have left prison.
9. A lunatic asylum to be erected for the reception of all the lunatic prisoners in Scotland.
10. The peculiar liability of royal burghs to pay the costs of erecting and maintaining prisons, and to pay the expense of prisoners, to be abolished; as also the responsibility of burgh magistrates for the safe custody of debtors; and all persons, whether dwelling in burghs or not, to be henceforward upon an equal footing in these respects.
11. The management of all prisons in Scotland to be placed under one directing authority, to be appointed by Government, and the cost of the prisons and prisoners to be defrayed out of one general fund.

FOURTH REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

This Report is dated June 24th, and was presented to Parliament in the first week of July. It relates to the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Wales; to archdeaconries; to livings annexed to headships of colleges; to portionist livings, and some other points.

As the immediate reduction of chapters would, in the opinion of the Commissioners, affect the succession to cathedral preferment for so long a time as to afford a just ground of complaint to the clergy, while it would exclude the Crown in some cases, and the Bishops in others, from the exercise of this kind of patronage, a plan is submitted for filling up certain vacancies among the canonries in chapters, when the number of canonries is not less than six. Under the plan proposed, the disposal of preferment sufficient to provide for members of chapters, and the clergy serving under them, will remain in the gift of such chapters, and the remainder will revert to the Bishops, to be bestowed by them only upon clergy of a certain standing. It is recommended in the 35th proposition of the Commissioners, that "power be given to unite such of the better endowed canonries in the respective chapters as may be deemed properly available for the purpose, with the parochial charge of populous districts within the dioceses in which such churches shall be respectively situate;" and the 37th proposition recommends that the visitors of the respective chapters do so alter, from time to time, the existing statutes and rules, as to make them consistent with the altered constitution and duties of the chapters respectively, subject to the approval of Commissioners and the King in Council.

With respect to the endowment of archdeaconries, the Commissioners have already recommended that, in each cathedral, where it is practicable, one at least of the stalls should be applied to the purpose of making a better provision for that important office; and they now recommend the annexation to the office of archdeacon of a canonry either entire, or charged with a provision for another archdeaconry within the diocese, as soon as either of such arrangements can be made; and until such method can be resorted to, it is proposed that the Commissioners appointed for ecclesiastical purposes should have power, in cases where it may be necessary, to augment the income of archdeaconries to a sum not exceeding 200*l.* per annum out of the property arising from sinecure rectories, or from the suppressed prebends. The Commissioners add that they would not be understood to express an opinion that this amount of income is an adequate provision for the office of archdeacon; but they do not think it expedient to propose any larger deduction from the means of augmenting the incomes of the parochial clergy to be furnished by the operation of the measures which they have recommended.

It is proposed that livings annexed to headships of colleges and to the regius professorship of divinity at Cambridge may be sold, and the proceeds of sale invested, and interest paid to the respective heads,—as it is evidently desirable, observe the Commissioners, that such benefices should have incumbents practically, as well as legally, invested with the cure of souls.

It is recommended that, in the few parishes in which both the profits and the spiritual charge are divided between two or more incumbents, each having a portion, or mediety, as it is in some places called, of the benefice, and being charged with its duties in turn, such benefices may either be consolidated into one, or separately constituted.

They recommend also, with an especial view to the better care of populous parishes, that power should be given to bishops, colleges, and other public bodies, in whom the advowsons of such parishes are vested, on the recommendation of the proposed Board of Commissioners, and subject to the approbation of his Majesty in Council, to exchange advowsons between themselves; and generally the Commissioners are of opinion that it would be highly expedient that similar power should be given to sanction any arrangement for the purpose of improving the value, or making a better provision for the spiritual duties of ill-endowed parishes or districts, by altering the exercise of patronage, or by apportioning the income of two benefices belonging to the same patron, or that of one benefice having more than one church or chapel between the incumbents or ministers of such benefices, churches, or chapels respectively; these powers not to be exercised with respect to advowsons in the patronage of laymen without the consent of the respective patrons, nor in any case, without the consent of the bishop of the diocese

With respect to the ancient hospitals, adverted to in the second Report ('Companion,' No. 40), the Commissioners have not yet received such further information as to enable them to offer any distinct recommendation upon the subject.

In consequence of the avoidance of some of the preferments which, if the recommendations already made should be adopted, will not be filled up, it becomes necessary to determine to whom the custody of the fund, which will arise from the endowments of those preferments, should be intrusted. It is recommended that the Commissioners to be appointed for ecclesiastical purposes should be empowered to appoint the necessary officers for performing such duties as may arise out of transactions connected with this fund; and that the treasurer of Queen Anne's

Bounty should pay over to the proper officer, so appointed, the monies received by him, under the authority of the Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, to which reference has been made in the second Report.

With regard to the application of the resources arising from the operation of those measures which affect the cathedral and collegiate establishments, it is recommended that, except in cases where any specific appropriation has been suggested, the property and revenues rendered available by these alterations, should, after a due consideration of the wants and circumstances of the places in which they accrue, be applied to the purpose of making additional provision for the cure of souls, in parishes where such assistance is most required, in such manner as shall be most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church.

The details by which the above recommendations are to be carried out, are given in fifty-eight distinct propositions, above forty of which relate to the chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches; but as they involve no principle differing from that laid down as above, and in the preceding Reports they are merely of local interest.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN.

THE London and Dublin Roads Committee appointed to inquire into the existing means of communication between these two places, and to consider what improvements could be made therein, have agreed upon the following Resolutions:—

1. That the Chairman be directed to move the House—That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that an immediate survey be made of the Harbours of Liverpool and Holyhead and Port Dynllaen, and of such other points on the western coast of England and Wales as may appear suitable for a direct communication between London and Dublin, so as to ascertain the respective qualifications and capacities of improvement of each as a Packet Harbour between London and Dublin, and also as a Harbour of Refuge for the trade passing up and down the Irish Channel, with a view to such Surveys being laid before Parliament.

2. That the Chairman be directed to move the House—That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct a survey to be made of the country intermediate between Holyhead, and also between Port Dynllaen Harbours, and also between such other ports as may appear upon such surveys desirable as such packet station; and the nearest railroads already sanctioned by Parliament, with the view of ascertaining and reporting the best and most convenient lines of railway communication between Dublin and London.

COMMUNICATION WITH FRANCE.

PUBLIC notice has been given that persons desirous of sending letters from the United Kingdom to France will have the option—first, of sending them unpaid, allowing the whole of the postage to be charged to the receiver: secondly, of paying the whole of the postage in advance to the place of destination; thirdly, of paying the British postage only to the frontier of France, as at present.

The optional payment of postage applies equally to patterns of merchandise.

The British postage upon all letters to and from France, and passing through France, is reduced at the rate of 4*d* each single letter, and so on in proportion for double and treble letters, and so forth (except the local letters between Dover and Calais). A considerable reduction has been made in the French postage also.

A letter consisting of one piece of paper, under the weight of one ounce, will be liable, as at present, to single postage only, so far as regards the British rates; but no letter will be chargeable with more than a single rate of postage, whatever the number of inclosures may be, if it does not exceed the weight of one quarter of an ounce, or double postage from one quarter of an ounce, and not exceeding half an ounce, and treble postage from half an ounce and under one ounce weight.

The postage in France is charged wholly by weight, without reference to the composition of the letter, and is at the rate of single postage if under a quarter of an ounce, and so on in proportion. A single sheet of paper, weighing more than a quarter of an ounce, will therefore be liable in France to additional charge.

Persons desirous of *registering letters* and packets for France, and passing through France, may have them entered on the letter-bill; such letters will be liable to a registration rate of 2*s*. 6*d*. each, in addition to the ordinary British rates, and to double the French postage according to weight.

The whole payment to the place of destination must be made in advance, and such letters must be brought to the General Post Office, for the purpose of being registered, before six o'clock in the evening on ordinary post nights, and before ten o'clock on Tuesdays and Fridays.

In addition to the general reduction in the British rates of postage of 4*d*. upon all letters to and from France, and passing through France, there will be a further reduction at the rate of 3*d*. for each single letter, and so on in proportion, for all letters to and from Spain and Portugal, passing in transit through France; and of 2*d*. for each single letter, and so on in proportion, upon all letters to and from Switzerland, passing in transit through France.

The rate of postage on the local letters between Dover and Calais is reduced from 6*d*. to 3*d*. for each single letter, and so on in proportion.

British rates upon a single letter from London for France, and for countries passing through France:—

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
	s. *d*.	*s*. *d*.
France . . .	1 2	0 10
Spain and Portugal	2 2	1 7
Switzerland . .	1 8	1 2
Germany . .	1 8	1 4
Italy, Turkey, &c. .	1 11	1 7
Dover and Calais .	0 6	0 3

Ship letter-bags will be made up at Southampton and Havre, Brighton and Dieppe, for letters passing between those places, to be forwarded by the regular passage-vessels. The postage of such letters will be 8*d*. for each single letter, and so on in proportion, and the payment in advance will be at the option of the senders.

English newspapers, addressed to France, may be forwarded (in covers open at the sides, and under the usual regulations as to writing and inclosures) free of charge to the sender; a rate of four centimes each paper (equivalent to one halfpenny) will be charged upon delivery in France. *French newspapers*, addressed to the United Kingdom and the colonies, will be liable to a charge of one halfpenny each upon delivery.

The public are especially requested to observe that, for the present, unpaid letters can only be sent to places within France, and not to any foreign countries passing through France. Letters for Switzerland and Sardinia may be post paid in advance to the place of destination. Letters to Southern Italy may be post paid in advance to the Italian frontier of Sardinia; and letters for Austria and Venetian Lombardy may be paid in advance through France; but unpaid letters to those countries cannot be forwarded.

RECORD COMMISSION.

THE Committee appointed February 18th to inquire into the management and affairs of the above Commission, and the present state of the Records of the United Kingdom, have reported as follows:—

1. That it appears from Evidence taken before your Committee, that the Record Commission is, as far as can be ascertained, in debt to the amount of 24,000*l*.

2. That, as various current expenses must, in addition, be provided for out of the funds annually granted to the Commission, it is expedient that a sum adequate to the discharge of the whole of the present debt be forthwith granted over and above such sum as the House of Commons may think fit to vote for the current expenses of the Commission during the present year.

3. That, in consequence of the advanced period of the Session, and the necessity for an immediate provision for this purpose in the Miscellaneous Estimates for the year, the amount of this debt be forthwith reported to the House, with a recommendation that it be immediately discharged, under the sanction and control of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

REPORT OF PRISONS' COMMITTEE (NEWGATE).

THE following Resolutions have been reported to the House of Commons by the Prisons' Committee:—

1. That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is expedient to provide means for the separate confinement of prisoners committed for trial before the Central Criminal Court.

2. That, for this purpose, it is desirable either to reconstruct Newgate, or to build a new prison adjoining the place of trial.

3. That the mode of carrying these Resolutions into effect, with the consent of the authorities of the City, requires the immediate consideration of his Majesty's Government; and that competent surveyors should be employed for the purpose of forming a mature decision.

4. That it is expedient to revise the Act 4th and 5th Geo. IV., commonly called the Gaol Act, and to give greater discretion to the Secretary of State and the magistrates of counties and boroughs, with respect to the classification of offenders.

NEW CUSTOMS DUTIES.

On Thursday, July 14, a Bill was ordered to be brought in by the President of the Board of Trade, founded on the following Resolution of the House:—"That the duties of Customs following shall be charged on all goods imported into the United Kingdom, in lieu of those now payable, that is to say:—

	Duty proposed. £.	s.	d.
Aristolochia, the lb.	0	0	1
Beads of glass, the lb.	0	1	0
Boxwood, the ton	0	10	0
Bugles, the lb.	0	1	0
Cassia fistula, the lb.	0	0	1
Cedar, imported from the Bay of Honduras in a British ship cleared out from the Port of Belize, the ton	0	10	0
Chalk, viz.; prepared or otherwise manufactured, the 100*l.* value	10	0	0
Chalk, unmanufactured, the 100*l.* value	5	0	0
Chicory, or any other vegetable matter applicable to the uses of chicory, viz., raw or kiln-dried, the cwt.	1	0	0
Ditto, roasted or ground, the cwt.	2	16	0
Ebony, the ton	0	10	0
Feathers, viz., ostrich, the lb.	0	1	0
Flower roots, the 100*l.* value	5	0	0
Horns and horn tips, the ton	0	1	0
Lignum vitæ, the ton	0	10	0
Mahogany, imported from any foreign country, entered after the 5th July, 1837, the ton	5	0	0
Morphia and its salts, the lb.	0	16	0
Nickel, viz., arsenate of nickel, in lumps or powder, being in an unrefined state, the 100*l.* value	5	0	0
Nickel, metallic, refined, and oxide of nickel, the 100*l.* value	20	0	0
Olive wood, the produce of or imported from any foreign country, the ton	2	10	0
Opium, the lb.	0	1	0
Orange flower water, the lb.	0	0	1
Quinine, sulphate of, the ounce	0	0	6
Sebadilla seeds, the cwt.	0	4	0
Speckled wood, the produce of or imported from any foreign country, the ton	2	10	0
Succades, the produce of or imported from any foreign country, the lb.	0	0	6
Sweetwood, the produce of or imported from any foreign country, the lb.	2	10	0
Teeth, viz., elephant's, sea cow, sea horse, or sea morse teeth, the cwt.	0	1	0
Water, viz., mineral water, the gallon	0	0	1

ABSTRACTS OF RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

London Police Offices.—The charge of the eight Police Offices of the metropolis, for the year ending 5th January last, amounted to 54,600*l.*

Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions.—The charge for the diplomatic service for the year ending January 5th, 1836, was 132,995*l.*; pensions to retired ambassadors, &c., 55,342*l.*; total, 188,337*l.*

THE REVENUE.

An ABSTRACT of the NET PRODUCE of the REVENUE of GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th of July, 1835, and 5th of July, 1836, showing the Increase or Decrease under each head thereof.

	Quarters ended						Year ended	Year ended July 5, 1836.		Quar. ended July 5, 1836.		
	October 10, 1834.	January 5, 1835.	April 5, 1835.	July 5, 1835.	October 10, 1835.	January 5, 1836.	April 5, 1836.	July 5, 1836.	July 5, 1836.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
CUSTOMS.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Consolidated Duties	3,479,036	3,655,836	3,374,751	3,129,238	3,891,872	3,485,899	3,411,614	3,871,541	19,187,127	1,169,402	..	381,960	
Sugar Duty applicable to Consolidated Fund	..	917,847	912,123	1,322,331	..	..	3,849,855	1,271,346	12,453,519	831,912	..	713,021	
Sugar Duty applicable to Supplies	1,472,64	302,048	..	4,000	1,462,115	1,094,516	303,363	..	6,722,902	229,574	..	110,096	
TOTAL CUSTOMS	£4,950,500	4,305,721	4,286,877	4,461,627	5,353,987	4,580,415	4,449,858	5,142,887	38,363,548	2,230,888	196,611	1,205,077	
EXCISE	3,984,783	3,484,300	1,685,574	2,502,049	4,100,575	3,347,773	1,963,312	3,215,069	19,090,980	69,000	..	34,000	
STAMPS	1,650,008	1,555,463	1,614,387	1,024,171	1,671,204	1,619,547	1,697,584	1,754,267	9,571,130	870	..	..	
TAXES	508,714	1,633,120	245,314	6,493,029	335,120	1,575,646	189,064	1,571,130	3,000,980	..	2,815	2,815	
POST OFFICE	366,000	323,000	359,000	342,000	372,000	345,000	366,000	376,000	1,439,000	62,506	..	..	
MISCELLANEOUS	1,712	38,447	10,958	10,759	21,570	16,513	16,733	7,974	62,506	..	..	..	
TOTAL ORDINARY REVENUE	£11,410,719	11,389,850	8,944,190	10,441,023	11,776,190	11,429,947	8,682,841	11,747,347	43,536,334	..	54,691	329	
Imprest and other Monies, including Repayments of Advances for Public Works	99,527	69,611	216,734	101,259	78,269	143,581	90,702	101,589	422,140				
TOTAL INCOME	£11,510,246	11,399,461	8,460,924	10,542,287	11,854,468	11,573,528	8,682,543	11,848,935	43,958,474	2,397,058	251,602	1,309,463	2,815
Amount applied to the Consolidated Fund to pay off Exchequer Bills	7,500,541	8,876,218	5,228,543	6,917,595	7,359,989	8,153,459	5,760,368	7,129,065	29,387,296	251,602	Deduct Decrease.	2,815	Deduct Decrease.
" charged on Sugar Duty	1,472,464	302,048	..	1,774,512	1,462,115	1,094,516	503,369	..	3,000,000	Increase on the Year.		Increase on the Quarter.	
" as part of the Ways and Means of the Year	2,537,241	2,821,295	3,232,381	3,634,692	3,033,364	2,414,593	2,398,291	4,725,940	12,571,178	2,045,456		1,306,648	
TOTAL	£11,510,246	11,399,461	8,460,924	10,542,287	11,854,468	11,573,528	8,682,543	11,848,935	43,958,474				

Trade of the United Kingdom.—An account of the official value of the imports into, and the exports from, the United Kingdom, during each of the three years ending the 5th January, 1836; stating also the real or declared value of the exports.

	Imports.	Official Value of Exports.			
	Official Value.	Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize	Total Exports.	Declared or real value of Exports.
	£	£	£	£	£
1834..	45,952,557	69,989,339	9,833,753	79,823,093	39,667,347
1835..	49,362,811	73,831,550	11,562,036	85,393,587	41,649,191
1836..	48,991,542	78,376,731	12,797,724	91,174,456	47,372,270
Trade of Ireland, exclusive of the trade with Great Britain :—					
1834..	1,423,264	355,485	13,167	368,653	361,834
1835..	1,453,880	336,015	12,123	348,138	362,597
1836..	1,447,932	444,115	13,992	458,038	445,900

Principal Articles of Import.—Value of some of the principal articles of import into Great Britain from foreign parts, calculated at the official rates of valuation, for the years ending January 5th,

	1834. £	1835. £	1836. £
Brimstone	202,460	249 181	300,057
Cochineal, granilla, and dust	287,926	326,521	339,769
Coffee	2,088,301	2,571,857	1,751,601
Corn, grain, meal, and flour	653,229	617,984	333,389
Cotton manufactures of India	182,999	211,884	246,734
Ditto of Europe	34,077	56,104	71,238
Flax and tow, or codilla of hemp and flax	2,296,565	1,660,121	1,508,939
Hemp, undressed	433,541	545,361	566,848
Hides, raw and tanned	881,364	1,293,254	1,023,327
Indigo	893,958	535,856	556,608
Iron, in bars	171,457	155,064	188,079
Madder & Madder roots	559,548	769,122	631,808
Molasses	481,747	453,137	350,891
Oil, castor	34,197	69,255	110,741
— of olives	247,638	308,058	79,862
— palm	267,193	270,664	260,130
— tran, sperma-ceti, & blubber	593,772	462,897	463,949
Quicksilver	319,546	154,672	413,358
Rice, and rice in the husks	197,729	287,874	234,542
Seeds, clover	34,272	46,432	58,833
— flax and linseed	241,310	238,497	234,158
— rape	79,201	61,840	97,498
Silk, raw & waste	1,445,346	1,683,620	1,859,061
— thrown	283,348	236,416	271,861
— manufactures of India	183,725	199,975	220,006
—— of Europe	537,528	617,655	553,901
Skins, not being furs	250,087	368,524	289,268
Spelter	162,788	137,920	354,923
Spirits, brandy	351,897	427,194	282,975
— geneva	28,925	23,742	19,333
— rum	437,090	441,215	478,874
Sugar	6,142,769	6,152,358	5,788,496
Tallow	1,124,657	1,426,547	1,067,015
Tea	3,205,783	3,364,383	4,332,535
Timber, 8 inches square fir	311,065	343,775	444,074
Tobacco and snuff	213,162	372,104	243,534
Wines	753,925	1,023,638	956,357
Wool, cotton	10,016,153	10,888,117	12,053,459
— sheeps'	1,092,958	1,290,708	1,136,871
Woollen manufactures, including carpets	78,527	77,805	101,244
The total official value of all the imports into Gt. Britain, from foreign parts	44,529,287	47,908,931	47,463,609

British Manufactures and Produce.—Value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain to foreign parts, according to the real or declared value thereof, in the years ending 5th of January,

	1834. £	1835. £	1836. £
Alum	2,759	1,515	1,358
Apparel, slops & negro clothing	405,785	435,297	494,861
Arms&ammunition	321,922	312,980	407,489
Bacon and hams	31,039	35,576	27,573
Beef and pork, salted	96,390	99,160	104,781
Beer and ale	203,195	182,584	225,641
Books, printed	124,265	122,292	148,098
Brass and copper manufactures	883,241	961,606	1,023,949
Bread and biscuit	9,121	7,671	5,405
Butter and cheese	155,883	164,246	178,656
Cabinet and upholstery wares	43,417	47,510	51,003
Coals and culm	228,959	218,205	242,746
Cordage	96,919	90,219	79,541
Corn, grain, meal, and flour	32,360	25,479	25,108
Cotton manufactures	13,754,992	15,281,494	16,393,170
— yarn	4,704,008	5,211,014	5,706,563
Cows and oxen	654	1,255	1,445
Earthenware of all sorts	496,188	492,721	539,989
Fish of all sorts	234,591	200,034	217,652
Glass of all sorts	437,541	490,493	636,927
Haberdashery and millinery	381,505	344,515	516,774
Hardwares and cutlery	1,464,374	1,484,681	1,831,766
Hats, beaver & felt	129,820	125,644	135,048
— of all other sorts	19,565	21,155	27,437
Hops	27,899	18,926	16.646
Horses	74,801	92,414	99,464
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought	1,403,073	1,404,756	1,640,939
Lard	7,963	7,169	11,881
Lead and shot	120,643	142,480	195,096
Leather, wrought and unwrought	272,985	242,496	278,977
—— saddlery & harness	59,110	62,706	73,347
Linen manufactures	2,093,663	2,364,980	2,838,050
—— yarn	72,006	136,312	216,634
Machinery and mill-work	126,597	211,953	307,316
Mathematical and optical instruments	17,792	21,007	25,003
Mules	1,092	1,861	1,761
Musical instruments	41,086	43,213	60,810
Oil, train, of Greenland fishery	36,298	58,607	39,073
Painter's colours	135,617	122,939	169,861
Plate, plated ware, jewellery, watches	179,219	191,854	231,900
Potatoes	9,443	6,453	5,953
Salt	180,580	149,842	142,411
Saltpetre, British refined	11,552	30,881	20,283
Seeds of all sorts	6,681	7,115	8,549
Silk manufactures	737,263	637,013	973,478
Soap & candles	342,684	245,998	248,803
Spirits	12,487	10,114	16,866
Stationery of all sorts	209,526	208,139	257,877
Sugar, refined	562,620	915,693	851,745
Tin, unwrought	86,985	33,327	32,289

	1834. £	1835. £	1836. £
Tin and pewter wares, and tin plates	282,169	336,988	381,068
Tobacco (manufactured) and snuff	15,775	13,827	13,593
Tongues	2,091	2,898	2,421
Umbrellas and parasols	43,040	43,791	45,461
Whalebone	16,570	21,437	12,959
Wool, sheeps'	326,140	192,175	387,833
— of other sorts	27,462	22,878	45,080
Woollen and worsted yarn	246,204	238,541	309,091
Woollen manufactures	6,289,649	5,734,017	6,836,735
All other articles	968,228	954,413	1,034,142
Total real or declared value of the produce & manufactures of the United Kingdom, exported to foreign parts	39,305,512	41,286,594	46,926,370

Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported.—Value of the principal articles of Foreign and Colonial merchandize exported from Great Britain to Foreign Parts in the years ending 5th January, 1834-5-6, calculated at the official rates of valuation. In 1834, the total value of foreign and colonial exports amounted to 9,820,585*l.*; in 1835, to 11,549,912*l.*; and in the year ending 5th January, 1836, to 12,783,801*l.* In the following abstract, articles which are imported in quantities under the value of 100,000*l.*, are omitted:—

	1834. £.	1835. £.	1836. £.
Cassia Lignea	134,154	168,035	143,203
Cinnamon	111,963	55,623	103,318
Cloves	54,287	20,775	113,086
Cochineal, granilla, and dust	147,083	298,713	396,100
Coffee	959,244	952,952	833,935
Corn, grain, meal, and flour	194,496	327,071	313,023
Cotton manufactures of India	554,631	590,253	488,371
Hides, raw & tanned	105,084	196,686	278,709
Indigo	702,435	752,911	780,969
Oil, train, spermaceti, and blubber	7,167	16,723	104,998
Quicksilver	349,841	226,848	419,770
Rice, and rice in the husk	65,032	120,486	241,700
Saltpetre and cubic nitre	45,837	155,731	192,444
Silk, raw, thrown, and waste	58,407	191,684	117,334
—— manufactures of India	261,684	242,164	367,076
Skins and furs	70,036	69,888	100,310
Spelter	110,457	70,963	173,182
Spirits, brandy	221,305	257,784	313,821
—— rum	571,290	512,195	521,925
Sugar	913,620	1,489,692	926,899
Tea	38,169	177,150	323,704
Tin	259,024	303,451	154,673
Tobacco and snuff	154,027	246,960	249,843
Wines	289,366	295,305	335,409
Wool, cotton	1,255,271	1,514,933	2,200,291
—— sheeps'	30,435	55,506	281,991

New vessels built.—An account of the number of vessels, with the amount of their tonnage, that were built and registered in the several ports of the British empire (except Ireland) in the years ending 5th of January, 1834-5-6:—

	1834.	1835.	1836.
ENGLAND—			
Vessels	541	592	665
Tonnage	71,480	80,551	92,853
SCOTLAND—			
Vessels	135	151	156
Tonnage	15,514	17,311	21,261
ISLES OF GUERNSEY, JERSEY AND MAN—			
Vessels	17	26	56
Tonnage	2,959	2,343	5,087
BRITISH PLANTATIONS—			
Vessels	431	425	*334
Tonnage	52,476	55,817	52,711
Total—			
Vessels	1,124	1,194	1,211
Men	142,429	156,022	171,912
IRELAND—			
Vessels	35	37	39
Tonnage	2,218	2,505	2,521
Grand Total of the British Empire—			
Vessels	1,159	1,231	1,250
Tonnage	144,647	158,527	174,433

* *Vessels registered.*—An account of the number of vessels, with the amount of their tonnage, and the number of men usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to the several ports of the British empire on the 31st December, 1833-4-5, respectively:

	1834.	1835.	1836.
ENGLAND—			
Vessels	14,388	14,620	14,823
Tonnage	1,805,626	1,831,074	1,853,112
Men	104,727	105,198	105,945
SCOTLAND—			
Vessels	3,288	3,291	3,287
Tonnage	317,983	324,230	335,820
Men	23,135	23,336	23,924
BRITISH PLANTATIONS—			
Vessels	4,696	5,080	5,211
Tonnage	363,276	403,745	423,458
Men	23,911	26,035	27,911
GUERNSEY, JERSEY, AND MAN—			
Vessels	531	528	563
Tonnage	37,446	37,653	39,636
Men	3,839	3,761	3,958
Total—			
Vessels	22,903	23,519	23,884
Tonnage	2,524,331	2,596,702	2,652,026
Men	155,612	158,330	161,738
IRELAND—			
Vessels	1,482	1,536	1,627
Tonnage	110,246	119,398	131,735
Men	8,388	8,731	9,282
Grand total of the British empire—			
Vessels	24,385	25,055	25,511
Tonnage	2,634,577	2,716,100	2,783,761
Men	164,000	168,061	171,020

Excise Revenue in Great Britain and Ireland.—Abstract from the Accounts for the year ended 5th January, 1836:—

ENGLAND.	Gross Receipt. £.	Net Produce. £.
Auctions	215,171	211,896
Bricks	395,080	391,212
Glass	921,544	611,717
Hops	333,856	324,792
Licenses	847,259	847,064
Malt	4,321,456	4,299,767
Paper	742,101	681,180
Soap	891,647	698,802
Spirits	2,155,531	2,155,511
Tea	59	59
Vinegar	25,871	25,971
Total	£10,849,579	£10,247,876

SCOTLAND.	£.	£.
Auctions	19,766	19,614
Bricks	8,945	8,560
Glass	39,954	20,164
Hops	—	—
Licenses	124,564	123,684

* Account incomplete.

Scotland *continued.*	£	£
Malt	548,147	368,084
Paper	126,915	114,965
Soap	82,451	73,835
Spirits	1,467,514	1,467,497
Tea	—	—
Vinegar	222	222
Total	£2,418,083	£2,196,630

Ireland.	£.	£.
Auctions	10,838	10,512
Glass	16,630	14,754
Licenses	146,212	146,174
Malt	260,294	257,669
Paper	33,321	32,878
Spirits	1,436,191	1,436,187
Vinegar	408	408
Total	£1,903,897	£1,898,581

Post-Office Revenue.—The following Abstracts relative to the revenue of the Post-office in Great Britain are taken from the Finance Accounts for the year ended January 5th, 1836 :—

	£.
Unpaid letters outwards, and paid letters inwards, and ship-letters charged on country postmasters:—England, 482,351*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*; Scotland, 80,969*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*	563,321
Unpaid letters inwards, and paid letters outwards, collected by letter-carriers, &c. in London and Edinburgh:—England, 472,703*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*; Scotland, 38,201*l.* 8*s.* 11½*d.*	510,908
Bye and cross-road letters, &c.:—England, 628,957*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; Scotland, 81,442*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*	710,400
Twopenny and penny post letters at London and Edinburgh:—England, 112,924*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*; Scotland, 8,561*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*	121,489
Letters charged on the postmasters in the West Indies and British North America:—England only	61,993
Postage of letters received by the window-men of the Foreign Office, &c.: London	85,415
Passage and freight by packets	52,038
Miscellaneous receipts	2,009
Total gross receipt	£2,107,676
Deduct for letters refused, mis-sent, re-directed letters, overcharges, and rebates	84,328
Net receipt within the year	2,023,347
Balances and bills outstanding 5th January, 1835	133,071
Total income	£2,156,418
Total payments into the Exchequer	1,418,000
Charges of collection, and other payments	600,245
Bills outstanding 5th January, 1836	138,173
	£2,156,418

Post-Office Revenue (Ireland).—The gross receipt for the year ended 5th January last, was

	£.
	245,664
Deduct re-directed, returned, dead, and other letters	25,718
Net receipt within the year	219,946
Balances due 5th January, 1835	44,733
Total income	£264,679
Charges of collection	96,327
Payments into the Exchequer	122,300
Balances due from country postmasters, &c., including 28,921*l.* insolvent arrears; 1,157*l.* balances due by deceased and dismissed letter carriers and deputy-postmasters	46,052
	£264,679

Corporal Punishments (Army).—A Return of the number of cases in regiments and depôts in Great Britain and Ireland in which corporal punishment has been inflicted, specifying the offences for which it was awarded, since the issuing of the circular letter, dated Horse Guards, 24th August, 1833, restricting the punishment of flogging to certain offences indicated in the said letter:—Mutiny, insubordination and violence, or using or offering violence to superior officers, 270; drunkenness on duty, 80; sale of, or making away with arms, ammunition, accoutrements, or necessaries, 139; stealing from comrades, 32; disgraceful conduct, 47.—Total, 588. The above Return includes only cases in regiments and depôts at home. A similar statement will be immediately called for from the several regiments and corps employed abroad.

Mail Coaches.—There are 54 four-horse mails in England and 49 pair-horse mails. The greatest speed travelled is 10 miles furlongs per hour; slowest speed 6 miles; average speed per hour 8 miles 7 furlongs. The average mileage paid for four-horse mails is 1⅞*d.* per mile; for pair-horse mails 1¾*d.* per mile. The number of four-horse mails in Scotland is 10; of pair-horse mails 4. The greatest speed travelled is 10 miles 4 furlongs per hour; slowest speed 7 miles per hour; average speed 8 miles 2 furlongs. The average mileage paid for four-horse mails in Scotland is 1½*d.* per mile; for pair-horse mails 2¼*d.* per mile. In Ireland there are 30 four-horse mails, and 5 pair-horse mails. The greatest speed travelled is 9 miles 1 furlong per hour; slowest speed 6 miles 7 furlongs; average speed 8 miles 2 furlongs per hour. The average mileage paid for the four-horse mails is 2⅝*d.* per English mile; for pair-horse mails 1¾*d.* per English mile. In Ireland there are 97 mail-cars employed in the conveyance of the mails. The greatest speed at which they travel is 7; an hour; slowest 5⅛ miles; and the average speed is 6⅛ per hour.

National Debt.—The following abstract is taken from the Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ending 5th January, 1836 :—

Total Debt of the United Kingdom, 5th January, 1836		£760,291,554
Unclaimed Dividends, &c., standing in the names of Commissioners		1,744,687
Amount of unredeemed capital		£758,546,866
Annual charge of the Public Debt:—		
Due to the public creditor	£28,246,6607	
Management	156,697	
	£28,403,305	
Debt reduced in the year 1835		£ 3,818,758
Debt created in the year 1835, the sum of 16,734,353*l.*, being included in the West Indies and Barbadoes loans		£18,693,325

Circulation of Scotch Newspapers.—Return of the aggregate number of stamps issued by the Stamp Office from 30th June, 1835, to 30th April, 1836 :—

Edinburgh Advertiser	95,000	Fife Herald	21,000
„ Chronicle	30,500	„ Journal	17,000
„ Constitution	14,000	John o'Groat Journal	1,000
„ Courant	192,500	Glasgow Argus	62,000
„ Gazette	6,000	„ Chronicle	59,500
„ Journal	59,100	„ Journal	
„ Mercury	77,000	„ Post	
„ N. Britain Advertiser	241,510	„ Herald	180,000
„ Observer	50,000	„ Constitutional	18,000
„ Patriot	44,000	„ Liberator	40,575
„ Post	39,100	„ Courier	78,000
„ Scotsman	134,870	„ Guardian	75,000
Aberdeen Advertiser	4,000	„ Times	21,000
„ Herald	41,000	Greenock Advertiser	25,500
„ Journal	77,500	„ Intelligencer	17,250
„ Observer	15,500	Inverness Courier	27,000
Ayr Advertiser	32,000	„ Journal	25,000
„ Observer	27,250	Kelso Chronicle	17,300
Dumfries Courier	56,000	„ Mail	32,100
„ Herald	22,575	Kilmarnock Journal	14,250
„ Times	18,000	Montrose Review	39,000
Dundee Advertiser	47,600	Paisley Advertiser	17,000
„ Chronicle	16,000	Perthshire Advertiser	26,500
„ Courier	11,000	„ Constitutional	19,000
Elgin Courant	10,000	„ Courier	14,000
		Stirling Advertiser	22,000

Copyright.—The following is a Return to an Order of the House of Commons, of the amount of wholesale price of one copy of each book entered at Stationers' Hall during the years 1833-4-5 :—In 1833, 233*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*; 1834, 203*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*; 1835, 248*l.* 15*s.* 1½*d.*

Lead and Lead Ore.—Imports and exports of lead for the year ending January 5, 1836, from a Return made to an Order of the House of Commons :—The imports were —Pig lead, 1276 tons; lead ore, 1437 tons; red lead, 11 cwts.; white lead, 13 tons—total 2727 tons. The net amount of duty received on the quantities entered for home consumption, 67*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* The countries from which the above quantities were imported are—pig-lead, Hanseatic Towns, Belgium, Spain, Gibraltar, and New South Wales; lead-ore, Spain, United States of America, Guatemala, and Isle of Man (which latter place imported 1,417 tons 5 cwt.); red lead, Hanseatic towns; white lead, Holland, France, Italy (Austrian territories), and United States of America. The following is an account of the British lead and lead ore exported from the United Kingdom in the year ending January 5, 1836 :—pig and rolled lead and shot, 11,082 tons; litharge, 454 tons; read lead, 562 tons; white lead, 978 tons; lead ore, 295 tons—total, 13,372 tons. Of foreign lead, 1268 tons were exported in pigs, and 7 tons 14 cwts. 2 qrs. and 9 lbs. of white lead.

Wool and Woollens.—The total quantity of wool imported into the United Kingdom, in the year 1835, was, by weight 42,208,949 lbs., which is rather more than 4,000,000 lbs. under the importation of 1834; but on the 5th of January, 1835, 6,494,266 lbs. remained warehoused under bond; whereas on the 5th of January, 1836, there were no more than 2,846,014 lbs. so locked. The country from which we import the greatest quantity of wool is Germany. In 1835 the amount was nearly 24,000,000 lbs. From Russia, to which our exports of manufactured woollens is comparatively small, we imported upwards of 4,000,000 lbs.; from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, taken together, about 200,000 lbs. weight more than from Russia. The next largest importations are from Spain, Turkey, and Italy, which, taken together, supply us with nearly 4,000,000 lbs. Portugal furnishes 683,000 lbs., Holland 301,000 lbs., and Belgium 231,000 lbs. Of the foreign wool which we have imported, we re-exported, in its unmanufactured state, 4,101,700 lbs. during 1835. And of the total quantity imported in 1835 we retained for manufacture 41,718,514 lbs. This is nearly 1,000,000 lbs. more than was taken up by the manufacturers in the preceding year.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

Bills which have received the Royal Assent.

July 4.

Sugar Duties Bill.
Revenue Securities Bill
Bankrupts' Estates Bill.
Dublin Police Bill.
Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill.
British North American Bank Bill.
Dublin Steam Packet Company Bill.
Liverpool Fire Police Bill.
Sheffield and Rotherham Railway Bill.
Hayle Railway Bill.
Manchester and Leeds Railway Bill.
North of England Railway Bill.
London and Cambridge Railway Bill.
London and Norwich Railway Bill.
Dundee and Newtyle Railway Bill.
North Midland Railway Bill.
London Grand Junction Railway Bill.
Thames Haven Railway and Dock Bill.
Galway Town Improvement Bill.
Herne Bay Pier Bill.
Parrett Navigation Bill.
Suir Navigation Bill.
Aberavon Harbour Bill.
Sidmouth Harbour Bill.
Rochdale Canal Bill.
Tralee Harbour Bill.
Bann Reservoirs Bill.
Wessenden Reservoirs Bill.
Nene Outfall Bill.
Southampton Waterworks Bill.
Tolcross Gas & Water Bill.
Haverfordwest Bridge Bill.
Glasgow Bridge Bill.
Shotts Road and Hamilton Bridge Bill.
Dewsbury and Ealand Road Bill.
Shrewsbury School Bill.
Earl of Abergavenny's Estate Bill.
Bradshaw's Estate Bill.
Thring's Estate Bill.
Lockhart's Estate Bill.
Etwall Hospital Bill.
Heneage's Estate Bill.
Milliken's Estate Bill.
Earl of Courtown's Estate Bill.
Baldon (Oxford) Allotment Bill.

July 14.

Murderers' Execution Bill.
Petty Sessions (Ireland) Bill.
Chapels of Ease (Ireland) Bill.
Instruments of Sasine (Scotland Bill.
Benefit Building Societies Bill.
Liverpool Fire and Life Insurance Company Bill.
Blackheath, &c. Small Debts Bill.
London and Croydon Railway Bill.
Preston and Longridge Railway Bill.
London and Holyhead Roads Bill.
Heriot's Hospital Bill.
Christ's Hospital Estate Bill.
Rees' Naturalization Bill.
Reiss's Naturalization Bill.
Souchoy's Naturalization Bill.
Schmidts' Naturalization Bill.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

House of Lords.

June 30. Bill for facilitating the recovery of debts, the relief of debtors willing to make cession of their property for the payment of their debts, the prevention of fraud by debtors, and abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, by the *Lord Chancellor.*

July 4. Bill for further facilitating the hearing and determining of suits in equity in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer at Westminster, by *Lord Abinger.*

— 13. Bill to secure to his Majesty's subjects the free and quiet enjoyment of property against the claims of the personage for the time being, entitled to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, by the *Lord Chancellor.*

House of Commons.

June 28. Bill to make provision for the better and more expeditious administration of justice in the Stannaries of Cornwall, and for the enlarging the jurisdiction and improving the practice and proceedings in the courts of the said Stannaries.

— 30. Bill for the better regulation of the office of auditor of accounts in the Court of Session in Scotland, and for the appointment of two accountants-general in the said Court.

— Bill to regulate the constitution, jurisdiction, and forms of process of Sheriff Courts, and the civil jurisdiction of Burgh Courts in Scotland.

July 1. Bill to consolidate and amend the several Acts for the uniform valuation of lands and tenements in Ireland, and to incorporate certain detached portions of counties and baronies with those counties and baronies respectively, whereto the same may adjoin, or wherein the same are locally situate.

— 4. Bill to give publicity to the prices of weaving by hand-loom labour.

— Bill to fix the standard qualities of gold and silver plate in Scotland, and to provide for the assaying and marking thereof.

— 6. Bill to continue for one year, and from thence to the end of the then next Session of Parliament, the several Acts relating to the importation and keeping of coins and gunpowder in Ireland.

— Bill to continue in like manner the several Acts for regulating the turnpike roads in Ireland.

— 7. Bill to continue an Act relative to the administration of justice in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

— Bill for granting Admiralty jurisdiction to the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca.

— Bill to continue the provisions of the law relating to insolvent debtors in India.

— Bill to amend an Act passed in the present Session, for consolidating the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland.

— 8. Bill for the establishment of a cemetery for the interment of the dead in the southern vicinity of the metropolis.

— Bill for converting the Richmond General Penitentiary into one of the prisons for the county of the city of Dublin, and to amend the law relating to prisons in Ireland.

— Bill to restrain the alienation of corporate property in certain towns in Ireland.

— Bill for carrying into effect the Fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the

Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues.

July 8. Bill to transfer the collection and management of the duties, in Great Britain, on horses let for hire, and on licenses relating to the same, from the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes to the Commissioners of Excise.

— 11. Bill for the more effectual recovery of small debts in the Justice of Peace Courts in Scotland.

— 12. Bill to facilitate the administration of the poor-laws in England and Wales.

— 14. Bill for the regulation of the medical charities supported by county assessment in Ireland.

— Bill to continue an Act relating to the dispatch of business done by the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

— Bill to repeal so much of the Act 10 Geo. II. c. 28, as provides that no plays shall be acted but in Westminster, or places of his Majesty's residence.

— Bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the conveyance of newspapers by the post.

— 15. Bill to authorise the application of highway rates to turnpike-roads in certain cases.

— Bill to amend the law relating to bankrupts.

— 18. Bill for more effectually securing the duty on malt in Ireland.

— 19. Bill to impose countervailing duties of Excise on mixtures, compounds, preparations, and commodities made from or with spirits removed from Ireland to England or Scotland, or from Scotland to England, and to grant countervailing drawbacks on the removal of the same from England to Scotland or Ireland, or from Scotland to Ireland; and to repeal the additional duties of Excise on licenses to retailers of spirits in the United Kingdom, imposed by an Act passed in the 4th and 5th of his present Majesty; and to alter certain provisions in the laws of Excise relating to distillers and retailers of spirits.

— Bill to continue an Act of 10th Geo. IV., for providing for the government of his Majesty's settlements in Western Australia, on the western coast of New Australia.

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

House of Commons.

July 5. Committee to inquire into existing communications between London and Dublin, and to consider what improvement could be made therein.

New Members.

For South Warwickshire, Evelyn John Shirley, Esq., in the room of E. R. C. Sheldon, Esq., deceased. The election was contested, and at the close of the poll the numbers were—E. J. Shirley, Esq., 1873; Sir Grey Skipwith, 1354; majority, 519.

For the county of Merioneth, —— Richards, Esq., in the room of Sir R. W. Vaughan, Bart., accepted Chiltern Hundreds. Election contested: close of the poll—Mr. Richards, 500; Sir W. Wynn, 144; majority, 366.

New Writ Issued.

For Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the room of Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart., deceased.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Van Diemen's Land.—Dr. Ross's "Hobart Town Almanac" for 1836 contains the following statements:—"The Annual Agricultural Return shows an increase of 3767 acres sown with wheat more than in the former year. At an average produce of twenty bushels to the acre, 674,540 bushels will be reaped during the present harvest. This quantity, after deducting 76,000 bushels for seed at the rate of two bushels per acre for 30,000 acres and 296,000 bushels for the consumption of an average population of the year, of 37,000 inhabitants at the rate of eight bushels per head, will leave upwards of 300,000 bushels for exportation. But taking the average produce at only fifteen bushels, which is the return that some agriculturists calculate upon, only half this quantity will be to spare, as the consumption and seed are to be in like manner deducted from the smaller as the larger quantity. The Table also shows an increase of about 1800 acres in the cultivation of barley, and of 250 of oats. In live stock there is a decrease of 656 horses, which we cannot account for; an increase of more than 8000 cattle, and a decrease of 21,096 sheep, which last may be accounted for from various causes, of which the late establishments on the northern coasts of the Straits are but one of the effects. No return has been received from Circular Head, which is in consequence omitted in the above account."

Comparative Colonial Imports and Exports.—We take the following from Colonel Torrens' work "On Colonization":—

	Population.	Total Exports and Imports.	Per Head.	Imports from United Kingdom.	Per Head.
		£.	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.
New South Wales	60,000	968,000	16 0 0	400,000	6 12 8
Van Diemen's Land	30,000	600,000	20 0 0	353,000	11 0 0
Canadas.....	750,000	2,952,000	3 10 0	1,136,000	1 10 0
Nova Scotia	174,000	743,000	4 0 0	311,000	1 15 0
Cape Colony.....	126,000	500,000	4 9 0	281,000	2 0 0
Mauritius	94,000	....	....	148,000	0 11 6
Ceylon	950,000	620,000	0 13 0	28,000	0 0 7

The Cotton Trade.—The following details give a complete view of this great branch of our national industry in 1834:—

1. Cotton wool imported		lbs. 326,875,425
2. Value at 8*d.* per lb. average		£ 10,895,847
3. Number of spinning and weaving mills		1,200
4. Number of spindles used in spinning		10,041,000
5. Number of power-looms		100,000
6. Amount of capital invested, viz.—		
Of fixed capital	£17,000,000	
Of floating capital	17,000,000	
Total capital		£ 34,000,000
7. Wages paid to factory operatives		£ 6,044,000
hand-loom weavers		4,375,000
calico printers		1,170,000
lace-workers		1,000,000
makers of cotton hosiery		505,000
bleachers, dyers, fustian-cutters, tools, &c.		4,000,000
Total wages		£ 17,094,000
8. Total value of manufactured cotton goods		£34,825,586
9. Home consumption	£14,312,000	
Foreign consumption	20,513,000	
10. Quantity—white or plain cottons		yds. 283,950,180
printed or dyed		yds. 271,755,651
twist and yarn		lbs. 76,478,468
11. Number of persons employed, viz.—		
Factory operatives		237,000
Hand-loom weavers		250,000
Calico printers		45,000
Lace-makers		159,300
Makers of cotton hosiery		33,000
Bleachers, fustian-cutters, tool and machine makers, &c.		100,000
Total number		824,300

Provincial Newspapers (England).—With the exception of two or three newspapers, almost exclusively devoted to commercial matters, each of the provincial journals now sustains a political character. Of the 175 newspapers published out of London (excluding those published in Wales), 100 are of Liberal politics, and 75 advocate the principles of the Tory party. There are sixty journals, which have an average circulation of 1000 and upwards per week—namely, 37* Liberal journals and 23 Tory journals. The aggregate circulation of the 37 Liberal papers is 72,193 per week, which gives an average weekly circulation of 1951 to each: the aggregate circulation of the 23 Tory papers is 31,606 per week, or 1374 per

* The "Hereford Times" should, we believe, be included in the list of Liberal papers which have a weekly circulation of 1000 and upwards per week; but although in that paper for June 11 its circulation is stated to be grossly misstated in the Parliamentary Return, no information is given as to the number of stamps actually consumed within the period which the Return comprises.

week, taking the average of each paper. Of the papers which have a weekly circulation exceeding

3000, there are	4	Liberal—	0	Tory.
2000, and under 3000	8	„	2	„
1500, and under 2000	8	„	6	„
1200, and under 1500	11	„	6	„
1000, and under 1200	6	„	9	„

The following table of the proportion per cent. of the Tory to the Liberal papers,—first, as to the aggregate number of each, and afterwards of those which have a circulation of 1000 and upwards per week of papers, and the aggregate circulation of this rank shews, in the case of the Tory journals, a decline from 75 to 43¼ per cent.:—

	Liberal.	Tory.
Proportion, taking the aggregate of the provincial papers . . (per cent.)	100	75
Proportion of papers having a weekly circulation of 1000 . . .	100	62
Proportion of the aggregate circulation of papers circulating 1000 and upwards weekly	100	43¼

The following list of the papers which enjoy a circulation of 1000 per week, having undergone corrections from various sources, including the "Supplementary Return of Newspaper Stamps," ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, for the purpose of amending the previous Return, is, we have reason to believe, worthy of confidence:—

Liberal.	Weekly Circulation.	Tory.	Weekly Circulation.
Leeds Mercury	5795	Birmingham Gazette	2500
Stamford Mercury	5000	Oxford Journal	2102
Manchester Guardian	4398	Leeds Intelligencer	1819
Liverpool Mercury	3635	Bristol Mirror	1806
Hampshire Telegraph	2659	Leicester Journal	1693
Salisbury Journal	2500	Norfolk Chronicle	1636
Newcastle Courant	2495	Yorkshire Gazette	1534
Stafford Advertiser	2386	Exeter Gazette	1523
Liverpool Albion	2211	Newcastle Journal	1420
Manchester Times	2134	Bristol Journal	1386
Newcastle Chronicle	2034	Hampshire Advertiser	1386
Reading Mercury	2000	Ipswich Journal	1330
Manchester Advertiser	1954	Hereford Journal	1311
Chelmsford Chronicle	1931	Essex Standard	1206
Norwich Mercury	1818	Bath Chronicle	1159
York Herald	1704	Cambridge Chronicle	1140
Suffolk Chronicle	1700	Northampton Herald	1102
Shrewsbury Chronicle	1681	Gloucester Chronicle	1079
Worcester Herald	1681	Nottingham Journal	1022
Northampton Mercury	1545	Exeter Flying Post	1011
Doncaster Gazette	1432	Dorset County Chronicle	1073
Gloucester Journal	1431	Sheffield Mercury	1058
Bury Post	1363	Stamford Chronicle	1000
Cambridge (Huntingdon) Gazette	1359		
Sherborne Journal	1325		
Birmingham Journal	1290		
Hull Advertiser	1270		
Carlisle Journal	1250		
Chester Chronicle	1227		
Kent Herald	1227		
Nottingham Review	1204		
Leeds Times	1181		
Truro West Briton	1165		
Hampshire Independent	1038		
York Courant	1136		
Bristol Mercury	1034		
Hampshire Chronicle	1000		
	72,193		31,606

Bankruptcy Analysis from June 26th to July 22nd.—Brewers, 2; bricklayer, 1; broker (Russian), 1; builder, 1; cabinet-maker, 1; calico-printer, 1; carver, 1; cheesemonger, 1; clothes-dealer, 1; coachmaker, 1; commission-agent, 1; cotton-spinners, 2; drapers, 3; engine boiler-maker, 1; fan-light manufacturer, 1; glass-dealer, 1; goldsmith, 1; grocer, 1; hatter, 1; hotel-keeper, 1; ironmongers, 2; jewellers, 3; lace-manufacturer, 1; lodging-house-keepers, 2; maltsters, 2; malt-dealer, 1; merchant, 1; miller, 1; milliner, 1; oil-broker, 1; rope-manufacturer, 1; saddlers, 2; scrivener, 1; silk-mercer, 1; spirit-dealer, 1; stationer, 1; straw-bonnet-maker, 1; straw-hat-dealer, 1; tailors, 2; tanner, 1; victuallers, 3; warehouseman, 1; wine-merchant, 1—Total 56; from the 28th of December, 513.

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from the *London Gazette* of Friday, July 22:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Week ending July 15	49 4	32 10	23 8	35 4	39 0	41 6
Average of last six weeks .	50 6	32 8	24 1	35 8	39 0	41 3
Duty on foreign corn.....	36 8	13 10	10 9	16 9	11 0	8 0

The following statement of the average prices of wheat, barley, and oats during each week of the half-year ending June 30th is taken from the account published weekly in the *London Gazette*:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Week ending January 1	36 0	27 4	18 7
„ 8	36 5	27 8	18 7
„ 15	37 0	28 1	18 9
„ 22	37 10	28 9	18 10
„ 29	39 3	28 11	19 6
February 5	39 7	28 1	19 8
„ 12	39 7	29 0	19 8
„ 19	40 7	28 11	20 3
„ 26	42 6	29 11	21 2
March 4	41 7	29 4	21 2
„ 11	45 0	29 4	21 5
„ 18	44 2	29 8	21 2
„ 25	44 7	30 5	21 6
April 1	46 5	30 9	21 9
„ 8	47 7	31 4	21 9
„ 15	48 8	32 1	22 2
„ 22	48 10	32 1	22 3
„ 29	48 3	32 8	22 2
May 6	47 11	32 8	22 6
„ 13	49 3	33 2	21 3
„ 20	50 4	33 2	23 9
„ 27	49 10	32 9	23 8
June 3	49 5	32 10	24 8
„ 10	51 0	33 2	24 0
„ 17	51 1	32 1	24 6
„ 24	50 6	32 2	24 1
Average price for the half year	44 10¾	30 7¾	21 6¼
Lowest price during do.	36 0	27 4	18 7
Highest price during do.	51 1	33 2	24 8
Average price for 1836	39 4	29 11	22 0
Average price for the seven years ending Jan. 1, 1836	56 3	31 9	22 0

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

June 25.	July 2.	July 9.	July 16.	July 23.
92⅛	92⅛	92⅜	91⅝	91

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar per cwt., computed from the Returns published in the *London Gazette*:—

Week ending June 28	43*s.* 3½*d.*
„ July 5	45*s.* 5½*d.*
„ 12	44*s.* 7½*d.*
„ 19	44*s.* 5½*d.*

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

July 2. The annual distribution of prizes and certificates of honour took place in the Theatre of the London University; the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the chair. The annual report which was read to the meeting was very satisfactory. After Mr. Spring Rice had distributed the prizes, he expressed the great satisfaction which he felt in

presiding on so interesting an occasion. He said he hoped that, in a week or a fortnight, the London University would have not only the honour of communicating knowledge, but the privilege of bestowing all those badges or symbols of knowledge which other Universities can confer. And he must be allowed to say, that when he had first had the honour of meeting with the Professors and Council on the subject of conferring degrees, they said, "Let there be the fullest competition;" for they were satisfied they had nothing to fear from the competition of other institutions. It was delightful to him to see this recognition of a principle of liberality on the part of those connected with the London University; but he was not surprised, for that was the principle on which the institution was based. It had afforded him great satisfaction to witness at the late examinations of the University of Cambridge—a University with which he was intimately connected—so many of those who had studied at this institution distinguishing themselves. There was one who had so distinguished himself as to receive the fourth honour—received it, did he say? he did not receive it, though he had earned it, and it was awarded to him. There was a bar when he advanced to the table—he was a Dissenter.

July 5. The usual form of nomination of the Bishop of Bristol to the See of Ely, and of Dr. Butler, to that of Lichfield and Coventry, appeared in the Gazette.

— 6. In a letter to Mr. Barrett, proprietor of the *Dublin Pilot*, Mr. O'Connell developed the plan for "The General Association of Ireland." Its objects are—1. To procure by law a complete municipal reform in Ireland, on as large and effectual a basis as that originally proposed by the ministry. 2. To secure by law such a settlement of the tithe question as shall be fully satisfactory to the people of Ireland. The association to stand absolutely dissolved the moment these two objects are attained; and during its existence it is to be supported by a rent, on the same basis as the Catholic rent. Mr. O'Connell, about the same period, addressed a letter to the Irish people, in which he made the following declaration respecting the objects of the reformers:—"1. To rally all our exertions for the support of the King's Government. The safety of Ireland—of the lives and properties of all classes in Ireland—its freedom from the horrors of anarchy and a servile war,—all depends on the stability of the present Ministry. Let us, then, rally round the government of Lord Melbourne, and give it all the aid we can in and out of Parliament. Heart and hand let us and Lord Mulgrave in Ireland. 2. Our second duty is to exert all the influence we possess to preserve the internal peace of Ireland—to prevent or to suppress agrarian outrages of every description—to advise, control, and protect the people—to protect them from their own natural resentments, as well as from the insidious, equally with the open machinations of their enemies. 3. The third and chiefest, because the best instrument of the other two, is the immediate formation of an active society, to regulate all legal and constitutional exertions in the paths of peace and with the fervour of freedom—a body free from any legal objection or any moral reproach." In a letter addressed to the newly-constituted association, Mr. O'Connell says,—"Meet weekly; digest in committees every point upon which honest men may differ. Let every man be disposed to yield to others equally honest with himself, everything but principle. Harmony, union, exertion, perpetual, unremitting exertion."

— 14. At a special meeting of the Protestant Association, held at Exeter Hall, the Rev. Robert M'Ghee read long extracts from a pamphlet purporting to be a translation of "A Letter of our Most Holy Father, by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI., to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland." The two principal subjects to which the letter referred were the national schools, and the conduct to be pursued by the Bishops. The Rev. Gentleman made comments on the conduct of the Catholic hierarchy as he proceeded: and great excitement was occasioned in the meeting by the apparent disclosures of the policy of the Church of Rome which the pamphlet revealed. The following day Mr. M'Ghee addressed a letter to the journals, stating that the pamphlet was discovered to have been a fabrication.

— 15. Earl Mulgrave, who is making a tour in the south of Ireland, has been everywhere received with the strongest demonstrations of attachment and respect. The inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Mallow presented an address to his Lordship, which contained the following passages:—

MALLOW ADDRESS.

"We stand before you in numbers amounting to many thousands, and the greater part of us, even ourselves, as having belonged to that political party in this country who advocated the repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, in the eager pursuit of which we dismissed, or aided in dismissing, from the representation of this great county and borough in Parliament, individuals who, on the other public questions, were entitled to our respect and confidence. As Irishmen, the love of our country is paramount in our breasts; and we could not behold, without grief and indignation, the wide-spread poverty, discontent, and misery, the effects of long-established oppression and misrule, which have afflicted the land. We thought that the only remedy that could be devised for such evils was a recurrence to a domestic legislature, when the laws would emanate from our countrymen under the control of the opinions and feelings prevailing in Ireland. But the experience we have had of your Excellency's wise, just, and paternal government, carrying into effect the liberal and enlightened principles of his Majesty's present advisers, has taught us otherwise, and we now acknowledge that English statesmen, sent by and representing fairly the people of England, would do full and ample justice to this long-afflicted country. Such a statesman we feel we have in the person of your Excellency, worthy your great station, and representing fully its generosity, its dauntless spirit, its wide grasp of intellect, the kindly sympathies of the heart, and all the other qualities which dignify and ennoble the name and nature of man. From the hope that we entertain, and on the condition that the principles indicated by your Excellency's government will be carried into effect—namely, of having the inhabitants of this country rank in the eye of the law on terms of perfect equality with the British people, we tender to your Excellency our solemn abjuration of the question of the repeal of the Legislative Union, and of every other question calculated to produce an alienation of feeling between the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of Ireland. We seek for equality with the British people, common interests, and reciprocity of benefits, and to be legislated for as a part of Great Britain: with less we can never be content."

July 17. Gratifying accounts have been received from Ireland respecting the general lightness of the calendar in the respective Circuit Courts of Assize. At Drogheda, Chief Justice Bushe expressed his satisfaction at this improved state of society. At Athy, Judge Johnston said that the light state of the calendar called for no observation from him. At Dundalk, the Chief Baron Joy congratulated the Grand Jury on the unparalleled lightness of the calendar. At Ennis, Baron Foster said to the Grand Jury, that he was happy to have it in his power to congratulate them on the great diminution of crime which had taken place in the county, compared with former periods. In Wexford, Baron Pennefather briefly addressed the jury:—He was happy to inform them that little was to be done in the criminal department of their duties, and if the calendar faithfully represented the state of the county, it afforded him matter of congratulation, for it was really surprising to see a county of such extent so free from crime. In Waterford, the total number on the calendar of the county is ten. In the city of Waterford there are only two female prisoners for trial. In the city of Limerick, Baron Foster, in his address to the Grand Jury, said,—"I am happy to inform you that the calendar is exceedingly light." In the county of Limerick, Judge Perrin said that the reduced state of the present calendar, as compared with the last, was evidence of the peaceful state of the county. At Carlow, Baron Smith, alluding to the state of the calendar, said,—"I congratulate you on the prospect of its being light; for the lightness of a calendar is, in general, a proper subject of congratulation, though unfortunately there may be, as there have been, times and circumstances where this lightness will not indicate the absence of offence, but the prevalence of intimidation, confederacy, and connivance. I hope this is not the case in the county in which I am."

This day is published in 8vo., price 1s.

PAPERS RELATING to the ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT of PRUSSIA.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT and Co. 22, Ludgate-street.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

This Day is published,

THE PENNY MAGAZINE, Part LII., Price 6*d.*

THE PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA, Part XLIII. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* Five Volumes are now completed, and may be had uniformly bound in cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE GALLERY OF PORTRAITS, No. II., containing Portraits and Memoirs of DE THOU, CHATHAM, and MOLIERE. Imperial 8vo., price 2*s.* 6*d.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

Just published, with Six Wood-cuts, price 3*s.* 6*d.*,

HISTORICAL SKETCHES: — SPAIN and PORTUGAL. Vol II., completing the Work.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate-street.

LIBRARY OF ANECDOTE AND TABLE-TALK.

This Day is published, in fcp 8vo., price 6*s*,

THE BOOK of TABLE-TALK, Vol. II., illustrated with many Wood cuts.

"I love anecdotes. I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically, except in narrative; grow weary of preparation, and connexion, and illustration, and all those arts by which a big book is made. If a man is to wait till he weaves anecdotes into a system, we may be long in getting them, and get but few in comparison of what we might get."—*Dr. Johnson (Boswell's Tour.)*

Vol I was published on the 1st of June, price 6*s.*

London CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate-street.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

This day is published, in 2 vols., post 8vo, illustrated with Wood-cuts, price One Guinea,

THE CHINESE: A General Description of the Empire of China and its inhabitants. By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., late his Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China.

"In Mr. Davis's account of China we find every subject brought forward that can throw light on the laws and institutions of a people to whom, we think, that justice has not been rendered by foreigners, which is then due. Mr Davis brings to his task advantages which have fallen to the lot of few Europeans. He resided twenty years at Canton, where he at length rose to be chief of the factory; he accompanied Lord Amherst's embassy to Pekin; and he ranks as one of the few Europeans who have ever really mastered the language and literature of China. He has rendered into English several pieces from their romances, their poetry, and their dramatic works; of which last class, in all tongues, but more especially in the unique tongue of China, it is particularly difficult to preserve the spirit in a translation. We have a right, therefore, to consider the statements which he has now submitted to the public as containing as full and correct a view of this singular people, of their government, laws, and institutions—and, in short, of the whole frame of their society, as the many difficulties with which the subject is beset, will admit."—*Quarterly Review, June*, 1836.

London CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

22, *Ludgate Street*, 1836.

NEW BOOKS

JUST PUBLISHED,

BY CHARLES KNIGHT & Co.,

A FAMILIAR ABRIDGMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT, 5 and 6 William IV., c. 76; intended as a Guide to Citizens and Burgesses; with a Table of Periods, Notes, and a copious Index. Second edition, revised; to which is added an Introduction and an Appendix. By ROBERT GUPPY, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 2*s.* sewed.

A FAMILIAR ABRIDGMENT OF THE GENERAL HIGHWAYS ACT, 5 and 6 William IV., c. 50; with a copious Index. By A. A. FRY, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE TRAVELLER'S GUIDE; with Regard to the Duties of Customs of England, France, and Belgium. By ROBERT COX, Searcher, Landing and Coast Waiter to his Majesty's Customs, and Principal Inspecting Officer of the Steam Packet Baggage Department in London. Second Edition. 1*s.* sewed.

CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM. Edited by WILLIAM SIDNEY WALKER, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo., price 25*s.*

HOW TO OBSERVE: — GEOLOGY. By H. T. DELABECHE, Esq. Second Edition, post 8vo., with 138 Wood-cuts. 10*s.* 6*d.*

NATIONAL EDUCATION; its Present State and Prospects, including a Review of the State of Education and the Condition of the People in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, America, Prussia, and Spain. By FREDERICK HILL. In Two Volumes, 12mo. Price 12*s.*

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

THE SCHOOLMASTER: Essays on Practical Education, selected from the Works of ASCHAM, MILTON, LOCKE, and BUTLER; from the Quarterly Journal of Education; and from Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12*s.*

In 2 Vols. post 8vo., with numerous Wood-cuts, price ONE GUINEA,

PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY, with Illustrative Notes, by HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S. and Member of the National Institute of France, and SIR CHARLES BELL, K.G.H., F.R.S.L. & E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, formerly of the Council, and Professor of Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c. &c. To which are added SUPPLEMENTARY DISSERTATIONS, by SIR CHARLES BELL.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate-street.

This Day is published,

THE PICTORIAL BIBLE, Part VI. Price 2*s.* This Work is also published in Weekly Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

THE MUSICAL LIBRARY, Part XXIX. Price 2*s.*

Two New Volumes of the MUSICAL LIBRARY have been just completed, one of Instrumental, the other of Vocal Music, which may be had, uniformly bound with the four preceding volumes, price 12*s.* each. Also a new Volume of the SUPPLEMENT, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

In 2 Vols. post 8vo., price ONE GUINEA,

THE COTTON-MANUFACTURE of GREAT BRITAIN SYSTEMATICALLY INVESTIGATED, and illustrated by 150 Original Figures, engraved in Wood and Steel, with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries, chiefly drawn from Personal Survey. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., M.G.S., M.A.S. London, M. Acad. N.S. Philadelphia, Corresponding Member of the Pharm. Soc. North Germany, and of the Société Industrielle of Mulhausen, &c., &c., &c.

Also, Just Published,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANUFACTURES; or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. Second Edition, corrected, with Wood-cuts and Steel Plates. Post 8vo., 10*s* 6*d.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22 Ludgate-street.

Dedicated, by permission, to the Rev. J. R. Major, A.M., Head Master of King's College School, price 6*s.*

POPULAR GEOGRAPHY, designed as a Companion to Thomas's Library and Imperial School Atlases, and for the Use of Schools and Families.

By ROWLAND BOND, Lecturer at the London Institution.

"A book that well bears out its title, which can hardly be said of any other elementary treatise on this useful branch of knowledge."—Spectator.

"This book is remarkable, not only for the quantity, but the quality of the information it contains."—Atlas

"Mr. Bond has treated Geography as it deserves to be treated, even in an elementary work, as a science. The style of the language also is of a very superior description."—Metropolitan Magazine.

London: JOSEPH THOMAS, 1, Finch-lane, Cornhill; sold by SIMPKIN and MARSHALL, and all Booksellers.

KING'S PATTERN SILVER HANDLED CUTLERY, the durability of which is nearly double that of ivory, is now offered at the following reduced prices.—Silver-handled Table Knives 3 guineas per dozen, Dessert Knives 2½ guineas per dozen, Carvers 15*s.* per pair.

T. COX SAVORY'S, Working Goldsmith, Silversmith, and Watchmaker, 47, Cornhill, London.

A pamphlet, giving a detailed list of the prices of Plate, Plated Goods, Watches, Clocks, &c., may be had gratis.

ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY AT THE CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

A GOOD FIT, Good Workmanship, and Good Materials, having gained for E. P. DOUDNEY and SON a Good Name and extensive patronage for upwards of half a century, in presenting their unparalleled Low Prices for Public Inspection they beg to state that the three essentials to a Good Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, it being their ambition to ensure an increasing business, and merit the appellation of being "The Best, as well as the Cheapest, Tailors!"

CASH PRICES.

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made, per suit	£3	3	0
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	0
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk Facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7*s* each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10*s.* 6*d.* per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES,

(The old suits to be returned.)

Two Suits per year	£7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES (tastefully and fashionably made) SURPRISINGLY LOW!—Skeleton Suits, 18*s.*; Tunic Dresses, 25*s.*; Hussar Suits, 30*s.*

The "City Clothing Establishment" has long been celebrated for having the Best and Cheapest Assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats, Great Coats and Cloaks of every make, all sorts of Gaiters, Mud-boots, and Gambadoes; India-rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

Gentlemen requiring Outfits, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices of other Houses, will prove the advantages to be derived from giving them Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY and SON, 49, Lombard-street.

Established Fifty Years.

METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. **97,** FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVIES' HOUDNEY.

In remarking on his
FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,
G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes; to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for.....£3 0
Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10
Black and Blue, 10s. extra on each
Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s new principles of Measurement, 1 8
Waistcoats 14
Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6
These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES
Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes; also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison, in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS,** of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5
Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10
Black or Blue, 5s. each extra
Trousers 1 1
Waistcoats 10
The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10
A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar, and Cape—9 yds round 3 3
Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES
As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges: G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black, his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for
Two Suits per Annum.....£10 0
Three ditto ditto 14 18
Four ditto ditto 19 12
and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term, thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... £3 18 6
For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials, but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each.

G. D. D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN,** that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents. (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

PLATE GLASS.

CARVING and GILDING, CHAIRS and CABINET

WORK, CARPETING, UPHOLSTERY, and INTERIOR DECORATIONS in the present improved style, on terms which fear no competition, at HENRY L. COOPER'S Old Establishments for Superior Furniture Looking Glasses of a quality that cannot be excelled. For a more detailed enumeration of the Articles connected with the Manufactory, and a Tariff of Plate Glass for Windows, &c., *vide* Advertisements in the Magazines and Newspapers for 1835 and 1836

93, Bishopsgate-street Within. Western Branch, 57, Conduit-street, nine doors from Regent-street, left-hand side

H. L. C. begs respectfully to solicit particular attention to the address.

USEFUL INVENTIONS.

KNIGHT'S PATENT BACK-SPRING PEN.

This Pen, by its lunge-like elasticity behind the axis, allows the distance between the nibs and writer's fingers to vary with the pressure of the hand, becoming thereby more pleasingly soft and yielding, and easier to write with than even a Quill Pen, and giving to the running-hand the clearness, uniformity, and beauty of slow careful writing with any other pen.

It has in itself a degree of the longitudinal elasticity of KNIGHT'S SPRING PEN HOLDER, patented with it, and issued before it a year ago, for all other Pens. The number of attempts made to copy and approximate to it, distant as they all are, since the specification was enrolled, proves how important the Makers have deemed the new principle.

Each Pen is marked "C. KNIGHT'S PATENT," and each Card bears the Signature, *Charles Knight.*

Twelve Pens, with Holder, 2s. 6d.

KNIGHT'S PATENT SPRING PEN-HOLDER.

The use of Metallic Pens in this country has become so general that an invention which corrects their defects, and remarkably improves their usefulness, cannot be regarded as unimportant.

The new PATENT SPRING PEN-HOLDER, while it renders the act of writing itself easier with any pen, LEAVES TO THE METALLIC PEN ALL ITS ADVANTAGES OVER THE QUILL, AND ENTIRELY OBVIATES THE DISADVANTAGES. By allowing the length of what may be called the axis of the Pen, or the distance between the nibs and the writer's fingers, to vary according to the pressure made, the hand may descend considerably without making the pen scratch the paper, and rise without causing the pen to leave it. The freedom of motion thus attained produces these effects:—

1. The difficulty of writing with the common Steel Pen at once ceases when the pen is united with the Patent Spring Holder. 2. The fatigue is prevented. 3. The slowness is replaced by rapidity.

The elasticity of the Holder is regulated by a screw, so that every writer is enabled to adjust it to his own habit or fancy.

The instrument is not in the least complicated, and not liable to be out of order.

It may be used with any of the numerous descriptions of Metallic Pens now made.

It is of inexpensive construction, so that it may be attained at small cost by the thousands of persons who now use Steel Pens.

The Patent Spring Pen-Holder is issued in cases, adapted for the waistcoat pocket, with directions for use, signed by C. Knight on each, at the following prices:

In ALBATA, for any pen, 2s.
Ditto, superior quality, 2s. 6d.
In ALBATA, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 3s.
In SILVER, EBONY Handle, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 6s.
In SILVER, IVORY Handle, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 7s.

Booksellers, Stationers, and Jewellers may be supplied wholesale, on application to Messrs. Knight and Co., 22, Ludgate Street, or through the agents for the sale of their Publications.

THE PATENT LEAF HOLDER.

By the means of a little instrument attached to the back of a Portfolio, as few as two or three, or as many as forty or fifty sheets, may be held tightly together as if they were bound, the volume thus seemed opening with as much ease as a sewed book. The compression can be immediately withdrawn, and the number or numbers added or subtracted without the slightest difficulty. The principle is, of course, equally applicable to music, prints, and manuscripts. A Patent has been taken out for this invention, and the Portfolios, with leather backs and cloth sides, may now be had of the following sizes, and at the affixed retail prices:—

	Iron Holder.	Brass Holder.
	s. d.	s. d.
Demy Octavo, for the Mirror, and similar Publications, Pamphlets, &c.	3 6	
Post Quarto, for Letters		4 6
Ditto (Black) Sermon Cases		4 6
Pot Folio, for Penny Magazines and Cyclopædia, Saturday Magazine, &c.	4 6	
Foolscap Folio, for Parliamentary Papers, Invoices, &c.	5 6	
Crown Folio, for Music		7 6
Double Foolscap, for the Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Prints, &c.	8 0	9 6

London. CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

A CURE FOR A BAD RAZOR.—Whereas sundry Razor-Strop Makers (in sheer despair at the unrivalled success and extended sale of MECHI'S MAGIC RAZOR-STROPS) have abandoned their own OLD SHABBY patterns, and are endeavouring to copy the NEAT AND ELEGANT shape of MECHI'S:

And whereas the said despairing Makers are by these deceptious means endeavouring to mislead the Public, as well as steal a slice of MECHI'S well-earned fame:

And whereas the said Counterfeits possess none of the sharpening properties of MECHI'S MAGIC STROP. The Public are respectfully cautioned *not to buy any Razor Strops that have not* MECHI'S *name thereon,* however much they may resemble his in outward appearance.

They are sold by nearly every respectable Perfumer in the United Kingdom; and also at numerous Chemists, Bazaars, &c. Manufactory and Wholesale Department, 4, Leadenhall Street, four doors from Cornhill, London.

N.B.—MECHI'S Manufactory will be found the best and cheapest in London for all kinds of Table Cutlery, Razors, Penknives, Scissors, best Sheffield plated goods, Mahogany and Rosewood Writing desks, Dressing-cases, Workboxes, Tea-caddies, his celebrated Bagatelle-tables, Leather Writing and Dressing-cases, Table-inkstands, Liquor-cases, Medicine-chests, Backgammon, Draft, and Chess-boards, and various other articles, of which a Catalogue may be had "GRATIS."

☞ *The Office of the Society is at* 13, *Pall-mall East.*

Clerk, Mr. JOHN MARTIN.

LONDON: CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

THE

COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 45. SEPTEMBER 1, 1836. Price 6d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Shutting of the Commons' Gallery in former times . .	213	New Customs' Duties . . .	232
Political Retiospect for August	218	New Colony of South Australia	233
Report of the Committee on Shipwrecks	229	Conveyance of Newspapers .	235
National Education in Ireland	230	Close of the Session of Parliament	ib
Resolutions of the Select Committee on Controverted Elections	231	The next Session	236
Repeal of Agricultural Taxes since 1815	232	Parliamentary Register . .	237
		Abstracts of Returns, &c. .	240
		Miscellaneous	241
		Chronicle of Occurrences . .	242

THE SHUTTING OF THE COMMONS' GALLERY IN FORMER TIMES—ADMISSION OF LADIES.

SINCE our last notice upon this subject, the attention of the House has been called by more than one Member to the operation of the new rule, and to the necessity of a revision and alteration of it. It appears that since it has come into operation the Gallery has scarcely ever been half filled. Can any better proof be desired that the rule works as ill as possible—that instead of affording a freer admission to the public than they had previously enjoyed, it acts decidedly as a bar and an exclusion? It ought to have been clear from the first that this would be its effect; but the experiment that has been made has now put the matter beyond doubt or controversy. Of all that portion of the public to whom the Gallery was formerly open, one-half at least, it appears, now find its doors shut upon them; and could it have turned out otherwise? Formerly all persons were admissible who could either obtain a Member's order, or chose to pay their half-crown; the right, we were going to say, is now restricted to the holders of orders, but in fact there is now no right of admission; that is wholly taken away; it has been made a mere affair of favour and nomination according to the partialities or caprice of Members. It is of no consequence to tell us that, strictly speaking, the public never have possessed any right of admission to the debates—that it was always in the power of a single Member to clear the Gallery whenever he chose, by merely calling attention to the Standing Order against the presence of strangers. This was the mere theory of the law; practically, the right of admission did exist, and the whole public were in the full enjoyment of it. The power which a Member possessed of clearing the Gallery amounted merely, if he was not supported by the majority, to a power of stopping the business of the House; it was a power which he could exercise in various other ways. But no Member had then a power of, at his pleasure, admitting one man, and shutting the door upon another; nay, the whole House had no such power, or never, at least, in a single instance exercised it. That assumption has been reserved for the Session which has just expired. But it is, we apprehend, too late in the day for the success of such a scheme. The public will not endure from a reformed House of Commons what it certainly would not have patiently submitted to, if attempted by any Parliament which has sat for the last fifty years.

Ever since a general interest has been taken in the proceedings of Parliament, the free admission of the public to the gallery may almost be said to have come to be considered as essential to the utility of the House of Commons. Even the power of occasionally clearing the gallery, which any Member may exert by calling attention to the Standing Order, has for many years past been very rarely resorted to. If it were now attempted to be put in force, except in very extraordinary circumstances indeed, the attempt would certainly be met by the most pertinacious and determined exercise of the right of dividing the House on ever so many successive motions of adjournment, which also belongs to every Member. But nearly all Members now feel that, to carry on the debates with the gallery shut; would be very nearly the same thing as for the House not to meet at all.

For some years, however, after the great constitutional victory was gained which established the right of the publishers of newspapers to report the debates day by day as they occurred, or at least left them in unassailed and unassailable possession of that privilege, the shutting of the Gallery was very frequently resorted to, the public being sometimes excluded for a whole Session. The contest on the reporting of the debates by the newspapers took place in March 1771 (See "Companion," No. 2, p. 19, and No. 36, p. 533). Under date of the 9th of March, when there was a debate on a subject that greatly interested the public—the Royal Marriage Bill—we find it noted in the Parliamentary History, that "no persons were admitted into the House of Commons this day but Members; the Gallery-door was locked, and notwithstanding several noblemen made application for admittance, they could not obtain it."

Again, on the 14th of March, 1774, when the famous Boston Port Bill was introduced by Lord North, we find the following scene recorded to have taken place:—"The Order of the Day being called for, the House was silent for a few minutes, when Mr. Cornwall rose, and moved that the Gallery be cleared. This occasioned a vehement debate. Colonel Barré said that if the motion was insisted on, the ladies would be obliged to withdraw. Mr. C. Fox was of the same opinion. Mr. Grenville remarked that it was easily seen from what quarter the present motion originated, as he could perceive that applications had been making ever since the House met, for the purpose now intended to be carried into execution, though the authors did not choose to appear publicly in it themselves. The majority of the House did not seem to approve of the motion when it was first made; but the interference of the Speaker at length turned the scale, and not only the Gallery, but all the rooms and avenues leading to it, were cleared about four o'clock." This instance is remarkable, as one in which the motion to clear the Gallery appears to have been made the subject of a debate. It is to be observed, however, that the Standing Order was eventually enforced by the authority of the Speaker, without any vote of the House. The modern practice, we believe, has been for the Gallery to be cleared at once as a matter of course, on a Member merely noticing that strangers were present. Afterwards we find it

[Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.]

noted that the Standing Order for the exclusion of strangers was strictly enforced during the progress of the three coercive measures—the Boston Port Bill, the Massachusetts Government Bill, and the Massachusetts Administration of Justice Bill, with which Lord North at that time thought to put down the American Insurrection.

A curious notice occurs under date of the 16th November, 1775, the day on which Mr. Burke explained the provisions of his Bill for composing the troubles in America. "No Englishman," says the 'Morning Chronicle,' "except the Members, was admitted during this debate; the only strangers in the Gallery were four women of quality, and a few foreigners." The debate, which terminated in the rejection of the motion for leave to bring in the Bill by a majority of 210 to 105, lasted till four o'clock in the morning. The Standing Order for the exclusion of strangers is also stated to have been strictly enforced on the preceding 22nd of March, the day on which Burke delivered his great speech (afterwards published) in introducing his Resolutions for conciliation with America. Accordingly, no report of that debate has been preserved. Another occasion on which the public were prevented in the same manner from hearing the eloquence of that great orator, was on the 6th of February, 1778, when he made his motion on the employment of the Indians in the American war. "He introduced the motion," says Mr. Prior ('Memoir of Burke') "by a speech three hours and a half long, which excited not only extraordinary testimonies of admiration, but was considered by all who heard him the very best he had ever delivered. . . . Strangers being excluded from the gallery, no tolerable report, or even abstract of it, has ever been published, or perhaps preserved . . . Heated by the powers of the speaker, Colonel Barré, in a fit of enthusiasm, offered [proposed!] to nail up the speech, if published, on every church-door in the kingdom, by the side of the proclamation for a general fast. Governor Johnstone thought it fortunate for the two Noble Lords (North and George Germaine) that there were no strangers present, or their enthusiasm and indignation would have excited the people to tear them to pieces on their way from the House. Sir George Savile said to many of his friends—'he who did not hear that speech has not witnessed the greatest triumph of eloquence within memory.'"

At this time, as may be gathered from some of the above notices, it was common for ladies to attend in the gallery. In a former paper (see 'Companion,' No. 1, p. 3,) we gave from Hatsell's Precedents, an abstract of the description given by that writer, who was himself present, of the extraordinary scene that took place on the last occasion on which ladies were admitted. Hatsell does not mention the day or even the year when the affair happened; but it appears to have been on the 2nd of February, 1778, on which day Mr. Fox was to make a motion, which had excited much interest, on the state of the army. "This day," says the 'London Chronicle,' "a vast multitude assembled in the lobby and environs of the House of Commons, but not being able to gain admission by either entreaty or interest, they forced their way into the gallery in spite of the door-keepers. The House considered the intrusion in a heinous light, and a motion was directly made for clearing the gallery. A partial clearing only took place; the gentlemen were obliged to withdraw; the ladies, through complaisance, were suffered to remain; but Governor Johnstone observed, that if the motive for clearing the House was a supposed propriety, to keep the state of the nation concealed from our enemies, he saw no reason to indulge the ladies so far as to make them acquainted with the arcana of the State, as he did not think them more capable of keeping secrets than the men; upon which they were likewise ordered to leave the House. The Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Norton, and nearly sixty other ladies, were obliged to obey the mandate." It is worth remarking, as an illustration of the natural effect of shutting the gallery, that on this occasion, notwithstanding the great public expectation, and the full House that had assembled (424 Members voted) no debate ensued, nor was the smallest reply made to Mr. Fox's speech. "Since that time," says Hatsell, "ladies, many of the highest rank, have made several powerful efforts to be again admitted. But Mr. Cornwall and Mr. Addington have as constantly declined to permit them to come in. Indeed, was this privilege allowed to any one individual, however high her rank, or respectable her character and manners, the galleries must be soon opened to all women, who from curiosity, amusement, or any other motive, wish to hear the debates. And this, to the exclusion of many young men, and of merchants and others, whose commercial interests render their attendance necessary to them, and of real use and importance to the public."

This remarkable occurrence, had it been recollected when the debate took place the other day on the proposed re-admission of ladies to the Gallery, might have been brought forward with effect in aid of the argument by which the motion was resisted. But it seemed to be forgotten on both sides of the House, that the admission of ladies had ever been the practice in former times. They appear, however, to have occasionally found their way into the Gallery from a very early period. The following notice occurs in Grey's Debates under date of 1st June, 1675:—"Some ladies were in the Gallery peeping over the gentlemen's shoulders. The Speaker spying them, called out,—What borough do those ladies serve for? To which Sir William Coventry replied,—They serve for the Speaker's chamber. Sir Thomas Littleton said,—Perhaps the Speaker may mistake them for gentlemen with fine sleeves dressed like ladies. Says the Speaker,—I am sure I saw petticoats." It would seem, therefore, that at this time their intrusion was only connived at, and when present they were generally obliged to keep out of sight. Afterwards, however, they were in the habit of attending openly, and used to come down in formidable numbers on all occasions of interest. Thus, on occasion of the prolonged discussions that took place on the 13th and 14th of February, 1764, on the subject of the seizure of Wilkes, by a general warrant of the Secretary of State, when the House sat for eleven hours on the one day, and for the unprecedented space of seventeen the next, we are informed by Horace Walpole in a letter to Lord Hertford, that several ladies stand out the whole. (See "Companion," No. 28, p. 342). He mentions Lady Rockingham and Lady Sondes as having remained the whole of both days; and Lady Sondes's sister, Miss Mary Pelham, Mrs. Fitzroy, and the Duchess of Richmond, as having been present all the time on the second. These seem to have been all opposition ladies. It is added that Lady Mary Coke, Mrs. George Pitt, and Lady Pembroke came after the Opera on the second day, but did not stay above seven or eight hours. The Earl of Pembroke, Lady Pembroke's husband, was appointed to a regiment from which General Conway was dismissed for his vote this very night. The House having sat till half-past seven in the morning of the 15th then divided on the question of adjourning the debate, when the proposal to adjourn was still resisted by 184 Honourable Members, whom, it would appear, no length of oratory could tire out. The motion, however, was carried. On Friday another long debate took place, and the House did not divide till five o'clock on Saturday morning. In narrating the events of this last

day, Walpole says, "The Duchess of Richmond has got a fever with the attendance of Tuesday; but on Friday we were forced to be unpolite. The Amazons came down in such squadrons, that we were forced to be denied. However, eight or nine of the patriotesses dined in one of the Speaker's rooms, and stayed there till twelve,—nay, worse; while their dear country was at stake, I am afraid they were playing at loo!" It would seem, from the allusion in the passage quoted above from Grey, that the practice of the ladies waiting to hear the result of the division in one of the Speaker's rooms was of considerable antiquity. On the occasion commemorated by Walpole, the fair oppositionists, or patriotesses, as he designates them, were disappointed of their anticipated victory over the Ministry after all. Walpole, who was himself on the same side, tells us that when the House proceeded to divide, it was decided by the Speaker that the ministerial party should go forth, according to the common practice of the probable minority being sent to the Lobby. He attributes this decision of the Speaker to the deeper sound made by the call of No, which was that of the opposition, than that of the softer monosyllable Aye admits of. "When I heard our side (he continues) counted to the amount of 218, I did conclude we were victorious; but they returned 232".

During a considerable part of Lord North's administration the Gallery seems to have been opened on some days and shut on others, very much at the discretion of the Speaker; who, upon whatever principle he may have acted in the matter, was naturally enough suspected to have sometimes been guided in the exercise of his authority by a hint from the Premier. A circumstance, however, which for some time was made a pretext for the exclusion of all strangers from the debates in the Commons, was a quarrel between the two Houses, from the history of which some curious particulars may be gathered.

It began on the 10th of December, 1770. On that day, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Manchester was inveighing with great animation against the misconduct of Ministers in neglecting the proper maintenance of the naval force of the country, when, on his proceeding to specify instances in support of his charge, he was suddenly interrupted by Earl Gower, who then held the office of Lord President of the Council. His Lordship, according to an account given in the "London Museum," "desired that the House might be cleared of all but those who had a right to sit there. He observed that, when motions were brought on by surprise, and the Members of that House had no previous notice to enable them to guess at what they might consist of, and when upon those motions such things came out as ought not to be publicly divulged, no persons but Peers should hear them; as, in a House so crowded as the present, there might be emissaries from the Court of Spain and other Powers. And, indeed, another reason why the House ought to be cleared was, that persons were admitted who took notes of what had passed; as was evident from a speech made by a Noble Lord, which his Lordship declared he had at that time in his pocket in print." It was just about this time that the practice of reporting debates in the daily newspapers began. (See "Companion," No. II., p. 19) It was objected by the Duke of Richmond, in a short speech, that it was irregular to move to clear the House while a Peer was speaking; but on this, the account proceeds, "immediately a violent outcry arose, and all became clamour and confusion. 'Clear the House! Clear the House!' was echoed from side to side. The Duke of Richmond's voice was drowned in the clamour. Lord Chatham, shocked at the indecency of such proceedings, arose, hoping that his age, his services, his abilities, would enforce attention—but in vain." His Lordship continued speaking, without being heard, for some time: at last he left the House, and about fifteen Lords followed his example. "No sooner," continues the narrative, "were these Noble Persons retired, than, as if the design of the Ministry had been to tell the world that the presence of those Members was the only check that controlled them from the most violent absurdities, they insisted on the Members of the House of Commons being turned out. In the crowd some of the Members of the House of Commons represented that they were in the act of their duty, attending with a Bill. They were, however, forced to withdraw till the Message was delivered, and then they attended their Bill in a pretty large body. They had no sooner delivered the Bill than the outcry begun again; time was not given them to see whether they would return or not of their own accord, but they were, in an unprecedented manner, hooted out of the House." A strong protest against this extraordinary proceeding was forthwith entered on the Journals, to which were appended the names of the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Chatham, and thirteen other Peers; but a Resolution was notwithstanding carried, "That the Lord on the Woolsack be desired to give strict orders to the officers of this House that no person be permitted to be in any part of the House, during the sitting thereof, except such who have a right to be in the House according to the Standing Orders."

The matter, as might have been expected, was immediately taken up with great warmth in the House of Commons. The House was in a Committee on the Ordnance Estimates, when the debate was suddenly interrupted by Mr. George Onslow, who had been one of the Members just turned out of the House of Lords. "As soon as he had taken his seat," says the account in the 'Parliamentary History,' "he rose and said,—'Sir, I have a motion to make, and, I dare say, every gentleman will be convinced of the propriety of it—which is, that the House be cleared immediately; nay, I insist upon it, as a circumstance has happened to me within these five minutes which makes it necessary. I desire, Sir, the House to be cleared—*Peers and all!*'" The clearing of the House was opposed by Mr. Burke and a majority of the Members; but it took place at last, though it was not effected without great difficulty. The House was cleared at ten minutes past four: the Dukes of Richmond, Manchester, Bolton, and Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, Earl Fitzwilliam, and other Peers, being among the persons compelled to retire.

An animated debate then arose, it having been immediately agreed, on the motion of Mr. Dempster, that the Committee should break up, and the Speaker resume the Chair. Lord North himself, and all the other Members who spoke, condemned the conduct of the Lords in the strongest terms. The only difference of opinion was, as to whether the House should content itself with the measure of retaliation it had already adopted, or, as proposed by Mr. Dunning, appoint a Committee to inspect the Journals of the Lords, as to what proceedings and Resolutions were therein, with relation to the not permitting any persons to be present, in any part of their House, during the sitting thereof. It was not denied that the Lords had the right of clearing their House at their pleasure, whatever might be thought of the manner in which they had exercised it on this occasion; and Lord North's motion for an adjournment was eventually carried by a majority of 48 to 27.

On the 13th the subject appears to have been again brought forward, in a motion "That a Conference be desired with the Lords, upon a matter highly concern-

ing the good correspondence between the two Houses of Parliament, and the mutual civility usually shewn by each House to the Members of the other House;" but the motion was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 77 to 42. On the 14th it was moved, by Lord George Germaine, "That the Speaker do write to such eldest sons, and heirs-apparent of Peers, King's Sergeants, and Masters in Chancery, as are Members of this House, and to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and request them to attend in their places, every day, at two of the clock, and to assist in carrying Bills to the Lords." The object of this motion seems to have been to relieve all the Members of the House from the duty of going up with Bills, except those who were not prohibited from being present at the sittings of the House of Lords by the Standing Orders of that House. On a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 104 to 38. So, also, was another, by nearly the same numbers, which was immediately after proposed by Lord George Cavendish, "That no Member of this House shall go into the House of Lords while that House, or any Committee of the whole House, is sitting there, without the leave of this House." "Lord George Cavendish," the account adds, "and Sir George Savile, both declared that they would not go up to the Lords with any Bills, even though they might relate to the county and town they had the honour to represent."

In this state matters seem to have continued throughout the Session, which terminated on the 8th of May. Meanwhile much of the time of the Commons had been occupied in their famous contest with the newspapers, on the subject of the right of the latter to report the debates, which terminated in the signal defeat of the House.—(See "Companion," No. II., pp. 19, 20, and No. XXXVI., pp. 533, 534). It is remarkable that the Lords seem to have taken no part in this attempt to restrain the press. Their non-interference is probably to be attributed to the peculiar position in which the two Houses stood in relation to each other at the moment. If this was the case, we may, after all, be indebted to the violent exclusion of the public from their House, by the Lords, for an earlier enjoyment than we should otherwise have had of a much more important privilege than that of merely being present at the debates in either House. The Commons, no doubt, must have felt themselves considerably weakened and embarrassed, in the battle they were fighting, by the Lords, who were equally interested in the matter with themselves, and were therefore peculiarly in such a case their natural allies, thus standing aloof, and giving them no sign of support or concurrence.

When Parliament met again, towards the end of January, 1772, the ill-humour between the two Houses appears to have been still as strong as ever. We find it breaking out in a new form on the 1st of April, when some Bills having been brought down to the Commons from the Lords by only one Master in Chancery, attended by the Clerk-Assistant of the Upper House, it was immediately moved and agreed to, first, "That the Speaker do not report the said Message to the House;" and, then, "That a Committee be appointed to examine into the precedents with respect to the Messengers by whom Messages have been brought from the Lords to this House; and to report the same to the House, with what proceedings have been had thereupon." It was also ordered. "That it be an instruction to the said Committee that they do take into their consideration the treatment offered to Mr. Speaker and the Members of this House, upon the first day of this Session of Parliament, and to other Members of this House, attending their duty in the House of Lords, during this Session of Parliament, when Bills have been passed by his Majesty, or by Commission; and to report the same to the House." The Committee thus appointed made their Report on the 9th. With regard to the manner in which Messages had been wont to be brought from the Lords, it appeared that there was one instance (31st August, 1641) of a Message brought by a single Messenger, to which the attention of the Lords was immediately called. Their Lordships' answer has a somewhat surly sound. They said "That, as concerning the sending by one Messenger only, the business required haste, and they sent as many as they had." The Committee concluded this part of their Report by stating that they found no instance of a Message sent from the Lords by a Clerk-Assistant of the Parliament. As to what was said to have happened on the first day of the Session, and on other subsequent days, when Members had gone up with Bills, they reported the evidence of the Speaker and of four other Members. The Speaker, Sir F. Norton, said that, on the first day of the Session, "after leaving the Bar, and before he got to the door, some persons called out—Clear the House, go out, or withdraw, or to that effect; that he thought it indecent, but cannot recollect the particular expressions which were made use of; that he took notice of it, and was answered it was not for the Members, but strangers to go out; that he understood the calling out came from below the Bar, and not from the House; if he had understood otherwise, and had thought it came from the Lords, probably he should have gone back, and demanded an explanation, and should certainly have reported it to the House upon his return." Other questions which were put did not draw from him any more information; and in conclusion he observed that if the inquiry had been made sooner, he should probably have recollected more than occurred to his memory at that time. Nor was anything very material ascertained from the other Members that were examined.

On the Report of the Committee being read, it was moved that the Bills brought down on the 1st instant should be sent back to the Lords; but it was eventually carried by a majority of 105 to 55—"That a Message be sent to the Lords to acquaint them that this House, having received a Message from their Lordships on Wednesday, the 1st instant, which was brought by a Master in Chancery and the Clerk-Assistant of the House of Lords; and being desirous of preserving a good correspondence with their Lordships, that this House do take notice of this unusual method of sending Messages to this House, and desire that the same may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." To this Message the Lords returned the following answer:—"That the Lords ordered their Message of the 1st of this month to be carried to the House of Commons in the usual manner; and their Lordships have found, upon inquiry, that one Master in Chancery being ill, their Message was carried by only one Master in Chancery and the Clerk-Assistant of the House of Lords; and the Lords desire the Commons may be informed that the Lords have nothing more at heart than to maintain a good correspondence between the two Houses, and do not mean to introduce any precedent contrary to the usage of Parliament." It was afterwards moved in the Commons—"That a Conference be desired with the Lords on matters tending to preserve a good correspondence between the two Houses;" but on a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 117 to 51. So here the matter ended for the present.

The exclusion of the Members of the House of Commons from the Lords, however, appears to have continued for all the time that this Parliament sat—that is, for two more Sessions beyond the present. A new Parliament met on the 29th of November, 1774;

and on the 6th of December Lord Lyttelton moved, in the House of Lords, that their Lordships should be summoned for the day following, to take into consideration a motion for dispensing with the Standing Order against the presence of strangers, so far as to admit the representatives of the Commons into the House during the debates. His Lordship is stated to have advanced many reasons in support of his proposition, and it occasioned a good deal of discussion; but it was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 36 to 28. On the 18th of the same month, however, Lord Lyttelton made a second proposal to the House, recommending that the doors should be opened to the Members of the House of Commons, the sons and brothers of Peers, Peers of Ireland and Scotland, and to so many of the public at large as should be introduced by English Peers, each Peer to have the privilege of introducing one person; and after a short conversation, this motion was agreed to. Meanwhile, on the 12th, Mr. T. Townshend, in the Commons, had proposed, but without making any motion, that the Gallery of that House should be opened to the Peers and their sons as formerly; and the suggestion gave rise to a short debate. Mr. Rice, considering how outrageous the conduct of the Lords had been, objected to the Commons being the first to make a concession. Mr. Hans Stanley gave it as his opinion that all strangers who applied for admission into the Gallery should be admitted whenever there was room—a proposition certainly very far in advance of the time. Sir George Elliot was for admitting not only Peers and their sons, but surely very naturally and very reasonably, if there was to be any selection of classes, the sons of Members also. Since the Lords, he observed, had behaved improperly, the Commons should set them the example of good manners. On this, Colonel Barré rose, and observed that he had been told that in the latter end of the reign of George I., or the beginning of that of George II., a like affair had happened. The two Houses shut their doors upon each other, upon which John, Duke of Argyle, gave it as his opinion, that the Peers of the land, by their birth and education, ought to be more polite and have better manners than the Commons; and that therefore it was expedient in them to set the Commons an example, and to open their doors. Mr. Burke was far from agreeing with the Duke of Argyle in this opinion. As for himself, if he could do his duty without access to the other House, he should never desire to enter it; but he contended that upon certain occasions it was absolutely necessary that the Members of either House should have free admission to the other. He observed that a great commercial Bill, that for regulating the importation of provisions from Ireland, would probably have been lost, if he had not had access to the House of Peers, to explain its principles; and that on the other hand, if the doors of the House of Commons had not been shut against the Lords last Session, the Bill for the security of literary property would never have been rejected with such contempt after it had passed the House of Commons; for if the Peers had come down and heard the arguments on it, they must have been convinced of its expediency. Here, however, the matter dropped; and no express resolution on the subject was adopted by the House. But it is probable that after this the practice of excluding the Peers from the Commons' Gallery was at least somewhat relaxed; and it would appear that the opening or shutting of the Gallery was left to the discretion of the Speaker.

Still neither the mode in which the public were admitted to the Commons, nor that in which Members of the Commons were admitted to the Lords, seems to have given satisfaction. In the next Session the debate on the Budget, which took place on the 24th of April, 1776, ran in great part on this subject. After Lord North, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had made his speech, Governor Johnstone rose, and began by observing, that it was a little extraordinary that the Gallery should be open on that day, and shut on almost every other, since the commencement of the Session, on which matters of importance had come under discussion. "He assured the House that he was always pleased to see the Gallery as full as the convenience of the Members would permit; but the admission on such a day as this, which gave the Minister an advantage over his opponents, by giving every sentiment as his own, and imputing any sentiments he pleased to others (we do not profess quite to understand this), fully convinced him that his Lordship's influence extended to every matter relative to the conduct and ordering of that House, be the occasion ever so trivial or important. If strangers are to be shut out one day, none can be at a loss whence the mandate originated; if the Gallery was to be open on another day, it was equally evident to whom the public were indebted for the indulgence." Mr. Fox spoke next, and, according to the report, animadverted with humour and asperity on the irregular opening of the Gallery-doors, asserting that the public had a right to hear in what manner their representatives discharged their duty, and maintaining that for the opening or shutting of the Gallery to depend on the will of any one or two persons was exceedingly unfair. "He dwelt," it is added, "a considerable time on this point, and after declaring that he knew that the Gallery had been opened on a whisper from the Noble Lord, when he was prepared to say anything likely to produce a popular effect, he went so far as to assert, that in his opinion it was a breach of the Constitution to prevent the public from hearing their proceedings." Mr. Fox's remarks were so pointed that they called up the Speaker, who begged to explain the reason why the doors of the Gallery had been opened that day, and to take the blame, if there was any, on himself. "The Standing Order of the House," he observed, "was known to every gentleman, and it was his duty to enforce it whenever it was desired to be read. An Honourable Gentleman had, at an early period of the Session, desired it to be read; he had ever since punctiliously kept to it; but, as this was a day of money business, when it was usual to admit strangers, he conceived the House would wink at a relaxation from the general rule; he had, therefore, told the sergeant to admit strangers into the Gallery, as far as the bars which were even with the bar below; but if he had gone too far, he asked pardon of the Committee." On this Mr. Fox said, "he by no means blamed the Speaker, as he was conscious no officer acted with more uprightness and impartiality; but he was sure the Gallery ought to be opened, and he heartily wished the House would follow the example of the other assembly, who now admitted strangers." This conversation called up Mr. Rigby, the eccentric Member for Tavistock, who "with that rough and unpolished manner," says the Report, "for which he is remarkable in his senatorial oratory, took up the subject, and declared he rose an advocate for the Order of the House—an Order which had stood the test of years, although it was now said to be a breach of the Constitution. He begged to know by what claim those who were not Members desired admittance? If one stranger had a right every man in the kingdom had a right, and where were the people to be put? He insisted upon it, that no person but a Member ought to be in that House, and he wondered that, after so violent a quarrel with the other House, the Members of this should accept so poor a compromise as the present disagreeable sufferance to hear the debates in the House of Lords. If a Member of the

House of Commons, indeed, had any Noble blood in his veins—if he was the third son of a Lord, or a cousin to a Peer,—he stood some chance of being accommodated, as the Members of the House of Commons were before the quarrel; but if he (Mr. Rigby) went there he was sure to be affronted, and to be thrust among the thieves and pickpockets below the bar." From this it would appear that the admission accorded by the Lords to Members of the House of Commons was not yet what it had been before the quarrel. Mr. Rigby's designation of the audience below their Lordships' Bar as thieves and pickpockets may seem somewhat unceremonious; but allowance being made for the manner of the speaker, it did not go very much beyond the customary mode of expression of the time. [illegible] common term for what [illegible] in those days, the in the dialect [illegible] we should now call the public, been "[illegible] of the House of Commons, seems to have also, [illegible] the mob," or rather "mob," without the article, as one would speak of something having mere quantity, and not even the dignity of any the lowest form of a definite whole. For example, in the Report made by the Committee appointed, as mentioned above, to inquire into the treatment received by Members when attending their duty in the House of Lords, we find the examination of one of the witnesses running on in this strain:—"Being asked whether, at the time the officers treated him in the manner he had mentioned (at the Bar of the Lords), he did not see a mixture of mob and Members? He said,—There always is; that he never was there without; that there is always more mob than Members, &c." Thus the whole community, the Peers excepted, seem to have been considered as properly divisible into Members and mob.

[In consequence of the length to which the Retrospect of the events of the Month has extended, we are obliged to defer the conclusion of this article till our Next.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT FOR AUGUST, 1836.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Parliamentary proceedings of the last month of the Session have embraced an extraordinarily long list of subjects. We shall notice the most important in the order in which they have occurred.

On Monday, the 25th of July, the Lords went into Committee on the Church of Ireland Bill, the transformation of which had been reserved for this stage of the progress of the measure. The first amendment proposed by Lord Lyndhurst was to substitute 25 for 30 per cent., as the deduction to be made from the present incomes of tithe-owners. It was carried, after some debate, by a majority of 126 to 48. The chief contest of the evening, however, took place on the 50th clause—that involving the famous appropriation scheme. For this portion of the measure, Lord Lyndhurst proposed to substitute a series of clauses, embodying Lord Stanley's plan for enabling the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to apply, in certain cases, part of the revenues of benefices worth more than 500*l.* a-year to the augmentation of the poorer livings. After a long debate, in which the original clause was defended by Lords Melbourne, Holland, and Clanricarde, and opposed by Lord Mansfield, the Bishop of Exeter, and Lord Winchilsea, Lord Lyndhurst's amendment was carried by a majority of 138 to 47. Lord Melbourne, in his speech, declared that he and his colleagues found themselves bound in honour to adhere to the Resolution of the House of Commons on which the appropriation clause was founded—that they stood on the principle of that clause—that they would not resign their places so long as they were supported, as he believed they were, by a majority of the House of Commons and of the country—and that he was of opinion that the Resolution in question was not indiscreet, rash, or violent, but on the contrary, calculated to set the question of the Irish Church at rest on grounds which would be really satisfactory to the country. The remaining clauses of the measure were afterwards considered very summarily, and after they had been disposed of, the House rose at a quarter before two o'clock.

In the Commons, the adjourned debate on the third reading of the English Church Bill was resumed, on the motion of Lord John Russell. In the debate that followed, the measure was opposed by Mr. Baines, Dr. Bowring, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Arthur Trevor, Mr. Ewart, and some other Members; but on a division, the third reading was carried by a majority of 175 to 44. In the course of the evening, Lord John Russell announced that in consequence of the opposition made from various quarters to the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill, the object of which was the application of a great part of the revenues of deans and chapters to the endowment of new livings in populous towns and districts, it was not his intention to persevere with the measure in the present Session. His Lordship also stated that he certainly intended to introduce a measure on the subject of church-rates early in the next Session, although he declined at present to explain the principles on which it would be founded. After the Church Bill had been disposed of, the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill was read a third time, without a division. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then brought up a clause, compelling every newspaper to use a distinctive die, which was agreed to. Two divisions, however, afterwards took place, the first on a motion to omit the clause relating to the registration of all the proprietors, on which the numbers were, for the clause 58, against it 15; the second, on the motion that the Bill do pass, which was opposed by Mr. Wakley, but carried by a majority of 55 to 7.

On Tuesday, the 26th, in the Lords, the Earl of Shaftesbury having brought up the Report on the Irish Church Bill, Lord Lyndhurst asked Viscount Melbourne if he had any objection to fix the third reading for Thursday next. Lord Melbourne replied the Bill might be read whenever it was convenient to the Noble and Learned Lord. His Lordship had, on the previous day, declared that if the appropriation clause were struck out, he should wash his hands of the whole measure, and let it drop.

In the Commons this day a petition was presented by Dr. Bowring from a person of the name of Hugh Craig, a magistrate of Kilmarnock, complaining that he had been dismissed from his office of elder in the Scottish Church in consequence of his having presided at a meeting convened for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature to separate Church and State. This beats Dr. Mulholland. What is it that Mr. Hugh Craig would have? By his own statement he is opposed to Parliament having anything to do with the Church; and, yet, here he comes asking Parliament to interfere in the very matter with which he contends that it ought to have no concern. Would he have the Church to be separated from the State, and yet in all the affairs of its internal management to be under the control of the State? Would he have the Church to be a mere voluntary association, and yet Parliament to keep in its own hands the appointment of the elders? But to look at

the matter in another point of view, it puzzles us much, we confess, to understand how Mr. Hugh Craig could reasonably expect to be allowed to retain his office of elder when taking the part he professes himself to have done. This petitioner seems to have quite a genius for reconciling what he calls his principles with what he finds to be his personal convenience. First, he would be both an active assailant of the constitution of the Church, and at the same time one of the officers of the Church; secondly, he would have the State to break off all connexion with the Church, and yet to exert its authority to compel the Church to make him one of its ruling elders. The petition was eventually withdrawn. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Charitable Trustees Bill, when an amendment on one of the clauses was moved by Mr. Praed, to allow the freemen in corporate towns to vote at the election of trustees along with the burgesses; it was supported by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. D. W. Harvey, but negatived on a division by a majority of 65 to 48. The Report on the County Elections Bill was then agreed to, after divisions had taken place on several of the clauses, all of which, however, were carried by large majorities.

On Wednesday, the 27th, the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, with amendments, being brought down from the Lords, Mr. Ewart moved that the Bill be rejected, in consequence of the clause giving the right of reply to the prisoner's counsel having been struck out in the other House. It was eventually agreed, however, on the proposition of Lord John Russell, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, with a view to coming to some arrangement with the Peers. The House was soon afterwards counted out while in Committee on the Hackney Carriages Bill.

On Thursday, the 28th, in the Lords, the Church of Ireland Bill was read a third time and passed, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, to whose care the metamorphosed measure had been left by Ministers. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Marriages Bill, when the Bishop of Exeter moved that the declaration to be made by the parties, as directed by the 20th clause, should be left out, with the view of introducing in its stead another declaration, which would have the effect of leaving marriage a religious contract. The motion was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and notwithstanding the representations both of Lord Melbourne and of Lords Ellenborough and Ripon and the Duke of Wellington, that it would defeat the entire purpose of the Bill, it was carried, on a division, by a majority of 19 to 15. On the next division, however, when the question was the insertion of the new declaration, the majority was diminished by two.

In the Commons, the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Lords' amendments to the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, which stated, that to deprive the prisoner of the last word would be most injurious to the interests of justice, was brought up by Mr. Ewart, and received. The Poole Corporation Bill was then read a third time, and passed. After this the House went into Committee on the Greek Loan Act, when Lord Palmerston moved a Resolution authorizing his Majesty to guarantee one-third portion of the last instalment of the loan without the consent of Russia, that power having taken advantage of an informality to withdraw from the engagement in regard to this matter she had made in conjunction with England and France. Mr. Robinson moved an amendment, declaring the inexpediency of the proposed guarantee, on the ground that the Treaty of 1832 had not been fulfilled on the part of Greece, which was supported by Mr. Hume, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. T. Baring, Dr. Bowring, and other Members; but on a division the original Resolution was carried by a majority of 81 to 40. No very encouraging account could be given of the prospects of the new State; but it appeared to be the feeling of the majority of the House, that the doubtful circumstances in which King Otho was placed rather formed an additional argument for a liberal construction of the arrangements that had been made by this country for his support. The interest on the sum to be guaranteed will amount only to 12,000*l.* After this a long discussion and several divisions took place on certain clauses of the Charitable Trustees Bill; but the clauses were all carried, and eventually the Report on the Bill was agreed to, after which the House adjourned at nearly three o'clock.

On Friday, the 29th, in the Lords, the second reading of the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill was moved by the Marquess of Clanricarde. The motion was supported by the Duke of Leinster, the Marquess of Tavistock, and Lord Duncannon, but opposed not only by Lord Ashburton but likewise by the Lord Chancellor and Viscount Melbourne, both of whom declared, that although they were of opinion something was required to be done in the case, the evidence did not appear to them sufficient for the entire disfranchisement of the borough. When the House divided the numbers were found to be, for the motion only 4, against it 55. The Bill was consequently lost. Immediately after the division, however, Lord Clanricarde introduced a new Bill for the disfranchisement of the old burgesses only. As the offences with which the Stafford voters are charged are the offences of certain individuals, the natural and only just way of treating the case would seem to be to disfranchise or otherwise punish those individuals. Even their permanent disfranchisement, indeed, is objectionable, on the ground that the numbers of the constituency might, although only for a time, be thereby too much reduced. It would be easy to punish them sufficiently in many other ways. But independently of the objection to the common plan of wholly disfranchising the borough when corruption has been proved to prevail extensively among the electors, on the ground that it punishes the innocent along with the guilty—an objection which we are aware has been attempted to be got over by maintaining that the deprivation of the electoral franchise is, properly speaking, no punishment—the consequences which this method of procedure brings after it appear to be opposed to the whole character and intention of our representative system. The fundamental principle of that system is, that every town throughout the kingdom, having a certain number of inhabitants, should send representatives to Parliament. This is the arrangement which is conceived to be best adapted to secure good government. Fifty years hence how will it look under such an order of things, to have, perhaps, some half dozen of the most important places in the country without representatives? It is Stafford to-day, it may be the turn of Liverpool to-morrow. But even if no other town than Stafford should ever be so disfranchised, the violation of the principle of the established system of representation is the same. Why should Stafford fifty years hence be the only town of its size left without representatives? Would it then be held any vindication of such an anomaly to say, that the voters of Stafford half a century before had been many of them found guilty of corruption? What of that? The voters will then be all dead and gone; the place will be filled by a wholly different body of inhabitants; unless it shall be contended that the air is poisoned, there will be longer any intelligible meaning in the disqualification, or any pretence whatever for keeping it up. Permanently to disfranchise a town on account of the corruption of certain of the individual electors, would seem, in short, to be very nearly as absurd as it would be to pass a similar edict of exclusion on certain proper-

ties or certain houses, in consequence of their having been once tenanted by corrupt voters.

After the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill had been disposed of, the second reading of the Established Church Bill, which had been sent up from the Commons, was moved by Lord Melbourne, and agreed to after scarcely any debate. The Marquess of Clanricarde, however, conceived that the measure did not go far enough; while on the other hand the Bishop of Hereford protested against it, as striking a blow at the Church from which it could never recover. The Bill was defended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and also by the Bishop of Exeter, who stated, however, that he objected to some of the details.

In the Commons the County Elections Bill and the Charitable Trustees Bill were read a third time and passed, and the Stannaries Court Bill went through Committee. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Post Office Bill, the several clauses of which were all agreed to.

On Monday, the 1st of August, on the Report of the Marriages Bill being brought up in the Lords, Lord Melbourne moved that the declaration inserted on a previous day, on the motion of the Bishop of Exeter, should be omitted; and the motion was carried by a majority of 72 to 29. This important measure was thus saved from being rendered nearly valueless. Their Lordships afterwards went into Committee on the Established Church Bill, when the several clauses were agreed to, after two amendments moved by the Bishop of Exeter,—the first to prevent the Commissioners from becoming a perpetual corporation, the second to prevent the alienation of the income of any bishopric except that of Durham,—had been negatived by large majorities.

In the Commons a debate of some length took place on a Resolution moved by Mr. Walter, on the motion being made for the reading of the first Order of the Day, pledging the House to institute, early in the next Session, an inquiry into the operation of the new poor-law, particularly with regard to out-door relief, and the separation in the union workhouses of husbands from their wives, and of parents from their children. In his reply to Mr. Walter, Lord John Russell showed that in the expenditure on the poor for 1836, as compared with that for 1834, there was a diminution to the amount of 1,794,990*l.* The new law was also very ably and convincingly defended by Mr. Villiers. On a division the House passed to the Order of the Day by a majority of 82 to 46. The House then went into Committee on the Customs Bill, when Mr. P. Thomson stated the various reductions of duty which it would effect. The list will be found in a subsequent page. These reductions will all be beneficial to the consumers of the articles; but most of the duties in question ought undoubtedly to be totally repealed with all convenient speed, were it only for the sake of relieving the financial system of the country from a multitude of petty details with which it ought never to have been embarrassed. It appears from accounts laid before the Committee of Finance appointed in the Session of 1828, that the whole revenue collected in 1827 from the Customs duties was derived from no fewer than 566 duties on as many different articles. Of these there were 510 which produced altogether only 585,000*l.*, being no more than between 1100*l.* and 1200*l.* each on an average. No one of the number produced so much as 10,000*l.* a-year. Of the articles on which the duties are reduced by the present measure, pimento yielded in 1833 only 6893*l.*, cloves only 6379*l.*, mace only 2613*l.*, castor-oil only 621*l.*, verdigris only 2291*l.*, rags only 2391*l.* "This sweeping system of taxation," it is well observed by Sir Henry Parnell in his valuable work on Financial Reform (4th edition, pp. 118, 119), "shows the Customs duties laws have been framed by persons but little acquainted with the principles of trade and finance, and who had not the slightest consideration for the feelings and conveniences of individuals, or for the interests of foreign commerce. The effect of it is to render the accounts complex, and to generate smuggling. Prices are enhanced with little or no advantage to the revenue; the comforts and enjoyments of the people are uselessly abridged; and a great deal of delay, vexation, and loss must attend the collecting of duties on so many hundred commodities. Each of the duties on the 510 articles, which produce less than 10,000*l.*, should be repealed. If this were done, the imports of foreign goods, and, as a necessary consequence, the exports of British, would be greatly increased; the business of collection would then be confined to 56 articles, and the saving of expense in the management would in all probability be greater than the revenue (585,000*l.*) which would be lost by repealing these duties."

The amendments of the Lords to the English Tithe Bill were afterwards agreed to after a short discussion; and then the House was counted out at a quarter to three o'clock, on Mr. Wakley moving the third reading of the Medical Witnesses Bill.

On Tuesday, the 2nd, in the Lords, the Paper Duties Bill was read a third time and passed; and the Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill was read a second time. The second reading of the Poole Corporation Bill was then moved by the Duke of Richmond; but, after a short discussion, an amendment moved by Lord Redesdale, that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, was carried without a division. It was afterwards agreed that the Universities (Scotland) Bill should be postponed till next Session.

In the Commons, the Order of the Day having been read for taking into consideration the Lords' amendments to the Irish Tithe Bill, Lord John Russell rose, and in an address which was loudly cheered throughout by the Ministerial side of the House, moved that the further consideration of the amendments should be postponed to that day three months. The principle of appropriation which had been rejected by the other House, his Lordship described as that which gave its chief value to the Bill. As for himself and his colleagues, "we are prepared," he said, "to stand upon that principle. We maintained that that principle was essential to a final settlement of the tithe question when we were out of office; and if, while we are in office, the House of Commons think proper to affirm an opposite principle, amounting to a denial of that which we asserted, of course, it will be our duty to resign, and to pretend no longer to govern the councils of this country." Lord John Russell was replied to by Sir Robert Peel, who concluded his speech by moving "that the Lords' amendments be taken into consideration now." A long and highly animated debate followed, in which Lord John Russell's motion was supported by Mr. E. Denison, Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Loghlen, Mr. Sheil, and Mr. D. W. Harvey; and the amendment of Sir Robert Peel, by Lord Sandon, Sir James Graham, and Lord Stanley. Mr. Sheil's speech, in particular, appears to have been one of great brilliancy. The interest of the occasion, however, hung less on the debate than on the division, to which the House at length proceeded about half-past one o'clock in the morning. The numbers were found to be, for the motion of Lord John Russell 260, for Sir Robert Peel's amendment 231; thus giving Ministers a majority of 29. Thus terminated another attempt to settle the question of questions for the present.

On Wednesday, the 3rd, the Handloom Weavers' Bill was postponed until the next Session. The Jewish

Civil Disabilities Bill was then, on the motion of Mr. Spring Rice, read a second time by a majority of 39 to 22, although strongly opposed by Sir Robert Inglis, Colonel Sibthorp, Mr. A. Trevor, Mr. Hardy, and other Members. The Bribery at Elections Bill afterwards went through Committee, and the Medical Witnesses Bill was read a third time and passed.

On Thursday, the 4th, in the Lords, the Marquess of Clanricarde moved the second reading of his new Bill on the subject of the borough of Stafford, the object of which was to disfranchise only the burgesses and freemen, leaving the ten-pound householders, of whom there are about 600, the sole constituency. The measure was supported by the Lord Chancellor, but opposed by the Earl of Devon, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Lyndhurst, and other Peers on that side of the House; and on a division the motion for the second reading was negatived by a majority of 38 to 22. So nothing can be done in this case till the next Session. The Commons, however, have suspended the issue of the writ for filling up the vacancy in the representation of the borough till after Parliament shall have again met.

After the Stafford Disfranchisement Bill had been thus disposed of, the second reading of the Charitable Trustees Bill was moved by the Lord Chancellor; but the Duke of Wellington having moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, this amendment, which was strongly supported by Lord Lyndhurst, was carried on a division by a majority of 39 to 22. Lord Clanricarde then moved the second reading of the Roman Catholic Marriages (Ireland) Bill; but here his Lordship was met by the opposition of the Archbishop of Armagh, and a majority of 39 to 19 decided that this measure also should be thrown out for the Session. Afterwards, on the Report of the Established Church Bill being brought up, the clause requiring the Welsh Bishops to possess a knowledge of the Welsh tongue was agreed to be struck out on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace is reported to have maintained that the whole business of Bishops lay with the clergy, and that they had nothing to do with the people. Is the performance of the ceremony of confirmation, then, no part of the duty of Bishops? Are they never to be expected to preach? The Marriages Bill was then read a third time and passed, with the opposition only of the Earl of Mansfield, who, although he declined dividing the House, expressed his belief that the effects of the measure would be different from those contemplated by its framers and supporters.

The Commons this day met at twelve o'clock, to resume the adjourned debate on the Troutbeck petition. The claim of the petitioners was opposed at great length by the Attorney-General; but eventually the motion for the appointment of a Committee was negatived without a division. This was clearly the only decision that the House could have come to in the case, looking to the single point of the inconvenience and complete confusion that would follow from the House of Commons attempting, as was in this instance proposed, to usurp the functions of the courts of law. But in addition to this consideration, it may be observed that notwithstanding all the ability and zeal with which the present case was brought forward, the discussion it has undergone has by no means tended to make it appear that the claim of the petitioners is so clear as it is considered to be by those who have mixed themselves up with it as its advocates. Even Mr. Warburton's introductory statement, unreplied to, was very far from being sufficient to carry conviction to a perfectly uninterested and dispassionate judgment; and taking it along with Sir John Campbell's speech on the other side, it would not, we apprehend, have obtained a verdict on the merits of the case from any fairly selected jury.

At the evening sitting the Customs Bill and the Court of Chancery (Ireland) Bill were read a third time and passed; the Report on the Post Office Bill was received; in the Registration of Voters Bill the clause naming the chief and members of the Court of Revision, and several other clauses, were agreed to; the Spirits Excise Bill went through Committee; and the Gold and Silver Plate (Scotland) Bill was read a third time and passed. Dr. Lushington afterwards moved the insertion in the Ecclesiastical Appointments Suspension Bill of a clause, providing that nothing in the Act should prevent his Majesty from bestowing any church dignity, or preferment on those chaplains of the House on whose behalf addresses had been presented, recommending them for such preferment, and to which favourable answers had been returned; but the motion was opposed by Lord John Russell, and was negatived on a division by a majority of 31. The House was then counted out on Lord Morpeth moving the third reading of the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill.

On Friday the 5th, in the Lords, the Commons' amendments on the amendments of their Lordships in the English Tithes Bill, which had been communicated at a Conference the day before, were agreed to. The County Elections Bill was then, on the motion of Lord Melbourne, read a second time after a short discussion, in the course of which, however, several Peers objected to the part of the Bill restricting county elections to one day, and intimated their intention of opposing that much of the measure in Committee. The Established Church Bill was afterwards read a third time and passed. Finally, on the motion for committing the Small Debts (Scotland) Bill, the object of which was to raise the sum over which sheriffs have jurisdiction from 8*l.* 6*s.* to 10*l.*, and to empower the sheriff to hold his court in different parts of the county, Lord Bute moved, that the Bill should be committed that day three months; and the amendment was agreed to without a division.

In the Commons, the Assessed Taxes Bill was read a third time, and passed. A discussion then arose on a motion by Mr. Barlow Hoy for an Address to his Majesty on the subject of the apprehended annexation of Texas to the territory of the United States, which the Honourable Member, and also Mr. Ward, considered it would be the duty of this country, for various reasons, to take steps to prevent. The motion was eventually withdrawn, on Lord Palmerston observing that the proposed Address would at that moment be premature, inasmuch as although the annexation of Texas to the United States would be a subject which ought seriously to engage the attention of the House and the British public, yet he did not think the events which had yet occurred afforded any ground to think that there was at present any such probability of a result of that kind, as to call for the interference of the House. A motion by Sir Edward Cordrington for a Return of officers deprived of their half-pay, without an investigation of a court-martial, was afterwards negatived without a division. The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply on the Miscellaneous Estimates, when various sums, amounting in all to about 170,000*l.*, were voted.

On Monday, the 8th, in the Lords, after various measures had been advanced a stage, Lord Melbourne moved the Order of the Day for going into Committee on the Newspaper Stamp Duty Bill. The first ten clauses of the Bill met with no opposition; but on the eleventh, enacting that the names of all the proprietors of newspapers should be registered at the Stamp Office, an animated debate arose, which terminated in the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, that the clause should be

struck out, being carried by a majority of 61 to 40. The measure is, undoubtedly, greatly improved by being disencumbered of this inquisitorial and needless enactment.

In the Commons, the Registration of Voters Bill was, after some amendments had been agreed to, read a third time, and passed, as was also the Post Office Bill. Afterwards, on the Pension Duties Bill being brought up, Mr. Harcourt moved a clause to exempt from the operation of the Bill the Parliamentary annuity granted in the reign of Queen Anne to the descendants of John, Duke of Marlborough, in conformity, as the Honourable Member stated, to the practice which had been invariably pursued in such cases. No fewer than three divisions took place upon this question; the majority for bringing up the clause being 37 to 35—that for its being read a second time, 55 to 35; and that against a motion for the adjournment of the House before it was added to the Bill, 61 to 33. The House afterwards went into a Committee of Supply.

On Tuesday, the 9th, in the Lords, the Common Fields Inclosure Bill went through a Committee, when several amendments were made in it on the motion of Lord Ellenborough. The second reading of the Court of Session (Scotland) Bill was then moved by the Lord Chancellor; but the motion was opposed by several Peers, on the ground of the late period of the Session at which the measure had been brought forward, and eventually the amendment of Lord Rosslyn, that the Bill should be read a second time that day six weeks, was carried by a majority of 37 to 27. Various other Bills were afterwards forwarded a stage.

In the Commons, Lord John Russell, as he had intimated his intention of doing the preceding day, moved that the House should disagree to the Lords' amendments in the Municipal Corporations Act Amendment Bill, one of which provided that in case of no election of mayor being made by the town council, that officer should be chosen by lot, instead of as originally proposed in the Bill by the burgesses at large; and another of which continued the members of the old corporations for another year in the management of corporate charities. This latter alteration especially, his Lordship said, was one to which he never could give his consent. He would rather lose the Bill altogether, and leave the trustees to be appointed in every case by the Lord Chancellor. The motion was, after a short discussion, carried without a division; and it was agreed that a free conference with the other House should be asked for the further consideration of the subject. The motion of Lord John Russell, that the House should go into Committee on the Plurality of Benefices Bill was then carried by a majority of 66 to 28 against the amendment of Mr. Hume, that they should be taken into consideration that day three months; and the several clauses were, after some discussion, agreed to.

On Wednesday, the 10th, in the Lords, several Bills, among them the Newspapers Stamp Duties Bill, were read a third time, and passed; and various others went through a Committee.

The Commons were principally engaged in considering the Miscellaneous Estimates in a Committee of Supply, when all the votes proposed by Ministers were agreed to, with the exception of a vote of 400*l.* for making alterations in the Gallery of the House for the admission of ladies, in conformity with the late vote on that subject. After the proposition had been supported, in a debate of some length, by Mr. Freshfield, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Potter, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Aglionby, Mr. Buckingham, Viscount Howick, and Colonel Sibthorp, and opposed by the Earl of Lincoln, Mr. Tooke, Mr. P. Howard, Mr. P. Thomson, Sir J. Hobhouse, and Mr. Goulburn, whose views were also assented to by the Speaker, the Committee divided, when the numbers were found to be, for the grant 28, against it 42. The fiat of exclusion enforced against the ladies fifty-eight years ago, therefore, still remains unreversed (see page 214). After the House had resumed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill, being a money Bill, and having been returned from the Lords with amendments, should be laid aside. This being agreed to, the Right Honourable Gentleman next moved for leave to bring in a new Bill without the clauses for the registration of the proprietors of newspapers, which the Lords had struck out, the only other alteration being that the reduction of the duty would now be made to take place on the 15th instead of the 1st of September. The Standing Order being suspended, the Bill was immediately read a first and second time.

On Thursday, the 11th, the Free Conference desired the preceding day by the Commons was agreed to by the Lords, on the motion of Lord Rosslyn, and took place immediately. All that was done, however, was the exchange, by the Managers appointed by the two Houses, of the reasons for which they adhered to their opposite views, in writing, just as at an ordinary Conference. On the return of the Managers for the Lords, Lord Lyndhurst moved that the House do insist on the amendments made by it in the Municipal Corporations Act Amendment Bill; and, after some debate, the motion was carried by a majority of 40 to 29. On this another Free Conference took place, at which the matters in dispute between the two Houses were debated at some length; but it ended, like the former, in no agreement being come to.

In the Commons, the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill passed in a few minutes through its remaining stages, without a word of discussion. The Lords amendments in the Registration of Births Bill, and in the Marriages Bill, were then, on the motion of Lord John Russell, all agreed to, though not without strong expressions of dissatisfaction with some of those in the last-mentioned measure from various Honourable Members. Lord John Russell also moved that the House should agree to the amendments of the Lords in the Established Church Bill; but, although the other amendments were agreed to, a division took place on that by which the clause making it necessary that a Welsh Bishop should have a knowledge of the Welsh language was omitted; and the Lords' amendment was only carried by a majority of 51 to 45. Lord John Russell now called the attention of the House to the result of the two Free Conferences with the Lords on the subject of their amendments to the Corporations Act Amendment Bill; on which it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of the amendments to that day three months. The Bill was consequently lost.

On Friday, the 12th, in the Lords, the Standing Orders having been suspended, the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill went through all its stages and passed. The second reading of the Post Office Bill was afterwards moved by Lord Duncannon, but the motion was opposed by the Duke of Richmond, who moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day three months; and this amendment, after a short debate, was carried by a majority of 51 to 22. The House then went into Committee on the Registration of Voters Bill, when, on the motion of Lord Wharncliffe, the first clause of the Bill constituting the new Court of Review, was struck out by a majority of 57 to 21; and a clause was added to prevent persons having borough property from voting both at the borough and at the county elections by virtue of the same property, by a majority of 54 to 20. The other clauses were agreed to.

In the Commons, Lord John Russell announced that in consequence of the state of the public business, he should postpone the Plurality of Benefices Bill till the next Session. Various Bills were forwarded a stage without discussion; after which, Lord John Russell having moved that the Lords' amendments to the Prisoners' Counsel Bill should be taken into consideration, Mr. Ewart moved that the amendment striking out the clause which gave the last word to the prisoner, should be disagreed to, and the motion was carried without a division. The House was afterwards counted out while about to proceed to the further consideration of the Report on the Bribery at Elections Bill.

Both Houses also met at twelve o'clock on Saturday, the 13th. In the Lords the Royal Assent was given by Commission to a considerable number of Bills. In the Commons, the Jewish Disabilities Bill was reported, and the Attorney-General brought in three new Bills embodying so many portions of the Municipal Corporations Act Amendment Bill, which both Houses had agreed to. They were all read a first time.

On Monday the 15th, in the Lords, after several Bills had been forwarded a stage, the House went into Committee on the Stannaries Court Bill, when various amendments were made in that measure. The Corporate Property (Ireland) Bill was then read a second time on the motion of Lord Melbourne, Lord Lyndhurst, however, intimating that he should endeavour to remodel it in various respects in Committee.

In the Commons, Lord Morpeth moved that as the Lords' amendments to the Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill could not, conformably with the practice of the House, be accepted, the Bill should be withdrawn, and a new one embodying the amendments immediately introduced in its stead. The motion was agreed to, and the new Bill was read a first time. The Boroughs Justice Administration Bill, the Boroughs Boundaries Bill, and the Boroughs Funds Bill, being the three measures introduced by the Attorney-General on Saturday, were afterwards severally read a second time. Among other Bills that were also forwarded a stage, the Pension Duties Bill was read a third time and passed, after another division had taken place on the clause exempting the pension of the Marlborough family, and the clause had been finally struck out by a majority of 36 to 34. The third reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill was afterwards carried by a majority of 44 to 13; and then the House was counted out while discussing the Bribery at Elections Bill.

On Tuesday the 16th, in the Lords, the Common Fields Inclosure Bill, the County Elections Bill, and some others, were read a third time and passed; and the Greek Loan Bill went through Committee, and was reported without amendments, although the Duke of Wellington expressed some doubts of its expediency. The second reading of the Civil Offices Declaration Bill was then moved by Lord Duncannon; but the Duke of Wellington having moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day three months, on a division the amendment was carried by a majority of 43 to 27. The House afterwards went into Committee on the Corporate Property (Ireland) Bill, when Lord Lyndhurst brought forward his amendments, which were agreed to. The Commons' reasons for disagreeing to the Lords' amendments on the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, which had been communicated at a Conference, having then been taken into consideration, Lord Lyndhurst moved that their Lordships should, notwithstanding, insist on their amendments, and the motion was carried without a division. The Irish Tithe Suspension Bill was afterwards read a second time, on the motion of Viscount Melbourne.

In the Commons, Mr. Hume moved a declaration declaratory of the opinion of the House, that the government of Upper Canada ought to be conducted by the Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice and assistance of the Executive Council of the province, and intended to censure by implication the late conduct of Sir Francis Head; but after a speech in reply from Sir George Grey, the resolution was withdrawn. A short discussion afterwards took place on a motion made by Mr. Grove Price, for copies of the despatch of Mr. Villiers, announcing the proclamation in various towns of Spain of the Constitution of 1812: the motion was negatived in the end without a division. The three Bills relating to boroughs were then passed, the Standing Orders having been suspended for that purpose. The House was soon after counted out, while engaged in considering the Lords' amendments on the Common Fields Inclosure Bill.

On Wednesday the 17th, in the Lords, various Bills were advanced a stage, with little or no discussion.

In the Commons, Lord John Russell took an opportunity, on the presentation by Mr. Wilks of a petition relating to church-rates, to explain a misunderstanding which had gone abroad of a remark made by him on that subject on a former evening. The amount of what his Lordship said was, that whereas he had been supposed to have expressed an apprehension that the measure he intended to introduce next Session for the settlement of the question of church-rates, would not be satisfactory to certain Members of the House representing the interests and feelings of the Dissenters, his hope really on the contrary was, that the measure which he should have to propose would be perfectly satisfactory to those Members, and also to the great mass of persons out of doors who were interested in the subject. His Lordship afterwards announced that the whole of the 246 convicts from Hampshire, who had been transported for machine-breaking and riot, in 1831, had been pardoned, with the exception only of ten, who were undergoing punishment for offences committed in the Colonies. In the course of the evening, the Public Works (Ireland) Bill, and also the Bribery at Elections Bill, were read a third time and passed, after several amendments to the latter proposed by Mr. A. Trevor, had all been rejected. The House then adjourned till Friday.

On Thursday, the 18th, in the Lords, it was agreed that the Common Law Officers Bill should be postponed till next Session on the motion of Lord Langdale, who stated, that although he approved of the principle of the Bill, there were clauses in it to which he was not at present prepared to give his concurrence. Lord Lyndhurst, in moving for a return stating what had been the fate of each of the Bills introduced into either House of Parliament in the course of the Session, took an opportunity of entering at great length into the defence of the conduct which had been pursued by himself and his friends, and also of delivering a concluding philippic against the general policy of the Administration. The oration of the Noble and Learned Lord gave rise, of course, to some debate, in which Lord Holland, Lord Melbourne, and the Lord Chancellor took part on the one side, and the Duke of Wellington on the other. The motion was ultimately agreed to. Another debate then took place on the motion for the second reading of a Bill entitled the Municipal Elections Bill, which had been sent up from the Commons, as contributing, along with the three other measures already mentioned, to form a substitute for the Municipal Corporation Amendment Bill, which had been lost. The present Bill, like the others, contained only clauses which had been agreed to by both Houses; but inasmuch as it did not embody also certain amendments which had been made by the Lords, Lord Lyndhurst contended that its adoption

would, in fact, place the Upper House in precisely the same position as if, instead of insisting upon their amendments as they had done at the Conferences, they had agreed to abandon them. He therefore moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day three weeks; and on a division the motion was carried by a majority of 30 to 14.

On Friday, the 19th, various Bills were read by their Lordships a third time and passed. The Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill, however, was postponed by consent until next Session.

In the Commons, on the motion of Lord John Russell, who said that he acted on the advice of Lord Denman, as well as of both the Attorney and the Solicitor-General, the Lords' amendments on the Prisoners' Counsel Bill were agreed to. The Bill is thus saved. The Lords' amendments on the Stannaries Court Bill were afterwards agreed to without discussion; those on the Polls at Elections Bill, after a division, in which a proposition by Mr. T. Duncombe that they should not be agreed to was negatived by a majority of 54; and those on the Common Fields Inclosure Bill, after a motion by Mr. Potter for the insertion of certain additional regulations to prevent the inclosure of common fields in the neighbourhood of large towns had been defeated by a majority of 51 to 6.

Both Houses met for the last time on Saturday, the 20th. In the Commons, Mr. Hume was in the midst of a long speech on the conduct of the Lords, when he was interrupted by the entrance of the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Members to the House of Lords, where, after they had made their appearance at the Bar, his Majesty delivered from the Throne the Speech which will be found in another page, and the Lord Chancellor afterwards, in the usual form, declared the Parliament to stand prorogued to Thursday, the 20th of October next.

FRANCE.

THE Fêtes of July, in commemoration of the revolution of 1830, were saddened by the recollection of the dreadful tragedy enacted by Fieschi last year, and by the recent attempt of Alibaud on the life of the King. An almost universal distrust and apprehension of some fresh catastrophe prevailed, and Louis Philippe (though it is said not without difficulty) was prevailed upon by his cabinet and family, not to expose his person to the aim of assassins, by attending, as formerly, the review of the national guards or any other of the public celebrations. It had, indeed, been rumoured that some hundreds of republican desperadoes from various quarters, armed only with knives, were to make a simultaneous rush upon the king and his family as they stood by the triumphal arch of *L'Etoile*, at the end of the *Champs Elysées*, which has at last been completed, and was to be opened in form during the fêtes. In this assault, it was added, that the inferior officers of several of the regiments of the line who had an understanding with the republicans, would join. From the loose evidence before us, we cannot pretend to say whether such an extensive conspiracy, or even any kind of plot existed, but circumstances seem to have thrown much mystery and suspicion about this pompous arch. It was reported, for example, that the veterans of Napoleon's guard had been summoned from far and near to attend the ceremony of opening the arch, originally destined by the Emperor as a monument to their valour and victories; and in the course of their secret researches Louis Philippe's police discovered forged circulars purporting to bear the seal and other official marks of the War Office, and enjoining the veterans to be at their post. The names of several members of the Bonaparte family were also heard in significant whispers, and engraved portraits of them were observed all at once to be very numerous. Doubts which we think must have been altogether unreasonable, for those citizens desire nothing so much as the continuance of peace and tranquillity, were entertained even of the fidelity of the National Guards, who are said to be much hurt at his Majesty's want of confidence in their loyalty and in their power of protecting him—a power, by the way, which can be of no avail in such attempts as those of Fieschi, or in many other modes of attack likely to suggest themselves to the imagination of skilful and desperate conspirators.

The French attach an importance to these shows and parades that is scarcely intelligible to the soberer or duller minds of Englishmen. We should have thought it of small importance whether Louis Philippe went to the fêtes or staid at home, and after all that has happened since the revolution of July should not regret to see the idle celebration set aside altogether. But the Parisians must have their *spectacle* and their king on horseback!

As the popular rumours of danger did not seem definite enough to them to account for Louis Philippe's absenting himself, the Journalists pretty generally supposed that he must have surer information of mischief intended him, and they called upon him to convey this information to his people, in order that they might know to what extent their tranquillity and prosperity were menaced. The king made no answer to these applications, but on the eve of the festival, his police arrested nearly two hundred individuals in and about Paris. To conciliate the heroes of the old army, a medal in commemoration of the opening of the triumphal arch of L'Etoile has been struck with this inscription:—"To the glory of the French armies. Commenced by Napoleon, and finished by Louis Philippe the First." (That is to say, the arch, and not the glory).

The arch in itself is a beautiful and grand object, exceeding in its span the triumphal arches of Rome, and all the works of the kind we know of, whether ancient or modern. It is a great addition to the many public embellishments of Paris, and we only wish it were the record of something more pleasing to humanity than the slaughter and devastation of Europe.

Armand Carrel, the editor of an ultra-liberal newspaper called "Le National" was shot in a duel by the editor of another paper called "La Presse," and died of his wound on the 24th of July. It was resolved to give his remains the empty honours of a public funeral, and as it has been the fashion to get up a riot in the streets of Paris on such appropriate occasions, fears were entertained for the public tranquillity. But as every possible precaution was taken by the police (that body which now meets us at every step in France) and as a formidable force was collected, the ceremony at St. Maude near Paris, went off without any disturbance, although seven thousand persons followed the body to the grave. This *cortege* must have been motley, as well as numerous. All the gentlemen of the Paris press attended, and among republicans and such opposite characters as Arago, Lafitte, and Beranger the poet, we find several ultra-royalists, with Chateaubriand at their head. The orations and eulogies of the deceased which stand in lieu of our service for the dead were delivered over the grave by Messrs. Thibaudau, Scheffer, and Maillefer, and are reported to have produced *une forte sensation.*

Numerous arrests of suspected persons have been made in the departments, and particularly at Lyons, where a secret society, having branches in the provinces and in the capital, is said to have been discovered by the police. Some of the Paris papers state that the investigations of the police there have failed to

establish the existence of any *extensive* conspiracy having for its object the assassination of the King during the late festival, and that there were *only* two youths—the one seventeen years old, and the other nineteen, who had formed that plan. These hopeful subjects belong to the poorer class of workmen.

On the 7th of August, Marshal Clausel, who is now on his way back to Algiers, took leave of the King. It is reported that he has been authorized to make an expedition against Constantine, and that the so-called army of Africa is to be raised to 40,000 men. General Bugeaud, the second in command, has been promoted as a reward for his late victory or victories over Abdel-Kader, which, should seem, however, to have been attended by very unimportant results. The Moorish chieftain has so far conformed to the usages of what is called civilized warfare as to propose an exchange of prisoners with the French.

The young King of Naples, who has become a traveller, and is supposed to be in search of another wife, has visited Paris, and shown all possible respect and affection to Louis Philippe, whose queen is his own aunt. As a member of the House of Bourbon, his Neapolitan Majesty, who vehemently protested against the change of the order of succession in Spain which places his niece on the throne with his own sister, Donna Christina, as regent, was supposed to adhere to the elder or Carlist branch of the French Bourbons, and to be altogether averse to the revolution of July. But his present visit is interpreted into a formal recognition of the right of Louis Philippe, and it is supposed that the smaller Italian princes, who merely out of affection for the principle of legitimacy, continue to speak of Charles X. as King of France, will speedily follow his example. This is very probable, and (considering the strength of those potentates) very unimportant.

According to the newspaper reports, the increase of assassinations and street robberies in Paris is quite dreadful. These crimes, until lately, used not to be included to any great extent in the immoralities and sins of the French capital. The agents of the police were never so numerous as now; but we suppose they are so engaged in pursuit of political offenders, as to have no leisure to attend to common felons. Among the recent victims, is one Mr. Nagle, an Irish gentleman, who was murdered by night, as he was returning to his residence in the Faubourg St. Germain, by two ruffians armed with large knives.

SPAIN.

Since the unfortunate affair of Fuenterrabia, the British Legion and other forces under General Evans have remained in inactivity behind the ramparts of St. Sebastian and the works thrown up at Passages. Discontent and insubordination, amounting on more than one occasion to open mutiny, have prevailed among the men, many of whom have returned to England. The General has been, and we believe still is, seriously indisposed,—the effect of disappointment and vexation of spirit. Most of the officers seem to be persuaded that there is deliberate treachery on the part of Cordova. In this state of things—unpaid, suspicious of all the Spaniards acting with them, and irritated in the extreme, the Legion cannot be expected to prove of much service to the Queen's cause, which recent proceedings on the part of the Constitutionalists and Liberals have embarrassed more and more.

In other provinces there has been a deal of marching and some fighting. The Carlist General, Lopez, who, after traversing the Asturias, threw himself into Gallicia, was defeated, taken prisoner, and shot, with several of his officers, by the Christinos. In Catalonia, where Mina has established a complete reign of terror, the Carlist chief Tristany was captured, and also shot. General Gomez, an active leader of the same party, has been more successful. By a succession of rapid marches he got through the Asturias unmolested, and entered Orensa, in Gallicia, on the 19th of July. He was, however, disappointed in his hopes that the people would rise and join him. The inhabitants of the towns in Gallicia looked on in sullen indifference, but in one or two instances showed a disposition to oppose him with arms in their hands. He entered Santiago, the capital of Gallicia, but, being followed up by General Espartero, he left that place, and marching rapidly, crossed the Minho, a river which, in part of its course, forms the boundary between Spain and Portugal. Here, again, he was disappointed, for the Miguelite Portuguese did not join his standard in force, as he had expected they would. In the course of several long marches and counter-marches his lightfooted mountaineers constantly outstripped the Queen's troops, but different divisions concentrating from various points, Gomez was obliged to fly in the direction of Leon, and the bands he left scattered in the Asturias and Gallicia were cut up. General Espartero entered Oviedo on the 3rd of August, and moved the next day towards Astorga. On the 5th the Carlist Commander-in-Chief, Villareale, was in the Amezeoas, after having suffered a severe check and some loss, on the 2nd, from an attack made by Lieutenant-General Bernelle.

It should appear that the Poles, whose exploits and cruelties in Spain during the wars of Napoleon are well remembered by many, English as well as Spaniards, are again figuring in that unhappy country; for Bernelle, in his bulletin, speaks of a regiment of Polish Lancers, lately incorporated in his division, that made a fierce attack on the Carlists, and "covered itself with glory."

Gomez, after traversing part of the province of Leon regained the mountains of Santander, and thence making a sudden turn, doubled on his pursuers and appearing again in Leon, marched towards its capital, expecting to form a junction with the Carlist bands of Garcia on his way. Meanwhile other insurgent bands had thrown themselves so forward in Aragon that apprehensions began to be entertained for the safety of Madrid itself.

On the 24th of July the court of the Queen Regent was frightened out of its propriety, by a report that the Carlists had reached within two leagues of the royal summer residence of La Granja, and a scene ensued which is described as ludicrous and disgraceful. The courtiers, panic struck, raised a universal *sauve qui peut* cry. Some made up their bundles, but the fears of others would not allow them time for that. Grandees of the first class, dukes, marquesses, generals, pages, footmen, favourites, and grooms, fled pell-mell, some on foot, and some mounted on asses or the mules of the Queen's coaches. The Duke of Hijar set off on foot, carrying his own bundle under his arm, and arrived at Madrid, with several persons of the same rank, in a deplorable plight. Ronchi, the Queen's confidant made his *entré* into the capital on an ass, with his son-in-law, the Marquess of Grimaldi, riding *en croupe* behind him. The Queen Regent, however, who is a person of spirit, would not stir, nor would she permit the removal of her daughter, but the royal baggage and valuables were packed up to be ready for an instant start in case the alarming intelligence should prove correct. It was afterwards ascertained that the nearest point to Madrid the Carlists had shown themselves at was Sepulveda, which is at the distance of about seventy miles from the

capital. The flight from La Granja led to some disturbances in the suburbs of Madrid, which were suppressed by the National Guards, though not until cries were heard of *Viva Don Carlos*, and two or three persons had been killed in the affray. But all these matters, with other desultory operations in the field against the Carlists, yield in importance to events which show how sadly the Constitutionalists are divided among themselves.

On the 25th of July, a great Spanish holiday, being the festival of their patron St. Jago, everything seemed tranquil in the city, and the pleasure-loving people of Malaga, were to all appearance absorbed by the amusements of the day. The beautiful public promenade, the Alameda, was crowded in the evening by persons of all classes; among whom were mixed the civil and military governors with their families, and most of the other *employés* of the Queen Regent. About eight o'clock in the evening this gaiety was interrupted by the sound of alarm beat by a single drum in the neighbourhood of the Alameda. About a week before, St. Just, the military governor, had issued an Order of the Day, prohibiting the national guards and troops of the line from playing certain revolutionary airs, or beating their drums at all after the Ave Maria, or hour of prayer. Leaving his wife and children on the Alameda, St. Just hastened to see who had infringed his orders, and found a picket of the national guards in the public square, with a drummer, and one officer. He mildly requested the officer to command the drum to cease. The officer obeyed, but the men persisted in spite of him, and joined their seditious cries to the roll of the drum. St. Just, who was in plain clothes, then attempted to seize the drummer, upon which the national guards, who pretended not to know his rank, resisted, and struck him several times, while some spectators in the square encouraged them, and cried out, "Beat him—cut him down!" Presently the alarm of the drum was repeated in various parts of the town, and guard-men were seen running to their different quarters crying out "Death to the military governor—death to the traitors!" By this time the disturbance had assumed the appearance of a regular and preconcerted revolt which seemed to threaten the whole city. St. Just retired from the square and went in search of his wife and children, whom he conveyed home unhurt. He then put on his uniform, armed himself, and proceeded to the main guard in the square of the Constitution, where he hoped to find some friends of order, and to be able to bring the men to reason. With the many tragical and recent precedents before his eyes this attempt was a very bold one; but all parties allow that the unfortunate St. Just had the virtue of courage in a most eminent degree. The officer in command at the main-guard, to whom he spoke, instead of aiding him in his exertions, advised him, if he valued his life, to leave the square immediately, and let matters take their course. St. Just, however, persisted, and attempted to address the armed mob that now completely filled the square; but their savage roar and screams made his voice inaudible, and, having excited one another to the proper point of ferocity, the Nacionales made a rush, in a mass, on this single man. A few—and we believe very few—of the officers had the spirit to form a circle round their superior, in order to protect him from slaughter; but their men coming up, threatened to shoot them, and, on one or two shots being fired, they gave way, and left St. Just to his fate. Struck by a musket-ball in the thigh, he fell in front of the guard-house, but had still sufficient strength left to crawl into that building, where he found no protection; for in this detestable affair those who were not insurgents seem to have been cowards almost to a man. The armed mob, composed chiefly of what they call *Nacionales mal-intencionados*, or, disaffected national guards, rushed into the guard-house, and dragged their bleeding victim out into the square, where they despatched him with a volley of shots and innumerable thrusts of the bayonet. A hellish shout was then raised for the civil governor, the Conde de Donadio—and that cry was his trial, condemnation, and death-warrant. The mob went to his house, but they did not find him there. On learning the critical situation of St. Just, the Count, who had left his young and beautiful wife at the Alameda, where the alarm first reached them, flew to the Convent of Mercy, which has been converted into barracks for the regular troops of the line. Here he found some six or eight hundred men, whom he called upon to march to the succour of their commander, St. Just, whose life was threatened; but they refused to act or expose themselves, replying to his earnest remonstrances and prayers, that they had no wish to oppose the desires of the people. It is said, in excuse of these Queenite heroes, that they were mostly raw recruits. Fear, indeed, and not the spirit of revolt and cruelty, seems to have actuated them; for when the Nacionales, who had traced the civil governor to their barracks, gathered in force in the square before the convent, and called for his head, they attempted to favour the unhappy man's escape, and disguised him in the uniform of a common soldier. The revolted militia having so stationed themselves that none could leave the convent or barracks without falling into their hands, summoned the regular troops to come out into the square by the main gate of the building, and one by one. After a certain number of these men had thus defiled through an opening left between the masses of the insurgents, the Count de Donadio followed like the rest, but he had scarcely got beyond the door, when he was recognised in his grenadier's uniform by a national guard, who fired at him point blank, and brought him to the ground. The savages, then seizing him, dragged him into the Square *of Mercy*, to finish his execution in the usual manner. The Count appealed to the memory of his past political conduct,—to his exertions for the cause of liberty in the very last Cortes, where he had sat as a member for Malaga; but the ruffians, who were shouting "Liberty," would not listen to him; and while he was protesting, that if, during his short civil government, he had done anything displeasing to the people of Malaga, it had been owing to the advice of some of their fellow citizens, they rushed upon him as they had done upon St. Just, and dispersing a few of their officers who would have protected him, fired a volley into his body, which produced instantaneous death. But death was not enough; they pierced him through and through with their bayonets, hacked his corpse with their swords, and then mutilated it in a manner too gross and horrible to describe. To increase the horrors of this tragedy, Donadio's young wife, who had only been married a few weeks, burst out of her house, and ran through the streets, seeking and calling for her husband. A few friends succeeded in making her believe the Count had escaped out of the town in disguise, and reconducted her to her widowed home; but this merciful deception could only be maintained for a very short time.

After exhausting their vengeance on the body of their civil governor, the insurgents repaired to the houses of some of the principal merchants of Malaga, whom they intended to massacre, as persons opposed to the march of liberal principles. The merchants fortunately had had time to escape before the domiciliary visitations of the Nacionales, who next proceeded to appoint a junta, and name a governor of their own. Their choice fell upon one Juan Antonio Escalante, who is described as a commandant of Caribineers. He ordered the imme-

diate interment of the two bodies; and, at three o'clock in the morning, after an exulting peal had been rung from the cathedral bells, the rioters dispersed.

As the day advanced Malaga seemed to be deserted by all the more respectable part of its inhabitants, many of whom, apprehensive of further atrocities, were flying in all directions. Upwards of fifty embarked in an English steam-vessel, that chanced to enter the port. At the hour of noon the drums beat to arms, and at two in the afternoon the national guards and the troops of the line, were reviewed together on the Alameda; and that ceremony over, they formally proclaimed the one chamber democratic Constitution of 1812. Thus has this monstrous monument of political folly been raised again, and upon a basis of blood and crime.

On the 28th of July, the self-constituted junta of government drew up a long "representation," which was forwarded to the Queen Regent. This document begins by stating that the evils of the country, which her Majesty's government could not correct, had reached such a point that it behoved the people to throw themselves into the arena, and to act by and for themselves. In deploring the overthrow of the late Mendizabal Ministry, it admits that even that Ministry did not satisfy *all* the hopes conceived from it; nor, we will add, will any cabinet ever possible to be formed. One of the most definite and prominent of the complaints is, that men of liberal principles,—that is to say, men of their own particular party, have lost their employments and places, and from the notorious place-hunting habits of the Spaniards in general, we are disposed to believe that the moving spirits of every faction are animated rather by a desire of the honours and emoluments of office, than by any patriotism, or real attachment to any system, or abstract principle whatsoever. The seeking after government places, of all degrees, has long been a regular profession in Spain. People are constantly crowding from every corner of the kingdom to the capital, on this pursuit, and if, at any time, these candidates and *intrigants* had been removed all at once from Madrid, the population of that city must have been materially and evidently decreased. Though it does not attempt to shew how the mischief could have been avoided, or how repaired, now that it has happened, the representation scarcely exaggerates the recent successes of the Carlists in the fields, in stating, that they have broken through the boasted lines formed by the Queen's troops, have traversed the whole country from Alava even to Gallicia; that the "rebels" of lower Aragon have made themselves masters of the whole kingdom of Valencia, with the exception of the capital city, and a few fortified places;—that the Christino troops, excepting in Catalonia, seem to be mere spectators of the advance of the rebels—and, in fine, that Andalusia, hitherto untouched, has been invaded, and its soil stained with the blood of its sons, while in the direction of Murcia "the cut-throats of absolutism" show themselves equally powerful, haughty, and cruel. As to their own cut-throats, the gentlemen of the Junta say very little. They assert, however, that the massacre of St. Just and Donadio "which has stained the noblest of causes," was as unforeseen and uncalculated upon by the Liberals of Malaga as it was melancholy and lamentable. We see it is very generally asserted that the two unhappy functionaries had drawn upon them the odium of the Liberals by trying to influence the elections of members of the new Cortes in favour of the present Cabinet.

As was to be expected, the flame of the revolt spread rapidly in other parts of Andalusia. When the news of the transactions at Malaga reached Cadiz, Don Pedro de Urquinaona, Civil Governor of the Queen, set forth a proclamation denouncing the inquities of "a handful of men," and expressing his conviction that they would in no sense be imitated by the loyal and faithful men of Cadiz. At the same time Don Bernardo Tacon, the military governor, issued an order that the National Guards of Cadiz should not assemble without receiving instructions from him. This was on the 28th of July. On the 29th, by day break, the Nacionales had not only assembled, but joining the troops of the line in garrison, had proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, after the example of Malaga, though, fortunately without bloodshed. It appears that both the military and civil governor prudently went with the stream and joined in the ceremony of promulgating what they had condemned only the day before. Don Bernardo Tacon indeed issued an apologetic and counter proclamation as soon as the movement began. It is evident that he and his colleague dreaded the fate of St. Just and Donadio, and were not men to risk much in opposing the popular will.

Almost simultaneously with these movements at Cadiz, the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed at Xeres, Port St. Mary, Isla de Leon, Seville, and Cordova, and Juntas were created wholly independent of the Queen's authority. At Saragosa, which has been in a state of disorder ever since June last, some horrible outrages have been committed on such of the inhabitants as were reputed Carlists or enemies to the ultra-liberal code, and Evariste San Miguel, the Queen's general, has joined the movement party with a great show of ardour and decision. Following the example of Saragosa, the capital, Alcaniz, Caspe, Fraga, Sos, Mequinenza, Calatayud, Jaca, and other towns in Aragon, have proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. In Catalonia no decisive steps appear to have been taken, but it was hourly expected that Mina would declare for the new order or disorder of things, and proclaim the Constitution in Barcelona. The elections there have been all against the Isturitz ministry. Even in the Biscayan provinces, Bilbao has joined the insurrection, and St. Sebastian will have probably done the like ere these pages are in print. This must inevitably increase the already insupportable embarrassments of General Evans and the British troops under his command. Badajoz has unfurled the revolutionary banner, and the course of events seems to threaten that in a very short time, what with the Carlists and the Liberals, the Queen's authority will soon be acknowledged nowhere except in Madrid, where, under such circumstances, it must also fall soon.

When the news of the insurrection at Malaga reached Madrid (on the 30th of July), a circular, in the Queen Regent's name, was addressed to all the authorities of the kingdom, exhorting them to exert themselves strenuously, and with good faith, in the repression of all seditious attempts, and announcing, that to chastise the disturbers of Malaga, government relied upon the assistance and union of all good citizens, which had become more than ever necessary for the preservation of the throne and of liberty. The tranquillity of the Regent, a young, inexperienced woman, who evidently does not know where to look, or upon whom to rely for protection, was further disturbed on the 2nd of August by the intelligence from Cadiz, Seville, &c. A cabinet council was summoned at midnight, and sate until morning, when it was resolved to form a camp near Madrid of 15,000 or 20,000 men, to be picked from the regular troops raised to oppose the Carlists; not to march any more soldiers into the revolted provinces, but to despatch there skilful agents to bring them back to their duty, by the gentle means of *eloquence and persuasion*, and to send other agents into the remaining provinces to keep them, by the same peaceful instruments, steady to the present form of government, and so prevent their following the example of Malaga, Cadiz, and the rest. Some troops

that had been already sent in the direction of Malaga were recalled. The people of Madrid, meanwhile, were highly excited—the Liberal party went through the street singing *Tragala Peros* (the song which used to terrify King Ferdinand during the Revolution of 1820), Riego's hymn, and other revolutionary songs. The Marquis de las Amarillas, Count Toreno, Martinez de la Rosa, and other public men of royalist or moderate politics, were said to have prepared to fly into France at a moment's notice, and everything seemed to indicate that an insurrection was inevitable. An attempt, indeed, was made, but it turned out a deplorable failure, the citizen soldiers of Madrid shewing on this occasion, as they did on their rising in the month of August last year, a very weak stomach for fighting, and a decided antipathy to coming to an open combat with the troops of the line.

On the evening of the 3rd of August, just after the church-bells had tolled the Ave Maria, a drummer-boy of the national guards starting from the Plaza Mayor, hurried through the streets beating to arms. He was, however, not long permitted to give this concerted signal to muster. He was seized, and conveyed to a guard-house, without any effort being made for his rescue. Nevertheless a considerable number of the national guards took up their arms, and ran to the place of rendezvous agreed upon, which was the Plaza Mayor where both the infantry and cavalry barracks of their corps are situated, and which was soon made to ring with the cries of "The Constitution for ever," "Death to the Carlists and traitors," "Down with the Ministers," and the like. It was presently observed, however, that these leading cries, loud as they were, were uttered by a comparatively small number of men, and only faintly echoed by the majority; that the ranks of the infantry were far from being filled, and that hardly any of the officers of the Nacionales were present. Troops of ragamuffins—a mob, composed of the very dregs of the city and its purlieus, began to perambulate the streets, but the more respectable inhabitants shut themselves up in their houses, determined to take no part in the conflict.

On the part of the Queen, General Quesada commanded the regular troops, and he was not taken by surprise, but well prepared, while his men were obedient to their officers, and steady to their duty, in spite of many efforts made to corrupt them. This garrison marched out from its quarters in excellent order, and took up several positions in order to check the advance of the Nacionales; but when those civic heroes saw some pieces of artillery unmasked, and heard cavalry advancing, they converted the gradual dissolution, which had been going on in their ranks from the very beginning, into a general and rapid retreat, and went home to their beds without firing more than two or three muskets, by which *one* soldier was wounded. This was at half-past eleven o'clock; and having taken possession of the barracks of the Nacionales, and occupied all their posts, the Queen's regiments returned to quarters at two in the morning, when Isturitz and the rest of the Cabinet, who had been sitting through the night, retired to take some rest. At an early hour of the 4th of August a decrée declaring Madrid in a state of siege was posted on all the walls, and Ministers again meeting, deliberated as to the choice of members to compose a court-martial, and carry this decree into effect with rigour and promptitude. A series of severe measures were adopted in the course of a day or two;—

1. A decree dissolving the National Guards of Madrid.

2. That military patroles should seize every person found in the streets carrying arms without being authorized to do so.

3. That all assemblies of the people should be dispersed.

4. That, in case of riot or sedition, all persons found on the spot, whether engaged in it or not, should be held guilty of the offence.

5. That in such cases the pain of death should be inflicted, as also upon those who should beat drums to arms without orders.

6. That all cries of "vivas!" or "deaths!" should be punished.

7. That the court-martial, whose sittings are permanent, shall try in a summary manner all kinds of offenders that may be brought before it.

As it appears that most of the Nacionales have permitted themselves to be disarmed, we should think they have little mercy to expect; for no party in Spain ever shows itself merciful in moments of great excitation. The journalists have also been visited by the vengeance of Isturitz, who has suspended the publication of four opposition newspapers, and threatened some of the writers in them with arrest and trial before the military tribunal. Numerous arrests of persons of all classes have taken and are still taking place. Between Paris and Madrid there will soon be a little world in prison.

PORTUGAL.

THE rapid progress made by General Gomez and the Carlists under him in the Asturias and Gallicia, and their approach to the frontiers of Portugal, caused considerable alarm to the Government at Lisbon, who well knowing the number of the disaffected in the northern provinces, expected a rising in favour of Don Miguel. The country, however, remained quiet.

The Queen's government continues to be pinched in its finances, and, ominously enough, the Treasury has been burnt down! This building (formerly the Regency Palace) was observed to be on fire in broad day light, and though all the clerks were there at their work, or moving about from room to room, the flames were not attended to, until they had got to such a height that it was found impossible to save the edifice. Hence the good people of Lisbon have ventured to hint, in rather plain terms, that the Treasury was purposely burnt to conceal sundry frauds and robberies committed by Silva Carvalho, the Minister of Finance, and the Government clerks. How elevated a notion must the Portuguese have of the virtue of their statesmen and public functionaries! But for the exertions of detachments of sailors from the English and French squadrons, it appears that the conflagration would not have stopped at the Treasury. Another building had already caught fire, and in extinguishing the flames there a poor French seaman lost his life. Several other persons are said to have perished.

To stop the progress of the money-alarm, the Government immediately issued a notice, that the interest on the home debt would be paid in a day or two at the Erario Palace, to which the Treasury Office was removed for the present. "Many doubtful or inconvenient claims," says the correspondent of one of our newspapers, "have been disposed of at one sweep." On the same authority, there was little gold or silver to melt in the Treasury, but an enormous consumption of *titulos* or paper-money, the white ashes of which fell like a shower of snow all over the square in front of the building.

The elections for the Cortes are said to have been favourable to the existing Ministry. Prince Ferdinand, the Queen's husband, has made a journey through part of the kingdom, and has everywhere been received with respect.

DOCUMENTS AND ABSTRACTS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SHIPWRECKS.

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the increased number of shipwrecks, with a view to ascertain whether such improvements might not be made in the construction, equipment, and navigation of merchant vessels as would greatly diminish the annual loss of life and property at sea, and who were empowered to report their opinion thereupon, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them, to the House, have examined the matters referred to them, and agreed to the following resolutions:—

1. That the number of ships and vessels belonging to the United Kingdom which were wrecked or lost in the periods specified below, appears, by a return made to the Committee from the books of Lloyd's, to be as follows:—

Number of Vessels Stranded or Wrecked.

1816	343	1833	595
1817	362	1834	454
1818	409	1835	524
	1114		1573

Number of Vessels Missing or Lost.

1816	19	1833	56
1817	40	1834	43
1818	30	1835	30
	89		129

Making a total of 1203 ships or vessels wrecked and missing in the first period of three years, and a total of 1702 wrecked and missing in the second period of three years.

2. That taking the number of vessels wrecked and lost in the two periods named above at the assumed value of 5000*l.* for each ship and cargo, on the average of the whole, the loss of property occasioned by these wrecks would amount, in the first three years, to 6,015,000*l.*, being an average of 2,005,000*l.* per annum; and in the last three years to 8,510,000*l.*, being an average of 2,836,666*l.* per annum.

3. That the number of ships in each of the years above specified of which the entire crews were drowned, though the exact number of each crew is not stated, appears, by the same return made to your committee, from the books of Lloyd's, to have been as follows:—

Number of Vessels in each Year, of which the entire Crews were Drowned.

1816	15	1833	38
1817	19	1834	24
1818	15	1835	19
	49		81

Making a total of 49 in the first period of three years, and a total of 81 in the second period of three years.

4. That the number of persons drowned in each of the years specified, in addition to the above, and of which the number drowned belonging to each vessel is distinctly known, appears, by the same return from Lloyd's books, to be as follows:—

Number of Persons drowned in each Year by Ships named.

1816	945	1833	572
1817	499	1834	578
1818	256	1835	564
	1700		1714

5. That assuming the average number of persons in each of the vessels of which the entire crews were lost to consist of ten individuals, including officers, seamen, and passengers, it would appear, that in the first three years the number of persons drowned were 588 in the forty-nine vessels whose crews were entirely lost, and 1700 in the vessels of which the exact number in each was known, making a total of 2228 lives, or 763 per annum; and that in the last three years the number of persons drowned was 972 in the 81 vessels whose crews were entirely lost, and 1710 in the vessels of which the exact number in each was known, making a total of 2682 lives, or 894 per annum.

6. That among the special cases of loss by shipwreck on particular parts of the coast, it has been stated that, during the last four years 272 ships were lost belonging to the port of Tyne, averaging 68 vessels per annum; the whole number of vessels registered in that port being about 1000 sail; that these 272 vessels measured 60,489 tons; and assuming these to have been total losses, and the average value of the whole to be 10*l.* per ton, the loss of property from this single port would be 604,890*l.* in four years, or 151,222*l.* per annum, while the number of lives lost in these 272 vessels during the same period was 682; the number of widows and orphans left for relief was 147; and the amount of money paid out of the funds of the Seaman's Association at Shields, for relief of members of that society only, amounted to 1935*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*; the ships employed from this port being principally colliers, which perform eight or nine voyages in each year, and are continued in occupation during winter as well as summer along a dangerous coast.

7. That during a period of 16 months, from January 1, 1833 to May 1, 1834, the number of vessels reported in Lloyd's books as missing or lost, and which have never since been heard of, amounted to 95 in number; and these ships being principally engaged in foreign voyages, the calculation made on their value, and the number of their crews, including officers, seamen, and passengers, assuming 8000*l.* as the lowest average value of ship and cargo throughout, and 15 persons as the average number of persons on board the whole, gives a total loss in these missing ships only, within the short period of sixteen months, of 740,000*l.* sterling in property, and 1425 lives.

8. That these results do not embrace the whole extent of loss in property or lives, occasioned by shipwrecks, even among those vessels only which belong to the United Kingdom, inasmuch as these Returns include only the losses entered in Lloyd's books, from which the Returns adverted to were made out; whereas it is well known that many vessels and lives are lost by wreck or foundering at sea, of which no entry is made in Lloyd's books, and of which, as no record is kept, no Return can be produced.

9. That the whole loss of property in British shipping wrecked or foundered at sea may therefore be assumed as amounting to nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling per annum; the value of which property, though covered by insurance to certain parties, is not the less absolutely lost to the nation, and its cost paid for by the British public, on whom its loss must ultimately fall.

10. That the annual loss of life, occasioned by the wreck or foundering of British vessels at sea, may, on the same grounds, be fairly estimated at not less than 1000 persons in each year, which loss is also attended with increased pecuniary burdens to the British public, on whom the support of many of the widows and orphans left destitute by such losses must ultimately fall.

11. That among the various causes of shipwreck, which appear susceptible of removal or diminution, the following appear to be the most frequent, and the most generally admitted:—

1. Defective construction of ships.
2. Inadequacy of equipment.
3. Imperfect state of repair.
4. Improper or excessive loading.
5. Inappropriateness of form.
6. Incompetency of masters and officers.
7. Drunkenness of officers and men.
8. Operation of marine insurance.
9. Want of harbours of refuge.
10. Imperfection of charts.

One of the principal remedies which has been proposed or suggested is, the establishment of a Mercantile Marine Board, which shall be so constituted as to embrace a competent number of experinced officers of the royal navy, and masters in the merchant service, united with experienced ship-owners and ship-builders, assisted by a skilful

hydrographer, a professor of nautical astronomy and navigation, and one or more men of eminence in the legal profession, the election of such members to be vested in certain proportions in the Admiralty, the Trinity Board, and the ship-owners, and to be irremovable from office, except by the concurrence of the three bodies named; and that to such a Board should be intrusted the power to carry into effect, both in London and the outports, under the sanction and authority of Parliament, the following primary objects, viz.—1. The compilation and consolidation of a code of maritime law. 2. The promotion and encouragement of nautical improvement. 3. The perfecting a system of classification of ships, to the utmost attainable point of accurately defining, by such classification, the real state and condition of every ship registered. 4. The collection of information as to the best methods for building, surveying, fitting out, and equipping ships, &c. 5. The formation of certain standards of qualification in seamanship and navigation, to be attained by officers before they should receive licenses of appointment to particular grades in the merchant service; and certain higher standards of qualification in seamanship, navigation, and nautical astronomy, to be attained by masters before they should be entitled to receive licenses of appointment to the command of vessels of different classes and for different voyages. 6. The appointment of examiners in seamanship, navigation, and nautical astronomy, for the public examination of all candidates for appointment as officers or commanders, with power to remand all who should be deficient in the requisite degree of knowledge for the class to which the candidate might aspire, and with a power also to grant licenses to officers of superior skill and knowledge, authorizing each class to wear a uniform, as was done in the late mercantile marine of the East India Company, differing from the uniform of the navy, but at the same time sufficiently marked for the purpose of distinguishing the persons wearing it as passed officers of the merchant-service. 7. The establishment of savings' banks for the wages of seamen, and suitable asylums for them; for the purpose of saving these seamen, as far as may be found practicable, from the misery and degradation into which they are so constantly plunged almost immediately after their return from sea, when, being made intoxicated, and sometimes stupified by drugs, they are robbed and plundered by crimps who make them their victims, and who hold them in actual bondage till all their wages are drained from them, when they are often taken in a state of intoxication to a ship, of the officers and crew of which they know nothing, and their advance of wages, instead of being applied to the purchase of an outfit or the voyage, is seized by their original betrayer for a real or pretended debt incurred while in his custody. 8. The formation of registry-offices for merchant-seamen, at which certificates of the name, age, capacity, and character of every seaman (which, by the late Act for the registration of British seamen, must be granted to all seamen demanding the same from their commanders at the time of their discharge) may be deposited and recorded in a register-book to be kept for that purpose. 9. The establishment of cheap nautical schools, either in ships afloat adapted to the purpose, or in appropriate buildings on shore, in which the practical duties of seamanship and the elements of navigation should be taught to the young apprentices who are training up for the sea. 10. The arrangement of a plan for courts of inquiry into every shipwreck that occurs, as far as may be practicable, with power to censure the owners or commanders; to suspend the licenses of officers; and to reward officers and men, by gratuities or medals of distinction and honour. 11. The formation of special tribunals for the cheap and speedy termination of disputes respecting the wages and discipline of seamen.

The attention of the Government is directed to a number of objects, in the promotion of which they might render assistance towards the improvement of the mercantile navy, while the Mercantile Marine Board would be pursuing the same end by different means. The Report (which has been drawn up by Mr. Buckingham) concludes with the following Resolution:—"That it is, therefore, the opinion of this Committee, that the earliest opportunity should be taken, in the next Session of Parliament, to call the attention of the Legislature to the present state of British ships and British seamen, with a view to the introduction of such enactments as may be best calculated to elevate and improve the general character of the British mercantile marine, and to place it in such a state of safety and efficiency, as to make its ships the most perfect structures that art and science can form, its officers the most distinguished for their competency and skill, and its seamen as respectable in character, and as happy in the enjoyment of adequate remuneration for their toils, as their devotion to their country in war, and their services to commerce in peace, so justly entitle them to expect."

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

THE Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the year ending March, 1836, has just been issued. It states that, during the year, 150 schools had been established, and grants had been made towards the building of 78 others. The number of schools in operation was 1181, and upwards of 400 applications had been received for aid towards new schools; but the Commissioners remark that "it must depend upon the amount of the grant which may be made for the present year whether we shall be enabled to accede to any of them, and to what extent we shall have it in our power to do so."

The national system will shortly be benefited by the services of an efficient and well-trained body of teachers. The Report, which is addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, thus alludes to this circumstance, which is calculated to promote still more the success of the national plan:—

"Considerable progress has been made in the buildings which we are having erected for model and training establishments. We hope they will be completed within a few months, and that we shall then be enabled to proceed extensively, and with effect, to the perfecting of teachers for our several schools. This is a work which we deem of vital importance to the whole system of national education. We have not hitherto had it in our power to bring forward the class of teachers which we desire to raise up; but our training establishment will, we hope, enable us to do so, provided we can secure the services of competent persons by adequate salaries. At present, the salaries which the funds placed at our disposal afford, are by no means sufficient to induce persons possessing the requisite qualifications for teachers. We are, therefore, most anxious that further provision should be made for the purpose, and we earnestly recommend the subject to your Excellency's consideration."

The greater part of the Report is devoted, at the desire of the Lord-Lieutenant, to an examination of a pamphlet entitled "A Speech delivered in the House of Lords, March 15th, 1836, in moving for a Select Committee to inquire into the operation of the Commission for National Education for Ireland; by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter." The Bishop is clearly convicted of suppressing passages in the previous Reports of the Commissioners to suit his purposes, and of adopting other means not less disgraceful, in order to misrepresent and vilify the Commission. After a lengthened and most triumphant notice of his objections, the Report concludes in the following excellent spirit:—

"We have now gone through the whole of the pamphlet, and have answered, we hope, every tangible part of it. We have thus noticed it because it was your Excellency's wish that we should do so; we should otherwise have spared ourselves so ungrateful a task. We accepted the Commission with which we are charged in the hope that it might enable us to pour oil on the troubled waters of Ireland, and to allay those dreadful dissensions which divide and distract her people: we are labouring so to do. We have no sordid object to accomplish, no factious purpose to serve, no bigoted passion to gratify; we are endeavouring to give a new stamp to the rising generation of the country, to bring children of all denominations together from their infancy in feelings of charity and good-will; to make them regard each other, not as belonging to rival sects, but as subjects of the same King, and fellows in the same redemption; so that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and 'may hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.' This is the end we seek. We feel that we have so pursued it as to entitle ourselves to public confidence and support, and that confidence and support we have the satisfaction to say we enjoy and receive from many persons of different religious views

and of different political opinions. We, therefore, hope it may not again be deemed necessary that we should give a formal contradiction to the accusations which prejudice or malice may from time to time put forth against us. If persons who see, or think they see, anything wrong in the working of the system committed to us, will communicate with the Board upon the subject, they will find us ever ready, to the utmost of our power, to apply a remedy to the evil. If they will not do so, and will yet assail our proceedings before the public, it may, we think, be safely left to the candour and good sense of the country, without any interference from us, to discriminate their motives, and deal with their statements according to their deserts.

(Signed) "Leinster,
"Richard Dublin,
"Francis Sadlier,
"James Carlile,
"A. R. Blake,
"July 13, 1836. "Robert Holmes."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

1. That the Speaker of the House of Commons do, at the commencement of every Session, nominate three barristers, of not less than seven years' standing, to fill the office of assessors to Election Committees; such nomination being subject to the confirmation of the House.

2. That one of these shall assist at the deliberations of every Election Committee, presiding as Chairman, but without power to vote.

3. That in all cases in which there shall be a difference of opinion in the Committee, the assessor shall remain with the Committee, while strangers are excluded: that he shall, before any division, state the question at issue to the Committee, together with his opinion thereon; that he pronounce the decisions of the Committee, declaring his own assent or dissent; and that such assent or dissent shall be recorded in the Minutes of the Committee.

4. That the assessors decide, under the sanction of the Speaker, which of their number shall preside over each Committee.

5. That if, at the commencement of a Parliament, it shall appear to the Speaker that the number of election petitions presented is so great that the three assessors will be unable to preside at the respective trials of such petitions, without causing considerable inconvenience, it shall, in such case, be lawful for the Speaker, within three weeks from the meeting of Parliament, to nominate, subject to the confirmation of the House, one or more barristers of not less than seven years' standing, who shall officiate as assistant-assessors; and that in case, on the arrival of any day on which an election petition shall be appointed to be tried, none of the three assessors shall be disengaged, it shall be lawful for the assessors, or any of them, to appoint, under the sanction of the Speaker, any one of the assistant-assessors to act as assessor and chairman, with all the duties and powers thereof for the trial of that petition.

6. That the assessors and assistant-assessors be not Members of the House, and hold no office of profit under the Crown, except that of recorder.

7. That the remuneration of the assessors be by an annual salary; and that the assistant-assessors be paid in proportion to their respective services.

8. That every Election Committee consist of five Members, to be chosen by ballot.

9. That within ten days of the commencement of every Session, the names of all the Members of the House be formed into one general committee-list by public ballot, for the purpose of fixing the order in which they are to stand on the list; that such list be printed and circulated with the Votes; that within one week thereafter, the names of Members excused altogether from serving on any Election Committees, as well as of those petitioning or petitioned against, and of those holding certain specified official situations, be expunged therefrom.

10. That the general list, so reduced, be then divided into separate lists, or panels, consisting of not less than sixty Members each.

11. That if the cause for expunging any such name shall, at any subsequent period, cease to operate, the Speaker shall state the fact to the House, and the name of such Member shall be added by ballot to some one of the panels from which Committees shall not yet have been struck.

12. That each panel be numbered; and that, whenever a day shall be fixed for taking into consideration one or more election petitions, one such panel be taken by ballot, from which the required Committee or Committees shall be struck.

13. That the names of the panel so taken be circulated with the Votes, together with notice of the day on which it is appointed to attend.

14. That if any Member, whose name is left on any panel, shall die or vacate his seat, and be succeeded by another Member, the name of such last Member shall, after fourteen days from his return, unless he be petitioned against, be substituted in the place of the former, and he shall be liable to be called on to serve as such former would have been.

15. That on such day the pannel be called over; that no excuses be received except "leave of absence granted by the House," "voted at the election," or such other as shall appear to the House an unavoidable cause of absence, or of inability to serve.

16. That if a Member shall not answer to his name, and the excuse made for him shall not be allowed, the House do order the Serjeant-at-Arms to take such Member into custody.

17. That the House do not give leave of absence to any Member extending to the day on which the panel containing his name is ordered to attend, except under very special circumstances.

18. That from the Members of the panel then present, names to compose each Committee be drawn by ballot; and that peremptory challenge to the number of five being allowed to each party, the first five names drawn, and passing unchallenged, do form the Committee.

19. That the Committee shall abate by reason of the death or absence of more than two of its members.

20. That if at any time during a Session it shall be found that each panel has taken its turn of service, the Speaker shall state the fact to the House, and the House shall appoint a day for the formation of a fresh General Committee List, which shall be formed as above-mentioned, except that, in addition to the excuses to be received on such occasions as aforesaid, the names of all Members who shall have served on any Election Committee during the Session be also expunged from the list; and that from such fresh General Committee List the new panels be formed, and the Committee finally appointed for each petition, and struck as aforesaid.

21. That under such regulations as the House may adopt, Members be allowed to exchange from one panel to another.

22. That every Election Committee have power, by an unanimous vote, to sit during the sittings of the House, unless the House shall command the attendance of its members.

23. That whenever a division shall take place in the Committee, the names of the members voting for or against any Resolution shall be entered in the Minutes, and publicly read by the Chairman, when announcing the decision of the Committee.

24. That in all cases in which there shall, on a division, be an equal number for or against any Resolution, the same do not pass.

25. That the Reports of the Committee be presented to the House by such one of its members as shall be selected by the Committee for that purpose.

26. That the Committee shall in all cases allow or apportion the costs, without its being necessary for it to declare whether the petition or defence be or be not frivolous or vexatious.

27. That the assessor, who presided at the trial of the petition, be one of the taxors, instead of the Clerk of the House.

28. That the three Chairmen shall from time to time, and at such times as they shall appoint, sit as a Court of Appeal, to hear and decide appeals from revising-barristers on circuits, by way of special case, on questions of law alone.—(See Registration Bill, as amended on second recommitment, Clause 10.)

29. That no such appeal be entertained unless lodged within after the date of such decision, and

brought to hearing within after the same period —(Ibid. Clause 11.)

30. That the registers be amended in pursuance of such decision.—(Ibid. Clause 12)

31. That the provisions of Clauses 13. 14, 15, of that Bill be adopted for this Court, so composed of the three Chairmen.

REPEAL OF AGRICULTURAL TAXES SINCE 1815.

A STATEMENT introduced by Mr. Hume, M.P., in the debate on the Marquis of Chandos' motion on agricultural distress (April 27), of taxes which bore chiefly on agriculture, and which have been reduced or altogether repealed, since the passing of the Corn Bill of 1815, shewing the amount of relief given in each year to the agricultural interest, and the total relief since 1817 to this time, namely,—

	Years.	Amount.
		£
Horses.—Husbandry horses used by farmers at rents under 200*l.* per ann., repealed in	1816	150,119
Mules under 13 hands, carrying coal, ore, &c.	do.	1,156
Horses used by farmers, of farms under 50*l.* rent, and gaining a livelihood principally therefrom, but partly by trade	do.	60,461
Servants.—Labourers in husbandry	do.	5,835
Horses.—Horses ridden by occupiers of farms at less than 200*l.* rent	do.	59,186
Horses employed in carrying coal and wood, where not more than four are kept	do.	3,938
Horses used by bailiffs	do.	273
Mares kept for breeding	1819	3,593
Husbandry horses	1822	470,108
Horses drawing taxed carts exempted from lower rate of duty thereby chargeable at a reduced rate of duty on horses	do.	5,064
Servants.—Husbandry servants, occasionally employed as domestic servants	do.	34,374
Carriages.—Taxed carts at the lower rate of duty	1823	9,310
Horses.—All horses chargeable heretofore at 3*s.* each	do.	4,040
Dogs.—Dogs kept wholly for the care of sheep by farmers at rents under 100*l.* per annum	1824	6,876
Horses.—Horses drawing taxed carts exempted from higher rate of duty thereby chargeable at a reduced rate of duty on horses	do.	11,334
Houses and Windows.—Farmhouses occupied by labourers, and servants retained for husbandry (by 6 Geo. IV. c. 7, s. 36)	do.	6,866
Servants.—Husbandry or trade servants employed as grooms by persons assessed for carriages with less than four wheels	do.	5,076
Carriages.—Taxed carts at the higher rate of duty	do.	20,675
Horses.—Mules carrying coal, ore, &c.	1825	71
Horses occasionally lent to hire by farmers, at rents under 200*l.*	do.	5,637
Carriages.—Common stage carts drawn by one horse	1832	8,716
Servants.—Stewards, bailiffs, overseers, or managers and clerks under them	1833	10,110
Windows.—Windows in farm-houses	1834	35,000
Horses.—Husbandry horses occasionally ridden by farmers at 500*l.* rent per annum	do.	10,000
Ditto, used occasionally for other purposes, or let occasionally for hire	do.	2,000
Horses used by bailiffs, shepherds, &c.	do.	2,000
Dogs.—Shepherds' dogs	do.	3,000
Fire Insurance of implements of husbandry and stock	do.	50,000
Total		£985,824

Mr. Hume made the following calculation of the total amount of the savings to the agriculturists by these reductions, reckoning from the year they were made to the end of the year 1835:—

	Reduced.	Period.	Both inclusive.	£
In 1816.....	£281,695....	19 years,	viz. 1817 to 1835 =	5,352,205
1819.....	3,868...	16 ,,	1820 to 1835 =	61,888
1822.....	470,108....	13 ,,	1823 to 1835 =	6,111,404
1823.....	52,792....	12 ,,	1824 to 1835 =	633,504
1824.....	6,876....	11 ,,	1825 to 1835 =	75,636
1825.....	49,659....	10 ,,	1826 to 1835 =	496,590
1832.....	8,710....	3 ,,	1833 to 1835 =	26,130
1833.....	10,110....	2 ,,	1834 to 1835 =	20,220
1834.....	52,000....	1 ,,	1835 to 1835 =	152,000
				£12,929,577

It is stated, in a note, that some of these duties are applicable to persons in trade, but to a small extent only,—the whole having been repealed for the relief of the agriculturists.

NEW CUSTOMS DUTIES.

THE following Articles, in addition to the list given in the last "Companion," will be subjected in future to a lower and more favourable rate of duty:—

	Proposed duty. £. s. d.	Present duty £ s. d.
Clinkers, called Dutch clinkers (the 1000)	0 10 0	1 2 6
Drugs, not particularly enumerated, or charged with duty in this or any other Act (the cwt.)	0 2 0	0 10 0
Ginger, preserved; the produce of, or imported from, any foreign country (the lb.)	0 0 6	0 1 3
Maps or charts, or parts thereof, namely—		
Plain (each)	0 0 1	0 0 6
Coloured (each)	0 0 2	0 0 6
Marmalade, the produce of, or imported from any foreign country (the lb.)	0 0 6	0 1 3
Nuts, viz. castor nuts or seed (the ton)	0 1 0	0 10 0
Oil, viz. castor oil (the cwt.	0 1 3	See Note (A).
Plate, old, not battered up, having been in the private use of the importer, while residing abroad, and intended for his private use in this kingdom, viz.—		
Silver (the oz.)	0 2 6	0 4 6
Gold (the oz)	1 0 0	3 16 9
Rags, viz. old woollen rags (the ton)	0 1 0	15 per cent.
Rice, rough and in the husk, imported from the West Coast of Africa (the qr.)	0 0 1	0 2 6
Rose wood (the ton)	6 0 0	10 0 0
Spices, viz.—		
Cloves (the lb.)	0 0 6	0 2 0
Mace (the lb.)	0 2 6	0 3 6
Pepper (the lb.)	0 0 6	0 1 0
Pimento (the lb.)	0 0 3	0 0 5
Teak wood (the load)	0 10 0	1 10 0
——— imported from any British Possession within the limits of the East India Company's Charter (the load)	0 0 1	0 0 1
Verdigris (the lb.)	0 0 6	0 1 0
Wax, viz. bees-wax unbleached, the produce of the West Coast of Africa, and imported from thence (the cwt.)	0 10 0	1 10 0
Note (A).		
Oil, viz. castor (the lb.)	0 0 0	0 1 0
——— imported from any British possession (the lb.)	0 0 0	0 0 3
——— the produce of, or imported from, any British possession (the cwt.)	0 0 0	0 2 6

NEW COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA, the proposed site of the new colony of that name, lies between the 132° and 141° of east longitude, and from the south coast it comprehends the islands contiguous to the 26th degree of south latitude, between the Swan River and New South Wales, an extent of country nearly double that of Great Britain. It was discovered by Captain Flinders, of his Majesty's ship "Investigator," who, in 1802, explored the coast.

By Act of Parliament 5 Will. IV. c. 95, his Majesty was empowered to erect South Australia into a British province, and to provide for the colonization and government thereof. The inhabitants are not to be subject to the laws or constitutions of any other part of Australia, but bound by those only which shall be constructed especially for their own territory. It is also enacted that his Majesty shall empower any persons who shall seem fit to be his Privy Council, to frame laws and establish courts, to appoint officers, chaplains, and clergymen of the Established Churches of England or Scotland, and to levy such duties and taxes as may be necessary for the well-being of the colony,—such laws to be laid before the King in Council with all convenient expedition. Three or more Commissioners to be appointed by the Crown to carry the Act into execution; their proceedings to be laid before Parliament once a-year.

No person or persons convicted in any court of justice in Great Britain or Ireland, or elsewhere, shall at any time, or under any circumstances, be transported as a convict to any place within these limits.

When the population amounts to 50,000, the colony will be entitled to a local constitution. The powers of the governor in South Australia are the same as other governors, except in so far as the disposal of the public lands is concerned, which, by the Act, is under the especial control of a resident Commissioner, acting according to the instructions of the Board of his Majesty's Commissioners for South Australia in London. The chief duty of this Board is to take care that the lands be properly surveyed and brought into market, and that the revenue arising from their sale be strictly devoted to the purpose of supplying the colony with labourers. His Majesty has been pleased to nominate as governor, Captain Hindmarsh, R.N., K H. A complete system in reference to the titles of land, as well as for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and for facilitating the transfer of property, has been arranged by James H. Fisher, Esq., the resident Commissioner. No danger can reasonably be apprehended from the natives; and Lord Glenelg has appointed an officer, whose especial duty is indicated by his title, "The Protector of the Aborigines;" and every exertion will be made to cultivate their good-will and to improve their social condition.

Clauses 6 and 7 in the Act relate to the sale of land, and provide regulations for its being brought into cultivation. We give a *verbatim* copy of them:—

VI. "And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall, and they are hereby empowered to declare all the lands of the said province or provinces (excepting only portions which may be reserved for roads or foot-paths) to be public lands open to purchase by British subjects, and to make such orders and regulations for the surveying and sale of such public lands at such price as the said Commissioners may, from time to time, deem expedient, and for the letting of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof, as to the said Commissioners may seem meet, for any period not exceeding three years; and from time to time to alter and revoke such orders and regulations, and to employ the monies from time to time received as the purchase-money of such lands, or as rent of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof, in conducting the emigration of poor persons from Great Britain or Ireland to the said province or provinces: provided always, that no part of the said public lands shall be sold, except in public, for ready money, and either by auction or otherwise, as may seem best to the said Commissioners; but in no case, and at no time for a lower price than the sum of 12*s.* sterling per English acre:—provided also, that the sum per acre which the said Commissioners may declare during any period to be the upset or selling price at which public lands shall be sold shall be an uniform price—that is to say, the same price per acre whatever the quantity or situation of the land put up for sale: provided also, that the whole of the funds, from time to time received as the purchase-money of the said lands, or as the rent of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof, shall constitute an "Emigration Fund," and shall, without any deduction whatsoever, except in the case hereinafter provided for, be employed in conveying poor emigrants from Great Britain or Ireland to the said province or provinces: provided also, that the poor persons who shall, by means of the said "Emigration Fund," be conveyed to the said province or provinces shall, as far as possible, be adult persons of the two sexes in equal proportions, and not exceeding the age of thirty years.

VII. "And be it further enacted, that no poor person having a husband or wife (as the case may be), or a child or children shall, by means of the said "Emigration Fund," obtain a passage to the said province or provinces, unless the husband or wife (as the case may be), or the child or children of such poor person, shall also be conveyed to the said province or provinces."

In compliance with the conditions of the Act of Parliament, the Commissioners have already sold 35,000*l.* worth of land, at 12*s.* per acre; the purchasers having a right to select their land before any other parties. At the 1st of March last, the price of land was advanced to 1*l.* per acre, and all future sales will take place in the colony. Nothing, whether above or below the surface, will be reserved by the Crown. Investments for the purchase of land, conferring a right to select labourers for a free passage, will also be received in this country; and purchasers of land in this country will be allowed the privilege of selecting servants and labourers for a free passage at the rate of one person for every 16*l.* expended in land, provided that the selection is made within a reasonable time, that it is in conformity with the existing regulations for the selection of emigrant labourers, and that there is at the time a want of labour in the colony. In the event of there appearing any tendency to injurious dispersion among the colonists, the Colonial Commissioner shall have authority, after the expiration of three months from the date of the first sales in the colony, to raise the price of land to any sum not exceeding 2*l.* per acre.

The lands comprised within the site of the first town will be divided into 1000 sections of an acre each, and, with the exception of 437 sections already disposed of, will be put up to auction, one section at a time, at the upset price of 1*l.*

Leases of the pasturage of unsold lands will be granted on the following conditions among others:—The term to be three years, the tenant having a right of renewal in preference to any other applicant. Cultivation of the soil and the felling of timber to be disallowed. The land, or any portion of it, to be liable to sale, and if sold, the lease to terminate on a notice of two months, the tenant having a right of renewal to unsold portions. The yearly rent to be 10*s.* sterling per square mile to proprietors of land in the colony (each being restricted to one square mile of pasturage for every forty acres of land he may possess), and 40*s.* sterling per square mile to non-proprietors, or to proprietors for any quantity exceeding the stated allowance. No lease to contain any fractional part of a square mile of pasturage.

Any one who shall hereafter pay in advance to the proper officer, either in England or in the colony, the price of 4000 acres of land or upwards, shall have a right, for every 4000 acres thus paid for, to call on the Colonial Commissioner to direct the survey of any compact district within the colony of an extent not exceeding 15,000 acres; and, within fourteen days after the publication of such surveys at the Land Office, to select his land from any part of such district before any other applicant.

An accurate statement of all purchases of land made, and leases of pasturage granted, specifying the quantity and situation in each case, and the name of the purchaser or tenant, will be published from time to time in the "Colonial Gazette."

The infant settlement will receive about 874 emigrants during the present season. The Surveyor-General, and his staff of assistant surveyors, sailed from Gravesend on the 4th of May, in the "Rapid" brig, which had been furnished with a very complete set of surveying instruments, and provisions, clothing, and other stores for twelve months.

The "Cygnet," a vessel of 239 tons preceded the "Rapid," and carried out the chief assistant surveyor and a number of labourers. It is intended thoroughly to examine the coast, and as much as possible of the interior, with the view of ascertaining the fittest spot for the site of the future capital; and it is expected that the ground for the first new town will have been marked out before the arrival of the Governor and the main body of the colonists.

A clergyman has been appointed as pastor of the colony; and the frame of a church, capable of holding 750 souls, is to be sent out by one of the next vessels. The sum of 700*l.* has been subscribed already, to be applied to religious purposes in the colony.

It is proposed to establish a school for the education of the children of the emigrants; and a high school upon an extensive scale, for the purpose of providing the means of superior education to the colonists, not only of South Australia, but of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. Madras is only six weeks' sail from South Australia, and it is conceived that many children of Anglo-Indian parents, instead of being separated from home for years, would be sent to school in the colony, if an establishment of a superior kind were founded. A sort of pleasure town, or watering place, might also be established, which would attract invalids from India, who at present are obliged either to make a long voyage to England, where the climate is inferior and less suitable than that of South Australia, or they are compelled to undergo the fatigue of an inland journey to a temperate northern latitude.

The first number of a weekly newspaper, entitled the "South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register," has already been published in London—the capital of the civilized world. The second number, as the conductors state, will be issued "in a city of the wilderness of which the site is yet unknown." In reference to this interesting part of the concerns of the new colony, the following explanations are given:—

"It may be thought that in a colony, the population of which at the outset must necessarily be limited, the establishment of a Journal like the present is premature. That we do not think so, the fact of types precisely similar to those which have printed what the reader now holds in his hands, printers, presses, paper, and the whole *material* of a newspaper, being already on shipboard, and bound to South Australia, sufficiently proves. But the history of the progress of a colony founded upon principles which are believed to be the true principles of colonization, ought, we think, to be a source of deep and permanent interest to every one who has at heart the welfare of our poor and the increase of the prosperity of our country; and as our Journal is intended not as a vehicle for the diffusion of political or party opinions, but as the simple record of the proceedings of a new colony which professes to commence with the elements of society already formed, and society itself to a certain extent, matured, with a government organized and complete, and to be conducted on the principle of selling unoccupied land to the settler, and expending the price received for it in providing him with labourers to render it productive and valuable, we are led to the conclusion that our Register may find its way into the hands of the statesman and philanthropist at home, by whom the importance of this experiment on society in England, and on the future well-being of all her colonial possessions, must be at once discovered."

From the above facts it will be seen that the colony of South Australia is constituted on different principles to those which have hitherto chiefly been acted upon in forming new settlements. The ruin of the Swan River settlers was occasioned by gratuitous grants of land. Mr. Peel had a grant of 500,000 acres, and was nearly in a state of starvation; as his labourers deserted him, and procured land on equally easy conditions and almost to any extent. They imagined that land was wealth, forgetting that labour alone could give it value. This fatal error will be avoided in South Australia, and its hopes of prosperity will rest upon the combination of capital and labour. It is stated in the "South Australian Gazette," that "The due proportion between land and labour will be preserved by the only possible means—namely, by selling all new land for money, to be paid *before* the purchaser obtains possession of it. This, too, will be accomplished without at all infringing upon the liberty of appropriation. Any quantity of land may be purchased by public sale, and at a fixed price, such price not being less than as at present—namely, 20*s.* per acre, subject, of course, to advance, in case the present price of 20*s.* per acre should not be found sufficient for the only object with which any price is required—namely, the retention of hired labour in the colony; which object can be attained no otherwise than by putting upon all new land such a price as will prevent every labourer from becoming a landowner until he shall have worked for hire for a few years. This regulation will ensure the supply of a proper quantity of land, and no more than a proper quantity. The field of production will always be proportioned to the number of producers or labourers. Hurtful dispersion, and separation of the colonists, or the ruinous cutting up of capital and labour into fractions, will be unknown."

As, therefore, the Act of Parliament declares, that the whole of the funds arising from the sale of land, and the rent of pasturage, shall form an emigration fund, to be employed in affording a free passage to the colony from Great Britain and Ireland for poor persons, "provided that they shall, as far as possible, be adult persons of the two sexes in equal proportions, and not exceeding the age of thirty years," any emigrant capitalist, or other party, who may be desirous of fitting out a vessel for the colony, from any port of Great Britain or Ireland, will be allowed to carry out, at the charge of the Commissioners, any approved emigrants who may offer themselves in the neighbourhood of such port, provided that the arrangements for securing the comforts and safety of the emigrants on their passage are approved of by the Commissioners, and that the charge per head does not exceed that for emigrants leaving the port of London. The same allowance to be made for any of the crew of the vessel who are of the proper description of emigrants, provided they go out as colonists to engage in the coasting trade or fisheries, and that satisfactory security can be given for their continuing such for at least three years. Provided also, that their families, if any, shall be resident in the colony.

The following is from the official account given by the Commissioners under the Act for erecting South Australia into a British Province, and will best illustrate the principles upon which they act in reference to land and labour:—

1. "The characteristic feature of the plan of colonization laid down by the Act of Parliament is a certain means for securing a sufficient supply of free labour.

2. "This is accomplished by requiring every applicant for colonial land, in order to entitle himself to a grant, to pay a certain sum per acre to a general fund, to be employed in carrying our labourers.

3. "The EMIGRATION FUND thus raised is placed under the management of the Commissioners, whose duty it is to regulate the rate of payment, so as to obtain neither too large nor too small a number of labourers; and by the selection of young healthy persons of good character, and of both sexes, in equal numbers, to render the fund as efficient for the purposes of the colony as possible.

4. "This arrangement secures many very important advantages. First. Having provided a sufficient supply of *free* labour, the Act of Parliament declares that no *convicts* shall be sent to the settlement, and thus the colonists are protected from the enormous evils which result from the immorality and profligacy unavoidable in a penal settlement.—Secondly. As the labourers will be carried out at the common cost of the landowners by means of the Emigration Fund, and as they will be sufficiently numerous, it is not necessary that they should be *indentured* to any one. Both employers and labourers will be perfectly free to enter into any arrangements which may be mutually agreed upon—a state of things which experience has shewn to be much more conducive to contentment and prosperity than any other.—Thirdly. The contribution to the Emigration Fund being a necessary preliminary to the acquisition of land, labourers taken out comfree, before becoming landowners, and thus ceasing to work for others, will furnish the means of carrying out other labourers to supply their places. This arrangement, the fairness of which must be obvious to every one, is really beneficial, not only to those who are landowners in the first instance, but to those also who may become such by a course of industry and frugality; for while it diminishes the injurious facility with which, in most new colonies,

person with scarcely any capital can become a petty landowner or *cottier*—a temptation which few have sufficient strength of mind to resist, notwithstanding the state is one of incessant care and toil—it holds out a prospect of real independence and comfort to those who will patiently wait the very few years which are necessary to enable any one, with colonial wages, to acquire sufficient capital to purchase land and become a master.—Fourthly. As those who will cultivate their land, and thus require many labourers, will contribute no more to the Emigration Fund than those who may leave it waste, the non-cultivation of extensive appropriated districts—one of the chief obstacles to the progress of every colony hitherto established—will be greatly discouraged, if not altogether prevented.

5. "In determining the amount of contribution to the Emigration Fund, the Commissioners are required, at any given time, to make a uniform charge per acre, whatever may be the situation or quality of the land granted, and in no case to fix the charge at less than 12*s.* per acre. The payment is made once only,—namely, when the party receives a grant of the land, which grant gives him an absolute and unconditional title to the estate, the Crown making no reserve whatever.

6. "As the contribution to the Emigration Fund is the sole condition of obtaining land, the amount of contribution is described in the Act of Parliament and in the following regulations, as its price. It is worthy of remark, however, that as the Commissioners are required to expend the Emigration Fund, without any deduction whatever, in carrying out labourers, the whole contribution is returned to those who make it, in the form of passage-money for their labourers; and therefore, strictly speaking, it is not land, but the facility of obtaining labour, which is bought. It is important that this principle should be steadily kept in view by those who may desire to understand the plan on which the colony will be formed."

The "South Australian Gazette" contains the following account of the spontaneous productions of the land and water in South Australia:—

Slate, quarries of which are formed on Kangaroo Island, which might be exported to the Isle of France, where no other roofing is used.

Coal, which has been discovered in every part of Australia, and marts for which may be found at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Java, Canton, Sincapore, and the Isle of France.

Wood, adapted for cabinet-making and for ship-building.

Bark, containing the tanning principle to a highly concentrated degree.

Gums, particularly gum-arabic and manna.

Salt, in great quantities, marketable in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, where it is much inferior.

The Seal Fishery, both in furs and oil, will prove a valuable speculation.

The Sperm and Black Whale Fishery will afford some of the most important and lucrative articles of export.

Those productions which *now* form the articles of export from Australia, are—

Wheat and Flour, a ready market for which is found in the Isle of France, and in which the facility of labour renders it likely that the new colony will supersede the supplies from Van Diemen's Land, which are at present sent to Sydney.

Fine Wool will likewise be exported to this country, for "although land is uniformly to be sold instead of being given away, such arangement is not meant to prevent the occupation of land for breeding purposes without purchase, only on the distinct understanding that it shall not be cultivated or used in any other way." Individuals thus employing their capital in the new colony will have an advantage over the capitalists of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land, in the greater facility of obtaining shepherds, wool-dressers, &c. The Australian wools are now so much esteemed, they so decidedly govern the wool-markets, and, moreover, have been a source of so great wealth to her sister colonies, that it is unnecessary to expatiate on the advantages which must accrue from a judicious selection and management of sheep in South Australia.

Hides, Tallow, and Horns will naturally follow in time as articles of export.

Tobacco, from the constant labour and attention it requires, has not hitherto been exported from Australia, but it is recommended as one of the first articles to which the capitalist should direct his attention.

Many articles are now imported into the Australian colonies, which, with a combination of labour, might be cultivated there with profit; among these is Wine, the soil and climate offering peculiar advantages for the cultivation of the grape.

Flax and Hemp, which, although not indigenous, might be introduced with success. The flax of New Zealand is particularly excellent.

Cotton would form another article of export. Almonds, aniseed, bees'-wax and honey, barilla, cheese, for India and China, carraway, cochineal, coriander, dried fruits, hops, vegetable oils, olives, citrons, oranges, &c., &c., may all be produced, with an article first in the scale of importance—silk.

The sailing distance from England to Port Lincoln is 105 days: from Java, 18 days; Madras, 33 days; Cape of Good Hope, 40; Ceylon, 32; Sydney, 12; Van Diemen's Land, 6.

Every necessary information may be obtained by persons desirous of emigrating, at the office of the Commissioners in London.

CONVEYANCE OF NEWSPAPERS.

The Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Conveyance of Newspapers by the Post, enacts—

1. That all newspapers sent by the General Post, within the United Kingdom, shall go free.

2. That all newspapers sent through the General Post, and delivered by the Penny or Twopenny Post, and *vice versâ*, go free.

3. That newspapers sent by the Twopenny Post only pay 1*d.*, and may be sent within post towns at the like rate.

4. That newspapers sent from the United Kingdom by packets to the Colonies, shall go free; as also newspapers sent by packets from the Colonies to the United Kingdom.

5. That newspapers may be sent from one Colony to another, *via* United Kingdom, by packet-boat, free of postage.

6. That newspapers sent from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, by private ships, shall pay 1*d.*

7. That newspapers brought into the United Kingdom from the Colonies, by private ships, shall pay 1*d.*

8. That newspapers to or from foreign countries shall pay 2*d.*; but that if any foreign State receives or sends newspapers to or from the United Kingdom free of duty, then no duty shall be charged on newspapers to or from such State, if by packet-boat; or if by other vessels, then only 1*d.*

9. That 1*d.* be paid masters of private ships for each newspaper.

10. That newspapers be sent without a cover, or in a cover open at the side, without writing or marks.

11. That they be put into the Post Office within seven days after date, if going out of the United Kingdom.

12. That the Postmaster-General shall be authorized to search, and charge treble postage, &c. The sender to be liable to treble duty on attempt to evade the duty of postage.

13. Newspapers re-directed are to be forwarded free of postage, if not opened.

CLOSE OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

On Saturday, August 20th, his Majesty proceeded in state from St. James's Palace to the House of Lords, for the purpose of proroguing Parliament. His Majesty delivered the following Speech as soon as the Commons had been summoned:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The state of the public business enables me at length to relieve you from further attendance in Parliament; and in terminating your labours, I have again to acknowledge the zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the public business, and the attention which you have bestowed upon the important subjects which I brought under your consideration at the opening of the Session.

"The assurances of friendly dispositions which I receive from all Foreign Powers enable me to congratulate you upon the prospect that peace will continue undisturbed.

"I lament deeply that the internal state of Spain still renders that country an exception to the general tranquillity of Europe; and I regret that the hopes which have been entertained of the termination of the civil war have not hitherto been realized. In fulfilment of the engagements which I contracted by the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance, I have afforded to the Queen of Spain the co-operation of a part of my naval force, and I continue to look with unabated solicitude to the restoration of that internal peace in Spain which was one of the main objects of the Quadruple Treaty, and which is so essential to the interests of all Europe.

"I am happy to be able to inform you that my endeavours to remove the misunderstanding which had arisen between France and the United States have been crowned with complete success. The good offices which for that purpose I tendered to the two Governments were accepted by both in the most frank and conciliatory spirit; and the relations of friendship have been re-established between them in a manner satisfactory and honourable to both parties. I trust that this circumstance will tend to draw still closer the ties which connect this country with two great and friendly nations.

"I have regarded with interest your deliberations upon the Reports of the Commission appointed to consider the state of the dioceses in England and Wales; and I have cheerfully given my assent to the measures which have been presented to me for carrying into effect some of their most important recommendations.

"It is with no ordinary satisfaction that I have learned that you have with great labour brought to maturity enactments upon the difficult subject of tithe of England and Wales, which will, I trust, prove in their operation equitable to all the interests concerned, and generally beneficial in their results.

"The passing of the Acts for civil registration and for marriages in England has afforded me much satisfaction. Their provisions have been framed upon those large principles of religious freedom which, with a due regard to the welfare of the Established Church in this country, I have always been desirous of maintaining and promoting; and they will also conduce to the greater certainty of titles, and to the stability of property.

"It has been to me a source of the most lively gratification to observe the tranquillity which has prevailed, and the diminution of crimes which has lately taken place in Ireland. I trust that perseverance in a just and impartial system of government will encourage this good disposition, and enable that country to develope her great natural resources."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you for the liberality with which you have voted, not only the ordinary supplies of the year, but the additional sums required to provide for an increase in my naval force.

"I am also gratified to perceive that you have made provision for the full amount of the compensation awarded to the owners of slaves in my colonial possessions, and that the obligations entered into by the Legislature have thus been strictly fulfilled.

"The increased productiveness of the public revenue has enabled you to meet these charges, and at the same time to repeal or reduce taxes, of which some were injurious in their effects upon my people, and others unequal in their pressure upon various parts of my dominions abroad.

"The present condition of manufactures and commerce affords a subject of congratulation, provided the activity which prevails be guided by that caution and prudence which experience has proved to be necessary to stable prosperity."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The advanced period of the year, and the length of time during which you have been engaged in public affairs, must render you desirous of returning to your respective counties. You will there resume those duties which are in importance inferior only to your legislative functions; and your influence and example will greatly conduce to the maintenance of tranquillity, the encouragement of industry, and the confirmation of those moral and religious habits and principles which are essential to the well-being of every community."

THE NEXT SESSION.

THE following are a few of the Notices of Motions which now stand in the Order Book of the House of Commons for the next Session:—

Mr. Buckingham,—Select Committee, to consider the best means of improving the forms of proceeding in the House of Commons, so as to ensure greater certainty and regularity in the order in which the various motions and Bills are to be brought on for discussion, as well as to secure to the public more faithful and accurate reports of the real business transacted by their representatives.

Mr. Buckingham,—Select Committee, to consider the best means of checking the progress of juvenile depravity in the populous towns of the kingdom.

Mr. Charles Buller,—Bill or Bills founded on the Report of the Select Committee on Controverted Elections.

Mr. Ewart,—Address for the appointment of a minister of education, regularly to lay before this House a report of the progress of the people in education and the arts.

Mr. Ewart,—Bill providing that, in case of intestacy, and in the absence of any settlement to the contrary, landed property shall be equally divided among the children, male and female, of the deceased; that such property shall pass, like personal property, through the hands of the executors, and be liable for the debts of the deceased.

Mr. Ewart,—That the Strangers' Gallery be opened to the public without a Member's Order, as well as without fee to any officer of the House.

Mr. Ewart,—Bill to give in all criminal cases the right of the last word to the accused.

Mr. Gillon,—To call the attention of the House to the unequal rates of taxation levied upon the different modes of internal communication, as unjust in themselves, as tending to discourage free competition, and thus highly prejudicial to the public interests.

Mr. Heathcote (of South Lincoln),—That the duties charged on wool imported from France be raised to the same paid on English wool imported into that country; unless the French duties be in the mean time placed on an equality with our own.

Mr. Barlow Hoy,—Select Committee, to inquire into the state of the law respecting benefit societies.

Mr, Hume,—Select Committee, to inquire into the establishment of the Mint, and its proceedings in regard to the coinage; and the laws respecting the metallic currency of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Mackinnon,—To renew the Patent Laws Amendment Bill for securing to individuals the benefit of their inventions.

Mr. O'Connell,—To move, that it be referred to a Committee, to inquire and report whether it be not necessary for the public weal of this realm, to reform the House of Lords by extending the principle of representation in the Peerage, and altering the quality of the electors and the mode of election.

Mr. O'Connell,—To move a Resolution, that it is the opinion of this House that, in justice to the Protestant Dissenters and Catholics of England and Wales, all church-rates ought to be defrayed out of the temporalities of the Established Church, as is the case in Ireland.

Sir Love Parry,—To call the attention of the House to the state of education in the Principality of Wales, with a view to confer that benefit on the poorer classes so essential to them, and to the nation.

Mr. Mark Philips,—To move the repeal of the duty on raw cotton.

Mr. Robinson,—Repeal or reduction of the duty on marine insurances.

Mr. Ruthven,—Bill to amend the law which obliges all shareholders in, and proprietors of, newspapers in Ireland, to be registered, so as to place newspaper property in Ireland on the same footing as it is at present in England.

Mr. Poulett Scrope, — Bill for opening a mendicity asylum in every Poor Law Union in England and Wales.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd,—To call the attention of the House to the law of copyright, with a view to the extension of the time during which the interest of authors in their works shall continue.

Mr. Arthur Trevor,—To move, as an amendment to the notice given by the Member for Kilkenny relative to the House of Lords, that the same be expunged from the Journals of the House.

Mr. Arthur Trevor,—That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to take into consideration the expediency of granting a charter for conferring degrees to the University of Durham.

Mr. Wakley,—Select Committee to inquire into the nature and effects of the measures which have been provided in the unions and parishes of England and Wales, for supplying with medical attendance and medicines all sick persons who may be, or may have been, entitled to receive parochial relief under the existing, or any former poor-laws.

Mr. Wallace,—Bill to enable the inhabitants of every town in Great Britain and Ireland to convey their correspondence from place to place in any manner they shall see proper, provided the Post Office shall, on application being made, decline to carry it at least once a-day, and charge only the usual legal rate of postage on the distance by the direct carriage-road; also, to enable the inhabitants of every town to establish parcel-posts, similar to those in and around London, and to convey their correspondence and parcels by stage-coaches or other means, provided the Post Office shall decline to establish such posts.

Mr. Wallace,—Committee to inquire into the communication by post between London and Aberdeen by way of Edinburgh and Dundee; also from London to Glasgow by Carlisle; also between Liverpool and Glasgow.

Mr. Ward,—Bill for the better regulation of the metropolitan sewers.

Mr. Ward,—Bill for the sale of waste lands in the British colonies, and for the formation of an emigration fund out of the proceeds, founded upon the Resolutions of the Colonial Lands Committee.

Mr. Rigby Wason,—That the system which permits Members of the House of Commons to vote in Committees on Private Bills, without having heard the whole of the evidence adduced, is inconsistent with the first principles of justice, and ought to be altered.

Mr. Wilks,—Bill to amend the provision of the Reform Act, under which tenants at 50*l.* per annum are entitled to vote for counties, or for extending the elective franchise for counties.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

Bills which have received the Royal Assent.

August 13.

Customs Bill.
Spirits (Excise) Bill.
Paper Duties Bill.
Stamp Duties on Newspapers Bill (No. 2).
Postage on Newspapers Bill.
Assessed Taxes Bill.
Tithes Commutation Bill.
Established Church Bill.
Bills of Exchange Bill.
Horse Patrol Bill.
Foreign Lotteries Bill.
School Rooms Bill.
Land Tax Commissioners Bill.
Ecclesiastical Leases Bill.
Ecclesiastical Appointments Suspension Bill.
Ottoman Dominions Consul Bill.
Highway Rates Bill.
Lighthouses Bill.
Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill.
Cape of Good Hope Offences Bill.
Court of Exchequer (Scotland) Bill.
Gold and Silver Plate (Scotland) Bill.
Cessio Bonorum (Scotland) Bill.
Civil Bill Courts (Ireland) Bill.
Court of Chancery (Ireland) Bill.
Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill.
Richmond Penitentiary (Ireland) Bill.
Copyright (Ireland) Bill.
Owners of Vessels Liability (Ireland) Bill.
Edinburgh, Leith, and Newhaven Railway Bill.
Dublin and Drogheda Railway Bill.
Metropolitan Suspension Bridge Bill.
Hungerford and Lambeth Suspension Bridge Bill.
Liverpool Court of Record Bill.
Admiralty Jurisdiction (Prince of Wales's Island, &c.,) Bill.
Western Australia Bill.
Dean and Chapter of Worcester's Estate Bill.
Horton's Estate Bill.

August 17.

Slave-owners Compensation Bill.
Slave Treaties Bill.
Militia Ballots Suspension Bill.
Registration of Births, &c. Bill.
Marriages Bill.
Secular Jurisdiction (York and Ely) Bill.
Medical Witnesses Bill.
Oxford (St. Clement's) Marriages Bill.
Creditors (Scotland) Bill.
Exchequer Offices (Ireland) Bill.
Valuation of Lands (Ireland) Bill.
Sunk Island Road Bill.
London Cemetery Bill.
Lord Langford's Estate Bill

August 19.

Pension Duties Bill.
Militia Pay Bill.
Slave Treaties Bill.
Parochial Assessment Bill.
Tithe Composition (Ireland) Bill.
Westminster Small Debts Bill.
Anniesland Road Bill.

August 20.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.
Exchequer Bills (£14,007,950) Bill.
Prisoners Counsel Bill.
Exchequer Suits Bill.
Borough Funds Bill.
Borough Justice Administration Bill.
Lists of Voters Bill.
County Elections Bill.
Copyright Bill.
Conviction Bill.
Common Fields Inclosure Bill.
Poor Law Loans Bill.
Stannaries Courts Bill.
Coal Trade Bill.
Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill.
Public Works (Ireland) Bill.
Grand Jury Presentments (Ireland) Bill.
Corporate Property (Ireland) Bill.
Kingstown Harbour Bill.

LIST OF BILLS BROUGHT IN.

House of Commons.

July 22. Bill to amend two Acts of 4 and 5 Will. IV. relating to the temporalities of the Church of Ireland.

— Bill to enable tenants for life of estates in Ireland to make improvements in their estates, and to charge the inheritance with the monies expended in such improvements.

— Bill to promote the reclamation and improvement of uncultivated lands in Ireland.

— 23. Bill to enable the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to make a road in Sunk Island, Yorkshire.

— 23. Bill to prevent the advertising of foreign and other illegal lotteries.

— Bill for granting relief from the duties of assessed taxes, and on stage carriages, in certain cases, and to regulate the charging of the duty payable for taking or killing game, in Great Britain, and to provide for the collection of certain local taxes in Scotland.

— 25. Bill to explain and amend an Act of the present Session for imposing certain restrictions on the removal of leases by ecclesiastical persons.

— 26. Bill for suspending appointments to certain dignities and offices in cathedral and collegiate churches, and to sinecure rectories.

— Bill to amend Act 17 Geo. III., for preventing frauds and abuses by persons employed in the manufacture of hats, and in the woollen, linen, fustian, cotton, iron, leather, fur, hemp, flax, mohair, and silk manufacture, and also for making provisions to prevent frauds by journeymen dyers.

— 29. Bill to establish a council and auditors in every county in England and Wales for the better management of county-rates, and for amending the laws relating thereto.

— Bill to repeal so much of an Act of the 28th of Geo. III. as prevents more than five persons joining in the coal trade.

July 29. Bill to amend an Act for enabling his Majesty to carry into effect a Convention (Greek loan) made between his Majesty the King of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Bavaria.

August 2. Bill for the regulation of the offices of Vice-Treasurer and Teller of the Exchequer in Ireland.

— Bill to suspend for a limited time the making of lists and the ballots and enrolments for the militia of the United Kingdom.

— 5. Bill for carrying into further execution the Act for compensating owners of slaves upon the abolition of slavery.

— Bill to authorize his Majesty by Orders in Council to carry into immediate execution any treaties, conventions, or stipulations made with any Foreign Power for the suspension of the slave trade.

— 8. Bill to defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain and Ireland.

— Bill to regulate the landlords' right to hypothec in Scotland.

— Bill to continue an Act of 54th Geo. III., for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

— Bill to amend an Act of 1st and 2nd Will. IV., for the extension and formation of public works in Ireland.

— 9. Bill to provide for certain cases in which elections have not been duly made according to the provisions of the Act to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales.

— Bill to extend the period for the repayment of loans made under the amended Poor Law Act.

— Bill to suspend proceedings for recovering payment of the money advanced under the Act for establishing tithe compositions in Ireland.

— Bill to repeal two Acts of Geo. II., for recovery of debts in Westminster.

— 13. Bill to legalize certain lists of voters and of claims and objections for the present year.

— Bill for the better administration of justice in certain boroughs.

— Bill for the better administration of the borough fund in certain boroughs.

— Bill to make temporary provision for the boundaries of certain boroughs.

— Bill to amend an Act of 9th Geo. IV., relative to the preservation of the salmon fisheries in Scotland.

LIST OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

House of Commons.

July 29. Committee to prepare estimates of the charge of the disembodied militia for a year, to 31st March, 1837.

New Member.

For Newcastle-upon-Tyne, John Hodgson, Esq., in the room of Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart., deceased. The election was contested, and the poll closed as follows:—Mr. Hodgson, 1576; Capt. Blackett, 1528. Majority 48.

New Writs Issued.

For the county Down, in the room of Lord Arthur Hill, now Lord Sandys, called up to the House of Peers.

For Sheffield, in the room of John Parker, Esq., appointed one of the Lords' Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

For the borough of Warwick, in the room of Sir Charles Greville, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

For the eastern division of the county of Cumberland, in the room of W. Blamire, Esq., appointed Chief Commissioner for the Commutation of Tithes.

The representation of the borough of Calne is vacant by the death of the Earl of Kerry.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

The Twenty-second Report has been issued since the publication of the last 'Companion.'

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Parliamentary.		
Ballot, in favour	15	11,616
Ecclesiastical.		
Benefices Plurality Bill, against	2	31
Church of Ireland Bill, against	14	1,384
Church Rates, abolition of	78	16,109
Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, for compensation	4	4
Ditto, against	1	118
Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill, in favour	23	7,554
Lord's Day Bill, in favour	958	141,447
Maynooth College, against any grant	10	1,431
Secular Jurisdiction (York and Ely) Abolition Bill, against	2	733
Tithe on Fish, against	11	870
Tithes (Ireland), for restoration	1	427
Tithes (Ireland), for abolition	410	237,206
Colonies.		
East and West India Produce	17	1,388
Negro Apprenticeship	18	49,991
Taxes.		
Benefit Building Societies Bill, in favour	17	629
Edinburgh Annuity Tax	6	700
Newspaper Stamps, in favour of proposed reduction	1	14
" " for repeal of duty	582	130,414
" " (Ireland), against assimilation	5	1,545
Paper Duties, relative to drawback	9	376
Receipt Stamps	3	2,277
Spirit Licenses, for repeal of the additional duty	158	15,355
Stamp Duties Bill, for provision	1	1
Tea Duties Act	1	1
Trust Deeds, complaining of costs of renewal	5	696
Miscellaneous.		
Agricultural Distress	128	43,085
Beer Shops	7	2,018
Biscuit and Flour	2	138
Burghs of Barony (Scotland) Bill, in favour	17	3,508
Charitable Trustees Bill, against	3	53
Coal Trade	3	638
Common Law Courts Bill	1	1
Criminal Laws	58	5,017
Crown Lands (Wales)	5	488
Donlan's Flax	1	1
Edinburgh Mail	7	7
Excise Licenses (Ireland) Bill, against	2	56
Factories Act Amendment Bill, against	117	18,182
Hand-Loom Weavers	42	31,281
Joint-Stock Banks, praying that private banks be required to make returns to the Secret Committee on Joint-Stock Banks	21	169
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Bill, in favour	18	20,904
Malt, for removal of restriction	1	112
Medical Practitioners under the Poor Law Act	9	425
Medical Witnesses Bill, in favour	43	1,990
Municipal Corporations Act, for amendment	7	494
Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Bill, in favour of Lords' amendments	22	13,663
" " against Lords' amendments	534	423,500
Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Bill, against	34	11,210
" " " in favour	28	9,295
Parish Vestries Bill, in favour	6	1,835
Poor Law Amendment Act, for alteration	11	1,556
" " " for repeal	32	8,403
Sale of Beer Act, praying that retailers of beer may be placed on the same footing as licensed victuallers	23	6,179
Turnpike Trusts Consolidation Bill, against	120	2,306

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON RAILWAY BILLS.

Amendments to the general rules on Petitions for Bills.

THAT the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Standing Orders do hereafter consist of fifteen Members.

That a Select Committee, consisting of forty-two Members, (not being Members of the Select Committee on Standing Orders,) shall be appointed at the commencement of every Session, to which shall be referred all petitions for Private Bills, except those for Bills to continue or amend any Act for making, maintaining, keeping in repair or improving any turnpike road.

That the said Committee have leave to make regulations for the transaction of business, and shall divide themselves into Sub-Committees, consisting of seven Members at the least.

That five be the quorum of any such Sub-Committee.

That before such Committee the compliance with the Standing Orders shall be proved, and any parties shall be at liberty to appear and be heard by themselves, their agents, and witnesses, upon any petition which may be referred to the Committee, complaining of a non-compliance with the Standing Orders, provided the matter complained of be specifically stated in such petition.

That when such Committee shall report to the House that the Standing Orders have not been complied with, they do report the facts upon which their decision is founded, and any special circumstances connected with the case.

That the Select Committee on Standing Orders shall thereupon determine whether the Standing Orders ought or ought not to be dispensed with, and do report the same to the House accordingly.

That there be seven clear days between the day on which the petition for any Private Bill relating to England shall be presented and the day on which the Committee shall sit thereupon; and fourteen days, in case such Bill shall relate to Scotland or Ireland.

That three clear days' notice be given of the meeting of such Committee.

That no Committee on any Private Bill shall have power to examine into the compliance with the Standing Orders, unless by the special direction of the House.

That the said Orders shall not apply to petitions for Bills, which, according to the rules and practice of the House, it may not be necessary to refer to a Committee.

That all notices required to be given in the Private Bill Office be delivered in the said office before six o'clock in the evening.

Railways: amended Standing Orders for next Session.

That when any application is intended to be made to the House for leave to bring in a Bill for making any railway, or for varying, extending, or enlarging any railway already authorized to be made, or for continuing or amending any Act passed for any of those purposes, or for the increase or alteration of the existing tolls, rates, or duties upon any such railway; notices of such intended application be given.

That such notices (except as hereinafter mentioned,) do contain the names of the parishes and townships from, in, through, and into which any such railway is intended to be made, varied, extended, or enlarged; and if an increase or alteration in any existing tolls, rates, or duties is intended to be proposed, the intention of proposing such increase or alteration be expressed therein. But in case any such Bill shall be for the purpose only of increasing or altering any existing tolls, rates, or duties, or of continuing or amending any former Act, solely for the purpose of tolls, it shall not be necessary to insert in such notices the names of the several parishes and townships.

That such notices be inserted three times in the months of August, September, October, and November of this year, or either of them, in some one and the same newspaper of every county in or through which any such railway is intended to be made, or in which such railway, already authorized to be made, is intended to be varied, extended, or enlarged, or if there is no such paper printed therein respectively, then in the newspaper of some county adjoining thereto.

That a map or plan and section of the whole of such intended railway, and also of any intended variation, extension, or enlargement of any railway authorized to be made, upon a scale of not less than four inches to a mile, shall be deposited for public inspection at the office of the clerk of the peace of every county, riding, or division, in or through which such railway, or such variation, extension, or enlargement is intended to be made, on or before the 30th day of November next, which map or plan shall describe the line of such intended railway, or of such intended variation, extension, or enlargement, and the lands in or through which the same is intended to be made, together with a book of reference, containing a list of the names of the owners or reputed owners, lessees or reputed lessees, and occupiers of such lands respectively; and where such railway or such variation, extension, or enlargement, is intended to pass through any buildings, yards, court-yards, or land within the curtilage of any building, or through any ground cultivated as gardens, an additional plan of such buildings, yards, land, and ground, and of the said railway, shall be laid down upon a scale of not less than a quarter of an inch to every 100 feet.

That such section shall be drawn to the same horizontal scale as the plan, and to a vertical scale of not less than one inch to every 100 feet, and shall show the surface of the ground in the line of railway marked on the plan, and shall also have marked on it a line showing the railway line when finished (which line shall correspond with the upper surface of the rails), and a datum horizontal line, which datum line shall be the same throughout the whole length of the railway, and shall be referred to some fixed point stated on the section.

That a vertical measure from such datum line to the line of the railway shall be marked, in feet and inches at each change of the gradient or inclination, and that the proportion or rate of inclination between each such change shall also be marked.

That the height of the railway over or under the surface of the ground shall be marked in figures at least twice in every mile, and also at every crossing of a turnpike-road and public carriage-road, navigable river, canal or railway, or junction with a railway, and that it shall be stated on the section, whether any and what alteration in the present level of such turnpike-road, carriage-road, river, canal, or railway is intended to be made.

That where tunnelling or arching is intended, the same shall be marked both on the plan and section.

That the clerks of the peace, or their respective deputies, do make a memorial in writing upon the map or plan, section, and book of reference so deposited with them, denoting the time at which the same were deposited in their respective offices, and do at all seasonable hours of the day permit any person to view and examine the same, and to make copies or extracts therefrom, such person paying for the same the sum of 1*s.* for every such inspection, and the further sum of 1*s.* for every hour during which such inspection shall continue after the first hour.

That within one calendar month from the time when the map or plan and section shall have been deposited with the clerk of the peace, a copy of so much of the said map or plan and section as relates to each parish, through which any railway is intended to be made, varied, extended, or enlarged, together with a book of reference thereto, shall be deposited with the parish clerk of each such parish in England, the schoolmaster of each such parish in Scotland, and the postmaster of the post town in or nearest to such parish in Ireland, for the inspection of all persons concerned, at all seasonable hours of the day, such person paying for each inspection the sum of 1*s.*

That within one calendar month from the time when the map or plan and section shall have been deposited with the clerk of the peace, a copy of the said map or plan, section, and book of reference, shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office of this House, and that a memorial in writing of the receipt thereof be indorsed by one of the clerks of the said office upon such map or plan, section, and book of reference.

That before any application is made to the House for a Bill for making any railway, or for varying, extending, or enlarging any railway already made, previous application in writing be made to the owners or reputed owners, lessees or reputed lessees, and be sent to their usual place of abode in the United Kingdom, or, in their absence, to their agents respectively, and to the occupiers of the lands through which any such railway is intended to be made,

varied, extended, or enlarged, and that such applications shall be made on or before the 31st day of December next, and that separate lists be made of the names of such owners, lessees, and occupiers, distinguishing which of them upon such application have assented to or dissented from such intended railway, or such variation, extension, or enlargement, or are neuter in respect thereof.

That before any petition shall be presented to the House for making any railway, or for varying, extending, or enlarging any such railway already made, the lists mentioned in the preceding resolution, and an estimate of the expense, signed by the person making the same, and a copy of the subscription contract after mentioned, be deposited in the Private Bill Office of this House, and that the receipt thereof be acknowledged accordingly by one of the clerks of the said office upon such petition.

That before any petition is presented to the House for a Bill for making any railway, a subscription to the amount of one-half at least of the estimated expense shall be entered into by persons under a contract, binding themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, for the payment of the money so subscribed.

That no such Bill shall be reported to the House until it has been proved to the satisfaction of the Committee, that three-fourths at least of the proposed capital of the company has been subscribed under a like contract.

That no such Bill shall be reported to the House unless provision be made:—1. That no such company shall be authorized to raise, by loan or mortgage, a larger sum than one-third of their capital, and that, until 50 per cent. on the whole of the capital shall have been paid up, it shall not be in the power of the company to raise any money by loan or mortgage. 2. That, where the level of any road shall be altered in making any railway, the ascent of any turnpike-road shall not be more than one foot in thirty feet; and of any other public carriage-road not more than one foot in twenty feet; and that a good and sufficient fence, of four feet high at the least, shall be made on each side of every bridge which shall be erected. 3. That no railway, whereon carriages are propelled by steam, shall be made across any highway on the level, unless the Committee on the Bill report that such a restriction ought not to be enforced.

A number of other resolutions are adopted as amended Standing Orders for subsequent Sessions.

ABSTRACTS OF REPORTS AND RETURNS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

Jurors.—The following is a Return, shewing the number of persons qualified and liable to serve on juries in each county in England and Wales, under the provisions of the Act 6 Geo. IV, c. 50, in the year ending December 31st, 1835. The jurors of many boroughs claim to be exempt from serving on juries for the county:—

England.			
Bedford	1,469	Lincoln	6,781
Berks	1,739	Middlesex	28,584
Buck	2,482	Monmouth	1,694
Cambridge	1,430	Norfolk	5,178
Chester	3,660	Northampton	2,984
Cornwall	3,747	Northumberland	1,549
Cumberland	2,810	Nottingham	2,689
Derby	3,209	Oxford	2,429
Devon	6,915	Rutland	272
Dorset	2,537	Salop	2,886
Durham	2,771	Somerset	7,575
Essex	4,805	Stafford	6,092
Gloucester	6,316	Suffolk	4,533
Hants	3,892	Surrey	11,042
Hereford	2,384	Sussex	4,969
Hertford	1,731	Warwick	5,708
Huntingdon	897	Westmoreland	1,216
Kent	6,146	Wilts	3,882
Lancaster	17,690	Worcester	3,854
Leicester	2,691	York	14,615
Wales.			
Anglesey	765	Flint	1,027
Brecon	1,044	Glamorgan	2,048
Cardigan	1,051	Merioneth	619
Carmarthen	1,365	Montgomery	1,864
Carnarvon	996	Pembroke	1,296
Denbigh	1,613	Radnor	795

Militia Staff.—The staff of each regiment of the disembodied militia of Great Britain retained under the 10th of Geo. IV., c. 10. consists of 89 adjutants, 89 sergeant-majors, 1243 sergeants, and 61 drum-majors. The staff now receiving pay includes 81 adjutants, 85 sergeant-majors, and 621 sergeants. The militia staff of Ireland retained under the 10th of Geo. IV, is as follows:—58 adjutant, 38 serjeant-majors, 449 sergeants, 21 drum-majors, and 200 drummers. Staff now receiving pay:—38 adjutants, 38 sergeant-majors, and 224 sergeants.

Foreign Wine.—An account of the number of gallons of foreign wine upon which duty has been paid for home consumption, and the rate of duty per gallon, stated in the Imperial measure, for the year ending the 5th of January, 1836:—

	Quantity upon which Duty has been paid.	Quantity retained for Home Consumption, after deducting the Amount exported subsequently to the Payment of Duty.
Cape	523,528 Galls.	522,941 Galls.
French	293,635	271,661
Madeira	154,433	139,422
Portugal	2,866,015	2,780,024
Spanish	2,314,884	2,230,187
Rhenish	51,243	48,696
Canary	53,976	50,856
Fayal	1,906	1,906
Sicilian, &c. &c.	380,913	374,549
Total	6,640,533	6,420,342

The rate of duty for Cape wine is 2*s.* 9*d.* per gallon; and for all other descriptions, 5*s.* 6*d.* The gross duty amounted to 1,752,616*l.*, and the net amount was 1,691,522*l.*

Hops.—Account of the total number of acres of land in Great Britain under the cultivation of hops in 1835, and the amount of duty in each collection:—

Collections.	No. of Acres.	Duty.
Barnstaple	7¼	28 16 0
Bath	2½	— — —
Bedford	26	142 18 6
Bristol	4	— — —
Cambridge	4	26 2 4
Canterbury	9,800¾	98,975 9 8
Chester	¾	0 16 2
Cornwall	5 13/16	13 14 3
Derby	131½	30 17 4
Dorset	18½	16 0 9
Essex	342¾	2,131 19 2
Exeter	15	14 15 8
Gloucester	8½	0 6 10
Grantham	29	3 4 4
Hants	1,490¾	4,386 1 10
Hereford	11,646½	22,734 11 10
Hertford	35	57 19 6
Isle of Wight	1	— — —
Lincoln	573½	350 3 4
Lynn	½	0 18 4
Northampton	1½	0 8 6
Oxford	14½	26 10 6
Plymouth	4	5 0 2
Reading	2¾	8 1 6
Rochester	14,187	144,681 8 0
Salisbury	1,093	2,464 10 6
Salop	3	0 2 10
Stourbridge	611¾	1,083 15 0
Suffolk	154	791 17 2
Surrey	12½	3 17 4
Sussex	11,378¼	127,458 14 4
Uxbridge	6	9 13 2
Wales, Middle	115½	95 4 2
Wellington	17½	31 11 4
Worcester	2,041¼	3,480 7 11
Total	53,916½	409,055 18 3
Old Duty, at 1 1/20*d.* per lb.		235,307 2 11 1/5 4/5
New „ 1 1/20*d.* „		173,848 15 3 5/20
Total		£409,055 18 3

Yeomanry.—The total number of troops in Great Britain is 338; number of officers, 1758; of men 18,810. The expense of all the corps in 1835 was 96,314*l.* 14*s.*

Stamps issued to the London Newspapers.—The following statement of the aggregate supply of Stamps issued to the London Newspapers for ten months, from June 30, 1835, to April 30, 1836, is taken from the Stamp Office Return to an order of the House of Commons:—

Age	342,669
Agriculturist (Com. in Jan.)	19,675
Albion (Ceased in Dec.)	131,000
Athenæum	1,000
Atlas	95,000
Bell's Weekly Messenger	542,000
Bell's New Weekly Messenger	218,000
Bent's Literary Advertiser	11,000
Christian Advocate	7[illegible],850
Circular to Bankers	13,000
Cobbett's Register (Ceased in Sep.)	9,750
Conservative (one month)	250
*County Chronicle—*County Herald	100,000
Courier	366,000
Course of the Exchange	180
Court Journal (to Dec.)	29,200
*Court Journal—*Naval and Mil. Gaz. (from Jan.)	35,795
Examiner	145,750
Financial Record	3,800
Town and Country Advertiser	79,525
Globe	714,500
John Bull	187,000
*Law Chronicle—*Law Gazette	4,375
Literary Gazette	19,625
London Gazette	110,000
Mercantile Journal	13,345
Mercantile Price Current	1,500
Mark Lane Express	61,800
Mediator (one month)	1,000
Mining Journal (Com. in Aug.)	41,375
Morning Advertiser	1,148,000
*Morning Chronicle—*Evening Chronicle	1,671,000
*Morning Herald—*English Chronicle	1,759,000
Morning Post	544,000
Municipal Reformer (one month)	626
Naval and Military Gazette (to Dec.)	20,875
News and Sunday Herald	111,500
Nicholson's Price Current	55
*Observer—*Bell's Life in London	761,212
*Old England—*U. Serv. Gazette—*Surrey Standard (to March)	126,600
Patriot	103,500
Perry's Gazette	15,185
Prices of the Funds	100
Public Ledger	98,000
Racing Calendar	21,900
Radical (Com. in March)	6,500
Record	213,000
Satirist	179,600
Shipping Gazette (Com. in Jan.)	28,500
Spectator	104,500
*Standard—*St. James's Chronicle—*London Packet—*London Journal	1,402,500
Sun	625,300
*Sunday Times—Essex and Herts Mercury (to Nov.)	150,000
Sunday Times (from Dec.)	112,000
*Times—*Evening Mail	2,180,997
Trade List	5,000
*True Sun—*Weekly True Sun	195,000
*United Service Gazette—*Surrey Standard (for April)	10,000
Universal Corn Reporter	3,787
Watchman	88,500
Weekly Dispatch	1,221,000
Weekly Post (Com. in March)	8,000

* The asterisk denotes that the numbers furnished to each paper cannot be distinguished, in consequence of more than one paper being published by the persons in whose names the Stamps are taken out.

Hardwares and Cutlery.—British hardwares and cutlery exported from the United Kingdom in the year 1835; distinguishing the countries to which exported, and the declared value thereof:—

Countries to which Exported.	Quantity. Tons.	Cwts.	Declared Value. £	s.
Russia	197	15	24,053	17
Sweden	8	18	1,271	5
Norway	46	13	3,646	5
Denmark	27	6	2,263	2
Prussia	48	0	3,451	5
Germany	570	4	74,490	2
Holland	302	3	36,195	0
Belgium	142	13	16,691	6
France	314	18	43,272	3
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira	290	5	33,162	2
Spain and the Canaries	148	16	19,608	2
Gibraltar	60	8	5,940	18
Italy	372	2	42,959	15
Malta	42	14	3,432	0
The Ionian Islands	33	10	3,459	0
Turkey and Continental Greece	55	4	7,106	10
Morea and Greek Islands	11	9	1,400	15
Asia	1,004	1	105,300	12
Africa	383	11	30,567	12
British Colonies in North America	1,202	14	84,259	3
British West Indies	1,134	1	93,661	14
Foreign West Indies	721	18	48,329	18
United States of America	11,961	10	978,491	8
Brazil	1,143	18	85,096	14
Mexico, and the States of South America	816	0	74,893	
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man	75	8	10,058	19
Total	20,196	19	1,833,042	15

Temporary Houses of Parliament Expenses.—The amount expended in erecting the present temporary Houses of Parliament, and buildings connected with them, was 31,138*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*; and an estimate of 500*l.* is made for works immediately required; namely, additional bookcases for the Lords and Commons, an office for the sale of the printed papers, and some addition to the prison-rooms. About 200*l.* more has been expended in fitting up Committee-rooms, &c., at the Speaker's late official residence. The amount expended in re-furnishing the House of Peers, after the fire, was 4,855*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; ordinary expenses to the 5th of July, 1836, were 460*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*—Total 5,317*l.* 12*s.* The amount expended in re-furnishing the House of Commons, was 6,376*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*; ordinary expenses to the 5th of July, 1836, including Speaker's new rooms, division-room, prison-rooms, and Committee-rooms 1,647*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*; together 802*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* Fitting up office in Abingdon-street 100. Total for supply for furniture to houses and offices 13,441*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* Total of erection 32,140*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* Grand total 45,581*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Manufacturing Districts.—It is stated in the official Report of the House of Commons, "That while the population of all England, with the exception of Middlesex, Surrey, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, is only 198 to one square mile; while the four largest counties, with the exception of Yorkshire and Lancashire, give only 156; the population within the three miles of the projected Manchester and Leeds railroad, is no less than 1849 to the square mile. The line of railroad running down the main valley of the district, passing by the populous towns of Middleton, Rochdale, Todmorden, Halifax, Dewsbury, and Wakefield, affords access to the manufactories on each side, which, through the whole length, swarm along the banks of the tributary streams. The raw cottons and woollens are sent backwards and forwards along this valley for the various purposes of spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, and printing. The export, annually, of cotton-twist and manufactured goods, for the north of Europe, the whole of which must pass along this line, is stated by one witness at 80,000,000 lbs. annually; while another states the trade in twist, with Russia alone, to be 22,000,000 lbs., or in value about 1,500,000*l.*, of which he himself exports from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 lbs.

City Revenue.—A Report of a Committee on the City Revenue states that the total income of the corporation in 1797 was 74,000*l.*, and in the year 1833 upwards of 141,000*l.*, and that a further sum of 74,000*l.* has been received from the public in fees and other charges by various officers of the corporation, connected with the several establishments and trusts under its management and control. The total annual income of the corporation is therefore upwards of 215,000*l.*

Port of Liverpool.—In the month ending June 14th, 1835, the number of vessels entered this port were 1620, tonnage 117,783; for the same period in 1836 the number of vessels entered was 1712, tonnage 209,748; increase in vessels 92, in tonnage 31,965. For the year ending June 24th, 1835, the number of vessels entered was 13,941, tonnage 1,768,426; same period ending June 24th, 1836, the number of vessels entered was 14,959, tonnage 1,947,613: increase in the number of vessels 1810, in tonnage 179,187.

Proportions of the leading items of Revenue.—It is calculated that the Customs and Excise contribute 72 per cent. of the whole revenue; the stamps 14 per cent.; the assessed and land taxes 9 per cent.; and the Post Office 5 per cent. The rate per cent. for which the gross receipt was collected in 1835, in Great Britain, was 6*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.*; namely, Customs, 5*l.* 5*s.*; Excise, 6*l.* 13*s.* 6¾*d.*; stamps, 2*l.* 10*s.* 11¾*d.*; taxes, 5*l.* 7*s.* 9½*d.*; Post Office, 27*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*; tax on pensions and salaries, 2*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.*; Crown lands, 10*l.* 2*s.* 11¾*d.* The rate per cent. for which the gross receipts of revenue were collected in Ireland, in 1835, amounted to 11*l.* 17*s.* 2½*d.*; namely, Customs, 12*l.* 5*s.* 2¼*d.*; Excise, 9*l.* 1*s.* 6¼*d.*; stamps, 5*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.*; Post Office, 39*l.* 4*s.* 2½*d.*

Price of Consols.—The following are the closing prices of the Three per Cent. Consols for Account on each of the undermentioned days:—

July 30.	August 6.	August 13.	August 20.
91	91⅜	91¼	91¼

Bank of England.—Quarterly Average of the Weekly Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England from May 3, to July 26, 1836, inclusive, published pursuant to the Act 3 & 4 Will. IV. cap. 98:—

Liabilities.		Assets.	
Circulation...	£17,940,000	Securities....	£28,315,000
Deposits.....	14,495,000	Bullion.....	6,926,000
	£32,435,000		£35,241,000

Sugar.—Average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar per cwt., computed from the Returns published in the *London Gazette*:—

Week ending July 26	44*s.* 3½*d.*
,, August 2	43*s.* 5¼*d.*
,, 9	44*s.* 11¾*d.*
,, 16	44*s.* 3½*d.*

Corn and Grain.—Average prices per quarter in England and Wales, from the *London Gazette* of Friday, August 19:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Week ending August 12...	50 4	32 3	23 4	35 2	40 4	35 7
Average of last six weeks .	49 11	32 8	23 9	35 2	39 10	39 7
Duty on foreign corn.....	37 8	13 10	12 3	16 9	11 0	11 0

Bankruptcy Analysis from July 21st to August 21st.—Booksellers, 2; brewers, 2; builders, 2; cabinet-maker, 1; carrier, 1; cattle-dealer, 1; cheese-factor, 1; cloth-dresser, 1; coal-factor, 2; corn-dealer, 1; currier, 4; dealer, 1; drapers, 3; dyer, 1; farrier, 1; fish-curer, 1; flax merchant, 1; flour-seller, 1; glue manufacturer, 1; grocer, 6; hosier, 1; ironmonger, 1; joiner, 1; maltster, 1; merchants, 2; miller, 1; money-scrivener, 1; painter, 1; pawnbroker, 1; postmaster, 1; printer, 1; provision-agent, 1; ship-owner, 1; ship-agent, 1; silk-mercer, 1; silk-throwster, 1; stationers, 2; surgeons, 2; tailor, 1; victuallers, 2; woollen warehouseman, 1; wine-merchant, 1; wire-drawer, 1.—Total 61; from the 28th of December, 574.

CHRONICLE OF OCCURRENCES.

Aug. 1. At the half-yearly meeting of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company, it appeared from the Report, that during the preceding six months there had been received from passengers by coaches 57,914*l.*; for merchandise, 47,141*l.*; for coals, 4000*l.*:—total receipts in six months, 109,355*l.* The expenses for the same period were 69,953*l.*

Gratifying accounts continue to be received of the state of trade in the manufacturing districts. The old channels of commerce are all represented as extending, and new ones opening; the joint-stock projects are diminishing; merchants, manufacturers, and traders admit that trade was never in a sounder state, and with a better prospect of permanency; agriculture is recovering from its depression; and the labouring classes are fully employed and well paid.

5. The sixth half-yearly meeting of the London and Birmingham Railway Company was held at Birmingham. The Report announced that the whole line would be completed by the summer of 1838, and the first 21 miles from London, in the spring of 1837. The receipts to the 30th of June were 1,955,608*l.*, and the disbursements up to the same period, 1,492*l.* 10*s.*

15. *Whitehall.*—The King has been pleased to nominate, constitute, and appoint, the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, to be one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.

16. A public meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of sympathizing with the recent attempts of the Spanish people to improve their political condition, by a renewed declaration of the Constitution of 1812; Colonel Thompson, M.P., in the Chair. Messrs. Murphy, Carpenter, Cleave, Carlisle, and one Member of Parliament, were present.

Since the retrospect of events in Spain was in type, the following telegraphic despatch, received by the French Government, has been made public:—

"St. Ildefonso, 13th August, 10 o'clock A.M.

"A military insurrection compelled the Queen-Regent, at two o'clock this morning, to accept the Constitution of 1812. All is perfectly tranquil here at this moment. The soldiers have re-entered their barracks."

"Madrid, 13th August, 6 o'clock P.M.

"The news of the events at St. Ildefonso is beginning to circulate in Madrid. The public tranquillity has not yet been disturbed. The Council of Ministers is at this moment sitting."

The Madrid Gazette of August 16, has also been received, containing the following decrees:—

"The Constitution of 1812 is proclaimed until the meeting of the Cortes, which will decide upon the institutions which shall be given to Spain:—M. Calatrava is appointed President of the Council;—M. Ferrer, Minister of Finance;—M. La Cuadra, Minister of the Interior;—General Seoane succeeds to General Quesada;—General Rodil is appointed Commandant of the Guard, and is trusted with the general inspection of the Militia.—The state of siege is raised, and the National Guard of Madrid is re-organized."

The Constitution of 1812 has been proclaimed at Santander and St. Sebastian.

METROPOLITAN BRITISH & FOREIGN CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT,

LONDON. 97, FLEET-ST.

GEORGE DAVID BOURNEY.

In remarking on his
FIRST-RATE QUALITIES,
G. D. D. respectfully addresses Gentlemen who have hitherto found it necessary to pay extravagantly high prices for really First-rate Clothes; to such he guarantees a **DRESS COAT** of any colour—as stylish in make, as tasteful and talented in cut, and as good in quality, as any bearing the names of the most expensive and favourite Fashionable Houses, for.....£3 0
Surtouts, including, of course, Silk linings 3 10
Black and Blue. 10s. extra on each
Buckskin Trousers, on G. D. D.'s
New principles of Measurement, 1 8
Waistcoats 14
Ladies' Riding Habits..... 6 6
These will be found of that character which has raised this Establishment to such eminence in the estimation of the higher circles, where nothing short of **easy gentlemanly elegance** could be tolerated.

THE SECOND-RATE QUALITIES
Are especially recommended for Business and Travelling Clothes; also, to the **ECONOMIST** they are found preferable to the first on account of their Superior Durability, while in appearance none but the Connoisseur could discover a difference, excepting by comparison; in short, they are frequently substituted at other Houses for the Best. The Prices are, for **DRESS COATS**, of any colour (Style and Fit First-rate) £2 5
Surtouts, including Silk linings, 2 10
Black or Blue, 5s. each extra
Trousers 1 1
Waistcoats 10
The Army Blue Spanish Cloak, forming a circle of 9 yards round the bottom—the best Travelling Cloak that is made 2 10
A good Cloth ditto, with Fur Collar, and Cape—9 yds round 3 3
Milled Petersham Great Coat.. 2 2

CONTRACTS FOR FIRST-QUALITY CLOTHES
As generally adopted, are objectionable, because they confine Gentlemen to one particular Dress, or subject them to considerable Extra Charges: G. D. D.'s system removes this difficulty by leaving at the option of the Customer what he chooses to wear, whether Surtouts or Dress Coats, either Coloured or Black; his Prices, including all extras (excepting Velvet Collars), being for
Two Suits per Annum.....£10 0
Three ditto ditto 14 18
Four ditto ditto 19 12
and so on in proportion to the number of Suits. Each Suit to be returned on the delivery of its successor. Gentlemen who take three or more Suits per Annum are allowed two Suits in wear during the whole term; thus in a contract for three Suits a Dress Suit and an Undress Suit are supplied together. The Dress Suit to be kept for twelve months, and, at the expiration of six months, the Undress Suit is returned, and another supplied to continue to the end of the term, the contract amount for each Suit being paid on delivery. Contracts for the second quality would be much lower.

A Suit of First-rate Liveries..... £3 18 6
For **WASHING TROUSERS** and **WAISTCOATS** definite prices cannot be stated, on account of the variety of Materials; but a very superior article for **SUMMER TROUSERS** are charged **10s.** per pair, and **WAISTCOATS, 6s.** each

G. D. D respectfully informs **COUNTRY GENTLEMEN**, that, on account of the numerous invitations he has received to make Periodical Circuits through England, his Traveller will wait on them occasionally, or will proceed direct to any part where three or more Gents. (according to the distance) favour him with their Addresses.

THE FIRST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR DRESS WAISTCOATS.

BRILLIANT PIER AND CHIMNEY GLASSES, &c.

FAMILIES about to furnish will find many advantages at HENRY L. COOPER'S Manufactory for Upholstery, Carpeting, Chairs, Cabinet Work, and Looking Glasses, in design, quality, and price—93, Bishopsgate-street Within, and 57, Conduit-street, nine doors from Regent-street, left hand side.

Annexed are the Prices of current sizes of Plate Glass, for Sashes, &c.

Inches.	Inches. 15	Inches. 18	Inches. 20	Inches. 22	Inches. 25	Inches. 28	Inches. 30
	£. s. d	£. s. d	£. s. d	£. s. d	£ s. d	£. s. d	£. s. d.
12	0 9 3	0 11 6	0 13 0	0 14 6	0 16 11	0 19 8	1 1 6
16	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 18 6	1 0 10	1 4 7	1 8 0	1 10 0
20	0 16 11	1 6	1 4 6	1 7 6	1 11 3	1 15 0	1 17 6
25	1 2 8	1 8 2	1 11 3	1 14 5	1 19 1	2 3 9	2 6 11
30	1 8 2	1 13 9	1 17 6	2 1 3	2 6 11	2 12 6	2 16 3
34	1 11 10	1 18 3	2 2 6	2 6 9	2 13 2	2 19 6	3 3 9
38	1 15 7	2 2 9	2 7 6	2 12 3	2 19 4	3 6 6	3 11 3

Or any sizes containing from 3 feet to 8 feet, at 9s. per foot.
Properties registered and Fixtures appraised.

EMPOWERED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

ARGUS LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,
39, Throgmorton Street, Bank, London; 63, King Street, Manchester; 5 & 6, Exchange Street, East, Liverpool; 49, York Place, Edinburgh; and 16, Queen Street, Glasgow.

DIRECTORS.

William Banbury, Esq.
Harry Barrett, Esq.
Edward Bates, Esq.
Lancelot Archer Burton, Esq.
Thomas Camplin, Esq.
...es Cbft, Esq.
Colonel J. F. Dyson.
Dryden Elstob, Esq.
Thomas Farncomb, Esq.
John Humphery, Esq., Aldm., M.P.
Rupert Ingleby, Esq., Manchester.
Thomas Kelly, Esq., Alderman.
William Leaf, Esq.
Lewis Pocock, Esq.

Editors.—Brian Shaw Hilditch, Esq. and William Palmer Knight, Esq.
Physician.—Thomas Davies, M D, 30, New Broad Street.
Surgeon —William Coulson, Esq, 2, Frederick's Place, Old Jewry.
Standing Counsel —John Romilly, Esq. *Solicitor.*—William Fisher, Esq.
Bankers.—Messrs. Vere, Sapte, Banbury, and Co., 37, Lombard Street.

MUCH LOWER RATES THAN THOSE OF ANY OTHER OFFICE will be found in the original and extensively-varied tables of this Company.

A Board with the Medical Officers attend daily, and Policies may be completed in a few hours.

References and Personal Attendance not required when the Medical Reports are satisfactory.

Distinct Tables, at very moderate Rates, for all climates, (including Sea-risk), —for Military and Naval Officers, and for Persons afflicted with disorders not attended with immediate danger.

Premiums may be paid Quarterly or Half-Yearly.

EXTRACT FROM TABLES.

Age.	One Year.	Seven Years.	Whole Term of Life.		
	Premium.	Annual Premium.	Quarterly Premium.	Half-yearly Premium.	Annual Premium.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
16	0 15 2	0 16 9	0 7 3	0 14 4	1 8 4
20	0 17 4	0 18 8	0 7 11	0 15 9	1 11 2
30	1 1 3	1 2 1	0 10 2	1 0 2	1 19 10
40	1 4 6	1 6 2	0 13 9	1 7 4	2 13 9
50	1 13 5	1 19 0	1 0 4	2 0 4	3 19 3

EDWARD BATES, Resident Director.

USEFUL INVENTIONS.

KNIGHT'S PATENT BACK-SPRING PEN.

This Pen, by its hinge-like elasticity behind the slit, allows the distance between the nibs and writer's fingers to vary with the pressure of the hand, becoming thereby more pleasingly soft and yielding, and easier to write with than even a Quill Pen; and giving to the running-hand the clearness, uniformity, and beauty of slow careful writing with any other pen.

It has in itself a degree of the longitudinal elasticity of KNIGHT'S SPRING PEN-HOLDER, patented with it, and issued before it a year ago, for all other Pens. The number of attempts made to copy and approximate to it, distant as they all are, since the specification was enrolled, proves how important the Makers have deemed the new principle.

Each Pen is marked "C. KNIGHT'S PATENT," and each Card bears the Signature, *Charles Knight.*

Twelve Pens, with Holder, 2s. 6d.

KNIGHT'S PATENT SPRING PEN-HOLDER.

The use of Metallic Pens in this country has become so general that an invention which corrects their defects, and remarkably improves their usefulness, cannot be regarded as unimportant.

The new PATENT SPRING PEN-HOLDER, while it renders the act of writing itself easier with any pen, LEAVES TO THE METALLIC PEN ALL ITS ADVANTAGES OVER THE QUILL, AND ENTIRELY OBVIATES THE DISADVANTAGES. By allowing the length of what may be called the axis of the Pen, or the distance between the nibs and the writer's fingers, to vary according to the pressure made, the hand may descend considerably without making the pen scratch the paper, and rise without causing the pen to leave it. The freedom of motion thus attained produces these effects:—

1. The difficulty of writing with the common Steel Pen at once ceases when the pen is united with the Patent Spring Holder. 2. The fatigue is prevented. 3. The slowness is replaced by rapidity.

The elasticity of the Holder is regulated by a screw, so that every writer is enabled to adjust it to his own habit or fancy.

The instrument is not in the least complicated, and not liable to be out of order.

It may be used with any of the numerous descriptions of Metallic Pens now made.

It is not of expensive construction, so that it may be attained at small cost by the thousands of persons who now use Steel Pens.

The Patent Spring Pen-Holder is issued in cases, adapted for the waistcoat pocket, with directions for use, signed by C. Knight on each, at the following prices:

In ALBATA, for any pen, 2s.
Ditto, superior quality, 2s. 6d.
In ALBATA, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 3s.
In SILVER, EBONY Handle, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 6s.
In SILVER, IVORY Handle, for SHORT pen, with four pens, 7s.

Booksellers, Stationers, and Jewellers may be supplied wholesale, on application to Messrs. Knight and Co, 22, Ludgate Street, or through the agents for the sale of their Publications.

THE PATENT LEAF HOLDER.

By the means of a little instrument attached to the back of a Portfolio, as few as two or three, or as many as forty or fifty sheets, may be held tightly together as if they were bound, the volume thus secured opening with as much ease as a sewed book. The compression can be immediately withdrawn, and the number or numbers added or subtracted without the slightest difficulty. The principle is, of course, equally applicable to music, prints, and manuscripts. A Patent has been taken out for this invention; and the Portfolios, with leather backs and cloth sides, may now be had of the following sizes, and at the affixed retail prices:—

	Iron Holder.	Brass Holder.
	s. d.	s. d.
Demy Octavo, for the Mirror, and similar Publications, Pamphlets, &c.	3 6	
Post Quarto, for Letters		4 6
Ditto (Black) Sermon Cases		4 6
Post Folio, for Penny Magazines and Cyclopædia, Saturday Magazine, &c.	4 6	
Foolscap Folio, for Parliamentary Papers, Invoices, &c.	5 6	
Crown Folio, for Music		7 6
Double Foolscap, for the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Prints, &c.	8 0	9 6

[redacted] & Co, 22, Ludgate Street.

NEW SILVER WAITERS, Round, with elegant Shell-pattern edges.

Plain Centres.	£.	s.	d.	Chased Centres.	£.	s.	d.
Silver Waiter, 8 in. diameter 12 oz. *a* 9*s.*	5	8	0	Silver Waiter, 8 in. diameter 12 oz. *a* 9*s.* 6*d.*	5	14	0
Ditto 10 ditto, 20 oz. *a* 9*s.*	9	0	0	Ditto 10 ditto, 20 oz. *a* 9*s.* 6*d.*	9	9	0
Ditto 18 ditto, 36 oz. *a* 9*s.*	18	14	0	Ditto 18 ditto, 36 oz. *a* 9*s.* 6*d.*	19	17	0

Also a variety of Second-hand Waiters, varying in price from 6*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per ounce.

T. COX SAVORY, Working Goldsmith and Silversmith, 47, Cornhill, London.

WOOD and BARRETT beg to recommend their PATENT SELF-ACTING OVEN-AND-BOILER KITCHEN RANGES without a Flue, equally suited for the Cottage or Palace, having sold 5000 by recommendation only. Kitchens completely fitted up, with every attention to use, economy, and comfort. An elegant assortment of STOVE GRATES, on their much approved radiating principle, with Fenders and Fire-irons *en suite*. Every description of Baths fixed,—drawings sent free of EXPENSE. W. & B. being Iron-founders, Manufacturers, and Retailers, are able to execute all Orders, which in taste, quality, economy, and despatch, cannot fail of giving satisfaction.

RANGE AND STOVE MANUFACTORY, 247, Tottenham Court Road, near Oxford Street, London.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

This Day is published,

THE PENNY MAGAZINE, Part LIII., Price 6*d.*

THE PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA, Part XLIV. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* Five Volumes are now completed, and may be had uniformly bound in cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE GALLERY OF PORTRAITS, No. LII., containing Portraits and Memoirs of LOYOLA, BRINDLEY, and SCHILLER. Imperial 8vo., price 2*s.* 6*d.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

LIBRARY FOR THE YOUNG.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Just published, with SIX Wood-cuts, price 3*s.* 6*d.*,

HISTORICAL SKETCHES:—SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, Vol. II., completing the Work.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

LIBRARY OF ANECDOTE AND TABLE-TALK.

This Day is published, in fcp. 8vo, price 6*s.* each volume,

THE BOOK OF TABLE-TALK, Vols. I. & II., illustrated with many Wood-cuts.

"I love anecdotes. I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically, except in narrative; grow weary of preparation, and connexion, and illustration, and all those arts by which a big book is made. If a man is to wait till he weaves anecdotes into a system, we may be long in getting them, and get but few in comparison of what we might get."—*Dr. Johnson* (*Boswell's Tour*).

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

This Day is published, in 2 vols., post 8vo., illustrated with Wood-cuts, price One Guinea,

THE CHINESE: A General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants. By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., late his Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China.

"In Mr. Davis's account of China we find every subject brought forward that can throw light on the laws and institutions of a people to whom, we think, that justice has not been rendered by foreigners which is their due. Mr. Davis brings to his task advantages which have fallen to the lot of few Europeans. He resided twenty years at Canton, where he at length rose to be chief of the factory; he accompanied Lord Amherst's embassy to Pekin; and he ranks as one of the few Europeans who have ever really mastered the language and literature of China. He has rendered into English several pieces from their romances, their poetry, and their dramatic works; of which last class, in all tongues, but more especially in the unique tongue of China, it is particularly difficult to preserve the spirit in a translation. We have a right, therefore, to consider the statements which he has now submitted to the public, as containing as full and correct a view of this singular people, of their government, laws, and institutions—and, in short, of the whole frame of their society, as the many difficulties with which the subject is beset, will admit."—*Quarterly Review, July*, 1836.

Also,

THE SCHOOLMASTER: Essays on Practical Education, selected from the Works of ASCHAM, MILTON, LOCKE, and BUTLER; from the Quarterly Journal of Education; and from Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction. 2 Vols 12mo. 12*s.*

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

In 2 Vols. post 8vo., price One Guinea,

THE COTTON-MANUFACTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN SYSTEMATICALLY INVESTIGATED, and illustrated by 150 Original Figures, engraved in Wood and Steel; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries, chiefly drawn from Personal Survey. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., M.G.S., M.A.S. London, M. Acad. N.S. Philadelphia, Corresponding Member of the Pharm. Soc. North Germany, and of the Societe Industrielle of Mulhausen, &c., &c., &c.

Also, Just Published,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANUFACTURES; or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System. By ANDREW URE, M.D., F. Second Edition, corrected; with Wood-cuts and Steel Plates. Po M. P., 18 .

London: CHARLES KNIGHT

In 2 Vols. post 8vo., with numerous Wood-cuts, price ONE GUINEA,

PALEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY, with Illustrative Notes, by HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S. and Member of the National Institute of France, and SIR CHARLES BELL, K.G.H., F.R.S. L. & E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, formerly of the Council, and Professor of Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c., &c. To which are added SUPPLEMENTARY DISSERTATIONS, by SIR CHARLES BELL.

London: CHARLES KNIGHT & Co., 22, Ludgate Street.

This Day is published,

THE PICTORIAL BIBLE, Part VII. Price 2*s.* This Work is also published in Weekly Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

THE MUSICAL LIBRARY, Part XXX. Price 2*s.*

Two New Volumes of the MUSICAL LIBRARY have been just completed, one of Instrumental, the other of Vocal Music, which may be had uniformly bound with the four preceding volumes, price 12*s.* each. Also a new Volume of the SUPPLEMENT, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Just Published, in Two Volumes, 18mo., Price One Shilling and Sixpence each, very neatly half-bound,

FLOWERS of POETRY for YOUNG PERSONS. Arranged as a Companion or Sequel to MISS TAYLOR'S ORIGINAL POEMS.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

"A gradation of Poetry was wanting, and these Volumes will be serviceable in the School Room. The selections are made with much poetical taste, and the subjects introduced are of the most improving kind."—*Educational Magazine.*

"A very instructive and pleasing selection."—*Baptist Magazine.*

"Flowers of Poetry for Young Persons compose two little volumes which are designed to accompany Miss Taylor's Original Poems. They are every way worthy the honour to which they aspire, and will be received among the young with much pleasure."—*Remembrancer.*

"Very pretty and pleasing."—*Literary Gazette.*

"These attractive, cheap, and useful volumes of Poems will speedily become standard favorites with all classes, and, to the Conductors of Schools who are anxious to furnish their Pupils with a selection of superior poetry free from objectional pieces, they will indeed be invaluable."—*Nottingham Mercury.*

"These two pretty little volumes of Poems are especially adapted for the use of Schools and Young Persons."—*Pinnock* (*Author of Popular Catechisms*).

"They combine every requisite to instruct, elevate, and entertain."—*Worcestershire Guardian.*

"Much taste and piety have been displayed in this selection of Poetry."—*Evangelical Magazine.*

"Every piece inculcates some virtuous principle; and the volumes may be put into the hands of the Young with a certainty that they will at once improve their taste, and elevate and confirm their moral and religious affections."—*Hampton Chronicle.*

FRENCH GRAMMAR SIMPLIFIED, AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF TEACHING OR ACQUIRING THE LANGUAGE REMOVED.

This day is published in one volume neatly half-bound and lettered, price only six shillings, a new edition of

MONSIEUR MARTIN'S CELEBRATED WORK ON THE FRENCH VERBS.

In this work the conjugation of every Verb in the French Language, regular and irregular, is fully exemplified under its respective head. There are also given a full illustration of the use of the Imperfect and Preterit Tenses, succinct Rules for ascertaining the gender of Nouns Substantive, several highly useful and important Tables shewing the peculiarities of the Language, and a selection of Idiomatical Sentences. It was originally printed exclusively for the use of the Author's own pupils, but the numerous applications for Copies having led to his disposal of the Copyright, it is now published for the general advantage of English Teachers and Learners of the French Language. The following are a few brief extracts from the numerous recommendations of the Reviewers:—

"Amid the multitude of works for the acquisition of the French Language we have found this to be sterling and efficient. It is particularly ample and well done in respect to the use of the imperfect and preterit Tenses, and a good selection of Idiomatical Sentences concludes it with *eclat*."—*Literary Gazette.*

"One of the greatest difficulties encountered by students in acquiring the French Language, is known to be in the Conjugation of the Verbs and in the use of the imperfect and peterit tenses. An admirable Treatise upon these points lies before us from the pen of Mons. Martin, which has rapidly reached a third edition, and which we strongly recommend as an invaluable epitome to all engaged both in Teaching and Learning French."—*Worcestershire Guardian.*

"The above Treatise will be of very considerable service to those engaged in Teaching French."—*Educational Magazine.*

"A successful attempt to *simplify* one of the most difficult portions of French Grammar."—*Athenæum.*

"It is eminently adapted to abridge the labour of the Teacher, at the same time that its use facilitates the progress of the pupil, and thus forms an indispensable requisite in Schools where instruction in the French Language forms a part of Education."—*Derby Reporter.*

"We have no hesitation in asserting that it richly merits and will speedily obtain a place in the hands of every Teacher and Learner of the French Language in this Kingdom."—*Nottingham Mercury.*

See also "Pinnock's Guide to Knowledge," "The English Chronicle," "Court Journal," "Bell's Messenger," &c. &c.

London: HAMILTON, ADAMS, and Co., and may be had, by order, of every Bookseller in the United Kingdom.

LONDON: CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., 22, LUDGATE-STREET.

Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.